

**'Aptlie framed for the dittie':
A study of setting sacred Latin texts to music in
sixteenth-century England**

Christopher Jun-Sheng Ku
Worcester College

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Music
Michaelmas Term 2014

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Although considerable attention has been paid to the texting practices of specific composers and certain repertoires, a comprehensive study of the practice of texting in the sacred Latin-texted vocal works of sixteenth-century England remains to be undertaken. How did English composers, scribes, and singers of the sixteenth century set words to music?

Today, the general impression that emerges from critical apparatuses of modern performing editions, where manuscripts of vocal music copied by sixteenth-century English copyists are concerned, is negative: they are regarded as casual, often-contradictory transmissions, replete with idiosyncrasies and arbitrary placement of text. But the detail in five hundred-year-old primary sources cannot and should not be so easily dismissed.

Through a series of case studies drawn from the largest and most complete music manuscripts of English provenance that date from approximately 1500–90 — the Eton Choirbook, the Lambeth Choirbook, the Caius Choirbook, the 'Forrest-Heather' Partbooks, the Peterhouse Partbooks (Henrician Set), the Sadler Partbooks, the Baldwin Partbooks, and the Dow Partbooks — this dissertation offers a fresh perspective on the many texting variants present in the sources, subjecting them to critical analysis to ascertain what prompted a scribe to copy a passage of music and its text in a particular way. Occasionally, a variant was indeed no more than a result

of scribal error or inattention. More often than not, however, a scribe was either resolving an ambiguity that he perceived in his exemplar or deliberately infusing the copy with his own concepts of ideal texting.

Three specific areas of interest are traced in the dissertation: the texting of long-note cantus firmi, the treatment of melismata, and the relationship between music, prosody, and textual syntax. At the outset of the century, cantus firmus lines, as scribes copied them, required a certain amount of interpretation before they could be realised; melismata were an integral part of the compositional style that functioned as punctuation for the music; and textual coherence was unnecessary if it could not be achieved within the constraints of the music. By the close of the century, cantus firmus lines were copied literally with no additional interpretation required on the part of the performer; melismata were reduced to a purely decorative function; and textual integrity and correct prosody had become defining factors in how a piece of music was composed and formally organised. The specifics of what carried musicians from one extreme to the other in the interim is at the heart of this study.

This dissertation is part of the growing body of research on the music of sixteenth-century England. In enquiring into the minutiae of setting Latin text to music during this period, an area that heretofore has been relatively unexplored, it is hoped that this project will contribute to the total knowledge in the wider field of studies in text-music relations.

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C. K.
Michaelmas Day 2014

RISM SIGLA

All sigla are prefixed by GB- [Great Britain]

<u>Siglum</u>	<u>Library</u>
<i>Cgc</i>	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library
<i>Cp</i>	Cambridge, Peterhouse, Perne Library
<i>Ctc</i>	Cambridge, Trinity College Library
<i>Cu</i>	Cambridge, University Library
<i>CF</i>	Chelmsford, Essex Record Office
<i>Lbl</i>	London, British Library
<i>Llp</i>	London, Lambeth Palace Library
<i>Lna</i>	London, National Archives
<i>Ob</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library
<i>Oas</i>	Oxford, All Souls Library
<i>Och</i>	Oxford, Christ Church Library
<i>SPberkeley</i>	Spetchley, Private collection of R. J. Berkeley
<i>WRec</i>	Windsor, Eton College Library

RISM & STC (2nd ed.) EARLY PRINT REFERENCES

Répertoire International des Sources Musicales

- 1549⁷ *Primo libro de motetti a cinque voci da diversi eccellentissimi musici composti et non piu stampati, novamente posti in luce, et con somma diligentia coretti.* Venezia: G. Scotto, 1549. 5 vol., 31 pp.
- 1549⁸ *Il terzo libro di motetti a cinque voci di Cipriano de Rore, et de altri eccellentissimi musici, novamente ristampato, con una bona gionta de motetti novi.* Venezia, A. Gardane, 1549. 5 vol., 38 pp.
- 1554⁶ *Sacrarum cantionum (vulgo hodie moteta vocant) quinque et sex vocum ad veram harmoniam concentumque ab optimis quibusque musicis in philomusorum gratiam compositarum. Liber primus.* Antwerpen: J. Laet et H. Waelrant, 1554. 5 vol., 16 f. (SATB), 20 f. (V)
- 1554⁹ *Liber nonus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant, tam ex Veteri quam ex Novo Testamento, ab optimis quibusque huius aetatis musicis compositarum. Omnes quasi de uno tono antea nunquam exsusus.* Antwerpen: T. Susato, 1554. 5 v., 16 f.

A Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English books printed abroad: 1475–1640, 2nd edition

- 16441 [Marbeck, John.] *The booke of common praier noted.* [London]: Imprinted by Richard Grafton printer to the Kinges Maiestie, 1550.
- 15790 *Antiphonale ad vsum ecclesie Sarum. politissimis imaginibus decoratum.* [Paris]: Impressum est hoc preclarum opus in alma Parisiorum academia per vvolffgangum hopylium, impensis ffrancisci byrckman ciuis Coloniensis. Anno post incarnationem domini millesimo quingentesimo decimo nono [i.e. 1519].
- 15790a *Antiponarij ad vsum Sarum volumen secundum: vulgo pars Estiualis nuncupata.* [Paris]: Impressum est hoc preclarum opus in alma Parisiorum academia per vvolffgangum hopylium, impensis ffrancisci byrckman ciuis Coloniensis. Anno post incarnationem domini millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo [i.e. 1520].

- 15839 *Portiforium seu Breuiarium, ad insignis Sarisburiensis, ecclesie vsum: accuratissime castigatum, cum multis annotaciunculis ac litteris Alphabeticis, Euangeliorum & Epistolarum, capitolorumque originem indicantibus: que nusquam hucusque suerunt addite. Pars Estiualis.* Impress. Londini: [per J. Kyngston et H. Sutton], 1555.
- 1589 *A briefe introduction to the skill of song concerning the practise, set forth by William Bathe gentleman. In which work is set downe X. sundry wayes of 2. parts in one vpon the plaine song. Also a table newly added of the companions of cleues, how one followeth another for the naming of notes: with other necessarie examples, to further the learner.* London: Printed by Thomas Este, [1596?]
- 17300 [Marbeck, John.] *A concordance that is to saie, a worke wherein by the ordre of the letters of the A.B.C. ye maie redely finde any worde conteigned in the whole Bible, so often as it is there expressed or mencioned.* [London]: Richardus Grafton, typographus regius excudebat, Anno. M.D.L. [i.e. 1550]
- 18133 *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke set downe in forme of a dialogue: deuided into three partes, the first teacheth to sing with all things necessary for the knowledge of prickt song. The second treateth of descante and to sing two parts in one vpon a plainsong or ground, with other things necessary for a descanter. The third and last part entreateth of composition of three, foure, fiue or more parts with many profitable rules to that effect. With new songs of 2. 3. 4. and .5 [sic] parts. By Thomas Morley, Batcheler of musick, & of the gent. of hir Maiesties Royall Chapell.* Imprinted at London: By Peter Short, dwelling on Breedstreet hill at the signe of the Starre, 1597.
- 19464 *The pathvvay to musicke contayning sundrie familiar and easie rules for the readie and true vnderstanding of the scale, or gamma-vt: vvherein is exactlie shevvved by plaine deffinitions, the principles of this arte, brieflie laide open by vvay of questions and answers, for the better instruction of the learner. Whereunto is annexed a treatise of descant, & certaine tables, vvhich doth teach hovv to remoue any song higher, or lovvver from one key to another, neuer heretofore published.* Printed at London: [By J. Danter] for William Barley, and are to be sold at his shop in Gratiuous streete neere Leaden-Hall, [1596.]
- 23666 *Cantiones quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (see under 'Tallis, Thomas, and William Byrd' in the Bibliography)

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PREFACE

[T]he most essential [feature] is the text underlay of each individual work. Here is one field in which modern editorial practice is still searching desperately for criteria to guide it.¹

Thus wrote musicologist Edward E. Lowinsky (1908–85) in his prefatory note to a facsimile edition of *The Medici Codex* in 1968. Today, nearly half a century later, research in the field of texting in Continental sources has progressed significantly and academic dialogue is well underway.²

Conversely, as far as sixteenth century Insular Latin-texted compositions are concerned, hardly *any* advancement or discussion in this topic has taken place since Lowinsky's comment. While it is true that the texting practices of specific composers and certain repertoires have been accorded some attention, a comprehensive study of the underlay in English sources remains to be undertaken. As recently as 1994 in the preface of a publication of collected studies on English choral practice from 1400–1650, editor John Morehen commented that the subject of text underlay in English music was 'a domain which, unlike that of underlay in [C]ontinental music, has traditionally been dismissed as being bedevilled by scribal idiosyncrasy and

¹ Edward E. Lowinsky, ed., *Facsimile edition with a prefatory note*, vol. 3 of *The Medici Codex of 1518: a choirbook of motets dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), vi.

² One of the most recent books to be published in motet studies devotes the entire first section (four chapters long) to topics of underlay in Continental sources. See Thomas Schmidt-Beste, ed., *The motet around 1500: on the relationship of imitation and text treatment?* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012). Recent articles include Peter Schubert and Julie E. Cumming's 'Text and motif c.1500: a new approach to text underlay', *Early Music* 40, no. 1 (2012): 3–14. Both these publications will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 1.3.

casualness'.³ His observation is best exemplified in the *Early English Church Music* series; several editors who have produced editions of compositions that were never printed in the sixteenth century and were ultimately forced to rely on manuscript sources repeatedly expressed uncertainty as to the accuracy of what the scribe copied with respect to texting. A similar doubt reverberates in the some of the texts on the music of the period. In *Latin church music in England c. 1460–1575*, Hugh Benham pointed out the problem of music-text alignment, but then quickly dismissed it:

It is not surprising therefore that there is sometimes a lack of clarity in scribes' alignment of syllables and notes. Especially in passages where notes are many but syllables are few, precision may not always have been considered very important in any case.⁴

Kenneth Long, with only a cursory study of English vocal music, broadly generalised the purpose of text in the florid melismatic style, writing:

Music became little more than extended vocalisations on different vowel sounds and the words themselves were important only in so far as they generated the vocalisations — pegs on which to hang the music.⁵

Finally, the frequent lack of, and in some cases, total omission of detailed studies of specific English compositions in general histories of Western music point to a lack of interest in the period.⁶

³ John Morehen, ed. *English choral practice, 1450–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), xii. This publication included a single chapter focused on the underlay practices of the Elizabethan singing-man and scribe John Baldwin.

⁴ Hugh Benham, *Latin church music in England, c. 1460–1575* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1977), 37.

⁵ Kenneth R. Long, *The music of the English Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1972), 47.

⁶ General music histories of Western music touch on the works of John Dunstaple and their relationship to the *Contenance Angloise*. After that, textbooks are silent on musical activity in England until the advent of *Musica transalpina* and the development of the English madrigal at the close of the sixteenth century. Richard Taruskin's *The Oxford history of Western music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) gives some cause for optimism as several specific pieces from the English repertoire by Taverner, Tallis, and Byrd are described and explored in greater detail in his text.

Since the early 1970s, scholarship in English music has experienced a renewal in the doctoral dissertations and continuing work of some of today's leading musicologists including Margaret Bent,⁷ John Milsom,⁸ Nicholas Sandon,⁹ David Skinner,¹⁰ and Magnus Williamson.¹¹ The publication of biographies of individual composers and monographs on their music, especially those of John Taverner¹² and William Byrd,¹³ has given substance to the lives of musicians and their creative output. Additionally, articles on a variety of topics such as early English music printing have appeared in musicological journals.¹⁴ However, in all this rich material, comprehensive research on the area of texting in English music is still lacking.

What might account for the lack of progress in studies of texting polyphonic music in England? A principal impediment, without question, is the dearth of theoretical writings on the subject. Whereas researchers of Continental music have in abundance treatises that expound and illustrate what constitutes 'good' texting, English music scholars have none. The few sources that are available are either silent on the topic of texting or self-contradictory in their examples that are meant to

⁷ Margaret Bent, 'The Old Hall Manuscript: A palaeographical study' (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1969).

⁸ John Milsom, 'English polyphonic style in transition: A study of the sacred music of Thomas Tallis' (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1983).

⁹ See Chapter 1, n. 13.

¹⁰ 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 Higgon, and a history of the Caius and Lambeth Choirbooks' (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1995).

¹¹ Magnus Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook: Its institutional and historical background' (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1997).

¹² Hugh Benham, *John Taverner: his life and music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

¹³ John Harley, *William Byrd: Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997) and Kerry McCarthy, *Liturgy and contemplation in Byrd's Gradualia* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

¹⁴ John Milsom, 'Tallis, Byrd and the "Incorrected Copy": Some cautionary notes for editors of early music printed from movable type'. *Music & Letters* 77, no. 3 (1996): 348–67.

demonstrate an application of the written instructions.¹⁵ Another hindrance to the study of this topic is that compositional style was greatly affected by the religious and political upheavals in the mid-sixteenth century under the Edwardian Reformation, Marian Restoration, and Elizabethan Settlement. One of its many consequences was the destruction and misplacement of many sources during these turbulent years. The survival of incomplete partbook sets and choirbook fragments has resulted in a considerable amount of extant manuscripts being ignored. Nevertheless, my dissertation will not be pursuing this line of investigation as there are already more than enough books that have been written on the Reformation in England and its effects on musical style.¹⁶

It is the intention of this dissertation to redress some of aforementioned gaps in knowledge by undertaking a selective survey of texting practices in manuscript sources of sixteenth-century English polyphony.¹⁷ The results will be used to establish some texting conventions in the copying and composing of Latin-texted works.¹⁸

Part I of the dissertation presents the overall framework within which all of the data and analyses will be interpreted. It places the research of this dissertation into context through a review of the salient secondary literature, discusses the

¹⁵ See Chapter 2.1: 'The lacuna of English theoretical sources, ca.1500–1600'.

¹⁶ By no means do I advocate the view that the limitations placed on composers during the Edwardian Reformation and its effects on texting style ought to be ignored. Rather, I merely point out that this will not be the focus of this dissertation.

¹⁷ See Chapter 1.2, where the criteria of manuscript selection and the sources selected for this dissertation will be discussed.

¹⁸ While English-texted polyphonic compositions would have made no less interesting a study, Latin was chosen because the language is a common thread that runs through the polyphonic compositional activity of the entire sixteenth century. English-texted polyphonic compositions only really began to develop after 1549.

challenge of separating the work of the composer from that of the scribe, and explains the methodology this dissertation will use. Following an assessment of the theoretical treatises from the sixteenth century and their contents, the current state of research into the pronunciation and accentuation of Latin in England from 1500–1600 will be appraised.

Part II contains the analyses of the data amassed from the manuscripts proper. A prefatory section providing the common texts set to music and definitions of terms used in the analyses opens the second part of the dissertation. Consideration of the provenance, function, and contents of each manuscript will provide a context for the analysis of text setting. Case studies from the contents of these sources examined from the viewpoints of visual appearance of the composition in the manuscript, linguistic accentuation, and behaviour of melismata will establish the habits of the scribe; concordances between the selected sources, though very limited in the earlier part of the sixteenth century, are especially useful for this purpose. Comparing the syntax of the texts set to music and the formal organisation of the compositions will reveal if there is any correlation between these aspects. The penultimate chapter investigates the texting style of sixteenth-century England from a longitudinal perspective through two comprehensive case studies of Marian antiphons. The larger conclusions that may be drawn from this detailed study complete the dissertation.

Part I:
CONTEXTS

THE COMPOSER-SCRIBE CONUNDRUM, SOURCES, LITERATURE, & A METHODOLOGY

The aims of this chapter are fourfold: to discuss the challenge of separating a composer's decisions from the scribal interventions in sixteenth-century English manuscripts; to briefly introduce the manuscripts selected for analysis; to contextualise the scholarship of this dissertation through a review of secondary literature; and finally, to discuss the methodology that will frame all of the detailed data analysis in Part II of the dissertation.

*

1.1: The composer-scribe conundrum

Because this dissertation essentially falls into the discipline of textual scholarship, let us begin by spending some time considering the implications of analysing compositions that were transmitted through a scribe. In any composition that contains a text that has been set to music, there are two aspects to consider: the presentation and representation of the text.¹ *Presentation* denotes the mechanics of texting such as syllabic and melismatic setting, placing and length of melismata, correct linguistic prosody, varying of vocal forces, repetition of text, and so forth.²

¹ These terms come from Peter Le Huray in *Music and the Reformation in England: 1549–1660* (London: Herbert Jenkins Ltd., 1978), 135, who in turn cited the terminology from Chapter 5 of John Stevens, *Music and poetry in the early Tudor Court* (London: Methuen and Co., 1961). In Le Huray's context, the terms specifically applied to the presentation and representation of the 'Word' (i.e. scriptures). I have adopted the terms but applied them to text setting in general.

² Presentation often blurs with representation. For example, all voices entering at the word 'omnes' [all] and a reduction to a trio when the three persons of the Trinity are mentioned are simultaneously the varying of vocal forces (presentation) and also depiction (representation).

Representation denotes the depictive and emotive aspects of texting such as employing a set of short notes to illustrate hurrying, extra-modal progressions to suggest intense feeling, an ascending scale to depict going up, and so forth. When composing, the composer is involved in both presentation and representation of the text. A scribe in his copy transmits both aspects. While a scribe cannot affect representation in any significant way without gross modifications, he *can* subtly affect presentation, that is, the arrangement of words under the music, either intentionally or through carelessness.

A scribe-transmitted copy, therefore, can be one of three types. Although these were identified and described by Margaret Bent with respect to the text setting of sacred music of the early fifteenth century, they apply equally well to the music of England one century later:

[The copy] could be transmitting faithfully what was clear in the exemplar; it could be a resolution of what was ambiguous; or it could represent a deliberate change in accordance with personal taste.³

How can we know whether the composer's decisions are being faithfully represented in a particular manuscript?

The most logical point — though not necessarily the most obvious — at which to begin discussing this quandary is to question if the texting of a composition even mattered to a composer. The complaint of Thomas Morley (1557/58–1602) at the end of the sixteenth century that motets were commonly sung 'leaving out the dittie and singing onely the bare note'⁴ implies that while words were not of importance to amateur performers, it certainly did matter to a composer. Would a composer

³ Margaret Bent, *Counterpoint, composition, and musica ficta* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 274.

⁴ STC (2nd ed.): 18133, 179.

working earlier in the century, then, have precisely set the text in the autograph version of his composition or would he have taken it for granted that professional singers had the competence to sing the text correctly even if it was not fully written out or properly aligned?

A 2008 study of two British Library manuscript sets, Royal Appendix (hereafter RA) 31–35 and 17–22 relates an extraordinary example of one composer's detailed concern for texting in his autographs. The manuscripts are partbook sets belonging to the Flemish composer Derrick Gerarde who was active in England ca.1540–80, the majority of which were filled with his own compositions copied in his hand. Paste-downs cancelling rejected versions were also to be found in RA 31–35. When the library decided to remove them, all the versos of the paste-downs were blank, except for the ones covering fol. 65^r–65^v. These revealed the sketches of his motet, *Sic Deus dilexit mundum* in a textless form. The same motet was to be found in a texted intermediary form in RA 31–35, and a third time, again significantly revised, in RA 17–22. In this third and final stage, besides modifying melodic lines and inserting accidentals that were not present in the previous versions, the beginnings of new text-phrases were shifted around to enhance declamation and improve cohesion between the voices. This rare opportunity to observe a composition in progress establishes that this was a composer who had a concern for how the text interacted with his music.⁵

⁵ John Milsom, 'Notes from an erasable tablet', in « *Recevez ce mien petit labeur* »: *Studies in Renaissance Music in honour of Ignace Bossuyt*, ed. Mark Delaere and Pieter Bergé (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), 195–210.

Unfortunately, since not a note of autograph sacred music survives by the ‘front-rank composers’ whose compositions will form the case studies of this dissertation,⁶ we have no other choice but to rely on the copies provided by scribes. Based on peripheral evidence, we may nevertheless make an educated guess that texting was of some concern to the composer. This view is strongly supported at the end of the sixteenth century through composer-supervised prints, especially the joint 1575 publication of *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* of Thomas Tallis (ca.1505–85) and William Byrd (ca.1540–1623),⁷ and the later volumes of motets of William Byrd. In these printed editions, syllables were meticulously divided and carefully placed under the notes they were to be sung to. Although these types of publications are also limited in number, it is possible to reveal scribal intervention in a manuscript if one uses them as a point of comparison.⁸

The further backwards in the century one proceeds, however, the more difficult it is to distinguish between the decisions of a composer and those of a scribe. As previously noted, a concordance may reveal variants but this could simply be a difference in scribal intention. In the case of unica, it is virtually impossible to differentiate the two intentions. The only exception to this impasse is the strictly syllabic setting of words which have the number of notes exactly corresponding to the number of syllables; the idiomatic rhythms of a word in the music are special

⁶ John Morehen, ‘The “burden of proof”; the editor as detective’, in *English choral practice, 1400–1650*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 200.

⁷ The recent critical edition, John Milsom, ed., *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones sacrae (1575)*, Early English Church Music, vol. 56 (London: Stainer and Bell Ltd., 2014) was published too late to be taken into account in this thesis. The careful setting of text in the 1575 print is discussed in Milsom, ‘Tallis, Byrd and the “Incorrected Copy”’.

⁸ Naturally, this method only works if the print was being used as an exemplar. There is always the possibility that the scribe made his copy from another now-lost manuscript.

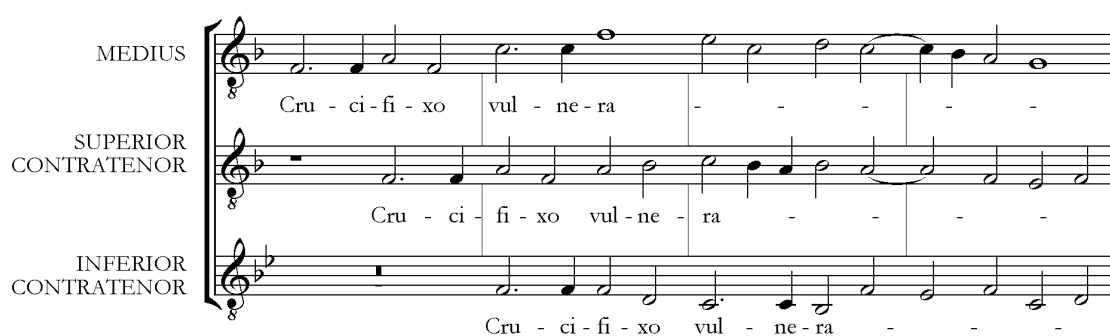


Figure 1-1: John Sutton, *Salve Regina* [à 7]. Extract from GB-WRec MS 178, fol. 41^v-42^r.

cases where a composer's footprints can be traced with some degree of certainty.

Figure 1-1 shows a good example of this type of texting at the words 'Crucifixo vulnerato' in the *Salve regina* [à 7] by John Sutton (fl. late 15th century). The music in this excerpt has been specifically tailored to articulate the natural inflexions of these words. Weaker syllables have been given shorter note values on the arsis of the tactus while stronger syllables always fall on the thesis. Even more apt to the text is the change of note on the stressed syllables from the repeated preceding notes in all voices, namely '-fi-' and '-ra-'. Such decisions could only have been made by the composer and not the scribe.

1.2: The sources

In order to sufficiently cover the time period that this dissertation studies, eight principal manuscripts containing Latin-texted compositions were selected from among the retrospectively 'named' sources of sixteenth-century England. Produced between ca.1500–ca.1600, they collectively represent a century of text-setting practices in all of the primary genres of Latin-texted polyphonic sacred music, including the Marian antiphon, other votive antiphons, Mass settings, motets,

responsories, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah. These manuscripts can be loosely sorted into two groups: institutional and private.

As the name of the first category suggests, the dissertation begins by surveying the choirbooks and early partbook sets that were produced for choral foundations at colleges and cathedrals.⁹ Though such sources are not extant in great quantities, the specimens that have survived demonstrate variety in their content and purpose. Dated to the turn of the sixteenth century, the Eton Choirbook (ca.1500–04) is an example of a genre-specific, purpose-compiled source. Principally containing Marian antiphons and Magnificats, it was created for use at the choral foundation of Eton College at Vespers and the daily ‘Salve’ ceremony.¹⁰ By contrast, the Lambeth Choirbook, and Caius Choirbook (both dating from around the late 1520s), contain a greater assortment of genres and may reflect the music that was in use during the third decade of the sixteenth century at Arundel College, Sussex, and the collegiate chapel of St Stephen’s in Westminster.¹¹ Their similar copying hand, illumination style, and many repertoire concordances suggest that they were produced at the same scriptorium. Comprising exclusively festal Mass settings, the ‘Forrest-Heather’ Partbooks (1529–30; 1530–58), like the Eton Choirbook, were created at and for

⁹ It may be argued that the music contained in these sources is not an accurate representation of the pervading compositional and texting styles in early sixteenth-century England. They *are*, however, the antecedents of the Latin-texted music being composed in the latter half of the century that find their way into the personal collections of scribes.

¹⁰ GB-WRec MS 178. See also Magnus Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook: Facsimile with introductory study* (Oxford: DIAMM Publications, 2010).

¹¹ GB-Llp MS 1 and GB-Cgc MS 667/760, respectively. See also David Skinner, *The Arundel Choirbook* (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1): *A facsimile and introduction* (London: Roxburghe Club, 2003).

Cardinal College, Oxford.¹² The last pre-Reformation source to be examined is the Peterhouse Partbooks 'Henrician set' (1539–41) which were probably in use at Canterbury Cathedral until the Edwardian liturgical reforms.¹³ Mass settings, large-scale Marian antiphons, and other votive antiphons all find a place in this collection. With the exceptions of the second layer in the 'Forrest-Heather' Partbooks and a few individual compositions in the Eton Choirbook, all of the scribes in this first group of sources remain anonymous.

The second category of manuscripts that this dissertation examines comprises the private collections of individual scribes that contain Latin-texted compositions.¹⁴ By the latter half of the sixteenth century, such compositions had lost their liturgical function. The contents of the Sadler Partbooks (ca.1565–85) straddle the English Reformation, bringing together under one cover compositions both of the older generation of composers as far back as Robert Fayrfax (1464–1521) and of the new generation such as Robert Whyte (ca.1538–74) and Morley.¹⁵ The Baldwin Partbooks (1575–81; with additions made 1600–3) are a trove of unica largely from the John Taverner (ca.1490–1545) generation of composers onwards and contain many alternatim hymn settings and responsories in addition to motets.¹⁶ Particularly notable about his collection are the multiple settings of popular texts. Focusing on

¹² GB-Ob MSS Mus. Sch. e. 376–81. See also John Milsom, ed., *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Mus. Sch. e. 376–381, Renaissance Music in Facsimile 15* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986). The dates of the second layer will be reconsidered in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

¹³ GB-Cp MSS 31–32, 40–41. See also Nicholas Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks belonging to Peterhouse: A study, with restorations of the incomplete compositions contained in them' (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 1983).

¹⁴ 'Private' is used here in the sense that it was copied by the scribe for their own personal use.

¹⁵ GB-Ob MSS Mus. e. 1–5.

¹⁶ GB-Och Mus. 979–83.

the compositions of William Byrd and Robert Whyte, the Dow Partbooks (1581–88; with additions made in 1594) primarily consist of the creations of the scribe's contemporary composers.¹⁷

From these eight manuscripts, the selected pieces for detailed textual study range from the famous compositions of the period, such as Taverner's Mass setting on *Gloria tibi Trinitas*, to the obscure, such as Richard Alwood's (fl.16th century) Mass setting on *Praise hym praiseworthyie//Christe full of mercye*.

1.3: A review of existing literature

Before discussing the methodology of this dissertation, it is necessary to review some of the pre-existing scholarship on text setting in English music and text setting in general. The headway made by and methodologies of current and past scholars in these areas of musicology form both the context and the point of departure of this dissertation.

Nearest in objective and style to this dissertation are David Mateer's chapter in *English choral practice, 1400–1650*, 'John Baldwin and changing concepts of text underlay', and John Milsom's short write-up on 'Dow's copies' in the introductions and indexes to the facsimile edition of *The Dow Partbooks: Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 984–988*. In both pieces of writing, the authors attempt to define the copying style of a single scribe in question.

In the first part of Mateer's chapter, the principal point of focus is Baldwin's active replacement of terminal melismata with penultimate melismata, especially in

¹⁷ GB-Och Mus. 984–89. See also John Milsom, *The Dow Partbooks: Facsimile with introductory study* (Oxford: DIAMM Publications, 2010).

older works, and the various ways in which his ‘ditto- (or *iterum-* or *idem-*) signs’ function.¹⁸ Through comparisons of pieces that Baldwin copied a second time in GB-Lbl R.M. 24.d.2, his so-called ‘Commonplace Book’, and copies made by other scribes, he convincingly demonstrates how Baldwin’s ditto-sign signified — on different occasions — the simple reiteration of text, the displacement of the final syllable to the end of the musical phrase, the assignment of the melisma to the penultimate syllable, or on occasion, to some other syllable. In the remainder of the chapter, Mateer grapples with the scribe’s splitting of note values to smooth over prosody and the deliberate changing of underlay to remove early-Tudor styles of ‘absurd’ texting.¹⁹

At times, the language used by Mateer in his evaluation of the manuscripts is imprecise. For instance, when discussing Baldwin’s texting of *O splendor gloriae*, he refers to Taverner’s ‘original setting of the word [pectora]’.²⁰ A footnote at the end of that statement invites the reader to make a comparison of the published *Tudor Church Music* edition which followed Baldwin’s texting and the edition in the *Early English Church Music* series which followed Sadler’s texting. While Sadler’s texting is clearly more sparse and therefore deemed by Mateer to be older in style, it does not necessarily mean that this was Taverner’s ‘original setting’ of the word. No autograph of the composition is extant to confirm this claim and it would have been best to avoid describing Sadler’s texting as such.

A similar imprecision is sensed when Mateer discusses Baldwin’s underlay in Byrd’s *O quam gloriosum*. In the scribe’s copy of the Contratenor, Mateer argues (with

¹⁸ David Mateer, ‘John Baldwin and changing concepts of text underlay’, in *English choral practice, 1400–1650*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 143.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 158.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 156.

the benefit of hindsight) that due to a repeated note occurring towards the end of a written penultimate melisma on the word 'actio', Baldwin actually intended his singers to sing the word with an antepenultimate melisma 'as the print directs'.²¹ This motet, no. 9 in Baldwin's partbooks, must have been copied not too long after he had embarked on the creation of these books in 1575. The print that Mateer invokes to support his opinion was not available to Baldwin until 1589, by which time he had completed the majority of his collection. There is no evidence to suggest that Baldwin ever checked his copies against the print and made corrections where his underlay varied from the published version. To presume to know that a scribe wrote something down in a certain fashion and actually meant it to be realised in a different manner is, and must remain, speculation. How can we know for certain that Baldwin did not actually intend it to be a penultimate melisma with a re-articulation of the vowel on the repeated note, as was usual for his style?

Slightly differing from Mateer's study, John Milsom's observations on Dow's copy of Tallis's *O sacrum convivium* in his Medius partbook provides us with an example of a scribe copying from a source that had the approbation of the composer; namely, the published Discantus part of the 1575 *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur*. Although necessarily short — there is a lack of space as it forms part of the introduction to the facsimile edition of the partbooks — this study shows where Dow altered what he saw in his exemplar to suit his personal taste.

The passage of focus that Milsom chose to discuss in some detail, a Dow-realisation of a ditto mark in the print, may have not been the ideal example from

²¹ Mateer, 'John Baldwin and changing concepts', 154.

this motet because it is not the most straightforward. As we shall see in Chapter 6.1, the second phrase of the Discantus part in *O sacrum convivium* is a rare case of a fully written out repetition of a single word followed by a ditto mark in the 1575 publication: ‘O sacrum convivium, convivium, ij’.²² It is unclear whether the ‘ij’ refers to the strand of text, ‘O sacrum convivium’, or only to ‘convivium’. Consequently, Milsom’s assertion that ‘it is perfectly clear that the seven syllables of “O sa-crum con-vi-vi-um” should be sung to the [subsequent] seven-note phrase’ is not entirely foolproof.²³ But aside from this uncertainty, his three pages on ‘Dow’s copies’ present a viable and fruitful method of research.

Approximately three decades ago, a doctoral dissertation made an attempt to comprehensively survey the texting styles of English scribes in the latter half of sixteenth century. This was Hilary Gaskin’s ‘Music copyists in late sixteenth-century England, with particular reference to the manuscripts of John Baldwin’.²⁴ After looking at the chapter listing and scanning the contents of the dissertation, one might argue that a more suitable title for the document would have been ‘The manuscripts of John Baldwin with reference to music copyists in late sixteenth-century England’. All the manuscripts of Baldwin, including his copies of keyboard and lute music, are the main thrust of the discussion. Other scribes, their copies, and their scribal habits — among them Dow and Sadler — are usually only included in the discussion

²² See Chapter 6.1, ‘The Sadler Partbooks’.

²³ John Milsom, *Introduction and indexes*, vol. 1 of *The Dow Partbooks: Facsimile with introductory study* (Oxford: DIAMM Publications, 2010), 18. In a private communication between Milsom and myself, he admits that ‘it was probably unwise of [him] to use the formulation “perfectly clear” ...and [he] would now be more circumspect’.

²⁴ Hilary Lorna Gaskin, ‘Music copyists in late sixteenth-century England, with particular reference to the manuscripts of John Baldwin’ (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1985).

insofar as they relate to Baldwin's habits.²⁵

The topic of manuscript underlay is limited to a discussion of 20 pages. Baldwin's use of various aspects of underlay (e.g. the bracket, the angular slur, the ditto marks) are all pointed out. Gaskin identifies a number of places where Baldwin diverges from his normal methods of texting,²⁶ raises valid points about text-music alignment and grammatical errors in the copying process, and suggests how one might begin to interpret ambiguous passages. Her exploration of these features, however, ultimately could have been more in-depth. For instance, the comments on Baldwin's use of ditto marks do not even begin to approach the level of rich detail that Mateer uncovered in his chapter. A few other errors of fact are also detected; for instance, her erroneous categorisation of one of Sadler's script flourishes under lengthy melismata in his 'latter set' as a ditto sign.²⁷

In spite of Gaskin's shortcomings, her effort to provide a comprehensive discussion on underlay (albeit a Baldwin-centric one) is a marked improvement over what preceded her. Among them are Peter Le Huray's comments on texting in the 1978 corrected edition of *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660*. Le Huray does well by acknowledging the quandary of ambiguous underlay in manuscripts,²⁸ but he sidesteps a thorough exploration of the topic by writing, 'The lack of

²⁵ This is stated as the approach of this dissertation in the opening phrase of Gaskin's prefatory abstract. Gaskin, 'Music copyists in late sixteenth-century England', n. pag.

²⁶ Ibid., 53.

²⁷ Ibid., 55. See Chapter 7.2 of this dissertation, 'Salve intemerata Virgo Maria'.

²⁸ Le Huray writes 'Underlay is undoubtedly the most troublesome problem of all'. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 106.

authenticated primary sources makes this question impossible to answer fully.’²⁹

Then, a dated (and for our purposes, completely unacceptable) solution is proposed:

Bearing in mind these many difficulties—the ambiguities of the manuscripts, the errors of the copyists, regional differences in pronunciation, changes in fashionable pronunciation, and a basic indifference to the principles of ‘just note and accent’—modern editors and performers need have no fear of altering the underlay if a more natural solution can be worked out in conformity with Zarlino’s principles.³⁰

Obviously, this is an approach that my dissertation cannot adopt since it is an investigation into Insular scribes and their copying habits.

Warwick Edwards’s ‘Text treatment in motets around 1500: The humanistic fallacy’ argues that humanists were primarily concerned with appropriate expression of the meaning of the words rather than their correct declamation.³¹ Bolstering his arguments are richly documented citations from authors of the early sixteenth century as well as musical examples that show that there were diverse ways of declaiming a text, even amongst composers who were held to be models in this regard (e.g. Josquin). Citing an earlier article of his own, he reiterates his proposal that, in light of ‘the fluid manner by which words and music [were] transmitted in notation’, the deploying of syllables was something carried out in performance and based on a singer’s instinctive sense of how the musical phrase was shaped.³²

Edwards’s ideas seem best applied to Continental repertoire and early Continental prints from around 1500 where it was common practice to write the entire set of words ‘en bloc’ once at the beginning of a phrase (e.g. ‘Kyrie eleison’)

²⁹ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 107.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 109.

³¹ Warwick Edwards, ‘Text treatment in motets around 1500: The humanistic fallacy’ in *The motet around 1500: on the relationship of imitation and text treatment?*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 113–38.

³² Warwick Edwards, ‘Alexander Agricola and intuitive syllable deployment’, *Early Music* 34, no. 3 (2006): 409–26.

with no indication of text repetition. With few exceptions, English scribes were generally more prescriptive with their texting. Even in the earliest source selected for examination in this dissertation, the Eton Choirbook, scribes were already taking the trouble of splitting off final syllables of words and placing them under the final note of a melisma to indicate the end of one phrase and the beginning of the next.

Stephen Rice's 'Reverse accentuation' seeks to illuminate a core compositional technique of the sixteenth century at work in many passages that may otherwise appear to be incorrectly underlaid.³³ The chapter is arranged in two parts. The first part describes what he terms as 'normal practice'. After reviewing the opinions of a number of the sixteenth-century music theorists on what for each was 'correct accentuation' and then considering the differences in French or Italian pronunciations of Latin, he proceeds to demonstrate various methods of how accentuation was compositionally achieved. Rice notes that there were generally three methods that were used to highlight the accents: pitch, duration, and position.³⁴

Even though the chapter mainly draws on examples from Continental motets, these three techniques can also be found at work in Insular compositions and therefore merit a brief summary here. The 'pitch' method places stressed syllables on a higher pitch than unstressed syllables. The 'position' method looks at the placement of syllables on the thesis and arsis of the tactus; in the sixteenth century, these are usually reckoned in semibreves. Finally, the 'duration' method assigns notes of greater value to accented syllables.

³³ Stephen Rice, 'Reverse accentuation' in *The motet around 1500: on the relationship of imitation and text treatment?*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 139–56.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 143.

The second part of the chapter describes four compositional situations where reverse accentuation may occur. The first category encompasses cases that are derived from contrafact or imitation practice. Reverse accentuation may occur when a passage written for one set of words is parodied with another set of words, as in a Mass setting based on a motet or plainsong cantus firmus. 'Imitation practice' refers to cases where an initially 'incorrectly' stressed passage of text was replicated in other voices as the imitation occurred. In the second category are passages where a temporary tactus was established. The most obvious cases of these are hemiolas in *tempus perfectum* or groups of three in *tempus imperfectum*. The third category comprises cases where 'Imitation *per arsin et thesin*' or stretto was employed.³⁵ The final category contains cases where the textual accent was deliberately misplaced and not aligned with the musical accent. Composers would employ this technique to reduce the emphasis of the tactus and, in Rice's words, temporarily create 'a not unpleasant version of a moment of weightlessness'.³⁶

Most recently, Peter Schubert and Julie Cumming proposed addressing the problem of text underlay through text and motif. In this innovative approach that eschews theoretical writings, it is the features of the music that generate the solution to passages with ambiguous texting. From their research and case studies, they generate five principles for text underlay in [Continental] motets ca.1500. Two of these principles, 'repeated motifs should have the same texts',³⁷ and 'in a pinch,

³⁵ A case of this technique is pointed out in Chapter 6.2 in a passage of William Mundy's setting of *Dominus quis habitabit*.

³⁶ Rice, 'Reverse accentuation', 153.

³⁷ Schubert and Cumming, 'Text and motif c.1500', 7.

rewrite the rhythm'³⁸ can be applied with confidence to the music of the latter half of sixteenth-century England when compositional style became much more imitative and motif-based. The rewriting of rhythm to suit the text was a technique regularly used by the more interventionist scribes.

In Penelope Rapson's published 1982 dissertation,³⁹ her ultimate aim was to develop a formal procedure of textual criticism to assist musicologists in identifying scribal errors when preparing a modern edition, and as such, her approach involved the close reading of multiple manuscripts of the same piece and a tabulation of the variants. This in turn assisted in the generation of a stemma that showed the relationship between the various manuscript readings and how far away from the original a particular source and its variants were. Thus, editors could appropriately respond to the significance of each variant.

In the eighth chapter of her thesis, Rapson extended her method to deal specifically with underlay. She began by relating a theory on texting, proposed to her by David Wulstan in a private communication:

[I]n melismatic music the melisma always occurs on the penultimate syllable of a word provided that this syllable receives the stress...but that, where the natural stress of the word is elsewhere (e. g. 'dominum', 'requiem'), the melisma is assigned to the final syllable.⁴⁰

In order to test whether this unwritten 'rule' was true or not, she used the text of the *Lamentations* of Thomas Tallis. Through a comparison of words of similar construction — first with words with a stressed penultimate syllable and then words

³⁸ Schubert and Cumming, 'Text and motif c.1500', 10.

³⁹ Penelope Rapson, *A technique for identifying textual errors and its application to the sources of music by Thomas Tallis* (London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1: 303.

with an unstressed penultimate syllable — and a comparison of the same words occurring at different points in the composition, by the end of the chapter she had disproved the proposed theory and synthesised four general policies on the treatment of text in Tallis's *Lamentations*.

1.4: Methodology

In developing a methodology for the writing of a dissertation on sixteenth-century texting, I adopted the comparative techniques of Mateer and Milsom, the three methods of accentuation of Rice, and Schubert and Cumming's approach to text through motif. Some ideas were also adopted from Rapson's published thesis, though only in part. Where my dissertation differs crucially from hers is in its ultimate goal: it is not an attempt to arrive at an archetypical reading, but is rather interested in the texting variants themselves and what they reveal about the intentions of the scribe or composer. Consequently, I only follow her methodology as far as the systematic tabulating and collating of variants using pitchless rhythms above the words.⁴¹

All the case studies in Part II of the dissertation will be examined with respect to how sensitive the scribe or composer was with the minute details of prosody, that is, the appropriate placement of a stressed syllable on a thesis and an unstressed syllable on an arsis; or, where this was not possible, how the irregularity was

⁴¹ A sample data chart may be found in Appendix A: pp. 296–316.

minimised.⁴² The attitudes towards the use of melismata will also be observed. These are the two major points of interest in this dissertation. A comparison between two readings will be made in the event that there is a concordance or in the rare cases that an authoritative print can positively be identified as a scribe's exemplar; the latter comparison would be undertaken only to establish how faithful a scribe was to his exemplar.

The remainder of the analysis will then be pursued through one of two 'frames': the scribal frame or the compositional frame. The scribal frame is more concerned with 'presentation': how the actual manuscripts visually appear notation-wise and text-wise; whether words were underlaid to music or music overlaid to words; what habit or personal preference was at work when texts were consistently set in a certain fashion; and what were his intentions and how did he indicate them. For manuscripts where extensive research has already been conducted on the scribe and the manuscript, especially the Peterhouse Partbooks and Baldwin's Partbooks, the compositional frame, concerned more with 'representation' will be used. This enquires into how composers responded to the texts they were setting: how they divided the text in extended or multipart compositions; how concerned were they with syntax and senses of phrases; which strands of text were repeated and if there was any significance attached to them.

*

⁴² A fair amount of correct texting in the music of this period was also achieved by the placement of a syllable on a note which was syncopated in relation to the tactus. For example, a strong syllable could be given its due accent by its placement on a semibreve beginning on an arsis.

At the conclusion of her chapter on text underlay, Rapson makes the following unreferenced observation: 'Doubtless [the composer] did not concern himself with "rules of underlay", but set each word as seemed most suitable artistically.'⁴³ I conclude this chapter by suggesting that such a comment might also be extended to include the scribe. As we shall discover, the majority of them — particularly those of the private sources — often had a definite set of personal preferences and ideas when it came to texting.

⁴³ Rapson, *A technique for identifying*, 1: 325.

**ENGLISH THEORETICAL SOURCES &
THE PRONUNCIATION AND ACCENTUATION OF LATIN
ca.1500–1600**

It is a great inconvenience of studying the repertory of sixteenth-century England that only a handful of theoretical sources from this period remain. Extant sources on the practice of texting are yet scarcer. This chapter of the dissertation assesses the contents of the available theoretical texts in England and the Continent of the sixteenth century, followed by a brief enquiry into the pronunciation and accentuation of Latin in England during the sixteenth century. Though the last two topics may seem unrelated to a textually-based dissertation, it is of importance to remember that the majority of the composers were associated with a choral foundation of some sort and were typically singers themselves. The scribes of the private manuscripts too were thought to have sung from their collections at social gatherings in the latter-half of the sixteenth century.¹ As practitioners of Latin-texted choral music, and not merely creators and transmitters, is it not just possible that the manner in which they sang the text influenced the way they recorded it?

*

2.1: The lacuna of English theoretical sources

In the preface of his monograph on one of the rare sources of early sixteenth-century theory, Ronald Woodley elucidates the important fact that for the first half of the

¹ John Milsom, 'Sacred songs in the chamber', in *English choral practice, 1400–1650*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 161–79.

sixteenth century, the technique and craft of music (and this would include texting) was principally transmitted from teacher to pupil, between colleagues, and from one institution to another.² He is able to list only a few theoretical manuscripts from England during this period. 20 years have passed since his study was published and scholars are still expectantly waiting to be able to add to and expand this list.

Though limited in quantity, the sources reveal what topics in music theory English musicians from 1500–ca.1560 were being taught. The compendium of musical treatises found in GB-Lbl MS Lansdowne 763 even reveals the concepts of music theory that composers were interested in. Written into the back cover of this codex is the signature and printed name of ‘:THOMAS:TALLYS:’. The composer is believed to have taken this manuscript with him from the library of the last monastic foundation where he served, Waltham Abbey in Essex, when it was dissolved in March 1540. The original owner and first copyist of this volume was the precentor of the institution, John Wylde (fl. ca.1460). The contents are diverse and varied: Guidonian theory, Pythagoras’s discovery of the consonances, the relationship of the eight psalm tones to the harmony of the seven planets, the interpretation of speculative music, and even a satire on clerics that sing psalms corruptly all find a place in this manuscript. The three last treatises are written in English with the first two containing instructions on how to improvise descant and the final one treating musical proportions.³

² Ronald Woodley, *John Tucke: A case study in early Tudor music theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), vii.

³ A full transcription of the original texts as well as a modernised version of the three English treatises is available in Sanford B. Meech, ‘Three musical treatises in English from a fifteenth-century manuscript’, *Speculum* 10, no. 3 (1935): 235–69.

A surviving notebook (GB-Lbl Add. MS 10336) of one John Tucke (1482–ca.1550s), a singing man whose career took him from Winchester College to Oxford, and then finally to Gloucester Cathedral, is a compendium of material on mensural notation and other miscellaneous information that was added throughout his life. The contents range from an isorhythmic tenor ‘quod Dunstable’ to tables explaining the mensuration signs and their relationships, from a diagram of five bells to the explanation of musical intervals, from mnemonic verses for the calculation of the date of Easter to medicinal recipes. The majority of the notebook is written in Latin, though the folios that contain notes on coloration and proportion are unusually written in English.⁴

In Trinity College Library, Cambridge, an adaptation of Gaffurius’s *Practica musice* (first published in Milan, 1496), together with a treatise presenting an alternative system for notating proportions survives in MS O.3.38.⁵ The authorship has been ascribed to John Dygon (fl.1497–1538), the prior of St Augustine’s Monastery in Canterbury from 1528 until the Dissolution of the Monasteries.⁶ Discussing composition and improvisation, the significance of this manuscript copy of the treatise lies in Dygon’s substitution of all the Continental musical examples with English musical examples for English practitioners.

⁴ Woodley, *John Tucke*.

⁵ See Theodor Dumitrescu, ed. *John Dygon’s Proportiones practicabiles secundum Gaffurium*, Studies in the History of Music Theory and Literature, vol. 2 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006).

⁶ Three short motets by Dygon were copied into GB-Lbl RM 24.d.2, Baldwin’s ‘Commonplace Book’. Baldwin styled him as ‘mr john digon prior of st augustines’ on fol. 166^v. For more information on Baldwin’s ‘Commonplace Book’, see Roger Bray, ‘British Library, R.M. 24 d 2 (John Baldwin’s Commonplace Book): An index and commentary’, *Royal Musical Association Chronicle* 12 (1974): 137–51, and the facsimile edition, Jessie Ann Owens, ed., *London, British Library, R.M. 24.d.2, Renaissance Music in Facsimile* 8 (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1987).

However, in this manuscript and in all the sources discussed above, there is not even one passing mention of how words ought to be ‘correctly’ set to music. It would appear that the principal focus of musical education at this point in history was not the setting of text, but the philosophical origins and technical features of music.

On the Continent

Conversely, the state of theory in England was anything but the case in continental Europe. What Don Harrán has described as ‘the earliest writing on text underlay’ had already been written by the fourth decade of the fifteenth-century.⁷ In an anonymously copied flyleaf added to Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS Lat. 336, coll. 1581 the scribe sets forth, in Italian, the basic rules of good underlay practice.⁸ A musical treatise written in the vernacular was very unusual in the fifteenth century. Still more unusual was writing on the subject of underlay, for no earlier surviving musical treatise before it had treated the subject.⁹

⁷ Don Harrán, ‘In pursuit of origins: The earliest writing on text underlay (c. 1440)’. *Acta Musicologica* 50, fasc. 1/2 (1978): 217–40.

⁸ In a revised incarnation of the original article for his book on word-tone relations, Harrán supposes that Antonius de Leno (early fifteenth century) was the author of this treatise ‘on the basis of similarities between the language script and musical examples of [this treatise and fols. 50^v–64^r of the codex, an exposition of counterpoint by Antonius de Leno], the piece on text underlay...properly belongs to the treatise by Antonius. To all intents, Antonius was its author, then.’ However, in later portions of the chapter, Antonius’s name no longer appears. Harrán instead only says ‘the author’. For this reason, I decided to maintain the anonymous authorship in my dissertation. Don Harrán, *Word-tone relations in musical thought: from antiquity to the seventeenth century* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, W. Germany: Hänssler-Verlag, 1986), 68, 70–75.

⁹ Harrán supposes that this flyleaf may be associated with a basic manual for instructing choirboys or any other body of musical novices. Harrán, ‘In pursuit of origins’, 225. The ‘innovation’ of this manuscript is not unlike another manual for basic musical instruction in England, Thomas Morley’s *A plaine and easie introduction* (see below), which treats ‘dittying’, that is, the setting of words to notes, for the first time at the close of the sixteenth century.

The rules outlined in the Venetian manuscript differentiated between the responsibilities of singers and composers. Singers had a duty to deliver the syllable on the note with which it was aligned and not to change the syllable until the new one was indicated. This presumed that the copyist of any music manuscript paid very close attention to syllable placement. Naturally then, the next rules admonished composers (and implicitly scribes) to place their syllables precisely and to respect ligatures, since only the first note of a ligature could carry a syllable. Though it was stating the obvious, the next rule stated that a change of syllable was possible on adjacent beats but also on beats further apart — this concept of a change of syllable on ‘beats further apart’ is what we would recognise today as a ‘melisma’.¹⁰ Finally, the treatise concluded by stating: ‘It is for the composer to prescribe the text underlay; it is for the singer to abide by it.’¹¹ It is from this early foundation of ideas on text that a set of rules on underlay would later crystallise.

Most famous among the Continental theorists who sought to codify the expressive style of composition was Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–90). His monumental treatise of 1558, *Le institutioni harmoniche*, remains one of the cornerstones of music theory in the sixteenth century. In Part IV of *Le institutioni*, subtitled ‘On the modes’, Chapters 32–34 laid out certain rules about how the correct presentation of words were to be achieved. Crucial to conveying the text was assigning appropriate note values to words so that longer syllables received longer notes and shorter syllables received shorter notes. To remedy ‘confused sentences, incomplete clauses,

¹⁰ The use of the term ‘beats’ is Harrán’s. The original Italian reads, ‘potrasse portar una sillaba luntan luna dalaltra ij o iij o iiij tempi como ti piase’. Harrán, ‘In pursuit of origins’, 227.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 230.

misplaced cadences...[and] innumerable errors in applying harmonies to words,'¹²

Zarlino provided ten rules for text setting, illustrated in Figure 2-1:

- I. Over a long or short syllable put a corresponding note value. Every note longer than a semiminim and not in a ligature carries its own syllable.
- II. A ligature carries only one syllable.
- III. No syllable is to be sung to the dot after a note, i.e., a dotted note can have only one syllable, not two.
- IV. One only rarely places a syllable below a semiminim...or smaller note, or below the note immediately following.
- V. It is not customary to place any syllable below the notes immediately following a dotted semibreve or dotted minim, when these following notes are shorter than the dots. The same is true for notes that immediately follow these.
- VI. If a syllable must be placed below a semiminim, one may also occur below the next note.
- VII. The first note of a melody or phrase must carry a syllable.
- VIII. Repetitions are sometimes tolerated — not of a syllable or of a word, but of some part of speech whose sense is complete. Repeating something many times is not good unless it is done to emphasize words that bear a serious message worthy of consideration.
- IX. The penultimate syllable will have the privilege of bearing a number of short notes unless that syllable is short.
- X. The final syllable will fall below the final note of the melody.¹³

These rules, however stringent and prescriptive in tone they may appear to be, were not Zarlino's own innovations, but an expansion of pre-existing ideas on underlay.¹⁴

His precise articulation of them reflected the good practice achieved in his time — especially as demonstrated in the compositions of Adrian Willaert (ca.1490–1562), the

¹² Gioseffo Zarlino, *On the Modes: Part Four of Le Istitutioni Harmoniche*, 1558, trans. Vered Cohen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 97.

¹³ Mary S. Lewis, 'Zarlino's theories of text underlay as illustrated in his motet book of 1549', *Notes*, Second Series 42, no. 2 (1985), 266.

¹⁴ The origins of Zarlino's underlay rules can be traced back to Giovanni Maria Lanfranco's *Scintille di musica* of 1533. In this treatise, the concordance of cadences with speech, ligatures, textural repeats, melismata, and where syllables should occur are all presented. Harrán writes: 'One of the primary tenets with regard to a textual approach to composition, that the music conform to the expressive character of the words...is conspicuously absent from Lanfranco. [...] At least two reasons for his silence come to mind: one is that...he was less humanistically inclined than other theorists; another...is that he usually directed his remarks to singers, not to composers. Still another...is that Lanfranco belonged to a generation where syntactical considerations tended to outweigh semantical ones.' Harrán, *Word-tone relations*, 137.

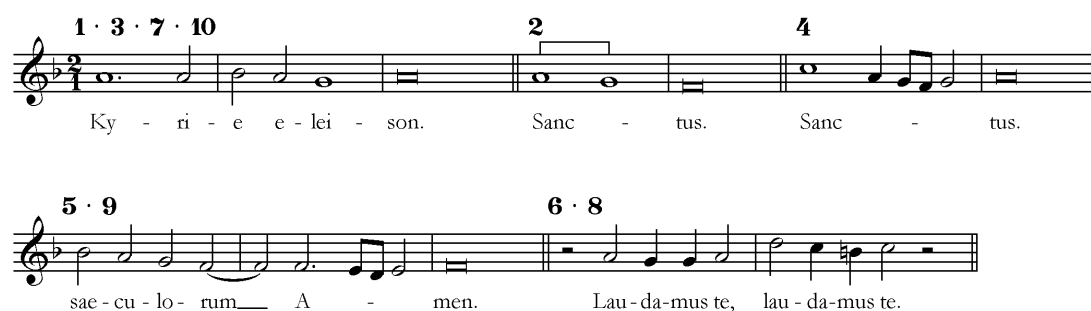


Figure 2-1: Short examples illustrating Zarlino's ten rules for texting.

composer whom Zarlino revered above all others — and simultaneously influenced the works of his contemporaries.

Zarlino's precepts were further refined in *De musica verballi libri duo*, the work of a lesser-known German theorist, Gaspar Stoquerus or Kaspar Stocker (fl.1570). For Stocker, there were fifteen rules: five were compulsory, which all composers must follow; five were optional when composing in the style 'antiquorum' (i.e. Josquin and his generation); and five were optional when composing in the style 'recentiorum' (i.e. Willaert and his school).¹⁵ Of the five obligatory rules, rules two, three, and five agreed respectively with Zarlino's rules three, two, seven, and ten. Rule one, 'Do not force a greater number of syllables on a smaller number of notes', and rule four, 'If several notes appear on the same pitch, each one of them receives its own syllable', did not appear in Zarlino's set.¹⁶ Of the five optional rules 'antiquorum', rules one, two, three, and five agreed respectively with Zarlino's rules nine, six, five, and four. Rule four, 'At times two minims or semiminims take one

¹⁵ Edward E. Lowinsky, 'A treatise on text underlay by a German Disciple of Francisco de Salinas', in *Music in the culture of the Renaissance and other essays*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989), 2: 868–83.

¹⁶ In his treatise, Stocker later identified an exception to rule four, namely, the cadential formula where the first note is preceded by one of the same length. *Ibid.*, 873.



Figure 2-2: Short examples illustrating Stocker's rules for texting that did not appear in Zarlino's set: from left to right, for all composers; 'antiquorum'; and 'recentiorum'.

syllable, which is applied to the first note and held out for the second', is not mentioned by Zarlino. Of the five optional rules 'recentiorum', Stocker's rules one, three, four, and five agreed respectively with Zarlino's rules one, four, eight, and one. Like rule four from the 'antiquorum' set, rule two of the 'recentiorum' set, 'A series of semiminims or smaller notes, however many they may be, receives one syllable only', dealt with melismata and allowed Stocker to differentiate between the two styles.

The discovery of Stocker's treatise cast a new light on Renaissance texting practices as it allowed more flexibility than Zarlino's writings led us to believe: with Stocker, there are only five compulsory rules which all composers must follow; five are optional when composing in an older style; and five are optional when composing in a then-modern style.

The first printed musical primers in English

While the rules of underlay were being codified on the Continent in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the focus in England expanded from the musical instruction of the few professionals to the education of the amateur through the printing of musical primers. The first of these was *Introduction to the true arte of Musicke* (1584), later rewritten and retitled as *A briefe introduction to the skill of song* (1596) by the Irish

writer and teacher, William Bathe (1564–1614).¹⁷ This short treatise of 26 pages instructs the reader on solmization, quantity and time of notes, ligatures, mensural notation, concords and discords. There is no mention of text setting, and although several musical examples are included, only the solmization syllables are printed under the notes.

Also in 1596, an anonymous treatise entitled *The pathway to Musicke* was printed by William Barley of London.¹⁸ Laid out in the question-and-answer style of the Catechism of *The Book of Common Prayer*, the subjects treated are similar to the ones by Bathe, with an appendix that gave instruction on how to improvise descant. The subject of text setting is again not treated, but the treatise ends with a practical piece of advice to the reader:

For we more regarding that whiche doth to the learner bring most facilitie and whiche are to be observed guid, have laid doune suche breiff rules as we thought most necessary to that effect, leaving the rest to the Imitatione of guid authors, as M. Tallis, M. Byrd, M. Tailor and others.¹⁹

Imitation of the skilled composers and what they do in their compositions was proposed as the best way to learn. In this conclusion one can almost detect a hint of the method Zarlino used when compiling his Decalogue, for they were generated by his adoption of the rules established by theorists of the older generation and refined by his careful observation of Willaert.²⁰

¹⁷ STC (2nd ed.): 1589.

¹⁸ STC (2nd ed.): 19464.

¹⁹ Ibid., 23.

²⁰ Theodor Dumitrescu identifies this as one of the treatises that demonstrate ‘a comfortable familiarity with foreign treatises’, the other being Morley’s. Theodor Dumitrescu, *The early Tudor Court and international musical relations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 11.

The contradictions of Thomas Morley

It was not until 1597, when Thomas Morley printed his treatise, *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke*,²¹ that the topic of text setting was finally broached. In the third part of this book, 'Treating of composing or setting of Songes', Morley devoted the final pages of his dialogue to discuss, albeit rather briefly, the importance of text-music relationships. His 'Rules to be observed in dittyng' governed two general areas of composition: the writing of music that appropriately expresses the meaning of the text and the placement of syllables under notes; I have previously defined these respectively as 'representation' and 'presentation' at the beginning of Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

The Master in the dialogue began the section by stating: 'It followeth to shew you how to dispose your musicke according to the nature of the words which you are therein to expresse...'²² Grave music was appropriate for texts with grave matters, just as merry subjects to be accorded merry music; to do otherwise would be 'a great absurditie',²³ the first of many that Morley railed against during the course of this section of the dialogue. He also equated 'naturall' motions with virility (i.e. progression of tones and semitones that usually occur in a given scale), while 'accidental' motions were thought to be more effeminate (i.e. tones and semitones that were modified by sharps and flats). Individual words expressing hardness, cruelty, and bitterness could therefore be depicted with some colourful use of harmonies, but only those that belonged to the scale. The use of 'half notes' (i.e.

²¹ STC (2nd ed.): 18133.

²² Ibid., 177.

²³ Ibid.

chromatic progressions), flat thirds and minor sixths were reserved to express only the 'lamentable' passions. He also advised composing ascending lines for words such as 'high heaven', and the use of minims, crotchets and quavers for lighter subjects. Descending lines should be employed for words such as 'depth' and 'hell', and longer note values would correctly express cruelty and lamentation.

On the subject of underlay, Morley addressed problems pertaining to the completeness of words, the integrity of phrases, and emphatically condemned the practice of the earlier composers calling them 'dunces',²⁴ after the composer John Dunstaple (ca.1390–1453) whose compositions typified Morley's complaints.²⁵ Note values were to be of a suitable length to the length of the syllables assigned to them and extended melismata on penultimate syllables 'with a whole dossen of notes, and though one should speak of fortie he should not say much amisse' were judged as a 'grosse barbarisme'.²⁶ Individual syllables were not to be separated from the rest of the word by rests and an excerpt from Dunstaple's motet *Nesciens virgo mater virum* was included as an example,²⁷ showing two long rests in the middle of the word 'angelorum'. According to Morley, the only exception to this rule would be to depict sighing, but a rest longer than a minim was not possible, for anything longer would

²⁴ This style of composition was subsequently dubbed by Morley and his contemporaries as 'The Dunces' Practice'. Michael D. Moroney, *Under Fower Sovereignes: Thomas Tallis and the Transformation of English Polyphony* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Dissertation Services, 1981), 9.

²⁵ Perhaps Morley chose to give a full example of Dunstaple's 'errors' for the sake of the pun on the composer's name. As we will observe in the Part II of this dissertation, he need not have gone back so far in history because at the beginning of the sixteenth century, composers such as Robert Fayrfax and John Taverner were still engaged in such practices.

²⁶ STC (2nd ed.): 18133, 178.

²⁷ This motet is no longer extant. R. Alec Harman, ed., *A plain and easy introduction to practical music* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1952), 291.

‘rather seeme a breath taking then a sigh’.²⁸ Finally, a ‘close (especiallie a full close)’²⁹ was not to be made until the sense of the words was complete. However, he allowed for the possibility of commas and colons to be marked with rests, but here again, limited the maximum length to a minim rest or shorter. Through the use of these techniques, Morley hoped to instil in his students and contemporary musicians an appreciation for ‘a harmonicall concent betwixt the matter and the musicke’.³⁰ At this point in the dialogue, the Master set the matter of underlay aside and proceeded with an explanation of the different genres of music.

As Morley was the only English theorist in the sixteenth century to have written on the subject of text setting and then only in the most general of terms, there is no other indigenous source with which to compare his rules. We are left with several unanswered questions. Why did Morley not give more specific advice, perhaps even in a set of rules as the theorists of the Continent did? Do his few rules for underlay apply to all languages or to a particular one? Can his opinions be credibly accepted as representative of the style of text setting that was in vogue in England at the end of the sixteenth century?

Firstly, it is entirely possible and indeed probable that Morley did not provide more specific rules for underlay because, in his view, they had already been codified on the Continent. Familiar as he was with the Italian musical scene,³¹ at the end of the annotations to the third part of his treatise Morley directed his readers

²⁸ STC (2nd ed.): 18133, 178.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Morley was a known propagandist for Italian music. See Daniel Christopher Jacobson, ‘Thomas Morley and the Italian madrigal tradition: A new perspective.’ *The Journal of Musicology* 14, no. 1 (1996): 80–91.

towards various Continental treatises for further information on the 'twelve tunes' [i.e. church modes]; the fourth part of Zarlino's 'harmonicall institutions' (that part which contains the rules on underlay) was specifically named.³² It is even more telling that one can hear echoes of Zarlino's first rule in Morley's rule regarding longer notes for longer syllables. While he may have been drawing upon a shared practice, one might at least have reason to pause and reconsider Morley's claim in the Peroratio that 'there is nothing in [the last part of the book] that is not mine owne'.³³

As for the question of language and Morley's credibility, it is of interest to observe that aside from the previously mentioned excerpt of Dunstaple as an example of faulty underlay, these last sections of the third part of the treatise are entirely devoid of musical examples. It is only after the Peroratio that Morley provides a sample of his sacred and secular compositions: two motets in Latin, two canzonetti in Italian, and a madrigal in English. The section of annotations is followed by another two motets in Latin. Although the examples would seem to suggest that he meant for his rules to apply to Latin, English, and Italian, it is only the Latin-texted pieces that concern this dissertation. These are, by his definition, motets; the nature of their texts qualify as 'a song made for the church, either upon some hymn or anthem or such like',³⁴ or more broadly, a sacred text.

As an example, let us consider Morley's application of his rules in the second motet, *O amica mea* for five voices, with text from a verse from the fourth chapter of

³² STC (2nd ed.): 18133, n. pag.

³³ Ibid., 183.

³⁴ Ibid., 179.

the Song of Solomon.³⁵ In this motet and the third and fourth, Morley more often than not contradicted in practice what he set down in his own theoretical rules.³⁶

Representation techniques occur in this composition but somewhat in discord with the text. The phrase 'quae ascenderunt de monte Galaad' [which come up from mount Gilead] strangely begins with a descending line on the syllables of 'ascenderunt' but turns to begin an ascent immediately after that, with the highest note of the phrase appropriately falling on 'monte'. In the *secunda pars*, the words 'quae ascenderunt de lavacro' [which come up from the washing] also begin with descending lines which leap up to the highest pitch on the syllable '-de-' of 'ascenderunt'. Some passages also contravene Morley's rule against breaking up the sense of the textual phrase with anything longer than a minim rest. In all voices, 'quae ascenderunt de monte Galaad' is broken into two halves with a rest the length of a breve or greater at least once during the course of the motet.

*

Although Morley apparently had trouble following his own rules, rules that appear to be based on Continental ideas, this does not necessarily disqualify him as a witness of insular practices. His writings may well have been reiterating the standard compositional practices of his day. This, however, still leaves research into texting without a point of reference for the better part of the sixteenth century. This

³⁵ A facsimile of this motet may be found in Appendix B: pp. 317–18.

³⁶ Moreover, Morley's treatise also sometimes contained explanations with no factual basis. His explanation of the origins of the term 'motet' is a case in point: '...and that name I take to have beene given to that kinde of musicke in opposition to the other which they called *Canto fermo*, and we do commonlie call plainsong, for as nothing is more opposite to standing and firmness then motion, so did they give the Motet that name of moving...' STC (2nd ed.): 18133, 178. As Harman noted in a footnote of his edition of the treatise, 'This explanation is, of course, quite incorrect.' Harman, ed., *A plain and easy*, 292, n. 2.

dissertation will therefore heed the advice at the end of *The Pathway to Musicke* and proceed to learn texting practices through the close observation of the many scribes (and composers) that were at work in England during the sixteenth century.

2.2: Pronouncing Latin

When I failed at fervid rhymes,
"Shall," I said, "persist I?"
"Dies" (I would add at times)
"Meos posuisti!"³⁷

In present-day England, there are two general types of Latin pronunciation: the Classical and the Italianate. Classical Latin pronunciation is that which is advocated in universities and by students of the language. Italianate or 'Church' Latin is favoured in choral singing.³⁸ In the sixteenth century, it was neither.

Alison Wray's chapter addressing the reconstruction of historical Latin pronunciation points out that, as late as the early twentieth century, England still used a *vernacular Latin*; that is, a pronunciation that was influenced by the local linguistic environment and in this case, English.³⁹ The stanza from Thomas Hardy's macaronic poem written in the 1870s quoted above was therefore not intended only to be an eye rhyme, but an aural one as well; the vowel of the final syllable of 'posuisti' would have been pronounced with a long 'i' (as in 'high'). In spite of attempts by sixteenth-century reformers and scholars to obliterate Latin from the

³⁷ Thomas Hardy, 'After reading Psalms XXXIX., XL., etc.' in *Late lyrics and earlier with many other verses* (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1922), 285.

³⁸ Alison Wray, 'The sound of Latin in England before and after the Reformation', in *English choral practice, 1400–1650*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 75.

³⁹ Ibid., 74. Rigg terms it 'Anglo-Latin'. See A. G. Rigg, 'Anglo-Latin' in *Singing Early Music: The pronunciation of European languages in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Timothy J. McGee et al. (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1996), 46–61.

liturgy and advocate a pronunciation closer to the Classical model — Erasmus, the foremost among them — English vernacular Latin pronunciation persisted, owing its continuance largely to the conservative establishment.⁴⁰

Logically, it follows that if the pronunciation of Latin in England was English-influenced, then it was also consequently unstable due to the effects of 'The great vowel shift.'⁴¹ Wray's case study of a verse from the Magnificat, 'Quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae', therefore proposed two models: one for pronunciation in ca.1500 and a slightly modified version for ca.1580–1620.⁴²

Many of Wray's ideas were based on previous research undertaken, especially by Harold Copeman. In *Singing in Latin*, he brought together a variety of period sources and documentation, synthesising a pronunciation model directed towards singing Latin in England from 1400–1650.⁴³ His conclusions, based on the available facts, were very much conjectural; phrases such as 'I suggest', 'I think it probable', and '[my] own observation suggests' resound throughout the length of his study.⁴⁴ Similarly, in *Singing Early Music: The pronunciation of European languages in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, A. G. Rigg assumed that following the upheavals of the Reformation, the returning exiles brought with them a variety of pronunciations from abroad and so proposed the traditional 'Old Latin' pronunciation as a model

⁴⁰ Wray, 'The sound of Latin', 79–83.

⁴¹ 'The Great Vowel Shift' was a major change in the pronunciation of English which spanned from ca.1350–ca.1700. The long vowel sounds were especially transformed during the shift. Wray, *Ibid.*, 77. Copeman acknowledged this instability in his earlier study, writing 'the Latin singing pronunciation of 1400–1650 [was] a period of change.' Harold Copeman, *Singing in Latin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 119.

⁴² Wray, 'The sound of Latin', 79–83.

⁴³ Copeman, *Singing*, 118–34.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, *Singing*, 122, 124, 127.

for singing in late sixteenth-century England.⁴⁵ His suggestions were also made tentatively.⁴⁶

It is in the work of Ross W. Duffin that a guide to pronunciation rooted purely in historical evidence is found. His purpose, as he saw it, was not to offer systematic recommendations to each country, but to 'bring together as many references as [he] could find to national pronunciations of Latin during the time in question.'⁴⁷ While I found his model the most convincing, it was still very much in its preliminary stages. Further development of his approach is necessary before his findings can be applied to research in other topics, including texting.

For the present, I leave the final word on pronunciation of Latin in sixteenth-century England to Wray: 'Latin was, at the end of the day, a foreign language... [and] we simply cannot know how Latin was pronounced at a particular time in the distant past.'⁴⁸

2.3: The rules of accentuation

Far more pertinent to our analyses of texting are the rules of accentuation. There is general agreement between Copeman and Rigg that the standard pronunciation rule was to accentuate the penultimate syllable if a long syllable was in this position; if it

⁴⁵ According to Rigg, this pronunciation is reflected in present-day legal Latin. Rigg, 'Anglo-Latin', 47.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 54.

⁴⁷ Ross W. Duffin, 'National pronunciations of Latin: ca. 1490–1600'. *The Journal of Musicology* 4, no. 2 (1985/1986): 217.

⁴⁸ Wray, 'The sound of Latin', 89.

was a short syllable, then the antepenultimate syllable ought to be stressed.⁴⁹ Though it was not stated explicitly, the above two rules likewise implied that the final syllable was never stressed. So, ‘imperator’ and ‘laudare’ are stressed on the penultimate syllable; but ‘**gr**acias’ and ‘**dom**ine’ are stressed on the antepenultimate. (Here and throughout the dissertation, boldface type indicates stress/accent.) Generally, the length of a syllable in Medieval Latin words followed Classical conventions.⁵⁰

Although Copeman and Rigg do not mention secondary accents in their texts, in words of four or more syllables, a secondary accent may occur. The syllable bearing a secondary accent is stressed in relation to the unstressed syllables, but not as strongly as the primary accent. The general rule of primary accents on stressing long syllables and not short ones applies. Some examples include: ‘tabernaculo’, ‘miserere’, and ‘multitudinem’.

A useful period document to consult when investigating the accentuation of Latin in sixteenth-century England is known as the *Accentuarius*. Designed to aid clerics in their pronunciation of services, a copy was typically bound into most of the printed Missals and some copies of the Sarum Breviary with separate pagination. Procter and Wordsworth included a copy at the end of the third volume of their modern edition of the Sarum Breviary.⁵¹ Arranged in three columns from left to right,

⁴⁹ Copeman and Rigg measure the length of the *vowel*, rather than the *syllable*; see Copeman, *Singing*, 18, and Rigg, ‘Anglo-Latin’, 50. Though long vowels typically line up with long syllables, this is not always the case. For example, even though the word ‘caelestis’ has a short penultimate vowel, the syllable nevertheless is long, and thus it receives the accent.

⁵⁰ Rigg, ‘Anglo-Latin’, 53.

⁵¹ Francis Procter and Christopher Wordsworth, eds., *Breviarium ad usum insignis Ecclesiae Sarum: Fasciculus III in quo continetur proprium sanctorum quod et sanctorale dicitur, una cum accentuario* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1886).

there first was a column that contained examples of words where the syllable was pronounced short ('breves'), then a column identifying the vowel-consonant pair that was being considered (e.g. A before B), and lastly, a column that contained examples of words where the syllable was pronounced long ('longae').

While it is unknown if composers ever consulted the *Accentuarius* while they were setting text to music, it is plainly obvious that even in the event they did, they did not always follow the rules. In the compositions of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the placement of a weak syllable on a thesis was a common enough occurrence,⁵² as was the placement of a melisma on the penultimate syllable, regardless of the vowel's quality.⁵³

Before setting the topic of accentuation aside, Copeman included the caveat: 'A composer may have his own ideas on pronunciation.'⁵⁴ His warning is astute and we would do well to bear it in mind as we analyse the texting of the case studies.

⁵² At the turn of the sixteenth century, the semibreve was the basic unit of tactus. Within each tactus, the first minim was strong (a thesis), while the second minim was weak (an arsis). When pulsing semibreves in *tempus perfectum* (triple metre), however, the thesis was twice as long as the arsis giving the pattern 'strong, strong, weak'. *Grove Music Online*, s. v. 'Tactus', by Howard Mayer Brown and Claus Bockmaier, accessed September 1, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

⁵³ Rigg's observation that, after 1200, there is strong evidence to suggest that 'vowels in open syllables in penultimate position were lengthened, even if they were short in Classical Latin' might account for the abundance of penultimate melismata. Rigg, 'Anglo-Latin', 53.

⁵⁴ Copeman, *Singing*, 18.

Part II:

TEXTS

TERMINOLOGY USED IN THE ANALYSES & COMMON TEXTS

Definitions

In the discussions and analyses of the case studies in Part II, three terms will be used to describe the styles of texting that are found in the manuscripts. To avoid any misunderstanding, the precise meanings of these terms are clearly laid out here. The terms *melisma* and *melismatic* follow the definition of *Grove Music Online*, and will be applied to syllables that carry five or more notes.¹ The term *syllabic* will be applied to notes that carry one syllable only. In the absence of a proper term, the descriptor *neumatic movement* or *neumatic motion* will be applied to syllables that carry from two to four notes.

Common texts

Musical settings of liturgical texts feature prominently in the case studies. In the Mass settings, only the Gloria and Credo will be studied; the Sanctus, Benedictus, and Agnus Dei have been excluded because their short texts naturally lend themselves to melismatic texting. In the Gloria, the term *verse* is used to describe the

¹ *Grove Music Online*, s. v. 'Melisma', by Richard L. Crocker, accessed August 30, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

text divisions.² They are numbered as follows:

[Intonation]	Gloria in excelsis Deo.
i.	Et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis.
ii.	Laudamus te.
iii.	Benedicimus te.
iv.	Adoramus te.
v.	Glorificamus te.
vi.	Gracias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam.
vii.	Domine deus rex celestis deus pater omnipotens.
viii.	Domine fili unigenite iesu christe.
ix.	Domine deus agnus dei filius patris.
x.	Qui tollis peccata mundi: miserere nobis.
xi.	Qui tollis peccata mundi: suscipe deprecationem nostram.
xii.	Qui sedes ad dexteram patris miserere nobis.
xiii.	Quoniam tu solus sanctus:
xiv.	tu solus dominus
xv.	tu solus altissimus iesu christe
xvi.	cum sancto spiritu. In gloria dei patris.
xvii.	Amen.

In the Credo, the term *article* is used to describe the text divisions. They are numbered as follows:

[Intonation]	Credo in unum deum.
i.	Patrem omnipotentem: factorem celi et terre: visibilium omnium et invisibilium
ii.	Et in unum dominum iesum christum filium dei unigenitum.
iii.	Et ex patre natum ante omnia secula.
iv.	Deum de deo: lumen de lumine: deum verum de deo vero.
v.	Genitum non factum consubstantialem patri: per quem omnia facta sunt.
vi.	Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de celis.
vii.	Et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto ex maria virgine: et homo factus est.
viii.	Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub poncio pilato passus et sepultus est.
ix.	Et resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas.
x.	Et ascendit in celum sedet ad dexteram patris.

² The term is not used here to denote a metrical line, but a smaller part of a larger hymn. 'Verses' of the Gloria are referred to in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. 'Gloria in Excelsis Deo', by Adrian Fortescue, accessed August 30, 2013, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/>. Taruskin uses the term 'stich' in Richard Taruskin, *Music from the earliest notations to the sixteenth century*, vol. 1 of *The Oxford History of Western Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 54. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'stich' as 'a portion or division of prose or verse writing, of a measured or average length; a line, verse.' *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s. v. 'stich, n.', accessed August 30, 2013, <http://www.oed.com/>.

- xi. Et iterum venturus est cum gloria iudicare vivos et mortuos: cuius regni non erit finis.
- xii. Et in spiritum sanctum dominum et vivificantem: qui ex patre filioque procedit.
- xiii. Qui cum patre et filio simul adoratur: et conglorificatur: qui locutus est per prophetas.
- xiv. Et unam sanctam catholicam: et apostolicam ecclesiam.
- xv. Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum.
- xvi. Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum.
- xvii. Et vitam venturi seculi.
- xviii. Amen.

The verses for the Vespers canticle or Magnificat are numbered as follows:

- i. Magnificat : anima mea dominum.
 - ii. Et exultavit spiritus meus : in deo salutari meo.
 - iii. Quia respexit humilitatem ancille sue : ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes.
 - iv. Quia fecit michi magna qui potens est : et sanctum nomen eius.
 - v. Et misericordia eius a progenie in progenies : timentibus eum.
 - vi. Fecit potenciam in brachio suo : dispersit superbos mente cordis sui.
 - vii. Deposuit potentes de sede : et exaltavit humiles
 - viii. Esurientes implevit bonis : et divites dimisit inanes.
 - ix. Suscepit Israel puerum suum : recordatus misericordie sue.
 - x. Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros: Abraham et semini eius in secula.
 - xi. Gloria patri et filio : et spiritui sancto.
 - xii. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper : et in secula seculorum.
- Amen.

THE CHOIRBOOKS

GB-WRec MS 178, GB-Llp MS 1, and GB-Cgc MS 667/760 are three large illuminated choirbooks of English provenance that have survived, for the most part, intact from the early sixteenth century. The compositions transmitted in their folios are examples of the florid style of polyphony that, when heard in performance by Sebastian Giustinian, elicited the remark, ‘non cantavano ma jubilavano (they did not chaunt, but sang like angels)’.¹ Perhaps a better translation of the final word of his description would be ‘jubilate’, for it calls to mind the term ‘jubilus’, the long melismatic extension on the final syllable of the plainsong ‘Alleluia’ chant.² Melismatic text setting is undeniably a principal attribute of polyphonic music prevalent in early sixteenth-century England. However, a more detailed look at the music also reveals that they were also quite sensitive to the prosodic characteristics of words when setting text syllabically.³ This chapter presents case studies focusing on the three hands of the Eton Choirbook, the similar hand of the Lambeth Choirbook and the Caius Choirbook, and also discusses the compositional distribution of text in the Magnificat, Gloria in excelsis, and Credo.

*

¹ Giustinian served as the Venetian Ambassador to the court of Henry VIII from 1515 to 1519. Rawdon Brown, trans., *Four years at the court of Henry VIII: Selection of despatches written by the Venetian Ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian and addressed to the Signory of Venice, January 12th 1515, to July 26th 1519* (London: Stewart & Murray, 1854), 1: 79.

² *Grove Music Online*, s.v. ‘Jubilus,’ by James W. McKinnon, accessed August 16, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>. Giustinian’s use of the term places him in a long line of writers who echo Johannes Tinctoris (ca.1430/35–1511), the theorist and composer who first associated it with English music. Dumitrescu presents additional examples of the use of the term by other writers in *The early Tudor Court*, 58–59.

³ Benham, *Latin church music*, 60.

3.1: The Eton Choirbook

WRec MS 178 is a choirbook that was compiled at Eton College Chapel from around 1500 to 1504. With two exceptions, its contents are exclusively compositions in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁴ Magnus Williamson's thorough codicological researches have identified different hands that contributed to its creation. The first hand, responsible for the bulk of the copying, went through four periods of copying during which the size and shape of his lettering changed. Another hand (or other hands) inserted two pieces after the rest of the choirbook was already finished.

Scribe A

According to Williamson's inventory of the manuscript, the first scribe's (denoted hereafter as 'Scribe A') initial phase of copying comprised 13 out of the total 15 settings of *Salve Regina* of the choirbook. In addition to the horizontally and vertically compressed Textura script,⁵ his layout of the pages were highly uniform; Table 3-1 on the next page lists some of the copying features that remained regular throughout this early phase.

John Browne's (fl. ca.1480–1505) *Salve Regina* (*i*) on fol. 45^v–47^r, appearing early in first phase of copying, will be our first case study. Besides being representative of the other 12 settings in copying style, it also contains some irregular practices of text setting that merit closer scrutiny. We shall begin to observe his copying habits with a close reading of the Triplex part; see Figure 3-1.

⁴ The two exceptions are the final two items of the choirbook: *Passio Domini* of Richard Davy and *Ihesus autem transiens* of Robert Wylkynson.

⁵ Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook: Its institutional', 252.

	Varying text size	Black & red text	Black & red final notes	Total openings	Incipit of Opening 2
HORWOOD	✓	✓	✗	2	O clemens
DAVY	✓	✓	✓	2	Virgo clemens
CORNYSH	✓	✓	✓	2	O clemens
BROWNE (i)	✓	✓	✓	2	O clemens
LAMBE	✓	✓	✓	2	Esto nobis
SUTTON	✓	✓	✓	2	O clemens
HACOMPLAYNT	✓	✓	✓	2	Virgo clemens
HUWCHYN	✓	✓	✓	2	O clemens
WYLYNSON (ii)	✓	✓	✓	2	Virgo clemens
FAYRFAX	✓	✓	✓	2	O clemens
HYGONS	✓	✓	✓	2	O clemens
BROWNE (ii)	✓	✓	✓	2	Virgo clemens
HAMPTON	✓	✓	✓	2	O clemens

Table 3-1: Common features in Scribe A's copying of the *Salve Regina* settings in the initial phase of WRec MS 178.



Figure 3-1: John Browne, *Salve Regina* (i). Extract of WRec MS 178, fol. 45^v showing the opening of the Triplex part. Image copyright © Eton College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

A comparison of the letters 'a' and 'e' in '-Al-' and '-ve' at the beginning of the first system with the same letters in 'mater' (two words later) shows that although the ducti of the Textura hand were uniform, the size of the former set was considerably larger. This same larger lettering recurred at the beginning of the second system at 'tra · Salve' and a third time at 'Ostende', the final word of this excerpt. The only feature common to these three points in the manuscript was that they either began or concluded an extended melisma. It would appear that Scribe A's lettering size was

dependent on the space available. When there was less text to copy in, the scribe increased his letter size; in syllabic passages, the scribe shrank his lettering.

In using two inks of different colours, the copyist drew attention to the change in scoring. Black text indicated full choir and full parts; red text indicated select voices or solos and reduced parts. He also either embellished or wrote the entire first capital of a new section in the colour opposite to the remainder of the phrase. In the first system, this can be seen at 'Regina': the texting here has changed to red and the capital R bears a streak of black; the reverse happens in the following system at 'Salve'. The 'A' of 'Ad' in the second system is an example of the latter style where the entire letter has been copied in the opposite colour, in this case, red. These bicoloured and opposing-coloured capitals were also typically larger than the rest of the word, dipping below the level of the rest of the texting. The 'S' and 'A' of the second system, for example, extends vertically lower in relation to the rest of the text.

Scribe A had two conventions for the copying of text. When a word was syllabically set, he wrote the word as a whole and did not bother to divide the syllables. When there was neumatic movement or a melisma, the syllable that occurred after the syllable bearing more than one note was detached from the rest of the word. The first three words following the first bar-line illustrate this practice: 'Regina mater misericordi-' were copied as entire words because each syllable, except for '-di-', carried a single note. The final syllable of 'misericordie' was placed at the end of the phrase of notes to indicate that the preceding syllable carried a melisma.

While Scribe A's use of letter size, colour, and presentation of syllabic and melismatic texting were regular in his copies, he also had some irregular practices. Among these was his intermittent use of the 'interpunct' (also known as an

‘interpunct’).⁶ For the purposes of articulating the text, the scribe used them three times in this excerpt: after the first word ‘Salve’; before the ‘Salve’ of the second system; and after the final syllable of ‘Ostende’. In other voices, he inserted them to separate the vowels in adjacent words when the final letter of the preceding word was identical to the first letter of the subsequent word (e. g. ‘ecclesie · eterna’ in the fourth system of the Contratenor). The interpunct also appeared occasionally before a word that enters on an arsis of the tactus.

The third system of the excerpt is a particular point of interest. Notation, especially in the first half of the system, has been greatly compressed, particularly above ‘tuos misericordes’, magnified in Figure 3-2. The spacing before and after is fairly regular. What could have caused this during the copying process?

Two explanations are possible.⁷ If the scribe’s copying method was underlay, the scribe forgot to copy the melisma from after the first regular-sized minim rest to the minuscule semibreve rest. Noticing his error, he inserted it in smaller notation and gradually expanded the spacing until it became regular again. However, the only reason why he would have needed to use smaller notation at all is if he had already

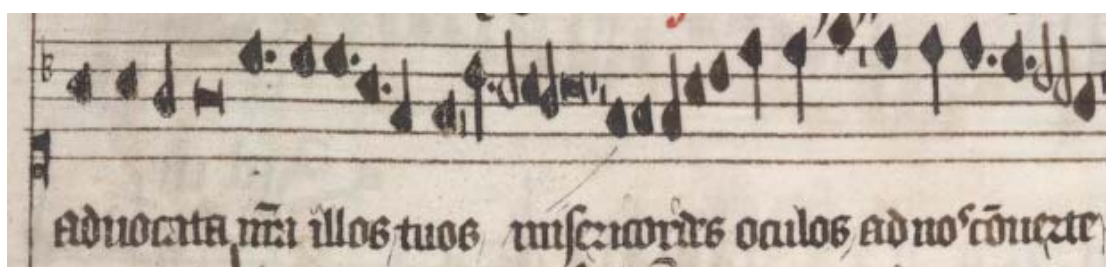


Figure 3-2: John Browne, *Salve Regina* (i). Detail of the third system of Figure 3-1. Image copyright © Eton College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

⁶ ‘A point between words in writing’. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. ‘interpunct’, accessed August 16, 2013, <http://www.oed.com/>.

⁷ In the two explanations that follow, it is worth bearing in mind that this piece is located in an early copying phase of Eton. Since the manuscript at this point was still an experimental work-in-progress, a ‘standard’ scribal procedure may not yet have been established.

copied subsequent notes that would have restricted the available space to carry out the insertion in standard-sized notation. The apparent lack of erasures makes this explanation highly improbable.

The second explanation, and the one I think was more likely to have occurred, was that the scribe was experimenting with the overlay method in this particular system. The telltale sign of this procedure is the regular spacing of the text.⁸ As the texting in this passage was almost entirely syllabic, Scribe A decided to copy it out first and place the music above afterward. Unfortunately, when studying his exemplar to better estimate the amount of space he needed to leave between words, he must have overlooked the terminal melisma on 'tuos'; in a terminal melisma, the notes beyond the initial one that carried the syllable would be textless. (In fact, the gap between the words 'tuos' and 'misericordes' appears to be perfectly suited for the semibreve and minim rest which follows the omission.) As he began to overlay the music, he discovered his blunder and tried his best to squeeze in the missing phrase above the text. By the time he had accomplished this, the text-music alignment had been displaced. To minimise the confusion, he simply drew a line from the first syllable of 'misericordes' to its corresponding note and continued to copy the remainder of the music compressed until alignment was restored.⁹

Because most of Scribe A's alignment of underlay was clear — albeit with a tendency to place the concluding syllables of melismata slightly to the left of the final

⁸ Williamson allows for the possibility of the scribe copying text first only in unusually syllabic settings. Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook: Its institutional', 248.

⁹ On the first system of fol. 47^r, Scribe A again uses freehand-drawn lines from notes to syllables to re-set misplaced text. Both notation and texting in this latter example are regular and it seems to be simply a case of erroneous underlay.

note — he must have been inexperienced in overlay.¹⁰ His attempt to use it in the third system caused ambiguity due to the inordinate number of notes placed over words; see setting of ‘fructum’ and then ‘post hoc’ later in the third system. It is unclear, for example, in the case of ‘fructum’ if his habit of writing a word as a whole to indicate syllabic setting ought to be followed. Does ‘-tum’ belong to the *c''*, the note after the one that ‘fruc-’ is set to? Does the syllable belong to *b flat* with which it is aligned? Or does it actually belong to the coloured breve on *g*? The setting of the first two syllables of ‘Ostende’ is also peculiar. Are they really meant to be divided by a *minim rest*?

A meticulous scribe though he was, Scribe A was still at times accident prone in the finer details of his underlay. The first syllable of the second system, ‘-tra’ is an example of such an accident. The colour of this final syllable of ‘nostra’ should have been copied in red, reverting to black only at ‘Salve’. Further down the same folio in the second system of the Contratenor, the scribe omitted the final syllable of the word ‘Eve’, which again, was the first syllable of the system and should have appeared in red. Finally, the ‘O’ of ‘O dulcis maria’ in the fifth system of the Medius on fol. 47^r was left out. This last omission, being a coloured capital of a new section, should have either been copied in red or some other colour different from the black of the remainder of the verse.

These slips allow us to confirm and refine certain aspects of the hypothesis of the scribe’s practice. Williamson proposed that the scribe’s copying order was as follows:

¹⁰ For examples of the final syllables of melismata placed slightly to the left of the final note, see the final syllable of each part in the two openings.

In general, the regular spacing of notational units suggest that music in black ink was copied first and then black text added, after which red notes (for which space was carefully reserved) and, finally, red text. The evidence is not sufficiently clear-cut to demonstrate that either line-by-line or side-by-side or piece-by-piece copying was adhered to consistently.¹¹

The circumstances in our case study fit the first part of Williamson's theory since all omissions involved red text. For this composition only, it also contributes to a resolution of the second part of his theory where he was still uncertain. As the first two omissions were the first syllable of a new line, it appears that Scribe A was working line-by-line: he copied black notes and text, followed by red notes, and then finally, red text.¹²

*

Originally outnumbering the settings of the *Salve Regina* in *WRec* MS 178 were the alternatim settings of the Vespers canticle, the Magnificat. The first polyphonic verse begins with the words 'Et exultavit' and they are listed under this title in the inventory. Of the twenty-four listed settings, four have survived complete, five others have survived with missing folios, and the rest have been lost. Table 3-2 tabulates the presentation of text in the even verses of the surviving settings. Although there is no evidence of a prescriptive formula or instruction on how to score each verse, one may note that every composer followed a general pattern of alternating between a full-parts verse and a reduced-parts verse. In the aspect of scoring, the *Salve Regina* settings were more unpredictable and less uniform.

¹¹ Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook: Its institutional', 248.

¹² In no way am I generalising that this was his scribal procedure for *all* of his copying activities, and this procedure might very well only apply to this particular section of this particular composition. This is one of the points of irregular practice to which I was referring to at the outset of this case study.

	ii	Iv	vi	viii	x	xii
NESBETT				[R] [R]	[F] [F] [F]	[R] [R-F*]
HOREWUD	F R-F	R R	F R-F	R R	F F F*	F* R-F
KELLYK	F* F	R R	F R-F*	R R	F F F	R F
LAMBE	F	R* R	F-R*-F	R R	F F	R F
BROWNE	[F-R*-F]	[R] [R]	[F*]			
WYLKYNSON	[F] [R-F*]	[R] [R]	[F-R-F]	[R] [R]	[F] [F] [F]	[R-F]
SYGAR	[F*] [R-F]	[R] [R]	[F] [F*]	[R] [R]	[F] [F] [F]	[R-F]
DAVY				? [R]	[F] [F]	[?] [R-F]
STRATFORD	F R-F	R R	F-R*-F	R R	F F F	R-F

Table 3-2: *Et exultavit* [Magnificat] settings of *WRec* MS 178. ‘F’ denotes black texting and full parts; ‘R’ denotes red texting and reduced parts; ‘|’ denotes a bar-line dividing the verse; ‘*’ denotes red or black texting that is not concordant among parts; shaded areas indicate lost openings; letters that are enclosed in brackets with lighter shading denote that one folio of the opening is lost and the marks are based solely on the text of the folio that is extant.

The first five settings listed in the table fall into the third phase of Scribe A’s copying activities in *WRec* MS 178. By this point in the copying process, his letters had become much wider and more rounded. His tendency to align syllables not directly under the note but slightly to the left or right of centre had also become much more pronounced. All vocal designations in the margins were omitted except in settings where the Tenor and Contratenor shared an identical clef.

Scribe A’s use of black and red text as indicators of full or reduced choir had also become more careless. In verse ‘ii’ of Hugh Kellyk’s (fl. late 15th century) setting of the Magnificat on fol. 126^v–129^r for instance, the Triplex began with black texting immediately after the illuminated capital, while the Bassus began with a red uppcase ‘T’ (to form the word ‘Et’). The Medius used red ink for ‘T ex-’ for no apparent reason. Still more inexplicable is the Tenor and Contratenor which gave ‘T ex-ul-’ in red ink, and then continued on in black. A less obvious case of this faulty colour coordination occurred on the second opening over the final syllable of ‘superbos’. Not all voices sing this syllable, so it theoretically should have been

written in red. The Triplex and Medius were coloured correctly, but the Tenor and Contratenor had this syllable in black. On this phase of the scribe's copying habits Williamson observed, 'Speed and efficiency become dominant in determining scribal technique.'¹³ The price of this speed, however, was inconsistency.

There are three distinct characteristics of the Magnificat settings in the choirbooks. Firstly, because of the discontinuous nature of an alternatim composition, the texting in this genre was typically more melismatic in order that the music might have a greater possibility of developing before having to stop. Secondly, rests played a central role in determining syllable placement as the note following a rest was a convenient opportunity to change a syllable amidst the many melismata. Syllable changes also gravitated toward note values that were usually a semibreve or longer. Thirdly, just as some composers elected to insert a break after the name 'Jhesum' in the *Salve Regina* and disturb the syntax, a similar rupture commonly took place in verse 'x' on the name 'Abraham'; note that it is the only verse that uses three bar-lines, as shown in Table 3-2.

Short as the excerpt reproduced in Figure 3-3 may be, the above three features



Figure 3-3: Hugh Kelly, *Et exultavit*. Extract of WRec MS 178, fol. 128^v showing the final systems of the Tenor part. Image copyright © Eton College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

¹³ Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook: Facsimile*, 30.

may be observed in this extract of the Tenor part on fol. 128^v.

When compared with the settings of the *Salve Regina* where some passages might have been set largely in syllabic style with a little neumatic movement, the excerpt in Figure 3-3 may be described as predominantly melismatic. Of the 34 syllables in these three systems, only 12 are strictly syllabic; the remainder are either accorded a melisma or neumatic motion.

Excluding the 22 breve rests at the beginning of the third system, all other rests prompt a syllable change on the note that follows it. One will also note that the change of syllables takes place on notes that are a semibreve or longer in value. There are three cases where the preceding statement does not hold: 'ad' towards the end of the first system; '-cu-' the penultimate syllable of the second system; and '-rum' the antepenultimate syllable of the final system. Yet they are all defensible exceptions. The first case, 'ad', is preceded by a minim rest. As a relatively unimportant word, the word enters on an arsis and directs the sense towards 'patres', a word which is set melodically. The second case, '-cu-', takes advantage of the change in direction of the descending melodic line and marks the point where this change takes place by placing a syllable on it. The third case foreshadows the 'short-note to long-note' method of text setting, a figure that would become a quintessential part of the English style of text setting in the latter half of the sixteenth century.¹⁴

The beginning of the second system halts quite frequently with two breves with corone occurring in relatively near proximity to each other. Each is followed by a full bar-line, indicating a break in the verse. According to the liturgical books, this

¹⁴ The horizontal line following '-rum' is the ledger line of the second note of the ligature and does not signify a modification in syllable placement.

verse was divided in two halves in this manner: 'Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros : Abraham et semini eius in secula'.¹⁵ Aside from the desire to bring prominence to the name of 'Abraham', there does not appear to be any rationale for the second break after a three-syllable name, for the syntax is greatly disrupted by it.¹⁶ Does 'Abraham' act as the end of the first half of the verse, or as the beginning of the second half? This third feature of the Magnificat settings seemed to be something the majority of composers followed by convention. Two extant settings in *WRec*, however, treated the text of verse 'x' in two parts: the settings of Walter Lambe (1450/51–1504) and Richard Davy (1465–1538); see Table 3-1. In both cases, 'Abraham' was taken to be the end of the first half of the verse. Again, this was contrary to what was outlined in the official liturgical books of the period.

Scribe B

The last composition in *WRec* MS 178 shows a second scribe's (denoted hereafter as 'Scribe B') approach to texting. *Jesus autem transiens/Credo in deum* is one of two addenda that were added to the manuscript after it was already complete.¹⁷ The scribe might very well have been the composer himself, for the name 'R[o]bertus Wylkynson' (ca.1475/80–ca.1515) appears in a signature style on the system immediately below the composition.¹⁸ This hand corresponds with the hand that

¹⁵ STC (2nd edition): 15790, fol. cxliv^v.

¹⁶ My thanks to Professor John Caldwell who suggested that this pause on 'Abraham' may hearken back to the plainsong chanting of the Magnificat. In some tones, including the *Tonus Peregrinus*, the first syllable of 'Abraham' is sung to a podatus and there is a slight natural break before continuing on to 'et semini etc.'.

¹⁷ Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook: Its institutional', 216.

¹⁸ The facsimile edition has a gap between the 'R' and 'b' of the first name where the 'o' may be faintly present.

wrote the names of the apostles in red ink over the various articles of the Creed. The rest of the texting was executed in a 'careful but unpractised *textualis quadrata*'.¹⁹

The short phrases of this 13-part canon at the unison immediately suggest a composition that is different in style from the florid melismata copied by Scribe A. Although the standard expectation for a syllabic composition would be for more accurate text-music alignment, this is surprisingly not the case. The majority of the words were not split into syllables and placed under their corresponding notes, but were written as entire words. As with Scribe A, a significant amount of textual abbreviations were also used. 'Peccatorum', shown in Figure 3-4, at the end of the penultimate system of the composition is an extreme case of this abbreviated texting.

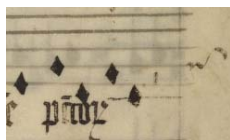


Figure 3-4: Robert Wylkynson, *Jesus autem transiens/Credo in deum*. Detail of WRec MS 178, fol. 145^v showing the end of the penultimate system. Image copyright © Eton College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

The image makes plain that there was sufficient room for the four syllables to be laid out in full under *a, e, g, d*. However, Scribe B instead chose to abbreviate the word and leave the placement of the syllables to the singers. With only four notes remaining in that line, he could be fairly certain that a four syllable word would be realised syllabically in performance.

In several cases, the scribe took to placing disyllabic words — some of which were texted in full as 'die' on the fourth system, and others which were abbreviated as 'scō' [sancto] on the third system — under neither of the two notes to which they

¹⁹ Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook: Facsimile*, 31.

were set, but at an equidistant position between them. Such instances and the foregoing example of ‘peccatorum’ reinforce a central hypothesis of underlay research: scribes (or in this particular case, perhaps the composer himself) assumed that the singers, applying common sense, would be competent and intelligent enough to understand their intentions with regards to texting, even if everything was not laid out precisely.

Of the total 78 words in this composition — excepting the words beginning with a red capital denoting the various articles of the creed which *always* had a space left before the texting resumed in black ink — only five words were split into syllables: ‘deum’ (system 1), ‘maria’ (system 3), ‘patris omnipotentis’ (system 5), and ‘Amen’ (system 7); the first and last of this list are illustrated in Figure 3-5.



Figure 3-5: Robert Wylkynson, *Jesus autem transiens/Credo in deum*. Details of WRec MS 178, fol. 145^v. Image copyright © Eton College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

The only aspects that separated these words from the rest of the words in the composition is that they were all fully texted, and a syllable in them had two or more notes assigned to it.

Having established the salient characteristics of this scribal hand, that is, a preference for abbreviations and syllabification only when there was neumatic motion, it becomes a relatively simple matter to resolve his texting intentions where the visual alignment may have previously caused doubt. Figure 3-6 shows two examples. If interpreting the texting of the first example, ‘a mortuis’, purely on how it appears on the page, it might seem that the scribe was suggesting that ‘mor-’ should



Figure 3-6: Wylkynson, *Jesus autem transiens/Credo in deum*. Details of WRec MS 178, fol. 145^v.
 Image copyright © Eton College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

receive two notes, *f'*–*c'*, and that the terminal melisma of '–is' began on the *b* minim. However, with the knowledge that text-music alignment was a secondary consideration to the scribe in syllabic passages and only syllables with two or more notes were spaced out, it is reasonable to assume that 'a mortu-' should be sung to the first three notes and the terminal melisma properly begins on the dotted semibreve *c'*.

The second example, 'Et vitam', is a unique case of texting; nowhere else in this composition is a note repeated without a change of syllable. Even more unusual is the fact that this appears to be terminal neumatic movement. A little less stylistically idiomatic than the first example, a modern transcription might be tempted to delay the last syllable '–tam', the weaker of the two in 'vitam', until the last note before the rest in order to give the stronger syllable three notes. Once again, however, one must note that the word in question is written as a single word, and this suggests syllabic texting. The untexted last two notes therefore properly belong to '–tam'.

In Scribe B, we encounter a disciplined hand that operated by a strict system of copying rules. With an understanding of the policies that he adhered to in different texting situations throughout the piece, his intentions can be easily deciphered and the composition accurately transcribed.

Scribe C

A third hand contributed to the copying of this manuscript (denoted hereafter as 'Scribe C') by inserting a single composition: the other addendum of the manuscript, Wylkynson's *Salve Regina* [à 9] on fol. 33^v–36^r. Although Williamson has suggested that the copyist of this piece was also possibly Scribe B,²⁰ the visual evidence does not support this assumption. While it is true that the signature on the last system of fol. 36^r bears a resemblance to the signature at the end of *Jesum autem transiens/Credo in deum*, the letter shapes of the cursive hand that executed the underlay are not uniform, nor do they conform to the lettering of the signature. To name but one example, the three systems of the Quadruplex on fol. 33^v reproduced in Figure 3-7 show three varieties of the letter 'l': compare the l's in 'Salve' of the first system, 'flentes' and the second 'l' in 'valle' of the second system.²¹



Figure 3-7: Robert Wylkynson, *Salve Regina* [à 9]. Extract of WRec MS 178, fol. 33^v, showing the Quadruplex. Image copyright © Eton College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

Situated among the compositions copied by Scribe A in his last phase, the texting style of this scribe was initially clear and unambiguous, as Figure 3-7 shows. A

²⁰ Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook: Facsimile*, 31.

²¹ There is, in fact, a fourth type of 'l' which appears on fol. 34^v at the end of the first system of the Quadruplex in the word 'clemens'.

feature of Scribe C's hand in this first opening was that the widths of his characters changed with the amount of space at his disposal. (While this may sound similar to Scribe A's lettering practice, one must observe that Scribe A's larger letters did not get wider, but rather remained horizontally compressed.) At the beginning of excerpt, only two syllables needed to be set in this melismatic passage, so his '-al-' and '-ve', especially the 'v' in the latter were rather generous in size. Immediately after the bar-line, the section with reduced parts signified by the rubrication became much more syllabic and the scribe's lettering accordingly became more slender as many syllables needed to be accommodated under the minimally spaced notation above.

After writing the word 'Regina', however, the text and music already began to lose alignment. To compensate for this, Scribe C abbreviated 'mater' so that the first syllable of 'misericordie' would be realigned. But what of the melisma on '-di-'? Where does it begin, on the d'' minim or on the e'' semiminim? Although it seems to be aligned with the e'' semiminim, note that there is no space left between the 'r' and 'd' of the text. As we have previously observed, the lack of space between syllables in this manuscript usually suggests syllabic setting, until the final syllable of the group is reached. At the very beginning of the next line, we can observe another case of this convention. 'Suspiramus' begins on f'' and ends on a' . The lack of spacing between the first three syllables implies that 'sus-' is sung to the dotted minim f'' , 'pi-' to the semiminim e'' , and neumatic motion of three notes is given to '-ra-'. The only other possible solution would be to place the '-pi-' on the minim d'' , but this would be assigning a weaker syllable to the thesis, causing awkwardness with the placement of the '-ra-'.

In the second opening of the composition, this scribe apparently either did not notice or felt that he did not need to specify that the first note of the opening properly belonged to the ornate capital 'O'. In the Triplex part and others that began with 'Ostende', the '-sten' was placed under the first note as in Figure 3-8. This may be one of those instances where he expected the common sense of the singer to be used.

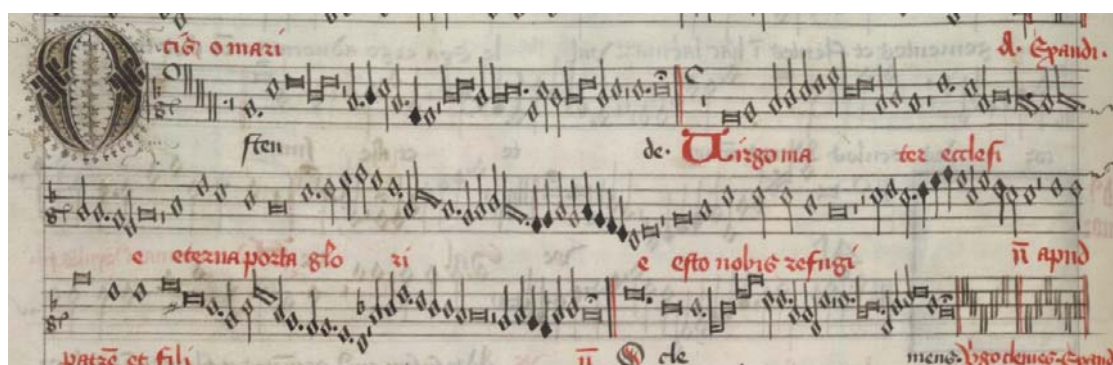


Figure 3-8: Robert Wylkynson, *Salve Regina* [à 9]. Extract of WRec MS 178, fol. 34^v, showing the Triplex. Image copyright © Eton College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

With only one opening remaining and still a considerable amount of music to copy in, the scribe compressed the musical notation even more than previously in the third opening. This exacerbated the misalignment difficulties to such a degree that it caused the scribe to intervene crudely with a vertical stroke.²² On fol. 35^v, the scribe used a vertical line in the Primus Bassus to join the syllable '-gel-' to its appropriate note as it was out of alignment by nearly breve: see Figure 3-9. Abbreviations appeared more frequently on this opening, and the scribe's characters became even less elegant and regular than previously.

²² A vertical stroke matching the syllable to its appropriate note is just one procedure for disambiguation, but by far, it was the most common in manuscripts dating from the earlier half of sixteenth century. Other procedures included the use of 'hooks' or 'angular slurs' and 'horizontal braces' denoting which notes belonged to a single syllable. Baldwin uniquely used a forward slash [/] after his last syllable in a textual phrase to indicate that the final syllable properly belonged with the final note of the musical phrase.

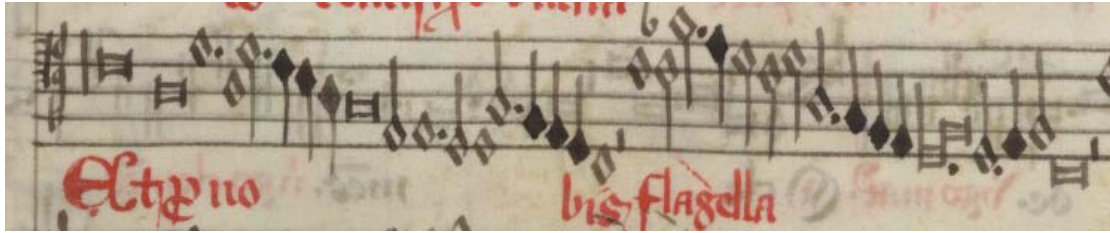


Figure 3-9: Robert Wylkynson, *Salve Regina* [à 9]. Extract of WRec MS 178, fol. 35^v, showing a detail of the Primus Bassus. Image copyright © Eton College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

Scribe C started out with a lucid texting style, but as he progressed in his copying, it became increasingly difficult to interpret his intentions. This was due, at least in part, to his attempt to copy a lengthy composition into a limited number of blank folios available in between other pieces that had already been completed. In Chapter 4, we will observe the procedure of underlay becoming increasingly replaced by the method of overlay. Although that method of transmission would carry with it a different set of problems, a scribe could more or less estimate how many leaves he would require before even copying the first note.

3.2: The Lambeth Choirbook and the Caius Choirbook²³

Llp MS 1 and *Cgc* MS 667/760 are two choirbooks from the third to fourth decades of the sixteenth century that principally contain festal Mass settings and alternatim settings of the Magnificat. Copied by a single scribe who was ‘a musician based at Arundel College during Higgon’s mastership [1521–37], or a singing-man who might have been associated with both Arundel and [St Stephen’s Chapel in]

²³ In the facsimile edition of *Llp* MS 1, Skinner elected to entitle the publication as the ‘Arundel Choirbook’ on account of its historical location of use. Inconsistently, he does not call *Cgc* MS 667/760 the ‘Westminster Choirbook’ on account of its historical use but continues to call it the ‘Caius Choirbook’. For the sake of uniformity in this dissertation, *Llp* MS 1 will therefore also be referred to after its present location: the ‘Lambeth Choirbook’.

Westminster',²⁴ both sources were produced at Arundel College in Sussex.

Although the provenance of the Lambeth Choirbook continues to be debated,²⁵ there is general agreement that it was copied in four separate stages from the early 1520s until the completion of the Caius Choirbook between ca.1527 and the early to mid-1530s.²⁶ The first and last layers taken together constitute five Mass settings by Fayrfax and two by Ludford; these seven compositions were also copied into the Caius Choirbook. The second layer features five votive antiphons, a setting of *Vidi aquam*, and two Magnificat settings. The third layer contains a votive antiphon and two Magnificat settings by Fayrfax and a votive antiphon by Sturton (fl.early 16th century). Notably, it is the sole layer in the choirbook to use bicoloured text in the style of the Eton Choirbook.

Fayrfax's *Missa 'O quam glorifica', Eterne laudis lilium*, and *Magnificat 'O bone Iesu'* and Sturton's *Ave Maria ancilla trinitas* are the only compositions that bear ascriptions in the choirbook. The remaining pieces were unattributed and their authorships have been established only through concordances. With the exception of the last item of the second layer, Lambe's *O maria plena gratia*, the rest of the pieces in that layer remain anonymous. Since Lambe was 'a singing-man at Arundel College intermittently between 1476 and 1491', Skinner speculates that this layer must have been reserved for 'in house' composers and their compositions.²⁷

²⁴ David Skinner, 'Discovering the provenance and history of the Caius and Lambeth choirbooks'. *Early Music* 25, no. 2 (1997): 254.

²⁵ See the exchange on this topic between Skinner and Bowers in David Skinner, 'Further thoughts on the Lambeth Choirbook and Jena 9', *Early Music* 33, no. 1 (2005): 155–57 and Roger Bowers, 'More on the Lambeth Choirbook', *Early Music* 33, no. 4 (2005): 659–64.

²⁶ Paul Fulger, 'The Lambeth and Caius Choirbooks', *Journal of the Plain-song and Mediaeval Music Society* 6 (1983), 17 and Skinner, 'Nicholas Ludford (c.1490–1557)', 148–52.

²⁷ Skinner, 'Nicholas Ludford (c.1490–1557)', 149.

This esteem for composers that had previously worked or were currently working at the foundation that a choirbook was being prepared for is certainly reflected in the compilation of the Caius Choirbook. Like *Llp* MS 1, there was an obvious dominance of compositions by Fayrfax and Ludford, both of whom had connections with St Stephen's Chapel in Westminster. But it is the list of minor composers who are represented by single works — Edmund Turges (ca.1450–after 1501), William Cornysh (i) (d. ca.1502), Henry Prentes (mid-15th century–1514), and William Pashe (fl. ca.1513–37) — that reveal a progression through successive generations of local composers.²⁸ Unlike *Llp* MS 1, all of the contents in Caius are ascribed and there is no coloration of text to indicate full or reduced parts.

*

As a prologue to the detailed case studies, we must establish how composers elected to structurally distribute the Ordinary texts of the Mass. As may be observed from Tables 3-3 and 3-4, the two composers whose Masses dominated the contents of *Llp* MS 1 and *Cgc* MS 667/760 — namely, Fayrfax and Ludford — had distinct methods of approaching the same texts.

In all of Fayrfax's Mass settings that were copied in the choirbooks, the first subsection of Section I of the Gloria set the verse that completed the quotation from Luke 2:14 and the portion of the hymn that addressed the Father: 'Et in terra pax...pater omnipotens.' Two more verses addressing Christ formed the second subsection, 'Domine fili unigenite...filius patris', and this brought Section I to a close.

²⁸ All the composers represented in *Cgc* MS 667/760 were members of the London Guild of Parish Clerks, also known as the Fraternity of St Nicholas. Skinner, 'Nicholas Ludford (c.1490–1557)', 170, 173.

<i>Gloria</i>	Section I	Section II
TECUM PRINCIPIUM	i to vii viii to ix	x to xvii
REGALI	i to vii viii to ix	x to xvii
O QUAM GLORIFICA	i to vii viii to ix	x to xvii
ALBANUS	i to vii viii to ix	x to xv 'Christe' xvi to xvii
O BONE JESU	i ii to vii viii to ix	x to xvii
LAPIDAUERUNT	i to ix	x to xv xvi to xvii
BENEDICTA	i ii to viii ix	x to xv 'Christe' xvi to xvii
VIDETE MIRACULUM	i ii to viii ix	x to xv 'Christe' xvi to xvii
CHRISTI VIRGO	i ii to viii ix	x to xv xvi to xvii

Table 3-3: The distribution of verses in the Gloria of Mass settings in *Llp* MS 1 and *Cgc* MS 667/760. The vertical lines (|) denote bar-lines in the manuscripts. In the upper half of the chart are the Mass settings composed by Fayrfax and in the lower half are those composed by Ludford. These Mass settings have been grouped according to style as best as possible.

This formula was fixed and unchanging; even his ostensibly variant treatment of Section I of the Gloria in *Missa 'O bone Jesu'* was essentially still two subsections, with verse 'i' detached.²⁹ Section II of Fayrfax's Gloria settings were likewise fixed, setting verses 'x' to 'xvii' without a break. The only exception to this practice was *Missa 'Albanus'*, in which he used two corone on the syllables of 'Jesu' at the end of verse 'xv'. Though syntactically questionable, 'Christe' was assigned its own melismatic section. Following another break, 'cum Sancto' continued until the conclusion of the movement.

Conversely, Fayrfax's Credo structure was not so defined. Whether or not it was prompted by musical reasons (e.g. proportion of the sections or movement), all the settings contained in these choirbooks omitted a certain amount of the text.

²⁹ The date of this Mass setting has been recently assigned to 1507 in David Mateer and Elizabeth New, "'In nomine Jesu': Robert Fayrfax and the Guild of the Holy Name in St Paul's Cathedral", *Music & Letters* 81, no. 4 (2000): 515. It is of interest to point out that after this 'experiment' with a different textual layout, he returned to his standard organisation for his doctoral submission of *Missa 'O quam glorifica'* in 1511.

<i>Credo</i>	Section I	Section II
TECUM PRINCIPIUM	i to iv v to vi	vii viii to xi, xviii
REGALI	i to iii v to vi	vii to x, 'cuius' to 'finis', xvii to xviii
O QUAM GLORIFICA	i to iii v to vi	vii to xi, xvii to xviii
ALBANUS	i to vi	vii viii ix to xi xvi to xviii
O BONE JESU	i 'factorem' to iv v to vi	vii to viii ix to xi, xviii
LAPIDAUERUNT	i to vi	vii to xi, xviii
BENEDICTA	i 'visibilium' to vi	vii to xi, xvii to xviii
VIDETE MIRACULUM	i 'visibilium' to vi	vii to viii ix to xviii
CHRISTI VIRGO	i 'visibilium' to iv v to vi	vii to xviii

Table 3-4: The distribution of articles in the Credo of Mass settings in *Llp* MS 1 and *Cgc* MS 667/760. The vertical lines (|) denote bar-lines in the manuscripts. In the upper half of the chart are the Mass settings composed by Fayrfax and in the lower half are those composed by Ludford. These Mass settings have been grouped according to style as best as possible.

Although it was conventional to shorten the Credo text in Mass settings of this period,³⁰ a few words of explanation are necessary here as this is the first encounter with the phenomenon in this dissertation. It is well known that Mass settings of the Continent had five movements: Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Benedictus, and Agnus Dei. It is also known to scholars of sixteenth-century English music that the Insular Mass settings did not commonly include the Kyrie; specific days in the Sarum Use required specific tropes, and to set a Kyrie to polyphony would place limits on the number of occasions that a Mass setting could be used during the liturgical year. Less widely known is that the Credo text was often shortened in these polyphonic settings and this practice was quite common, even having Continental precedents.³¹

³⁰ Referring to Taverner's Masses, which also bear this trait, Benham goes on to state that 'there is nothing to suggest that [Taverner] expected these omissions to be made good by the insertion of plainsong.' Benham, *John Taverner: His life*, 46. The long-held presumption that the missing texts would have been supplied with a plainsong interpolation has no factual basis.

³¹ The most extensive discussion on the topic available to date is by Ruth Hannas, 'Concerning deletions in the polyphonic Mass Credo', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 5, no. 3 (1952): 155–86.

Ruth Hannas's claim that the 'musical tradition of England is the tradition of the academic degree', and that there were deletions in their [Mass] settings because all composers were in some way associated with the Oxbridge colleges where prominent heretics lived and worked, however, is not particularly convincing.³² Some of the finest composers of the day such as Tallis never sought a degree from any university. Like the dramatic pause after 'Abraham' in the Magnificat, this deletion of text seems to be something they simply did.

In Fayrfax's time, Section I of the Credo traditionally set all the articles of the Creed following the celebrant's intonation up to the end of the article immediately preceding 'Et incarnatus est'. Only in three Masses, *Missa 'Tecum principium'*, *Missa 'Albanus'*, and *Missa 'O bone Jesu'*,³³ did Fayrfax set this text in full; *Missa 'O quam glorifica'* and *Missa 'Regali'* both omitted article 'iv' from the first subsection. Section II of the Credo was much less predictable. He always omitted articles 'xii' to 'xv' inclusive. Article 'xvi' was usually omitted too, though *Missa 'Albanus'* included this. *Missa 'Regali'* omitted the first part of article 'xi', setting only 'cuius regni non erit finis'. This setting and *Missa 'O quam glorifica'* set all of its second section text as a single unit. *Missa 'Tecum in principium'* isolated the article of the incarnation ('vii') from the rest of the section and *Missa 'O bone Jesu'* set articles 'vii' and 'viii' in a subsection. By far, *Missa 'Albanus'* out-segmented all of Fayrfax's settings, with four

³² Hannas, 'Concerning deletions', 172. Warren mentions Hannas's attempt to explain the text deletions on theological grounds, but does not say whether he supports it or is sceptical of it. Rather, he sees the deletions as an outgrowth of the telescoped motet style of Dunstaple and his contemporaries. In this technique, the text was 'complete' in the sense that various parts sang different lines of text simultaneously; no one part sang the text in full. Edwin B. Warren, 'The Masses of Robert Fayrfax', *Musica disciplina* 12 (1958): 159.

³³ The Credo of *Missa 'O bone Jesu'* parallels Section I of the Gloria from the same Mass; part of verse 'i' is detached from the rest and assigned a subsection all of its own.

subsections in Section II.

With the exception of *Missa 'Lapidaverunt'*, Ludford's compositions reveal a different response to the same Mass texts.³⁴ Section I of his Gloria settings used a tripartite structure, with isolated verses 'i' and 'ix' bookending verses 'ii' to 'viii'. Although this layout disrupted the relationship between verses 'viii' and 'ix', it also correctly separated verse 'i' from verse 'ii' and allowed the music to break after 'Jesu Christe' at the end of verse 'viii'.³⁵ At the end of Section II, he was able to mirror the separation of the intonation and verse 'i' at the beginning of Section I by separating verse 'vi' and the 'Amen' into a subsection. *Missa 'Benedicta'* and *Missa 'Videte miraculum'* employed the syntactically faulty layout used by Fayrfax at the end of *Missa 'Albanus'*. In all cases, however, the break after 'Jesu Christe' in Section II paralleled the break after the sacred name in Section I.

Perhaps a little unconventional at the time of their composition, Ludford's Credo settings included all the articles of the creed. Section I of his Credos set articles 'i' to 'vi' in various ways. *Missa 'Benedicta'* and *Missa 'Videte miraculum'* set the first six words of article 'i' in a separate subsection from the remainder of the text whereas *Missa 'Christi virgo'* adopted a tripartite structure similar to the Gloria: the first six words of article 'i' and articles 'v' to 'vi' bookending article 'i' from 'factorem celi' to the end of article 'iv'. Section II of the Credo was likewise arranged a different way in each of the three Mass settings: *Missa 'Benedicta'* retained the conventional omissions

³⁴ *Missa 'Lapidaverunt'* has been assumed to be Ludford's earliest Mass setting. David Skinner, liner notes to *Nicholas Ludford: Missa Lapidaverunt Stephanum · Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis*, The Cardinal's Musick, ASV Gaudeamus CDGAU 140, 1994, compact disc. The divisions of the texts and the omissions in the Credo bear a striking semblance to Fayrfax's Mass settings. For this reason, the comments in the main text do not apply to this Mass.

³⁵ Verse 'i' finishes the quotation from Luke 2:14 begun by the celebrant and verse 'ii' begins the portion of the hymn addressed to the Father.

of article xii to xvi inclusive; *Missa 'Videte miraculum'* paired article 'vii' (that of the incarnation) with 'viii' (that of the crucifixion) into a subsection and article 'ix' to the end of the creed in a second subsection; and *Missa 'Christi virgo'* set article 'vii' to the end in one continuous section. It almost seems as if Ludford was trying different techniques and combination of techniques and working towards a definitive formal organisation of the Credo — something he had already achieved with the Gloria.

In spite of all the differences in textual division described above, it was the use of the cantus firmus — usually two statements in each movement: one in triple metre, one in duple metre — that ultimately made all the Masses of the choirbooks part of a single genre. The words in the Gloria at which the cantus firmus entered were 'gratias agimus' and 'qui sedes'; and in the Credo: 'Et in unum dominum' and 'Et resurrexit'.

'Doctor fayrffax' in the Lambeth Choirbook

Robert Fayrffax's *Missa 'O quam glorifica'* was copied into both of the choirbooks compiled at Arundel College (*Llp* MS 1, fol. 8^v–16 and *Cgc* MS 667/760, pp. 96–111).³⁶ The scribal annotation in *Llp* MS 1, in the header of fol. 8^v, 'O q[uam] glorifica. Doctor ffayrffax, for his forme in p[ro]ceedinge to bee Doctor' identifies the composition as his 1511 University of Oxford doctoral degree submission.³⁷ Designed to display a composer's erudition in the workings of *musica speculativa*, the principal interest and purpose of such academic compositions was paradoxically not in the performance of it, but rather in the cunning of its presentation. Of the antiphon contained in *GB-Cu*

³⁶ *Cgc* MS 667/760 has been numbered by page rather than by folio.

³⁷ Roger Bray, 'Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England', *Music & Letters* 76, no. 1 (1995): 7.

MS Nn.6.46, *Ave regina caelorum*, another *musica speculativa* specimen that has survived notated in the scholarly manner, Roger Bray writes the following:

[The antiphon] is...obscurely notated, with one whole part in (apparently) equal note-values, an even more cryptic canon, and a puzzle poem together with the controversial ascription. The version of the music in this presentation manuscript has clearly been arranged so as to appear academic, and...almost the whole of the antiphon would have been quite unperformable as [it] appear[s].³⁸

Fayrfax's doctoral Mass would have been submitted in a similar form. Text setting in these academic copies must have been executed with a certain degree of precision, for the regulations of the University of Oxford required a live performance of the composition on the day of admission to the degree.³⁹

Unfortunately, Fayrfax's presentation copy has been lost. What have survived in the choirbooks are performance versions of the learned copy: decoded and usable in performance. Whether or not they faithfully transmit the underlay as it appeared in the original can never be fully ascertained and is actually of no consequence; the relationship between the text and the original notation would have been quite different. In this Fayrfax Mass setting, there were three types of passages: the syllabic (with neumatic movement), the melismatic, and the untexted.

In the first section of the Gloria, syllabic texting was situated most frequently at the beginning of episodes with reduced parts. Thus, 'Et in terra pax', 'Laudamus te', and 'domine filii unigenite' are all syllabically-dense passages. The episodes with full parts, 'gracias agimus' and 'domine deus agnus dei', began with neumatic movement which became melismatic in due course. In Section II of the movement this

³⁸ Bray, 'Music and the Quadrivium', 12.

³⁹ Ibid., 6. One wonders if the choir staging the performance was capable of reading the esoteric notation. If not, would the composer also have produced a 'decoded' form?



Figure 3-10: Robert Fayrfax, *Missa 'O quam glorifica': Gloria*. Extract of *Llp MS 1*, fol. 8^v, showing the beginning of the Triplex part. Image copyright © Lambeth Palace Library. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library.

procedure was inverted. The reduced-parts episodes, 'Qui tollis peccata...miserere nobis' and 'qui tollis peccata...deprecationem nostram', began with neumatic movement that quickly shifted into melismata while the full-parts episode 'Qui sedes ad dexteram' began with stark syllabic setting. What remained consistent throughout both sections of the movement was the use of the protracted penultimate melisma to signal the end of a subsection, section, and change in scoring.

The music is aptly suited to the prosodic nature of the text that is being set, particularly in the syllabic passages. This regard for prosody can be observed in Figure 3-10. The opening of the Triplex stressed the text in this manner: 'Laudamus te **benedicimus te adoramus te glorificamus te**'; this was achieved through placement of strong syllables on the thesis of the tactus, syncopations, and the setting of stronger syllables on higher pitches than the weaker syllables. The protracted terminal melisma on 'glorificamus' led to the first cadence of the movement, which marks the change of texture with full parts entering at 'Gracias agimus tibi.' It is obvious from the image that the scribe was not overly concerned with visual alignment. He probably was keenly aware of the fact that he was producing this manuscript for a choir of professional singers who would be familiar with the entire text of the Mass Ordinary; his responsibility was simply to indicate the boundaries that each phrase of

text encompassed. Thus he went about texting in the most expedient manner that he could; this included the use of many abbreviations.

The Credo begins with a variant of the texting trend of Section II of the Gloria. Subsections with reduced voicing demonstrate syllabic beginnings of the phrases and melismatic ends. This pattern repeats with each successive phrase. For example, in the Tenor voice, 'Patrem omnipo-' was syllabically set, and '-ten-' continued with a melisma of nine notes; 'factorem celi' resumed the syllabic setting, and 'et' had a melisma of fourteen notes, and 'ter-' a melisma of twelve notes. Full-parts episodes were similarly strictly syllabic to start, only gradually expanding to accommodate neumatic movement.

In Section II, there were three episodes. The first two episodes were studies in extended melisma, setting the most important articles of the Credo: 'vii' and 'viii'. Terminal melismata featured in these subsections, especially on the words 'est', 'factus', and 'sepultus'. The final section returned to syllabic texting with some



Figure 3-11: Robert Fayrfax, *Missa 'O quam glorifica'*: Credo. Extract of *Llp MS 1*, fol. 12^r, showing the final section of the Bassus part. Image copyright © Lambeth Palace Library. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library.

neumatic movement. Figure 3-11 shows the Bassus part of this second section of the Credo. The melismata of the first two systems are but a hint of what took place during the preceding forty-one breve rests; no more than 13 words of one article were set in the other voices. Although there are only two minims in this entire final episode beginning at the end of the second system, they demonstrate the proper weighting of words: towards the end of the third system on the word 'iterum', and at the beginning of the fourth system on the word 'gloria'. Likewise do the longas, breves, and semibreves show a cognisance of the accentuation of the words, with the accented syllable bearing the note of greater value; some fine examples include 'tercia' at the end of the second system, 'scripturas' near the beginning of the third, and 'judicare' two words into the penultimate system.

As outlined in the Table 3-4 at the beginning of this section, there are texts that have been deliberately omitted from the Credo in all parts of this setting. Whatever the reason was behind these omissions, in Section I of the Credo, article 'iv', 'Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero', was not set by Fayrfax. In Section II, articles 'xii' to 'xvi', 'Et in Spiritum Sanctum...resurrectionem mortuorum', were also left out. It should be noted that the omissions in the Credo text in Mass settings of this period were not limited to these specific articles; any article or combination of articles, usually towards the end of the Credo, were subject to deletion.

*

The last composition of the third layer of *Llp* MS 1 — the only layer with bicoloured text in the Lambeth Choirbook — is Fayrfax's alternatim setting of the Magnificat, entitled '*Regale*' on fol. 66^v–69^r. It has formerly been erroneously thought of as belonging with his *Missa 'Regali ex progenie'*. In the catalogue *Latin Music in British*

Sources c. 1485–c. 1610, compilers May Hofman and John Morehen go so far even as to list it as ‘Magnificat: Regali ex progenie’ and to describe its cantus firmus as ‘Antiphon, Lauds, Nativity BVM (A[ntiphonale] S[arisburiense] 526).⁴⁰ In addition to having glossed over the minor difference in the spelling of similar titles, they also failed to notice that there is not a trace of the plainsong antiphon material used in the cantus firmus. Instead, the cantus firmus (only occasionally quoted) appears to be the faburden of the Magnificat sung to plainsong Tone VIII, transposed down a fifth; this source is quoted most prominently in the Tenor part of verse ‘vi’: ‘Fecit potenciam’.⁴¹

It is uncertain as to why this Magnificat was dubbed ‘Regale’. This title only appears in two sources. In *Llp* MS 1, it appears over the Superius part at the beginning of the setting and in the final system of Bassus on the last page. In *WRec* MS 178, this word was added by a later hand in tiny lettering in the inventory; the pages containing the music itself have unfortunately been lost. Dom Anselm Hughes’s suggestion of this setting having been composed for King’s College Chapel, Cambridge (the ‘Collegium Regale’) has been generally accepted by scholars.⁴²

Like the Magnificat settings that survive in *WRec* MS 178, Fayrfax’s ‘Regale’ contained polyphonic settings for all the even-numbered verses of the Vespers canticle. Table 3-5 shows that while the first four polyphonic verses were scored as those in *WRec* MS 178, the last two polyphonic verses contained significant

⁴⁰ May Hofman and John Morehen, comps., *Latin music in British sources c. 1485–c. 1610*, Early English Church Music, supplementary vol. 2 (London: Stainer and Bell Ltd., 1987), 33.

⁴¹ GB-Lbl Royal Appendix 56, fol. 23^v–24^v. Paul Doe provides a transcription of the faburden in Paul Doe, ed., *Early Tudor Magnificats: I*, Early English Church Music, vol. 4 (London: Stainer and Bell Ltd., 1962), 137.

⁴² Margaret Lyon, ed., *Sacred music from the Lambeth Choirbook*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, vol. LXIX (Madison: A-R Editions Inc., 1985), xiii; and Dom Anselm Hughes, ‘An introduction to Fayrfax’, *Musica disciplina* 6 (1952): 101.

departures from the conventional form. The alternation between full parts and reduced parts ended in verse ‘viii’. Verse ‘x’, instead of being set with full parts as expected, continued with reduced parts using the same three lowest parts through all three divisions of the verse. Although it may be argued that some of the settings of verse ‘xii’ in the Eton Choirbook also had three sections (e.g. ‘F|R-F’ or R|R-F), the difference in Fayrfax was that the music was not continuous. Bar-lines formally split

	ii	iv	Vi	viii	x	xii
WRec MS 178	F (R-)F	R R	F(R-F)	R R	F F F	(F)R-F
‘Regale’	F F	R R	F-R-F	R R	R R R	R* R* F ⁴³

Table 3-5: A summary of the Magnificat settings of WRec MS 178 compared with Fayrfax’s ‘Regale’ setting.



Figure 3-12: Robert Fayrfax, *Et exultavit* ‘Regale’. Extract of Llp MS 1, fol. 69r, showing the final section of the Bassus part. Note the small black lettering of the systems 1 through 6 that ought to have been carried out in red. In the last half of the penultimate system, full parts resume and the lettering appears larger. Image copyright © Lambeth Palace Library. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library.

⁴³ These reduced parts have asterisks next to them indicating that the coordination of the bicoloured text across the opening was faulty (see Figure 3-12 above).

the verse into three sections in this fashion: 'Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper | et in secula | seculorum amen.' While it might have made sense musically, the syntax of the final phrase of doxology was unfortunately distorted: 'et in secula | seculorum. Amen' [for ever | and ever. So be it].

All the previously mentioned principal characteristics of the choirbook polyphonic Magnificats — melismata, rests, and longer notes prompting a change of syllables, and the interruption of syntax on 'Abraham' — are present in this setting. The final section of the Bassus part shown in Figure 3-12 is particularly suitable for observation. Clearly, the text setting is melismatic. All rests prompt new syllables on the first subsequent note except the rests after the black breve on *c* and the *cum opposita proprie* (*c. o. p.*) ligature on '-tus' in the first system, the *c. o. p.* oblique ligature in the second system, and the *c. o. p.* ligature on 'Si-' in the fourth system. In all these cases, there was a minim following the rest, and the scribe (or Fayrfax) deemed it too short a value to set a syllable on.⁴⁴ In the third system, the name 'Abraham' was not set in the standard homophonic manner but in imitation with the other lower voices. Lyon suggests that the carefully spaced entries of the different voices in strict imitation may also have been considered a method of text emphasis.⁴⁵

It is possible that the scribe misplaced the syllables of 'secula' in the fourth system. The rhythms at the cadence seem to suggest that '-cu-' should have been placed on the penultimate note before the bar-line. 'Se-' would have then been relocated to the beginning of the group of coloured notes. But this is merely conjecture and the

⁴⁴ In the second system, the placing of the first syllable of 'nostros' on a minim was unavoidable; the only remaining phrase before the bar-line separated by a rest also began with a minim.

⁴⁵ Lyon ed., *Sacred music*, xiii.



Figure 3-13: Robert Fayrfax, *Et exultavit* 'Regale'. Extract of Cgc MS 667/760, p. 122, showing the first two systems of the Bassus part. Note especially the missing 'est' after 'locutus'. Image copyright © Gonville and Caius College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

placement as it appears does not really upset an otherwise thoughtfully texted Bassus part, save for the lack of red text for the reduced parts sections. One only need look at the first two systems of the 'Regale' in Cgc MS 667/760, shown in Figure 3-13, to realise how much more regulated the scribe was in the textung of *Llp* MS 1.

Two Mass settings in the Caius Choirbook

Missa 'Christi virgo' of Ludford is the second Mass setting copied into Cgc MS 667/760 on pp. 18–31. Two aspects distinguish this composition from the majority of the Mass settings in this source. Firstly, as in the case of Fayrfax's *Missa* 'O quam glorifica', on account of the extended length of the cantus firmus taken from the last Matins responsory of the Office of the Annunciation, *Christi virgo dilectissima*, the cantus firmus is heard only once in each movement; the details of this cantus firmus will be pursued in greater detail below in Chapter 5. Secondly, syllabic textung is a principal textung method in this Mass setting, especially in Section II of the Credo.

While syllabic and melismatic passages were usually clearly texted, with ligatures assisting in syllable placement and terminating syllables of protracted melismata placed visibly and usually under the correct note, some ambiguity did

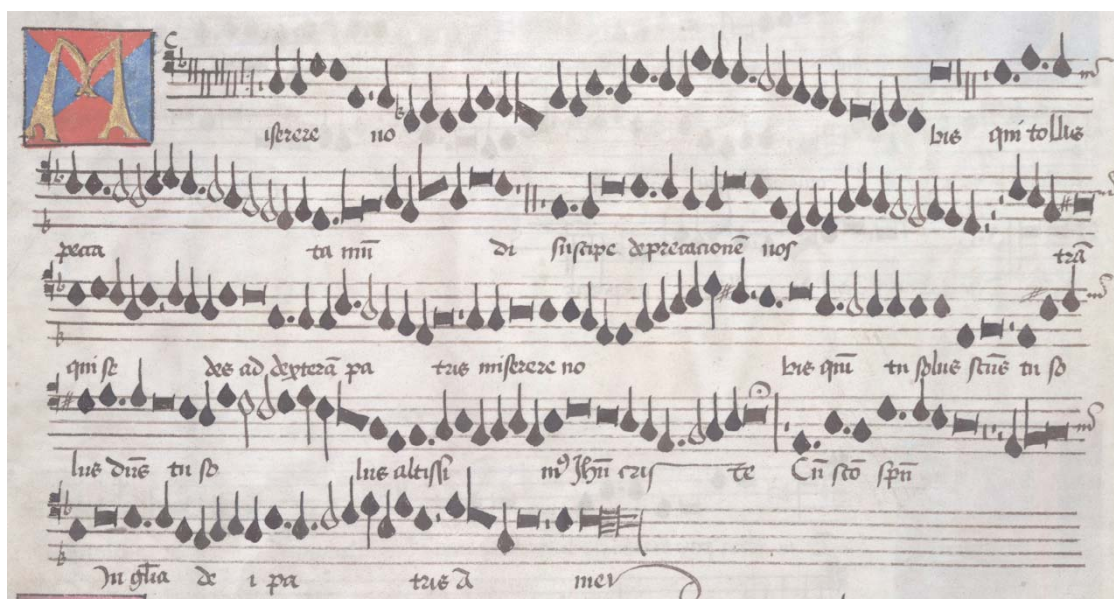


Figure 3-14: Nicholas Ludford, *Missa 'Christi virgo'*, Gloria. Extract of Cgc MS 667/760, p. 20, showing the Contratenor part. Image copyright © Gonville and Caius College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

nevertheless remain in the passages with neumatic motion. The Contratenor part in Figure 3-14 has two instances of this. 'Miserere' is the first word that follows the extended rests in the image. The word has four syllables and there are five notes placed above it. Would the performers of Ludford's time have interpreted this word with terminal neumatic movement on *a-d*, or with penultimate neumatic movement on *b flat-a*? Are both equally possible? In a small two-note dilemma such as this, it is improbable that choosing one option over the other would have caused a big impact on the performance of the composition as a whole. Nevertheless, let us consider this from an impartial point of view. The rules of prosody would opt for penultimate neumatic movement, as the first '-re-' is the stressed syllable of the word. And indeed, this option is probably correct, as there are no other cases of terminal neumatic movement present in this copy.

A second point of ambiguity — more complex than the first — takes place at the very end of the penultimate system. In the passage immediately following the

bar-line, it is obvious that the words ‘Cum sancto’ are set to the *c*, *f*, and *e*. The rhythms above the abbreviated ‘spiritu’ certainly encourage a syllabic setting of the text, followed by a terminal neumatic movement on the *f* breve and all other notes following the rest until the word ‘In’ on the final system. A stylistically sound alternative would be to delay the final syllable of ‘spiritu’ until the *f* breve; in this way, ‘-ri-’ could be set in the anticipatory style on *a–g*. Are any other options possible?

What is different in this situation from the previous example described above is that the stressed syllable of ‘spiritu’ has already been accounted for. Any solution would, by definition, be prosodically incorrect. Fortunately, an assessment of all the texting in this Contratenor part brings to light further cases of faulty prosody, such as ‘sanctus’ near the end of the third system. In the fourth system, one also finds a case of a weak syllable carrying the penultimate melisma in ‘altissimus’. With these precedents and no examples of terminal melisma, it would seem that, though incorrect, the prudent texting choice in the present situation would be penultimate neumatic motion on the syllable ‘-ri-’ with the terminal syllable landing on the first *f* of the final system.

The final excerpt from this Mass setting that we will examine is shown in Figure 3-15, the Bassus part in Section II of the Credo. It is significant to reiterate that in this section, Ludford was setting the full text: that is, from article ‘vii’ that tells of the incarnation until the end of the creed, without the aid of any subsection breaks or omissions of text. Because of the large amount of text that needed to be set, Ludford changed his compositional texting style in this final section to a generally syllabic one. Even the central article of the Credo, ‘Et incarnatus est...ex maria virgine’ curtailed its

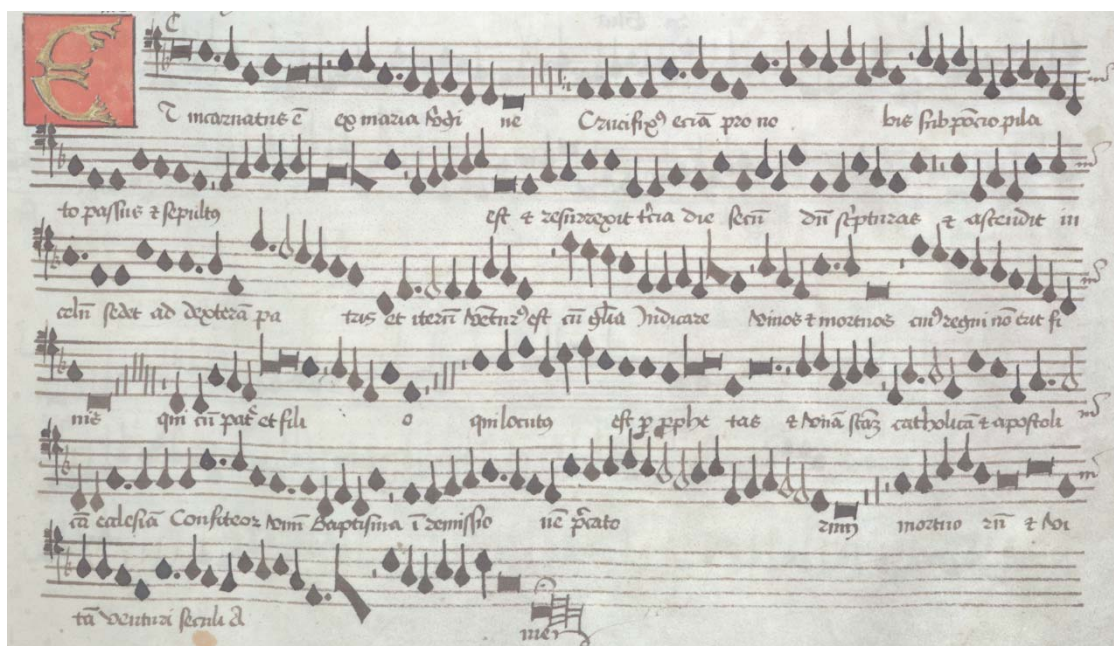


Figure 3-15: Nicholas Ludford, *Missa 'Christi virgo'*, Credo. Extract of Cgc MS 667/760, p. 25, showing the Bassus part. Image copyright © Gonville and Caius College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

customary melismata in favour of syllabic texting, ending with modest neumatic movement.⁴⁶

Following the melisma still present on the second system at 'sepultus est', the natural rhythms of the text acquired more prominence. The end of the third system reflects Ludford's skill with this style. From 'vivos' until 'finis' on the subsequent system, the texting was strictly syllabic, save for the last four notes which gave neumatic movement on 'finis'. Four note values were involved in these two phrases: the breve, the dotted semibreve, the semibreve and the minim. The dotted semibreve, as expected, was paired with a minim and followed by a breve, according to the linguistic accents of 'mortuos' at the end of the first phrase. The words that preceded 'mortuos', 'vivos et', though set in straight minims, began on an arsis so that the unimportant 'et' would fall on an arsis. Finally, the rhythms of the descending scale

⁴⁶ The melismata of 'et homo factus est' and 'et sepultus est', however, have been retained.

over 'cuius regni non erit finis' followed the accents of the words impeccably. Where a syllable was stressed, a semibreve was used; where a syllable was unaccented, a minim was set. Especially striking is the syncopation on 'non erit'. Having just resolved the syncopation on '**cuius regni**' it is unexpected that another set of syncopated notes would follow immediately. Yet, this was the demand of the text, and Ludford responded accordingly.

*

Our fourth and final case study of the *Llp* and *Cgc* Choirbooks is Fayrfax's *Missa 'Regali'*, copied on pp. 64–79 of *Cgc* MS 667/760. This setting used the melody of the third Lauds antiphon from the Office of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary as its cantus firmus.

In the records of King's College, Cambridge, an entry from 1503–04 shows that a chaplain named Jaxon received 8s for the copying of two anonymous Mass settings, one of which was entitled *Regali ex progenie*. Since no other Mass with this title has come to light, it is generally assumed that this 'anonymous' setting was Fayrfax's.⁴⁷ This particular setting must surely have been quite popular, as scribes were still copying it a quarter of a century later. In addition to the copies in *Llp* MS 1 and *Cgc* MS 667/760, a third complete concordance from around the same time can be found in the 'Forrest-Heather' Partbooks, a source that will feature in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

Concerning its compositional construction, *Missa 'Regali'* has been labelled as

⁴⁷ Lyon, *Sacred music*, viii.

a Mass setting that comes closest to conventional English practice.⁴⁸ May the same be said about its texting practices? This Mass setting, as it appears in the Caius Choirbook, seems to have been copied from a much older exemplar. The first of two texting clues that hints at this fact is the layout of the Tenor part; the details will be addressed in Chapter 5. The second clue that suggests an older exemplar is the highly ambiguous style of texting used in the freely composed voices. The Triplex part, reproduced in Figure 3-16, contained many abbreviated words. With the exception of final syllables, the words were generally written as whole words. Surveying the texting of the third system until the bar-line in the fourth system, it appeared that 'gratias', 'propter', 'magnum', and 'domine' all had terminal melismata. Additionally, if one were to observe the 'single syllable only' rule for ligatures, the underlay of 'gloriam' as it currently appears in the third system would be impossible to realise,

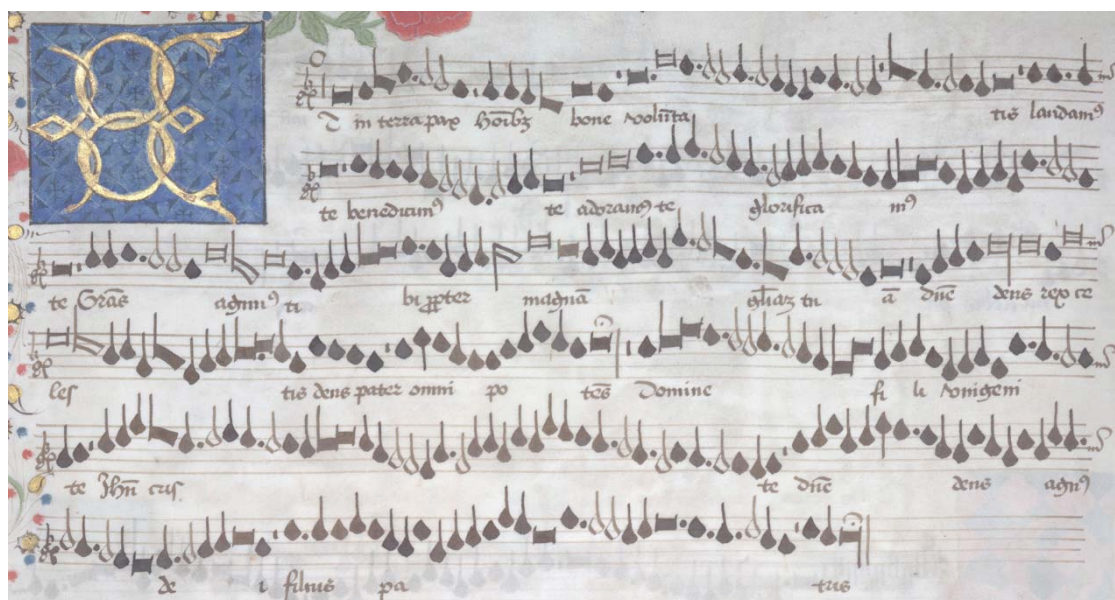


Figure 3-16: Robert Fayrfax, *Missa 'Regali'*, Gloria. Extract of Cgc MS 667/760, p. 64, showing the Triplex part. Image copyright © Gonville and Caius College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

⁴⁸ Grove Music Online, s. v. 'Fayrfax, Robert', by Nicholas Sandon, accessed August 13, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.



Figure 3-17: Robert Fayrfax, *Missa 'Regali'*, Gloria. Extract of *Ob Mus. Sch. E. 376*, fol. 29^r–29^v, showing the Triplex part. Image copyright © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

unless the first syllable 'glo-' was sung to the immediately preceding dotted semibreve *b-flat*', and the final syllable, '-am' was sung to the *c''* dotted minim following the ligature. Or was the Cgc scribe placing the words at the centre of the notes that it was assigned to, similar to the practice of Scribe B in *WRec MS 178*, where deduction was expected to compensate for what was not explicit in visual detail?

How might a performer have responded to this style of underlay? Judging by the copy of the same Mass setting by the first scribe of the so-called 'Forrest-Heather' Partbooks (GB-*Ob MSS Mus. Sch. E. 376–381*), a source that is contemporary with Cgc MS 667/760, to him or to the performers who annotated the exemplar from which he copied, the style of texting in the choirbook was nothing more than a script of the syllables that needed to be thoughtfully fleshed-out in another copy or performance.

A

Cgc Gra - ci - as a - gi - mus ti - - -
 Llp gra - ci - as a - gi - mus ti - - -
 Ob gra - ci - as a - gi - mus ti - - -

B

Cgc bi prop - ter mag - nam
 Llp bi prop - ter mag - nam
 Ob - bi prop - ter mag - nam

C

Cgc glo - ri - am tu - am
 Llp glo - ri - am tu - am
 Ob glo - ri - am tu - am

D

Cgc do - mi - ne de - us rex ce - les - - -
 Llp do - mi - ne de - us rex ce - les - - -
 Ob do - mi - ne de - us rex

E **F**

Cgc - - - tis de - us pa - ter om - ni -
 Llp - - - tis de - us pa - ter om - ni - po -
 Ob ce - les - tis de - us pa - ter om - ni -

G

Cgc - po - - - tens
 Llp - po - - - tens
 Ob - po - - - tens

Figure 3-18: Robert Fayrfax, *Missa 'Regali'*, Gloria. The texting of 'Gracias agimus...deus pater omnipotens' in *Cgc*, *Llp*, and *Ob* Mus. Sch. compared. Cancelled ligatures and smaller notes indicate the differences in the *Ob* Mus. Sch. copy.

Figure 3-17 presents the 'Forrest-Heather' scribe's version of the passage in staves three and four of Figure 3-16. Although the partbook-scribe's overlaying technique was sometimes misaligned, it was incontestably more explicit in its arrangement of the syllables in comparison with the texting of the choirbook.

The comparison of texting in Figure 3-18 shows that the copies in *Cgc* and *Llp* were nearly perfectly concordant, with the exception of two instances where *Llp* favoured penultimate melismata to terminal and ante-penultimate melismata, at 'proper' (B) and 'omnipotens' (F), respectively. This is not surprising, especially since

we believe that it was a single scribe who was responsible for copying both choirbooks.

The comparison more significantly presents a key characteristic in the fleshing-out of inexplicit underlay.⁴⁹ At letters A, D, E, and F (i.e. the beginning and ends of phrases), note that even though the details of texting in between those points may have been different, all sources agreed that certain words belonged within the fixed limits of the phrase. This could be very well what early English scribes (and Continental ones, too) intended when writing a whole string of words at the beginning of a phrase: 'here are the words that need to be fitted into this phrase'.

The *Ob Mus. Sch.* copy seems to have had a penchant for changing syllables, and therefore beginning melismata or neumatic motion on the arsis of semibreves producing anticipatory effects, such as at 'ti-' of 'tibi', 'prop-' of 'propter' (around letter B), '-ri-' of 'gloriam' (letter C), 'rex' and 'ce-' of 'celestis' (before letter D). Taking advantage of highlighting the word 'gloriam' by beginning it on the highest point of the phrase at C, the partbook reading also avoided two protracted terminal melismata in fairly close proximity on 'propter' and 'magnam'. These detailed variants could possibly reflect the texting preferences of the particular copyist or, more broadly, the singers of the chapel at Cardinal College whom these books were being copied for.

But to return to the matter at hand, the texting of *Missa 'Regali'* in the Caius Choirbook appears to have been written in a style requiring a substantial amount of thoughtful interpretation. Why the scribe deliberately chose to retain the texting he

⁴⁹ Although there is no proof of the reading in *Cgc* being older than the reading in *Ob Mus. Sch. E.* 376–81, from what I have observed during my research of the various manuscripts covered in this dissertation, the texting trend generally moved from a more general placement as in *Cgc*, to a more explicit placement as in *Ob Mus. Sch. E.*

saw in an (older) exemplar instead of bringing the underlay into line with the style of texting that was conventional in his day remains a mystery. In the final assessment, however, the following may be established: While the compositional construction of Fayrfax's *Missa 'Regali'* may have been the closest to conventional English practice, the texting style in this particular copy of this Mass setting was the most unconventional of all the Mass settings in *Cgc* MS 667/760.

THE EARLY PARTBOOKS: 'FORREST-HEATHER' & PETERHOUSE (HENRICIAN)

This chapter focuses our investigation on the texting contained in early English partbook sources. Dated to the third and fourth decades of the sixteenth century, they are representative of a period of transition in musical transmission when the production of large choirbooks was beginning to wane, gradually being replaced by the more portable and financially practical format of partbooks.¹

*

4.1: The 'Forrest-Heather' Partbooks

GB-Ob MSS Mus. Sch. E. 376–81 is a set of six paper music manuscripts produced at and for the choral foundation of Cardinal College, the present-day Christ Church, Oxford. Known as the 'Forrest-Heather' Partbooks (so-called after two of its former owners), it is an extraordinarily complete artefact from the first half of the sixteenth century. Its sixteenth-century contents were copied by two different scribes, each contributing a layer, and comprise exclusively cantus firmus Mass settings. All items, with the exception of no. 6, *Missa 'Christe Jesu'* of William Rasar (ca.1491–?),² were set according to the late-medieval English polyphonic custom; that is, the settings lacked

¹ The copying of choirbooks did not abruptly stop altogether. They were still being produced in large quantities on the Continent.

² Rasar's Mass setting includes the complete text of the Credo. It is also one of the earliest Masses in England to be composed in duple meter throughout. *Grove Music Online*, s.v. 'Rasar, William', by John Bergasell and Roger Bowers, accessed May 23, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.

a Kyrie and the articles of the Credo from 'Et in Spiritum Sanctum' until the 'Amen' were either entirely or selectively deleted.

These partbooks have a complex history. A certain 'Magister Burgis',³ a scribe with 'a bold, professional hand',⁴ initially copied 11 Mass settings into the partbooks in 1529/1530. Following the dissolution of the choral foundation in 1530, the manuscripts then passed into the hands of William Forrest (fl.1530–81), one of the college's 'petty-canon'.⁵ He proceeded to add another seven Mass settings to the collection, bringing the manuscript inventory to a total of 18 Mass settings.

However, it is not known exactly when this copying of the second layer took place. The first group of Mass settings added by Forrest (nos. 12–14) included works by composers who were already represented in the first layer and all of whom had musical positions in the north of England; namely John Taverner (who had presumably only just left the institution following its dissolution), Thomas Ashwell (ca.1478–after 1513), and Hugo Aston (ca.1485–1558). The second group of Mass

³ In GB-Lna E 36/104, the last surviving account book of Cardinal's College, Oxford, from Michaelmas 1529/1530, on fol. 15^r under 'Custus Capelle', an entry reads: 'Solutum Magistro Burgis cantori pro libris infracti cantus £6 5s'. For a translation of this entry, see John Sherren Brewer, ed., *Letters & papers, foreign & domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII: preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and elsewhere in England*, vol. 4, pt. 3, 1529–1530 (London: Longmans & Company, 1875), 3066. Half a decade prior to this in 1524, a John Burgess was admitted as Fellow at Magdalen College. This very well may be our copyist; as a penman for the Magdalen College Chapel, he was paid 40s in 1530–31 'pro rescriptione le pryksong bokys'. See William Dunn Macray, *A register of the members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford: from the foundation of the college*, vol. 2, *Fellows; 1522–1575* (London: Henry Frowde, 1897), 54. See also Magnus Williamson, 'The enigmatic Taverner', *Early Music* 33, no. 2 (2005): 321. I thank Dr Magnus Williamson for personally bringing these records to my attention.

⁴ John Milsom, *Introduction*, bk. 1 of *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. Mus. Sch. e. 376–381* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986), vi. On the cover of the Contratenor partbook, Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 378, the annotation 'William fforrest hunc librum jurae possidet cum quinque aliis eidem pertinentibus 1530' appears in Forrest's hand.

⁵ For a more complete biography of Forrest, see John Milsom, 'William Mundy's "Vox patris caelestis" and the accession of Mary Tudor', *Music & Letters* 91, no. 1 (2010): 1–38.

settings (excluding Taverner) featured composers with connections to the Chapel Royal: John Sheppard (ca.1515–58) and Christopher Tye (ca.1505–73). Very little is known about Richard Alwood, the composer of the final Mass setting, except that he was a priest and several of his keyboard works are included in the Mulliner Book.⁶

The inclusion of this second group of previously unrepresented composers suggested a later date of copying to scholars, to which end Bergsagel argued that all of Forrest's additions to the partbooks were undertaken at the time of Mary's revival of the Latin Rite in 1553:

The time-lapse...is evidenced by the reference in the second set to Tye's doctorate, which was conferred in 1545, and by the presence of the Mass by John Sheppard...who would have been too young for inclusion in the first group.⁷

In his introduction to the facsimile edition, Milsom, referencing Bray's passing comment in an article on *musica ficta*,⁸ also agreed that it was not possible to add support to the suggestion that Forrest recorded repertory that had been sung at Cardinal College during the 1530s.⁹ He observed, 'The [fact] that his handwriting and music script remain relatively consistent through this second layer of the books...suggest that the additions were made towards the middle of the sixteenth century.'¹⁰

⁶ The basis for this fact is only John Baldwin's ascription at the end of his recopying of the 'Sexta pars' partbook: 'Mr Alwood, priest'. One of Alwood's 'In nomine' pieces is based on the same five-note cantus firmus of the Mass setting copied in this collection.

⁷ John D. Bergsagel, 'The date and provenance of the Forrest-Heyther Collection of Tudor Masses', *Music & Letters* 44, no. 3 (1963): 247.

⁸ 'It is more likely that he was...copying the music of the second layer some time after 1545, and including music composed around that time.' Roger Bray, '16th-century *musica ficta*: the importance of the scribe'. *Journal of the Plain-song and Medieval Music Society* 1 (1987), 65.

⁹ Milsom, *Introduction*, vi.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*



Figure 4-1: John Taverner, Missa 'Corona spinea', Credo. Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 379, fol. 72^v, showing an extract of the Tenor part. Image copyright © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

Figure 4-2: Richard Alwood, Missa 'Praise hym praiseworthy/Christe full of mercye', Credo. Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 376, fol. 124^r, showing an extract of the Triplex part. Image copyright © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

However, the above conclusions become unsafe when one examines the details of the text lettering, notation, and layout of the pages of the second layer. There are changes of copying style between Aston's *Missa 'Videte manus meas'* (no. 14) and Taverner's *Missa 'O Mychaell'* (no. 15), and again between Tye's *Missa 'Euge bone'* (no. 17) and Alwood's *Missa 'Praise hym praiseworthy//Christe full of mercye'* (no. 18). Previous scholarship was correct in suggesting that there was a 'time-lapse', but it occurred between the copying of Mass settings nos. 12–14 and nos. 15–17 and a second time between nos. 17–18; see Figures 4-1 and 4-2.

To summarise, Forrest took possession of the partbooks after they fell into disuse at Cardinal College and recorded his ownership on fol. 1^r of MS Mus. Sch. E. 378. He then began to copy Mass settings into them, probably those that were in use at the recently dissolved choral foundation, stopping after copying Mass setting no. 14. It was only after Tye was admitted as a Doctor of Music in 1545 that he added the subsequent three Mass settings. Finally, he added Alwood's Mass setting. By these later dates, his notation had become much smaller, his handwriting much freer and less formal, and his method of ruling a page had changed.

This proposed chronology is reinforced by the 'Tabula' or index in MS Mus. Sch. E. 376. On fol. 3^v, in Textura script, Burgis listed the first eleven Mass settings in the order of copying with the name of the cantus firmus, the composer (preceded by 'Quod.'), the number of voice parts, and the folio on which the setting began. This was followed by a further six titles in Forrest's hand, without the word 'Quod' or folio reference. For some unknown reason, Forrest listed the final three Mass settings of the first layer a second time, and then crossed out the last two. He then listed the first three Mass settings of the second layer proper. With still a considerable amount

of space remaining on the page, Forrest instead entered the next three items at the top of fol. 4^r. The final item, Alwood's Mass setting, is notably missing from the inventory.¹¹ Rather than saying that this is merely coincidental to where his page layouts happen to change in the manuscripts, to me, it suggests that the copying of the second layer took place in three stints: nos. 12–14, nos. 15–17, and lastly no. 18.

Two layers, two scribes, two practices

In the composition that heads the collection, John Taverner's six-part Mass setting on the plainsong antiphon *Gloria tibi trinitas*, many of the characteristic copying habits of Burgis can be identified and followed throughout the subsequent ten Mass settings. For the text, he used a form of Textura script and for the musical notation, lozenge-shaped noteheads with abnormally long stems.¹² The spelling of the texts throughout this first layer in all six partbooks is uniform and generally error-free.¹³ Overlay appears to have been Burgis's standard procedure of copying. Though it might be argued that the text was written after the music because of the regular use of the abbreviated forms of words (e.g. 'ppter' for 'propter' and 'agim' for 'agimus', both with the appropriate scribal abbreviation glyphs) and the text exceeds the margin in

¹¹ The only other tabula begun by Burgis and continued by Forrest is in MS Mus. Sch. E. 378; Alwood's Mass setting is again missing. The tabulae of MSS Mus. Sch. E. 379–80 only have Burgis's contributions listed. No tabula is in MS Mus. Sch. E. 377 and MS Mus. Sch. E. 381 contains a tabula entirely in Forrest's hand that lists only the six-part Mass settings; Alwood is included on this list.

¹² Generally, the stems of his fusae spanned slightly more than two spaces between stave lines and the stems of his semiminims and minims approximately three spaces. The stems of his longas were so extended that they typically covered all four spaces between the stave lines.

¹³ Minor errors that may be pointed out in the texting include the beginning of the final system on fol. 5^r of MS Mus. Sch. E. 376, where 'goriam' (sic) is missing its 'l' between the 'g' and 'o'. Also, there is one inadvertent repetition on fol. 10^r of the same manuscript where the word 'est' is written twice at the beginning of the third system: once at the beginning of the melisma on 'F' and again at the end of the descending run on *a*'; see Figure 4-3.

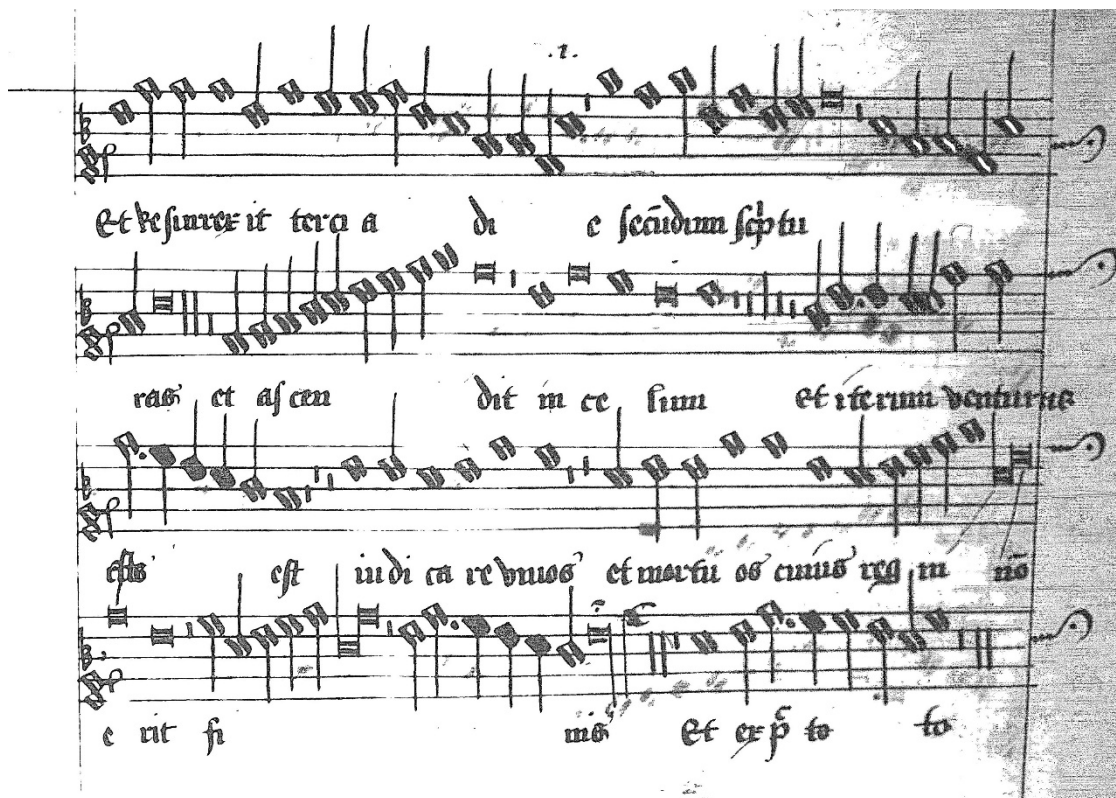


Figure 4-3: John Taverner, *Missa 'Gloria tibi trinitas'*, Credo. Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 376, fol. 10^r. Note the extra iteration of 'est' in the fourth system. Image copyright © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

Figure 4-4: John Taverner, *Missa 'Gloria tibi trinitas'*, Gloria. MS Mus. Sch. E. 378, fol. 5^r, showing an extract of the Primus Contratenor part. Image copyright © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

one extraordinary instance at the end of the third system on fol. 5^r of Mus. Sch. E. 376, we cannot, however, discount the fact that the letters of the text are generally the same size and there are very few cases of compression or shrinkage in order to fit them under the appropriate note. By contrast, the notes above the text are not so regularly spaced, regardless of their value, and the final syllables at the termination of lengthy melismata often appear misaligned. An excellent example of this is on Mus. Sch. E. 378, fol. 5^r, at the end of the final system. The final longa on *a* with the tiny corona is much smaller than the preceding minims and appears to be written in this manner so that the 's' of the final syllable '-tris' would be aligned with it; see Figure 4-4. It was certainly not for a lack of space that this smaller note was crammed in, for on fol. 8^r of Mus. Sch. E. 379, there is an instance in which Burgis, running out of space and not wanting to begin a new page, extended the pre-ruled final system to the extreme right edge of the page to include the last seven notes (albeit smaller in size) and the last syllable of the Credo. This is not the case in Mus. Sch. E. 378 because there is still a portion of blank stave following the bar-line indicating the end of a section. What probably happened was, when copying the text, the scribe estimated how much space would be required for the melisma above and left this amount of space before copying the subsequent syllable. More often than not — and this will also be a recurrent problem in Robert Dow's Partbooks, another scribe who was also in the habit of copying text before music¹⁴ — the space that was allocated was a few notes too short.

A recent attempt to sing through Taverner's *Missa 'Gloria tibi trinitas'* from the

¹⁴ See Chapter 6.3.

facsimile edition of these partbooks raised questions if the anonymous copyist was a music scribe by trade or just a general scribe who happened to copy music. A significant number of passages with errors in the musical notation came to light when the continuity of the performance was repeatedly disrupted.¹⁵ One such error is in the Gloria where another hand annotated in the labels of 'secundus contratenor' and 'primus contratenor' in MS Mus. Sch. E. 378, fol. 5^v and MS Mus. Sch. E. 381, fol. 6^v, respectively.¹⁶ MS Mus. Sch. E. 378 has a protracted penultimate melisma in the fourth system on 'nostram'. This melisma, signalling the end of a reduced-parts episode, did not terminate as expected on a semibreve or note of a longer value, but the final syllable was abruptly set to a minim before a semibreve rest and then the text and music continued onto the next verse, 'qui sedes ad dexteram'.

A comparison with a later copy of the Mass setting in John Baldwin's Partbooks (GB-Och MS Mus. 979–83) revealed that at this point in the Forrest-Heather copy, the two Contratenor parts were mistakenly copied into the wrong partbook: the Primus Contratenor was copied into MS Mus. Sch. E. 381 and the Secundus Contratenor was copied into MS Mus. Sch. E. 378 and the parts remained switched until the conclusion of the Gloria. Such a conspicuous mistake may indicate a possible point where the scribe had temporarily stopped copying, resuming at a later time.

¹⁵ While the majority of copying errors had already been identified and discreetly emended either by the scribe or a subsequent owner of the partbooks through methods such as writing an Arabic numeral '2' beside a note worth a breve in a ligature group or putting a horizontal stroke across a minim stem to cancel it out and indicate that it was really meant to be a semibreve, a handful were still left uncorrected. By far, the most problematic passage was the 'Dona nobis pacem' of the Agnus Dei, where the scribe was obviously confused with the workings of *tempus imperfectum prolatio minor*; one will note the high number of annotations of the numeral '2' in MS Mus. Sch. E. 381, fol. 11^v–12^r.

¹⁶ The lettering of the annotation resembles that of Forrest, the scribe of the second layer and second owner of the partbooks.

Unaware that he had the wrong Contratenor part before him, he continued to copy what he saw in his exemplar.

Although it is not one of the featured case studies in this chapter on account of the severe ink bleed-through, *Missa 'Resurrexit dominus'* (no. 11) of John Norman (fl. ?1509–45) contains a similar error when two separated musical phrases in the Tenor part were grafted together. In MS Mus. Sch. E. 379 on fol. 70^r, the entire second system has been crossed out. Nevertheless, enough of what was written under the vertical strokes is still visible to make out that the first invocation of 'Agnus Dei' had been conflated with the second invocation of 'Qui tollis'. Turning the page to fol. 70^v, one will note that the second invocation actually has no 'Agnus Dei', but begins with 'Qui tollis' after ten longa rests.

How might one assess Burgis as a scribe? He was undoubtedly professionally trained and experienced in copying documents; the regular and flawlessly formed letters of his underlay bear witness to this. While the musical notation was no less beautiful, his knowledge of the theory of mensuration signs appears to have been limited. Yet, he seems to have known enough theory to try to be helpful to singers in his notation of cantus firmi. Most probably, he was an amateur musician who learned what he could about music through his copying projects.¹⁷

*

Our visual survey of these partbooks now turns to the second layer and its scribe, William Forrest. '[W]ell-skill'd in music and poetry'¹⁸ he may have been, but in

¹⁷ For another record of his work as a music copyist, see n. 3 of this chapter.

¹⁸ Bergasagel, 'The date and provenance', 245. As it will be shown later in this chapter, he certainly did have a good sense of the appropriate prosody for multisyllabic words.



Figure 4-5: John Taverner, *Missa 'Corona spinea'*, Gloria. Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 377, fol. 86^v. Note the mislabelled header. Image copyright © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

comparison to quality of the first layer, his copies lacked the regularity and gracefully formed characters of Burgis. Upon an initial examination of his layer of copied Mass settings, two cases of scribal inattention, both in MS Mus. Sch. E. 377, are immediately apparent. He mislabelled Mass setting no. 12 as 'Spinea Corona' instead of 'Corona Spinea' in the header of fol. 86^v and the incipit of the Credo was also misplaced on fol. 88^v.¹⁹ In the former case, even though there is no syntactical import to the reversal of the words, it bespeaks a lack of consistency, since he managed to record the title correctly in all other five partbooks and in the tabulae. In the latter case, the erroneous 'Patrem' was not even erased but simply crossed out and rewritten a

¹⁹ It is also on this same folio that the stave size shrinks and five systems are ruled per page instead of the four, larger systems of the first layer.

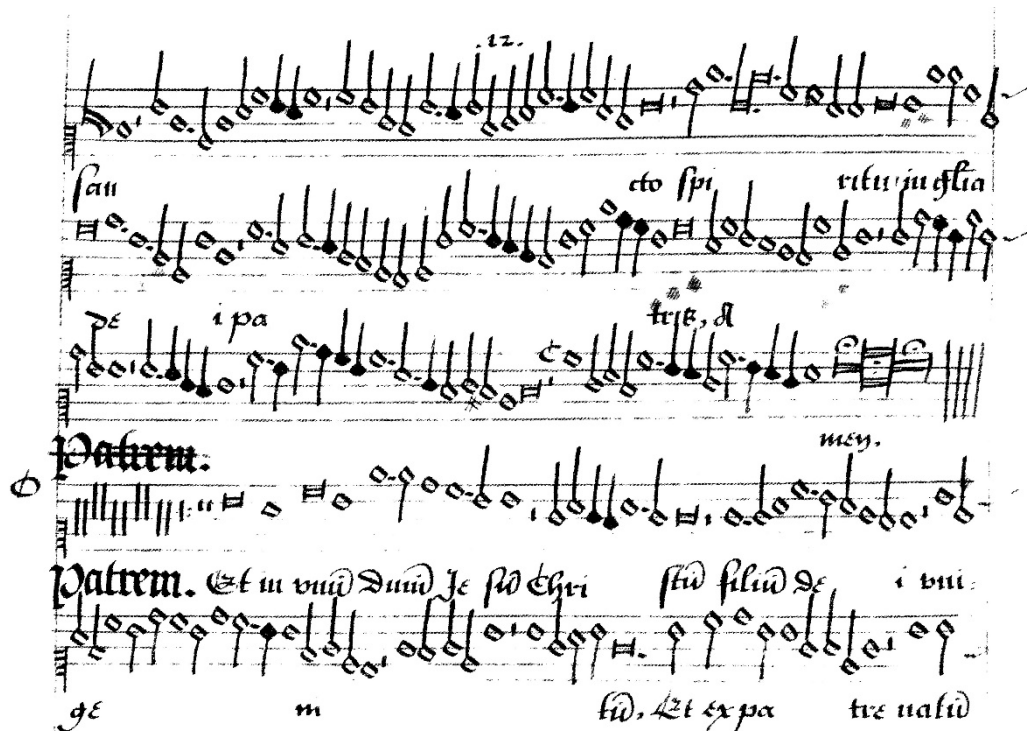


Figure 4-6: John Taverner, *Missa 'Corona spinea'*, Credo. Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 377, fol. 88^v. Note the misplaced incipit of the movement. Image copyright © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

second time under the correct system. A professional scribe would have surely made some effort to remove all traces of such an eye-catching error: see Figures 4-5 and 4-6. Forrest's initial efforts in copying Taverner's *Missa 'Corona spinea'*, suggests that he tried his best to imitate the notation and lettering of Burgis. MS Mus. Sch. E. 379, fol. 71^v, reproduced in Figure 4-7 is perhaps the clearest example of this attempt at imitation. The text begins in a less formal Textura lettering with the music overlaid, just as in the first layer, and there is regular spacing between the words of the second system. However, this effort does not remain consistent. His notation, which began with the lozenge-shaped noteheads featured in the first layer of the partbook, became increasingly rounder until by the final system on fol. 73^v, the pointed tips of the semibreves had all but disappeared. Forrest's tendency of skewing his note stems toward the right side at the top end also became more and more pronounced as his



Figure 4-7: John Taverner, *Missa 'Corona spinea'*, Gloria. Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 379, fol. 71^v, showing the opening of the Tenor part. Image copyright © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

copying continued.

Towards the end of the partbooks, traces of the first layer scribe's style could no longer be detected. In the final Mass setting, Alwood's *Missa 'Praise hym praiseworthy //Christe full of mercye'*, the lettering of the text became much freer.

Notation also shrank as a greater quantity of notes were fitted onto each system. This practice had already begun in Taverner's *Missa 'O Mychaell'* (no. 15) and the change is most perceptible in MS Mus. Sch. E. 379; the note size, spacing, and text size on fol. 83^r contrast sharply with those on the verso. It is in Sheppard's *Missa 'Cantate'* (no. 16) in MSS Mus. E. 376–78, and 380, that the number of ruled staves on a page increased

from Forrest's former five to six.²⁰ In these partbooks, with an increasing number of staves per page, smaller notes, and smaller text size, space for full texting was at a premium. Words were therefore abbreviated where possible and the ditto sign [://:] with two dots under the syllable from which a unit of text to be repeated began were introduced.²¹ All these changes in style above lead me to propose that the last four Mass settings of the second layer was copying that he undertook at a later date in two separate stints after leaving the project for some time.

Forrest's initial instinct as a scribe was to preserve continuity from the style of copying already established in the first layer. After attempting to mimic Burgis's hand — a style that he found either too difficult or too time consuming — he ultimately abandoned imitation and switched to a more personal style. Though not as aesthetically satisfying as the script of Burgis, it proved sufficient to preserve compositions that would otherwise have been lost. Case-study cantus firmi from this source will be discussed in Chapter 5.

4.2: Antiphons of the Peterhouse Partbooks, Henrician Set

An important source dating from the years of the Henrician Reformation (1539–41), the contents of GB-Cp MSS 31–32, 40–41 principally comprise Mass and alternatim Magnificat settings and votive antiphons. These books are thought to have been copied for use by the choral foundation at Canterbury Cathedral. According to

²⁰ The ending of Mass no. 15 and the entirety of Masses nos. 16–18 in MS Mus. e. 381 in Forrest's hand have been lost. In repairing what we presume was a damaged partbook, later owner John Baldwin recopied these parts in his own hand using paper with printed staves.

²¹ This method of indicating the unit of text to be repeated would later be adopted by Robert Dow in *Och* MSS 984–88 and combined with his ditto sign, ij.

Nicholas Sandon, these partbooks were the work of a single scribe who used two distinct hands for text: his first hand used larger letter forms for the top of the folio where letters were usually separated; and the second was a ‘professional and polished Secretary’ that copied the text for the music.²² Like Magister Burgis of the first layer of GB-Ob MSS Mus. Sch. E. 376–81, he typically worked in overlay. Sandon’s extensive study of these partbooks has already explained the working methods of the copyist in some depth,²³ so this section will discuss the influence of text on a composer’s formal structuring of a composition and some scribal habits that raised questions on texting practices in this transitional period of transmission. We will examine four antiphons from this collection: two Jesus antiphons and two Marian antiphons.

Text repetitions in *Sancte deus*?

Two settings of the Jesus antiphon, *Sancte deus*, survive *unica* in these partbooks: one by John Taverner and the other by William Whytbroke (ca.1501–69). The text of the antiphon was an amalgam of phrases from several liturgical sources. The first line of text (as arranged below) was a variant of the Latin *Sanctus deus*, itself a translation of the Greek Τρισάγιον [Trisagion, or ‘Thrice Holy’], which formed part of the *Improperia* in the Sarum Rite Liturgy of Good Friday. ‘Quia per crucem tuam redemisti mundum’ was a phrase that was also to be found in the liturgical texts of Good Friday, and the remainder of the text was taken from *Libera me, Domine*, the

²² Sandon, ‘The Henrician Partbooks’, 47.

²³ Ibid., 47–60.

ninth responsory at the Matins of the Dead.²⁴

Common to Taverner and Whytbroke's settings was the use of many bar-lines to indicate breaks in the continuity of the music.²⁵ For a short text of only twenty-nine words, there were nine bar-lines located in the following positions:

Sancte Deus | Sancte fortis | Sancte et immortalis | Miserere nobis |
Nunc Christe te petimus miserere quaesumus qui venisti redimere perditos |
Noli | Damnare redemptos | Quia per crucem tuam redemisti mundum |
Amen. |

The frequent bar-lines between every few words in the first line, in addition to syntactically dividing the three titles of God, may have been to allow time for appropriate reverences to the crucifix, as required by the ritual outlined in the Cardinal College statutes.²⁶ The next line of 10 words without interruption expanded upon the plea for mercy. At 'Noli', all polyphonic settings of this piece underscored the crucial negating of what was to follow (i.e. 'condemn the redeemed') by setting these two syllables to two breves with coronae. Following a brief mention of the world being redeemed through the cross, a melismatic setting of the 'Amen' concluded the composition.

Taverner's concise setting of this antiphon for five voices was created for a purpose diametrically opposite to that of the festal Masses that will be examined in the following chapter. Whereas the Mass settings were designed to be displays of contrapuntal virtuosity for use on occasions of great solemnity, *Sancte deus* was

²⁴ Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks', 245.

²⁵ This is also true of Tallis's setting, which was not recorded in this manuscript. It survives *unicum* in GB-Lbl Add. MSS 17802-05).

²⁶ Benham, *John Taverner: His life*, 134.



Figure 4-8: John Taverner, *Sancte deus*. Extract of Cp MS 32, fol. 1^r. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

composed for ferial use.²⁷ All of the phrases save one, which contained only a single word ‘Noli’, followed a uniform structure: they began with strict syllabic texting until the last few syllables before a bar-line, at which point neumatic motion or a restrained penultimate melisma took over.²⁸ With the exception of the reverse accent in the initial ‘Sancte’ of MS 31, fol. 1^r, Taverner’s sensitivity to word rhythms in the syllabic start of phrases was impeccable. Disyllabic words such as ‘sancte’, ‘Christe’, ‘quia’, ‘crucem’, and ‘tuam’ were all set with notes of equal value or with a longer note for the first syllable and a shorter note for the second syllable, reflecting the accented first syllable and the unaccented second syllable. Words with three or more syllables usually were given dotted rhythms, with the stressed syllables carrying the longer note, as in ‘immortalis’, ‘miserere’, ‘petimus’, and ‘redemisti’; see Figure 4-8.

Reinforcing the speculation that Whytbrooke sought to outdo Taverner’s compositional efforts at the newly established foundation of Cardinal College where they were both employed was the former’s nearly wholesale appropriation of

²⁷ The statutes of Cardinal College later refounded as Christ Church prescribed the daily singing of this antiphon. Benham, *John Taverner: His life*, 132; and Sandon, ‘The Henrician Partbooks’, 245.

²⁸ Taverner’s adherence to a pattern of texting enables us to make textually convincing reconstructions of the lost parts.

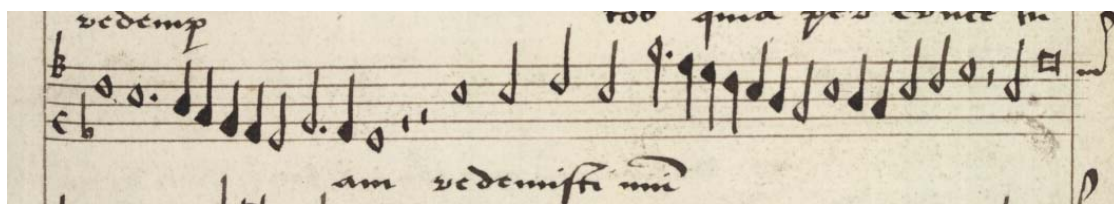


Figure 4-9: William Whytbroke, *Sancte deus*. Extract of Cp MS 41, fol. 29^v, showing the 'displaced thesis' on 'redemisti'. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

Taverner's texting rhythms into his own setting of *Sancte deus*.²⁹ When one compares the words that were cited above as instances of Taverner's sensitive texting to the corresponding words in Whytbroke's composition, it is impossible to ignore the similarities. The words 'sancte',³⁰ 'Christe', 'quia', and 'crucem' were also set with notes of equal value or a note of longer value followed by a note of shorter value. The words 'miserere' and 'petimus' were assigned dotted rhythms. Appropriate stresses were realised in 'immortalis' by placing the syllable 'im-' and '-ta-' on theses while also assigning the latter syllable the highest pitch of the word. 'Redemisti' used a similar technique for realising the stress on '-mi-', but displaced the thesis — that is, placed a longer note on the arsis — to stress 're-'; see Figure 4-9. Amidst these many imitations of Taverner, the feature that distinguished Whytbroke's setting was the greater amount of, and in most cases longer, melismata.

Although only the Tenor part of this setting is missing, a reconstruction of this composition is more problematic than Taverner's setting due to the inconsistency of the scribe. From the second-to-last system of fol. 35^r and first system of fol. 36^v in MS 31, and again on the first and second systems of MS 40, fol. 31^v, words were texted

²⁹ Benham points out that there are many portions of the two Bassus parts that correspond to each other. Benham, *John Taverner: His life*, 299, n. 29.

³⁰ Like Taverner, there is a single part, the Bassus, which is set with reverse-accentuation on the opening 'Sancte'.

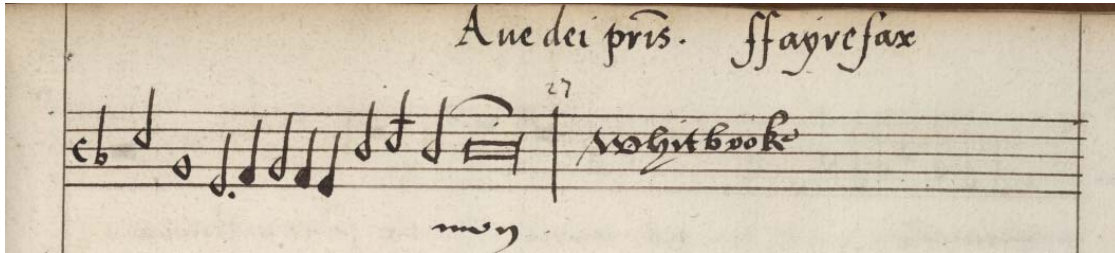
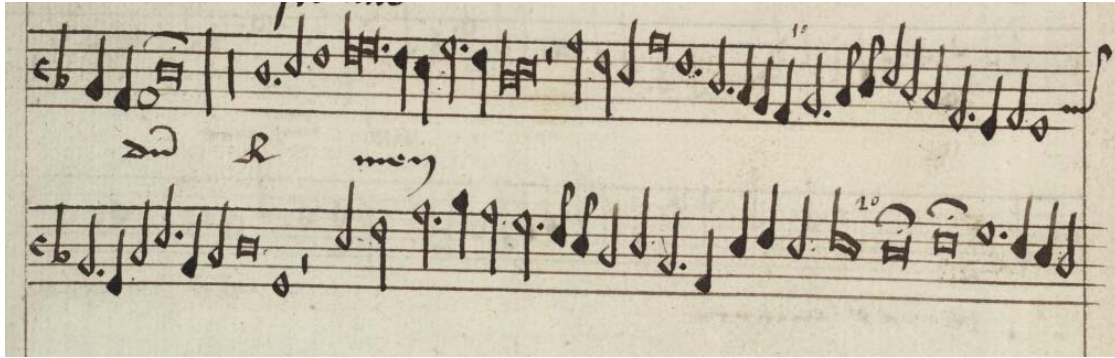


Figure 4-10: William Whytbrooke, *Sancte deus*. Extract of Cp MS 31, fol. 35^v–36^r, showing the double final syllable of ‘Amen’. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

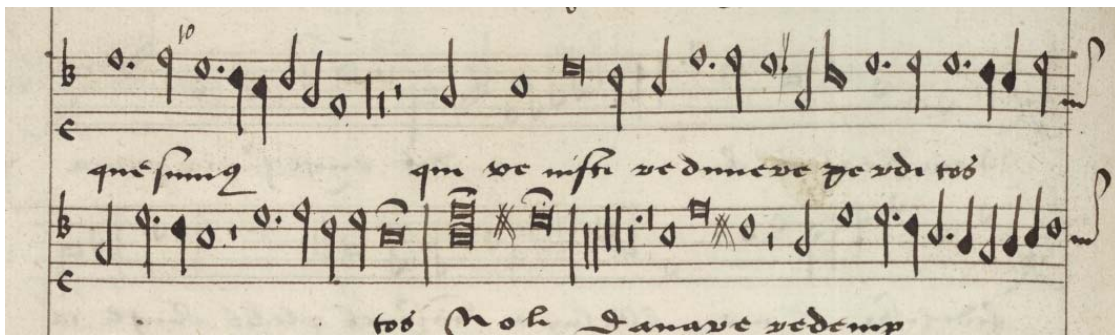


Figure 4-11: William Whytbrooke, *Sancte deus*. Extract of Cp MS 40, fol. 31^v, showing the double final syllable of ‘perditos’. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

with double final syllables: ‘-men’ of ‘Amen’ and ‘-tos’ of ‘perditos’, respectively. The first occurrence of the final syllable of the word seemed to suggest that these words were to be sung with terminal melismata, but this was called into question when the second final syllable was encountered; see Figures 4-10 and 4-11. Is it possible that the entire word was meant to be repeated since the melisma was interrupted in both cases by a rest? This uncertainty of whether to repeat words or not was further complicated by the fully written-out repetitions of ‘damnare redemptos’ in MS 31 (fol.

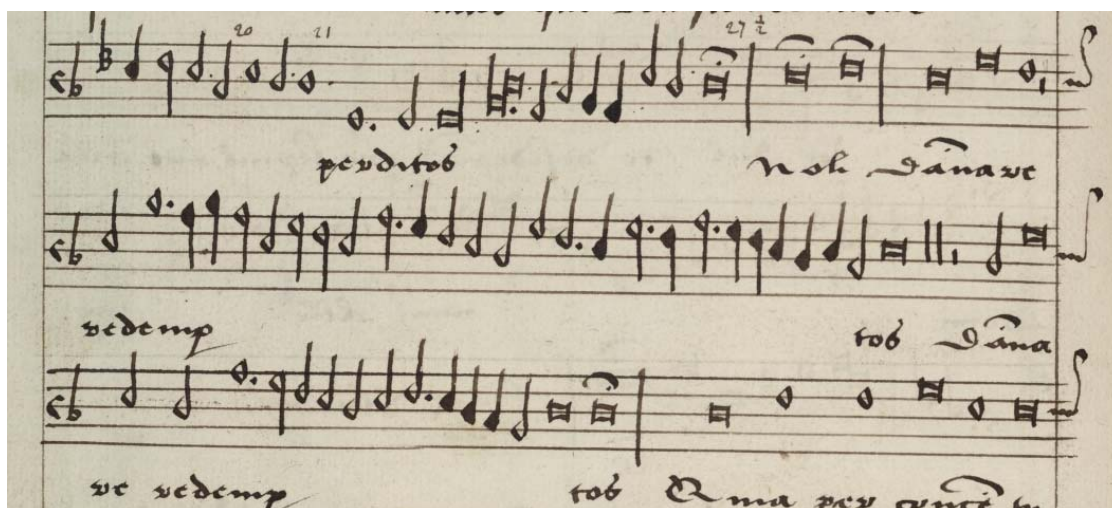


Figure 4-12: William Whytbroke, *Sancte deus*. Extract of Cp MS 31, fol. 35^v, showing the written-out repetitions of 'damnare redemptos'. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

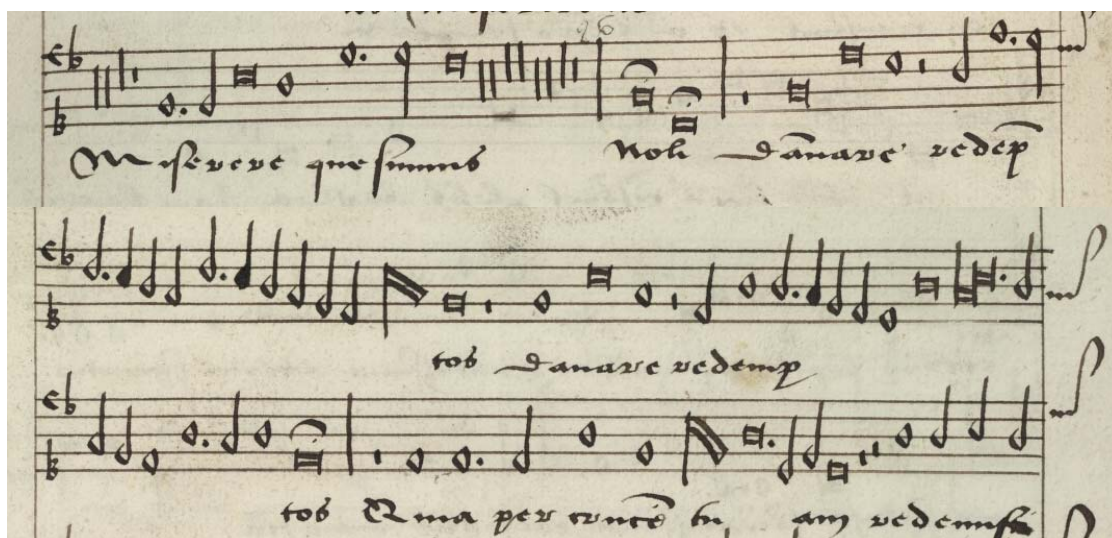


Figure 4-13: William Whytbroke, *Sancte deus*. Extract of Cp MS 32, fol. 29^v–30^r, showing the written-out repetitions of 'damnare redemptos'. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

35^v, systems 4–6) and MS 32 (from the final system of fol. 29^v to the second system of fol. 30^r); see Figures 4-12 and 4-13. To resolve this question, one might begin by checking for other terminal melismata present in the antiphon. From the second line of text onwards, five cases of melisma were copied as terminal melismata: the words 'petimus' (MS 31), 'redimere', and 'perditos' (MSS 31 and 41). Moreover, terminal melismata on the 'Amen' *did* occur in MSS 32 and 40, while 'Amen' was set with a



Figure 4-14: William Whytbroke, *Sancte deus*. Extract of Cp MS 41, fol. 29^v, showing the penultimate melisma on 'Amen'. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

penultimate melisma in MS 41: see Figure 4-14.

With such conflicting data, we obviously cannot arrive at a solution by a simple survey of the other surviving parts. That the scribe simply forgot to split off the final syllable from all the cases of terminal melismata is improbable, since he managed to split final syllables off from words in other cases. The absence of ditto marks and the presence of fully written-out textual repeats also effectively eliminates the explanation of the double-final syllable as a scribal shorthand for indicating repetition. Perhaps the two cases of the double-final syllables on 'Amen' and 'perditos' were simply matters of scribal carelessness and inconsistencies.

This final explanation is given some credibility by the vertical strokes the scribe used on the second system of MS 41, fol. 29^v, to improve a case of substantial

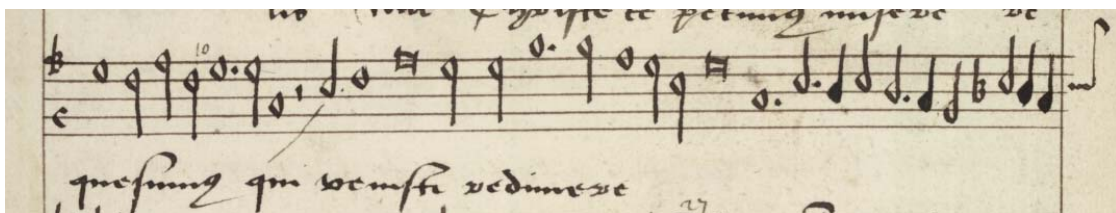


Figure 4-15: William Whytbroke, *Sancte deus*. Extract of Cp MS 41, fol. 29^v, showing the correction of misalignment by the scribe. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

misalignment in his overlay; see Figure 4-15. Having completed the word in his text-first copying process and only then discovering that there was a much longer penultimate melisma than he originally thought after he added the notation, he likely proceeded to the final note of the composition or phrase and placed the final syllable of the word without bothering to come back to remove the first ending.³¹

Sensitive structure and texting in a Marian antiphon with a Passiontide subject

The only composer known to have set the text of the antiphon, *Maria plena virtute*, is Robert Fayrfax. An extended reflection on the Passion and the last words of Christ, the text has an irregular metre and features the same tail-rhyme in all quatrains. It is perhaps fitting then that Fayrfax's text setting was also distinctive, even peculiar. The florid style of the choirbooks was eschewed in this composition in favour of syllabic texting with minimal neumatic motion. The use of melismata and coronae were reserved for specific points in the text; this will be addressed in further detail below.

An on-going dilemma facing both the researcher and the editor is how the sixty-four lines of this antiphon ought to be divided in order to generate the best formal structure. In his dissertation (and published modern edition), Sandon arranged the sixty-four lines of text into eight stanzas of eight lines each based on the rhyme scheme; this was probably the best structure that could be generated from a metrically irregular text.³² Fayrfax's composition, by contrast, was not so squarely

³¹ Many motets in GB-Lbl Royal 8 G. vii (copied between ca.1513–ca.1525), a choirbook of Flemish provenance, feature a second final syllable at the end of melismata. It seems that it was the standard practice for the anonymous scribe of that manuscript.

³² Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks', 212–13, and Nicholas Sandon, ed. *Maria plena virtute* (Moretonhampstead, New Abbot: Antico Edition, 1996).

divided. The text was organised into five unequal sections: the first set the texts of Sandon's stanzas 1 and 2; the second, the texts of stanzas 3 and 4; the third, stanza 5 only; the fourth, the first five lines of stanza 6; and the last section, the remainder of stanza 6, stanzas 7, 8, and the Amen.³³

Erratic though the divisions may appear, the composer's tailored organisation of the text strongly suggests that he was being driven by a concern for syntactic cohesion and topical unity. Lines 1–8 of Fayrfax's first section addressed the Virgin with two petitions of four lines each and lines 9–16 presented the first two words of Christ on the Cross. The second section described the giving of Mary into the care of the beloved disciple by Christ. The third section that set only one stanza recounted a single utterance by Christ, 'I thirst' in lines 1–2, at which point the narrative of the Passion stopped while the speaker pleaded for forgiveness in lines 3–8. The fourth section set the final two words of Christ in lines 1–5 (Sandon's stanza 6). The first eleven lines of the final section contained a final petition to Christ and the conclusion of the Passion narrative. Lines 12–19 then mirrored the first section by turning to the Virgin and pleading for her aid, concluding in a melismatic 'Amen'.

In the context of a restrained syllabic style, Fayrfax was at pains to provide music that conspicuously underlined the natural word rhythms through a variety of texting techniques. Such techniques included careful positioning of a strong or a weak syllable on a thesis or an arsis, respectively; lengthening an arsis note when it carried a strong syllable; and using a higher pitch to accent a syllable.³⁴ A close reading of the opening of the antiphon in the Bassus part (MS 32, fol. 7^v) makes this point clear; see

³³ See Appendix C for the complete antiphon text with this textual division, pp. 319–20.

³⁴ Rice, 'Reverse accentuation', 143–45.

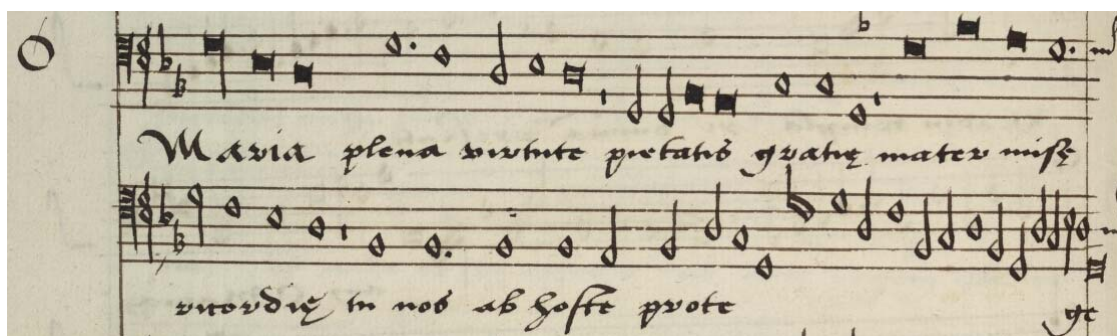


Figure 4-16: Robert Fayrfax, *Maria plena virtute*. Extract of Cp MS 32, fol. 7^v, showing the opening verses of the Bassus part. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

Figure 4-16.

The opening lines are accentuated in this manner: ‘**M**aria **p**lena virtute / **p**ietatis **g**ratiae / **m**ater misericordiae / tu **n**os ab **h**oste **p**rotege’. With the exception of a reverse-accentuation on ‘mater’, Fayrfax carefully lined up all the accented syllables with theses on two levels of mensuration: *prolatio minor*, the semibreve/minim level; and *tempus perfectum* (the breve/semibreve level). In the latter system, the majority of the unstressed syllables set to semibreves typically landed on the second or third semibreve of each group of three. ‘Plena’ demonstrates the simple method of lengthening the note value on the stressed syllable; in this case, a dotted semibreve followed by a semibreve.

Changing the pitch of a single syllable when the rest of the word was on a static pitch also affected the declamation of the word and this is what Fayrfax did in ‘virtute’, and ‘gratiae’. In ‘virtute’, attention was drawn to ‘-tu-’, a stressed syllable, by motion to a higher pitch, *e-flat*, while the bookending syllables remained on *d*. In ‘gratiae’, the first two syllables were stationary on *c* while the final syllable descended to a *G* arsis-semibreve; this achieved the opposite effect as the music sought to imitate human speech by letting the final unstressed syllable fall away.

A combination of techniques was also possible as seen in the setting of 'misericordiae': the increased note value on the lesser accent, 'mi-', and the change to *f*, a thesis-semibreve, on the major accent of '-cor-' after two syllables on *g*. The final word of the petition was meticulously arranged so that the accented initial syllable of 'protege' fell on a thesis-minim while the penultimate melisma began on a weaker minim.

The words of the dying Christ from the cross were given special attention. For the sake of clarity when presenting the sacred words, they were syllabically set and with a considerable amount of homophony between the parts. In the first section, there was not a great deal of separation between the narrative of the Passion and the

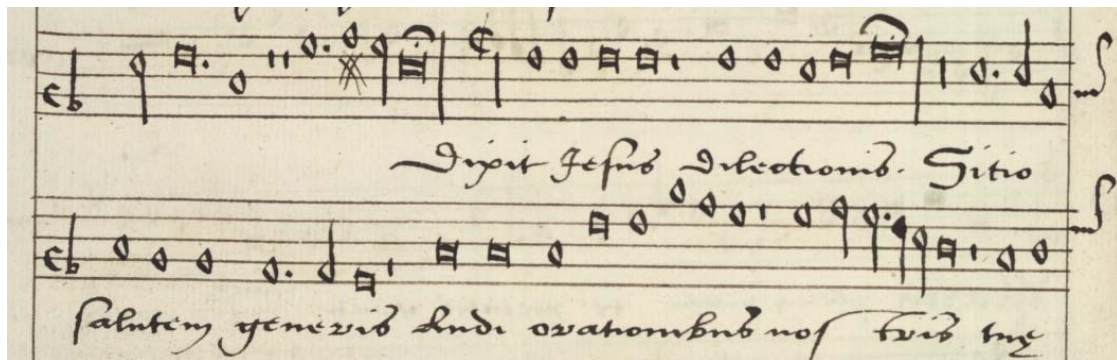


Figure 4-17: Robert Fayrfax, *Maria plena virtute*. Extract of Cp MS 41, fol. 7^v, showing the placement of a corona before the words of Christ. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

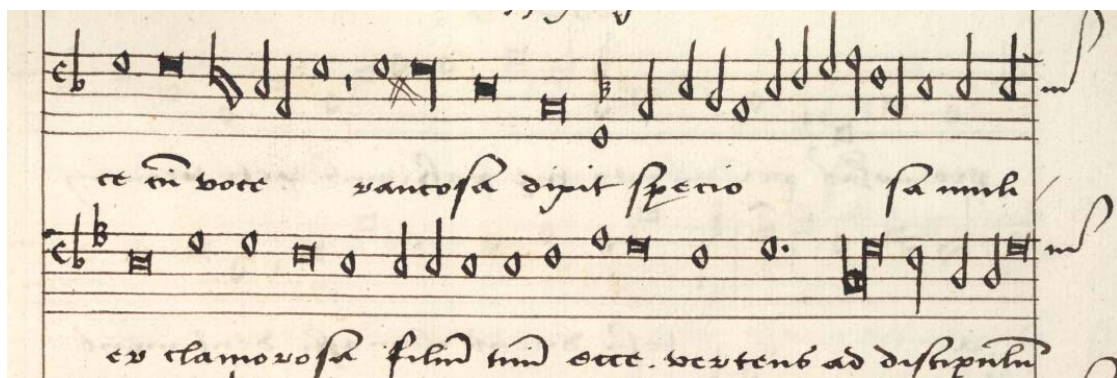


Figure 4-18: Robert Fayrfax, *Maria plena virtute*. Extract of Cp MS 31, fol. 10^r, showing the intervening penultimate melisma which marks the switch from the narration, which ends at 'speciosa', to the syllabic words of Christ, 'mulier clamorosa filium tuum ecce'. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

words of Christ, but this attitude began to change as the composition proceeded. By the second and third sections, each of the 'last words' was denoted either by the music coming to a halt through the placement of a corona or the appearance of a melisma immediately before they were heard, in order to provide a greater contrast to Christ's syllabically set words; see Figures 4-17 and 4-18.

The single function that melismata appear to have served in this composition was that of punctuation. It is no accident that, in the first section for example, melismata occurred at the ends of lines 4, 8, and 16. 'Protege' and 'erue' at the end of lines 4 and 8 respectively concluded petitions to the Virgin, while 'hodie' marked the end of a segment of the Passion narrative. Throughout the remainder of the composition, the ends of stanzas, sections, and syntactically complete phrases were where one most likely was to find a melisma, with two notable exceptions.

The first exception was in a proliferation of melismata that occurred in the sixth stanza containing the final words of Christ, the death of Christ being the climax of the accounts of the Passion and of this antiphon. Beginning in line 5, the final word of each line — 'dixisti', 'dei', and 'mei' — was given a penultimate melisma, while the final line was accorded a terminal melisma on 'suscipe'. Appropriately, following this final petition to the dying Christ, the style became syllabic again as the narration of the Passion resumed.

The second exception was in the second section, where an unexpected terminal melisma occurred on the second system in MS 32, fol. 8^r, on 'raucosa', a mid-stanza line ending; see Figure 4-19. At this point, all other parts completed the phrase with 'dixit speciosa' and a terminal melisma was accorded to the final syllable of these extra words, thus separating the narrative from the words of Christ. In spite of



Figure 4-19: Robert Fayrfax, *Maria plena virtute*. Extract of Cp MS 32, fol. 8^r, showing textless notes after 'raucosa' as a result of the apparent omission of 'dixit speciosa'. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

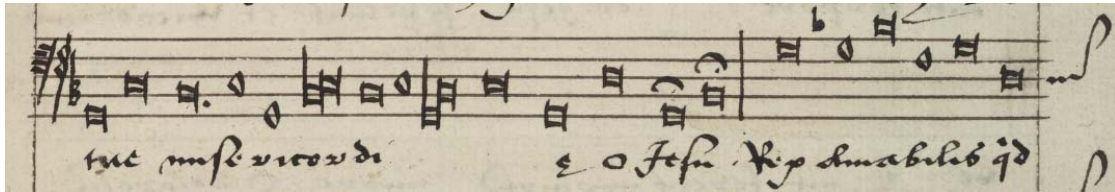


Figure 4-20: Robert Fayrfax, *Maria plena virtute*. Extract of Cp MS 32, fol. 8^r, showing interruption of syntax at 'O Jesu'. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

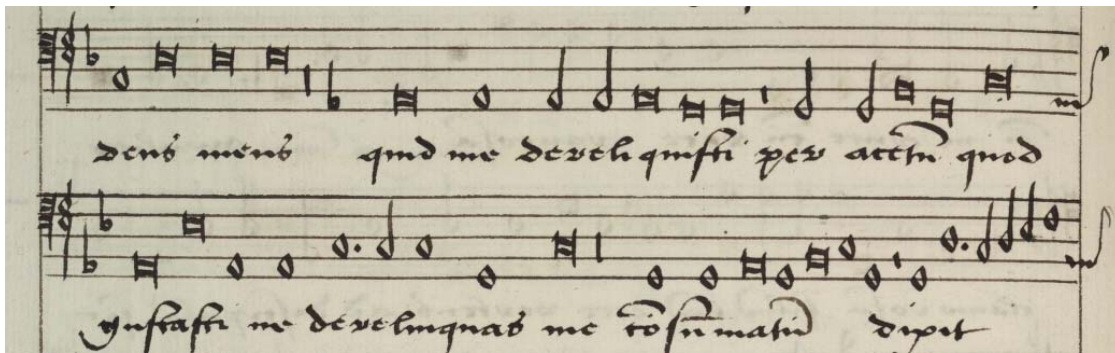


Figure 4-21: Robert Fayrfax, *Maria plena virtute*. Extract of Cp MS 32, fol. 8^v, showing the unusual signature of *e*-flat only in the first system and the accidental of *A*-flat, which is absorbed into the signature in the second system. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

Sandon's assertion that the scribe carefully checked over his copies,³⁵ this missing text in the Bassus part presents yet another instance of scribal omission, for there were enough notes remaining to set 'dixit speciosa' convincingly.

Maria plena virtute was not composed following the conventional patterns of pre-Reformation votive antiphons, though some practices such as pausing on a homophonic exclamation of the sacred name persisted: 'O Jesu' in the third section, for instance, textually belonged to the subsequent verse (i.e. 'O Jesu rex admirabilis').

³⁵ Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks', 63.

There was nevertheless a break inserted, causing a momentary gap in the continuity of the music and textual phrase; see Figure 4-20.³⁶ Fayrfax's sensitive style in setting this moving text included innovations (especially in bold harmonic progressions; see Figure 4-21) and contributed to what has been described as the composer's 'finest work'.³⁷ Much more could be written on the unusual attributes of this composition. This discussion has been limited to compositional techniques that relate to treatment of text because that is the extent of the scope of this dissertation.

Experimental texting in a Marian antiphon of John Marbeck

John Marbeck's (ca.1505–ca.1585) *Ave dei patris filia*, another *unicum* of these partbooks, is among the few extant specimens of what he accomplished during his time 'at Wyndsore, in the study of Musike and playyng on Organs, wherein [he] consumed vainly the greatest part of [his] life'.³⁸ A standard text of the pre-Reformation era, this Marian antiphon was set by several composers including Robert Fayrfax, Robert Johnson (i) (ca.1500–ca.1560), Thomas Tallis, and John Taverner.³⁹ Known as the 'Septem salutationes ad beatam Mariam virginem nostram mediatrixem efficacissimam', the text was an extensive compendium of titles in

³⁶ The words 'Et Jesum' of 'Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui, etc.' in the *Salve Regina* were similarly clearly separated from the rest of its phrase and often emphasised by chordal texture, since it was 'regarded as a focal point of the chant where the supplication is directed to Mary as the mediat[rix] of man before her Son'. The use of chordal writing to draw attention to the text, underlining important liturgical or political names, was very common and continued to be cultivated well after the sixteenth century. Lucy Hruza, 'The Marian Repertory by Tomás Luis de Victoria in Toledo, *Biblioteca Capitular Mus. B. 30*: A case study in Renaissance *Imitatio*' (PhD diss., University of Calgary, 1997), 183.

³⁷ Andrew Carwood and David Skinner, liner notes to *Robert Fayrfax: Missa Tecum principium · Maria plena virtute*, The Cardinal's Musick, ASV Gaudeamus CDGAU145, 1995, compact disc.

³⁸ John Marbeck's own description of his past from his *A concordance* published in 1550. STC (2nd ed.): 17300, fol. a.ij.^r.

³⁹ However, there were no settings of this text in the Eton Choirbook.

honour of the Blessed Virgin.⁴⁰ It was organised in this manner: six stanzas in quatrains, with the recurring pattern of describing Mary as 'filia', 'mater', 'sponsa' and 'ancilla'; an eleven-line stanza of shorter lines made up of two quatrains and a tercet; and a concluding 'Amen'. Excepting the last irregular stanza, each stanza began with the acclamation, 'Ave'.

In the first, fourth, and fifth stanzas, there were minor variants in Marbeck's text that did not appear in the other *Ave dei patris* settings contained in these manuscripts. In all parts, the third line of the first stanza read 'Dei spiritus **sancti** sponsa venustissima', the first line of the fourth stanza read 'Ave Jesu tui **fili** **filia**', and the third line of the fifth stanza read, '**mater** singulariter speciosa.'⁴¹ The words in boldface type above indicate the variants and each case represents a different type of variant. The first instance was a variant of addition: this line in the other versions did not contain the 'sancti' adjective. The second variant was a variant of omission: the other versions had 'dulcis' between 'fili' and 'filia'. The last variant was a variant of substitution, with 'mater' replacing 'sponsa' of the Taverner and Fayrfax settings. Given that all parts in Marbeck's setting contained these differences, it is probable that the exemplar originally contained these variants and they are not errors on the part of the copyist.

This composition is almost a textbook example of a pre-Reformation antiphon in its formal construction. Two mensurations were used in the piece: *tempus perfectum diminutum* for the first four quatrains and *tempus imperfectum diminutum* for the remainder of the text. Scoring changes in the reduced-parts sections aided in the

⁴⁰ Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks', 246.

⁴¹ Ibid., 228.

identifying of new stanzas and full-parts scoring on breves with coronae over the word 'Ave' denoted the end of the current section and the beginning of the next. However, a number of irregular features, including texting, led Sandon to suggest this antiphon to be the earliest of Marbeck's surviving Latin-texted polyphonic works:

Chief among [the features] is its inconsistency... Firstly there is the inconsistency of style, in that the piece explores so many rhetorical devices that it runs the risk of sounding incoherent... from conjunct to disjunct melody; from syllabic to melismatic texting; and so on.⁴²

While the evidence that I am about to present shows that Sandon's critique generally holds, his list of problematic aspects needs some refining. Firstly, there is nothing intrinsically incoherent about varying the texting from syllabic to melismatic; in fact, the three votive antiphons already examined earlier in this section thrive on this technique. It is more the chaotic and experimental manner in which Marbeck set the same word in different parts that was at the root of the incoherence.

Texting inconsistencies began as early as eight words into the antiphon. In the opening trio, 'mater dignissima' was set in three diverging ways. Correctly accented, these two words ought to bear the stress on 'ma-' and '-nis-'. None of the three parts that sang these words managed to achieve fully this ideal manner of texting. At the

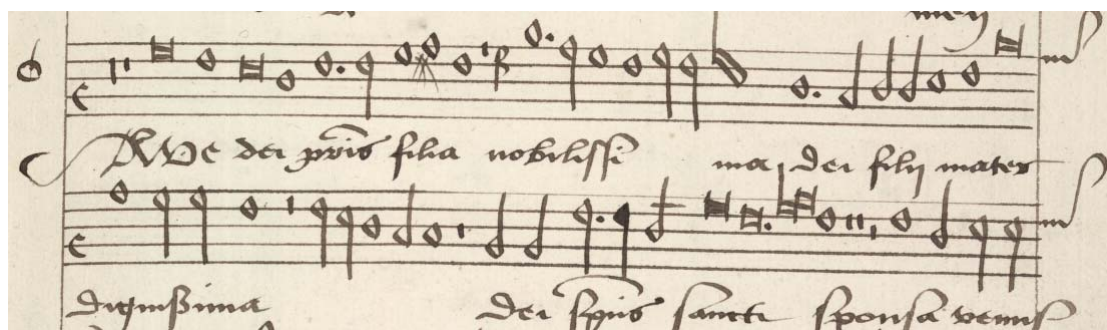


Figure 4-22: John Marbeck, *Ave dei patris*. Extract of Cp MS 40, fol. 78^r, showing the reverse-accent on 'mater' at the end of the first system. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

⁴² Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks', 177.

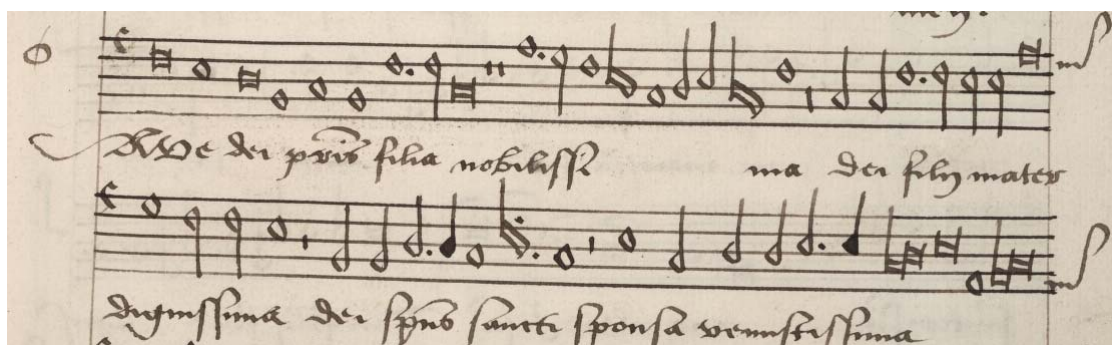


Figure 4-23: John Marbeck, *Ave dei patris*. Extract of Cp MS 31, fol. 86^r, showing the reverse-accent on ‘mater’ at the end of the first system. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

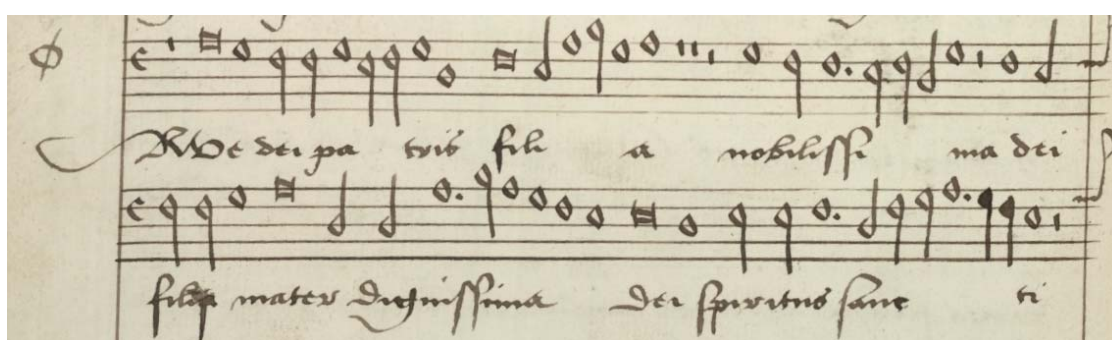


Figure 4-24: John Marbeck, *Ave dei patris*. Extract of Cp MS 41, fol. 74^v, nearly perfect prosodic setting of ‘mater dignissima’ in the second system with an unfortunate terminal neumatic motion added at the end. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

end of the first system in the Triplex part (MS 40, fol. 78^r), ‘mater’ was set with a semibreve-breve reverse-accentuation, made all the more prominent with the ascending leap of a fourth from *g*’ to *c*’’. ‘Dignissima’ followed with a prosodically correct syllabic setting of semibreves and minims, but the untexted passage following the minim rest — presumably a terminal melisma on the last written syllable, ‘-a’ of ‘dignissima’ — drew attention to the unstressed final syllable; see Figure 4-22. One breve after ‘mater’ began in the Triplex part, an even more conspicuous case of reverse-accentuation on ‘mater’ involving minims and breves took place an octave lower in the Contratenor part at the end of the first system of MS 31, fol. 86^r. ‘Dignissima’ was set in precisely the same manner as in the Triplex part, except

without the terminal melisma; see Figure 4-23. Surprisingly, the *Medius* part set ‘mater’ aptly to a breve followed by a minim and placed the second syllable of ‘dignissima’ on a thesis-dotted semibreve. Unfortunately, this nearly perfect prosodic setting was weakened: the final syllable was given terminal neumatic motion and this had the effect of drawing attention to the final unstressed syllable as the terminal melisma did in the *Triplex* part; see Figure 4-24.

It is of particular interest to note that all these cases of misplaced accents and reverse-accents appeared exclusively in the first section of the motet. Once the mensuration changed to *tempus imperfectum diminutum*, these prosodic misalignments no longer occurred. For example, in every occurrence of ‘mater’ after the mensuration change, the first syllable was set to a longer note and the second to a note of shorter or equal value.⁴³

Melismata were an integral aspect of Marbeck’s Latin texting style, and by far, the most common type he used was the penultimate melisma, even when the stressed

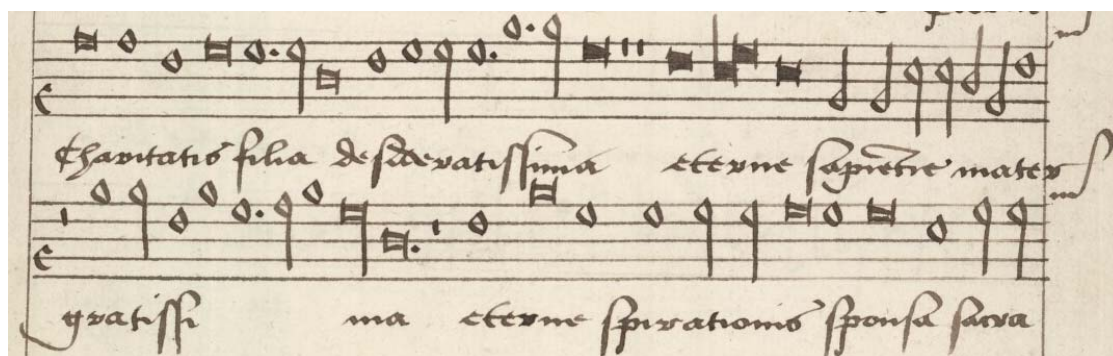


Figure 4-25: John Marbeck, *Ave dei patris*. Extract of Cp MS 40, fol. 78r showing the first two lines of stanza 3 in the *Triplex* part. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

⁴³ A similar case of texting irregularities occurring only before a change of mensuration takes place in Whyte’s *Domine, quis habitabit* (ii) that will be studied in Chapter 6.2. It too is composed in a bipartite mould with a *perfectum* mensuration in the first half and an *imperfectum* mensuration in the second half. Perhaps Marbeck, like Whyte so many years later, was more proficient with texting in an *imperfectum* mensuration.

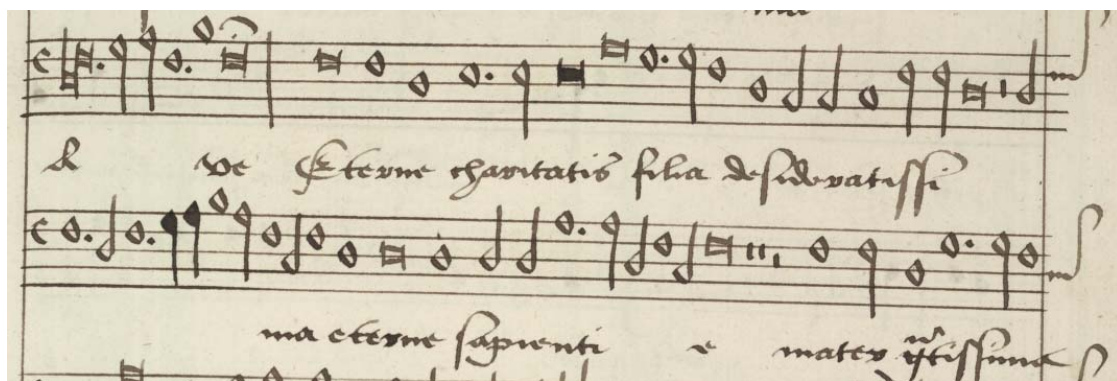


Figure 4-26: John Marbeck, *Ave dei patris*. Extract of Cp MS 41, fol. 75^r showing the first two lines of stanza 3 in the Medius part. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

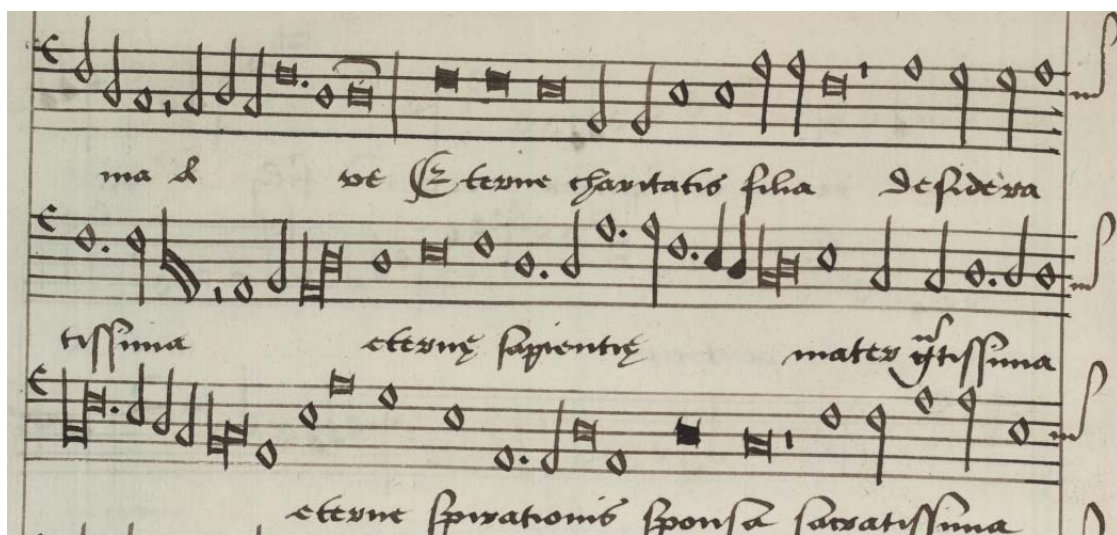


Figure 4-27: John Marbeck, *Ave dei patris*. Extract of Cp MS 31, fol. 86^v showing the first two lines of stanza 3 in the Contratenor part. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

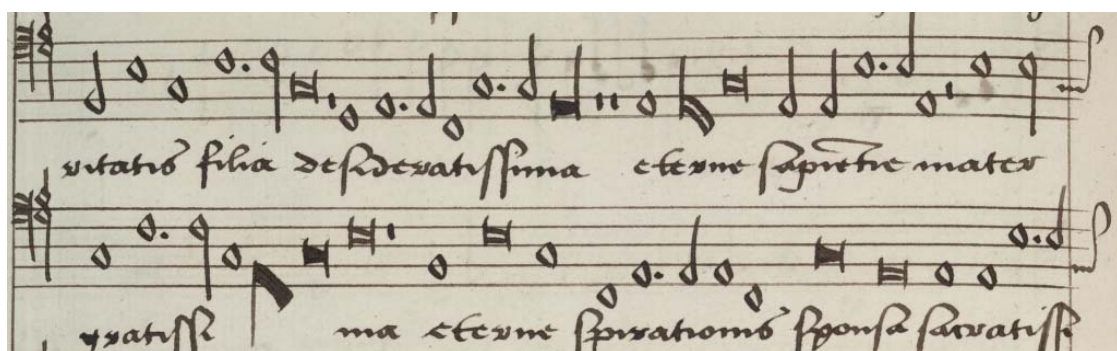


Figure 4-28: John Marbeck, *Ave dei patris*. Extract of Cp MS 32, fol. 70^v showing the first two lines of stanza 3 in the Bassus part. Image copyright © The Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge; Photography copyright: DIAMM. Reproduced by permission.

syllable was not in the penultimate position. As an example, we will take a closer look at the texting at the end of the first two lines of stanza/quatrain 3, set for full-parts: 'Ave aeternae caritatis filia desideratissima, / aeternae sapientiae mater gratissima'; see Figures 4-25 to 4-28. Because both lines end with suffix '-sima', the stressed syllable would be, as a rule, in the antepenultimate position and a prosodically-conscious setting would assign any neumatic movement or melisma to it.

Marbeck defies our expectations through a variable setting of each line-ending word from one part to the next. 'Dignissima' is set syllabically in the Triplex part, with a penultimate melisma in the Medius part, with a terminal melisma in the Contratenor part, and syllabically in the Bassus part. 'Gratissima' follows a few words after with a penultimate melisma in the Triplex and Bassus parts, syllabic setting in the Medius part, and terminal melisma in the Contratenor part. The direct cause of this divergence lies in Marbeck's compositional construct in which he wanted the various voices to enter successively with these words, one after the next. However, this required a greater amount of beats to accomplish and since repetition of text was not a common practice at the time of composition, the solution the composer arrived at was to assign the earliest entering parts with penultimate or terminal melismata while they 'waited' for the remaining parts to enter.

The closing section of the composition, 'O gloriosissima semper virgo Maria. Amen' passes beyond the assessment of prosodic word setting, for the words themselves are entirely lost amid the multiple protracted melismata, which were interrupted frequently by rests. In this passage, like the final passage of a *Salve regina* setting of the choirbooks, the purpose of the composition was no longer to communicate text, but to envelope the listener in sound.

Our case studies of the Peterhouse Partbooks, Henrician Set, have shown that texting methods were very much in transition on the eve of the Edwardian Reformation.

Important advances towards a prosodic style of texting had been made by Fayrfax by the beginning of the 1520s, and a principally syllabic, compact form of the votive antiphon was being cultivated by the end of that decade. However, the older tradition of melismatic texting in extended votive antiphons was still very much a part of liturgical life.

Except for a very brief revival during Mary Tudor's reign (1553–58), this was the last period of Latin-texted polyphonic composition for the public liturgy.

Henceforth, Latin-texted composition would continue to develop, but in the private sphere. The principal form of transmission of these post-Reformation compositions was in the manuscript collections of independent scribes.

THE TEXTING OF CANTUS FIRMI IN EARLY SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH SOURCES

This chapter makes an excursus from our survey of the selected sources and looks in some detail into the practice of texting cantus firmus in early sixteenth-century English sources. At the most fundamental level, a cantus firmus in England ca.1500 was the borrowing of a melodic excerpt that was usually, but not exclusively, from a pre-existing plainsong that would be used as the basis against which the counterpoint of a polyphonic piece would be composed. Before placing this ‘fixed song’ into a voice, the fragment would be framed within a mensuration or mensurations, the notes assigned rhythmic values, and most importantly for this dissertation, the melody would be adapted to an unrelated text—that of the motet. With the majority of the original attributes of the melody removed or altered, it is perhaps for the reason of being more easily identifiable that composers and scribes tended to notate cantus firmi with the precise amount of notes that was in its original form.

Puzzlingly, this practice is most clearly seen in a late sixteenth-century copy of the cantus firmus of Taverner’s *Missa ‘Gloria tibi trinitas’*, copied by John Baldwin into GB-*Och* Mus. 979; the first page of the Gloria is reproduced in Figure

5-1.¹ The traits mentioned above and a few ambiguities are immediately prominent: the cantus firmus melody is initially in the mensuration *tempus perfectum diminutum*

¹ GB-*Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. E. 376–81, the ‘Forrest-Heather’ Partbooks, most likely served as Baldwin’s exemplar when they came into his possession. However, the notation of the cantus firmus in Mus. Sch. E. 377 is decidedly more modern in appearance (e.g. there is an absence of maximas, half-colored ligatures, etc.). Was Baldwin intentionally being anachronistic when making his copy?



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Baldwin's version of the cantus firmus has the exact same number of notes as the original plainsong antiphon (see Figure 5-16). A direct consequence of preserving the melodic integrity, however, was that syllabification was not always clear. In the first system of Baldwin's copy, for instance, the three syllables of 'voluntatis' were assigned to a single breve with a corona, while the coloured maxima-longa ligature (which according to the rules should only bear a single syllable) is assigned the three syllables of 'gracias'. How might a singer have interpreted this vague notation?

This chapter takes up the cantus firmus parts of previous case studies featured in this dissertation, which were deliberately not discussed at the time the rest of the composition was analysed.

*

5.1: Adapting text to music in the Eton Choirbook

The Tenor part of John Browne's *Salve regina (i)* is where, for the first time in this dissertation, we encountered a cantus firmus, reproduced in Figure 5-2. Cantus firmi at the beginning of the sixteenth century were typically excerpts of plainsong that sounded in long notes only during full-parts passages; freely composed material was interposed during reduced-parts passages. Browne used the Maundy Thursday antiphon plainsong melody, *Maria ergo unxit pedes*; this begins at the end of the first system of Figure 5-3.

Whereas Scribe A was fairly accurate in his placement of underlay in the other freely composed voices, he was not so precise in the Tenor part. As early as the third word in Figure 5-2, 'misericordie', the alignment was already unclear. Do the

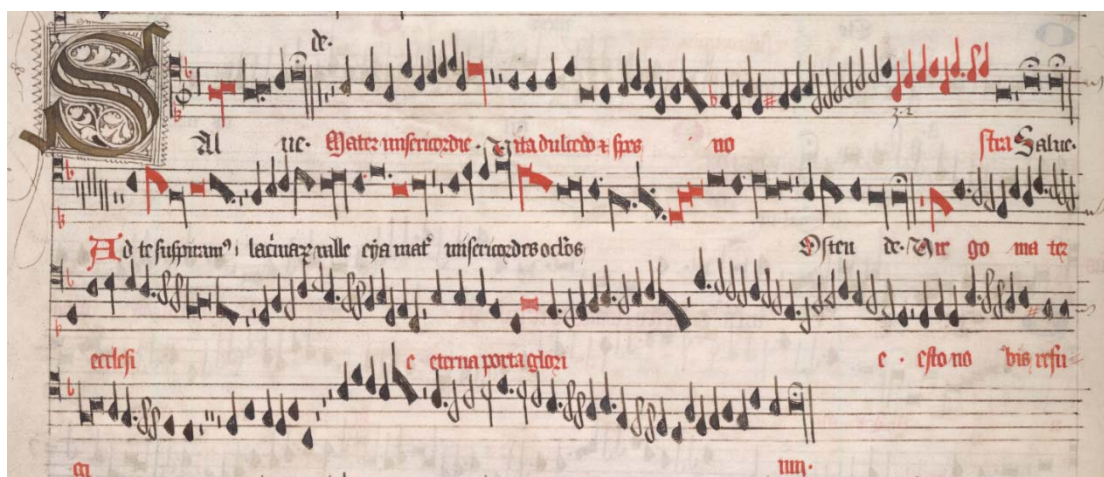


Figure 5-2: John Browne, *Salve regina (i)*. Extract of WRec MS 178, fol. 45^v showing the opening of the Tenor part. Image copyright © Eton College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.



Figure 5-3: Mode vi Antiphon, *Maria ergo unxit pedes*. Extract of STC (2nd ed.): 15863, fol. xcviij^r.

previously established conventions of syllabic and melismatic texting in WRec MS 178 still apply?

‘Misericordie’ is written as a single word and not syllabified. In other voice parts, this would have signified a syllabic texting, and if this convention were applied here, every note until the second *c*’ would have a syllable and the final syllable would have a neumatic movement of three notes. Yet, it is also possible the scribe may have presumed the singers to use ‘standard procedure’ in performance: sing syllabically

until the penultimate syllable and attach the final syllable to the coloured longa in performance; its alignment, after all, is slightly to the left-of-centre as usual.

Certain notes also had more than one syllable under them. At this point in history, the performers would have been expected to adjust the length of these notes in order to accommodate the extra syllables. Scribe A's alignment provided the singer with a few clues: 'suspi-' under the *f* longa could be divided into two breves; the placement of 'i' under the *f* on the end of the first black oblique ligature indicated that the word 'in' must be finished before the rest; and the second coloured ligature of the system carried the two syllables '-des oc-'.

An essential aspect to the cantus firmus texting practice in the early sixteenth century is that not all the words in the text of the composition were set when the plainsong melody was quoted; a considerable amount was left out. The most obvious reason for this was because the notes in the cantus firmus were moving slower than those of the freely-composed voices, and in order for the text to be in accord at crucial cadences or the end of a *partes*, words had to be omitted. A full-text version of the second system of Figure 5-2 would have included the following words enclosed in brackets: 'Ad te suspiramus [gementes et flentes] in [hac] lacrimarum valle eya *mater* [advocata nostra illos tuos] misericordes oculos [ad nos converte et Jhesum benedictum fructum ventris tui nobis post hoc exilium] Ostende'.² In spite of the considerable omissions, the fragments of text that were retained seem to have been carefully chosen with an eye towards preserving some sort of linguistic syntax.³

² 'Mater' (with my italics) seems to be a scribal error. In all other parts, 'ergo' appears after 'eya'.

³ The final line of text also omits '-um apud patrem et fili-', words that are part of this trope that appear in all other voices.

After the word 'oculos', there is a passage of textless music 20 breves in length until the arrival of the word 'Ostende'. Might the singers have inserted some of the missing words here? I posit that this textless passage was not an error of omission on the part of the scribe, especially after he (or the composer) went through the trouble of constructing a phrase that would work syntactically: 'eya mater misericordes oculos ostende.' Rather, this passage was left deliberately untexted.

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WRec MS 178's Scribe C was responsible for adding in Wylkynson's *Salve regina* [à 9] into the Eton Choirbook. Here, as in Browne's setting, the only part in which the underlay was not explicit on the first opening was the passage in the Tenor adapted from the first antiphon at Lauds for the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; the original plainsong antiphon is shown in Figure 5-4. The passage between the first and second bar-lines in Figure 5-5, freely composed, was texted very much



Figure 5-4: Mode vii Antiphon, *Assumpta est maria in celum*. Extract of STC (2nd ed.): 15790a, fol. xcvi.



Figure 5-5: Robert Wylkynson, *Salve Regina* [à 9]. Extract of WRec MS 178, fol. 33v, showing the Tenor. Image copyright © Eton College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

like the other voices. At the entry of the plainsong melody of the second line, however, this clarity disappeared.

Two syllables 'Ad te' were set to a maxima; a quadrisyllabic word 'suspiramus' was set to a dotted longa and a coloured maxima; and the coloured longa had no text under it. Following the longa rest, the eight syllables of 'misericordes et ihesum' were originally set to seven notes; the *c'* semibreve and dot of division appears to have been an afterthought that was squeezed into the little space that was remaining between the two longas. Scribe C as Scribe A before him omitted words from the full text to counterbalance the longer note values that were being sung. Between the first and second part of this phrase, 'gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum vale. Eya ergo advocata nostra illos tuos' was not set; and in the second part of the phrase, 'oculos ad nos converte' after 'misericordes' was left out. Unlike Scribe A, however, in this example we observe a copyist (or composer) who made no effort to create a shorter text that retained some syntax.

5.2: Untexted cantus firmus passages of the Lambeth and Caius Choirbooks

In our initial look at Fayrfax's *musica speculativa* Mass, *Missa 'O quam glorifica'*, it was noted that the copy in *Llp* MS 1 was a decoded 'performance' copy and there were three types of texting found in its construction: the melismatic, the syllabic (with neumatic motion) and the textless.⁴ The textless passages occurred exclusively in the peculiarly notated Tenor part, where there was a high amount of dotted semibreves even though the part was notated in *tempus imperfectum* as shown in Figures 5-6 and

⁴ See Chapter 3.2, p. 74.



Figure 5-6: Robert Fayrfax, *Missa 'O quam glorifica': Gloria*. Extract of Llp MS 1, fol. 9^r, showing the first section of the Tenor part. Image copyright © Lambeth Palace Library. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library.



Figure 5-7: Robert Fayrfax, *Missa 'O quam glorifica': Gloria*. Extract of Llp MS 1, fol. 10^r, showing the second section of the Tenor part. Image copyright © Lambeth Palace Library. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library.

5-7. Following the freely composed episode 'Laudamus te' that was fully texted, the plainsong hymn from the Office of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, *O quam glorifica*, was quoted. At this point, the texting continued for only a verse and a half and then disappeared until the next bar-line; as the image shows, the text went only as far as 'domine deus rex celestis'. The next fourteen notes were left untexted, and then the final syllable of the subsection '-tens' of 'omnipotens' was placed under the final note before the bar-line. More curious still was that this case of missing text occurred at this very spot in both the Lambeth and Caius Choirbooks. In Cgc MS

667/760, even less text was supplied. The eight syllables of 'gracias agimus tibi' were placed under the first six dotted semibreves and these were followed by thirty-one textless notes that led to the end of the subsection. In both sources, full texting resumed immediately after the bar-line.

What might account for these untexted passages? It is inconceivable that the omissions were simple cases of scribal error; the chances of leaving the text incomplete in the same voice at the same passage in two separate choirbooks are implausible. A possible though unlikely explanation is that the esoteric presentation copy on which this performance copy was based was left untexted, but a formal submission for a doctoral degree would have been checked over many times to ensure that nothing was missing. Moreover, the presence of the syllable '-tens' under the final note of the first subsection in *Llp* MS 1 seems to suggest otherwise.

Most probably what happened was that the choirbook versions were copied from a rough, 'decoded', intermediary version; decoding complex notation directly onto a fair copy would be perilous. When the coloured notes were converted into void and black notation, the many dotted semibreves of the cantus firmus were generated. The text to be set, 'gracias agimus...deus pater omnipotens', had thirty-four syllables while there were 38 notes available in *Llp* MS 1.⁵ Lacking knowledge of which notes should be combined to provide neumatic motion for fewer syllables, the decoder probably left the intermediary version untexted. This version with missing text was then subsequently transferred into the choirbooks. Excluding this isolated phrase, the text setting is very comprehensive. Each syllable of text was assigned its

⁵ There are 37 notes in *Cgc* MS 667/760.

own note or group of notes. Singers were not required to do any divisions on their own.

The use of the cantus firmus in this Mass setting was atypical of the period.⁶ Whereas it was common to have two full statements of the cantus firmus in the Gloria and two in the Credo, this Mass only presented one full statement in each movement. Figure 5-8 reproduces the plainsong hymn from which this Mass setting took its cantus firmus. Because of its unusual length, the statement was divided in two: half was used in Section I of the movement, while the remainder was used in Section II.

As in the Gloria, another case of an untexted passage is found in the cantus firmus section of the Tenor part, this time in the second section of the Credo as seen in Figure 5-9. That the missing article was 'et iterum venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos cuius regni non erit finis' is not surprising, given the form of the cantus firmus in *Llp* MS 1; there are hardly enough notes to set half that amount of syllables. The later copy of this Mass setting in *Cgc* MS 667/760 shows the ingenuity of the scribe who provided a solution to this dilemma by dividing all longas into two

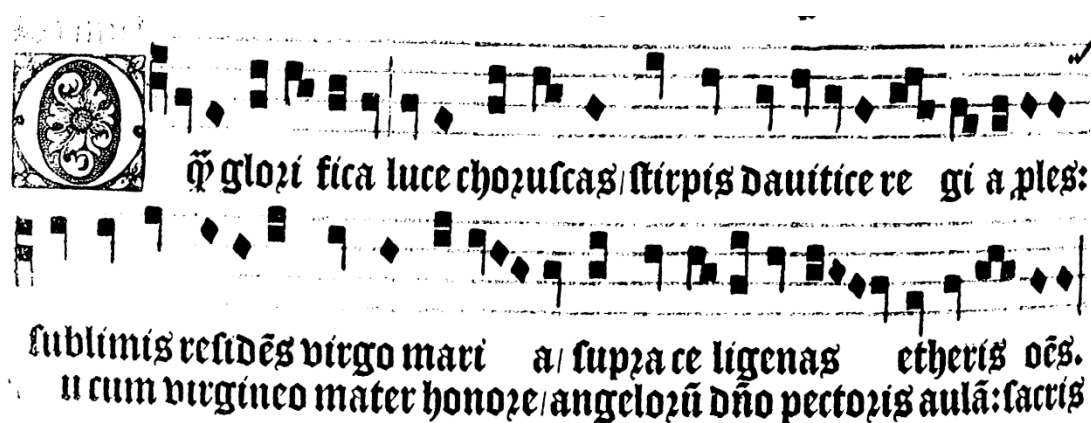


Figure 5-8: Mode ii hymn, *O quam glorifica*. Extract of STC (2nd ed.): 15790a, fol. xc^v.

⁶ *Grove Music Online*, s. v. 'Fayrfax, Robert', by Nicholas Sandon, accessed August 13, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>.



Figure 5-9: Robert Fayrfax, *Missa 'O quam glorifica': Credo*. Extract of *Llp MS 1*, fol. 12^r, showing the final section of the Tenor part. Image copyright © Lambeth Palace Library. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library.

breves, converting the dots of addition into semibreves, and replacing the ligature near the beginning of the final system with separate notes. In this way, he generated additional notes in order that the article of the Credo could be set in full.

*

Fayrfax's Mass setting '*Regali ex progenie*' used the melody of the third Lauds antiphon from the Office of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary as its cantus firmus. Set in the sixth mode, the melody initially sits within the range of a third, but eventually expands to encompass a seventh: see Figure 5-10. Predictably, the quotations from the chant appear in the Tenor part only in full-parts episodes; during reduced-parts episodes, the Tenor part either rests or sings in free counterpoint.

In the Gloria, the cantus firmus was stated twice. In Section I, the first statement began at '*te gracias agimus*'. However, it was interrupted after the bar-line by a freely composed episode that moved in shorter note values. The remainder of the antiphon melody resumed at '*-te domine deus*' and continued until the end of Section I. At '*Qui sedes*' in Section II, the second statement began and continued



Figure 5-10: Mode vi antiphon, *Regali ex progenie*. Extract of STC (2nd ed.): 15790a, fol. cx^v–cxj^r.



Figure 5-11: Robert Fayrfax, *Missa 'Regali'*, Credo. Extract of Cgc MS 667/760, p. 71, showing the Tenor part. Image copyright © Gonville and Caius College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

uninterrupted to the end of the movement.

In the Credo, the cantus firmus was stated in Section I from 'Et in unum Dominum' until the end of the section and in Section II from 'est Et resurrexit' until the end of the movement. A third statement, disguised with modified rhythms, was placed in Section II and this extended from 'pro nobis' in the first system to the second *f* longa in the middle of the second system: see Figure 5-11.

As was previously mentioned in Chapter 3.2, this Mass setting, as it appears

in Cgc MS 667/760, seems to have been copied from a much older exemplar. The layout of the Tenor part strongly hints at this. In all four openings of the first two movements of this Mass, at the points where the cantus firmus melody was quoted, the scribe used long note values: maximas, longas, breves, and the some semibreves. Under the notation he placed many words: abbreviated and having multiple syllables. It was usually the case that there were far too many syllables for too few notes.⁷ For example, in Section I of the Gloria at the first quotation of the cantus firmus, there were only 12 notes, but the text assigned to it, 'te gracias agimus...gloriam' had 16 syllables. Similarly, the final system of Section II had 21 notes that had to accommodate the 27 syllables in 'tu solus altissimus...dei patris. Amen.'

Underlay in the Credo was not much more literal. True, the first phrase of the second system in Figure 5-12 and the first system and a half of Figure 5-11 had the correct amounts of syllables and notes, but incongruities still remained elsewhere in the movement. In Section I, at the beginning of the first system of Figure 5-12, 11 syllables were set under nine notes. The standalone trisyllabic word at the end of the system 'secula' was placed under two notes. Lastly, towards the very end of Section



Figure 5-12: Robert Fayrfax, *Missa 'Regali'*, Credo. Extract of Cgc MS 667/760, p. 69, showing the Tenor part. Image copyright © Gonville and Caius College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

⁷ This texting style is unique to this Mass. All other Mass settings in Cgc MS 667/760 make an effort to balance the amount of syllables and the amount of notes.

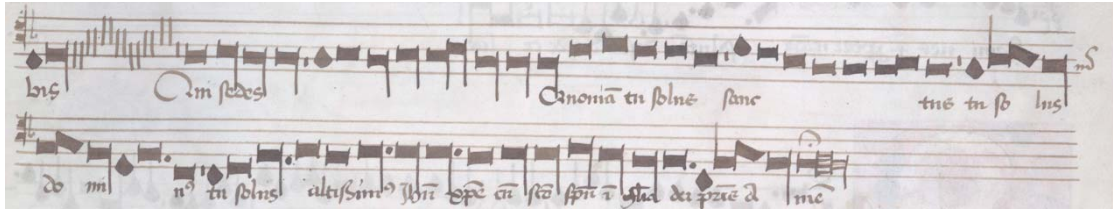


Figure 5-13: Robert Fayrfax, *Missa 'Regali'*, Gloria. Extract of Cgc MS 667/760, p. 67, showing the Tenor part. Image copyright © Gonville and Caius College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

II, the nine syllables of the penultimate article of the creed, 'et vitam venturi seculi', were only assigned six notes; this begins at the penultimate system of Figure 5-11.

The texting style employed in the instances described above is of the same sort that we previously observed in the cantus firmi of the Eton Choirbook. The singers themselves were expected to divide the long notes to the best of their ability and make provision for all the syllables that needed to be sung. Unfortunately, there was one further obstacle in this copy of the Mass setting that stood in the way of this expectation. The Tenor part in Section II of the Gloria (shown in Figure 5-13) and both sections of the Credo (Figures 5-12 and 5-11) had considerable gaps in the texting where words were not supplied.

All four passages of missing text fortunately included incipits and this would at least have given the singers an indication of how much text needed to be filled in before the texting in the manuscript resumed. In the case of Section II of the Gloria, it was the remainder of verse 'xii' that was missing: 'ad dexteram patris miserere nobis'. In the case of the missing phrases in Section I of the Credo, it was the remainder of article 'ii', the majority of article 'iii' (save last word which was already written out in the manuscript), and the text between the incipit and termination of article 'vi' that was lacking: 'filium dei unigenitum', 'et ex patre natum ante omnia', and 'homines et propter nostram salutem descendit', respectively.

Where the situation would have become more complicated was in Section II of the Credo. In the second and third systems of Figure 5-12, the incipit of article 'ix' and the termination of article 'xi' was provided. One would have naturally assumed that the remainder of article 'ix', all of article 'x', and the beginning of article 'xi' needed to be filled in. Except, this was not the case. Referring back to Table 3-4, recall that in this Mass setting, Fayrfax omitted the beginning of verse 'xi' and only used 'cuius regni non erit finis'. As there was no indication of this unique omission in the manuscript, this crucial bit of texting information might only have been figured out after several failed sing-throughs.

5.3: Adapting music to text in the Caius Choirbook

Missa 'Christi virgo' of Ludford resembles the case of Fayrfax's *Missa 'O quam glorifica'*,



Figure 5-14: Mode ii responsory, *Christi virgo dilectissima*. Extract of STC (2nd ed.): 15790, fol. lxiv^v–lxv^r. The cantus firmus divides at the second bar-line. All that precedes the bar-line is heard in Section I of the Gloria and Credo; all that comes after it up to the annotation 'in tpe paschali.' is heard in Section II.



Figure 5-15: Nicholas Ludford, *Missa 'Christi virgo'*, Gloria. Extract of Cgc MS 667/760, p. 19, showing the Tenor part. Image copyright © Gonville and Caius College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

in that due to the extended length of the cantus firmus taken from the last Matins responsory of the Office of the Annunciation, *Christi virgo dilectissima*, the cantus firmus is stated only once in each movement. The borrowed material is divided in two parts and each part is heard in a different section: see Figure 5-14.

Had this piece been copied into the Eton Choirbook some three decades earlier, this cantus firmus would probably have been expressed in long note values with multiple syllables under the longas and maximas. But in this copy, the scribe or Ludford repeated notes of the plainsong as needed, making provision for every syllable of the Gloria. From the start of the quotation of the cantus firmus at the words 'Gracias agimus tibi' it becomes apparent that the notation has been tailored for this specific set of words. The breve followed by two semibreves correctly sets 'Gracias', just as the dotted rhythms in the next three notes give 'agimus' its linguistic character, and 'tibi' is correctly weighted under a breve followed by a semibreve; see Figure 5-15. Though precise text-music alignment is lacking in this copy at times, as evidenced by the opening phrase setting 'Et in terra pax...voluntatis', a note accounts

for every syllable of text and the ligatures assist in the interpretation of the underlay, especially on the words 'propter' (middle of the second system), 'chris-' (end of the third system), and 'dei' (fourth system).

5.4: Towards explicit notation of cantus firmi in the 'Forrest-Heather' Partbooks

The scribes of the 'Forrest-Heather' Partbooks afford us a glimpse into the process of texting a cantus firmus and how they endeavoured to simplify texting decisions for performers during the period of the rise of partbooks. Some observations on the changing compositional form of the cantus firmus Mass (e.g. an increase from two complete statements of the cantus firmus to three) will also be made in this section.

The plainsong antiphon, *Gloria tibi trinitas*, had 53 notes setting 14 words,

De sanctissima Trinitate. Fo. ij.

CIn festo sc̄te trinitatis. Ad vespas an.



Lozi a ti bi trinitas e

qualis vna deitas et an te

omni a secu la et nunc et imper

petuum. ps. Laudate pueri. Antiphon

Figure 5-16: Mode i antiphon, *Gloria tibi trinitas*. Extract of STC (2nd ed.): 15790a, fol. ij.

which totalled 33 syllables: see Figure 5-16. Divided into four musically sensible phrases, the note-to-syllable ratios became the following: 12:8, 10:8, 17:9, and 14:8. These phrase divisions are those that Taverner used in the cantus firmus of his Mass setting and he planned it so that there were three complete statements of the plainsong in the Gloria and the Credo each.⁸ It was unusually set in the Medius part (MS Mus. Sch. E. 377) and he employed the cantus firmus even in reduced-part sections.⁹ All three aspects mark a departure from the customary practice of English cantus firmus Mass setting compositions: viz., the cantus firmus was typically quoted only in the full-parts episodes; it was normally placed in the Tenor part; and there were usually only two complete statements.

Taverner's first statement of the cantus firmus was divided into three fragments: phrase 1, phrases 2–3, and phrase 4. The first fragment of statement 1 in the Gloria contained the same number of notes as the first phrase of the plainsong antiphon and the first three syllables retained the original ligature through notation and alignment of the text: see Figure 5-17. The phrase as a whole, however, had the 15 syllables of 'Et in terra pax hominibus' to accommodate. Burgis's texting of the first few notes was unmistakeably clear: 'Et' (2 breves), 'in' (1 breve), 'ter-' (1 breve). From this point onwards however, '-ra pax hominibus bone voluntatis' was more ambiguously aligned and the ligatures of the chant were abandoned. With eight notes remaining, the texting, from a purely visual approximation, seemed to suggest the following distribution: '-ra' (2 breves), 'pax' (1 longa), 'homi-' (1 breve), '-nibus' (1

⁸ The three statements of the cantus firmus may be a 'representation' of the three persons of the Trinity. Likewise the three statements were arranged so that the first statement would be heard in three fragments, the second in two, and the third in one.

⁹ Hugh Benham, *John Taverner: His life*, 141.



Figure 5-17: John Taverner, *Missa 'Gloria tibi trinitas', Gloria*. Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 377, fol. 4^r, showing the opening of the Medius part. Image copyright © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

longa), 'bo-' (1 breve), '-ne' (1 dotted longa), and 'voluntatis' (1 longa with a corona).

The exact divisions per syllable, however, were not specified.

The second fragment of the cantus firmus combined the second and third phrases of the plainsong antiphon together. The problem of setting multiple syllables to one written note persisted at the words 'gracias agimus'. Here, Burgis significantly made his first division of a single original note of plainsong over the word 'gracias': a single *a'* was split into two colored longas. The syllables 'graci-' were placed under the first colored longa and '-as' under the second.¹⁰ In the rest of this fragment,

¹⁰ Compared with Baldwin's even more ambiguous notation in Figure 5-1 where he overlaid 'gracias' with a ligature of a coloured maxima and longa, Burgis's division of notes, while not explicit, is certainly more helpful.

original plainsong ligatures were preserved where possible; otherwise, they were discarded. Particularly notable were the two notes on the final syllable of 'omnipotens', which reflect the two notes over the final syllable of 'secula' in the original antiphon.¹¹

Further divisions of single plainsong notes — more specifically, prosodically sensitive divisions — occurred in the final fragment of the first cantus firmus statement: 'domine deus agnus dei filius patris'. 'Domi-' was set to a breve and semibreve, and 'fili-' to a dotted semibreve and minim, thus correctly weighting the accented and unaccented syllables. Only a single case of multiple syllables under one note was found at 'dei', and this was done so that the word would be completed before the rest. This is a distinctly different attitude towards the texting of a cantus firmus than that of the scribes of the Eton Choirbook, who *would* have delayed the second syllable of 'dei' until after the rest.

Statement 2 of the cantus firmus began 10 breve rests after the start of Section II of the Gloria, 'Qui tollis peccata mundi', and this time it was phrases 1–2 and 3–4 that were combined to form two fragments. In this statement, there were no instances of multiple syllables to a note. In fact, with the exact amount of syllables in 'Qui tollis peccata mundi' as 'Gloria tibi trinitas', Burgis retained the plainsong ligatures in their original form. The second phrase 'miserere nobis' was slightly shorter, so the head of the phrase was set syllabically with a penultimate melisma of five notes on 'no-'. The

¹¹ The details of the relationship between the selectively truncated text of the Ordinary and the adaptation of the original plainsong are lost in modern editions that seek to provide 'editorial solutions' that include the full text of the Gloria in the cantus firmus. One such example is in Hugh Benham, ed., *John Taverner: I, Six-part Masses*, Early English Church Music, vol. 20 (London: Stainer and Bell Ltd., 1978), 4–5, where the original long notes have been divided into many shorter note values, with all notes syllabically underlaid.



Figure 5-18: John Taverner, *Missa 'Gloria tibi trinitas'*, Gloria. Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 377, fol. 4^v.
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third and fourth phrases of the second fragment were not separated by any extended rests and were set to the words 'Qui sedes ad dexteram patris miserere nobis'; see Figure 5-18. Syllabically densest in the middle, the texting began with a six-note melisma on 'se-' of 'sedes', reflecting the largest melisma of the plainsong antiphon on 'ante', and ended with an eight-note melisma on 'no-' of 'nobis'. The two ascending and two oblique ligatures of this section also reflected the original texting of the plainsong, but others, such as the three-note ligature that was set to 'nunc', were broken and syllabically recast.

After an episode of intervening freely composed material at 'Tu solus altissimus' — the only case of this in an otherwise exclusively cantus firmus part — statement 3 of the cantus firmus began at 'Cum sancto spiritu'. This statement differs from the other two in that the entire melody of the antiphon was sung from



Figure 5-19: John Taverner, *Missa 'Gloria tibi trinitas', Credo*. Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 377, fol. 5^r.
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beginning to end, uninterrupted by any rests longer than a semibreve. Even though there were so many notes and so few syllables, Burgis still divided notes, for example at 'glori-' from one breve on *c'* to one dotted semibreve and one minim, in order to capture the prosodic rhythm of the word. The final 'Amen' was given a protracted melisma of the entire third and fourth phrases of the plainsong antiphon.

As in the Gloria, statement 1 of the cantus firmus in the Credo was unequally divided, this time into two fragments: phrase 1 and phrases 2–4. The first episode set 'Patrem omnipotentem factorem celi'. Here, note divisions were already present from the very start. What was a single *d'* in the original antiphon was divided into a coloured breve and two semibreves, set over 'Patrem om-'. After 28 breve rests, the second fragment began. There were multiple cases of unequal syllable-to-note ratios here and the syntax of the text was distorted on account of omissions in the text, here

enclosed in brackets: 'Et ex patre [natum ante omnia secula] deum de deo [lumen] de lumine [deum verum de deo vero] genitum non factum [consubstantialem] patri per quem omnia [facta sunt] qui propter nos homines [et propter nostram salutem] descendit de celis'; see Figures 5-19 and 5-20. As Burgis copied the text, only three fragments in this portion of the cantus firmus retain their syntactical integrity: 'deum de deo'; 'genitum non factum'; and even though incomplete, 'qui propter nos homines descendit de celis'.

Statement 2 began at 'Et incarnatus est', and the two fragments of the cantus firmus were identical to the arrangement in the Gloria: phrases 1-2 and phrases 3-4. No ligatures were retained in this statement. Burgis set the text syllabically with some divided notes to accommodate the extra syllables. Note divisions not explicitly defined were at the syllables of 'virgi-' in phrase two; in phrase three at 'terci-' and



Figure 5-20: John Taverner, *Missa 'Gloria tibi trinitas', Credo*. Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 377, fol. 5^v.

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‘secundum scripturas’; and on the final three notes of phrase four, ‘iterum venturus’. Particularly striking was the use of longas over ‘Et incarnatus est’ and maximas over ‘homo factus est’. Burgis’s (or Taverner’s) use of the sustained notes in the cantus firmus in contrast to the extended melismata in the freely composed parts draw attention to these important words.

Statement 3 of the Credo imitated the statement 3 of the Gloria in presenting the entire cantus firmus in one continuous strand without any rests, setting the words ‘Et exspecto’ to ‘Amen’. Of all the statements in the Gloria and Credo, statement 3 of the Credo was closest to the plainsong antiphon form, in that there was the precise amount of notes (and therefore, no note divisions), even though some ligatures and neumatic arrangement of the words were discarded from the original.

A comparison of the two movements of *Missa ‘Gloria tibi trinitas’* creates a texting pattern to which the Burgis adhered. With the specific words being determined by the text being sung in the polyphonic context at the time of the cantus firmus entry, Statement 1 of the cantus firmus was textually incomplete with omitted words and, as was observed in the case of the Credo, sometimes syntactically illogical. In statement 2, the musical phrases were paired and though there were phrases of text missing from the verses, those that appeared were complete and syntactically sound. In the final statement, the cantus firmus was uninterrupted, with the final verse or article of each movement complete and set melodically.

*

When we last encountered Robert Fayrfax’s *Missa ‘Regali’* in the Caius Choirbook, we noted that the cantus firmus in the Tenor part presented challenges to performers,



Figure 5-21: Robert Fayrfax, *Missa 'Regali'*, Gloria. Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 379, fol. 23^v. Image copyright © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

chiefly because of its multisyllabic placement under single notes and its untexted passages. In the version copied into 'Forrest-Heather' Partbooks (no. 4 in the inventory), the task of notating and texting the *Regali ex progenie* cantus firmus was approached from a different perspective. Rather than attempting to reproduce the original form of the plainsong melody, Burgis elected to provide a version with disaggregated long cantus firmus notes in his manuscript. Whether he was personally responsible for the splitting of notes or he copied from an exemplar annotated by performers,¹² the result was the same: the version that appears in the partbooks today has the longas and maximas divided into breues and semibreues to make provision

¹² Yet another possibility is while basing his copy on a performer's annotated copy, Burgis made his own emendations to the performer's solutions as he copied. Unfortunately, there is no way to trace what type of exemplar he used.

for the many syllables of the Mass Ordinary texts.

Whereas in the cantus firmus of Taverner's *Missa 'Gloria tibi trinitas'* encounters with multiple syllables placed under longer notes occurred occasionally, an attempt was made in this Mass setting to assign each syllable to its own note. Unfortunately, the effort was not entirely successful. As early as the beginning of the second system of fol. 23^v, there was already a syllable lacking a note in statement 1 of the cantus firmus; see Figure 5-21. The six syllables of 'tibi propter magnam', though properly spaced, only had five notes provided above the text.

Section II of the Gloria saw the cases of misalignment and an insufficient supply of notes for syllables increasing significantly. While the intended texting in most cases was not too difficult to infer from the information on the page, the passage containing statement 2 of the cantus firmus, from 'Qui sedes' until the end of this movement, was more complex. The last two and a half words of the second system on fol. 24^v contained eight syllables: 'miserere nobis quoni-'; see Figure 5-22. Six notes — three longs and three breves — were placed above this text.

Earlier in this chapter, when this very passage was examined as copied into GB-Cgc MS 667/760, only the incipit 'Qui sedes' was provided; the words following these until 'Quoniam tu solus' were left untexted. The unexpected yet apparent spacing problem between the words 'miserere' and 'nobis' in this overlaid copy suggests that Burgis himself may have been working from a similar non-fully texted exemplar, deciding himself to supply the words that were lacking from his exemplar, but only after first copying what he saw. Remaining space was in all probability at a premium, so his insertion of additional words ended up appearing cramped.



Figure 5-22: Robert Fayrfax, *Missa 'Regali'*, Gloria. Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 379, fol. 24^v. The spacing of the text in the second system is inconsistent with the rest of the page. Image copyright © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

Figure 5-23: Robert Fayrfax, *Missa 'Regali'*, Credo. Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 379, fol. 25^v. Image copyright © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

In the final system of Figure 5-22, Burgis revealed his sensitivity to correct syntax. With too few notes to accommodate the last two verses of the Gloria in full, he amended it in the following manner: '...altissimus Jhesu criste in gloria patris Amen'. Even though 'Cum Sancto Spiritu' (after 'Jhesu criste') and 'dei' (between 'gloria' and 'patris') were omitted, the text still made some sense. By contrast, GB-Cgc MS 667/760 included all the words in this final phrase, but had to resort to polysyllabic words being placed under single notes.

The cantus firmus statements of the Credo likewise tried to adhere as best as they could to the precept of one syllable per note, except where longas and maximas were concerned. In Section II, the passage with the most multiple syllables to single notes was 'et resurrexit...ad dexteram'; 'ascendit' near the end of the final system of Figure 5-23 had all three syllables of the word assigned to a single longa.

However, in spite of these 'one syllable per note' shortcomings, the scribe



Figure 5-24: Robert Fayrfax, *Missa 'Regali'*, Credo. Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 379, fol. 26r. Image copyright © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

correctly texted a crucial passage on the first system of fol. 26^r, the final page of the Credo; see Figure 5-24. In our examination of Mass movement structure and omitted texts of the Credo in Chapter 3, we highlighted this as an unusual case of textual inclusion and omission. In our study of the texting of the Caius Choirbook, we also noted that this was one of those passages that were left untexted. In Mus. Sch. E. 379, however, Burgis provided the necessary information in full. At the beginning of the page, the concluding words to article 'x' of the Credo were written: '...ad dexteram patris'. He then omitted the majority of the text of article 'xi', retaining only the final five words, 'cuius regni non erit finis', as Fayrfax had originally intended.

*

Paralleling the first layer that opened with a six-voice Mass setting by Taverner, the second layer of the partbooks began with Taverner's *Missa 'Corona spinea'*. This Mass setting was more traditionally composed than *Missa 'Gloria tibi trinitas'*: the cantus firmus was placed in the Tenor part (MS Mus. Sch. E. 379) and it was quoted less frequently in reduced-parts episodes. The source of the cantus firmus melody and its original text still remain a mystery. In his monograph on the composer, Benham proposed several possible origins of the 'Corona spinea' title and put forward the

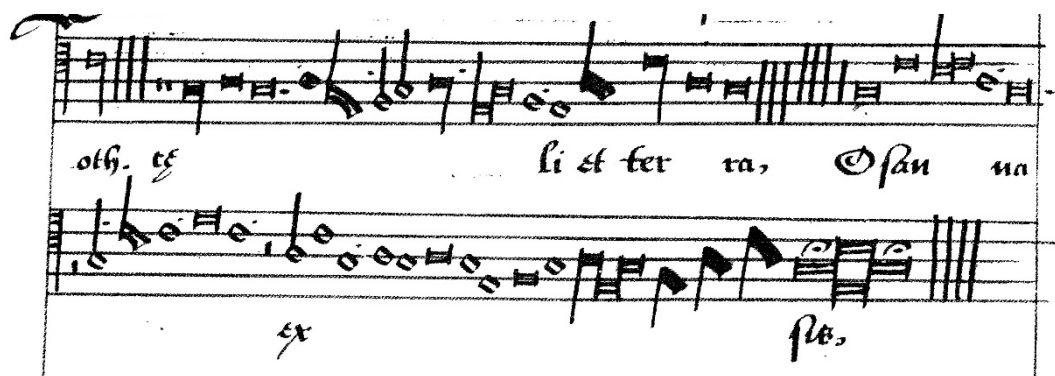


Figure 5-25: John Taverner, *Missa 'Corona spinea'*, Sanctus. Extract from Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 379, fol. 73^v, showing Benham's proposed 'original' form of the cantus firmus beginning at the 'Osanna'. Image copyright © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Reproduced by permission.



Figure 5-26: John Taverner, Missa 'Corona spinea', Gloria. Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 379, fol. 72^r. Image copyright © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

Regni non erit finis, tu, Et vita venturi seculi. Amen,
San ctus. Dominus Deus saba =
oth. & li et ter ra, O san na
ex ste,

Figure 5-27: John Taverner, Missa 'Corona spinea', Credo. Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 379, fol. 73^v. Image copyright © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

statement of the cantus firmus in the 'Osanna' of the Sanctus as the form 'probably closest to its original';¹³ see the end of the first system in Figure 5-25. Though this proposal cannot be confirmed for a fact, it is true that all other occurrences of the 31-note melody involve repeated pitches.

The cantus firmus was stated three times in the Gloria and twice in the Credo. Although one might assume that since the Gloria of this Mass setting had three statements of the cantus firmus, the layout and texts set in the three statements would be identical to those in *Missa 'Gloria tibi trinitas'*, this was not the case. Certainly, statement 1 appeared similar enough: it was divided into three fragments, entering at 'Et in terra', at 'te, Gratias agimus tibi', and at 'filius patris'. Statement 2, however, instead of beginning at the very start of Section II, delayed entry until verse 'x', 'Qui tollis peccata mundi...deprecationem nostram' and completed the statement without interruption by the conclusion of verse 'xi', 'miserere nobis'. Statement 3 began unexpectedly at verse 'xiv', 'Tu solus dominus' and was again divided into three fragments, the third fragment occurring only after the change of mensuration at 'Cum sancto spiritu'; see Figure 5-26. The overall scheme of the three statements in this Mass movement was therefore one of symmetry (fragmented, complete, fragmented), and not additive, as in *Missa 'Gloria tibi trinitas'* (fragmented, halved, complete).

The two cantus firmus statements of the Credo were also irregular in their placement and texting. Statement 1 did not enter at the very beginning of the movement as in *Missa 'Gloria tibi trinitas'*, nor did it enter at article 'ii', 'Et in unum Dominum Jhesum Christum' like the Mass settings of the choirbooks, but one article

¹³ Benham, *John Taverner: His life*, 151.

later in article 'iii': 'Et ex patre natum'. This statement was divided almost perfectly into two halves, with 16 notes of the melody occurring in the first fragment and the last 15 occurring in the second fragment that extended from 'sunt. Qui propter nos' until the end of Section II. The only predictable entry was Statement 2, which entered at 'Et resurrexit.' However, this second and last statement of the Credo also concluded over a change of mensuration as the third statement of the Gloria did: the first 26 notes of the melody set the texts in article 'ix' to the end of article 'xi'; and the last five notes in *tempus perfectum diminutum* set articles 'xvii' to the end.

From a copying perspective, the texting of the cantus firmus of *Missa 'Corona spinea'* was different from the texting of the *Missa 'Gloria tibi trinitas'* because the overlay of the Tenor part raised not a single doubt of syllabic placement.¹⁴ Forrest assigned each syllable to its own note, with short penultimate melismata at the end of each cantus firmus statement in the Gloria: 'filius patris', 'deprecationem nostram', and 'Amen'. In the Credo, the cantus firmus was treated with a penultimate melisma only at 'descendit de celis', while statement 2 ended rather abruptly, with syllabic texting; see Figure 5-27.

More important was the fact that the words of the verses or articles set to the cantus firmus line were given in full. There was no need to piece together a syntax that would make allowances for omitted words. The repeated notes of the cantus firmus accommodating all the extra syllables, possibly subdivided by Forrest from

¹⁴ Benham's theory about the parallel existence of 'library' copies and 'performing' copies seems quite reasonable here. The form of the cantus firmus in Burgis's copy of Taverner's *Missa 'Gloria tibi trinitas'* would have come from a 'library' copy, while Forrest's copy of Taverner's *Missa 'Corona spinea'* would have been transmitted from a performing copy. Benham, ed., *John Taverner: I*, xiv.

Benham's proposed 'original' form of the cantus firmus (see Figure 5-25), served the prosody of the words exceptionally well. At 'Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam', for example, the stressed first syllables of trisyllabic words were given a longer, often dotted note and the second syllable, usually weaker than the first, was invariably given a shorter note than the first. Similarly, disyllabic words commonly received a longer note on its first syllable and a shorter one on its second.

*

The final Mass setting of the manuscript, Alwood's *Missa 'Praise hym praiseworthy // Christe full of mercye'* used a cantus firmus in a different manner from all 17 other Mass settings in this source: the continuous cantus firmus. Made up of only five breves, *f', g', a', b-flat', a'*, the source of the melody has not been identified, but both English titles have the correct number of syllables to fit the five notes.¹⁵ As in Taverner's *Missa 'Gloria tibi trinitas'*, this cantus firmus was uncommonly placed in the Medius part (MS Mus. Sch. E. 377).

In both Gloria and the Credo, there were 35 statements: in the Gloria, the last eight statements were in diminution (semibreves); and in the Credo, statements 26–28 were in *tempus perfectum*, though without a change in mensuration sign, while

¹⁵ There are other motets, instrumental pieces, and Thomas Ashwell's Mass setting *God save King Harry* that makes use of this same motif. Although only two parts of the latter survive in the Cambridge *UJ* partbooks, Sandon convincingly reconstructs the setting as the ostinato Mass that sparked all other occurrences of this motif in sixteenth-century England, including Alwood's setting. Sandon speculates that the motif derives from the solmisation of the title, 'God save King Harry' in a similar manner as the motif of Josquin's *Missa 'Hercules Dux Ferrariae'*. For that reason, he suggests that Alwood's Mass setting may have been originally entitled *God save Queen Mary*, but only if the vowels of 'queen' were equated to 'mi'. See Nicholas Sandon, 'F G A B-flat A: Thoughts on a Tudor motif', *Early Music* 12, no. 1 (1984): 56–63.

statements 29–34 were in diminution (semibreves).¹⁶ Because the scoring for the majority of the movements was for full parts, one statement followed the other in succession, usually with only a breve rest separating each statement. With this many occurrences, it would not be inaccurate for one to describe it as an ostinato rather than a cantus firmus.

The rare passages when the five-note melody was noticeably absent from the Medius part and the voices moved into free counterpoint were reduced-parts episodes. In the Gloria, this occurred from verses 'ii' to 'v': 'laudamus te...glorificamus te'; and verse 'x': 'Qui tollis...miserere nobis'. In the Credo, it was absent from articles 'iv' to 'v': 'deum de deo...omnia facta sunt'; and the latter half of article 'vii': 'et homo factus est'.¹⁷ The texts where the cantus firmus disappeared from the Medius parts in these two movements were similar to each other. The first instance was in Section I of both movements when the text became repetitive (e.g. 'Benedicimus te, adoramus te, glorificamus te' and 'Deum de deo, lumen de lumine, deum verum de deo vero, etc.');

and the second instance was at the beginning of Section II of each movement.

Forrest's texting, though much less formal compared to his script and notation in Taverner's *Missa 'Corona spinea'*, generally ensured visually clear syllable placement. Notes were joined into ligatures where there were less than five syllables to set, or where there were more than five syllables to set, breves were split into

¹⁶ The textual deletions in Section II correspond to Taverner's *Missa 'Gloria tibi trinitas'* and *Missa 'Corona spinea'*.

¹⁷ In the Credo at the beginning of article vii, the Tenor part has two statements of a motif resembling the cantus firmus. As this is an isolated case of the cantus firmus in another voice, they have not been counted among the 35 statements.



Figure 5-28: Richard Alwood, Missa 'Praise hym praiseworthy // Christe full of mercye', Gloria. Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 377, fol. 113^r. Image copyright © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Reproduced by permission.



Figure 5-29: Richard Alwood, Missa 'Praise hym praiseworthy // Christe full of mercye', Gloria/Credo. Ob MS Mus. Sch. E. 377, fol. 113^v. Image copyright © The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

shorter, repeated notes. The irregular length of the verses and articles of the movements, the regular and short length of the cantus firmus, coupled with the goal of setting all the words of the Mass Ordinary inevitably led to musical adjustments. Certain passages required more than one statement to complete the texting, while in other instances, written-out repeats and ditto signs compensated for a lack of text in a statement that already begun. For example, verse 'vii' of the Gloria needed three iterations of the motif to fully set its text: 'domine deus rex celestis deus pater omnipotens'; see the fifth system of Figure 5-28. By contrast, verse 'xii' of the same movement needed to take up four statements, but the entire text had already been completed by the end of the third statement. A partial repeat from 'miserere nobis' was therefore indicated to fill up the remaining statement in order to allow the other parts to arrive at the same point in the text before proceeding; see the end of the first system to middle of the second system in Figure 5-29.

The close relationship between the music and the prosody of the text in this Mass setting is best observed in Section III of the Credo, where the metre seemed to shift into *tempus perfectum* although a change in mensuration had not been indicated; see the texting that follows the bar-line on the final system of Figure 5-30 until the fourth note of Figure 5-31. The alternating breves and semibreves that began this passage aligned with the accented and unaccented syllables of the text and was intensified by the dotted rhythm that followed, which also aligned with the accent of 'resurrectionem': '**Et ex**pecto **re**surrectionem **m**ortuorum.' Instead of perceiving all the breves that followed a semibreve as syncopations, one would have displaced the thesis to the breves.

Clear as Forrest endeavoured to be, there were still a few occurrences of texting where syllable placement was not entirely clear. The notation of the second full statement of the cantus firmus in the final system of Figure 5-28 was such a case. The grouping of the notes over the text allowed for four syllables to be set: *f'* (breve), *g'-a'* (ligature *sine proprietate cum perfectione*), *b-flat'* (breve), *a'* (breve). However, the words below, 'domine deus', clearly had five syllables. The ligature was probably written in error. Another example of ambiguous texting is at the end of Section II of the Credo on the word 'patris'; see final system of Figure 5-30. The four-note ligature followed by the breve would seem to suggest that the two syllables of 'patris' ought to be sung to them. What was one to do about the *a'* longa with corona? Should the second syllable '-tris' be repeated under this note? Should '-tris' not have been sung to the *a'* (breve) and the word split over a rest? The lack of information makes it difficult to arrive at the solution that Forrest intended.

*

In a little over half a century, the scribal preoccupation of rendering the cantus firmus faithfully as it appeared in the plainsong source had been replaced by the desire of modifying the music to fit the new text as prosodically as possible. Whereas the burden of syllable-placement and note-splitting had once been left up to the performers, notes were now directly split in the source and syllables being placed exactly under the note to which they belonged.

Following the Elizabethan Settlement, cantus firmus composition continued in the form of office responsories and hymn verse settings—on a much smaller scale than the votive antiphons and Mass settings of the past. In these shorter pieces, which were created for musical edification rather than public worship, adaptation of text to

an unrelated melody was no longer a concern as the source of the cantus firmus provided both the text and the fixed melody around which to compose a motet.

THE PRIVATE SOURCES

In 1559, after nearly a decade of religious turmoil, English successfully and permanently supplanted Latin as the language of public worship in England. A direct consequence of this action was that all of the compositions we have thus far examined lost their liturgical function.¹ However, this does not mean that their circulation abruptly stopped. On the contrary, all the music that could no longer be publicly performed, together with newly composed Latin-texted polyphony, found its way into the private music collections of scribes. This chapter examines Latin-texted compositions drawn from three private sources and the texting styles they exhibited.

*

6.1: The Sadler Partbooks²

There is no better source with which to begin our examination of private music

¹ Though no longer liturgical, but rather serving as meditations before and after the service, the Latin polyphony would most likely have survived in the Oxbridge college chapels where the *Liber precum publicarum* of 1560 was authorised and Elizabeth I's own Chapel Royal where Latin polyphony is said to have been encouraged. But see Kerry McCarthy, "'Brought to speake English with the rest": Byrd's motet contrafacta', *The Musical Times* 148, no. 1900 (2007), 60, in which she disagrees with the general consensus, writing, 'Despite much speculation and wishful thinking on the part of modern-day scholars, there is not a shred of positive evidence that Byrd's [and by extension, all Latin texted] motets were ever sung in their original form by groups such as the Chapel Royal.'

² These manuscripts have been withdrawn from circulation and are now held in conservation as the books are in a very fragile state: the paper is extremely brittle, corroded by the high acid content of the ink used in their copying. As a result, no images are available to include in this chapter. Many pages, especially those in the first half of the manuscripts, have been overlaid with tissue to hold them together and the leaves themselves have been disbound. Readers wishing to consult this source are directed to the microfilm that was produced in the 1980s when the manuscripts were already in poor shape with considerable show-through. There are also marginally clearer sets of photostat negatives that were created for the publishing of the *Tudor Church Music* series in the early twentieth century, now on deposit in the Senate House Library of the University of London. I am indebted to Dr Bruce Barker-Benfield of the Oxford Bodleian Library for the rare opportunity to examine the original manuscripts.

collections than GB-Ob MSS Mus. E. 1–5, a set of partbooks that rank among the most significant of extant Elizabethan music manuscripts. Dated to the mid-sixteenth century, these five partbooks constitute the first of two collections of Latin-texted motets that were copied by the cleric and schoolmaster John Sadler (1513–ca.1592).³

The contents of the partbooks are as varied as the many floral patterns, sketches of animals, Latin maxims, and ornate capitals that adorn the pages, and include an assortment of votive antiphons, Lamentations, motets, John Taverner's '*Western wynde*' Mass, and two English-texted partsongs. As a preface or title page to the entire collection, the scribe included his own textless (and therefore instrumental) setting of an *In nomine*. With the exception of a single composition attributed to the Franco-Flemish composer Thomas Crecquillon (ca.1505–?1557), the entire manuscript contained music exclusively written by composers who worked in England. The earlier generation of English composers was represented by Aston, Fayrfax, and Taverner, and the work of Sadler's contemporaries by Tallis, Whyte, and Byrd.

A Sadler exemplar?

In the search for the sources from which scribes copied, the case of Sadler's partbooks is unique in that the aforementioned specialised contents of his partbooks point to one extant manuscript that could very well have served as the exemplar for part of his collection. GB-Ob Tenbury MS 1464 is a standalone Bassus partbook, copied around 1575, which presumably originally belonged to a set of five partbooks as all of

³ For a brief account of Sadler's life and career, see David Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. E. 1–5'. *Music and Letters* 40 (1979): 281–95.

the items in its inventory are compositions for five parts.⁴ Like Sadler's partbooks, the majority of the some 57 pieces of the Tenbury manuscript were by English composers. Among the 20 concordances in these two sources, the Tenbury partbook is also the only other extant British manuscript that contains *Job tonso capite* — coincidentally also erroneously attributed to Crecquillon; the composer was actually Jacobus Clemens non Papa (ca.1510–55/6)⁵ — and Osbert Parsley's (1511–85) short setting of a few verses from the Lamentations, *Mem: Cui comparabo*. Further strengthening the case that Tenbury 1464 was Sadler's exemplar is an identical sequence of a group of votive antiphons. In both sources, Taverner's *Ave dei patris*, Robert Johnson's *Ave dei patris*, and Tallis's *Salve intemerata* follow one after the other. However, it is also possible that Mus. E. 1–5 and Tenbury 1464 were both copied from another source, now lost. Unfortunately, there is no way to reconstruct a stemma definitively to an original source.

Exemplar or not, a close reading of a composition present in two sources which are contemporary to each other will nonetheless prove useful in elucidating Sadler's work as a copyist and his attitudes toward texting. Our first case study will look at Clemens's *Job tonso capite*. Both Sadler and the Tenbury scribe's copies of the Bassus part of this motet fitted comfortably onto one opening. In Tenbury, there were

⁴ I thank James Burke for informing me of the existence of this manuscript. Sadler's attitude towards his exemplars will be treated in greater detail in his forthcoming dissertation: James Burke, 'The music manuscripts of John Sadler' (DPhil diss., University of Oxford).

⁵ There are four Continental motet anthology prints that contain this composition: RISM 1549⁷, RISM 1549⁸, RISM 1554⁶, and RISM 1554⁹. All of these anthologies also contain motets by Crecquillon, though they are nowhere near Clemens's motet in the layout. Of these, only RISM 1549⁷ misattributes *Job tonso capite* to Cristóbal de Morales (c1500–53). According to the critical report in K. Ph. Bernet Kempers, ed., *Cantiones sacrae*, vol. IX of *Jacobus Clemens non Papa: Omnia opera*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 4 (USA: American Institute of Musicology, 1960), the attribution to Crecquillon is exclusive to GB-Ob Tenbury 1464 and GB-Ob MSS Mus. E. 1–5.

many untexted passages of music with ditto signs (:||:) indicating that the text preceding the sign was to be repeated. Sadler's copy strikingly contrasted with the Tenbury source in that it was entirely texted from beginning to end without even a single ditto sign.⁶

The anonymous scribe of Tenbury 1464 copied music before filling in the text under it and this is evidenced by the evenly spaced notation and the text under them that occasionally had one word running into a subsequent word. Music and text misalignment was already noticeable as early as the second system on fol. 69^v. Conversely, Sadler appears to have copied music and text in tandem, a somewhat innovative method for scribes in the sixteenth century. The last three words of the third system of fol. 19^v in Mus. E. 5, 'utero matris mee', adequately demonstrate his copying process in action. Because the first syllable of 'utero' had one letter and the remaining two syllables had two letters each, the notes above this word were fairly evenly and closely spaced. However, over the next word, 'matris', a disyllabic word with two letters in the first syllable and four letters in the second, the spacing became more generous to accommodate the four letters of '-tris'. In the final word, 'mee', the note spacing resumed its former close proximity.

The underlay in the fully texted portions of Tenbury 1464, with one exception, generally agreed with the same passages in Sadler's copy; only minor variants in syllable distribution causing differences in melismata were present. The major

⁶ This scribal trait of realising 'ditto signs' persisted throughout the entirety of his copying activities, with the exception of his 'ditto phase' (discussed later in this chapter). See also n. 12 below.



Figure 6-1: Jacobus Clemens, *Job tonso capite*. Extract of the Bassus part showing the different text underlay in this passage from Tenbury 1464 and Mus. E. 5. The last ligature is only in Tenbury.

exception was in the middle of the third system in Tenbury 1464 where the texted portion after the first semibreve and minim rest set only one word ‘mee’ melismatically; this is shown in Figure 6-1. Following the next minim rest, a restatement of the text begun in the previous system, ‘de utero matris mee’, repeated again. At the same point in Mus. E. 5, that is, following the semibreve and minim rests, Sadler’s text moved on to the next phrase of text ‘et nudus revertar’ which fit the music syllabically.⁷

Of greater interest though, is Sadler’s expansion of the passages that were marked ‘ditto’ in the Tenbury source. His choices of what text to repeat varied from individual words set melismatically to entire phrases set syllabically. The first :||: in Tenbury occurred under the seventh note. Since the preceding six notes were set syllabically to ‘Job tonso capite’, the natural assumption for the next 10 notes before the rest would have been to repeat the text syllabically with terminal neumatic motion of three notes on the final syllable. Sadler, however, set only the word ‘capite’, assigning four notes to ‘ca-’, one to ‘-pi-’, and three to ‘-te’. Following the rests, another :||: was used in Tenbury, and this time Sadler repeated the complete strand of text in his copy, ‘Job tonso capite’, set syllabically. In the remainder of the *prima*

⁷ In fact, neither Sadler or Tenbury placed the text correctly. The printed edition gives ‘de utero’ set syllabically after the first set of rests and then repeats ‘de utero matris mee’ in the next phrase of music. RISM 1549⁸.

pars, Sadler continued in this manner, repeating entire phrases each time. Similarly, the *secunda pars* opened with full phrases repeated until the end of the third system of fol. 20^r, when Sadler's text read thus: 'Ita factum est *factum est*'. In the Tenbury copy, there would have been an opportunity to make a full syllabic repeat beginning with 'Ita'. In Sadler's copy, this was no longer possible because he subsumed the dotted semibreve and minim of Tenbury into one breve note. Towards the end of the fourth system, the repetition of a single word occurred again: 'sit nomen domini benedictum *benedictum*', with an extended melisma on the '-dic-' of the second 'benedictum'. Finally, in the last phrase, Sadler opted to repeat 'et usque in seculum' instead of only 'in seculum' twice (as the Tenbury scribe implied), making the necessary adjustments in dividing notes to accommodate the extra syllables.

What led Sadler to make an abridged melismatic repeat instead of a full text syllabic repeat on the occasions noted above? The only distinguishing feature among these instances was that all full text repeats conspicuously occurred following rests; the music of the three partial melismatic repeats was continuous from the previous phrase without a break. One might hypothesise that perhaps Sadler saw these moments as the conclusion of the previous textual and musical phrase and chose to repeat only certain words. It is also important to point out that if Sadler compiled his manuscripts sequentially — and there is no reason to believe that he did otherwise — this would have been his first attempt at copying a Continental work in the relatively new text-repetitive-and-principally-syllabic style. The compositions in his partbooks preceding this motet all bear the characteristics of the older style of English composition prevalent in the first half of the sixteenth-century: lengthy texts with

varying degrees of syllabic to melismatic texting, but minimal or no repetition of the text.

This first case study reveals several important scribal practices of John Sadler. In contrast to the 'Henrician set' of the Peterhouse Partbooks (examined in Chapter 4.2) copied two decades earlier at the beginning of 1540s, Sadler's texting of the music was meticulously accurate with great attention to syllable and note alignment. There are passages in other pieces in his partbooks that even go as far as to making use of angular slurs to join noteheads, vertical lines between syllables and notes, and combining multiple notes into ligatures in order to eliminate any remaining visual ambiguity. Another of Sadler's preferences was to painstakingly copy out the repeated passages of text in full under the notes. Although his signs for repeated text (:||:) — a commonplace symbol, but incidentally resembling those in Tenbury 1464 — were absent in this initial case study, he would begin to use them in later portions of his partbooks. At first, he would use them sparingly and only in the most obvious situations where syllables could not possibly be misplaced, but later more liberally.⁸

Ditto signs and the 'ditto phase' of copying

At the very heart of Sadler's partbooks are several settings of verses from the

⁸ Equally important as the minute details of Sadler's scribal practice is the larger consideration of his copying habits. He invariably transmitted pieces in their entirety: all parts, all sections. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, it became common practice to copy only a section (often for reduced parts) of a larger votive antiphon and list this extract as a standalone composition in the inventory of a collection of music. Many of Tallis's earlier works (e.g. *Ave dei patris filia*) appear as scattered sections in partbooks. Tallis's *Lamentations I & II* are fine examples of the completeness of the Sadler collection. It is one of the few sources that transmitted the Lamentations in sequential order and the *only* source that remains intact. Several other sources such as Baldwin's Partbooks (GB-Och MSS 979-83) and the Peterhouse 'Latter Caroline Set' (GB-Cp MSS 35-37, 42-45) contain the full compositions, but are missing partbooks.

Lamentations of Jeremiah for five voices grouped together.⁹ There are two separate settings by Thomas Tallis, both sections of the setting 'à 5' by Robert Whyte, and after a few intervenient compositions, a shorter setting by Osbert Parsley. It is in the Lamentations by Tallis and Whyte in Mus. E. 1–2 that the first ditto signs appeared.¹⁰

In Tallis's *Lamentations I*, following the exordium, 'Incipit lamentatio hieremye prophete', a case of Sadler's cautious use of the ditto signs can be observed in Mus. E. 1, fol. 37^v and Mus. E. 2, fol. 36^v. It is significant to be cognisant of the fact that the word this sign was used for, 'Aleph', is disyllabic. Although the text setting in this section involved a bit of melisma, Sadler left very little to the imagination of the singer. Indeed, in Mus. E. 2, he even wrote out the Hebrew letter in full twice, first to a syllabic passage and a second time to a melismatic one. The ditto signs occurred several times immediately after the two written-out statements under a longer phrase of music. The beginning of each repetition of the word was denoted by a :||: and, following the texting pattern of his written-out statements, the second syllable either

⁹ Of the 35 pieces numbered by Sadler's hand, the Lamentations of Tallis and White are numbers 'xvi' and 'xvii'. That Sadler intended these pieces to be at the middle of his partbooks cannot be positively confirmed, but one cannot discount that possibility entirely as there is some evidence that advance planning of the layout in the partbooks was undertaken. For example, Tallis's *Domine, quis habitabit*, a setting of the complete text of Psalm 15, which appears as number 'xv' in the inventory, has a marginal inscription in gothic lettering that reads 'Psalm xv'. The attention given to the run of Lamentation settings is no less prominent. In all partbooks there is a decorative unfurled banner with 'The lamentacyons off Hieremye' in Gothic lettering. See also Judith Blezzard, 'Monsters and messages: The Willmott and Braikenridge Manuscripts of Latin Church Music, 1591', *The Antiquaries Journal* 75 (1995): 311–38.

¹⁰ In Mus. E. 3 only, the first 10 ditto signs actually appear at the end of the preceding composition, Tallis's *Domine, quis habitabit*. The music spacing on this final page of the motet seems unusually compressed and it is possible that Sadler's resorting to the use of the repeat sign was more out of necessity than by choice. The freehand extension of the final stave to complete the music suggests that he had either already begun to decorate or copy Tallis's *Lamentations I* on the verso of this leaf. Exceptionally in *Domine, quis habitabit*, the text to be repeated is underlined before the :||: sign appears.

fell on the note preceding the next :||: or on the final note of a phrase before a rest; examples of both can be found in the second system of fol. 36^v.

The only three other uses of the :||: sign in the Lamentations were in Mus. E. 3. In Robert Whyte's setting, they occurred on the third system of fol. 42^r to indicate a repetition of the preceding word 'animam'. On fol. 43^r, the ditto sign replaced the word 'Jerusalem' in the second system, a word that he had already fully copied out five times in this section. At this point, the music shifted from the dotted minims into a short string of semiminims and he used the ditto sign because he had not sufficient space to underlay 'Jerusalem' properly. The third use of the sign occurred in the next system, where he miscopied a phrase of music; the stems of the erasures as well as fragments of the text 'ad dominum' are actually still visible. After the second statement of 'convertere' the spacing of the music suddenly became very compressed, and :||: was used to reiterate the preceding underlined word 'convertere' as there was no space remaining to do so in full.¹¹

Other than the five uses of the :||: just discussed above, the remainder of the Lamentations were fully texted. Every repeated Hebrew letter, phrase, and especially the refrain 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum' was written under the appropriate pitches. One only need glance at the Lamentations in other contemporary sources that are replete with ditto marks to realise that Sadler was a

¹¹ Even though it is not directly related to the texting, it is of interest that even after his corrections, the phrase of music was still inaccurate. The third statement of 'convertere' should have been minim-dotted minim-semiminim-semibreve, all on *c'*; in Sadler's copy, the final note of this statement descended to a *g*. The next phrase 'convertere ad' should have been minim-dotted minim-semiminim-minim-minim, with all notes on *c'* save the final two which descend to a *g*; in Sadler, this phrase is all on *c'*. One will also note the double *custodes* at the end of the second system on fol. 43^r: the note suggested by the lower *custos* did not occur until five notes into the next system.

wary scribe who seemed to be obsessively concerned with the placement of text.¹²

However, in the subsequent composition, Tallis's [*Dum transisset*] *Sabaturn*, the scribe began to make more frequent use of the :||: sign in Mus. E. 2–5 for the many 'alleluyas' that concluded the text of this Easter responsory. This was followed by pieces featuring longer strands of repeated text indicated by the many ditto signs which occurred in items 'xix' (Johnson's *Domine in virtute*), 'xxii' (Whyte's *Miserere mei, Deus*) and to some extent, item 'xxi' (Parsley's *Lamentations*). In these compositions, the exact text to be repeated was usually fairly obvious through repeated rhythmic patterns or melodic motifs. Sometimes however, the underlay was not completely clear, though Sadler occasionally attempted to help the singer by using angular slurs to show where the repeated syllables carried more than one note.

By way of example of an ambiguous repetition, consider the first occurrence of the ditto sign at the beginning of the second system of fol. 49^r in Mus. E. 1. 'Miserere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam', admittedly a long strand of text, precedes this first use of the sign. Yet there is no indication of exactly what :||: refers to. It is only after closer inspection that one makes the association of the rhythmic patterns above the ditto sign and discovers that the text repetition actually begins from 'secundum magnam'.

After copying item 'xxii', Sadler returned to his earlier practice of the infrequent use of the ditto sign, employing it only to indicate the repetition of single words. By item 'xxiii' (Whyte's *Domine, non est exaltatum*), the ditto sign once again

¹² Perhaps on account of his profession as a headmaster, he imagined that his colleagues and pupils would need something more explicit than a ditto mark to help with the placement of text and syllables.

disappeared completely and, as in the second system of fol. 54^r in Mus. E. 2, he chose to write out the texts in full — in this case, ‘animam meam’ five times.

Sadler’s copies of printed compositions

Like many of his contemporaries, Sadler copied compositions that were already circulating in print into his partbooks. Five pieces from the joint 1575 publication of Thomas Tallis and William Byrd, *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur*, were transmitted by Sadler: [*Dum transisset*] *Sabatium* (‘xviii’), *O sacrum convivium* (‘xxvii’), *Salvator mundi* [i] (‘xxviii’) and *Absterge domine* (‘xxxi’) by Tallis, and *Attollite portas* (‘xxix’) by Byrd. The inclusion of these pieces in Sadler’s collection are precise instances where we may observe the scribe’s attitude to exemplars with the approbation of the composers, and, unlike the comparison with Tenbury 1464, in all five voices.

An uncertainty that must be resolved before considering the underlay in these pieces is whether Sadler even made his copies from the printed edition. Firstly, it is a matter of their position in his partbooks. That these pieces only appear in the latter half of his collection is telling, for if he indeed began copying his partbooks in the mid-1560s and completed them by 1585 (the year inscribed on the sundial frontispiece), it seems entirely plausible that these motets, which are positioned past the midpoint in his collection, were copied only after the Tallis and Byrd collection was printed in 1575.

More detailed evidence in the texting, however, points to the conclusion that he probably did use the print as his source. On fol. 58^r in Mus. E. 1, Sadler copied an error that occurred in the printed edition of Tallis’s *Salvator mundi*: instead of placing

the final syllable of ‘noster’ under the final note with the corona, ‘-ster’ was placed under the penultimate note, *f-sharp*. Though he devised his own system of neumes grouped into ligatures to imitate plainsong notation, the cantus firmus part of [*Dum transisset*] *Sabaturn* beginning on fol. 43^v followed the underlay of the print perfectly. Still more notable was that the underlay of the ‘Alleluya’ section of this same composition in Mus. E. 2, fol. 43^r followed the print even to the detail of the fully written out words and ditto signs, Sadler substituting :| |: for Vautrollier’s ‘ij’. All parts of this motet used the unusually high clefs of the print and included the *signae congruentiae*.¹³ Finally, the texting of Byrd’s *Attollite portas* in the parts contained in Mus. E. 3–5 was fully concordant to the texting of the print. This is somewhat unexpected, since this motet is among the most complex in the 1575 print with respect to underlay; Byrd had some changes of syllables taking place even on fusae.

In spite of his use of an authoritative print as his source, there were still minor variants in his copies. The most recurrent of these were his removal of the instances of the characteristically English ‘anticipatory’ style of underlay where a syllable was set to two notes with a ‘short-long’ pattern. Out of all the printed motets copied into the partbooks, there were 11 deletions of this type of underlay, five of which occurred in Tallis’s *O sacrum convivium*. His emendations usually moved the change of syllable to the longer note, while the preceding shorter note was attached to the preceding syllable.

The words of the first of the printed works he copied, [*Dum transisset*] *Sabaturn*, in Mus. E. 3–5 show some prominent variants. According to the print, the

¹³ In his recent critical study of the print (see n. 7 on p. 10), Milsom regards Sadler’s copies as occupying an intermediate position between the earliest versions and those of the print.

parts in Mus. E. 4–5 originally began with the word ‘Sabatum’ and then repeated the words of the intonation ‘Dum transisset’ in the polyphony. Sadler removed the repetition of ‘Dum transisset’ in these two partbooks, replacing them with melismatic settings of the word ‘Sabatum’. Surprisingly, he retained these words in Mus. E. 2, fol. 42^v, making it the sole part that still read: ‘Sabatum dum transisset Sabatum’. Mus. E. 3, fol. 43^v contained further problems of text repetition in its third system. Three words into the system, ‘Jacobi’ was underlined and was followed by :||:, indicating a repeat of ‘Jacobi’ before continuing on to identify the next Mary, ‘et Salome’. Atypically, the musical notation in this passage was not aligned to the text, and vertical strokes were added, presumably by Sadler himself, to indicate which syllables occurred on which notes. The printed version, on the other hand, did not repeat ‘Jacobi’ at all but proceeded immediately onto ‘et Salome’ and then indicated ‘ij’ to repeat the name of the third Mary.

Though the above variants are inexplicable, that Sadler was an intelligent and thoughtful scribe who did not simply copy what was in his exemplar is confirmed by a variant in Mus. E. 2, fol. 43^r, which corrected an obvious erratum in the print; see Figures 6-2 and 6-3. On the fifth system, the final syllable of the first ‘Jesum’ was set

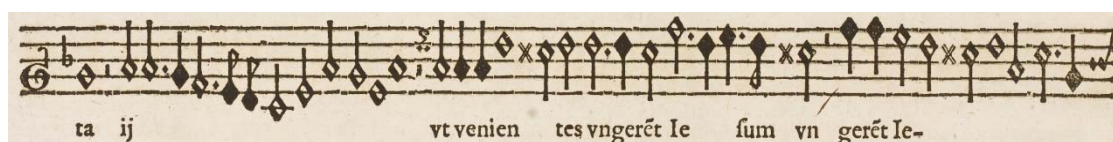


Figure 6-2: Thomas Tallis, *Sabatum*. Extract of *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (1575), no. 14, showing the Discantus part.



Figure 6-3: Thomas Tallis, *Sabatum*. Transcription of Sadler’s ‘correction of the print in MS Mus. E 2.

under the fusa on *d''* and the beginning of the next word, 'un-', was set under the minim *c-sharp''* in the print. The remainder of the word, '-gerent', came only after being interrupted by the minim rest. Sadler moved the final syllable of 'Jesum' under *c-sharp''* and then reset 'ungerent' in full following the rest.

As already hinted at in the initial case study of the Clemens's *Job tonso capite*, Sadler's choices of what words to repeat in the realisation of ditto marks are particularly interesting to observe. In these motets, there were six instances where Sadler repeated only a single word (the italicised text indicates where Sadler realised an 'ij', as illustrated in Figures 6-4 to 6-9 overleaf):

1. Mus. E. 1, fol. 57^r, final system: 'O sacrum convivium, *convivium*'
2. Mus. E. 1, fol. 59^r, second system: '[principes] vestras *vestras*'
3. Mus. E. 2, fol. 57^r, first system: 'O sacrum convivium convivium, *convivium*'
4. Mus. E. 3, fol. 43^v, fourth system: '...emerunt aromata *aromata*'
5. Mus. E. 3, fol. 58^r, last system: '...deus noster *noster*'
6. Mus. E. 4, fol. 59^r, first system: '...absterge domine *domine*'

In all of the above cases, there were sufficient notes to set the full strand of text syllabically, or as near to syllabically as possible — some syllables might have had neumatic movement. Unfortunately, only cases 1, 4, and 6 fit the earlier proposed theory that Sadler chose to repeat only single words because there were no rests between the printed text and the 'ij', thus constituting a single phrase. Cases 2, 3, and 5, however, were interrupted by rests.



Figure 6-4: Case 1.



Figure 6-5: Case 2.



Figure 6-6: Case 3.



Figure 6-7: Case 4.



Figure 6-8: Case 5.



Figure 6-9: Case 6.

Case 2 could have resulted simply because there was a line break after 'principes' in Sadler's copy. Additionally, the word 'vestras' before 'ij' had been set to a rather lengthy melisma. Sadler may well have decided to imitate this method of setting the text instead of arranging the three extra syllables of 'principes' in an awkward manner.

But some other determining aspect must have been at work to influence his written out repetition decisions. It is my proposal that the missing factor in cases 3 and 5 was the prosodic pattern that was associated with the text prior to the 'ij'

indication. The seven syllables of ‘O sacrum convivium’ were initially set to a pattern of minim-minim-semiminim-semiminim-dotted minim-semiminim-minim. In case 3, the rhythms completely disappeared and there were six minims followed by one semibreve. Setting the full text syllabically into the ij. in Figure 6-4, would have placed the unstressed syllables ‘con-’ and the second ‘-vi-’ on theses while the first ‘-vi-’, a stressed syllable, was displaced to an arsis. In addition to this, the word ‘convivium’ had already been repeated once in full. Sadler may have taken the ‘ij’ to mean a literal repetition of the strand of text that came before, and in this case, it was only a single word, ‘convivium’.¹⁴

In case 5, all occurrences of the word ‘Deus’ in *Salvator mundi* had its first stressed syllable falling on a thesis, or if it fell on an arsis, the stressed syllable was lengthened in some fashion. In the closing moments of the piece, ‘ij’ was marked on an arsis-minim followed by another thesis-minim; had Sadler set the word ‘Deus’ to these rhythms, he would have stressed the weaker syllable of ‘-us’.

None of the hypothetical solutions described above would have produced ideal results. Sadler circumvented the entire problem by repeating single words and setting them melismatically.

Errata

However much care and attention Sadler appears to have paid to detailed underlay, a number of errors can still be found: missing syllables, additional syllables, extra repeats, and inconsistent settings of words. In his copying of the printed works, the

¹⁴ This is an isolated case in the entire 1575 print where a ditto sign was placed immediately after a single word that was already repeated in full.

final ‘-a’ of ‘Maria’ was omitted at the beginning of the third system on fol. 43^v in Mus. E. 3. On fol. 57^v, from the end of the fourth system to the beginning of the fifth system, a syllable was accidentally repeated, yielding the word, ‘gloririae’. On fol. 61^r, the printed edition read ‘tu es salus mea’ with a penultimate melisma of fourteen notes. Although there was no indication of a repetition of text, Sadler copied, ‘tu es salus mea *mea*’, assigning the second ‘me-’ a melisma of twelve notes.

Finally, a case of the inconsistent texting appeared in Tallis’s large-scale votive antiphon, *Salve intimerata* [sic] (no. xi).¹⁵ The final word of the first section, just before the mensuration changes to *tempus imperfectum diminutum*, is ‘permanseris’. Mus. E. 1, Mus. E. 3, and Mus. E. 4 split the syllables into two groups, ‘perman-’ and ‘-seris’, with the syllable ‘-man-’ carrying the long melisma indicating the approach of an important cadence. This curiously was not the manner of word setting in the Medius and Bassus parts.

In Mus. E. 2, fol. 27^r, Sadler originally forgot to copy the penultimate syllable into his partbook; the syllable ‘-se-’ appears in a different shade of ink. Whether it was Sadler or another hand that made the addition is debatable; the ‘f’ [long-s] did not resemble other occurrences of this letter in the manuscript, while the ‘e’ was a fairly close match. Whoever the scribe was, the missing syllable was added right next to the first group of syllables so that ‘-se-’ now carried the melisma. This syllable was obviously put at the wrong end of the melisma, for it did not provide for the change of syllable on the penultimate and ultimate (repeated) notes of the section.

Though the end-result was the same — that is, with the melisma attached to

¹⁵ The erroneous spelling of the incipit ‘intimerata’ appears in all five partbooks and even in the surviving partbooks of Sadler’s latter set.

‘-se-’ instead of ‘-man-’ — the circumstances that lead to it were slightly different in Mus. E. 5, fol. 25^r, because it was the final syllable ‘-ris’ that was lacking. Again, it was supplied in a different ink, but there was no controversy to the scribe placing ‘-ris’ under the final note of this section as expected. Surprisingly, ‘-se-’ appears to have been grouped with the first two syllables of the word at the time of initial copying and therefore, the penultimate syllable also carried the melisma in this part. Once again, it had been written in the wrong place.¹⁶

What rationale is there for assigning the melismata in Mus. E. 2 and Mus. E. 5 to ‘-se-’ instead of ‘-man-’? Surely it is not because there are rests in the melismata of these parts shortly before the cadence. Mus. E. 1 and Mus. E. 4 have similar passages with rests that broke up the melisma and the same syllable simply resumed after the rest and continued on its way; ‘-se-’ did not occur in these books until the penultimate note of this section. Most likely, the underlay in Mus. E. 2 was just a scribal error; a missing syllable was spotted when the partbooks were being checked and hastily written down without actually thinking about it or comparing the other partbooks to ascertain where the syllable properly belonged. Mus. E. 5, however, differed from all the other parts as it had a *c. o. p.* ligature right above ‘-se-’. It is entirely possible that Sadler would have seen it as theoretically correct to begin the next syllable at this point; as previously observed, Sadler sometimes took to replacing two separate semibreves with a *c. o. p.* ligature to make the text distribution obvious.

¹⁶ These errata are ‘mistakes’, insofar as they are not consistent with the manner in which Sadler set the word ‘permanseris’ in other voices. Curiously, the melisma is also placed ‘incorrectly’ in Tenbury MS 1464, the partbook that I have argued to have served as Sadler’s exemplar. It is also thus placed in the Medius and the Bassus of the Peterhouse (Henrician) Partbooks both times — Tallis’s *Salve intemerata* was copied twice into this source. See the next chapter for a more detailed analysis of the texting in this composition.

Included at the end of Mus. E. 3 is a scribal 'test page' which contains the first two systems of the Contratenor part of Tye's motet, *Miserere mei deus*; 'i' in Sadler's original numbering. Significantly, it has a sample of everything that was to feature in his partbooks: the ornate initial capital, the lozenge noteheads, and the secretary script used for texting. His name also appears twice, copied in two different text styles. Though the excerpt of music is brief, one can already see his efforts in aligning music with the syllables below. Such a rare find reveals to us an amateur music scribe, who evidently thought it prudent to try his hand out before setting to work on his collection proper.

Shortly after completing these books, Sadler began work on his second set of partbooks, from which the Contratenor (known as the 'Wilmott' manuscript and in private ownership) and the Tenor (GB-Ob Tenbury MS 1486) books survive. Justly described as 'more ambitious in its layout, calligraphy and pictorial decoration' by Milsom,¹⁷ this set of partbooks also included a number of the compositions that were previously copied in the first set.

If one were to compare the concordances, one would discover that even though the text-music alignment is just as clear as in the first set of partbooks and the majority of the texting is identical, some of the texting has conspicuously changed. For example, Tallis's *Absterge domine*, no. 23 of Tenbury 1486, retains the single word repetition in Mus. E. 4, 'Absterge domine *domine*'. But in no. 1, *Salve intimerata*, the Wilmott manuscript has a drastically altered setting of the final word of the first

¹⁷ John Milsom, 'Sacred songs in the chamber', in *English choral practice, 1400–1650*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 164.

section, 'permanseris'. I argued previously that the syllable '-se-' in Mus. E. 2 was misplaced on account of it carrying a penultimate melisma of nine notes, when it really should have been the syllable '-man-' carrying a melisma interrupted by a rest. What Sadler copied in this later collection is fascinating. The syllable '-se-' was again placed in the same incorrect place as before, but this time, it carried only two notes. The final syllable '-ris', came before the rest. Following the rest, the word was repeated, assigning four notes to 'per-' and one each to '-manseris'. Perhaps by 1591, when Sadler was still at work on these partbooks, he had become much more accustomed to the repetition of text so that he decided to use it in his recopying of Tallis's votive antiphon.

In the final assessment, John Sadler is revealed to be a scribe who, though careful, was like his contemporary John Baldwin (see below in Section 6.2). He had changing ideas on texting, which he incorporated into his copies.

6.2: Settings of *Domine, quis habitabit* in the Baldwin Partbooks

Of the three private sources selected for this dissertation, GB-Och Mus. 979–83 is arguably the most comprehensive, comprising Latin-texted motets, alternatim settings of plainsong hymns, instrumental fantasias, and the scribe's own compositional efforts. These five surviving partbooks of a set of originally six — the Tenor partbook has been lost — were owned and copied by John Baldwin (before 1560–1615), a singing man from St George's Chapel in Windsor. The principal

copying took place from 1575 to 1581, with later additions made from 1600 to 1603.¹⁸

Among the known scribes of the Elizabethan age, Baldwin was the most versatile. Not only did he copy two other important manuscripts of the period — a commonplace book (GB-Lbl RM 24.d.2) and ‘My Ladye Nevells booke’ (GB-Lbl MS Mus. 1591)¹⁹ — he also contributed to and presumably owned two other sources examined in this dissertation: the ‘Forrest-Heather’ Partbooks (see Chapter 4.1)²⁰ and the Dow Partbooks (see Chapter 6.3).²¹ As his copying habits have already been researched in considerable detail,²² this section will begin by briefly assessing a facet of his scribal activities that has been overlooked in previous studies — his copying of printed music — and then proceed to study a case of multiple musical settings of a popular sixteenth-century motet text contained in his partbooks.

Baldwin and the copying of printed music

Bound at the rear of each of Baldwin’s partbooks is the corresponding printed partbook of the 1575 *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* of Tallis and Byrd. Although it is commonly held that Baldwin avoided making manuscript copies of

¹⁸ Baldwin’s partbooks used paper with printed staves. See Iain Fenlon and John Milsom, “‘Ruled paper imprinted’: Music paper and patents in sixteenth-century England”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37, no. 1 (1984): 139–63.

¹⁹ Oliver Neighbour, *My Ladye Nevells Booke: Facsimile*, British Library MS Mus. 1591, with an introduction (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2012).

²⁰ The ‘Sexta pars’ partbook (MS Mus. Sch. E. 381) was repaired and its final pages were recopied by Baldwin in his ‘My Ladye Nevells’ hand.

²¹ Nos. 53 and 54, Parsons’s *O bone iesu* and Giles’s *Vestigia mea dirige*, were copied by Baldwin in the blank pages following the last Latin-texted compositions copied by Dow, also in his ‘My Ladye Nevells’ hand.

²² See Gaskin, ‘Music copyists in late sixteenth-century England’ and Mateer, ‘John Baldwin and changing concepts’, 143–60.

works already available in the printed section of his collection,²³ there is one exception in his inventory: No. 21, Tallis's [*Dum transisset*] *Sabbatum*. This piece affords us the opportunity of assessing Baldwin's attitude toward a known authoritative exemplar, an important aspect of any scribe's practice that seems to have been thus far ignored in other studies of Baldwin's copying activities.²⁴

Accustomed to the 'overlay' method of copying, Baldwin's text-music alignment is at times ambiguous in his manuscripts.²⁵ However, in the Superius part that contained the plainsong cantus firmus of Tallis's Easter responsory, the scribe removed all doubts of texting by employing an anachronistic square notation, grouped into ligatures. Regardless of the direction of the stems at the beginning or end of the ligature, every square was worth a semibreve in length. Two special shapes, the stem with a curled hook descending on the right side and a square note with a descending stem on both sides,²⁶ represented a breve; these are reproduced in Figure 6-11.

There were six syllabic discrepancies in the cantus firmus part between the print and Baldwin's manuscript. In the first system, '-ri-' of the first 'Maria' is set to an *f'*-'a'' podatus, but in the print it is set to *a''* only; and '-da-' of 'Magdalene' is set

²³ 'Mus. 979-83', John Milsom, Christ Church Library: music catalogue, accessed August 4, 2013, <http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+979--83>.

²⁴ Fenlon and Milsom have already pointed out that Baldwin's partbooks were copied on paper with printed staves, the type that were being produced under Tallis and Byrd's monopoly on music. Given that these partbooks were therefore not begun before 1575, it is at least conceivable that when Baldwin purchased the ruled paper in considerable quantities (enough for six partbooks, and the repairs to the 'Sexta pars' of 'Forrest-Heather'), he also purchased a set of the 1575 collection of motets at the same time.

²⁵ Mateer, 'John Baldwin and changing', 145.

²⁶ In the preface to *The booke of common praier noted* of 1550, John Merbecke calls this a 'strene' note and defines its value as a breve. STC (2nd ed.): 16441, A.ii. See also Hugh Benham, "'Stroke" and "strene" notation in fifteenth and sixteenth century equal note cantus firmi', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 2, no. 2 (1993): 153-68.



Figure 6-10: Thomas Tallis, *Sabbatum*. Extract of *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (1575), no. 14, showing the Discantus part.

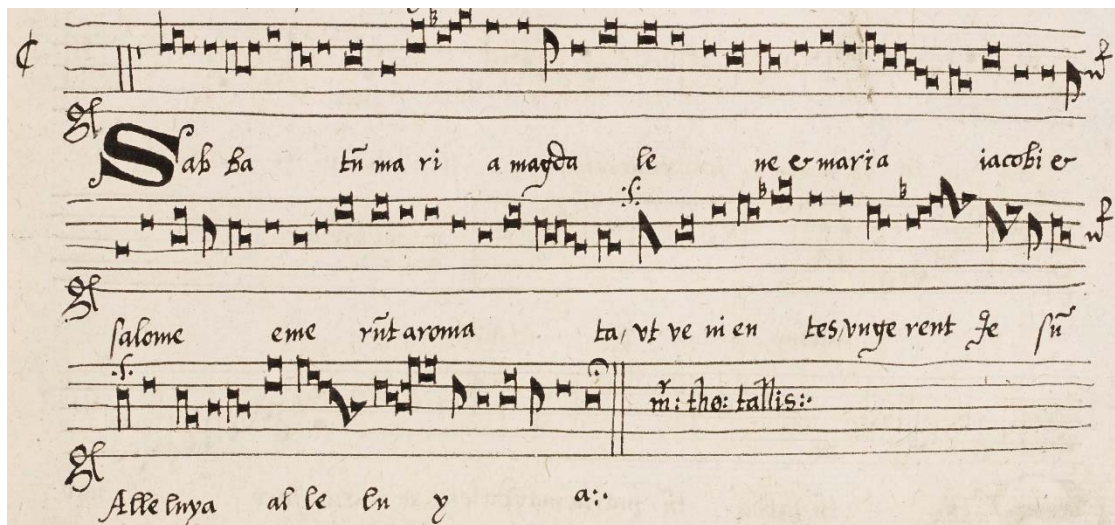


Figure 6-11: Thomas Tallis, [*Dum transisset*] *Sabbatum*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 979, no. 21. The first and antepenultimate notes of the last system show Baldwin's special shapes to indicate a breve. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

to the standalone f'' following the stem with a curled tail whereas it should have been set to the podatus one semibreve later. In the second system, the first three syllables of 'aromata' should occur one semibreve later than where it does (corresponding to g'' , f'' , e''); and 'Je-' of 'Jesum' should begin on the lower note of the porrectus, e'' . In

the final system, shown above in Figure 6-11, the final 'alleluya' is exceptionally divided into five syllables 'al-le-lu-y-a' in Baldwin's manuscript and set quite differently to the print; in the printed reading, the '-y-' comes at the end of the preceding syllable '-lu-' to form a single syllable that is set to the $e''-g''-f''$ preceding the penultimate note, while the final syllable '-a-' is assigned to the final two notes, $f''-e''$.²⁷

The latter variant of the first system may be passed off as a simple instance of scribal oversight when copying text before music, for the 'g' and 'd' in the two syllables of 'magda-' appear to have been formed without a lift of the quill. The first variant of the second system was surely caused by the incorrect grouping of the notes over the preceding syllable, '-runt' of 'emerunt'; the shape ought to have been a torculus of $g''-a''-g''$, but Baldwin only used a podatus of $g''-a''$. As for the unusual division of 'Alleluya' into five syllables, there is no comparison available to establish if this was a practice particular to the scribe's texting of cantus firmi; the rest of the cantus firmus in the [*Dum transisset*] *Sabbatum* settings were recorded in the now-lost Tenor part. However, in the other freely composed voices, Baldwin always divides 'alleluya' into its standard four syllables.

In the three other surviving partbooks, having excluded the instances of substituting a ditto sign for a full iteration of a word and a full iteration for a ditto sign, only three texting variants were found. Like Sadler before him, Baldwin corrected an obvious texting error in the Discantus print in Mus. 980. On the fourth

²⁷ Though the division of 'alleluya' into five syllables is not uncommon in the later sixteenth century, I note it here as an exceptional setting since none of the other copied parts set the word in this manner.



Figure 6-12: Thomas Tallis, *Sabbatum*. Extract of *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (1575), no. 14, showing the Discantus part.

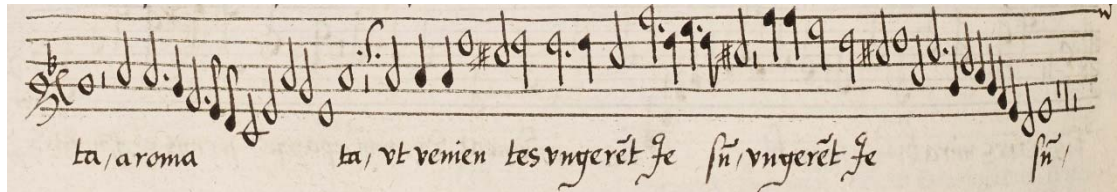


Figure 6-13: Thomas Tallis, *[Dum transisset] Sabbatum*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 980, no. 21. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

system of the first page of printed version, the final syllable of the first 'Jesum' was placed under the fusa on *d''* and the beginning of the next word, 'un-', was placed under the minim *c-sharp''*. The remainder of the word, '-gerent', came only after being interrupted by the minim rest. Baldwin's manuscript copy moved the final syllable of 'Jesum' to the *c-sharp''* and then reset 'ungerent' in full following the rest; see Figures 6-12 and 6-13. The second variant was at the beginning of the same line at the melodically set 'aromata'. Baldwin interpreted the 'ij' of the print to refer to the repetition of only a single word, whereas there were actually enough notes to accommodate 'emerunt aromata', the two-word unit that had already been repeated several times in this section of the responsory. The third and last variant was in the Contratenor part. In Mus. 981, the third word on the second system of this manuscript presented a case of a double final syllable to establish that there is a penultimate melisma on '-ri-' of 'Maria'.²⁸ His repetition of the '-a' was misplaced; the print placed the '-a' two notes earlier, giving the final syllable a neumatic setting

²⁸ Mateer cited this passage in his study of Baldwin's texting practices as an example of the scribe's tendency to duplicate the final syllable. However, he failed to note that the placement of the final '-a' contravened the texting of the print. Mateer, 'John Baldwin and changing', 144.

of three descending notes.

Baldwin's attitudes toward the texting in music prints may be summarised in this manner: while he generally copied what he saw, as a professional choral singer of considerable experience, he also did not shy away from adjusting the texting. To Mateer's assessment that Baldwin's scribal practices related to his 'primary objective of updating the underlay of the old-fashioned works' in his collection,²⁹ perhaps a footnote might be added that asserts the general reliability of his manuscript copies of pieces that were already available in an authoritative print.

Similarities and dissimilarities in texting the words of Psalm 14

One of the most popular biblical texts in sixteenth-century England that composers chose to set to music was *Domine, quis habitabit*. Baldwin copied six polyphonic settings of this psalm into his partbooks and even though all six motets used the same text, the response of each composer was quite distinctive. The text was the Latin translation of Psalm 14 from the *Psalterium Davidicum ad usum Ecclesiae Sarisburiensis*,³⁰ which was divided into seven verses: verses 1–6 had two phrases each and verse 7 had a single phrase. When set to music, the total amount of verses was typically divided into two *partes* of unequal length. The line breaks in the text below mark off the units of repeated text; cadences also normally occurred at the end of each line:

Prima pars
1 Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo:
 aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo.

²⁹ Mateer, 'John Baldwin and changing', 159.

³⁰ STC (2nd ed.): 15839, B. iii. v. The Psalter is placed in a section of its own in the *Portiforium*. The Clementine edition of the Vulgate Bible (1593) has slightly different verse divisions.

- 2 Qui ingreditur sine macula:³¹
et operatur iustitiam.
- 3 Qui loquitur veritatem in corde suo:
qui non egit dolum in lingua sua.
- 4 Nec fecit proximo suo malum:
et opprobrium non accepit adversus proximos suos

Secunda pars

- 5 Ad nihilum deductus est in conspectus eius malignus:
timentes autem dominum glorificat.
- 6 Qui iurat proximo suo et non decipit
qui pecuniam suam non dedit ad usuram
et munera super innocentem non accepit
- 7 qui facit haec: non movebitur in eternum.
[Amen.]³²

Of the six settings of this psalm, Tallis's motet (no. 67 in Mus. 979–83), like many of his late Latin-texted works, was the most economical in its use of music. Cast in a declamatory style, the majority of words were set syllabically and moved in minims; this had the advantage of naturally highlighting unequal rhythms when they occurred. Neumatic motion and short melismata were regulated towards the end of phrases. While word repetition was usually carried out in complete phrases, there were at least 10 examples of repeated fragments and individual words when the syntax was interrupted, such as '*sine malcula, sine malcula*' and '*iusticiam, iusticiam*'; the sole function that these fragmented repetitions appear to have served was to delay the subsequent line of text until all voices made their imitative entry.

The setting of the text was mostly in accord with the rules of prosody, though there was the occasional moment of awkwardness. For instance, '*qui loquitur veritatem*' in the Superius (Mus. 979, p. 1 of motet, end of third system), set the first two words correctly, but then began '*veritatem*' on an arsis-minim causing the

³¹ In William Mundy's setting, '*ingreditur*' was replaced by the variant '*ingredietur*' in all parts. The source of this variant has so far been untraceable.

³² Only Mundy and Robert Whyte add an '*Amen*' to the end of their motets.

weaker syllables of the word to be stressed: *veritatem*. In the *secunda pars*, the words ‘qui iurat proximo...ad usuram’ featured a passage of antiphonal composition between the upper and lower voices lasting 24 breves; this technique would become a principal characteristic in Robert Parsons’s (ca.1535–71/2) setting of Psalm 14 (see below).

Tallis’s highly syllabic texture best confirms Mateer’s statement that Baldwin used the ‘overlay’ method in his scribal practice. Figure 6-14 shows the first two systems of the Bassus in Mus. 983:

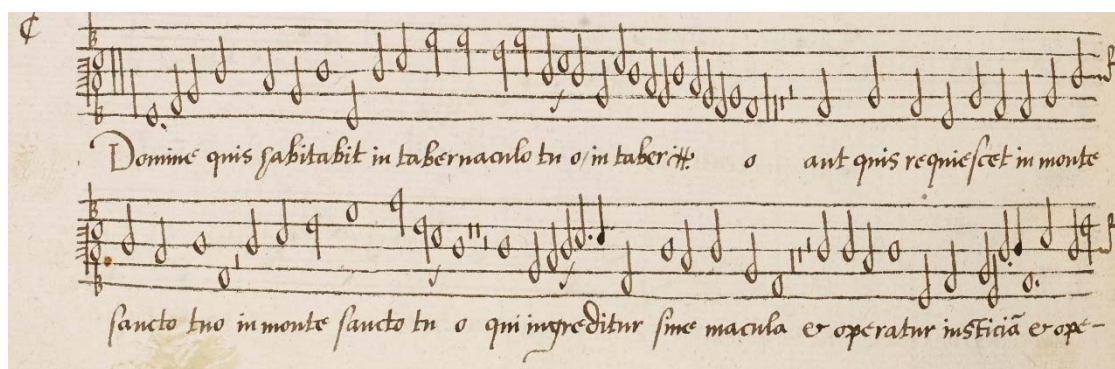


Figure 6-14: Thomas Tallis, *Domine, quis habitabit*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 983, no. 67. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

The even spacing of the text is a telling sign that the text was copied first. One may also notice the unevenness of the note spacing, almost as if they were being determined by the length of the syllables.³³ But it is ultimately the compression of notes over ‘taber- [ditto sign] -o’ that removes the last shred of doubt. Unlike Sadler,

³³ It is an interesting phenomenon of scribes that as compositions became more syllabic, they increasingly turned to overlay in their copying procedures. Perhaps the scribes reasoned that with all the words written out in a syllabic texture, it would be small matter to fit notes to them. However, as we have already seen (and will see again), the scribes did not account for the not infrequent anticipatory gestures, neumatic movements, and so forth. When working in overlay, there are two set of variables that must be reckoned with: the uncertain spacing of text (syllables with more letters, less letters, etc.) and the guesswork involved in anticipating the space necessary for the notation of melismata and neumatic movements.

whose note spacing remained steady even in melismata, Baldwin had to drastically reduce the amount of space between notes as a result of misjudging the amount of blank stave necessary for the neumatic movement. The alignment of ‘-o’ with the *c* above was a fixed point of texting around which everything else had to be adjusted. Another example of the compression required is in the notation over the ante-penultimate word of the excerpt, ‘iusticiam’.

*

With greater variation in its rhythms, William Mundy’s (ca.1528–ca.1591) motet (no. 128) was designed on a more expansive scale than Tallis’s. This is visibly illustrated in a comparison of the length of the first two phrases in each composer’s setting: Tallis set the first phrase in 18 breves, while Mundy set it in 32 breves; Mundy’s second phrase lasted 12 breves, but Tallis moved on to the third phrase of text after eight breves. However, beginnings of phrases were still strictly syllabic and the style was still declamatory. Ends of phrases were occasionally given protracted penultimate melismata. In each *pars*, a single word was given terminal neumatic motion for no logical reason except that this is how Baldwin set the text in his manuscript: ‘macula’ (Mus. 979, p. 1 of motet, third system, final ditto sign) and ‘glorificat’ (Mus. 980, p. 2 of motet, beginning of final system).

The instances of the terminal words of phrases being repeated in isolation after a reiteration of the entire unit of text were not as frequent as in Tallis’s setting, but some were still present. In the manuscript, this was indicated either by a fully written-out word or by the use of ditto signs in passages where the limited amount of notes precluded the possibility of repeating more than one word. Some examples include: ‘qui ingreditur sine macula *macula*’; ‘et operatur iustitiam *iustitiam*’; ‘qui

loquitur veritatem in corde suo *suo*'; and 'timentes autem Dominum glorificat *glorificat*'.

The exceptionally correct prosodic setting of the text was a hallmark of Mundy's motet and the techniques that ensured this quality included the use of semiminims and the displacement of theses. Usually appearing in pairs, the semiminims made certain that a stressed syllable landed on the thesis as in 'et operatur', 'veritatem in corde', and 'aut quis requiescet'; these are all illustrated in Figure 6-15. These three examples also demonstrate that the stressed syllable of a word usually coincided with the highest note of the group.



Figure 6-15: Three examples of the use of semiminims to ensure correct prosody in William Mundy, *Domine, quis habitabit*. Barlines have been added to indicate the theses.

What is best described as a 'displaced thesis' took place at passages when a stressed syllable was about to land on an arsis. To compensate for this, the composer placed a longer note value on the arsis that carried over into the next thesis. A textbook example of this technique can be observed towards the end of Mundy's setting at the words 'non movebitur', illustrated in Figure 6-16. Here again, note that the stressed syllable of the word coincided with the note highest in pitch.



Figure 6-16: Two examples of 'displaced theses' to ensure correct prosody in William Mundy, *Domine, quis habitabit*. Bar-lines have been added to indicate the original theses.

Reverse-accentuation in this motet was rare and only two incidents have been encountered. The first case was at the word 'super' in the phrase 'et munera super': 'mu-' and '-ra' land on theses and 'su-' is set with a minim on the very next beat, an arsis, followed immediately by the unstressed syllable '-per' falling on the subsequent thesis. The second case was at the word 'Dominum' in the phrase 'timentes autem Dominum': beginning on an arsis, 'Dominum' was set to two semiminims and a minim, causing the unstressed syllable, '-num' to fall on a thesis.

The regularity of the correct prosody was achieved through Mundy's imitative technique. One could describe this as 'precise replication', as far as word rhythms are concerned. For instance, the first phrase sung by the Superius part began on a thesis and was stressed in this manner: '**Domine** quis **habitabit** in **tabernaculo tuo**'. Every imitative entry thereafter by the other parts likewise began on a thesis and was stressed identically, without exception. This same procedure was followed throughout the length of the composition and the accentuation of a phrase was an exact copy of the accentuation of the part that first entered with that particular line of text. Mundy's precise replication was so strict that when he applied it in canon between two voices at the phrase 'aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo', he destabilised the tactus. Rees applied the term *per arsin et thesin* to describe this section;³⁴ that is, the former strong beats became weak and the former weak beats became strong: see Figure 6-17.

*

Robert Parsons's setting (no. 127) differed from the other five recorded in Baldwin's

³⁴ Owen L. Rees, 'Settings of Latin Psalms in England c. 1545–1570: Unpublished Works in Oxford, Christ Church, MSS 979–83' (M.Phil diss., University of Cambridge, 1987), 51.

Figure 6-17: William Mundy, *Domine, quis habitabit*. Canon *per arsin et thesin*.

partbooks in that only the first four verses of Psalm 14 were set; the *prima pars* of the other settings. It also contrasted with the motets of Tallis and Mundy as the beginnings and endings of verses were clearly delineated by cadences; Tallis and Mundy had a preference for eliding their cadences with the beginning of a new musical motif and a new line of text. The voices in this composition were arranged to form two opposing forces or ‘choirs’: the upper voices forming one trio and the lower voices forming the other. Like the singing of psalmody in services, one choir answered the other antiphonally. From a texting perspective, however, it is more accurate to say that one choir ‘echoed’ the other, as the text did not progress when the second choir entered, but simply repeated what the first choir just finished singing. The arrangement of text in the first two verses of Parsons’s setting is outlined in Tables 6-1 and 6-2:

	SEGMENT 1	SEGMENT 2	SEGMENT 3	SEGMENT 4
I	Phrase 1	T/Fragment 1	Phrase 2	Fragment 2
II	T[acet]	Phrase 1	T	Phrase 2

Table 6-1: Arrangement of text in verse 1 of Robert Parsons, *Domine, quis habitabit*.

	SEGMENT 1	SEGMENT 2	SEGMENT 3	SEGMENT 4
I	Phrase 1	Fragment 1	Phrase 2	Fragment 2
II	T	Phrase 1	Fragment 1	Phrase 2

Table 6-2: Arrangement of text in verse 2 of Robert Parsons, *Domine, quis habitabit*.

Each verse was divided into four segments. Where the table is marked 'Phrase', the entire line of text was sung from beginning to end without repeats. 'Fragments' varied from the repetition of a single word to a repetition of a larger part of the phrase.

The construct of the verse 3 was similar to the construct of verse 1, except it uncharacteristically began with a full choir entry on two words, repeated once: 'Qui loquitur'. The structure of verse 1 then resumed, except in segment 2, where the first choir was completely silent. Verse 4 abandoned the previous antiphonal formula and replaced it with an imitative section with all voices in continuous imitation. This section divided the text into four points of imitation: 'Nec fecit proximo suo malum'; 'et opprobrium non accepit'; 'adversus proximos suos'; and 'proximos suos'. Melismata and neumatic motion normally appeared over penultimate syllables as a voice headed towards an extended rest.

The words 'macula', 'iusticiam', and 'suos' were copied inconsistently by Baldwin. In some partbooks, they were written as whole words indicating terminal melismata, while in other partbooks they were syllabified to indicate penultimate melismata. The rhythms of all the words in Parsons's setting were congruent with the rules of prosody. Particularly notable was the setting of the word 'adversus' where both rhythm (arsis, thesis, arsis) and music (lower note first syllable, higher note second syllable, lower note third syllable) reflected the spoken word. At 'Qui ingreditur' and 'qui loquitur', Parsons also used the *per arsin et thesin* technique between the upper three voices at the first appearance of those lines of text.

*

The remaining three settings of Psalm 14 in Baldwin's partbooks were all by Robert Whyte (nos. 124, 131, and 134). These settings — distinguished as (i), (ii), and (iii) in the order of appearance in Baldwin's partbooks — represented the full spectrum of possibilities in a single composer's response to a text. While it is rare to find a composer who set the same motet text three times, rarer still it is to find all three settings copied by a single scribe into a single source.

Possibly the earliest of Whyte's settings, *Domine, quis habitabit* (ii) retained the *tempus perfectum diminutum/tempus imperfectum diminutum* division common to polyphonic compositions in the earlier part of the sixteenth century in its two *partes*. All the other settings of this text (including Whyte's other two) used *tempus imperfectum diminutum* from the very outset. At the *tempus* level of rhythm, imposing a text that works aptly in a duple metre into a triple metre could cause incongruities with the accentuation of the text.³⁵

A case of this incongruity can be found 14 breves [28 semibreves] into the motet where the separate entries of 'in monte sancto' in the four parts were staggered by the distance of semibreve. Beginning on the thesis of the tempus (i.e. first semibreve of a group of three semibreves), the Sexta pars was set in this manner: 'in monte **sancto**'. While 'sancto' was correctly stressed, and to a certain extent, so was 'monte' — it fell on the second and third semibreves of the tempus and the second semibreve was still stronger than the arsis — the stressing of 'in' on a thesis was unsatisfactory. Next to enter after the Sexta pars was the Medius part, which placed

³⁵ Whereas in *tempus imperfectum (diminutum)* every second semibreve is strong, in *tempus imperfectum (diminutum)*, only every third semibreve is strong. Though it is relatively easy to make corrections for a misplaced stressed syllable on an arsis in an alternating strong-weak pattern, it is considerably more difficult to do so with two intervening weak semibreves.

its 'in' on the second semibreve of the tempus. The subsequent word 'monte' was even more peculiarly set with 'mon-' on an arsis and '-te' on a thesis. The setting of 'sancto' in the Medius part was similar to the setting of 'monte' in the Sexta pars; that is, falling on the second and third semibreves of the tempus. The Contratenor part that entered next correctly set 'in' to an arsis and 'mon-' to a thesis. This seemingly sensible accentuation was unfortunately brief; the next word 'sancto' was set with a reverse accentuation. The last to enter was the Superius part, one semibreve after the Contratenor. Had Whyte set these five syllables to a string of semibreves as in the other parts, the result would have been the same as the Sexta pars's entry three semibreves earlier. He instead set 'mon-' to a breve and this diminished the effect of the unexpected '-te' on the next thesis. Further cases of this type of irregular texting in the *prima pars* can be observed at 'et operator', 'qui loquitur veritatem', and 'qui non egit'.

Whyte's setting was similar to Parsons's motet in that obvious cadences occurred at the end of verses. In fact, Whyte even more obviously delineated the verse divisions through the variation of vocal part combinations and cadences with corone. Table 6-3 outlines the voicing of the seven verses. Although Verses 1 and 2 formed one continuous section, verse 2 was differentiated by the addition of the Sexta pars.³⁶ At the final word of verse 2, 'iusticiam', the quartet came to rest on a dotted breve. Verse 3 began on the words 'qui loquitur' with all six parts declaiming in semibreves; it formed another continuous section with verse 4. In the *secunda pars*, a dotted semibreve with a corona ended verse 5 on the word 'glorificat'. Verse 6 was set

³⁶ Strictly, the Sexta pars enters just slightly earlier during the conclusion of verse 1.

to a trio texture using the three parts that were silent in verse 5. The beginning of verse 7 paralleled the start of verse 3 with all parts declaiming 'Qui facit haec'; only this time, the chords were set in breves. Lastly, the 'Amen' mirrored the end of the *prima pars* by forming one continuous section with verse 7.

Baldwin's copy of this motet had a standardised treatment of melismata that was uncharacteristic of earlier compositions. All melismata were penultimate where possible and were so indicated either by the separation of the final syllable from the

	<i>Prima pars</i>				<i>Secunda pars</i>			
<i>Verses</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Amen
SEXTA PARS		x ³⁷	x	x		x	x	x
SUPERIUS	x	x	x	x	xx		x	x
MEDIUS	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
TENOR			[x]	[x]	[x]x		[x]	[x]
CONTRATENOR	x	x	x	x			x	x
BASSUS			x	x		x	x	x

Table 6-3: Voicings in the verses of Whyte, *Domine, quis habitabit* (ii). The double x indicates gimels and the bracketed x indicates a lost part.

rest of the word or by an oblique stroke, marking the point at which the final syllable should be placed.³⁸ In the few cases where a penultimate melisma was not possible, Baldwin ended a word, and inserted a ditto sign instead. One example of the latter situation that we shall look at in detail in Mus. 979 is reproduced in Figure 6-18.

The gymel section in the *secunda pars* (verse 5) has the greatest number of textual repeats in this composition. Towards the end of this verse in particular, individual words are reiterated several times in the manuscript: 'malignus, *malignus*', 'Dominum, [ditto sign]', and 'glorificat, glorificat, [ditto sign], *glorificat*'. In the case of

³⁷ The Sexta pars enters at the words 'in monte sancto tuo'.

³⁸ Mateer, 'John Baldwin and changing', 153.

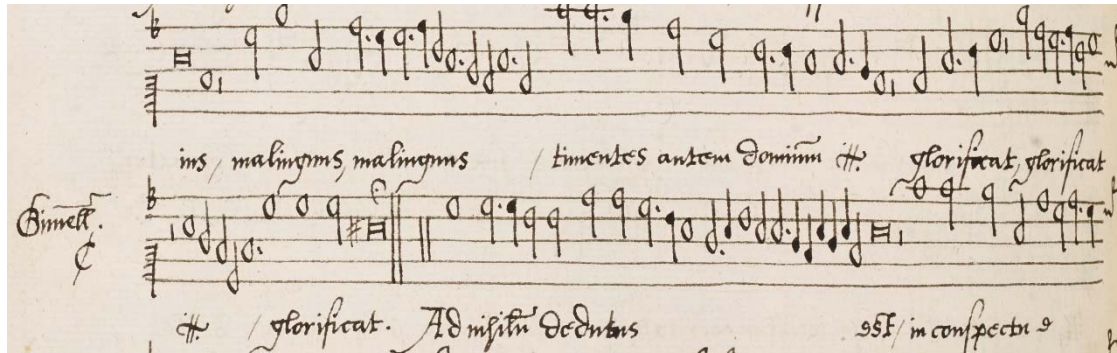


Figure 6-18: Robert Whyte, *Domine, quis habitabit* (ii). Extract of *Och Mus.* 979, no. 131. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

the first ditto sign, 'Dominum' could have been repeated syllabically; the rhythm of a dotted minim-semiminim-semibreve actually prompted a repeat. Towards the end of the system, however, the texting of the second 'glorificat' became uncertain. Since the stressed syllable in this word is '-ri-', should it have been applied to the dotted minim *a'*? Or should the trend of penultimate neumatic movement have been continued? A similar series of questions may be asked about the ditto sign at the beginning of the next system. Does '-ri-' belong to the first *d'*, a thesis, or to the *e'* one note before?

The solution proposed by Mateer in his edited edition of this psalm was to set the second 'glorificat' with penultimate neumatic movement. He then realised the ditto sign by beginning with a syllabic setting of the first three syllables, 'glorifi-'. After this, he eliminated the fourth written out 'glorifi-' and changed the notes above it into a breve on *a'* followed by a minim *a'*; the '-fi-' from the realisation of the ditto sign was then assigned a penultimate melisma lasting until the remaining '-cat' on the breve *f-sharp'*.³⁹

In my view, all four iterations of 'glorificat' should have been retained. The

³⁹ David Mateer, ed., *Robert White: II, Six-part Latin psalms; Votive antiphons*, Early English Church Music, vol. 29 (London: Stainer and Bell Ltd., 1983), 30.

second and third occurrences of the word should not have slavishly been set to penultimate neumatic motion or a penultimate melisma, but should have been adjusted for the stressed syllable to fall on the thesis or strongest note. Indeed, on the second 'glorificat', if the syllable '-ri-' was delayed until the dotted minim on *a'*, this would have accorded '-fi-' an anticipatory neumatic movement on the semiminim *b-flat'* and minim *g'*. The final syllable would then, of course, fall on the semibreve *a'*.

While the motet had the vestiges of an older composition (that is, the two mensuration signs, the variation of full- and reduced-parts sections), the music had nothing of the florid melismatic treatment of the choirbooks. Rather, it was clearly a product of England during or after the Edwardian Reformation (possibly mid-1550s). It should therefore be interpreted with the style of texting proper to the period.

*

Whyte's *Domine, quis habitabit (i)* provides a contrast for the previous motet. Whereas *Domine, quis habitabit (ii)* was a study in formal structure, this motet features fully imitative texture and explores the extreme possibilities of texting styles and word rhythms. From the very beginning, Whyte contrasts syllabic texting with extended melismata in the same textual phrase. In the Superius part, for example, 'Domine quis habitabit' was set syllabically (with minimal neumatic movement) while the remainder of the phrase 'in tabernaculo tuo' concluded in an 11-note penultimate melisma; on the repeat of the latter fragment of text, the penultimate melismata expanded into a 17-note melisma that spanned the range of a ninth. Both these melismata are illustrated in Figure 6-19.

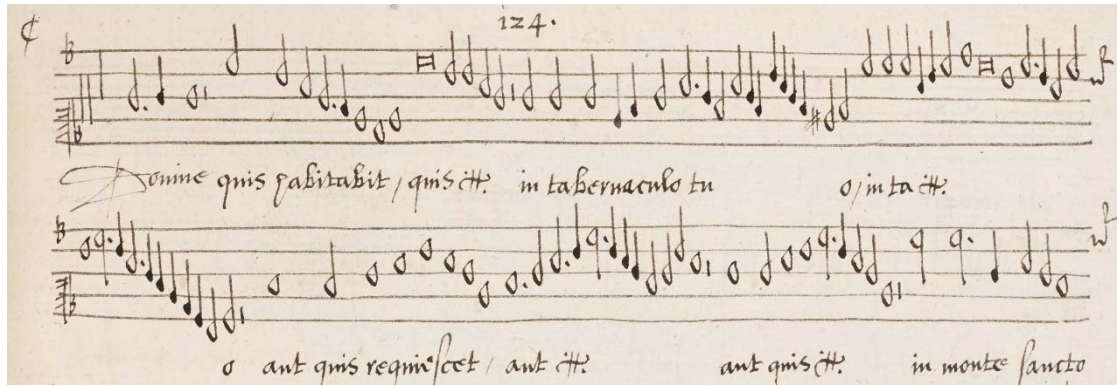


Figure 6-19: Robert Whyte, *Domine, quis habitabit* (i). Extract of *Och Mus.* 979, no. 124, showing the extremes of syllabic and melismatic text setting in the same textual phrase. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

What took place in this first phrase was a microcosm of the manner in which the remainder of the composition was texted. As the motet progressed, the texting shifted between the more melismatic sections such as ‘aut quis requiescet’, ‘Ad nihilum deductus est’, and the ‘Amen’, and the highly syllabic sections such as ‘nec fecit proximos’, and ‘timentes autem Domino’.

While the majority of the word rhythms followed patterns already established in the previously examined settings, Whyte also introduced a novel rhythmic pattern of two semiminims concluding with a longer note of variable value in all parts on the following words: ‘proximos’ (*prima pars*), and ‘in conspectu’ and ‘super innocentem’ (*secunda pars*). All cases of ‘proximos’ began on a thesis; all cases of ‘super innocentem’ began on an arsis; and ‘in conspectu’ began on either the thesis or the arsis, depending on the part. Astonishingly, all cases were prosodically sound. In ‘proximos’, although the last syllable was the longest, it was on an arsis-minim and lead into the stressed syllable of the next word, ‘suos’. In the third case, ‘super’ set on the arsis-semiminims led naturally into ‘innocentem’, which began on the thesis. The second case, ‘in conspectu’ showed the ingenuity of the composer’s craft. Where the

pattern entered on an arsis, no adjustment was needed since the stressed syllable ‘-spec-’ fell on the thesis. Where it entered on a thesis, another displaced thesis was created on the stressed syllable and the prosody remained intact.

Baldwin’s manuscript, however, still leaves us with a number of texting enigmas. First and foremost, his choice of repeated text does not operate in syntactical units, but instead gradually adds and removes words a few at a time on each end. In the first few systems of Mus. 980 the texting ran thus: ‘Domine quis habitabit / quis [ditto sign = habitabit] / in tabernaculo tuo in taber- [ditto sign = -naculo tu-] -o / aut quis requiescet requiescet / aut quis [ditto sign = requies-] -cet in monte sancto tuo / in monte [ditto sign = sancto tu-] -o’. Similarly, the final two systems of the *secunda pars* in MS 982 were texted in the following manner: ‘& munera super innocentem super [ditto sign = innocentem] non accepit qui facit hec / qui facit hec / non movebitur in eternum / non mo- [ditto sign = -vebitur in eter-] -num Amen.’ As is plainly obvious, the syntax was greatly distorted by the hesitant progression of the words through the textual phrases.

Another moment of distorted syntax occurred early in the *secunda pars* in all voice parts. The third word of this section, ‘deductus’ was given a rather lengthy terminal melisma. Baldwin’s preference for penultimate melismata has already been pointed out in *Dominus quis habitabit* (ii) and in his eagerness to do the same for this

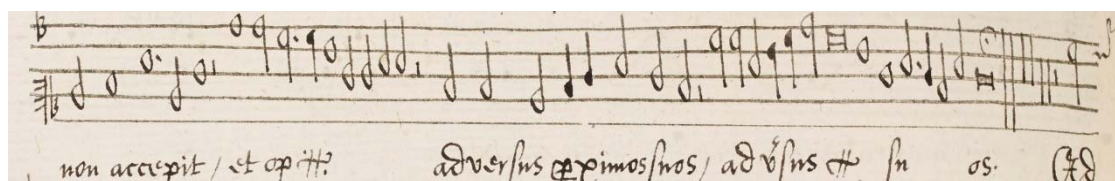


Figure 6-20: Robert Whyte, *Domine, quis habitabit* (i). Extract of Och Mus. 979, no. 124. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

phrase, 'Ad nihilum deductus est', 'deductus' was set (possibly inadvertently) with a terminal melisma.

Baldwin's ditto signs also continued to be a source of consternation and ambiguity in this motet. The final system of the first page of this motet in Mus. 979 had this texting: 'nec fecit proximo suo malum / nec fecit [ditto sign]'. A literal interpretation of the ditto sign after the oblique stroke would yield 10 syllables. The music, however, only had nine notes. Either a note would need to be divided, or a word omitted. Similarly, at the end of the *prima* pars in this same partbook, the final written-out word, 'suos', appeared to be carefully aligned and divided. Closer inspection of the compressed notes over the word, 'adversus', the rhythms, and the ditto sign revealed that the word is actually misplaced. 'Suos' should have been placed on the breve *a'*, where the ditto sign was placed; see Figure 6-20. Another possible solution would have been to repeat the entire string so that the ditto sign yielded 'proximos suos' and then repeat the single word 'suos' as set in Baldwin's manuscript.

*

The final setting of this text that this section of the dissertation investigates is Whyte's third motet on Psalm 14. At the most basic level, *Dominus quis habitabit (iii)* is an enquiry into dotted rhythms and how to set text to them. This motet contains a greater quantity of this particular type of rhythmic pattern than any of the other five settings copied by Baldwin.

Figure 6-21 reproduces the final two systems of the second page of this motet in Mus. 983. From the double bar-line until the end of the excerpt, there are ten separate occasions where dotted rhythms were used. The interesting fact, however, is

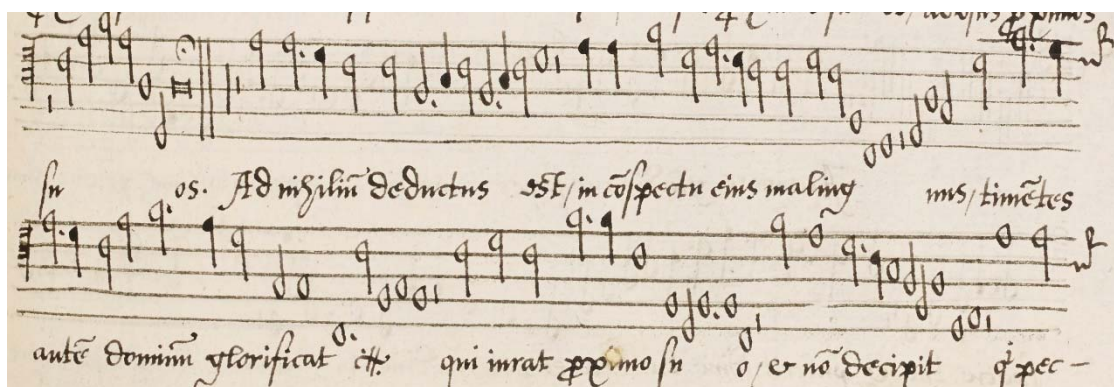


Figure 6-21: Robert Whyte, *Domine, quis habitabit (iii)*. Extract of Och Mus. 983, no. 134. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

that they were sometimes set to words that one would not normally expect to be set to dotted rhythms, such as ‘deductus’ and ‘eius’ in the first system. Other times, they were applied to words that one would expect to be texted with a dotted rhythm; the second word of the second system is such an example. Yet ‘Dominum’ is set slightly awkwardly, as one would expect the dotted note to be over the stressed syllable, ‘Do-’. Though the stressed syllable falls on a thesis and the penultimate syllable on an arsis, the final syllable with the dotted minim on the *f*, the longest and highest note of the word, diverts attention away from the prosodic texting and places emphasis on this unstressed syllable.

Another section of the motet involving dotted rhythms and unusual texting is at the words ‘qui ingreditur’. As one would expect of the beginning of a verse — verse 2, in this case — these words and the music that is set to them become a point of imitation for all parts. The motive, first heard in the Sexta pars (Mus. 982), is towards the end of the excerpt in Figure 6-22. ‘Ingreditur’, set to a dotted rhythm, is not a novelty; every composer that set this text in Baldwin’s copies uses this rhythm here.

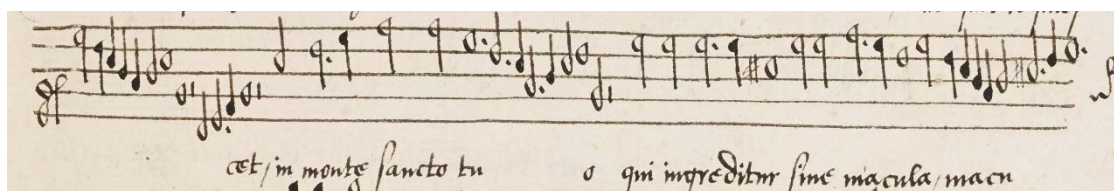


Figure 6-22: Robert Whyte, *Domine, quis habitabit* (iii). Extract of GB-Och Mus. 982, no. 134. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

While setting 'macula' to a dotted rhythm is more rare, one can find at least one other composer who does this; namely, Mundy.

What is particular to Whyte is that he interrupts the pace of the phrase by putting a semibreve on the final syllable of 'ingreditur'; something similar to this is done in his other two settings as well. Because the text generally moves in minims, the placement of a semibreve at the end of the word halted the sense of the textual phrase. The complete sense of this phrase, 'qui ingreditur sine macula', is what Tallis, Parsons, and Mundy attempted to convey in their settings. For Whyte, the sense of this single phrase was divided into two parts: 'qui ingreditur' and 'sine macula'. Though not syntactically mindful, Whyte may have done this for a musical reason. The semibreve at the conclusion of 'ingredietur' was easily heard every time it occurred in imitation; could this have aided listeners to distinguish the entry of part?

Whyte's choice of which syllables to stress in certain words was at times different from the choices made by Tallis and Mundy. As a test case, we shall consider the word 'tabernaculo', the fifth word of the psalm.⁴⁰ According to the rules of prosody, the principal accentuation of this word ought to be on the antepenultimate syllable, '-na-'; there is also a lesser stress on the initial syllable, 'ta-'.

⁴⁰ To better illustrate this discussion, refer to the sample texting data chart in Appendix A, pp. 296–316.

Tallis and Mundy realised this pattern by setting the first syllable on a thesis so that it received some stress, but then assigned a note of a higher pitch, also on a thesis, to the third syllable so that it would be stressed more prominently. Whyte, on the other hand, transferred the principal stress to the first syllable, 'ta-'. In his three settings of the psalm, the syllable 'ta-' was invariably on a higher pitch than '-na-'. Additionally in the first and third settings, 'ta-' was placed on a longer note, while '-na-' was placed on a quickly passed semiminim.

*

It is evident that Baldwin recorded six distinct interpretations of a single text. But different as they are, they still exhibit a certain number of common presentational and representational features.

The most numerous of the presentational features were undoubtedly the stressing of particular syllables in words, even though they may not have used identical methods to achieve the desired results. All settings, for example, stressed the first syllable of the opening word, 'Dominus'. Tallis, Mundy, and Whyte achieved this by way of a dotted rhythm beginning on a thesis. Parsons used two methods: three parts began on a thesis with a dotted rhythm like the other settings and the other two voices began on an arsis and displaced the thesis (Mus. 980 and Mus. 982). Other words that were usually set with dotted rhythms include 'ingreditur',⁴¹ 'loquitur', 'proximo', 'opprobrium', 'nihilum', 'pecuniam', 'munera', and 'movebitur'. Specific phrases such as 'aut quis requiescet...sancto tuo' and 'nec fecit...malum' only began on an arsis while others like 'ad nihilum deductus est' invariably began on a thesis.

⁴¹ The exception is William Mundy's setting which has the word 'ingredietur' instead of 'ingreditur'.

A text that mainly discussed so many intangible qualities had limited opportunities for representation. The only obvious phrase that all the composers took advantage of was 'aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo'. Music set to this phrase either descended from a high pitch or began at a lower pitch that ascended to a peak at the word 'monte', only to descend again after that word. Words with the potential for representation that the composers seemed to ignore were 'non movebitur in eternum'. One can easily imagine composers slowing the rhythms down at this point almost to a standstill.

How did the composers come to agree on these common features? Was one of the six settings a model that the other five emulated? It is certainly possible. Tallis's setting is a likely candidate since there are traces of the techniques used by Mundy and Parsons in it, but one could equally argue that Whyte's second setting was the earliest because it retained the different mensuration signs in its two *partes*. The attempt to chronologically order the compositions in the absence of autograph manuscripts is a difficult and precarious business.

So perhaps a more basic explanation might be put forward. While the composers may have demonstrated their creativity and originality through formal structure, contrapuntal finesse, and manipulation of parts, at the most basic level, it was the prosodic rhythms of the words that they responded to. Thus, they set them in the way they thought most suitable and easily understandable. Without attention to the foundation of their motets, which was the words themselves, their grander constructs would have been unintelligible to their hearers.

6.3: The Dow Partbooks

Like John Sadler's GB-*Ob* MSS Mus. E. 1–5, Robert Dow the Younger's (1553–88) set of five partbooks, GB-*Och* 984–8, has survived intact, but in considerably better condition. These fine oblong manuscripts were copied on printed staves of red-orange ink and featured black void mensural notation with lozenge-shaped noteheads. Texting was executed in italic script, except for the roman script incipits of the Latin-texted works. During the scribe's time as a teacher of penmanship in Oxford and fellow of All Souls College, he made the acquaintance of Giles Thompson (1553–1612), who acquired the partbooks after Dow's death and stamped his initials G. T. on the covers. Thompson was subsequently appointed Dean of Windsor in 1603, at which point they passed into the possession of John Baldwin (see previous section) who added two motets on the blank pages between the last Latin-texted works copied by Dow and the section of English anthems. A third and still unidentified hand later contributed further pieces to the collection. Researches by David Mateer and, most recently, John Milsom have brought to light many other details of the scribe's biography and codicological specifics of the manuscripts.⁴²

The case studies presented in this section focus on the many text-music emendations contained in the partbooks and what they might tell us about the scribe's texting preferences. But how many of the identified variants can be confirmed as Dow's own innovations? As I mentioned at the outset of this dissertation, the only circumstances in which variants may be attributed to the scribe with some degree of

⁴² David Mateer, 'Oxford, Christ Church Music MSS 984–8: An index and commentary', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 20 (1986/1987), 1–18, and John Milsom, *Introduction and indexes*, vol. 1 of *The Dow Partbooks: Facsimile with introductory study* (Oxford: DIAMM Publications, 2010).

certainty are the compositions that existed in print during the scribe's lifetime but were nevertheless copied differently into his partbooks; we have already seen examples of this in the manuscripts of Sadler and Baldwin. Thus in Dow's copies of Tallis's motets, for example, the emendations may well have also been conscious as there is convincing evidence to support the conclusion that Dow was working from a printed edition of the 1575 *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur*.⁴³

The general scholarly opinion today is that the variants in Mus. 984–8 were of Dow's own design. In the introduction to the facsimile edition, Milsom continually referred to Dow's 'preferences' and 'editorial policies', and Mateer commented that '[a]ll scribes at some stage tinkered with the composer's rhythm to make room for supplementary underlay. [...] Robert Dow...perpetrated some of its worst excesses.'⁴⁴ And an unabashed tinkerer he was indeed, inserting text repetitions, reassigning melismata to different syllables, and splitting note values to accommodate extra syllables as he saw fit.⁴⁵ The types of variants that this section will investigate include Dow's attention to syntax, his avoidance of terminal melismata, his treatment of repeated notes, his sensible repetition of words, his updating of archaic texting styles, and, perhaps most significantly, his alignment of accented syllables with musical stresses.

⁴³ The Latin inscription after motet 42 in MS 987 is an extract of a much longer eulogistic poem of Ferdinand Richardson that was part of the prefatory material to the 1575 publication. See Denis Stevens, 'The keyboard music of Thomas Tallis', *The Musical Times* 93, no. 1313 (1952): 303–07. A point of musical evidence suggesting Dow's ownership of a copy of the print will be discussed below in the analysis of *O sacrum convivium*.

⁴⁴ David Mateer, 'John Baldwin and changing', 157, and Milsom, *Introduction and indexes*, 11–19.

⁴⁵ As always, it is also possible that these so-called 'edits' were simply copied verbatim from an unknown exemplar.

Dow and the transmission of cantus firmus compositions

Among the many Latin-texted compositions in this collection were two five-part settings of *Dum transisset Sabbatum*, nos. 26 and 22 in the inventory. Composed by Taverner and Johnson (i) respectively, these responsories are the representative specimens of a style of polyphonic composition on a plainsong cantus firmus with monophonic plainsong interpolations.⁴⁶

In the copying of the part that carried the cantus firmus, Dow made an effort to imitate the square notation found in printed antiphonals of his day, like Sadler and Baldwin. His specialised notation of black square notes grouped into ligatures was simpler than Baldwin's system as it eschewed some of the typical chant groupings such as the porrectus.

When Dow used these partbooks at musical gatherings, the traditional plainsong intonation at the beginning and the plainsong interpolations were no longer required since the compositions were no longer being performed in a sacred context.⁴⁷ To ensure syntactical completeness, Dow conspicuously altered the opening of Taverner's setting of the responsory to include the missing textual incipit and also omitted the majority of the *signa congruentiae*.⁴⁸ When one compares the reading in

⁴⁶ Johnson's responsory survives intact uniquely in this collection of polyphony. GB-Lbl Add. 47844, a manuscript dating from approximately the same time (ca.1581), contains only the Contratenor part without text, and misattributes it to Taverner.

⁴⁷ The incipit 'Dum transisset' was intoned by cantors or 'rulers of the choir'. John Harper, *The forms and orders of Western Liturgy from the tenth to the eighteenth century: A historical guide for students and musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 38. The full choir entered on the word 'Sabbatum', which was the first word that commonly appeared in polyphonic manuscripts. See the index of Tallis and Byrd's 1575 *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* which lists Tallis' *Dum transisset* under *Sabatam* (sic).

⁴⁸ The partial survival of *signa congruentiae* at the words 'Ut venientes' and 'Alleluia' in Mus. 986 and 987 only are indications that the scribe had access to much older sources from which to make his copies.

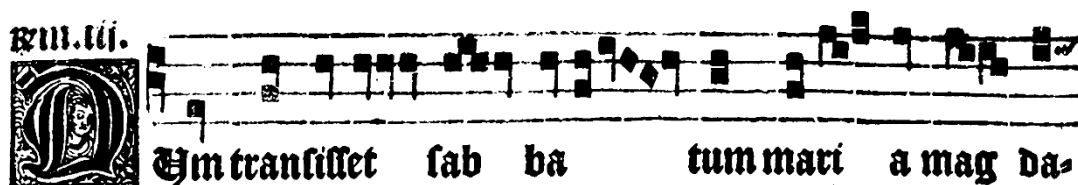


Figure 6-23: Mode iv responsory, *Dum transisset sabbatum*. Extract of STC (2nd ed.): 15790, fol. ccxvi^r.

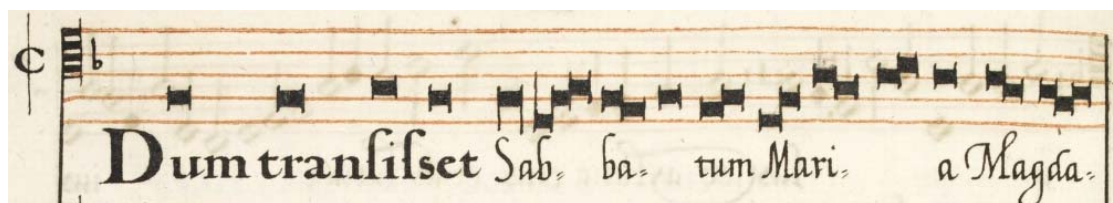


Figure 6-24: John Taverner, *Dum transisset Sabbatum* (i). Extract of Och Mus. 987, no. 26. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

Dow to a 1519 print of the same responsory in the *Antiphonale ad usum ecclesie Sarum*, it is apparent that though the word ‘Sabbatum’ was originally set with 13 notes, Dow’s intervention reduced it to nine. The four notes at the beginning of the passage were now being used to set the words ‘Dum transisset’ in the polyphonic setting; see Figures 6-23 and 6-24.⁴⁹

Two further characteristics of Dow’s scribal practice may be gleaned from a close reading of no. 26 in MS 987. The first is that he had no qualms in adjusting the setting of text to agree with his musical sensibilities. At the end of the excerpt in Figure 6-16, the syllable ‘Mag-’ had a ligature of two notes, and ‘-da-’ a ligature of four notes (only three notes are pictured in the excerpt; one appears on the subsequent system in the partbook), while in the printed antiphonal, ‘Ma-’ had four notes assigned to it and ‘-gda-’ has two. In effect, the note groupings were reversed. One of the most probable reasons for this alteration must have been that notes two

⁴⁹ Dow’s intervention necessitated the insertion of a breve rest at the beginning of each of the other voices to account for the additional breve; cf. Hugh Benham, ed., *John Taverner: III, Ritual music and secular songs*, Early English Church Music, vol. 30 (London: Stainer and Bell Ltd., 1984), 215.



Figure 6-25: John Taverner, *Dum transisset Sabbatum* (i). Extract of Och Mus. 987, no. 26. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

and three of the set of six were both *g*; by the late sixteenth century, the concept of changing syllables when a note was repeated had become common practice, as evidenced by the motets being produced by the composers of Dow's day.

The second characteristic is that like Baldwin, Dow used the 'overlay' method of copying. The end of the first system of Figure 6-25 shows that the scribe misjudged the amount of space needed to accommodate the music. All four syllables of 'Ut venien-' were copied neatly, yet the added music had ligatures that were arranged for three syllables. The final syllable '-en-' correctly belonged to the *a-g* two-note ligature of the subsequent system.

Dow's copy of Johnson's polyphonic setting of the same text and the same plainsong in MS 987, no. 22, hints that the scribe's modifications to suit his musical tastes lacked consistency, for only one of the three alterations made in Taverner's setting — that is, the modified note groupings above the word 'Magdalene' reflecting the repeated note — were also present in the texting of this cantus firmus. Most significantly, the opening word 'Sabbatum' was retained without the addition of the missing incipit.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Note also the variant in the spelling of 'Sabbatum'.

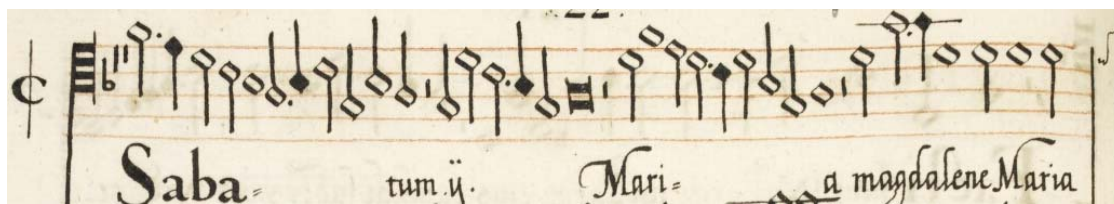


Figure 6-26: Robert Johnson (i), *Sabbatum*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 986, no. 22. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

Though inconsistent with respect to his alterations, what this copy confirms is that Dow, even at an earlier stage of copying, was working with the overlay method and already had an appreciation for syntax in his textual repetitions, as seen in the first system of the Contratenor part reproduced in Figure 6-26. Two instances suggesting overlay are present in this excerpt. At the beginning of the system, the spacing between the notes above 'Sabatum' was constantly in flux, probably in an effort to ensure the alignment of the minim *a* with the final syllable of the word. This, compounded with the larger lettering of the first two syllables in Roman script made the distribution of notes in the 'overlayed' music unclear. The last two words of this system were also very obviously misaligned with the notation above.

At the end of the first system, the scribe copied 'Maria Magdalene Maria [Magdalene]', thus repeating the full unit of the compound noun. Examining the passage of music after the second minim rest, the rhythms implied that the text that should have been set was 'Maria, Maria Magdalene[, Magdalene]'. In this way, the stressed syllable of *Maria*' would have been matched with the dotted minim *g*' and the stressed syllables of '**Magdalene**' would have been set to the breves on *d*'.⁵¹ In

⁵¹ Approximately two centuries later, when Burney made his transcription of this composition from Dow's manuscripts, he modified the texting to 'Maria, Maria Magdalene', as implied by the music. See Charles Burney, *A general history of music, from the earliest ages to the present period*, vol. 2 (New York: Dover, 1957), 593.



Figure 6-27: Mode ii responsory, *Candidi facti sunt*. Extract of STC (2nd ed.): 15790, fol. j.
[Commune apostolorum tempore paschali]



Figure 6-28: Thomas Tallis, *Facti sunt*. Extract of *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (1575), no. 22, showing the Tenor part.



Figure 6-29: Thomas Tallis, *Facti sunt*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 987, no. 21. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

Dow's view, however, the appropriate text setting of the music was a secondary consideration in comparison to the integrity of the textual syntax.

Dow and printed music

Nowhere can Dow's personal tastes of text-setting be more clearly identified and defined as in the pieces he copied which also existed in a printed edition during his lifetime. By carefully comparing the manuscript to the published version, Dow's alterations can be observed. Four pieces by Tallis that were published in the 1575 print were included in his collection: *Salvator mundi* (i) (no. 20), *[Candidi] Facti sunt* (no. 21), *O sacrum convivium* (no. 42), and *Salvator mundi* (ii) (no. 43).⁵² *[Candidi] Facti sunt* contrasts with all the others, as it alone originated as a liturgical cantus-firmus

⁵² These four works were divided into two pairs which appeared sequentially in the inventory.

responsory; nos. 20, 42 and 43 were freely composed in imitative style.

Like the responsories by Taverner and Johnson, [*Candidi*] *Facti sunt* made use of a plainsong cantus firmus; in this case, taken from the First Vespers of the Common of Apostles in Paschaltide from the Sarum Antiphonale. The print followed the texting of the printed Antiphonale precisely, converting the square notation into semibreves and breves.⁵³ In his copies, Dow once again employed his specialised square notation grouped into ligatures and modified only the underlay of the final two words of the responsory: 'Alleluia, alleluia'. Throughout the course of the chant, the repeated notes within the melismata found in the printed Antiphonale and *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* were subsumed into a single longer note by Dow. One such instance is the 'strene' note over the second word 'sunt', where both printed sources repeated *d* at this point instead of placing one breve; compare Figures 6-27, 6-28, and 6-29.

The variants in the other voices, though few in number and subtle in alteration, were significant.⁵⁴ In Mus. 984 and 988, Dow modified pairs of equal minims into dotted minims followed by semiminims enhance the textual stresses of words: see the second occurrence of 'facti' in Figures 6-30 and 6-31, and 'coagulati' in Figures 6-32 and 6-33. In Mus. 985 and 986, he displaced syllables by one note in order to avoid what he considered to be the awkward (but characteristically English) short-long anticipatory style of setting Latin texts; see the second occurrence of 'sunt' in Figure 6-34 and '-runt' in Figure 6-35, where in both cases, the syllable was set to a

⁵³ Tallis converted the two neumes over the penultimate syllable of the responsory into two minims.

⁵⁴ This is excluding a recurring variant in all partbooks: Dow often indicates *ij* and the last syllable of the repeated phrase where the print has the word in full, and vice-versa.

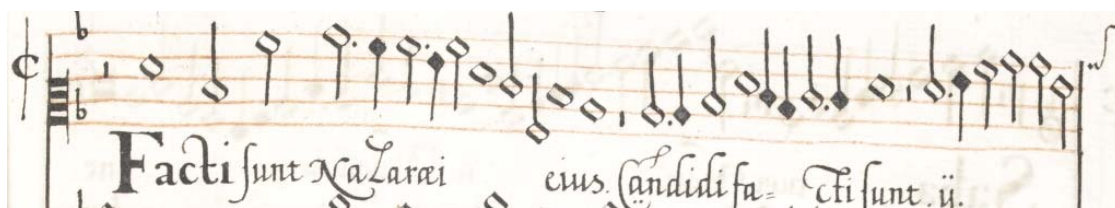


Figure 6-30: Thomas Tallis, *Facti sunt*. Extract of GB-Och Mus. 984, no. 21. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.



Figure 6-31: Thomas Tallis, *Facti sunt*. Extract of *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (1575), no. 22, showing the Superius part.

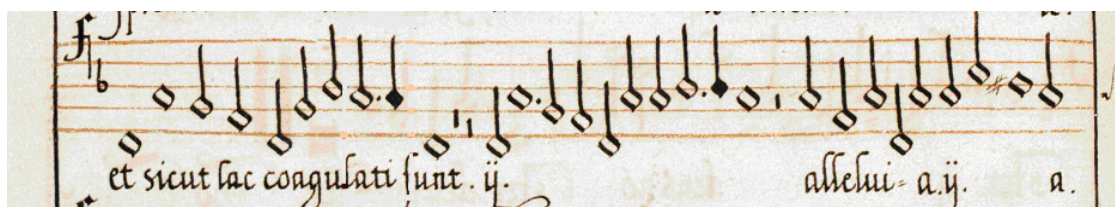


Figure 6-32: Thomas Tallis, *Facti sunt*. Extract of Och Mus. 988, no. 21. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.



Figure 6-33: Thomas Tallis, *Facti sunt*. Extract of *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (1575), no. 22, showing the Bassus part.

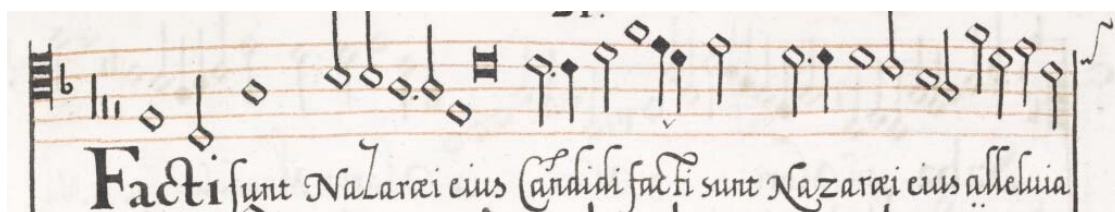


Figure 6-34: Thomas Tallis, *Facti sunt*. Extract of Och Mus. 985, no. 21, first system. The second occurrence of 'sunt' began on the preceding semiminim *d*' in the print. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

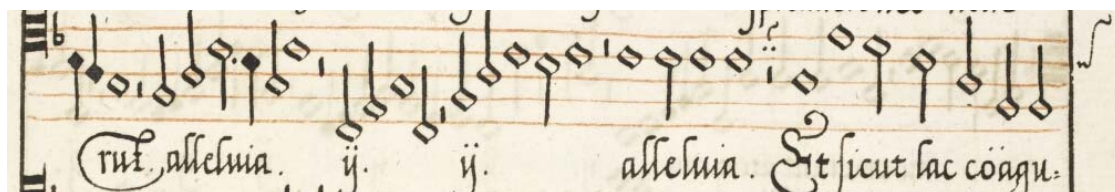


Figure 6-35: Thomas Tallis, *Facti sunt*. Extract of Och Mus. 986, no. 21, third system. The syllable '-runt' began on the preceding semiminim *d*' in the print. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

note earlier in the printed edition. While the low number of modifications might make it seem that Dow, like Baldwin, had a greater respect for the authority of printed editions, this was not the case. In fact, all these techniques of minor adjustments to the texting were to occur with much greater frequency in his copying of no. 42, *O sacrum convivium*.

The remaking of a Tallis motet by a prosodist

O sacrum convivium has a long history of appearing in many sources under different guises: as part of an instrumental fantasia; as an instrumental version of the motet entitled *O sacra* [sic] *convivium* in GB-Lbl Add. 31390; as two English-texted anthems, *I call and cry*, and *O sacred and holy banquet*; and as a Latin-texted motet in the 1575 print.⁵⁵ From the latter incarnation, Dow created his own version with variants aligning the weighted syllables of the words to the tactus of the music.⁵⁶

In the printed Superius partbook, the second statement of ‘o sacrum convivium’ in the first system was not fully written out, but replaced with a ditto sign, *ij*. Dow fully reiterated the text in Mus. 984 and transmitted the characteristically English ‘short-long’ syllable placement with an angular slur indicating that both *a’-g’* belong to ‘sa-’ of ‘sacrum’. However, in the very next phrase, ‘in quo Christus sumitur’, where Tallis originally set ‘-tus su-’ with two and three semiminims respectively, Dow removed the *g’* over ‘-tus’, leaving only the minim *a’* above it, and assigned the remaining four semiminims to ‘su-’; see Figures 6-36 and 6-37. Although

⁵⁵ John Milsom, ‘A Tallis fantasia’, *The Musical Times* 126 (1985), 658–62.

⁵⁶ While this dissertation was in preparation, John Milsom published a shorter similar study of a single part in his introduction to the facsimile edition. See Milsom, *Introduction and indexes*, 16–9.



Figure 6-36: Thomas Tallis, *O sacrum convivium*. Extract of *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (1575), no. 9, showing the Superius part.

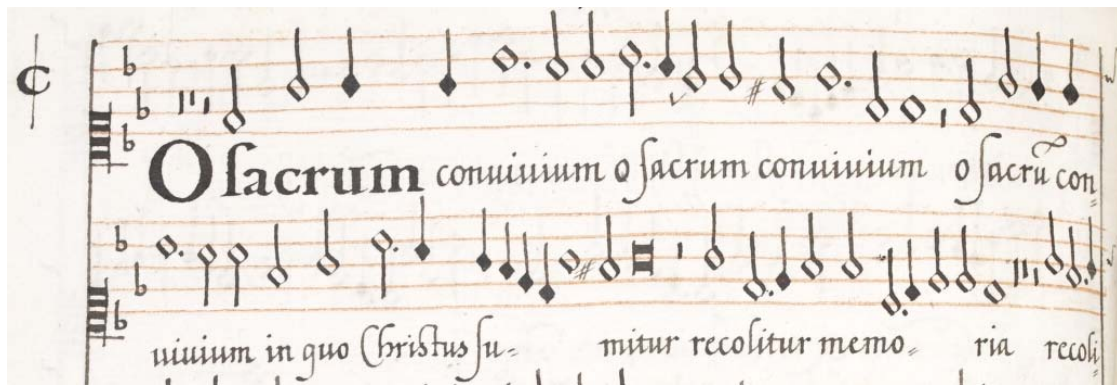


Figure 6-37: Thomas Tallis, *O sacrum convivium*. Extract of *Och Mus. 984*, no. 42. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

it may initially appear to be a gross inconsistency why in one instance the neumatic movement was encouraged and in the other it was removed, it is possible that the determining factor for Dow was whether the neumatic movement was placed over a strong or weak syllable.

In the first instance, the neumatic movement was preserved because it was contained within a semibreve, and this manner of setting the stressed syllable gave it prominence. In second instance, the slur was removed because it gave undue stress to a weak syllable, '-tus'; this also allowed the strong syllable 'su-' to begin on the thesis. This same reason applies to the cases in the final systems of this motet. In both cases, Dow did not maintain the *c''-b-flat'* neumatic movement over the '-bis' of 'nobis' as



Figure 6-38: Thomas Tallis, *O sacrum convivium*. Extract of *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (1575), no. 9, showing the Superius part.

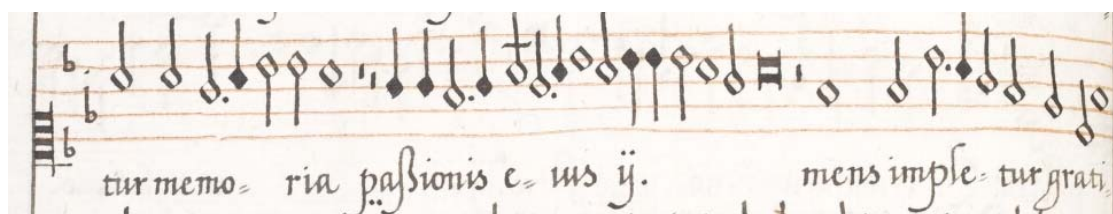


Figure 6-39: Thomas Tallis, *O sacrum convivium*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 984, no. 42. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

found in the print because it was a weak syllable.

Prominently visible in the middle of the third system of Mus. 984, is a minim on *a'* with its stem crossed out over 'eius'. This stroke reveals a scribe who did not simply copy what he saw, but critically engaged with what he was copying.

According to the printed edition, there were two minims on *a'* and the second had the syllable '-nis' of 'passionis' assigned to it.⁵⁷ It is not very difficult to imagine Dow meticulously following his source but then opting to omit the melisma over '-o-', assigning the weak syllable '-nis' to the semiminim on *g'*, and then combining the two minims on *a'* into one semibreve and the beginning of a melisma on the stressed syllable of 'eius'; see Figures 6-38 and 6-39.

Having observed some examples of the modification of shorter neumatic movement, we will now examine the neumatic movements of more than three notes.

In the two prominent instances when Dow retained the neumatic movement, he

⁵⁷ That Dow ran out of space for his overlay or simply made a mistake are both perfectly acceptable explanations for the crossing out of the stem. But for the sake of argument, let us proceed with the assumption that he was making a conscious change to what he saw in his exemplar.

assigned them to the penultimate syllable, as was the general custom in the repertory that preceded the Reformation. The first occurrence was in Mus. 985, at the beginning of the final system of the first folio of this motet. If Dow had followed the distribution of syllables in the preceding phrase, the following would be the result (the number of notes are indicated in parenthesis: 'mens (1) im- (1) -ple- (3) -tur (1) gra- (11) -ti- (1) -a (1).' But instead, he set the beginning of the phrase strictly syllabically and placed an extended melisma of 13 notes on the penultimate syllable of the word, 'gratia'. The second occurrence was in the third system of the first folio of the Mus. 986, at the repetition of the word 'memoria'. Tallis originally assigned a terminal melisma to the syllable '-a' of 'memoria', but here again, Dow reorganised the syllables to ensure that the syllable '-ri-' carried the melisma; see the beginning of the second system in Figure 6-40 and the complete 'memoria' in Figure 6-41.



Figure 6-40: Thomas Tallis, *O sacrum convivium*. Extract of Och Mus. 985, no. 42. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

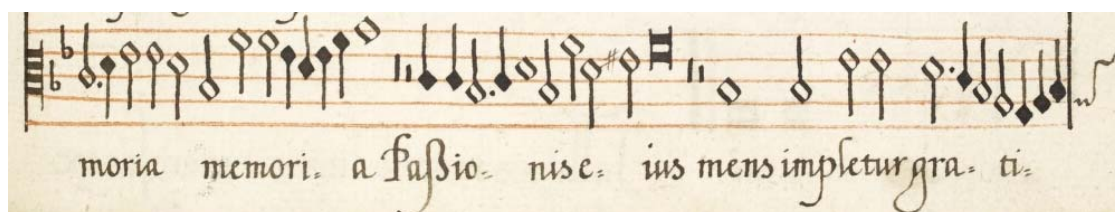


Figure 6-41: Thomas Tallis, *O sacrum convivium*. Extract of Och Mus. 986, no. 42. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

Mus. 985 also demonstrated the techniques of note division and note-value modification; see Figure 6-42. The second statement of 'o sacrum convivium' towards the end of the first system had only seven notes in the printed edition, the text to be sung indicated by *ij*. With seven notes and seven syllables, a syllabic treatment of the text was obvious. Dow's manuscript instead presented eight notes because he had split the third minim of the phrase, *f*, into two semiminims. The result of this division was twofold: first, he retained the repeated note motive of the opening on the syllables '-crum con-'; and second, the stressed syllable '-vi-' of 'convivium' fell correctly on a thesis.

A rhythmic alteration to enhance the weight of the syllables in the word 'memoria' can be seen at the second appearance of the word in the third system of Figure 6-42. As before, the dotted minim and semiminim replaced the two equal minims in the original print. Together with the preceding neumatic movement, they emphasised the strongest syllable of 'memoria': '-mo-'.

*

There are two noteworthy curiosities in Dow's copies of *O sacrum convivium* that lack a satisfactory explanation. The first was located in the middle of the second system of this motet in Mus. 986, where there were two contrasting settings of the word 'memoria' that were copied verbatim from the printed edition. The first time, the syllable '-ri-' carried a neumatic movement of three notes, but the second time, the syllable '-mo-' carried it instead; see Figure 6-43. The first setting gave an awkward



Figure 6-42: Thomas Tallis, *O sacrum convivium*. Extract of Och Mus. 985, no. 42. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

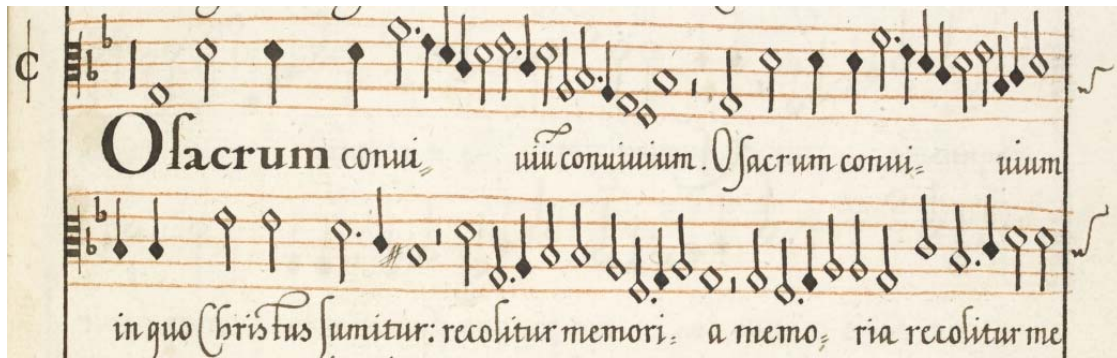


Figure 6-43: Thomas Tallis, *O sacrum convivium*. Extract of Och Mus. 986, no. 42. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

prominence to '-ri-', a weaker syllable than '-mo-'. More the fault of Tallis or his print compositor than Dow, this could perhaps have been a carry-over from the instrumental version of this composition, when textual rhythms were not a consideration.

Secondly, there is an annotation in the marginalia of the Bassus partbook (MS 988) under the mensuration sign which says 'Printed', written by what looks like John Baldwin's hand. Why was this partbook the only one to bear that inscription? Coincidentally, of all the parts, this was also the one that has the fewest variants from the printed source: there are only two changes in the middle of the fourth and end of

the fifth systems where, over the word 'gloriae', a dotted minim and semiminim replace two equal minims. The abbreviation of Christus — 'Xpus', using the Greek letters X [chi] ϱ [rho], with the unusual inclusion of the 'u' — was also used in the texting, but does not appear anywhere else in Dow's partbooks or in the prints.

Establishing texting conventions in *Lamentations* [à 5] by 'Rob. White'

The conventions of texting encountered thus far in the case studies above were already well defined at the very inception of the partbooks.⁵⁸ While some were concerned with the aligning musical and linguistic prosody, others balanced visual elegance with efficiency. Although several aspects of his notation changed as pieces were added to his collection — most notably, the shape of his F clefs — Dow retained a largely uniform texting practice throughout the Latin motet section of the partbooks.

Chosen to head Dow's collection of music was Robert Whyte's *Lamentations* for five parts, simply entitled 'Heth. Peccatum peccavit' in the inventory of the partbooks. Unlike the Tallis pieces of the collection that were likely copied from an edition with the approbation of the composer, Whyte's setting was never printed. In spite of the absence of an authoritative publication, the composition was obviously well known and popular, appearing in all three of the partbook sets of Sadler, Baldwin, and Dow.

⁵⁸ Though the date 1581 is prominently inscribed on the page facing the beginning first motet, John Milsom suggests the possibility that the process of copying the partbooks may have begun well before this date. The various layers of repertory may not have been conjoined in book form initially; 1581 may be the time when compilation began. Milsom, 'Sacred songs', 165.

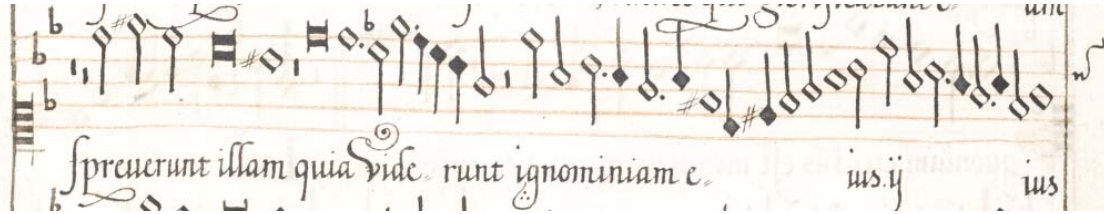


Figure 6-44: Robert Whyte, *Heth. Peccatum peccavit*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 984, no. 1. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

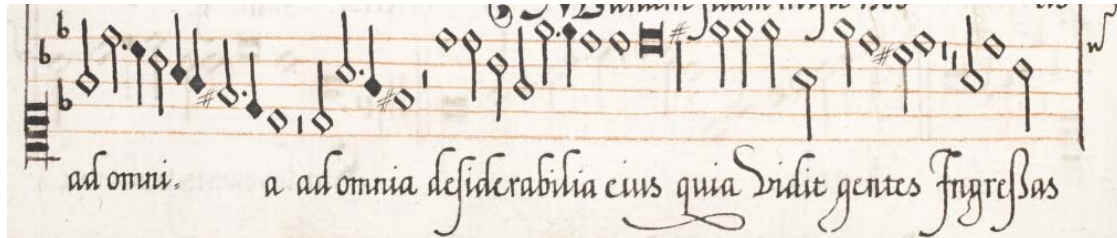


Figure 6-45: Robert Whyte, *Heth. Peccatum peccavit*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 984, no. 1. The first 'omnia' was texted in other manuscripts with terminal neumatic movement. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

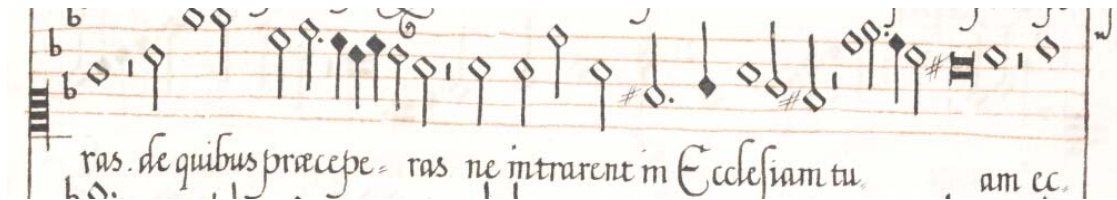


Figure 6-46: Robert Whyte, *Heth. Peccatum peccavit*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 984, no. 1. The word 'praeceperas' was texted in other manuscripts with terminal neumatic movement. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.



Figure 6-47: Robert Whyte, *Heth. Peccatum peccavit*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 984, no. 1. The first 'dominum' was texted in other manuscripts with terminal neumatic movement. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

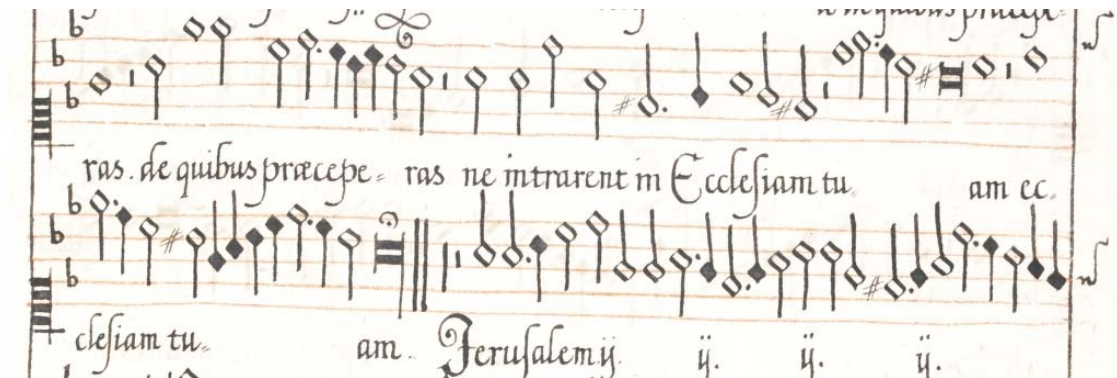


Figure 6-48: Robert Whyte, *Heth. Peccatum peccavit*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 984, no. 1. The first 'tuam' in other manuscripts was texted with a penultimate melisma that concluded at the double bar-line. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

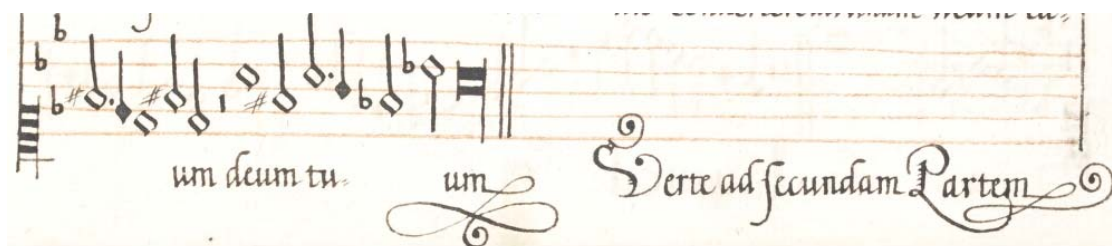


Figure 6-49: Robert Whyte, *Heth. Peccatum peccavit*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 984, no. 1. The first ‘-um’ in other manuscripts was set to the final longa *a*’. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

Figure 6-44 shows the third system of the first folio of the *Lamentations* in Mus. 984. Following the word ‘*eius*’, instead of fully writing out the syllables under the next string of notes, the ditto sign ‘*ij*’ was used. But how was the singer to know exactly which set of words to repeat? Under the letter *g* of ‘*ignominiam*’, Dow placed three discreet dots, indicating that this was where the unit of text to be repeated began;⁵⁹ the final syllable ‘*-ius*’ was also written out to indicate where full texting resumed. With a few simple points, ambiguity was removed and the singer could proceed with ease.

As in *O sacrum convivium*, Dow habitually emended the melismata in his copy of the *Lamentations*, particularly, the terminal melisma. On multiple occasions in Mus. 984 only, words with a terminal melisma in concordances were transformed; the penultimate syllable was assigned the melisma, while the final syllable was moved to the last note of the phrase; see Figures 6-45, 6-46, and 6-47.

The continuation of a word over a rest was also no longer fashionable: recall that it was criticised at length by Morley in his end-of-the-century treatise. Where the copies of Baldwin and Sadler had persisted with melismata that were interrupted by

⁵⁹ In all other cases in this partbook and in the rest of the set, there are only two dots under the syllable that begins the text repetition.

rests, Dow opted to finish the word before the rest and then select some words to repeat following the break. In Mus. 984 at the end of the second system of the third folio, 'tuam' is concluded before the semibreve rest, and 'ecclesiam tuam' is restated from the final note and into the third system; the partbooks of Baldwin and Sadler have one extended melisma on the syllable 'tu-' before and after the semibreve rest, finishing on '-am' at the double bar-lines before 'Jerusalem'. Another instance occurs in the final system of the same folio, where 'deum tuum' is repeated by Dow following the only rest; Baldwin and Sadler carried 'tu-' from the penultimate system over the rest to the final syllable under the final longa of the first part; see Figures 6-48 and 6-49.

The first system on fol. 4^v of Mus. 984 shows Dow's solution of transforming a melismatic passage into a syllabic one through the repetition of individual words; see Figure 6-50. 'Retrorsum' occurred only once in both Baldwin and Sadler's copies, but in Dow's copy it occurred twice. Instead of having a six-note melisma on '-tror-', the first statement was made syllabic, and in the repetition, there was neumatic movement over that syllable with fewer notes.



Figure 6-50: Robert Whyte, *Heth. Peccatum peccavit*. Extract of *Och Mus. 984*, no. 1. There was only one occurrence of 'retrorsum' with penultimate neumatic movement in other manuscripts. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

Errors

‘Non ita mœsta sonant plangentis verba Prophetæ, / Quam sonat authoris musica mæsta mei’, commented Dow at the end of the Lamentations in MS 986.⁶⁰ Similar short annotations of Latin commenting on the pieces or their composers were scattered by Dow throughout the course of the partbooks. As he was clearly a fluent Latinist, it is difficult to even think of Dow copying the text incorrectly or copying errors from his exemplar. Nevertheless, linguistic errors are present. In the second system of Mus. 984, fol. 2^v, ‘viderunt’ is written out in full and then repeated ‘ij. -runt’; the text of this verse in the Vulgate actually read ‘vide Domine’.⁶¹ At the end of the verse ‘Lamed’ (fol. 3^r, third system), the final syllable ‘i’ of ‘sui’ was missing.

Mus. 985’s final system of fol. 4^v began without text. Baldwin fitted ‘Deum’ under these three pitches, while Sadler used them as a terminal melisma of the preceding word, ‘Dominum’. Taking into account the evidence of other incidences of terminal melismata emended into penultimate melismata thus far encountered, this is probably a case of an accidental omission on the part of the scribe and not intended as a terminal melisma; see Figure 6-51.

A case of textual error can be found in Mus. 988. The final syllable ‘-lis’ of ‘vilis’ (fol. 3^v, mid-fourth system) was missing; see Figure 6-52. In the first system of

⁶⁰ ‘Not so sad do the words of the weeping prophet sound.../ As the music of my author sounds.’ Leofranc Holford-Stevens, ‘The Latin Inscriptions’, in *Introduction and indexes*, vol. 1 of *The Robert Dow Partbooks: Christ Church Mus. 984–988*, ed. John Milsom (Oxford: DIAMM Publications, 2010), 35.

⁶¹ Baldwin’s copy also incorporates this error. Sadler’s copy, however, is correct, giving ‘vide Domine’ in full twice, as is the EECM edition. See David Mateer, ed., *Robert White: III, Ritual music and Lamentations*, Early English Church Music, vol. 32 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1986), 71–72.

fol. 4^r, the text should have read: ‘si est dolor, sicut dolor meus’; Dow wrote instead: ‘si est dolor sicut *est* dolor meus’.⁶²

Also in Mus. 988, the extended melismatic treatment of the Hebrew letter ‘Lamed’, written in Roman script that was much bigger than the rest of the verse on fol. 3^v presented a case of ambiguous texting; see Figure 6-52. There were three notes on G (two breves, one dotted semibreve) at the beginning of this section, and according to the texting policy that Dow was following throughout the copies in his partbooks, a repeated pitch required a change in syllable.⁶³ It was problematic to assign the second syllable, ‘-med’ to a particular note.



Figure 6-51: Robert Whyte, *Heth. Peccatum peccavit*. Extract of Och Mus. 985, no. 1. Note the untexted notes at the beginning of the last system. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.



Figure 6-52: Robert Whyte, *Heth. Peccatum peccavit*. Extract of Och Mus. 988, no. 1. The penultimate word of the excerpt is missing its final syllable while the final word is ambiguously textured. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

⁶² Dow’s linguistic expertise may have led him to make this change.

⁶³ Baldwin’s solution was to combine the two breves into a long and conspicuously place the ‘-med’ under the final G before the subsequent double bar-line.

Two further points of interest concern notation, but only insofar as they affected texting. Firstly, in Mus. 988, the end of the first system on fol. 4^r to the beginning of the second system shows three notes that are *e-flats*: a breve and two semibreves, respectively. As there was no symbol to express a modern ‘tie’ in the sixteenth century, Dow joined the final two notes of the first system together with an angular slur and placed only one syllable ‘quo-’ under them; the weaker syllable, ‘-ni-’ was thus assigned to the first minim of the subsequent system.

Secondly, Baldwin and Dow did not make use of any *cum opposita propiate* (*c. o. p.*) ligatures to assist in the placement of syllables in this composition, while Sadler occasionally did. An instance of where this notational convention might have served to clarify ambiguity can be found in the first system of Figure 6-53. ‘Si est do-’ is placed under four notes, though it is unclear whether ‘est’ is to be sung to pitches *f-a*, or ‘do-’ is to be sung to *a-d*. In Sadler’s copy, this problem was evaded by converting the semibreves *f* and *a* into a *c. o. p.* ligature, showing that ‘do-’ should be sung to the semibreve *d*.



Figure 6-53: Robert Whyte, *Heth. Peccatum peccavit*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 988, no. 1. A *c.o.p.* ligature would have been helpful in determining the texting at ‘si est dolor’ in the first system, and the angular slur between the final two notes of the first system shows Dow’s solution in a notational system that did not have an equivalent symbol to the modern tie.
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Two motets by William Byrd

William Byrd is the best represented composer in Dow's collection; a staggering 56 pieces of a variety of genres are attributed to him including motets, anthems, consort songs, and instrumental works. Of these, 19 compositions are settings of Latin texts; 17 of which were later published in collections by Thomas East under the supervision of the composer himself within four years after Dow's death in 1588: *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum* (1589) and *Liber secundus sacrarum cantionum* (1591). While four out of five of Thomas Tallis's works copied by Dow were already published in the 1575 *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* anthology, none of Byrd's contributions from this earlier joint publication were included in Dow's partbooks, though it is not known why.⁶⁴

In the preface to the 1589 volume, Byrd complained that his songs, which heretofore had been circulated in manuscripts, had acquired some errors through 'the carelessness of scribes'.⁶⁵ Even though this may have been a standard 'sales pitch' in order that the print might sell many copies, Dow cannot be excluded from this category of error-generating copyists. A close reading of two of the motets that later appeared in the 1589 print reveals that Dow, while adjusting the underlay to suit his personal tastes, also experimented with different ways of setting particular words from one voice part to the next.

*

Ne irascaris domine (no. 9) was the first work of Byrd that Dow copied into his

⁶⁴ One can only speculate about the reason for their omission. Were the 1575 works too early or immature in style to Dow's ears for inclusion?

⁶⁵ Translated in Kerry McCarthy, *Liturgy and contemplation in Byrd's Gradualia* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007), 9.

partbooks. In crafting this motet, Byrd idiomatically designed many of the short imitative motives for syllabic treatment, while the ends of syntactically important points in the text were permitted to expand into melismata.

The first discrepancy takes place towards the middle of the second system of fol. 14^r in Mus. 984. According to the print, the semiminim *a*' and minim *g*' carried the terminal syllable of 'iniquitatis' and the minim *f*' and semibreve *g*' carried the first syllable of 'nostrae'.⁶⁶ To eliminate even the possibility of such an interpretation, Dow bracketed the two semiminims and breve in his copy, assigning three notes to 'nos-' and one to '-tis', a weak syllable and end of a word. The *ij.* following the group of rests also broke with Dow's usual convention of writing only the final syllable of the phrase under the final note; 'no-' (sic) was deliberately placed under the first minim after the semiminim to force the singer into giving '-tis' a short note; see Figure 6-54.

At the end of the first section of the motet, the penultimate syllable '-nes' —

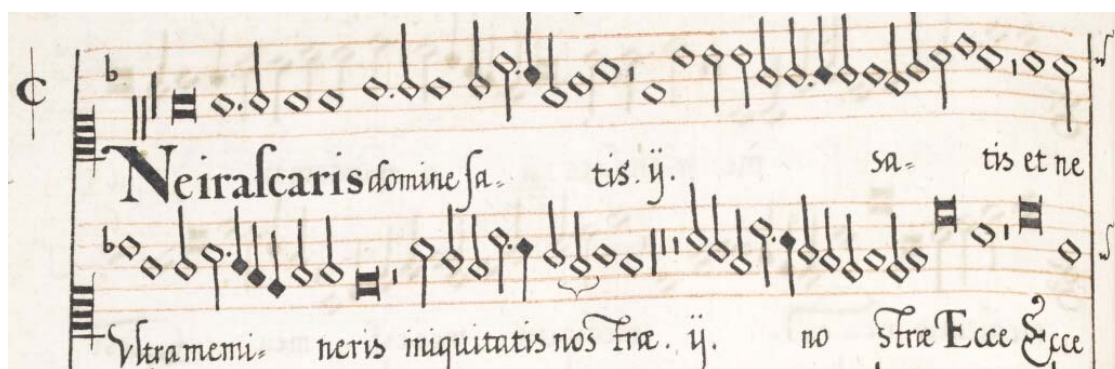


Figure 6-54: William Byrd, *Ne irascaris*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 984, no. 9. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

⁶⁶ The textual commentary to this motet in *The Byrd Edition* notes that the 1589 print contains 'old-fashioned underlay', possibly reflecting an early date of composition. The various manuscripts, though they often did not agree with each other, also had a tendency 'to "modernize" underlay.' For this reason, it is useful to refer to the later print to understand exactly how much Dow had altered. Alan Brown, ed., *Cantiones Sacrae I* (1589), vol. 2 of *The Byrd Edition* (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd., 1988), 253.

the weaker of the two in 'omnes' — was moved from the fourth-to-last note (its position in the print) to the penultimate note. This satisfied two of Dow's scribal preferences: no terminal neumatic movement; and assigning only one note to an unstressed syllable.

Conversely, Mus. 985 appears to have espoused neumatic movement more frequently, especially the terminal melisma; see Figures 6-55, 6-56, and 6-57. At the beginning of the second system on fol. 13^v, '-tra' of 'ultra' was assigned terminal neumatic movement. The textual unit following the rest in the final system was cropped from 'populus tuus omnes nos' to 'populus tuus', and the neumatic movement assigned to 'tu-'; in this system and the preceding system, 'populus tuus omnes nos' had always been repeated as a unit and the printed edition of 1589 set this phrase syllabically. Awkward terminal neumatic movement was also given to the final syllable of the penultimate word 'desolata' at the end of the motet.

The Tenor partbook (Mus. 987) was relatively free of texting variants from the printed reading, with two exceptions in the first section of the work. The unstressed syllable, '-spi-' of 'respice' (fol. 12^v, second occurrence of the word in the fourth system) was assigned a melisma. A possible explanation is that as Dow was copying in the text before the music, he instinctively wrote the scribal ligature to join the letters 's' and 'p', forgetting that 're-', as the stressed syllable, would have been the obvious choice to carry the melisma; see Figure 6-58. The second slip occurred at the end of this same system where two repetitions of 'respice' were noted; the print repeats the word only once, typeset in full, and spreads the syllables out (with number of notes assigned to each syllable in parenthesis): 're-' (3), '-spi-' (5), '-ce' (1).

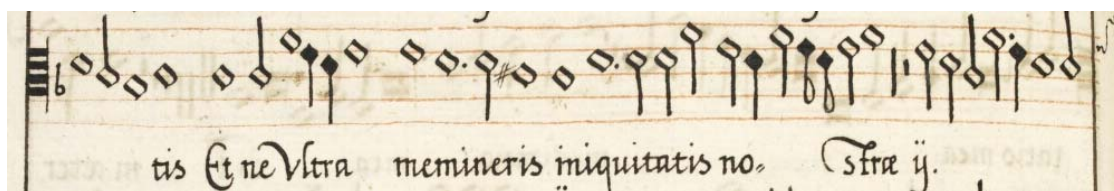


Figure 6-55: William Byrd, *Ne irascaris*. Extract of Och Mus. 985, no. 9. Note the terminal neumatic movement on 'ultra'. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

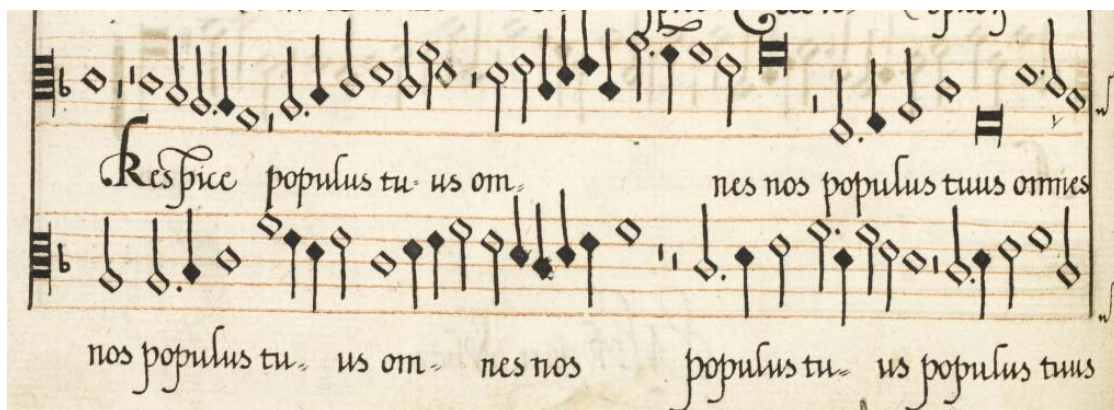


Figure 6-56: William Byrd, *Ne irascaris*. Extract of Och Mus. 985, no. 9. Note the neumatic movement on the first syllable of the penultimate 'tuus'. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

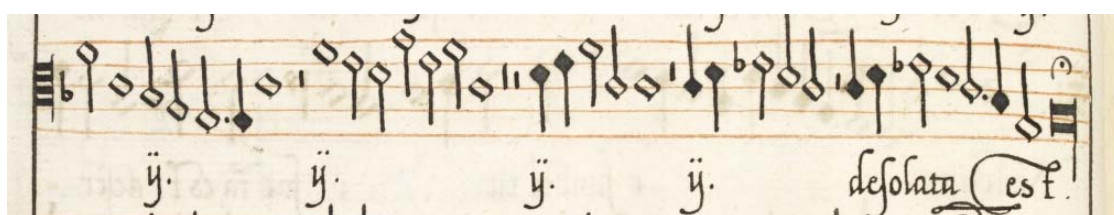


Figure 6-57: William Byrd, *Ne irascaris*. Extract of Och Mus. 985, no. 9. Note the terminal neumatic movement on 'desolata'. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

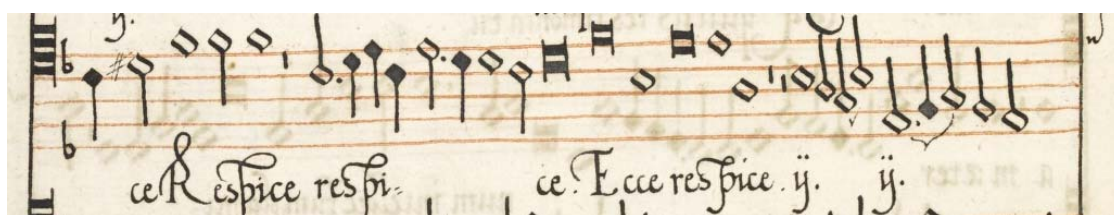


Figure 6-58: William Byrd, *Ne irascaris*. Extract of Och Mus. 987, no. 9. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

In MS 988, fol. 12^v, 'Ecce respice' and its repetitions were set syllabically at the end of the third system but this was incompatible with the other four voices that were repeating only the word 'respice' at this point. There is no accounting for the two

breves over the first syllable of 'omnes' at the close of the *prima pars*; the print used a long here. At the end of the *secunda pars*, the case was reversed: the print placed a semibreve on C as the penultimate note, while Dow has instead divided it into two minims and assigned the unstressed final syllable of 'omnes' to the arsis.⁶⁷

*

Byrd's lengthy motet, *Deus venerunt gentes*, as it appears in Dow's collection, is a case study fraught with inconsistencies. The individual parts were filled with readings that differed from the later print of 1589; the Contratenor part alone contains 17 variants. Dow's standard techniques of editing were all present here: the shifting of accented syllables to notes falling on the thesis; the splitting and combining of note values to accommodate extra syllables or a lack thereof; and the assigning of particular syllables to carry melismata and neumatic movement. It is this last technique that I shall address in some detail.

The word 'circuitu' appears in the last two *partes* of the motet: 'Qui in circuitu nostro sunt' and 'In circuitu Hierusalem.' At both occurrences of the word, the music became noticeably rhythmically active and melismatic in attempting to portray the meaning, 'round about', through *circulatio* figures. Though the word was identical in both phrases, it was set quite inconsistently. Mus. 984 placed the melisma on '-i-' in the *secunda pars* (fol. 44^v, third system), but on '-cu-' in the *tercia pars* (fol. 46^v-47^r, last and first systems). In the *tercia pars* of Mus. 985, the melisma was placed on '-i-' the first time (fol. 46^r, last system), but on '-cu-' later (fol. 46^v, middle of the first system); it was not set melodically in the second section. Mus. 986 placed it on '-i-' in both

⁶⁷ This variant is unique to Dow among extant manuscripts. Brown, ed. *Cantiones Sacrae*, 253.

partes (fol. 43^v, end of third system continuing onto the fourth; and fol. 46^r, third and fourth systems), while the first occurrence of the word on the third system of fol. 43^v surprisingly accorded ‘-tu’ a terminal melisma. Mus. 987 assigned the melisma to ‘-i-’ in the *secunda pars* (fol. 41^v, fourth system), and to ‘-cu-’ in the *tercia pars*, but only because the ‘-i-’ was entirely missing from the manuscript two out of three times (fol. 44^r, end of the second to the beginning of the fourth systems). Finally, Mus. 988 placed the melisma on ‘-cu-’ in both *partes*. Figures 6-59 through 6-63 shows a few examples of the variant settings.

Certainly, the stressed syllable was ‘-cu-’, and it is this syllable that should have carried the melisma.⁶⁸ What explanation can sufficiently account for all these variants? A transition in the English pronunciation of Latin is unlikely since the concept of ‘u’ as a long vowel [iu] and the ‘i’ as a short vowel [i] was fairly stable throughout the sixteenth century.⁶⁹ Perhaps the explanation is as simple as that the scribe was working from a defective exemplar.

Offering an answer from a different perspective to this question is *The Byrd Edition*. Dow’s manuscript variants are singled out and presented directly under the texting of the official print in the score. The editor acknowledges them as ‘[a]lso possibly original’ (i.e. Dow’s ideas) and that ‘these offer a closer matching of words and music than is found in the print.’⁷⁰ A detailed study of this motet as it appears in these partbooks needs to be undertaken in the future.

⁶⁸ It is this syllable that always carries this melisma in 1589 print with one exception. The Tenor part of *Quarta pars* [*tercia pars* in Dow] places the melisma on ‘-i-’.

⁶⁹ Wray, ‘The sound of Latin in England,’ 84, 87.

⁷⁰ Brown, ed., *Cantiones Sacrae*, 250.



Figure 6-59: William Byrd, *Effunderunt*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 984, no. 44. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

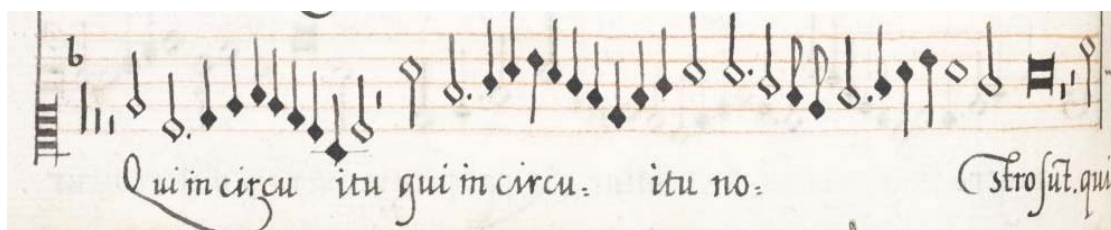


Figure 6-60: William Byrd, *Facti sumus*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 984, no. 47. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.



Figure 6-61: William Byrd, *Facti sumus*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 985, no. 47. Note the variant settings of 'circuitu' within the same *partes*. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.



Figure 6-62: William Byrd, *Facti sumus*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 986, no. 47. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.



Figure 6-63: William Byrd, *Facti sumus*. Extract of *Och Mus.* 987, no. 47. Note the missing syllable in the first and third occurrence of the word 'circuitu'. Image copyright © The Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission.

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In partbooks of Robert Dow, we have encountered an acutely sensitive amateur musician-scribe, who did not simply copy what he saw, but actively thought about what he was seeing, and would then transmit it in a form that seemed most sensible to him. What he recorded in partbooks of remarkable visual beauty were versions of compositions in which the music aurally supported the prosodic character of the text.

A LONGITUDINAL PERSPECTIVE OF LATIN TEXTING, AS SEEN THROUGH TWO MARIAN ANTIPHONS

At the conclusion of our survey of sources and their scribes, it is most appropriate that we use this penultimate chapter of the dissertation to consider Latin texting in sixteenth-century England from a longitudinal perspective. Since there is no single composition that was continuously transmitted in our selected sources from 1500 to 1600, we will need to examine two: Lambe's *O maria plena gracia*, transmitted between 1500–ca.1530; and Tallis's *Salve intemerata virgo Maria*, transmitted between ca.1530–ca.1591.

*

7.1: A partial concordance of the choirbooks

Though the inventories of the Lambeth and Caius Choirbooks contain multiple concordances, a concordance between these later choirbooks and the contents of the Eton Choirbook copied some two decades earlier is a rare find. Had Robert Fayrfax's *Et exultavit 'Regale'* survived intact in all three sources, it would have been an ideal candidate for a comparison of texting styles.¹ Today, the only partial concordance that remains between *WRec* MS 178 (hereafter *WRec*) and *Llp* MS 1 (hereafter *Llp*) is Lambe's 'most impressive achievement', *O Maria plena gratia*.² The fragment in *WRec* is on fol. 8^v–9^v and the complete antiphon in *Llp* is on fol. 52^v–56^r. A careful

¹ The front index of *WRec* MS 178 contains the 'Regale' designation in a different hand from the principal copyist, but the folios containing this work have been lost. The copy in *Cgc* MS 667/760 is missing folios.

² Benham, *Latin church music*, 81.

comparison of the two readings will enable us to discover what aspects of texting style had changed in the intervening years between the copying of the two sources.

It is evident that the two scribes took different approaches to the texting of the Tenor part. Significantly, the variants in texting between the two copies occurred only in the cantus firmus passages where the plainsong melody of *O sacrum convivium*, the Corpus Christi antiphon on the Magnificat reproduced in Figure 7-1 below, was quoted; the texting in the freely composed material of the opening section was impeccably concordant. The cantus firmus passages of the copy in *WRec* shows that the scribe was adhering to the older method of copying, in which the integrity of the original plainsong melody was paramount, leading to the placement of multiple syllables under single long notes.

Though the surviving portion of the Tenor part in *WRec* is very limited, several texting trends may be inferred from the few available phrases; these are reproduced in Figure 7-2. In the penultimate system where the black texting begins,



Figure 7-1: Mode v antiphon, *O Sacrum convivium*. Extract of STC (2nd ed.): 15790a, fol. xv^r.



Figure 7-2: Walter Lambe, *O Maria plena gratia*. Extract of WRec MS 178, fol. 9^r, showing the Tenor part. Image copyright © Eton College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

the seven syllables of ‘Secundo virtutes an-’ were only accorded five notes.³ The visual implication was for the *f* longa and the first *c*’ breve to take two syllables each. This trend of assigning multiple syllables for a single note continued in the next phrase, where the longa *a* carried two syllables, ‘-licas’, and on the final system, the longa *c*’ set ‘crea-’. Coloured longas and breves in these short passages appeared to be exempt from this multiple syllable requirement; where imperfected notes occurred, the proportion of syllables to available pitches was one-to-one, ligatures excepted. This excerpt also exhibited John Dunstaple’s practice that was condemned by Morley in his treatise: the first syllable of the word ‘angelicas’ was sung at the end of the first phrase and completed at the start of the subsequent phrase, with the two phrases being separated by a pair of semibreve rests.⁴

By contrast, in the Tenor part copied into *Llp*, reproduced in Figure 7-3, the ambiguities of splitting note values and syllable distribution in the first two phrases were nowhere to be found. In the intervening years between the two copies, it seems

³ A comparison of these five notes to the incipit in Figure 7-1, *O sacrum convivium*, will show that they correspond precisely to the plainsong melody.

⁴ STC (2nd ed.): 18133, 178.



Figure 7-3: Walter Lambe, *O Maria plena gratia*. Extract of *Llp* MS 1, fol. 53^r, showing the Tenor part. Image copyright © Lambeth Palace Library. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library.

that the preoccupation of preserving the original form of the plainsong cantus firmus began to decline at some point, giving way to the practicalities of literal texting.

In the middle of the penultimate system, the two *c* perfect breves over the word ‘virtutes’ in *WRec* were recast as three imperfed breves, making provision for the three syllables. The initial syllable of ‘angelicas’ likewise was shifted to the beginning of the second phrase and the word was given terminal neumatic motion of three notes on ‘-cas’ (*c’-d’-c*) because ‘relucentes’, a word which appeared under these notes in *WRec* was deleted. The underlay of ‘matronis cognatam’ remained unchanged from the underlay in *WRec*. In the final phrases of the excerpt, the text-note sensitive approach of the *Llp* scribe lost its consistency as the imperfed oblique ligature was forced to take on two syllables, ‘-ato-’ of ‘creatoris’; the rule of one syllable per ligature was disregarded. The final syllable of ‘creatoris’ also did not occur until after two semibreve rests.

Among the freely composed voices, the Bassus part in *Llp* was arguably the part most single-mindedly geared by the scribe towards improving prosody in the texting. While the underlay was mostly concordant with the underlay in *WRec*, four specific passages may be singled-out for closer examination. The first passage is the

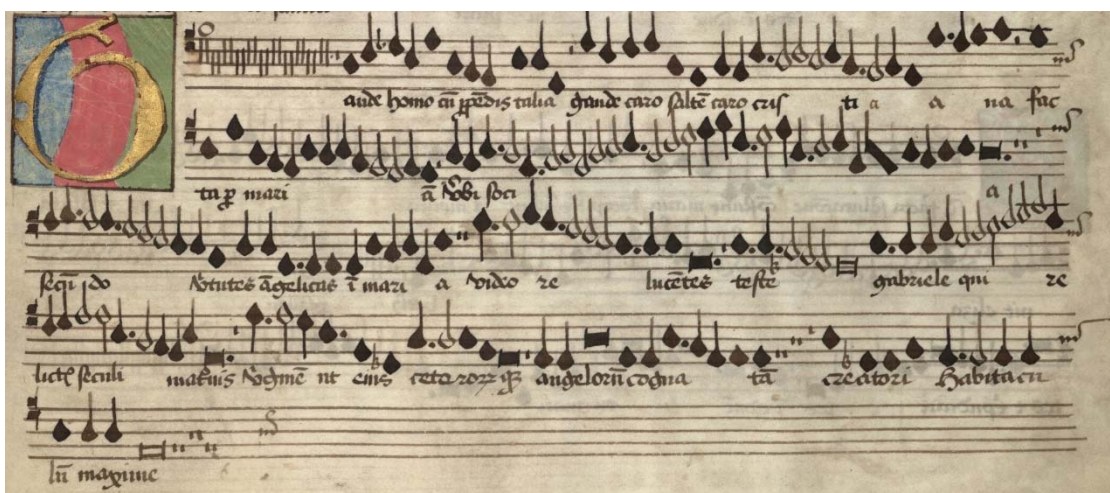


Figure 7-4: Walter Lambe, *O Maria plena gratia*. Extract of *Llp* MS 1, fol. 53^r, showing the Bassus part. Image copyright © Lambeth Palace Library. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library.

cambiata figure over the words ‘verbi sociam’, located on the second system in both Figures 7-4 and 7-5. Whereas the *WRec* scribe placed the syllable ‘-ci-’ on *d*, an arsis-minim, the *Llp* scribe moved it one note backward to the semiminim on *f*. Small though this alteration may have been, the effect created by this change in the underlay caused an anticipatory motion, once more forecasting a style of texting that would feature prominently in English composition in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

The second variant can be found in the very next phrase where ‘virtutes angelicas’ in *Llp* was texted in quite a different fashion than in *WRec*; see third system in Figure 7-4 and at the very end of the second system in Figure 7-5. Note values at the end of the ‘Secundo’ terminal melisma were inverted: where *WRec* had a single *f* semibreve, *Llp* had two *f* minims; and where *WRec* had two *d* minims, *Llp* had a single *d* semibreve. In this way, *Llp* provided appropriate accentuation for the word ‘virtutes’. ‘Angelicas’ was also set so that ‘an-’ fell on the arsis-minim, while ‘-ge-’ was placed on the *c* dotted semibreve; in *WRec*, the first syllable of ‘angelicas’ fell on a



Figure 7-5: Walter Lambe, *O Maria plena gratia*. Extract of WRec MS 178, fol. 9^r, showing the Bassus part. Image copyright © Eton College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

thesis-semibreve, followed by a minim.

The scribe of *Llp* also tried to change syllables on notes of longer duration. At the end of the third system in Figure 7-4, and the middle of the third system of Figure 7-5, there are ascending runs of semiminims from *g* to *e'*. *WRec* set 'qui re-' under the first two semiminims with the remainder of the melisma occurring on 're-'.

Contrastingly, *Llp* assigned 'qui' the entire run and 're-' was set to the *c'* semiminim at its conclusion; this was much more in line with the style of texting of the other compositions in the Lambeth Choirbook, some of which we have studied earlier in Chapter 3.

The final variant once again involved note division. The coloured breve of *WRec* over the final syllable of 'cognatam' (Figure 7-5, mid-final system) was divided into two semibreves in *Llp* (Figure 7-4, near the end of the penultimate system). The last, unstressed syllable of the word was delayed until the second *c* semibreve, an arsis-semibreve.

Closely related to the variants of the Bassus are the variants of the Quatruplex part; these two voices form the duet at 'Gaude homo cum perpendis' before full parts



Figure 7-6: Walter Lambe, *O Maria plena gratia*. Extract of *Lp MS 1*, fol. 52^v, showing the Quatruplex part. Image copyright © Lambeth Palace Library. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library.



Figure 7-7: Walter Lambe, *O Maria plena gratia*. Extract of *WRec MS 178*, fol. 8^v, showing the Quatruplex part. Image copyright © Eton College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

enter at 'Secundo virtutes'. In *Lp*, the text of 'Mariam verbi socia' was considerably altered to bring this voice into line with the Bassus part; see Figure 7-6, starting at the last note of first system, and Figure 7-7, end of the first system. While *WRec* texted the Quatruplex singing 'verbi socia' nearly three semibreves after these words were first sung by the Bassus part, *Lp* attempted to adjust this apparent disconnect by eliminating the terminal melisma of 'Mariam' and setting 'verbi' to the *d''*, *c''* minims, aligning the word to where it occurred in the Bassus part. The '-ci-' of

‘solia’ was also given the short-long anticipatory neumatic movement, imitating the texting of the Bassus part one semiminim earlier.

The *Llp* scribe’s preference for an uninterrupted descending line was also evident in the third system of Figure 7-5 at ‘teste gabriele’. The first syllable of ‘teste’ ascended stepwise to a fourth, where the second syllable was placed at the beginning of the descending terminal melisma. ‘Gabriele’ was set syllabically and the remaining notes were turned into a terminal melisma for the final syllable. This contrasted with the layout of syllables in *WRec*, where in both cases, the final syllable of the word was placed on *f*’ — three notes after the descent had begun; see Figure 7-7, third system.

The final texting variant occurred at ‘ceterorumque angelorum’; see Figure 7-6, end of third system, and Figure 7-7, middle of the third system. *WRec* set ‘ceterorumque’ in a similar manner to the beginning of the plainsong quotation in the Tenor part of *WRec*; that is, with the penultimate and ultimate syllables of a single word separated by rests. In *Llp*, the word was re-set to terminate before the rest.

The Contratenor part, which forms the duet with the Tenor part’s freely composed opening section, had a texting variant near the end of the ‘Primo sanctam’ section at the words ‘filius obumbrantem marie’. At this point in the antiphon, the Tenor part moved in semibreves with its syllabic changes on the thesis of the tactus while the Contratenor part provided contrast by making its syllabic changes on the arsis of the tactus. To enhance the imitation between the two voices, the first syllable of ‘marie’ was delayed until the dotted minim *a* in *Llp*, to correlate with the Tenor part that would have sounded the first syllable of ‘marie’ on *a*’ a dotted minim later;



Figure 7-8: Walter Lambe, *O Maria plena gratia*. Extract of *Llp* MS 1, fol. 52^v, showing the Contratenor part. Image copyright © Lambeth Palace Library. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library.



Figure 7-9: Walter Lambe, *O Maria plena gratia*. Extract of *WRec* MS 178, fol. 8^v, showing the Contratenor part. Image copyright © Eton College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

in the Contratenor part of *WRec*, ‘marie’ began a minim earlier on *e*.⁵ However, what the *Llp* scribe overlooked was that in the Tenor part, the ensuing melisma was carried on the syllable ‘-ri-’. The Contratenor part did not reach this syllable until the *d*’ after

⁵ The scribe of *WRec* ensured this underlay by drawing a red line from the syllable ‘-ri-’ to the *a* minim.

the minim rest;⁶ see Figures 7-8 and 7-9, end of the second systems.

The first variant of the full parts section is on the word 'Secundo' and shows the scribe of *Llp* manipulating the effect that pitch has on syllabic accentuation; see Figures 7-8 and 7-9, third systems. *WRec* placed the first two syllables of the word 'Secundo' on the *c''* semibreve and minim, and the final syllable on *d''*, giving the unaccented syllable '-do' undue prominence and stress. The *Llp* scribe revised this so that '-cun-', the justly stressed syllable, would be set to the *d''* dotted minim before returning to *c''* for the final syllable.⁷ All other remaining variants in the Contratenor part concern the regulation of melismata in the middle of a word to penultimate melismata as at 'virtutes', 'ceterorumque', 'cognatam', 'adventu' and 'Marie' or the non-interruption of a terminal melisma, especially in cases where there are scalar passages.

Additional variants designed to improve prosody are found in the *Llp* Medius part. The first variant occurs 30 breves into the composition at the words 'et contemplor'; see Figures 7-10 and 7-11, end of second systems. At the beginning of the melisma, an echappée figure appears: *f* (arsis-minim) *b flat* (minim) *a* (minim) *b flat* (thesis-semiminim) *d'* (minim) *c'* (semiminim) *d'* (semiminim). *WRec* placed the first three syllables of the text on the three initial minims, thus beginning the penultimate

⁶ This is perhaps an early sign of the predilection for not carrying a single syllable through a rest.

⁷ In Harrison's edition, the '-do' of 'Secundo' was deferred in both the Contratenor and Bassus parts until after the melisma since the figure is in imitation five semibreves apart. While this was taking place, however, the Medius and Tenor parts were holding long sustained notes on the same word, 'Secundo'. With this deferment, the '-do' of the Medius and Contratenor parts coincided, echoed by the Tenor and Bassus parts in short order. See Frank Ll. Harrison, ed., *The Eton Choirbook: Second, Revised edition*, Musica Britannica, vol. 10 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1973), 32.

melisma on an arsis-minim. In *Llp*, '-tem-' was shifted one note later so that the melisma would begin more prominently on the syncopations of an échappée.

The next section, 'Spiritus sanctum' is made up of two lengthy phrases separated by a minim rest at the midpoint. While there are several minor variants of no consequence, there are two examples worth noting. The first was actually not a variant because the word was placed exactly under the same notes in both *WRec* and



Figure 7-10: Walter Lambe, *O Maria plena gratia*. Extract of *Llp* MS 1, fol. 52^v, showing the Medius part. Image copyright © Lambeth Palace Library. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library.



Figure 7-11: Walter Lambe, *O Maria plena gratia*. Extract of *WRec* MS 178, fol. 8^v, showing the Medius part. Image copyright © Eton College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

Llp. In comparing the two copies, one notices that words before and after ‘filius’ (Figures 7-10 and 7-11, slightly past the middle of the third system) have been shifted around, but that particular word has remained attached to its idiomatic rhythms of a dotted minim-semiminim-semibreve; we can be reasonably certain that in this instance, the composer expressly designed these rhythms for this word.

At the beginning of the second phrase, (i.e. the *a'* semibreve immediately after the minim rest), we observe that the *WRec* scribe again continued a word that was begun before the rest (‘obum-[rest] brantem’). Once more, the scribe of *Llp* reorganised the underlay in his copy by extending the terminal melisma on ‘filius’ up to the rest, so that the entire word ‘obumbrantem’ would be contained in the second phrase.

Towards the end of the fourth system of the *Medius* part in *WRec*, a terminal melisma was given to the final syllable of ‘teste’. The *Llp* scribe changed this to a penultimate melisma for two ends: firstly, in order to give the majority of the notes to the accented syllable, ‘tes-’; and secondly, to improve the syntax of the phrase ‘teste gabriele’; see Figure 7-10, end of the fourth system. Even though the music was continuous, a terminal melisma in the middle of a phrase tended to leave a gap between one word and the next during which time, the sense of the textual phrase might be lost.

The *Triplex* part had only two variants of significance. At the beginning of the second full system in *WRec* (see Figure 7-13), ‘aspicio’ was given terminal neumatic movement: dotted minim *a'*, semiminim *g'*, minim *g'*. *Llp* modified this to penultimate neumatic movement, placing the final syllable on the last *g'* minim; see Figure 7-12, end of second system. In this subtle change, one will recognise a

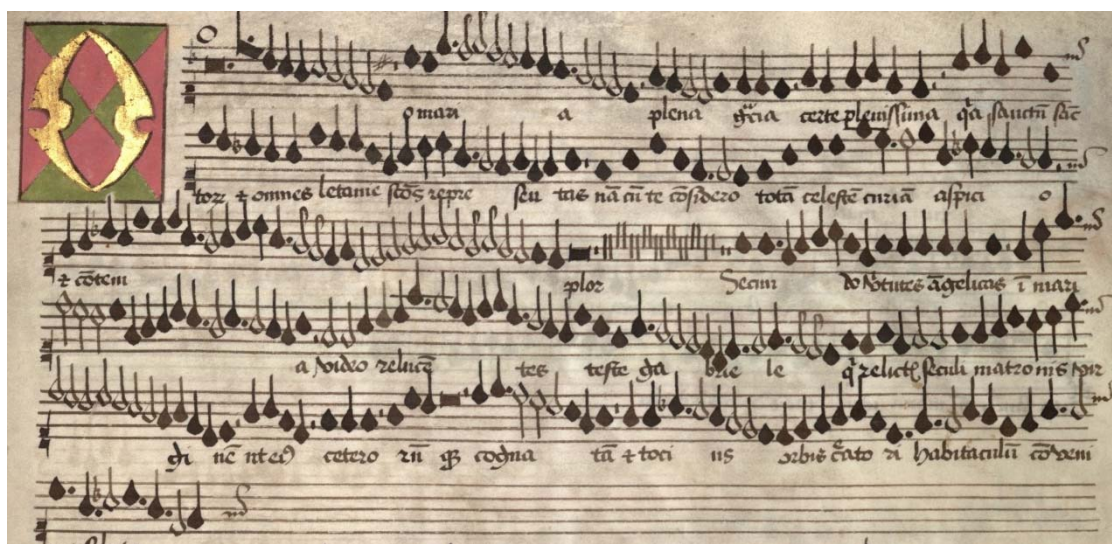


Figure 7-12: Walter Lambe, *O Maria plena gratia*. Extract of Lp MS 1, fol. 53^r, showing the Triplex part. Image copyright © Lambeth Palace Library. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library.

Figure 7-13: Walter Lambe, *O Maria plena gratia*. Extract of WRec MS 178, fol. 9^r, showing the Triplex part. Image copyright © Eton College Library. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

primitive form of the formula common to anticipatory cadences found later in the century in both English and Continental music.

The second variant takes place in the middle of the third complete system in WRec. 'Gabriele' was texted with both neumatic movement and a terminal melisma:

the neumatic movement occurring on ‘-bri-’ and the terminal melisma on ‘-le’. In between the neumatic movement and melisma, ‘-e-’ was given neumatic movement of two notes. The setting was slightly awkward as the first neumatic movement was carried on ‘-bri-’, an unstressed syllable, and both ‘-e-’ and ‘-le’ fell on theses. To simplify this underlay, the scribe of *Llp* put ‘ga-’ on the *a*’ dotted minim and assigned the descending scale to this syllable; see Figure 7-12, middle of the fourth system. On the lowest note of the phrase, an arsis *b-flat*, the unstressed syllable of ‘-bri-’ was placed. As the melody changed direction, ‘-e-’ was placed on the *d*’ dotted minim, and ‘-le’ was placed on the *f*’ and carried the terminal melisma with the fusae.

The intermediary witness of ‘Lost Choirbook 2a’⁸

Oxford, All Souls College MS 330, fol. 18 (hereafter *Oas*) is a parchment leaf from a dismantled early sixteenth-century choirbook that was used for the bindings of a seventeenth-century college account book. The recto shows a section of the Bassus part from the second of four openings of Lambe’s *O Maria plena gratia*, and the verso the Tenor part from the third opening. Though the corresponding folios from *WRec* are missing, a comparison with the complete antiphon in *Llp* reveals the texting style in these fragments to be of a transitional phase between the texting styles already examined in *WRec* and *Llp*; refer to the comparison transcriptions in Appendix D for the discussion that follows.

The surviving material of the Tenor part on fol. 18^v may be grouped into two sections: the first section featuring the plainsong cantus firmus (see Figure 7-1) and

⁸ See Williamson’s description of *WRec*-related sources for the specifics on the ‘Lost Choirbooks’. Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook: Facsimile*, 74–75.

the second section that was freely composed. Two divergences are worth noting in the first section. At A, *Llp* set the complete text of the antiphon phrase, ‘tunc animas omnium’, to its six notes, while *Oas* set only one word, ‘tunc’, with a terminal neumatic movement of three notes. *Llp* was able to accomplish a full text setting because *b* and *g* were subdivided into two notes, making provision for the extra syllables. In contrast, the anonymous scribe of *Oas* elected to maintain integrity of the melody source by copying the exact number of notes in the plainsong with no subdivisions. Unlike Scribe A of *WRec*, however, he did not place multiple syllables or words under these longer notes but chose to set a single word to several notes instead.

The divergence at B demonstrates two contrasting methods for bringing out the prosody of a word; in this case, ‘pertransivit’. At the outset, *Llp* divided a breve *c*’ into two semibreves and set the stressed syllable ‘-si-’ to a neumatic movement of four notes, three of which belonged to a ligature. Without the constraints of a ligature, *Oas* retained the breve and expressed the prosody of the word by giving the secondary accented syllable, ‘per-’, a neumatic motion of three notes, keeping the unstressed syllables ‘-tran-’ and ‘-vit’ firmly on *c*’, and bringing out the importance of ‘-si-’ by a stepwise motion up to *d*’ before returning to *c*’.

C demarcates where the freely composed section began, following the extended section of rest. On a smaller scale, the underlay of ‘sola’ in *Oas* reflected the early sixteenth-century preference for a penultimate melisma, even in disyllabic words.⁹ ‘Certe’ had its second (and unstressed) syllable set to an anticipatory motion

⁹ One immediately brings to mind the florid melismata of the closing (and sometimes opening) acclamations of ‘Salve’ in the *Salve Regina* settings of *WRec*.

from *a* to *d'*, yet at the same time exhibited a certain logic in allowing the descending neumatic motion from the dotted semibreve *d'* to finish on *a'* before beginning the pair of ligatures that sets 'mari-' of 'maria' on the subsequent note; here, *Llp* elided the ending of the descending motion with the start of the ligatures directly on *a*. At D, the texting in *Oas* was actually more prosodically sensible than that of *Llp*. Having deferred the 'cris-' of 'cristum' by one note (in comparison to *Llp*), *Oas* correctly stressed the long syllables of 'cristum deum' on theses. *Llp*, perhaps unwittingly, set all of the unstressed syllables on theses.

On fol. 18^v, the fragment of the Bassus part was entirely freely composed. The parchment appears to have been cut for the account book at an angle since there is a considerable amount of text and music at the end of each system missing. In the comparison of *Llp* with *Oas* in the Bassus part, we will look in detail at three important moments.

The first point of observation, A, is three words into the excerpt, 'omnium'. Note that while *Oas* set the word to a pattern that stressed the last syllable, *Llp* (or its exemplar) had ameliorated this with a dotted rhythm that weights the first syllable of 'tercium'. At B, *Oas* shows that at the time of its copying there was still a persistence of splitting a word over a rest; in this case, 'Johanne', although only 'Joh-' survives. This contrasts with *Llp*, which has set all of the word before the rest, even though the high pitch and longer duration of the final note coincided with the last syllable.

C marks a phrase where the underlay was completely different in *Llp* and *Oas*. The arrangement of words in *Llp* demonstrated a sensitive approach to the setting of text which bespeaks a later copy: the concluding of the word 'flagellatum' before

changing into a higher register for 'consputum';¹⁰ the prosodic setting of 'coronatum' with appropriate accents on both 'co-' (dotted rhythm) and '-na-' (neumatic movement); and the anticipatory movement of a semiminim *a* to a minim *f* on 'spi-' of 'spinis'. Such a word-conscious setting was not to be found in *Oas*, which set 'flagellatum' over a set of notes that spanned a tenth.

*

The detailed comparison of the sole partial concordance between *WRec* MS 178 and *Llp* MS 1 above shows that there was a considerable shift in texting attitudes between the beginning of the sixteenth century and the late 1520s. The fragmentary witness of *Oas* MS 330 further confirmed that this shift was a gradual process, and not sudden one.

More liberal in his texting style, Scribe A was not too concerned with the prosodic patterns of words and how they interacted with the rhythmic patterns of the music in the Eton Choirbook. By the time the Arundel scribe was working on the Lambeth Choirbook, however, a new appreciation for and interest in matching the linguistic characteristics of the text to the music had begun to influence musicians. Both scribes and composers also began to consider how parts in a composition with text interacted with each other. The changes they made to 'improve' the underlay of older compositions, subtle though they were in Lambeth's *O Maria plena gratia*, have revealed exactly what aspects of texting they were interested in and how they went about updating music to suit the prevailing fashion of their day.

¹⁰ Granted, *Llp* dispensed with the 'et' between 'suum' and 'flagellatum'.

7.2: Shifting attitudes towards texting in the strains of a Marian antiphon

For a motet with a text that was criticised in the mid-twentieth century as being ‘shapeless’ and ‘rather rambling’,¹¹ Tallis’s *Salve intemerata virgo Maria* apparently enjoyed a considerable amount of popularity during the composer’s lifetime and also posthumously; this is evidenced by the wide circulation of his Marian antiphon in manuscripts from the time of its composition into the early seventeenth century. Set in the Phrygian mode, its long abstract melodies are guided not by harmonic underpinnings as one would expect, but rather by the text itself.

Since a scribe’s style of texting is best assessed and observed in a complete composition rather than in short extracts, this study has deliberately excluded sources which transmit only sections of Tallis’s antiphon. The sources that have been taken under consideration are briefly described in this section of the chapter.

Cp MSS 31–32, 40–41, the ‘Henrician Partbooks’ of the Perne Library at Peterhouse Cambridge, extraordinarily contains two copies of the Triplex, Medius, Contratenor, and Bassus parts of Tallis’s Marian antiphon (hereafter referred to as *Cp* (i) and *Cp* (ii)). How the composition came to be copied twice in a single source is not altogether clear. Only the first copy is listed in the index. In his study of the partbooks, Sandon explains the omission of the second copy from the index as the reaction of a scribe to a gross doubling error, who ‘having wasted a day of his time, was too exasperated by his oversight to wish to advertise it’.¹² He further proposed that the two copies of the antiphon clearly came from different exemplars:

There are many substantial differences between [the copies], and the copyist would

¹¹ Paul Doe, *Tallis* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 12.

¹² Sandon, ‘The Henrician Partbooks’, 1: 34.

surely have recognised an exemplar from which he had already worked, whereas he might not have recognised the same piece in a different exemplar.¹³

Yet his explanation is not entirely convincing for two reasons. Firstly, the said exemplar or exemplars have not been located and identified and are quite possibly lost. Secondly—and more significantly—by Sandon's own admission, the scribe was not terribly diligent in checking over his work and allowed himself a good deal of license to alter details of the notation (e.g. direction of the note stems) and underlay as he saw fit, as seen in his abandoned faulty copying of the *Medius* part of the *Gloria* from Taverner's *Missa 'Mater Christi'* in the Contratenor partbook.¹⁴ Is it not plausible, then, that the 'substantial differences' held up as evidence of two different exemplars could be nothing more than the scribe's inattention to detail? At the very least, we must allow for this possibility.

Like the anonymous scribe of the Peterhouse set, Sadler also copied *Salve intimerata* [sic] *virgo* twice, but not in the same manuscript set. It is item no. xi in *Ob* MSS Mus. e. 1–5 (hereafter *Ob E*) and no. i in the two surviving partbooks of his later set, the Braikenridge (hereafter *Ob T*) and Willmott (hereafter *W*) manuscripts.¹⁵ Both copies transmit the complete antiphon as a single entity, while the *Ob E* set is the only extant copy today which also has all of its partbooks intact. Unfortunately, the pages containing this composition are located in the earlier section of the collection where the pages have been badly corroded by the acidic content of the ink. In Sadler's better-surviving later copy, made some two decades after the first, it is very revealing

¹³ Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks', 1: 66, 130.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1: 66. Compare this with Sandon's earlier (and contradicting) assertion that the scribe checked his work 'extremely carefully'. *Ibid.*, 63.

¹⁵ The Willmott manuscript is missing the final two pages of this antiphon.

to observe what texting conventions and underlay he retained from his earlier set and what he innovated or changed. To name but one innovation was his use of a sign, resembling Baldwin's ditto mark and usually copied in red, to indicate the continuation of the last written-out syllable in protracted melismata.¹⁶

Baldwin's *Och* MSS 979–83 (hereafter *Och*) contains the full Marian antiphon, but is lacking its Tenor book. His characteristic alterations to underlay, especially to older compositions, as previously discussed can be once again seen at work in his copy of Tallis's antiphon.

London, British Library Harley 1709 (hereafter *Lbl*), a standalone Medius partbook, is of unknown provenance and date.¹⁷ Entitled 'Medius xxiiij antemns in these bokes' by its anonymous copyist, it features composers who were active in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII. Based on this fact, Sandon has proposed a date of 'unlikely much later than 1530', making it the earliest source of the antiphon that is extant, albeit without the other four parts.¹⁸ The curious annotation of 'ffinis corrigitur' at the end of this copy of *Salve intemerata virgo* has generated some uncertainty as to whether the comment applied to this composition only or to all pieces in the partbook up to this point.¹⁹ For our purposes, a better question would be if the comment refers only to the musical notation or if text and underlay were also checked and corrected during the revision process.

¹⁶ Gaskin misjudged this symbol as a text repetition sign. Gaskin, 'Music copyists in late-sixteenth century England', 55.

¹⁷ For a more detailed discussion of the manuscript and its contents, see Nicholas Sandon, 'The Manuscript London, British Library Harley 1709', in *Music in the medieval English liturgy: Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society centennial essays*, ed. Susan Rankin and David Hiley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 355–79.

¹⁸ Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks', 1: 112.

¹⁹ Sandon, 'The Manuscript London', 357.

Rounding out the list of sources investigated in this chapter are three standalone partbooks of English provenance containing the antiphon. *Ob* MS Tenbury 1464 (hereafter *Ob 1464*) is a Bassus partbook that I have previously argued as a possible exemplar for Sadler's *Ob* MS Mus. E. 5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Music School Mus. Sch. E. 423 (hereafter *Ob Sch*) is a Contratenor partbook from a set of originally six partbooks that was owned by William Byrd's friend and patron, John Petre (1549–1613). The music is in the hand of Petre's steward and most trusted servant, John Bentley.²⁰ A cross-section of all forms of genres of the Elizabethan age, this comprehensive compendium comprises Latin motets, English anthems, consort songs, and instrumental pieces.

The final manuscript, a Bassus partbook compiled for or subsequently owned by the Petres,²¹ comes from the Essex County Record Office in Chelmsford (GB-CF) MS D/DP Z6/1 (hereafter *Z*). On account of its layout, it is arguably the most fascinating of all the manuscripts considered in this chapter. Like all of our other sources, the text of the antiphon was transmitted in sequence. However, rather than copying out the large blocks of rests when the Bassus was not involved in a given section for reduced voices, the unknown Paston scribe simply wrote the incipit of the section with the word 'tacet' (e.g. 'Ave [Anne] mulieris tacet', 'Per hec nos tacet', and so forth). Following these annotations, a fresh F5 clef was inscribed (or in certain cases where there was already a clef at the beginning of the system, repeated) and the manuscript continued with the text and music of the next entry of the Bassus.

²⁰ David Mateer, 'William Byrd, John Petre and Oxford, Bodleian MS Mus. Sch. e. 423', *Royal Music Association Research Chronicle* 29 (1996): 21.

²¹ Milsom, 'Sacred songs', 173.

Without the intermediary rests, how could a continuous performance of the antiphon possibly have been undertaken?

The 'tacet' incipits in this copy correspond to the sections that were commonly extracted and circulated as independent motets, particularly in Paston sources. A possible explanation is that this copy of the antiphon was pieced together by the scribe from various extracts that were readily available. Lacking a copy which transmitted the full antiphon continuously, he was unable or perhaps decided against inserting the intermediary rests and treated each extract as a *pars*. How, one wonders, might this source (and its companion books) have been used in performance?

For the discussion that follows, refer to the comparison transcriptions in Appendix E.

Sadler revising Sadler: the Tenor part

Only two Tenor parts survive from our selected sources: one complete (*Ob E*); and one partial (*W*). With the exception of the six underlay variants, which form the basis of our discussion, the two copies were in perfect accord: every note, every ligature, and every syllable placement.²² Both manuscripts were the work of John Sadler and reveal how his attitude towards prosody and the details of texting had altered or persisted in the intervening 20–25 years.

Firstly, Sadler's thoughts about the lengthening of terminal syllables had altered, specifically where disyllabic words were concerned. The words 'tui' (*A*) and

²² In order to make such a perfectly concordant copy, Sadler must have either still possessed the original exemplar of *Salve intemerata* from which he copied for his first set of partbooks or based his later copy in the 'Willmott' on his own copy in *Ob E*.

‘cristum’ (F) had both been formerly copied with terminal neumatic motion in his first set of partbooks. In his later copy, the final unstressed syllable had been displaced to the final note of the motion, while the rest of the notes preceding them were given to the initial stressed syllable.²³

In the examination of his earlier set of partbooks in Chapter 6.1, it was noted that even though on most occasions Sadler had the opportunity to realise dittos with a string of words, he opted for single word repetitions. In his later copy of this antiphon, he once more chose to repeat only single words on two occasions in the Tenor part, after the words ‘omnium’ (B) and ‘omnipotentem’ (E), but for different purposes. In the former instance, the repetition of ‘omnium’ replaced a short neumatic motion with syllabic setting,²⁴ enabling Sadler to move the subsequent word ‘que’ to the note following the semibreve rest and set the phrase ‘que nati sunt’ with correct prosody, with ‘na-’ falling on the thesis of the tactus. The latter instance of repeating ‘omnipotentem’ was the curtailing of what had been a protracted melisma in his first copy; the primary stressed syllable of ‘omnipotentem’ was set to neumatic movement while every other syllable was syllabically set.

The remaining two variants concerned the reworking of two back-to-back theses (C)—one natural and the other displaced—and the transferring of neumatic motion to the stressed syllable of a trisyllabic word (D). At C, the phrase ‘et corpore et animo’ was set with two stresses side by side at ‘et a-’. By moving ‘et’ one note backward in his later copy, Sadler gave this short yet significant word (i.e. ‘body **and** soul’) some importance through an anticipatory gesture, while simultaneously

²³ This observation excludes instances where *c. o. p.* ligatures were involved.

²⁴ A division of the *d* breve into two semibreves was necessary to achieve this.

avoiding a double-thesis in the next tactus. Moreover, it better imitated the rhythmic pattern of the written-out text repetition that was to occur immediately after the terminal melisma on 'animo'; see the top of the following page on the transcription.

The second syllable of 'digneris' (D) did not occur in Sadler's older copy until a breve and a half after the initial syllable. In Willmott, recognising '-ne-' as the stressed syllable, he placed the syllable change on the g breve, giving it prominence by virtue of its higher pitch and by its note of greater length.

An initial look at concordant and divergent passages: the Triplex

Four readings of the Triplex part are included in the manuscripts featured in this study: two readings stem from the Henrician source, *Cp*, while the others date from the Elizabethan period, Sadler's *Ob E* and Baldwin's *Och*. From a preliminary glance of the transcribed comparison of readings, one will notice that several anomalous text substitutions had crept in during the course of scribal transmission over the years. Some of these include: the first word of the first entry of the Triplex part, where 'Ave' had replaced 'Anne'; the system before C, 'dei' replaced 'tui' in Sadler's reading; and so forth. While the majority of them did not affect the arrangement of syllables to the notes, in some cases they did; for instance, in the system following B, 'tanto opere' had been elided to 'tantopere', shortening the syllable count by one.

For an antiphon of this length, it may seem remarkable that certain passages (such as from N to O) remained fully concordant in all readings, while others (such as K to L) were filled with divergences. However, this was not by accident. Syllabic setting was the chief texting style of the sections where there was perfect concordance, and speaking broadly, when the amount of syllables was nearly

equivalent to the amount of notes, the copyist did not really have all that much choice on how the syllables ought to be arranged to the notes.²⁵ By comparison, the passages that had many divergences featured a considerable amount of texting with neumatic motion interspersed among the syllabic texts, and depending on the views of the scribe or the type of exemplar he was copying from, the neumatic extensions could be distributed among the other syllables of the phrase. In such passages, ligatures would have been of help in guiding the texting when they were available: see C, G, and K. Naturally, this would be entirely dependent on how faithfully a scribe transmitted the notation of the exemplar; Baldwin's *Och*, for example, contained hardly any ligatures whatsoever.

The variants in this part included those that were transmitted from the second version in *Cp*, and those that arose in Elizabethan manuscripts. Examples of the latter group are at B, D, and H. Terminal neumatic motion, be it of only one note or longer, was removed in these instances by placing the final syllable of the word under the final note of the phrase and the notes of the neumatic motion were attached to the stressed syllable of the word: at B, '-ca-' of 'sanctificata'; at D, 'om-' of 'omnium'; and at H, '-e-' of 'mulieribus'.

Examples of the former group include E, I, J, and O. At these instances, the scribe of *Cp* had already begun to modify a composition he had already copied once before with a view towards regulating the text-setting. At E, J, and O, what had been terminal melismata or neumatic movement in the earlier reading had been refashioned into a penultimate melisma or neumatic movement. The changes at I

²⁵ More drastic interventions could be carried out by a scribe who really wished to change the texting at a particular point; see the discussion of the Bassus part in Baldwin's *Och* below.

represents a particular instance in which a word was moved from the previous phrase to the subsequent phrase in order to improve syntax: 'ut pro peccatis nostroris nobis | condonandis' became 'ut pro peccatis nostris | nobis condonandis'.

The earliest and latest manuscripts: the Medius

The Medius part offers us the broadest perspective on how texting trends transformed in sixteenth-century England with six different readings spread over some 60 years, from *Lbl* (ca.1530), to Sadler's *Ob T* (ca.1591). From a stemmatic viewpoint, the reading in *Lbl* cannot have been too distant from the autograph source, since Tallis is thought to have composed *Salve intemerata* shortly before he began work at Dover Priory in 1530.²⁶ Since this is the earliest known manuscript that contains this antiphon, it shall be used as a point of reference for our discussion of the variants in later readings.

Notwithstanding a vestige of the old 'choirbook' style of texting where words are divided over a rest (C), a sensitivity for the stress patterns of the prose text is evident from the *Lbl* manuscript or exemplar from which it was copied. At A, for instance, all sources agreed that there was a written-out repeated line of text, 'semper quem post partum'. In all readings, the second iteration of the phrase was entirely syllabic, with stress arranged in this manner: '**semper quem post partum**'. *Lbl*'s first statement of these words arranged the neumatic motions in such a way so that it presented the identical stress patterns. All other sources (except *Och*; see below) stressed 'post' the first time by placing it on the highest note of the first phrase which

²⁶ Nicholas Sandon, ed., *Salve intemerata; Missa Salve intemerata* (Moretonhampstead, New Abbot: Antico Edition, 1995), iii.

also was a displaced thesis. Following this, they found their way to the end of the phrase through various methods: *Cp (i)* assigned terminal neumatic movement on the last syllable of 'partum'; *Cp (ii)*, *Ob E* and *Ob T* gave neumatic movement to the first syllable of the same word.

Linked closely with this sensitivity towards the natural prose stress patterns was the *Lbl* scribe's consistency in his treatment of words. D marks a passage of text with a written-out ditto: 'et corpore et animo'. While Elizabethan sources were not consistent with the treatment of the word — note that 'animo' was assigned a penultimate melisma the first time and a terminal melisma the second time — the Henrician sources were consistent; *Lbl* favoured penultimate melismata and *Cp (i)* and *(ii)* used terminal melismata on both occurrences of the word.

Also characteristic of *Lbl* was the change of a syllable after a note repetition within a phrase (as in 'quae nati' before B and again at 'secundum divinitatem' at L). Although this would become an important practice in the texting of the late sixteenth century, the readings of the Elizabethan manuscripts that were copied in those years paradoxically seemed content to continue through the repeated notes without the change of a syllable; presumably, the performers would have just rearticulated the vowel sound as in the cadence figures of Continental compositions. In the phrase before B, there was a considerable difference of opinion in how long of a terminal neumatic movement or melismata should be assigned to 'quae' and 'nati', having to accommodate an extra word that was not present in *Lbl*, 'sunt'. The majority of sources appear to have ignored the repeated note, except for *Cp (i)*, which used the repeated note to begin the last word, a monosyllable. At L, all other manuscripts save

Lbl had already reached the syllable that was to carry the melisma to the end of the phrase, ‘-ta-’, on the first of the two *e*’.

F marks the most divergently texted passage of the Medius part. *Lbl* uncharacteristically had two reverse accents in close succession ‘longe superasti’ and showed a rare occasion of the repeated note without a change of syllable. Perhaps in order to avoid the reverse accents, the *Cp* versions delayed ‘longe’ until dotted *d*’, leading ‘superasti’ to be placed on the highest note, which was arguably appropriate since ‘su-’ is a secondary accent of the tetra-syllabic word. They subsequently also made changes on the repeated *c*’ towards the end of that system. The later manuscripts kept the reverse accent on ‘longe’ and placed the stressed ‘-ra-’ of ‘superasti’ on the highest note, *g*’. Textual prosody was largely restored in the next phrase, and all the readings were once again concordant by ‘quod quod’ [‘quot quot’, in some readings].

In the discussion of the Triplex part, we have already commented on the peculiar transmission of this composition where certain lengthy phrases were perfectly concordant in all copies, while other phrases were considerably divergent. In a part with many readings such as the Medius, we may further observe that even in the divergences, the variants may be subdivided into two further categories: viz., variants that still bear the influence of the texting in earlier copies and variants that have been incorporated independently, be it by the scribe or the exemplar that he made his copy from.

From the first type, we have several examples in this Medius part. In the second phrase after F, for example, even though there were five separate arrangements of ‘impollute conscientia’ under the available music, all parts contained

a largely syllabic head, a melismatic middle, and a melismatic tail. At J, on the words '(que) miseris', the earliest reading in *Lbl* omitted the word 'que', and set the first two syllables of 'miseris' on a descending third with a dotted rhythm; *Cp* (i) and (ii) included the word 'que' and deferred 'mise-' by a distance of three semibreves, setting these syllables again to a descending third with a dotted rhythm. The later readings of *Och* and *Ob T*, although they could not retain the original rhythm still set the two syllables on notes that formed a descending third. There are also more subtle examples of this type of variant such as those at G and I, where the syllables '-di-' of 'primordio' and '-ri-' of 'mulieribus' were shifted to increase the prosodic nature of the word; and at H, where the start of a word was shifted in all copies, again to increase the prosodic sense of the end of 'infinem'.

Of the second category, there are the variants of Sadler at E and N in his later *Ob T*, where he repeated a single word, 'permanseris' and 'fine' respectively; we have already observed that this was his habit. Far more numerous, however, are the variants of Baldwin in *Och*. At A, he demonstrated his bypassing of the whole problem of deciding which syllables to assign neumatic movement to by adding in the three syllables of 'pareres', the final word of the previous phrase. This enabled Baldwin to give a fully syllabic setting of the first iteration and by design or by chance, the stress patterns agreed with those of the second iteration. At B, his uncharacteristic removal of a repetition, 'castissima' (contained in all other readings), led to his rather gross omission later on in the same phrase of the syllable 'in-' from 'incompactissima'; the two words 'incompactissima' and 'compactissima' mean very different things! At E, he showed his variant sense of the musical phrase: whereas the majority of the readings began 'permanseris' on *e*, Baldwin deferred it until the *a*. At

K, he used his ditto mark ambiguously, with no indication of which words were to be repeated, no motivic ‘hook’ on which to properly set his repeated text, and the elimination of ‘mortalibus’. N showed his much earlier beginning of the words ‘laudare mereamur’; and his variants climaxed at M, where his reading of the melisma was considerably different and an entire breve shorter than the readings in all the other selected manuscripts.²⁷

Of terminal figures and hockets: the Bassus

In no other voice part are terminal figures (i.e. neumatic motion, melismata) more visible than in the Bassus part. Of the six available readings, terminal figures are most numerous in *Cp (i)*. By the time *Cp (ii)* was being copied, they had already begun to be significantly modified into penultimate figures; see ‘intemerata’ (A) ‘virginibus’ (B), and ‘universas’ (I). *Cp (i)*, *Cp (ii)*, *Ob 1464*, and *Z* contain readings that standardised treatment of these words, giving them both either terminal neumatic movement or melisma, or antepenultimate neumatic movement or melisma, excepting where ligatures demanded they do otherwise; Sadler’s *Ob E* and Baldwin’s *Och* were less consistent in this respect.

In other instances (such as D, E, and L), all readings generally retained the terminal melisma, especially when there was another word following the melisma that completed the sense of the phrase: e.g. at D and E, ‘virgo omnium [melisma] que

²⁷ Although underlay was not really affected by this final variant — it was an extended melisma — I nevertheless mention it on account of its great departure from the majority of the other readings which were concordant.

nati [melisma] sunt; and at L, 'misericors patrona [melisma] es'. In this respect, the texting of this antiphon was being guided by syntax.

Another frequent figure featured at multiple instances in the Bassus part was the 'hocket', where a melodic line or word was abruptly interrupted by a single rest, resuming immediately after: see C, F, the end of the phrase of G, H, M, N, and O. In two cases only (C and G), the short addendum to the phrase occurred after the entire word had already been set, so they simply continued with an extension of the final syllable following the rest. In all other cases, however, they occurred before the last syllable of the word was set. This second type naturally caused some divergences between the readings as scribes— especially the prosodically-sensitive ones — struggled to make some sense out of this older style of composition.

At F, the hocket-rest interrupted 'incompactissima' at the midpoint of the word; three syllables occurred before the rest, three syllables occurred following the rest. In all readings, the minim rest prompted a syllable change. Although readings that were earlier and later than Baldwin more or less followed the manner of texting in the Henrician copies, this apparently was too outrageous for Baldwin to stomach. He therefore proceeded to prosodically divide the notes before the rest to allow two full iterations of 'incompactissima'.²⁸ His concept of texting preferred a repetition of a word to the odd-division of a single iteration.

Of particular interest, however, is that in all remaining cases (H, M, N, and O), Baldwin resumed the melisma following the rest with perfect ease. While other readings endeavoured to find some way of marking the rest through a change of

²⁸ Mateer has already highlighted this instance as an important example of Baldwin's attitudes to texting. Mateer, 'John Baldwin and changing concepts', 158.

syllable — at H, *Cp* (ii) proposed the partial repeat of a word, ‘-manseris’ and *Ob* 1464 deferred the arrival of ‘-se-’ of ‘permanseris’ until the minin following the rest; and at M, *Ob* 1464 and Sadler’s *Ob* E repeated the single word, ‘cristum’ following the rest²⁹ — there was oddly not the slightest hint of intervention by Baldwin in *Och*. Why, in these later instances, did Baldwin not react to the ‘hocket’ passage as he previously had at F?

The difference between these later occurrences of the ‘hocket’ was that the word or textual unit (e.g. *Jesum cristum*) had already reached its penultimate syllable, whereas in the case of F, the word was squarely divided in the middle. For Baldwin, then, it was not so much that he minded the hocket as a compositional device, but where it was placed and its effect on the text.

The regularisation of texting between parts: the Contratenor

In the first *pars* of the composition — that is, until the mensuration changes to *tempus imperfectum diminutum* at ‘*Tu nimirum*’ — the Contratenor part has no extended sections of rest and therefore plays multiple roles as other voices enter while others rest: at the opening of the antiphon, it forms the duet with the Bassus part; at ‘*Anne mulieris*’, it becomes the middle part in a trio texture; and at ‘*et dum eum conciperes*’, it takes its place among the four other voice parts in the full-parts texture.

Preceding this full-parts section, the transcribed comparison of readings shows a remarkable concordance among the various sources, except at phrase

²⁹ These are the only two readings that indicate a repetition of ‘cristum’ at this point; *Ob* 1464 through a ditto sign (://:) and Sadler by writing out the word in full. This adds further support to the theory that *Ob* 1464 may have served as Sadler’s exemplar.

endings. The words 'electa' (A) and 'virginibus' (B) mark the first divergence. In *Cp* (i), the earliest readings of both the Contratenor and Bassus parts, the words are not treated uniformly. While the Bassus part gives a penultimate melisma to 'electa' and terminal melisma to 'virginibus', the Contratenor part shows the exact reverse treatment of words: 'electa' has brief terminal neumatic movement and 'virginibus' has penultimate neumatic motion. Later sources appeared to be making some attempt to regularise the treatment of words between parts: *Cp* (ii) set 'virginibus' in the Bassus part with a penultimate melisma and this was in accord with what was taking place in the Contratenor part; Baldwin's *Och* set 'electa' in the Contratenor part to penultimate neumatic movement, making it congruent to the Bassus setting of the word; and Sadler's *Ob E* regularised both voice parts to set both words to penultimate melisma.

At 'sanctificata' (C) a similar penultimate neumatic movement takes place in all three Elizabethan sources on '-ca-', differing from the terminal neumatic movement that appeared in *Cp* (i) on '-ta'. However, the very same difference between the Henrician sources and Elizabethan sources is noted in the Triplex part. Though all Tenor parts are lost except for Sadler's, which unsurprisingly also has a penultimate melisma, we might wonder if this was an instance where the Tenor part of *Cp* (i) also contained a terminal melisma, as phrases that have a ligature towards the end have been known to carry terminal melisma or neumatic movement; see setting of 'castissima' at F, for example.

As the composition proceeds in the trio, into the full texture, and then moves into the second *pars*, the majority of the divergences in the readings address prosody in some fashion: at E, all readings after *Cp* (i) placed the stressed 'e-' of 'eum' on the

semibreve *e'*, which was simultaneously both the highest note of the phrase and a displaced thesis; I and J are instances where the dotted figure naturally lent itself to placement of an accented syllable and the readings took advantage of this by placing the stressed syllables of 'omnibus' and 'singulariter' on the minim on the note before the dotted minim, thus combining it with an anticipatory figure; while at D, the various scribes wrestled with the proper setting of 'gracia', whose stressed syllable was located on the lowest note of that phrase and also entered on an arsis.³⁰

The syllable-music alignment in *Cp (i)*, this voice part's earliest source, is rather suspect in three places. At G, L, and O, the initial syllable of a word was aligned with the final note of the previous phrase with the remainder of the word continuing after a rest. All other readings invariably began the word following the rest and completed setting the word before the phrase ended. Did the anonymous scribe of *Cp (i)* intend for the word to be divided over a rest or was this simply overlay misalignment on his part? If it was misalignment, there is no evidence of any correction nor are there hairlines which join the stray syllables to the beginning of the subsequent phrase.

As in other voice parts, Baldwin provides several unique divergences in the *Och* reading of the Contratenor part: these include the insertion of repeated words (H), the removal of repeated words and word units, 'castissima' (F) and 'tota vita' (one system after H), and the early arrival of words (in the phases leading up to L, beginning at 'quidem').

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³⁰ Unexpectedly, *Cp (i)* gives the clearest solution, while *Cp (ii)* rather unconventionally continues the syllable from before the rest, delaying 'gra-' until the *e'*.

Our examination of the individual voice parts of Tallis's antiphon have shown just how different texting of a single piece could be from one manuscript to the next. As the sixteenth-century progressed, so did the ideals of texting that we observed in an early form in *Llp*. Our examination has also shown that while some scribes were interested in fully 'updating' an older style of texting to suit their current times (e.g. Baldwin), other scribes did so warily, with an eye towards preserving some hint of the original.

Prosodic setting of the text, a standardised treatment of text in all voice parts, and maintaining the syntactical sense of the text — these were the hallmarks of vocal music in later sixteenth-century England. In the two Marian antiphons featured in this chapter, we begin to perceive how changes in texting attitudes took place: not all at once, but gradually through the 16th century.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

We may begin to interpret the data gathered in this study by sorting the eight sources into the three types of manuscripts which was described at the beginning of this study: in the first type of manuscript, by far the most common, a copyist adjusted the arrangement of text and music to suit his personal musical sensibilities;¹ in the second type, rarer than the first, a copyist corrected errors and resolved ambiguities that had been present in his exemplar; and in the third type, rarest of all, a copyist faithfully transmitted what he saw in his exemplar, including errors. Some of our manuscripts fall into more than one category.

The manuscripts that fall into the first category are the Baldwin Partbooks, the Dow Partbooks, and the Sadler Partbooks. By no coincidence, these are the three private sources that we examined in Chapter 6. In compiling a polyphonic collection exclusively for personal use, the scribes in all likelihood felt they were at liberty to impose their own vision of the ideal texting into the compositions they copied.²

The majority of the alterations made by Baldwin in his partbooks concerned the regulation of melismata to penultimate syllables of words and penultimate words of phrases. Whether the word or syllable was accented or not seemed immaterial; if

¹ However, he could have faithfully copied from an exemplar that had been already altered.

² This division between manuscripts created for personal use and those created for public use is most apparent in the sources to which Baldwin contributed. A 'formal' style of notation with lozenge-shaped note-heads was used for collections that were either created for someone else (e.g. 'My Ladye Nevells booke') or collections that he inherited (e.g. The 'Forrest-Heather' Partbooks, the Dow Partbooks). His 'personal' and more fluid style of notation with teardrop-shaped notation was reserved for his own partbooks.

the syllable or word was in the penultimate position, it was responsible for carrying the melisma. In addition to adjusting the texting in many older compositions to reflect this preference, he may have also added repetitions of text and phrases that were not present in his exemplar, especially in cases where a word was interrupted by a rest.

A similar preoccupation with the treatment of melisma is reflected in the Dow Partbooks. This scribe's appreciation for correct prosody and proper syntax made him hypersensitive to melisma in all its forms. He deliberately avoided them where he could by inserting phrase repetition, thus converting the melismatic passages into principally syllabic ones; and where melismata were unavoidable, he used the similar technique of word repetition to curtail them as much as possible. Like Baldwin, in cases where the texting of a word was interrupted by a rest, he elected to terminate the word before the rest and then select some other words to repeat after. His great care with prosody also led him to alter the rhythms found in his exemplars to appropriately weight the syllables.

The sources that fall into the second category, that is, wherein a copyist corrected errors that had been present in his exemplar are five in number: the Lambeth Choirbook, the Caius Choirbook, the 'Forrest-Heather' Partbooks, the Baldwin Partbooks and the Sadler Partbooks. Although no source can be identified as an exemplar for the two choirbooks of the 1530s, it has already been established both by previous research and the current study that they were copied by the same hand. Notational ligatures, which had implications for the texting at the time these sources were compiled, and the texting itself, strangely differed with some regularity in the concordances between the two sources.

While these differences might be passed off as a consequence of a casual scribal style, the underlay of Lambeth's *O maria plena gratia* in Lambeth supports an alternate view. In our comparison of this copy with the much earlier partial concordance from the Eton Choirbook, it was discovered that, behind the variants in the underlay of the Lambeth source, there was a substantial amount of logic at work. The alterations were aimed at improving the syntax of the text in all parts and at a more coherent setting of the words of the antiphon to the cantus firmus.

Similarly, the differences between the Lambeth and Caius choirbooks suggest that the 'musician based at Arundel' or 'singing-man...associated with both Arundel and Westminster' was likewise consciously making alterations, endeavouring to provide a clearer transmission of the compositions.³ In the choirbooks, a resolution of ambiguities was observed in Fayrfax's *Missa 'O quam glorifica'*. Finding the original speculative notation too complex for the average singer or only having access to a 'performing edition', the anonymous scribe copied a 'performing edition' into the Lambeth Choirbook, even though this copy was still undecided in certain passages about texting, evidenced by the textless passages in the cantus firmus of the Gloria and Credo. This 'resolution' of the original complex notation was then further refined before the scribe copied it into the Caius Choirbook, where the textless passage in the Credo appeared fully texted.

Because the Lambeth and Caius choirbooks were created approximately at the same time as the 'Forrest-Heather' Partbooks, it is unknown if the version of Fayrfax's *Missa 'Regali'* in the partbooks was in any way related to its concordances

³ See n. 24 on p. 68.

in the choirbooks. What is certain, however, is that Burgis's texting of the cantus firmus passages was less ambiguous than what appeared in the choirbooks. With the intention to provide all syllables that needed to be sung with a note of its own, he omitted the excess words that could not be accommodated. He also distributed the syllables more evenly in the long, melismatic lines of the freely composed parts instead of simply writing them 'en bloc' at the beginning of the phrase as the scribe of the choirbooks did. This approach of clearer, literal texting was continued in the second layer of the partbooks, with Forrest fully texting all of his compositions and manipulating the notation to provide for the extra syllables and clarify specific syllabic placement.

Differing from the three sources just discussed, the Baldwin Partbooks did not resolve any ambiguities that we know of, but corrected one obvious error that was present in his only known exemplar, the 1575 print of *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur*. In the Discantus print of [*Dum transisset*] *Sabaturn*, Tallis's composers misplaced two syllables which Baldwin corrected when he made his manuscript copy.

Though the Sadler Partbooks were named in the two preceding categories, I have deliberately avoided discussing the source, because of all the sources studied in this dissertation, it alone falls into all *three* categories. His partbooks may be reckoned as a collection of transmissions reflecting his personal texting tastes in that his fixation to make his copies as explicit as possible incited him, in most cases, to 'realise' the ditto marks that were present in his exemplar. Problematically though, his choices of what words or phrases to repeat were inconsistent: sometimes whole phrases were repeated while other times only a single word was repeated. As a

source correcting an error present in his exemplar, his copy of Tallis's setting of [*Dum transisset*] *Sabatum* also identified and emended the error of the print. Finally, as the sole candidate in the third category of a source wherein a copyist faithfully transmitted what he saw in his exemplar, including errors, a significant misplacement of a final syllable placed under the penultimate note instead of the final note in Tallis's *Salvator mundi* (i) was copied from the 1575 printed edition. Juxtaposing the last two categories, it is puzzling why Sadler would correct an obvious error in one case, and transmit it verbatim in the other.

The Eton Choirbook, and the Peterhouse 'Henrician' Partbooks, by default, might also be placed into the first category: the copies altered to suit personal taste. As their exemplars are unknown, we cannot determine whether the scribes of these sources resolved any ambiguities or if they faithfully transmitted what they saw.

Texting methods

Of our eight sources studied, underlay was used in the following sources; the first three confirmed by previous research, the last proven through a case study in this dissertation: the Eton Choirbook, the Lambeth Choirbook, the Caius Choirbook, and the second layer of the 'Forrest-Heather' Partbooks. Even though using this copying method meant that the text was added in after the music was already copied in, the scribes of the choirbooks nevertheless seemed to have had a fondness for placing the syllables at the end of phrases and melismata slightly off-centre under the final note. Their texting convention to indicate syllabic texting was to copy out the whole word without any syllabification, even if this meant that the text-music alignment was

slightly off.⁴ When words were written with space left between individual syllables, this indicated neumatic movement or a brief melisma. Long melismata were obviously indicated as the practice was to remove the final syllable from the word and place it under the final note at the end of the long musical phrase.

The scribes of the choirbooks were at times not very precise with their placement of syllables. Of course, this was of little consequence in syllabic passages with minimal neumatic movement, as it was not too difficult to infer their intentions. Where it did become problematic, though, was in passages that contained both syllabic and melismatic texting. In these cases, the situation was akin to that of Continental manuscripts where the set of words to be set was written out at the beginning of a phrase 'en bloc':⁵ the singer would only be aware of the beginning of the 'boundary' for a strand of text; the end of the 'boundary' was where the next set of words were written out, again 'en bloc'. The particulars of syllabic placement within these 'boundaries' were left to the discretion of individual singers or groups of singers.

Contrastingly, overlay was by far the prevailing method of copying where partbooks were concerned. Magister Burgis of the 'Forrest-Heather' Partbooks and the anonymous scribe of the Peterhouse Partbooks, John Baldwin, and Robert Dow all used this copying technique in their manuscripts; the first in this list was established through a case study in this dissertation; the rest confirmed by previous research. While the text was nicely spaced and legible because it was copied in first,

⁴ This was typically caused by narrow musical notation combined with wide lettering.

⁵ See especially the texting in the Mass movements of the 'Chigi Codex' (I-Rvat MS Chigi C.VIII.234), the 'Occo Codex' (B-Br MS IV-922), and the 'Choirbook for Philip the Fair and Juana of Castille' (B-Br MS 9126).

the music was commonly unsteadily copied and note spacing was determined by text. Particularly problematic were the melismatic passages where the scribes were required to estimate the amount of space they needed to copy in the notes above. More often than not, they underestimated and note spacing became extremely cramped as the end of the melisma approached.

As with the classification of sources, the Sadler Partbooks once more fall into a category of its own in its texting method. The precise placement of notes over the centre of syllables long and short while maintaining a steady spacing in melismata demonstrated the scribe's copying of text and music 'in tandem'. This seems to have been an innovative process in Sadler's time, for scribes generally copied either music or text first and then the other afterwards; it was not the practice to go back and forth between the two.

Cantus firmi and the treatment of melismata

The data gathered from the study of cantus firmi, our first topic of enquiry, has proved very fruitful in charting the changing methods in setting text to passages that quoted pre-extant melodies. The earlier style of composition stated the cantus firmus in intermittent fragments while the later style usually stated the entire melody in full. How a cantus firmus was texted had everything to do with how a cantus firmus was musically notated.

In the earliest examples of cantus firmi from the votive antiphons of the Eton Choirbook, the scribes were very careful to retain the original form of the chant. This led to an imbalance, for there was often a limited amount of notes and an abundance of syllables to set. Thus, the solution the scribes of the early sixteenth century arrived

at was to assign multiple syllables to each note. Often interrupted by lengthy rests between fragments, the cantus firmus melody did not allow for the complete text to be set, so specific words were chosen and written down while the remainder were omitted. Sometimes, words were even divided across the rests. The composer and scribe relied on the sensible judgement of the singers to divide the longer notes so that all the words that were written out could be sung.

The practise of choosing which words to retain and which to omit persisted in the first layer of the 'Forrest-Heather' Partbooks where, in the cantus firmus passages of Mass settings, only specific phrases of the Mass text were written out. Words and phrases that could not be accommodated were carefully selected for omission, as Latinate syntax was simultaneously attempting to be preserved. The very fact that the scribe even bothered to do this suggests that they intended *only* the words that were written out to be sung. Again, it must be reiterated that this conclusion is *in opposition* to the solutions that certain editors have provided in their modern editions; that is, that every word sung by all the other voices ought to be included while the cantus firmus is sounding.

In the last cantus firmus Mass setting of the second layer of the 'Forrest-Heather' Partbooks, the ostinato cantus firmus presented a case of fully complete statements. The cantus firmus was stated so often that there was sufficient music to set all the text. But, as we noted in the Alwood case study, verses and articles of the Mass Ordinary texts sometimes needed to be set to multiple statements because of the limited length of the cantus firmus. In other instances, individual words needed to be repeated to finish off any music remaining in a statement that had already been begun; this usually occurred towards the end of a section.

Following the Reformation, the composition of cantus firmus Mass settings effectively ceased and with it, all of the difficulties of adapting a different text (e.g. Mass Ordinary texts, votive antiphon texts) to a pre-existent melody. Shorter responsories from the late Henrician, Marian, and Elizabethan years typically stated the cantus firmus melody once, continuously, and in long equal notes, using its proper text. The freely composed voices repeated units of the cantus firmus text to make provision for the slower pace of the Tenor part derived from plainsong.

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The principal function of the melisma in the earlier part of the sixteenth-century was punctuation of a text; this was especially true of the protracted penultimate melismata. Typically, this would occur when the music was heading towards an end of a section, a major cadence, or a change in part-scoring. In the cases of the Browne and Wylkynson *Salve Regina*, for example, the opening and concluding melismata were examples of punctuating the acclamation, 'Salve' [Hail]. Passages containing the sacred name 'Jesu Christe' would also be subject to melismatic texting to underline its importance. The end of article 'viii' in the Credo of a Mass setting, 'et sepultus est', was a favourite text for composers to set to a protracted melisma, for the end of this text was both a significant cadence and typically changed from reduced-part scoring to full-part scoring at the first words of the next article, 'Et resurrexit tertia die'.

In the Eton Choirbook, which dates from the very beginning of the sixteenth century, melisma was not strictly regulated to a specific syllable of a word. A polysyllable word such as 'filie' could theoretically be texted with initial, penultimate, and terminal melismata before the word was complete. However, by

the time the Lambeth and Caius choirbooks were being compiled, the attitudes toward melismatic texting had shifted, and the preference for the penultimate melisma had already begun to take hold. In the Mass settings therefore, which followed a basically pre-defined structure, protracted melismata were confined to the penultimate syllable of polysyllabic words. The terminal melisma had also begun to be avoided where possible.

Yet even while these late choirbooks were moving towards a standardisation of their underlay practises, the early partbooks persisted in retaining the non-regulated methods of melismatic texting. The 'Forrest-Heather' Partbooks seemed to be a more reliable source of texting practices as its scribes accorded a significant amount of attention and effort to texting detail. Although Burgis sometimes misplaced the syllables as a result of using overlay, he nonetheless took great care in syllabifying his words. The texting in the Peterhouse Partbooks, 'Henrician Set' is more difficult to assess. Also using overlay, the scribe was quite liberal in his text placement and inconsistent with his occasional doubling of syllables. In spite of Sandon's view that the careful checking of the copies took place, there is the occasional ambiguity in the details of his texting. As our case-study of Marbeck's early Marian antiphon, *Ave dei patris* revealed, the scribe (or composer) was inconsistent with his treatment of melisma from one part to the next.

After the Elizabethan settlement, melisma lost its musical grammatical function of the early sixteenth century and took on a more ornamental function. Compositions of the period, exemplified in (but not limited to) the 1575 print of Byrd and Tallis, were much more syllabic, stretching to brief neumatic movement when necessary. Melismata were reserved for important words and specific points in the

compositions, such as the repetitions of 'Alleluia' in the settings of the Easter responsory, *Dum transisset Sabatum* and the transliteration of the Hebrew letters before each verse in a Lamentation. This reserved attitude towards the melisma was reflected in the partbooks of the latter half of the sixteenth century; a reservation which changed to distaste with increasing intensity as the close of the sixteenth century drew nearer.

Sadler, copying in the 1560s, preserved the majority of the melismata intact in his copies, but in his latter set, *Salve intimerata* [sic] contains a case of his elimination of melismata by insertions of repeated text. Baldwin's texting might be best perceived as a compromise between the preferences of Dow and the anonymous scribe of the Lambeth and Caius choirbooks; though he retained melismata, they were habitually regulated to the penultimate syllable of a word or penultimate word of a phrase regardless of the prosodic character of the words. His copies also show an evasion of words that continued over rests, repeating fragments of phrases and individual words to ameliorate this then-outmoded style of texting. The unequivocal preference for syllabic instead of melismatic setting reached its zenith in the copies of Robert Dow, who actively replaced melismata with repetitions of word units in order that the texting would sound as syllabic as possible. On the exceptional occasions when he *did* conserve the melisma, his treatment was inconsistent, such as his placement of the *circulatio* figures on different syllables of identical words in Byrd's four *partes motet*, *Deus venerunt*.

*

To summarise, between 1500 and 1590, the trends in the texting of a cantus firmus gradually changed from a fragmentary phrase with syllables that required

interpretation before realisation to a coherent phrase with syllables that were properly placed and could be sung as written on the page without necessitating further thought. The treatment of melisma went from functioning integrally as the punctuation to a composition's text to something that was best avoided and replaced with extra syllables. On occasion, however, it could be used for purely decorative purposes, but within reason.

Prosody, syntax, and text as a definition of form

Interlocked with the discussion of syntax of the texts set to music is the discussion of form. As we have observed in every case study of this dissertation, text defines form. In the earliest years of the sixteenth century, through-composed sacred compositions were typically arranged in two *partes* with the change of mensuration at the end of the *prima pars*. Principal forms of sacred composition, the votive antiphon and Mass setting, were constructed around a cantus firmus usually drawn from plainsong. Even though the amount of music that composers provided typically far surpassed the amount of syllables that needed to be set, repetition of text was not indicated.

Discussing the music of this period, Benham observed that 'the relationship between words and music was often a somewhat distant and casual one',⁶ and '[syllabic texting] sometimes reveals a close regard for matching the musical rhythm with the metre of the words through use of longer or metrically stronger notes for accented syllables than for weak ones.'⁷ Although the statements may initially appear to be contradictory, our detailed study has shown that Benham was correct in both

⁶ Benham, *Latin church music*, 37.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 60.

observations. It is true that music had very little to do with the text as far as representation was concerned. At the same time, however, syllabic passages showed a very close relationship with the notes taking on patterns of speech and the syllabic rhythms of words. The structure of the text that was set to music was also never in doubt, as different sections in the text were usually clearly delineated through sensitive scoring and variation of vocal forces. Melismata contributed integrally to this system, as the use of the protracted penultimate melisma signalled the approach towards a significant point in the text.

This awareness of linguistic patterns of stress on individual words or sets of words did not always extend to comprehensive syntax. The principal compositional focus during this period was the elaboration of acclamations and the highlighting of sacred names, not the conveying of logically complete phrases of texts. In the choirbooks, settings of the *Salve regina* and the *Et exultavit* typically had problems of syntax in three places: the opening 'Salve', and 'et Jesum' of the former, and 'Abraham' of the latter. These words were set apart from the rest of the text and treated with their own subsection or placed at the end of sections. The syntax was lost since these three phrases did not connect with the subsequent words: 'Salve [Regina mater misericordiae...]', 'et Jesum [benedictum fructum ventris...]', and 'Abraham [et semini eius]'.

In the late 1520s and early 1530s, compositions continued to retain the *tempus perfectum/imperfectum* bipartite structures and *cantus firmi* were still only employed in full-parts sections. In Mass settings, the principal two-section division in the Gloria and Credo movements was standard for all composers. Where they revealed their diverging interpretations of these common texts and how they

perceived them was indicated by their placement of subsections. Fayrfax, for example, commonly set a Gloria with two subsections in Section I and no subsections in Section II. Ludford, by contrast, favoured a Gloria with three subsections in Section I and two or three subsections in Section II. The divisions in Section I demonstrated Ludford's awareness of the textual structure and also a homage to traditional texting: the first subsection set only the first verse which completed the stich begun by the Celebrant's intonation; and the second subsection set all verses from 'Laudamus te', coming to a pause and full break in the music following 'Jesu Christe', recalling the Etonian practise of setting important names in a distinct manner. The division of Section II into two subsections provided a type of symmetry to Section I by detaching the final verse 'Cum Sancto' and 'Amen' from the rest of the Section. Less syntactically successful, however, was his triple-subsection division of Section II: for an unknown reason, 'Christe' was given a subsection of its own, broken off from 'Jesu'.

Taverner's Gloria appears to have followed a similar plan to Ludford's, further enhancing the symmetrical construction. His form of the Gloria detached verse 'i' from the rest of the text of Section I in a separate subsection and the remainder of the text was continuous until the end of Section I. Section II began and continued uninterrupted until the end of the antepenultimate verse. The penultimate verse and 'Amen' were placed in Section III with a change of mensuration.

The period from the eve of the Henrician Reformation until the Edwardian Reformation also saw the rise of concise compositions expressly designed for ferial use such as the *Ave Maria* and *Sancte deus* that open the Peterhouse Partbooks. These short and largely syllabic compositions are a stark contrast from the florid antiphons

of the Eton Choirbook, which were also designed for ferial use, yet was paradoxically incredibly elaborate in design. Short as these pieces were, they crucially show greater appreciation for syntactical integrity and prosodic rhythms; the sort of meticulous texting exemplified in Fayrfax's *Maria plena virtute*. Though some votive antiphon settings from this period still carried vestiges of the older practices as in Marbeck's *Ave dei patris*, the majority of the compositions were much more now being driven by syntax, rather than the emphasis of sacred names. Where a section ended and a new one began was defined by the textual narrative and not based on a pre-established mould, as in the past.

Following the Elizabethan settlement and the outlawing of the Latin liturgy, the interest of polyphonic composition shifted from fixed forms to the setting of free texts. This meant that motets could have more than two *partes*, and any texts that were sacred, though not necessarily liturgical, could be set. Especially notable genres that arose from this relaxation of restriction are the settings of verses from the Lamentations of Jeremiah and the motets setting complete psalm texts; *Domine, quis habitabit* foremost among them.

This final stylistic period of Latin-texted composition in sixteenth-century England showed a greater influence of Continental compositional ideas such as short points of imitation in music, minimal use of melisma, and above all, textual repetition. The latter was indicated in all publications and manuscripts, usually through *://* or *ij*, though the amount of text to be repeated was not always specified. Interaction of the music with the text was paramount, especially through representation of text and accordance between note lengths with vowel and syllable

lengths. The development of this style continued into the next century, especially in the Latin-texted compositions of Byrd.

The codification of texting conventions

Even if every composition in these eight sources were to be fully analysed, rules for texting in sixteenth-century England *per se* still could not be reconstructed.

The known and unknown scribes that we have encountered simply had far too many individual idiosyncratic habits. We are, however, able to present some general conventions that might be adhered to. They are divided into two sets:

Conventions for choirbook texting

1. Words written as whole words (i.e. not syllabified) suggests syllabic texting;
2. Melismata or neumatic movements may be expected to occur when there is some space before the next syllable;
3. Red text indicates a reduced scoring, and possibly a passage for soli;
4. Words or syllables that are set to two notes may be placed at an equidistant position between them — a certain amount of common sense must be exercised here;
5. Alignment of the syllables is generally slightly off-centre to the left;
6. Repetition of text does not typically occur unless written out in full; and
7. When working with cantus firmi lines with multiple syllables assigned to long notes, use the visual appearance to aid your realisation.

Conventions for partbook texting

1. Words may not be always syllabified as they ought;
2. When working from an overlaid manuscript, visual alignment may not be the best indicator of which note(s) is/are assigned to a syllable;
3. When alignment has been miscalculated in overlay procedures, look for any ligatures, angular slurs, braces, or hairlines as these may help to resolve ambiguity;
4. In later music, texting that is principally melismatic is not the norm;
5. One should try as best to create a syllabic texture throughout, filling up former melismata in older works with repeated units of text;
6. Where a protracted melisma is absolutely required, it should be carried out on the penultimate syllable; and
7. To correctly interpret ditto signs, some forethought is recommended so that one knows which words to repeat before the sign arrives.

*

The above suggestions are the most basic observations that have been gleaned from this study, but they are good starting points for any student or researcher who has never worked with sixteenth-century English music manuscripts before.

The long-term goal of generating a set of texting rules for compositions of the period will not be easily achieved, for many complications still need to be overcome. Foremost among these is the dearth of sources, especially in the earlier part of the sixteenth century, which makes it difficult to determine if a given scribe was transmitting a composition faithfully as it appeared in his exemplar, was transmitting the performance practice of his time, or was transmitting his personal

views on texting. In the few complete sources that are available, *unica* typically outnumber concordances. Authoritative and non-authoritative prints, which would have been viable points of comparison with manuscript readings, are likewise not available for music of the first half of the sixteenth century. The style of music in England was also notably less imitative than the music of the Continent of the period. Only in isolated cases can a motive associated with a particular set of words in one part be used to infer the texting of another part.

Greater quantities of texting data from many more manuscripts contemporary to the ones examined in this dissertation need to be scrutinised before embarking on the compilation of texting rules. Once this has taken place, one might follow the models of Zarlino and Stoquerus, studying in detail the texting of a few representative composers from each stylistic period. After a set of texting precepts are generated, they can then be divided into rules that are common to all English composers of the period, rules that apply only to composers of the older generation, and rules that apply only to the composers of the newer generation.

As this dissertation has shown, the data gathered from the minutiae of texting practices are not an end unto itself, but also a means for resolving many other musicological queries along the way, including manuscript compilation chronology. This research and the research yet to be undertaken will also guide editors in the future to produce better editions, which in turn will affect the manner in which these works are performed. But most importantly, it will aid us in fully and properly unravelling the principal unknown at the very heart of this study: how scribes and composers set Latin sacred texts in sixteenth-century England.

Appendices

APPENDIX A

Sample texting data chart

Domine, quis habitabit

GB-Och MS 979				
TEXT	Tallis	Whyte (i)	Parsons	
Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo	↓_o. d d d d d d d d d d d d d d d Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo tu d d d d d d. d d d d d d d d d o/ in tabernaculo tu o/	↓_o. d d m d d d d. d d d d d d d d d Domine quis habita bit/ quis ~ d d m d d d d d d d d d d d d d d d in tabernaculo tu d d d d d d d d d d d d d d d d d d d o/ in ta~ d d d d d d o	↓_o. d o m d d d d d d d d d d d d d Domine quis habitabit in taberna cu d. d d d d. d o d d d d d d d d d d d d d lo tu- o	
aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo	↑_d d d d d d d d d d d d d d d d aut quis requiescet in monte sancto in d d d d d d d d d d d d d d d monte sancto tu o	↑_o d o o o o o. d d. d d. d d d d d d d aut quis requiescet/ aut ~ d o m o d o o d. d d d d o m d d. aut quis ~ d d d o o o d d o d d d d te sancto tu o	↑_o d d d d. d d d d d d d d d d d d d aut quis requiescet in monte sancto d d d d d d. d d d d d d d d d d d d d tu o/ in monte ~ d o o/	
qui ingreditur sine macula	↑_o d d d d d. d d o d d d d d d o qui ingre ditur sine macula sine ma d d d o cu la	↓_d d d. d o. d d d d d d d d d qui ingreditur sine macula,	↓_o d d. d d d d d. d o m d d o d d qui ingreditur sine macula sine macu d. d d d. d d d d o d d. d d d d d. d d d d d la/qui in~ o o d d o la,	

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GB-Och MS 980

TEXT			
	Tallis	Whyte (i)	Parsons
Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo			
aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo			
qui ingreditur sine macula			

	 e approbriū/ nō acce pit nō ac ce pit adversus p ximos suos su os	 su os, adversus proximos suos. adversus ~ os/ adversus os/ proximos suos / proximos su os.	 adversus ~ os/ adversus os/ proximos suos / proximos su os.
--	--	--	--

GB-Och MS 982

TEXT	Tallis	Whyte (i)	Parsons
Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo	 Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo bit/ in tabernaculo tu o in taber in ta~ o	 Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo tu o/ in taber ~ o	 Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo tu o/ in taber ~ o
aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo	 aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo cet/ in mon te sanc to / in monte ~	 aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tu cet/ in mon te sanc to / in monte ~	 aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tu cet/ in mon te sanc to / in monte ~

--	--	--	----------

GB-Och MS 983

TEXT			
	Tallis	Whyte (i)	Parsons
Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo			
aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo			
qui ingreditur sine macula			
et operatur iustitiam			

	o o d o d d o o tur/iusti ci ā/			
qui loquitur veritatem in corde suo	↑ d d d d d d d d d d d d o d qui loquitur veritatē in corde suo o/ in d d d d o d d o o corde su- o	↑ d o d d o o o m o d d o o qui loquitur veritatem/ ve ri ta tem/ m d d d d d d o o d d o d d o in corde su o	↑ d d o qui loquitur, ↓ d d d d d d d d d d o o m qui loquitur veritatem in corde su o/	
qui non egit dolum in lingua sua	↑ d d d d d d d d d d o m qui nō egit dolum in lingua su a ↑ d d d d d d d d d o m qui nō ~	↓ d o d o o m o d d o o m d qui nō egit dolum qui nō egit dolum in d d o d d o d o o o m lingua su a. in ~ a	↓ o d d o o d d d d d o o o qui nō egit dolum in lingua su a, lingua su a. in ~ a	
nec fecit proximo suo malum	↑ d d d d d d d o d d o o nec fecit p ximo suo ma lū	↑ d d d d d d d d d o o o o o nec fecit proximo suo/ma o o lū	↑ d o d d d d o d d d d o o nec fecit proximo su o, o o	
et opprobrium non accepit adversus proximos suos	↑ d d d d d o d o o d d o o m e opprobriū nō accepit, nō ~ o d d d d d o o m d d d d adversus p ximos suos/ e opprobriū d d o o d d d o o m o d d d d nō accepit, nō ~ adversus p ximos d d o d d d o m su os su os.	↑ o d d d o o o o o o o o o o e opprobriū nō accepit nō acce~ m d d d d d d d d o o o o adversus proximos su m os.	↑ o d d d d d d d d d o e opprobriū nō acce pit ↑ d d d d d d d d d o o d d adversus proximos suos su os pro ximos su os proximos suos.	

GB-Och MS 979

305

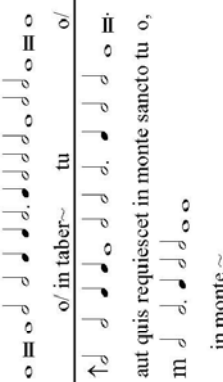
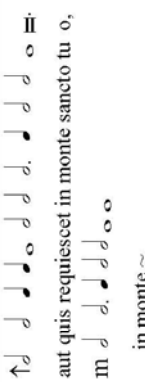
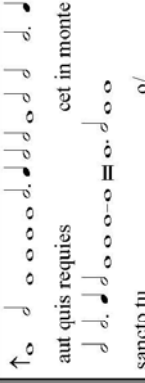
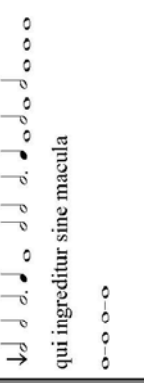
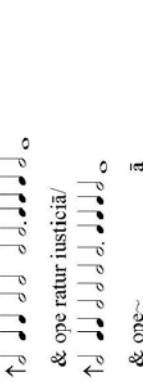
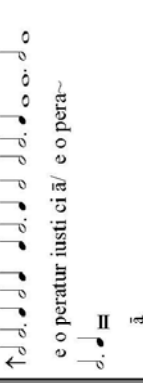
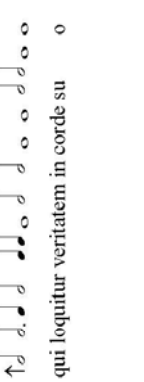
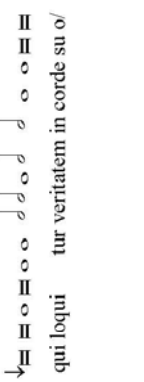
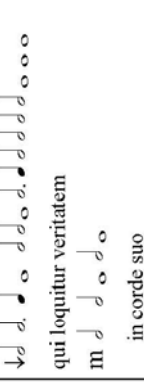
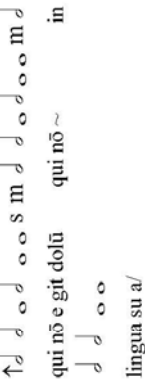
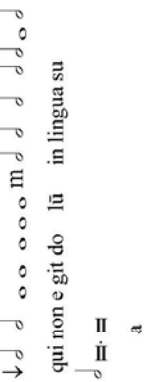
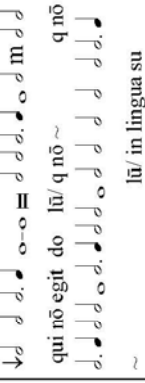
	<i>iusticiā</i> <i>& ope~</i>			<i>ā</i> <i>qui loquitur veritatē ve ri~ /</i> <i>in corde su o</i> <i>qui nō egit dolum in lingua sua</i>
qui loquitur veritatem in corde suo	<i>qui loquitur veritatem in corde suo- o/</i>	<i>qui loquitur veritatem in corde suo- o/</i>	<i>qui loquitur veritatem in corde suo- o/</i>	<i>qui loquitur veritatē ve ri~ /</i> <i>in corde su o</i> <i>qui nō egit dolum in lingua sua</i>
qui non egit dolum in lingua sua	<i>qui nō egit dolum in lingua sua a/ in lingua su a/ in~ /</i>	<i>qui nō egit dolum in lingua sua a/ in lingua su a/ in~ /</i>	<i>qui nō egit dolum in lingua sua a/ in lingua su a/ in~ /</i>	<i>qui nō egit dolum in lingua sua a/ in lingua su a/ in~ /</i>
nec fecit proximo suo malum	<i>nec fecit proximo suo o ma- lū ~</i> <i>malū / nec fecit ~</i> <i>lū</i>	<i>nec fecit proximo suo o ma- lū ~</i> <i>malū / nec fecit ~</i> <i>lū</i>	<i>nec fecit proximo suo o ma- lū ~</i> <i>malū / nec fecit ~</i> <i>lū</i>	<i>nec fecit proximo suo o ma- lū ~</i> <i>malū / nec fecit ~</i> <i>lū</i>
et opprobrium non accepit adversus proximos suos	<i>e opprobriū nō accepit adversus proximos suos/</i> <i>adversus ~</i>	<i>e opprobriū nō accepit adversus proximos suos/</i> <i>adversus ~</i>	<i>e opprobriū nō accepit adversus proximos suos/</i> <i>adversus ~</i>	<i>e opprobriū nō accepit adversus proximos suos/</i> <i>adversus ~</i>

TEXT

	↑ d d d o o m d d d d d o. d o m d in lingua sua/ in ~ a/ in d d d. d o ~	d. d d d o d a,	d. d d d o s s m d d d d d d d d o d o in lingua su a
nec fecit proximo suo malum	↑ d d d d d. d. d d d. d o d d d d m d nec fe cit proximo su o ma- lū nec d d d. d o m d o o o fecit ~	↑ d d d d. d. d o. d d d d d o d d o nec fecit proximo su o ma lū	↑ d d d d. d. d d d o d o. d d d d d o nec fecit proximo su o ma lū
et opprobrium non accepit adversus proximos suos	↑ d d d d. d d d d d. d o & opprobriū nō acce pit ↑ d d d d. d. d d d o d d o d d adversus proximos suos ↑ d d d d. d d o o s m d d d. d d d adv~ su- os.	↓ o. d d d o d d d o d d o d. d d o e opprobriū non acce d o s s m d d d d. d d d d d d pit/ adversus proximos su d d o m d d d d. d d o d. d os/ adversus proximos su d d os.	↑ d d d. d d d. d d d d d o d d d d m e opprobriū nō acce d o d d d d. d d d d o m d d pit ad vsus p ximos su os, adv d d d d d d d d sus ~ os.

GB-Och MS 983

TEXT	Mundie	Whyte (ii)	Whyte (iii)
Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo	↓ d. d d d d d o o m d d d. d d Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo d d o d d d d d d. d d o o d d o d d tu o/ in taber~ o/ ↓ d. d d d o o m d d d. d d d d Domine quis ~ in taber~		↓ d. d o d o o o d d o o d d d Domine quis habi ta bit d d d d o o. d d d o o d in tabernaculo tu o/

	 o' in taber~ tu o'			
aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo	 aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tu o, m			 cet in monte
qui ingreditur sine macula	 qui ingreditur sine macula,			 sancto tu o/
et operatur iustitiam	 qui ingre~ & ope ratur iusticiã/			 e o peratur iusti ci ã/ e o pera~
qui loquitur veritatem in corde suo	 qui loquitur veritatem in corde su o	 qui loqui tur veritatem in corde su o/		 qui loquitur veritatem m in corde suo
qui non egit dolum in lingua sua	 qui nō e git dolū qui nō~ in lingua su a/	 qui non e git do lū in lingua su a		 qui nō egit do lū/ q nō~ q nō lū/ in lingua su a

Thomas Morley's Sample Motet 2 in STC (2nd Ed.): 18133

PRIMA PARS

316

SECUNDA PARS

[illegible]

Quing vocum Secundapars.

Tenor.

Quintus.

Bass.

Quing vocum Secundapars.

APPENDIX C

Fayrfax's textual divisions in *Maria plena virtute*

The dropped capitals in the text below indicate where Fayrfax began a new section in his musical setting of this text.

MARIA plena virtute
Pietatis gratiae
Mater misericordiae
Tu nos ab hoste protege.
Clementissime Maria vitae
Per merita compassionis tuae
Pro nobis preces effunde
Et de peccatis meis erue.

Sicut tuus filius
Petiit pro crucifigentibus
Pater dimitte ignorantibus
Magna pietate.
Pendens in latronibus
Dixit uni ex hominibus
In paradiso cum patribus
Mecum eris hodie.

MATER dolorosa
Plena lacrimosa
Videns ruinosa
Filium in cruce:
Cum voce raucosa
Dixit speciosa
Mulier clamorosa
Filium tuum ecce.

Vertens ad discipulum
Sic fuit mandatum:
Matrem fuisse per spatium
Et ipsam consolare.
Et sicut decebat filium
Servum paratissimum
Custodivit praeceptum
Omnino servire.

DIXIT Jesus dilectionis
 Sitio salutem generis:
Audi orationibus nostris
 Tuae misericordiae.
O Jesu rex amabilis
Quid sustulisti pro nobis:
Per merita tuae passionis
Peto veniam a te.

JESU dicens clamasti
 Deus meus quid me dereliquisti:
Per acetum quod gustasti
Ne derelinquas me.
Consummatum dixisti:

OJESU fili dei
 In hora exitus mei
Animam meam suscipe.

Tunc spiritum emisit
Et matrem gladius pertransivit.
Aqua et sanguis exivit
Ex delicato corpore.
Post ab Aramatha rogavit
Et Jesum sepelivit
Et Nicodemus venit
Ferens mixturam myrrhae.

O dolorosa mater Christi
Quales poenas tu vidisti.
Corde tenus habuisti
Fidem totius ecclesiae.
Ora pro me regina caeli
Filius tuum dicens fili
In hora mortis servi tui
Peccatis suis indulge.
Amen.

APPENDIX D

Comparative transcriptions of *O Maria plena gratia*

Cue-sized notes indicate where the reading in GB-Oas MS 330 diverged from that of GB-Llp MS 1.

TENOR

A

C

dem
Llp
Oas

cu - ius
a - ni - man
tunc
tunc

a - ni -

B

mas
Llp
Oas

om - ni - um
mar - ti - rum
gla -

B

-di
Llp
Oas

us
quan - to
tan - to

a - cu - ci - us
per - tran - si -
per -

B

-
Llp
Oas

tran - si -
vit
mt

a - - mo

15

rem
Llp
Oas

su - per
ex - ce - dit

C

Lhp
Oas

So - la - cer - te - ma - ri -
so - la - cer - te - ma - ri -

Lhp
Oas

a - que - so - la - tunc - cre - di - dit - cris - tum de - um et
a - que - so - la - tunc - cre - di - dit - cris - tum de - um et

Lhp
Oas

ho - mi - nem
et ho - mi - nem

Bracketed sections in the texting of Oas indicate missing portions of music and text in the manuscript.

BASSUS

A

Hic vi - de - o ter - ci - um or - di - nem _____ le - ta - ni - e om - nes pa - tri -
ic ter - ci - um

B

ar - chas et _____ pro - phe - tas cum Jo - han - ne bap - tis - _____
cum Job

2

_____] _____ ta _____

3

psal - len - - - - tes et tri - pu - di - an - tes in _____]

3

ad - ven - - - - tu ma - - - - ri -
ma ri

83

Lp
Oas

- - - - - e
- - - - - e

Lp
Oas

su - um fla - gel - la - tum con - spu - tum co - ro - na - tum spi - nis
et fla - gel - la - tum con - spu - tum co - ro - na - tum spi - nis

Lp
Oas

af - fix - um cru - ci cla - vis et lan - ce - a per - for - ra - tum et mor - tu - um

Lp
Oas

tan - - - - -

APPENDIX E

Comparative transcriptions of *Salve intemerata Virgo Maria*

Cue-sized notes indicate where divergences occurred from the principal (and earliest) reading.

TRIPLEX

18 **A**

C♯ (i)
C♯ (ii)
Ob E

An - ne mu - li - e - ris sanc - tis - si - me sic a spi - ri - tu.

B

C♯ (i)
C♯ (ii)
Ob E

— sanc - to tum sanc - ti - fi - ca - ta tum il - lu - mi - na - ta fu - i - sti
sanc - ti - fi - ca - ta
sanc - ti - fi - ca - ta

C♯ (i)
C♯ (ii)
Ob E

mu - ni - ta - quan - to o - pe - re de i om - ni - po - ten - tis gra - ti - a
mu - ni - ta - que - tan - to - pe - re
mu - ni - ta - que tan - to - pe - re gra - ti - a

et us-que ad con-cep-tum fi-li-i tu-i de-i

ut

nos-tri

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob

Je-su Chris-ti

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob

e-um con-ci-pe-res

et dum e-um pa-pa

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob

re - res.

C♯ (i)
C♯ (ii)
Oboe E

D

sem - per quem post par - tum

vir - go om - ni-um que na - ti -
na

vir - go om - ni-um
 vir - go om - ni-um
res

C♯ (i)
C♯ (ii)
Oboe E

sunt

cas - tis - si - ma

in - cor-rupt -
in - cor - rup -

cas - tis - si - - - - - ma & in - cor -

C♯ (i)
C♯ (ii)
Oboe E

E

C♯ (i) tis - si - - - - - ma - - - - - et im - ma - cu - la - tis - si - ma - - - - -
 C♯ (ii) tis - si - - - - - ma - - - - -
 O♭ E tis - si - - - - - ma - - - - -
 O♭ rup - ti - - si - - - - - ma - - - - -
 O♭ cu - la - tis - si - - - - - cu - la - tis - si - - - - -

2

C♯ (i) et cor - po - re et a - ni - mo - - - - -
 C♯ (ii) a - - ni - - - - -
 O♭ E et cor - po - re et a - ni - mo - - - - -
 O♭ a - - ni - - - - -

F

C♯ (i) to - ta - - - - - vi - - - - - per - man - se - - - - -
 C♯ (ii) to - ta - - - - - vi - - - - - per - man - se - - - - -
 O♭ E to - ta - - - - - vi - - - - - per - man - se - - - - -
 O♭ to - ta - - - - - vi - - - - - per - man - se - - - - -

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob

se - - - - - ris
 se - ris
 ris

50 **G**

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob

Per - - - - - hec nos pre - cel - len - tis - si - ma
pre - cel - len - tis - si - ma
pre - cel - len - tis - si - ma
 gra - ci - e
 gra - ci - a

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob

ce - les - tis do - - - - - na - - - - -
 bi - - - - - ti - - - - -
 et ma - ter - - - - -
 et ma - - - - -
 et ma - - - - -
 & ma - - - - -

II

<i>Cp (i)</i>
<i>Cp (ii)</i>
<i>Ob E</i>
<i>Ocb</i>

$Cp(i)$
 $Cp(ii)$
 ObE
 Och

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Och

Cp (i)
 Cp (ii)
 Odb E
 Odb

Cp (i)
 Cp (ii)
 Odb E
 Odb

Cp (i)
 Cp (ii)
 Odb E
 Odb

I

- - - - - *trīs* *no* - *bis*
Cp (i) *Cp (ii)* *Ob E* *Ob*
trīs *trīs* *trīs* *trīs*
 con - do - nan - dis in - ter - ce - de -
no - *bis con-do - nan - dis*
no - *bis con-do - nan - dis*
no - *bis con-do - nan - dis*

5

re dig-ne - - - *ris*
Cp (i) *Cp (ii)* *Ob E* *Ob*
dig-ne *dig-ne* *ris* *ris*
 a - pud de - um pa - trem om-ni - po-ten -
dig-ne *dig-ne* *ris* *ris*

J

- - - - - tern - - -
Cp (i) *Cp (ii)* *Ob E* *Ob*
 e - ius - que fī - li - um - - -
fī *fī* *fī* *fī*
fī *fī* *fī* *fī*
fī *fī* *fī* *fī*

K

Je - sum Chris - tum se - cun - dum di - vi - ni - ta - tem
 di - vi - ni - ta - tem
 di - vi - ni - ta - tem

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob

L

qui - dem ex pa - tre an - te om - ni - a se - cu - la
 qui - dem ex pa - tre an - te om - ni - a se - cu - la

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob

M

ge - ni - ge - ni - ge - ni - la
 ge - ni - ge - ni - la

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob

N

C♯ (i)
C♯ (ii)
O♭ E
O♭

Se - cun - dum hu - ma - ni - ta - tem au - tem

tum
tum
tum

10

C♯ (i)
C♯ (ii)
O♭ E
O♭

ex te na - at - que a - pud spi - ri -

tum
tum
tum

C♯ (i)
C♯ (ii)
O♭ E
O♭

tum sanc - tum ut

C♯ (i)
C♯ (ii)
O♭ E
O♭

pec - ca - to - rum nos - tro - - - - rum

C♯ (i)
C♯ (ii)
O♭ E
O♭

ma - cu - lis tu - - - a ab - ster - sis - sis in -
 ab - ster - sis - sis
 ab - ster - sis - sis
 tu - - - a ab - ster - sis - sis

C♯ (i)
C♯ (ii)
O♭ E
O♭

- ter - ces - si - o - - - - ne te - cum - san - cta - vir - go -
 te - cum - sanc - ta - vir - go sem -
 vir - go sem -

Cp (i) — *-go* *per*
Cp (ii) *per*
Ob E
Ocb

Cp (i) *rum*
Cp (ii) *rum*
Ob E *rum*
Ocb *rum*

Cp (i) *mur*
Cp (ii) *mur*
Ob E *mur*
Ocb *mur*

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob

men

MEDIUS

46

A

C

et

ma

ma

ma

ma

ma

et

D

cor-po-re et a-ni-mo et cor-po-re et-
a-ni-mo a-ni-mo

Lbl
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

E

to-ta vi-ta per-man per-man
a-ni-mo a-ni-mo
a-ni-mo a-ni-mo
a-ni-mo a-ni-mo

Lbl
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

ce-se ris man-se ris
ris ris
ris ris
ris ris

Lbl
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob T

Lbl
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

Lbl
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

G

Lbl
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob T

H

Lbl
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob T

12

Lbl
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob T

Lb
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

vir - go et ma - ter ma - ri - a pre - ce - te - ris om - ni - bus mu - li -
 mu - lie - mu - lie - mu - li -

I

Lb
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

e - ri - bus et vir - gi - ni - bus a de - o sin - gu - la - ri - ter in -

Lb
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

fu -

Lbl
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

Lbl
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

Lbl
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

LbL
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

ut - pro pec - ca - tis nos -

LbL
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

no - bis con - do - nan - dis - in - ter - ce - de - re - in - ter - ce - de - re -

LbL
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

dig - ne - ris a - pud de - um pa - trem om - ni - po - ten -

Lbl
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

Lbl
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

Lbl
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

LbL
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

qui - dem ex pa - - tre an - te om - ni - a se - cu - - la se - - cu - - la

LbL
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

ge - ni - - - - - tum. ge - ni - - - - - tum.

LbL
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

Se - cun - dum hu - ma - ni - ta - tem - - - - - te - na - - - - - te - na - - - - -

11

Lbl tum
Cp (i) tum
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

12

Lbl ut
Cp (i) nos
Cp (ii) tro
Ob E nos
Ob tro
Ob T tro

13

Lbl ma
Cp (i) cu
Cp (ii) lis
Ob E tu
Ob a
Ob T a

L'Alceste
Op. 11
Op. 12
Ob. E
Ob. F
Ob. T

Lbl
Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob T

CONTRATENOR

Sal - ve in - te - me - ra - ta vir - go Ma - ri - a fi - li - i

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob Sch

de - i ge - ni - trix pre ce - te - nis e - lec - ta vir - gi - ni bus que ex

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob Sch

e - lec - ta
e - lec - ta
e - lec - ta
vir - gi - ni - bus

u - te - ro tu - e ma

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob Sch

4

C

Cp (i) trīs - - - Sic a spi - ri - tu san - cto tum sanc - ti - fi - ca -
Cp (ii) sanc - ti - fi - ca -
Ob E sanc - ti - fi - ca -
Ob sanc - ti - fi - ca -
Ob Sdb

Cp (i) tum - il - lu - mi - na - ta - fu - is - ti mu - ni -
Cp (ii) - ta - - - - - mu - ni -
Ob E - ta - - - - - mu - ni -
Ob - ta - - - - - mu - ni -
Ob Sdb - ta - - - - - mu - ni -

D

Cp (i) de - i om - ni - po - ten - tis gra - ci - a -
Cp (ii) ta - que o - pe - re om - ni - po - ten - tis gra - a -
Ob E ta - que tan - to - pe - re om - ni - po - ten - tis gra - a -
Ob ta - que tan - to - pe - re om - ni - po - ten - tis gra - a -
Ob Sdb ta - que tan - to - pe - re om - ni - po - ten - tis gra - a -

Cp (i) —
Cp (ii) —
Ob E —
Ob —
Ob Sdb —

ut us - que ad con - cep - tum fi - li - i tu - i Do - mi - ni nos - tri Je - su
 Chris -
 Chris -
 Chris
 Chris

Cp (i) —
Cp (ii) —
Ob E —
Ob —
Ob Sdb —

ti - ti - ti - ti

Cp (i) —
Cp (ii) —
Ob E —
Ob —
Ob Sdb —

et dum e - dum um con - ci - pe - res ac - us - que ad par - tum et

sem - per quem post vir - go om - ni - um — que na - ti — — — — — ti — — — — —

Cp (ti)
Cp (ti)
Ob E
Ob
Ob Sch

F

sunt _____

G

cas - tis - si - ma _____
cas - tis - si - ma
cas - tis - si - ma _____
cas - tis - si - ma _____

Cp (f)
Cp (ff)
Ob E
Oob
Ob Sch

Cp (i) si - - - ma
Cp (ii) in - ma - cu - la - tis - si
Ob E im - ma - cu - la - tis - si
Ob Sdb im - ma - cu - la - tis - si
 ma
 ma
 ma
 ma

Cp (i) et cor - po-re et a - ni-mo
Cp (ii) a - ni-mo
Ob E a - ni-mo
Ob Sdb a - ni-mo & a - ni - mo

Cp (i) to - ta - vi - ta
Cp (ii) to - ta - vi - ta
Ob E to - ta - vi - ta
Ob Sdb to - ta - vi - ta

C♯ (i) ta per man - se - - - - - ris
C♯ (ii) ta per - man - se - - - - - ris
Obo E - - - - - ris
Obo - - - - - ris
Obo S - - - - - ris

50

C♯ (i) Per hec nos - - - - - tis - si - ma
C♯ (ii) pre - - - - - tis - si - ma
Obo E pre - - - - - tis - si - ma
Obo pre - - - - - tis - si - ma
Obo S pre - - - - - tis - si - ma

C♯ (i) ma - - - - - tis do - na - - - - - et ma -
C♯ (ii) ma - - - - - tis do - na - - - - - et ma -
Obo E ma - - - - - tis do - na - - - - - et ma -
Obo ma - - - - - tis do - na - - - - - et ma -
Obo S ma - - - - - tis do - na - - - - - et ma -

[illegible]

J

— a de o sin - gu - la - ri - ter in - fu - ter in - fu - ter sin - gu - la - ri - ter sin - gu - la - ri - ter

Cp (i)
Cp (ii) *-bus*
Ob E bus
Ob
Ob Sch *bus*

[illegible]

3

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob Sdb

K

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob Sdb

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob Sdb

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob Sdb

dis in - ter - ce - de - re - dig - ne - ris

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob Sdb

a - pud de - um pa - trem om - ni - po - ten -

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob E
Ob
Ob Sdb

e - ius - que fi - li -
 & us - que fi - li -
 fi - li

Cp (i) - um - Je - sum Chris - tum se - cun - dum di - vi - ni -
Cp (ii) - - - - - *um* - - - - - *di - ni -*
Ob E - - - - - *um* - - - - - *di - vi - ni -*
Ob Sch - - - - - *um* - - - - - *di - vi - ni -*

Cp (i) ta - - - - - tem - - - - - qui - dem ex pa - - - - - tre an -
Cp (ii) ta - - - - - tem - - - - -
Ob E ta - - - - - tem - - - - -
Ob Sch ta - - - - - tem - - - - -

Cp (i) - tre an - te om - ni - a - se - cu - la -
Cp (ii) an - te om - ni - a - se - cu - la -
Ob E om - ni - a - se - cu - la -
Ob Sch an - te om - ni - a - se - cu - la -

C♯ (i)
C♯ (ii)
Oboe E
Oboe Sdb

ge - ni - - - - - tum

ge - ni - tum

C♯ (i)
C♯ (ii)
Oboe E
Oboe Sdb

Se - cun - - - - - dum

hu - ma - - - - - ni - ta - - - - - tem

hu - ma - - - - - ni - ta - - - - - tem

hu - ma - - - - - ni - ta - - - - - tem

C♯ (i)
C♯ (ii)
Oboe E
Oboe Sdb

au - - - - - tem

ex - - - - - te - - - - - na - - - - - tum

te - - - - - na - - - - - tum

te - - - - - na - - - - - tum

te - - - - - na - - - - - tum

C♯ (i) at - que a - pud spi - ri - tum sanc - tum ut pec - ca - to -
C♯ (ii) *phi* - - - - - *sanc* - - - - -
Ob E spi - ri - tum sanc - tum tum
Ob Sch spi - ri - tum sanc - tum tum
Ob Sch spi - ri - tum sanc - tum tum

N

C♯ (i) rum ma - cu - lis tu - a - ab -
C♯ (ii) rum tu - a - ab -
Ob E rum tu - a - ab -
Ob Sch rum tu - a - ab -
Ob Sch rum tu - a - ab -

O

C♯ (i) - a - ster - in - ter - ce - si - o - ne -
C♯ (ii) - a - ster - in - ter - ces - si - o - ne -
Ob E - a - ster - in - ter - ces - si - o - ne -
Ob Sch - a - ster - in - ter - ces - si - o - ne -
Ob Sch - a - ster - in - ter - ces - si - o - ne -

Cp (i) —
Cp (ii) —
Ob E —
Ob —
Ob Sdb —

te - cum sanc - ta vir - go sem - per con - gau - de - - - - -
 sem - per sem - per sem - per con - gau - de - - - - -

p

Cp (i) —
Cp (ii) —
Ob E —
Ob —
Ob Sdb —

-re te que in reg - no - ce - lo - - - - - rum - - - - -
 reg - no - ce - lo - - - - - rum - - - - -
 te que in reg - no - ce - lo - - - - - rum - - - - -
 reg - no - ce - lo - - - - - rum - - - - -

Cp (i) —
Cp (ii) —
Ob E —
Ob —
Ob Sdb —

si - ne fi - ne lau - da - re me - re - a - - - - -
 si - ne fi - ne me - re - a - - - - -
 si - ne fi - ne me - re - a - - - - -
 si - ne fi - ne me - re - a - - - - -

C♯ (i)
C♯ (ii)
Oboe E
Oboe
Oboe Sdb

C♯ (i)
C♯ (ii)
Oboe E
Oboe
Oboe Sdb

C♯ (i)
C♯ (ii)
Oboe E
Oboe
Oboe Sdb

TENOR

17

Ob E
W

Ob E
W

Ob E
W

Ob E
W

A

Ob E
W

U

Ob E
W

et cor - po-re et a - ni - mo. — to - ta vi - - ta — per - man

Ob E
W

se - ris — Tu — ni - mi - rum u - ni - ver -

Ob E
W

sas a - li - as lon - ge — su - pe - ra - sti vir - gi - nis — sin -

Ob E
W

ce - ra men - tis im - pol - lu - te con - sti - en - ti - a — con - sti - en - ti - a

Ob E
W

quot-quot vel ad - huc fu - e - - - runt — ab ip - so mun

Ob E
W

di pri - mor-di - o vel un - quam fu - tu - - - re — sunt

Ob E
W

us - que in fí - nem — mun - - - - -

45

Ob E
W

di Te pre - ca - mur que mi - se - - - - -

Ob E
W

ris mor - ta - li - bus mi - se - ri - cors pa - tro - na — es

Ob E
W

mi - se - ri - cors pa - tro - na - - - - - ut pro — pec - ca - - tis nos - -

D

Ob E
W

tris no - bis con-do-nan - dis in - ter - ce - de - re — dig - -
dig - ne -

E

Ob E
W

- ne - ris A - pud de - um — pa - - trem — om - ni - po - ten - -
ris om - ni - po - ten - tem —

Ob E
W

om - ni - po - ten - e - ius - que fi - li -

tem - tem -

Ob E
W

um - Jhe - sum cris - tum - se - cun - dum di - vi - ni - ta -

aris - tum

Ob E
W

qui - dem - ex pa - tre

tem -

Ob E
W

an - te om - ni - a se - cu - la ge - ni -

Ob E
W

tum

Ob E
W

11

Se - cun - dum hu - ma - ni - ta - tem au - tem ex - te - na -

[MS Lost]

4

Ob E - - - - - tum at - que a - pud spi - ri - tum sanc -

Ob E - - - - - ut - pec - ca - to - rum nos - tro - rum ma - cu - lis

Ob E tu - - - - - a - ab - ster - sis in - ter - ces - si - o -

Ob E - ne - - - - - te - cum sanc - ta - vir - go sem - per - con - gau - de -

Ob E - - - - - re - te - que in reg - no - ce - lo - rum -

Ob E - - - - - si - ne fi - - - - - ne - lau - da - re me - re - a - mur lau - da -

The musical score is written for Oboe (Ob E) and includes vocal lines. The first system shows a vocal line with the lyrics "re me - re - a" and an instrumental line. The second system shows a vocal line with the lyrics "mur a" and an instrumental line. The third system shows a vocal line with the lyrics "men." and an instrumental line. The instrumental lines are written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. The vocal lines are written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. The instrumental lines are written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature.

Ob E

re me - re - a

mur a

men.

Ob E

BASSUS

A

Sal - - - - - ve in - te - me - ra - ta - - - - - vir - go Ma - ri - a fi - li - i de - i

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E
Ob
Z

B

ge - ni - trix pre - ce - te - ris e - lec - - - - - ta vir - gi - ni - bus - - - - - quae ex u - te

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E
Ob
Z

ro - tu - e ma - - - - - ma - - - - - ma - - - - - ma - - - - - tris, tris, tris, tris

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E
Ob
Z

28

Et dum e - um con - ci - pi - res ac

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E
Ob
Z

us - que ad par - tum et dum e - um par - e - res

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E
Ob
Z

par - - - tum - pa - ra - - - res

C

sem - per quem post par - tum

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E
Ob
Z

D

vir - go - om - ni - um
vir - go
 vir - go om - ni - um
 vir - go om - ni - um
 vir - go om - ni - um

E

C♯ (i) — que na - ti — sunt — cas - tis - si - ma in - cor -

C♯ (ii) — *que* — na - le — — — — — in

Ob 1464 — que na - ti — — — — — in

Ob E — que na - ti — — — — — *in - cor - rup - tis -*

Ob — *um* — — — — — in

Z — — — — — cor -

G

C♯ (i) — et im - ma - cu - la - tis - si — — — — —

C♯ (ii) — *im - ma* — cu - la - tis - si — — — — —

Ob 1464 — im - ma — cu - la - tis - si — — — — —

Ob E — im - ma — cu - la - tis - si — — — — —

Ob — im - ma — cu - la - tis - si — — — — —

Z — im - ma — cu - la - tis - si — — — — —

C♯ (i) — et cor - po - re et a - ni - mo — — — — —

C♯ (ii) — *ma* — — — — —

Ob 1464 — — — — —

Ob E — — — — —

Ob — — — — —

Z — — — — —

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E
Ob
Z

mo

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E
Ob
Z

H

to - ta vi - ta

per - man
per - *man* - se
 per - man
per - *man* - se
 per - man
per - *man* - se

ris - se - ris,
ris - *man* - se - *ris*,
 ris - *ris*,
 ris - *ris*,
 ris - *ris*

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E
Ob
Z

I

Tu mi - mi - rum u - ni - ver - sa - li - as lon - ge

u - ni - ver - sa - li - as
u - *ni* - ver - sa - li - as
 u - ni - ver - sa - li - as
u - *ni* - ver - sa - li - as

sas - sas
sas - *sas*
 sas - sas
sas - *sas*

J

Cp (i) su - pe - ra - sti vir - gi - nes im - pol - lu - te
Cp (ii) su - pe - ra - sti vir - gi - nes
Ob 1464 su - pe - ras - ti vir - gi - nes
Ob E su - pe - ra - sti vir - gi - nes
Ob su - pe - ra - sti vir - gi - nes
Z

Cp (i) con - si - en - ci - a con - si - en - ti - a quot - quot vel huc fu - e
Cp (ii) - - - - -
Ob 1464 - - - - -
Ob E - - - - -
Ob - - - - -
Z

Cp (i) - runt - - - - - ab ip - so mun - di pri-mor-di - o vel
Cp (ii) - - - - -
Ob 1464 - - - - -
Ob E - - - - -
Ob - - - - -
Z

L

mi - se - ri - cors pa - tro - na es mi - se - ri - cors pa - tro - na

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E
Ob
Z

ut pro pec - ca - tis no - stris

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E
Ob
Z

no - bis con - do - nan dis in - ter - ce -

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E
Ob
Z

7

Cp (i) - de-re dig-ne - - - ris. a - pud de - um pa - trem om-
Cp (ii) - de-re dig-ne - - - ris. a - pud de - um pa - trem om-
Ob 1464 - de-re dig-ne - - - ris. a - pud de - um pa - trem om-
Ob E - de-re dig-ne - - - ris. a - pud de - um pa - trem om-
Ob - de-re dig-ne - - - ris. a - pud de - um pa - trem om-
Z - de-re dig-ne - - - ris. a - pud de - um pa - trem om-

Cp (i) ni - po-ten - tem e - ius - que fi - li - um Je - sum Chris -
Cp (ii) ni - po-ten - tem e - ius - que fi - li - um Je - sum Chris -
Ob 1464 ni - po-ten - tem e - ius - que fi - li - um Je - sum Chris -
Ob E ni - po-ten - tem e - ius - que fi - li - um Je - sum Chris -
Ob - ni - po-ten - tem e - ius - que fi - li - um Je - sum Chris -
Z ni - po-ten - tem e - ius - que fi - li - um Je - sum Chris -

M

3

Cp (i) - - - - - tum se-cun - dum di - vi - ni - ta - tem qui - bus
Cp (ii) - - - - - tum se-cun - dum di - vi - ni - ta - tem qui - bus
Ob 1464 - - - - - tum se-cun - dum di - vi - ni - ta - tem qui - bus
Ob E - - - - - tum se-cun - dum di - vi - ni - ta - tem qui - bus
Ob - - - - - tum se-cun - dum di - vi - ni - ta - tem qui - bus
Z - - - - - tum se-cun - dum di - vi - ni - ta - tem qui - bus

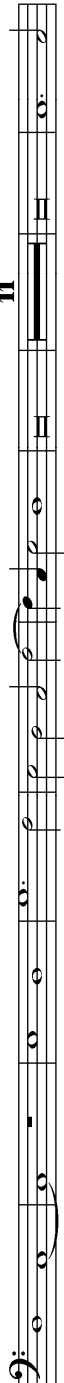
Cp (i) - ex pa - - - tre an - te om - ni - a se - cu - - -
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E - - -
Ob
Z - - -

N

Cp (i) la ge - ni - - - ge - ni - - - ge - ni - - - ge - ni - - - ge - ni - - -
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E - - -
Ob
Z - - -

10

Cp (i) Se - - - cum - - - dum - - - hu - ma - ni - - -
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E - - -
Ob
Z - - -



Cp (i) ta - tem an - te ex te na - - - tum ut pec - ca -

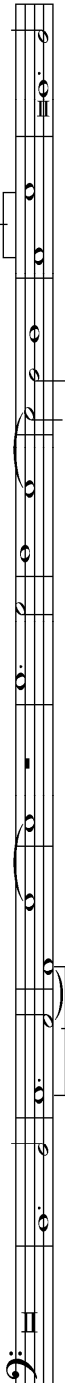
Cp (ii)

Ob 1464

Ob E

Ob

Z



Cp (i) to - rum nos - tro - rum ma - cu - lis tu - a ab - ab - ab -

Cp (ii)

Ob 1464

Ob E

Ob

Z



Cp (i) ster - sis in - ter - ces - si - o - - - ne

Cp (ii)

Ob 1464

Ob E

Ob

Z

te - cum sanc - ta vir - go sem - per - re - te -

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E
Ob
Z

que in reg - no - ce - lo - - - - - rum - - - - - si - ne fi - ne -

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E
Ob
Z

lau - da - - re - me - re - a - - - - - lau - da - - re me - re - a - - - - -

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E
Ob
Z

- - - - - a - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
 - - - - - mur - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
 - - - - - mur - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
 -
 - - - - - A - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
 - - - - - A - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
 - - - - - Z - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E
Ob
Z

-
 -
 -
 -
 -
 -
 -

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E
Ob
Z

-
 -
 -
 -
 -
 -
 -

Cp (i)
Cp (ii)
Ob 1464
Ob E
Ob
Z

men

**LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS,
ALPHABETICAL BY LIBRARY SIGLA**

Great Britain [GB]

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library [Cgc]

‘Caius Choirbook’

MS 667/760

Choirbook

Cambridge, Peterhouse, Perne Library [Cp]

‘Henrician Partbooks’

MS 31

Contratenor

MS 32

Bassus

MS 40

Triplex

MS 41

Medius

Chelmsford, Essex Record Office [CF]

MS D/DP Z6/1

Bassus

London, British Library [Lbl]

Harley 1709

Medius

Royal Appendix 56

Bassus

London, Lambeth Palace Library [Llp]

‘Lambeth Choirbook’

MS 1

Choirbook

Oxford, Bodleian Library [Ob]

‘Sadler Partbooks’

MS Mus. e. 1

Triplex

MS Mus. e. 2

Medius

MS Mus. e. 3

Contratenor

MS Mus. e. 4

Tenor

MS Mus. e. 5

Bassus

‘Forrest-Heather Partbooks’	
MS Mus. Sch. e. 376	Triplex
MS Mus. Sch. e. 377	Medius
MS Mus. Sch. e. 378	Contratenor
MS Mus. Sch. e. 379	Tenor
MS Mus. Sch. e. 380	Bassus
MS Mus. Sch. e. 381	Sexta pars
MS Mus. Sch. e. 423	Contratenor
MS Tenbury 1464	Bassus
‘Braikenridge Manuscript’	
MS Tenbury 1486	Tenor
<i>Oxford, All Souls Library [Oas]</i>	
MS 330	Choirbook (fragments)
<i>Oxford, Christ Church Library [Och]</i>	
‘Baldwin Partbooks’	
Mus. 979	Superius
Mus. 980	Medius
Mus. 981	Contratenor
Mus. 982	Sexta pars
Mus. 983	Bassus
‘Dow Partbooks’	
Mus. 984	Superius
Mus. 985	Medius
Mus. 986	Contratenor
Mus. 987	Tenor
Mus. 988	Bassus
<i>Spetchley (Worcester), Private Library of R. J. Berkeley [SPberkeley]</i>	
‘Willmott Manuscript’	Contratenor
<i>Windsor, Eton College Library [WRec]</i>	
‘Eton Choirbook’	
MS 178	Choirbook

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