



ANNUAL BYRD NEWSLETTER

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EDITORIAL

'It used to be said that the peaks of musical development were represented by the three B's: Bach, Beethoven and Brahms. Representing the peak of pre-Bach development there stands a fourth B. His name is Byrd.' *E. H. Fellowes*

During a truly astounding recital on BBC Radio on 25 January, the legendary Russian pianist Grigory Sokolov played six pieces by Byrd followed by Beethoven's sonata op. 2 no. 3. The six Byrd pieces were the Pavana and Galliard in d (T506, BK52), Alman in g (T431, BK11), *Preludium to the Fancie, Clarifica me Pater (II)* and *Qui passe*.

If, like me, you are an authenticist, this is the sort of recital you dread, wherein early music is played in an anachronistic style, on an anachronistic instrument... sounding glorious and moving you deeply. It is, of course, the case that Byrd's keyboard music was composed for the harpsichord, virginals or organ of his time. Had the piano been available, Byrd would have composed his pieces in some, but not all, respects differently. The harpsichord did not develop into the piano; not only are the two instruments differently constructed, they also require different styles of playing and therefore of composition. Nevertheless the world is as it is. The harpsichord has been revived but the piano predominates. If we love the music more than we love the style in which it is performed, we have to be tolerant of performances in media other than those for which the composer intended it. It is vital that an authentic performing tradition continues and thrives, and that scholars continue to research how early music was intended to be performed. Thanks to this interplay of performers and scholars we now have such glories as the ASV *Byrd Edition* on disc. But it is excellent that pianists such as Sokolov, Glenn Gould and Joanna MacGregor wish to play and record Byrd. The piano has a wider expressive range than the harpsichord, and it is pointless not to exploit what it has to offer. Nevertheless it is possible to perform Byrd on the piano, Bach on modern strings, Handel with a large choir and Tallis with female singers in a style which is true to the original conception.

Some performers claim that they have the integrity of the music at heart and then proceed to perpetrate whimsical, unhistorical and insensitive perversions of the original. But artists such as Gould and Sokolov can give us insights into

the mind and disposition of Byrd. Over seventy years ago Peter Warlock realised that Violet Gordon Woodhouse's harpsichord was inappropriate for playing Elizabethan music. Yet her performances, like the more recent ones by Thurston Dart on his anachronistic Goff harpsichord, were recognised as possessing enduring insight and integrity. We know that Byrd's Latin music was not written for the conventional male cathedral choir, but the recent recordings of *Miserere mei* and *Sacerdotes Domini* by the Oxford choirs of New College and Christ Church Cathedral respectively could not be bettered. Byrd's *Short Service* was indeed composed for such choirs, but in my own experience of attending or participating in choral evensongs, the finest performance I have so-far heard was by the mixed voluntary choir at Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford.

Those who appreciate Byrd's music wish for it continually to be performed, ideally re-created by forces matching those which Byrd originally envisaged – a situation the research has rendered entirely possible. But for Byrd's music to continue to be recognised for its life-enhancing qualities, it needs to permeate the current musical world, now and in the future. As long as they maintain the integrity of what Byrd wrote, arrangements and performances of his music using inauthentic forces are always welcome. At the same time there are performances and recordings which demonstrate to the best of our current knowledge how the music was originally performed. These, together with well-researched editions and perceptive writing, provide touch-stones for the reconstruction and arrangements of Byrd's music which, along with authentic performances, will continue to make it relevant to the modern world and to posterity.

NEW WRITING

This listing continues the sequence from my *William Byrd: a guide to research* (New York: Garland, 1987); *Tudor music: a research and information guide* (New York: Garland, 1994); 'Byrd at 450', *Brio* 31 (1994): 96-102; and *Annual Byrd Newsletter* 1-4 (1995-98), items 213-275.

276. Atlas, Alan W. *Renaissance music: music in western Europe, 1400-1600*. New York: Norton, 1998. (The Norton introduction to music history.) Contains a section devoted to Byrd within the second of two substantial chapters on Tudor music. Written before publication of 250 (Harley), so some facts about Byrd out of date, but shows precise

awareness of his status and position in contemporary music. Strong bibliographies.

277. Blezzard, Judith. 'Monsters and messages: the Willmott and Braikenridge manuscripts of Latin Tudor church music, 1591'. *Antiquaries journal* 75 (1995): 311-338. MSS are important source for ten Byrd motets, all but two of which were published in first (b) and second (2) *Cantiones*.

278. Dalhous, Carl. *Studies on the origin of harmonic tonality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990. At pp. 246-8 takes issue with Zimmerman (51) and maintains that Byrd's cadential practice tends to be intermediate between modality and tonality.

279. Harley, John. 'Byrd's semidetached keyboard fantasia'. *Annual Byrd Newsletter* 4 (1998): 10. Note on T450/BK27. (1998 Hb)

280. Harley, John. 'New light on William Byrd'. *Music & Letters* 79 (1998): 475-488. Supplements information in 250. (1998 Hn)

281. James, Peter. 'Exalt Thyself, O God: the rediscovery of Byrd's festive anthem'. *Annual Byrd Newsletter* 4 (1998): 9-10 (1998 Je)

282. MacMillan, James. 'Byrd's mass for four voices'. *Annual Byrd Newsletter* 4 (1998): 5 (1998 Mb)

283. Owens, Jessie Ann. 'Concepts of pitch in English music and theory, c. 1560-1640'. In *Tonal structures in early music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd. New York: Garland, 1998, pp. 183-246. Develops ideas first put forward in 147.

284. Pike, Lionel. *Hexachords in late-Renaissance music*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. The section 'The basic hexachords' contains a stimulating analysis of Byrd's keyboard duet *Ut re mi fa sol la*, and the section 'New directions' begins with similarly revelatory analyses of Byrd's paired keyboard settings of the other *Ut re mi fa sol la* and *Ut mi re*. New light is shed on all three compositions from the perspective of the author's study of the evolution of hexachords.

285. Tabet, Richard. 'Byrd tercentenary keyboard anthologies: an appendix to Routh'. *Annual Byrd Newsletter* 4 (1998): 10-11 (1998 Tb)

286. Tabet, Richard. 'Byrds at Brightwell'. *Annual Byrd Newsletter* 4 (1998): 5. Contains details of close members of Byrd's family in parish records. (1998 Tby)

287. Tabet, Richard. 'Coste not Byrd'. *Annual Byrd Newsletter* 4 (1998): 4. Presents conclusive evidence that the anthem *Save me O God* attributed to Byrd is by Coste. See *Early Music Review* 41 (1998): 11-12 for the first published edition of Coste's only other surviving anthem *He that hath my commandments* with the commentary in *Annual Byrd Newsletter* 4 (1998): 12. See also Roger Bowers's letter in *Early Music Review* 42 (1998): 27 and Richard Tabet's response in 43 (1998): 27. (1998 Tc)

210. Tabet, Richard. *William Byrd, 1540-1623: Lincoln's greatest musician*. Rev. ed. Lincoln: Honeywood, 1999. Takes into account biographical findings in Harley (250) and other writings subsequent to the original edition, 1993. (1999 Tw)

250. Harley, John. *William Byrd, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal*. Aldershot: Scolar, 1997. Amended reprint and paperback edition.

251. Wadmore, J. F. 'Thomas Smythe, of Westenhanger, commonly called Customer Smythe'. *Archaeologia cantiana* 17 (1874): 193-208. Biography of the master of Symond Byrd, elder of William's brothers.

FORTHCOMING RESEARCH

David Crankshaw assures me that the article he wrote on Byrd and his patrons, which I destined for *Past and present*, is still pending, though progress has not been as swift as he would have liked.

William Byrd: six-part fantasias in G minor by Richard Rastall and Julie Rayner is scheduled for publication by Ashgate in May, provisionally priced at £39.50 in hardback for about 256 pages. (It will be reviewed in *Early Music Review*.)

Also scheduled for imminent publication are the proceedings of the 13th annual seminar on the history of the British provincial book trade. The publisher is the University of Bristol Library and the editor Michael Richardson. I contributed a paper on Byrd and H.B. Collins.

ADDENDUM TO WILLIAM BYRD: A GUIDE TO RESEARCH

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CORRIGENDUM TO WILLIAM BYRD: A GUIDE TO RESEARCH

p. 305 *For Bootham* read *Rootham*

SIGNIFICANT NEW RECORDINGS

In the temporary absence of any additions to *The Byrd edition* (see next section) this has been a thin year for Byrd recording of any substance. Though none of the three mentioned here were sent to me for review, it would be dogmatic not to offer the opinion that two are corkers and the other an intriguing novelty.

With lilies white (Virgin Classics 5 45264 2) features the countertenor Gérard Lesne accompanied by the Ensemble Orlando Gibbons. (A few years ago the Ensemble William Byrd released a disc of music by Gibbons) It contains eight consort songs including a premiere recording of *O lord within Thy tabernacle*, plus eight pieces for a quintet of viols.

O sprite heroic (Beulah 1RF2) consists of music that explores a life, love and death of Sir Philip Sidney, sung by the Trinity Consort. Seven of the eighteen tracks are by Byrd. There are premiere recordings of *Weeping full sore* and *Penelope that longed* (also of *Penelope ever was praised*, attributed to Byrd is one source but known to be by the elder Ferrabosco). Furthermore there are premiere recordings of the choral versions of *O you that hear this voice*,

O dear life and O that most rare beast.

The intriguing novelty is of the pianist Joanna MacGregor playing sections 1-9 of *Hugh Aston's ground* on the SoundCircus preview disc numbered SCPCD, obtainable by mail order for £5 (plus £1 postage) from P.O. Box 354, Reading RG1 5TX

[*Early Music Review* 52 will include a review of *William Byrd: Consort Songs* by James Bowman (contre-ténor) and the Ricercar Consort, directed by Philippe Pierlot recently issued as Ricercar 206422 as vol. 1 of a series *English Consort Music*. CB]

FORTHCOMING RECORDINGS

If the list of significant recent disc is thin, Byrd recordings scheduled during the next year are exhilarating. The third volume of the ASV *Byrd Edition* by The Cardinall's Musick is scheduled for release in August or September. Besides the Epiphany propers it will contain the remaining unpublished motets: *Reges Tharsis, Circumspice, Petrus beatus, Domine ante Te, Benigne fac, Sacris solemniis, Domine Deus omnipotens, Quomodo* and *Super flumina*, plus consort settings of *Christe qui lux* and *Te lucis*. Volumes 3-5 are in the can, and in November volumes 6-8 will be recorded. As plans stand at the time of writing, the 1575 *Cantiones* will take up volumes 4-6, volume 7 will consist of the three masses, the 1589 and 1591 *Cantiones* will account for volumes 8-10 and 11-13 respectively, and it is hoped to issue the Anglican music on volumes 14-16. All the Latin discs will include a set of *Gradualia* propers plus some organ music.

Also scheduled for the autumn is the next disc of Byrd by Phantasm, mostly songs with Ian Partridge and Geraldine McGreevy but including consort music in four parts.

Finally, we still await the recording on seven discs by Davitt Moroney of Byrd's complete keyboard music. Ted Perry, the managing director of Hyperion, told me some time ago that it was due for issue early in 1999; however, there is no sign of it yet.

MISCELLANY

The 30th anniversary William Byrd Memorial Concert by The Stondon Singers under Justin Doyle was given in the Church of St Peter and St Paul, Stondon Massey, Essex on 7 July 1998, and included the Mass for Four Voices with *Cantate Domino* replacing the Creed. This year's Memorial Concert takes place on Sunday 4th July at 6.30pm.

The Lincoln Cathedral Music Appeal is still welcoming donations. It is going well towards its target of £1.75 million. Contributions should be sent to Katy Todd, 4 Priorygate, Lincoln LN2 1PL

The Cardinall's Musick are warmly to be congratulated on receiving recognition for each of the first two volumes of the ASV *Byrd Edition*, Volume 1 has been nominated for the Classic CD award in the category 'Bach and Before', while volume 2 was awarded a *Diapason d'or*.

I have long been intrigued by the identity of the work listed in the British Library's Catalogue of printed music as *I have longed for Thy saving health: motet for mixed voices*. It is the *Salisbury pavan* arranged by Alfred Whitehead for SATB and organ ad lib. (New York: Gray 1940)

It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good. As an Essex man in exile and loyal member of Essex County Cricket Club, I journeyed to the County ground in Chelmsford to witness the final match of the season, late in September, which would decide whether Essex or their opponents Northamptonshire would 'win' the wooden spoon in this year's County Cricket Championship. Northamptonshire won depressingly early, midway through the third day of a game scheduled to last four. Having therefore a day to myself, I was able to fulfil the ambition of decades and visit nearby Ingatestone Hall, where Byrd made several visits and had a chamber. The house is still owned by the Petre family and the present lord has written a useful guidebook. Byrd is mentioned on page 8, and on page 10 there is reference to the 13th lord selling the family library during the nineteenth century to finance the foundation of a new Roman Catholic School in Surrey. This sale took place in 1886, and the auction catalogues may be seen in the Essex Record Office, Chelmsford. The library itself was from Thorndon Hall, another of the family's homes in Essex now relinquished. The day after my visit to Ingatestone I went to the Essex Record Office and inspected the catalogues. None of the items in the auction were musical. Of about 1,500 items, sold after three days with a subsequent day's sale later in the year, over 200 dated from 1623 or earlier but there is no evidence that any of them impinged on Byrd or vice-versa. There is no evidence of what access, if any, Byrd had to the family library at Thorndon Hall, and many pre-1623 books may have been obtained after that date. The following day I visited Little Easton Church near Great Dunmow to see where part of the Byrd Festival would have taken place in 1914 had the Great War not intervened: see my forthcoming paper on Byrd and H.B. Collins. The church is most attractive, set in beautiful countryside of northwest Essex, but its layout would not seem to lend itself to festival performances. The guidebook to the church is among the best of its type.

Thanks to Janet Clayton for solving the mystery of Symond Byrd's brewhouse 'yeoting sate' (ABN No. 4, 1998 p.7). It is correctly a 'yeoting fate', the 'F' having been misread as a long 's' (the two letters are almost indistinguishable in the manuscript). 'Fate' is an old form of the word 'vat', and a yoting vat was one in which brewer's grains were yoted or soaked. (Janet was the author of 'A Visit to Old Thorndon Hall' on p. 11 of the same issue.) Another correction is needed to the entry for 'vj downe pillowes' on p.6. The 'x' of 'xviijjs' accidentally became attached to the word 'pillowes'.

The Elizabethan revival of the 1920s has been well documented by Elizabeth Roche, most recently in 'Elizabethan fever' (*Leading notes* 7 (1994): 5-9). At the Elizabethan Music Competitive Festival held in the Kingsway Hall, London, 2-3 March 1923 (the year of Byrd's tercentenary) ten of the 38 test pieces were by Byrd: *This day Christ was born*,

Lullaby, Sacerdotes domini, O Lord my God, This sweet and merry month a 6, Wounded I am, Who made thee Hob, Susanna fair a 3, The carman's whistle and the Salisbury pavan.

With reference to Robert Thompson's article in Newsletter 2 (1996), pp. 10-12, 'William Byrd and the late seventeenth century', in which he writes at length about Henry Aldrich's recomposition of Byrd's *Civitas sancti tui* to a text beginning 'Be not wroth', this work has now been published as No. 10 in *Selected anthems and motet recompositions* by Aldrich, edited by Robert Shay (Madison: A-R Editions, 1998), pp. 75-80 (*Recent researches in the music of the Baroque era*, vol. 85). There is also an unpublished recomposition by Aldrich of a piece attributed to Byrd (GB - Och Mus 16) but this is of the setting of *Save me O God* now considered to be by Richard or Thomas Coste: see 287.

Dabbling in the secondhand music market for my library, I came across a set of parts for Byrd's *Short Service* and six other settings supplementing the 1849 Novello edition of Boyce's *Cathedral music*. According to CPM these parts were published in 1844, five years before the entire scores.

The Occasional Byrd is the consort of viols that plays on the disc of Ensemble William Byrd (see Newsletter 2 p. 10) performing music by Gibbons.

MEANINGS

An occasional series in which contemporary composers are invited to say what the music of Byrd means to them

Had I been asked a year or so ago what Byrd means to me, I would have had to say, not very much, beyond an awareness of the extraordinary quality of the 4- and 5- part Masses, which although I do not know them well, have always seemed to be among the peaks of objective beauty in music. My knowledge of the music of the Elizabethan period is, I regret to say, not profound: but I've had great pleasure in the past couple of years in making arrangements of a number of pieces as birthday presents for friends and colleagues, and two of these were by Byrd - 'A Gigg', CLXXXI from the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, and the extraordinary but rather prolix 'Fantasia' (CIII). I should add that the arrangements are not particularly respectful: but I don't think they are too far from the spirit of the originals, and besides the joy of arranging is in the creativity - shaking hands across the centuries perhaps!

Colin Matthews

[Note: The first performance was given in London in April 1998 by the Birmingham Contemporary Music Group and Nicholas Kok under the collective title of *Dowlandia*: the Byrd pieces are called, in this context, 'Mr Finnissy's Gigg' (for Michael Finnissy's 50th birthday), and 'Master William's Fancie' (for the birth of Mark-Anthony Turnage's first son).]

All unsigned contributions by Richard Turret

English Catholics in the time of Byrd

Douglas Bolingbroke

Did Byrd spend his life as a member of a Catholic group, always in fear of persecution? The answer, as with many apparently simple questions, is yes and no. A brief look at the complexity of the situation at the time might help musicians to understand the different ways in which Byrd's life might have been affected.

When Elizabeth came to the throne in 1588, near the beginning of Byrd's career, the Reformation was a generation old. During the short-lived changes under Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary, most of the lower clergy and musicians remained at their posts, serving their parishes or writing and performing music as directed by those in authority. Vicars of Bray they may be called, but without them the organisation of the church could not have survived. It was only a minority who fully understood and took an active part in the theological conflicts of the time. Musicians, in fact, often crossed this religious boundary. A Huguenot composer in France could write Catholic motets for his patron, Italian musicians came to England under James I, and Schütz, a German Lutheran studied in Catholic Venice with Gabrieli. Venice was perhaps more tolerant than some towns: the Inquisition was not admitted, in spite of Gilbert and Sullivan.

This is not the whole story. The upper clergy, who were the real driving force, could not compromise. Some bishops were forced out under Edward VI, under Mary their opponents were either executed or went into exile, and when Elizabeth broke away from the papacy, only one bishop accepted the new settlement. The others were allowed to retire. Because Elizabeth had to rely upon convinced protestants as bishops, many of whom had been exiles in Mary's reign, she probably had to make the church more definitely protestant than she wished. Her aim was a broad settlement which would include as many as possible. In Bacon's words, she did not wish to 'make a window into men's souls'; there was no inquisition, merely compulsory attendance at church enforced by a fine of one shilling. Even today a law may be made which cannot be universally enforced, speed limits, for example, and this was even more true in the 16th century. The hope was that the opposition would gradually be whittled away and that religious conflict would die away. This was the situation in Byrd's early years, when he was organist at Lincoln and eventually a gentleman of the Chapel Royal. In 1575 he and Tallis were given the monopoly of music printing, and the *Cantiones Sacrae* appeared. There was no law against singing in Latin.

Soon it began to be realised that the opposition would not be allowed to whittle away. Religious wars broke out in France and the Netherlands, raising hopes and fears on both sides. Protestant leadership passed into the hands of Calvinists who were as intolerant of Catholics as they were of Protestants. The Council of Trent ended in 1563 ending any hope of compromise and determined to eradicate the protestant heresy. Catholic priests, Englishmen who had

been trained in the Netherlands and Italy, arrived in the late 1560s with the aim of reconverting the people by preaching. They were not politicians but were inevitably drawn into politics. A papal Bull in 1570 deprived Elizabeth of her throne and released her subjects from allegiance. The result was that the Catholic priests who could not defy the Pope were treated as traitors. There was, of course, no hope of preaching to the people. They could take refuge with Catholic gentry and nobility, they were searched for and a number executed, not as heretics, but as traitors, an academic distinction perhaps, but one which illustrates the queen's determination to keep the conflict away from religious persecution, to punish civil disobedience, and not religious heresy. What these priests were able to do was to strengthen the religious feelings of the Catholics and give them the sense of belonging to a community instead of being isolated disbelievers.

Then there was the question of Mary Queen of Scots. In 1568, after a disastrous reign during which she had succeeded in the difficult task of uniting the Scots - against her - she fled to England to be an embarrassment and a danger to Elizabeth for some years. Mary's flight and long imprisonment has given her an almost saintly aroma in popular, particularly romantic, mythology. This was not the attitude of her contemporaries. It is worth noting that she married Bothwell, the murderer of her husband, Darnley, under protestant rites. He had a divorced wife in Sweden, but the Catholic Church did not recognise divorce. However, she was in England, a Catholic, and the hope of Catholics in Europe if not, perhaps, those in England. The rule of succession was not as precise as it is today, but she had a better claim than most as Elizabeth's successor, and this put the queen's life in danger, for assassination was a political weapon of the time. William of Orange, and Henry III and Henry IV of France were assassinated, and there was a series of plots against the queen's life. The death of Elizabeth could have been followed by civil war and foreign invasion by Mary's relatives the Guise, the Catholic leaders in France, and later by Spain. The queen could only be safe if she married and produced children, or if Mary was executed. She did not marry, but after hesitation she agreed to Mary's execution in 1586.

English Catholics were now regarded as a danger, a fifth column, and the penalties against were greatly increased, not as much as parliament and most of the queen's ministers would have wished, for the queen still tried to keep the division political rather than religious. A memo to her from Lord Burghley, the Lord Chancellor is worth noting - 'compel them you would not, kill them you would not, trust them you should not'. It was in the parliament of 1581 that the penalties were increased, parliament acting with enthusiasm, the queen restraining them all the time. For example, a fine for not attending communion was deleted: it became treason to withdraw the queen's subjects 'from their natural obedience' and to convert them to the Popish religion for that purpose. The last three significant words were a later addition. The saying of Mass, at first proposed to be a felony, became a fine of 200 marks and

attendance a fine of 100 marks instead of imprisonment; an attempt to exclude Catholics from the professions was dropped. On the other hand, the lives of catholic recusants were made more difficult. Fines were raised to £20 for the first month leading to imprisonment for continual recusancy.

Clearly this was a difficult time for Byrd and all English Catholics. Looking back, we can see that they were treated less harshly than religious dissidents were in most countries, but they were not looking back. They saw the increased penalties and feared that worse might come. Many of the nobility and gentry, the people who really mattered politically, retired to their estates with their dependants, of whom Byrd may be considered to be one, concealed catholic priests, and perhaps attended Mass in their private chapels. They may have sung Byrd's Latin compositions at their private devotions as well as at services conducted by a priest if they could find one. The enforcement of law was very haphazard, and in many parts, particularly in the north, was almost a dead letter. At the same time, they never knew what might happen.

Things eased in the later 1590s. The danger from Mary had gone, and during the war with Spain the Catholic community had shown no sign of disloyalty. In 1597, a bill was read in parliament increasing penalties against Catholics, making a householder responsible for the recusancy for all residents, including his wife. The bill was not passed. Catholic priests who were imprisoned at Wisbech, not executed at this time, became divided between those who would accept the *status quo* and limit themselves to caring for existing Catholics, and those, mainly Jesuits, who refused to compromise. Eventually those who gave allegiance to the queen were released, and there was a limited toleration of Catholics in their own houses. Fines for recusancy were still in force, and settled at £20 a month for the nobility, two thirds of their income for the lesser gentry, and whatever could be got out of lesser people.

Under James I, and this was the last 20 years of Byrd's life, there were inconsistencies in this as in a good many other things. At times, particularly after the Gunpowder Plot, the laws were strictly enforced. At other times, particularly during the abortive negotiations for the marriage of the future Charles I with the Spanish infanta, there was widespread toleration. It was during James I's reign that Byrd's *Gradualia* appeared, no doubt finding a market among the Catholic minority. How large this minority was nobody knows. There are records for recusancy, but this is a small part, and there were also the so-called Church Catholics who made occasional attendance. The Catholic community survived. The recusancy laws were repealed under the Commonwealth, surprising in the very protestant period, but, by then, there were protestant recusants too. It was a long time before Catholics were allowed to take part in political affairs, not into parliament until 1829, and anti-Catholic riots could break out even in the 18th century. The Catholic community did produce two composers whose music may have benefited from the fact that they were outside the Church of England: Arne and Elgar.

Byrd Reconstructed: in Search of Consort Models for Keyboard Dances by Byrd

David J. Smith

William Byrd, *Pavans and Galliards in Five Parts*, edited and reconstructed by Richard Rastall (Leeds: four-fifteen Press, 1998).

Byrd's First Pavan for keyboard in My Lady Nevell's Book exists also in a version for instrumental ensemble. Oliver Neighbour recognised that the keyboard piece was undoubtedly a reworking of the latter, noting that the pavan was 'conceived from the outset in five parts'.¹ It seems likely that other keyboard dances by Byrd were similarly adapted from polyphonic originals, a hypothesis strengthened by the intabulation technique employed by Byrd's pupil, Peter Philips, in his keyboard dances. Many keyboard genres have their origins in vocal or instrumental ensemble music, so perhaps it should come as no surprise to find that Byrd's earliest essays in writing keyboard pavans derive from consort originals. The First Pavan occurs also in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, where its scribe, Francis Tregian, notes that it was 'the first that ever hee made'. It seems, then, that Byrd derived his early keyboard pavans from pre-existing polyphonic models.

Richard Rastall has edited the ensemble version of the First Pavan and, postulating the existence of similar models for the other pavans and galliards in My Lady Nevell's Book, has reconstructed them for five-part viol consort. He excludes the Ninth Pavan and the Tenth Pavan. The former is titled 'the passinge mesures: pavian: of mr: w: birdes:' (it is listed as the Ninth Pavan in the index), and does not appear to have been based on a polyphonic model. Peter Philips's *Passamezzo Pavan* shows a remarkable affinity with Byrd's piece: similarly, Philips's work was not based on an ensemble original; indeed, his *Passamezzo Pavan* for instrumental ensemble is an entirely different piece. In addition to the pavans and galliards from My Lady Nevell's Book, Rastall includes the Pavan and Galliard in B-flat, which occurs in British Library Add. MS 30485 and New York Public Library, MS Drexel 5612.

The First Pavan was edited by Kenneth Elliott in the Byrd Edition, but without reference to an important source for the work, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel und Landesbibliothek, 4° MS mus. 125.³ This source contains the part lacking in the other source for the work (London, British Library, Add. MSS 37402-6), which Elliott had supplied editorially. Richard Rastall's edition supplants the Byrd Edition as the most authoritative text of this piece, along with George Hunter's edition of Byrd's consort music, which was the first to make use of the Kassel source for this piece.

The Kassel partbooks were the subject of a master's thesis by Christopher Wool, in which he argues convincingly that most of the pavans contained within them are five-part adaptations of pieces originally in four parts.⁴ He concludes that 'as the century progressed five-part sonority was

thought to be desirable irrespective of any intrinsic damage done to four-part technique'.⁵ Byrd's First Pavan is one of only two dances that appear to have been originally scored in five parts (the other being Dowland's *Lachrimae Pavan*). Many of the other pieces seem to be 'functional' pavans from an earlier period. We should not necessarily assume that all of Byrd's keyboard pavans originated in five-part ensemble works. In particular, the Second Pavan and Galliard are more likely to have been for four-part texture than five-part.⁶ In the first two strains of the pavan one part consists entirely of rests, and Rastall suggests that the top two performers exchange their parts on the repeats so that all five have something to play, a procedure found nowhere in contemporary sources.⁷ The fifth part of the third strain has only two bars to play, and in the keyboard version it is not at all clear that this is really a five-part texture. The whole piece could very easily have been reconstructed in four parts only. The galliard would also make perfect sense in four parts. In the reconstruction, the prevailing texture is indeed one of four parts, with voices dropping in and out of the texture, overlapping at the ends of phrases. The Fourth Galliard also exhibits characteristics suggesting a four-part texture: the first strain is written in four parts, with the top players again exchanging roles on the repeat. The way in which the bass enters at the end of the second strain (bars 15-16) is unidiomatic; similarly, voice IV enters at the end of the second strain of the First Galliard with two notes, and the bass enters to make the final cadence of the Sixth Galliard. The keyboard texture of the Second Pavan and Galliard is less dense than that of the First Pavan, suggesting fewer parts in the original. In the First Pavan, the prevailing texture is in five parts, though with the occasional chord of six notes (for example, b. 5-6, b. 33);⁸ in the Second Pavan the prevailing texture is three- and four-part, with an occasional chord of five notes.

The reconstruction of hypothetical consort models from keyboard intabulations raises some interesting editorial issues, since surviving keyboard arrangements reduce a regular polyphonic texture to an idiomatic keyboard free-voiced texture. Richard Rastall's approach has been to stay as close to the keyboard versions as possible, thus being utterly faithful to Byrd. Although there is much to be said for this approach, there are some occasions on which it would make sense to take a less literal approach to the material by analogy to dances which have survived both in ensemble and keyboard versions. A comparison of the keyboard textures of Philips's dances with the polyphonic models reveals that voices are omitted or transposed. This is particularly true of the galliards, perhaps because they moved at a somewhat faster tempo than their accompanying pavans. The result is that sometimes there is a gap between the top part and the remaining voices in the keyboard version which was not present in the original ensemble work. A good example of this process may be found in Philips's *Paget Galliard*. Returning to Byrd, the 'hole' in the texture between the top part of the Second Galliard and the remaining parts, whilst it is typical of keyboard textures, has no parallel in any other consort work by Byrd. In the opening two bars, for example, it

would make far more sense to transpose what is currently the fourth voice up an octave into the second voice, which is resting. There are parallels in Philips's *Dolorosa Pavan* and *Galliard*: in the third (dotted semibreve length) bar of the galliard, the crotchet movement has been transferred from the alto (second voice down) down an octave to the tenor (fourth voice down); conversely, in the third (semibreve) bar of the pavan, the part moving in crotchets has been transferred from the middle part (voice 3) to the alto (voice 2), transposed up an octave. Clearly Philips, and one may presume his teacher, took a flexible approach to tessitura when it came to distributing the original polyphonic lines between the keyboard 'voices'. When Rastall does transpose a part by an octave at the beginning of the *Seventh Pavan*, he moves an alto line downwards in an effort to improve the shape of line in the fourth part and to allow the canonic second part space to enter. However, while this might have been a legitimate procedure when intabulating a consort original for keyboard, the fact that the descending line occurs in the higher tessitura in the keyboard work suggests that this was also the case in the ensemble piece.

There are occasions on which the keyboard version is no doubt simpler than the original. For example, in the *First Galliard*, b.21, the fourth part doubles the bass D on the second beat. What seems to be required is an F, but this would create consecutive octaves which Byrd would not have found acceptable. The solution may be found by analogy to a similar harmonic progression in the same piece: in b. 5 the first two beats correspond harmonically to the second beat of b. 21. If in b. 21 the fourth part moves in parallel with the top part (G minim followed by A and F crotchets), we arrive at a most satisfactory reading.

Keyboard notation of dance music only includes what it is possible to play. In the *Fourth Galliard*, b. 11, there is no third in the chord on the first beat. Although this sonority is not uncommon in keyboard music, it is unusual to have such an open texture in an ensemble work, especially given that one of the parts is resting. The missing pitch would appear to be the E above middle C, a note only accessible by a keyboard player with a span of a tenth: the third of the chord is lacking because of the 'stretch' required to play the other notes in the chord. Another example of a place where the keyboard version lacks the third is in the *Fifth Galliard* on the second crotchets of bars 10, 11 and 12. In particular, the octave Gs in b. 11 seem unconvincing: in four- and five-part textures Byrd never omits both third and fifth from the chord. Perhaps a clue to the realisation of these bars lies in the similar figure at the cadence of this strain: in b. 15 contrary motion between the top part and voice IV ensures a full and sonorous texture. The keyboard version of bars 10, 11 and 12 represents a simplification of the original, creating an idiomatic keyboard texture utilising octaves and fifths which does not work quite so well in an ensemble context.

In general, the reconstructions of the galliards are less successful than the pavans. Although it is possible to reconstruct the *Second Galliard* in four parts rather than

five, the resulting piece still does not look like an authentic ensemble work. Richard Rastall notes in his introduction that the galliards create the most problems in reconstructing the hypothetical originals.⁹ But what if the galliards were not contemporaneous with the pavans? Tregian tells us that the *First Pavan* was Byrd's first attempt at composing a keyboard pavan, and it dates probably from the period shortly after Byrd's return to London in the early 1570s. Perhaps his position at the Chapel Royal accorded him the opportunity to compose dances for the Queen? Otherwise, his posts at Lincoln and at the Chapel Royal were jobs requiring him to write more serious, predominantly sacred music. Maybe the dances were composed for friends or secular patrons among the Catholic nobility? Whatever the motivation behind Byrd's decision to begin composing pavans for ensemble and keyboard, it was not common to pair pavans and galliards until the late 1580s and 1590s. Peter Philips's earliest *Pavan* for keyboard, dated 1580 by Tregian in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, has no corresponding galliard, and as with Byrd's *First Pavan*, Tregian records that it was the first that Philips composed for keyboard. Later, in the late 1580s and early 1590s, Philips responded to an emerging fashion for pavan-galliard pairs by composing works where the two dances are thematically linked, with a close correspondence between the respective strains of the dances. I suggest that Byrd, when he came to compiling *My Lady Nevell's Book* in about 1591, had a stock of pavan intabulations from the 1570s, composed before it became normal to write galliards to go alongside them, and that he composed the galliards to complement them specifically for inclusion in the manuscript. It is possible that in *My Lady Nevell's Book* Byrd intended the titles 'Galliard to the ninth Pavan' to mean quite literally a galliard specially composed for inclusion alongside the associated pavan, in response to the prevailing fashion. By contrast, the title for the galliard accompanying Philips's *Dolorosa Pavan* occurs as the 'Dolorosa Galliard' in its sources; since pavan and galliard were conceived as a unit, the galliard has equal status. The absence of galliards for some of the later pavans to be entered into *My Lady Nevell's Book* shows that even in 1591 it was not considered necessary to include a galliard with every pavan, and there are many other examples of pavans without accompanying galliards in sources from the 1590s, not least Dowland's *Lachrimae* pavans. If the galliards were added to the pavans for inclusion in *My Lady Nevell's Book*, then there is no reason to suppose that they were also intabulations of pre-existing polyphonic material. This would explain why some, if not all, of the pavans appear to be arrangements of consort works whereas the galliards do not.

The *Third*, *Sixth*, *Seventh* and *Eighth Pavans* and *Galliards* have been published in a rival edition by Andrew Kerr as numbers 105, 108, 107 and 109 of *Practical Musicke Editions* respectively. A comparison of the two editions alongside the keyboard piece is instructive. In general Kerr supplies a more convincing consort texture for these dances, but Rastall is better at bringing out the polyphonic texture implied by the keyboard works. Kerr tends to adopt a chord

spacing more appropriate for viol consorts, but sometimes this is at the expense of a fidelity to Byrd's original notes. On one occasion he removes a voice unnecessarily: the Sixth Pavane, b. 3, lacks a G dotted minim, F crotchet and E minim present in Rastall's third part. In the Eighth Pavane he joins the two semibreves in voice four to make a breve, with the result that no part is moving on the third minim beat: Rastall is surely right to preserve the repeated notes of the keyboard version. Kerr removes syncopations present in the original keyboard works and Rastall's edition (for example, Third Pavane, second strain and Sixth Pavane, third strain). Although it is possible that Kerr is right to think of these syncopated entries as more characteristic of keyboard music than of consort dances, their presence in Rastall's edition helps to bring out the contrapuntal interplay between parts. Some of the additions Kerr makes to the texture are not entirely convincing: in the Sixth Galliard, b. 6, a B passing note in the fourth voice conflicts with the resolution of a suspension to a C in the cantus. Others, however, work very well indeed, such as the addition of a point of imitation in the Seventh Pavane, b. 10.

In the Third Galliard, b. 13, there is an example of how a note (C) may be incorporated either into the top part or into the second voice. In the Eighth Pavane the sudden B dissonance in b. 6 does not work: it must surely be a suspension, as in Rastall's reconstruction. In the Sixth Pavane, b. 3, Kerr places an entry of a motif in the third part that begins with an ascending interval of a third. Rastall has the same phrase in the fourth part beginning with an ascending fifth, which matches better the other entries which begin either with an ascending fourth or octave. Kerr's distribution of the notes between the parts in the Sixth Galliard is very elegant, especially the way in which the top line at the opening of the second strain is given to the top two parts in imitation, but why did he not adopt a similar procedure at the opening of the third strain?

Richard Rastall's edition is attractive, very well produced and printed. It also appears to be accurate: there are no obvious misprints. All the music contained in it will work well in performance. Rastall remains as faithful as possible to Byrd's keyboard text. This is both an advantage and a disadvantage at one and the same time. Although there are places where a little juggling of the raw keyboard material would have produced a result more in keeping with the style of other ensemble pavans of the period, Rastall has provided us with an edition which remains very much more Byrd than Rastall.

The above discussion demonstrates how the process of 'unintabulating' a keyboard piece to try to uncover a hypothetical model is far from straightforward. Byrd evolved the keyboard pavane from ensemble music in the same way that composers developed keyboard genres such as the fantasia, canzona and *In nomine* from vocal and ensemble models. It is not yet absolutely clear the point at which Byrd abandoned the intabulation of a polyphonic framework for composition of purely keyboard pavans. As an exercise in working backwards from the keyboard texts to recover possible ensemble originals for the dances in My

Lady Nevells Book, Rastall's edition will no doubt stimulate further discussion.

1. Oliver Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd* (London: Faber and Faber, 1978), p. 180.
2. William Byrd, *Consort Music*, The Collected Works of William Byrd, 17, ed. Kenneth Elliott (London: Stainer & Bell, 1971), no. 14.
3. William Byrd, *Five-Part Consort Music*, ed. George Hunter (Urbana: Northwood, 1994).
4. Christopher J. Wool, *A Critical Edition and Commentary of Kassel 4° MS MUS 125*, MMus dissertation (Royal Holloway College, University of London, 1983), pp. 43f.
5. Christopher J. Wool, op. cit., p. 50.
6. On p. ix, footnote 17, Rastall mentions that John Bryan attempted a four-part reconstruction of the Sixth Pavane and Galliard, adding that they are 'certainly the most tempting in this respect'. However, the Sixth Pavane seems to work well in five parts, and the keyboard original does not suggest a four-part alternative in the way that the Second Pavane does.
7. There are such passages in the second of Byrd's six-part fantasias. However, the fact that it is in six parts is significant in that the two upper-most parts are equal in tessitura, and share material in dialogue throughout the piece in a way that does happen in four- and five-part consort music.
8. Bar numbers are taken from William Byrd, *Keyboard Music: I, Musica Britannica 27*, ed. Alan Brown, 2nd. edn. (London: Stainer & Bell, 1976), No. 29a.
9. He mentions the Galliard in B-flat specifically (p. vi) and the galliards generally (footnote 17, p. ix).

A comparison of William Child's *Sing we merrily* with William Byrd's *Sing joyfully*.

David Buckley

It is perhaps fitting that William Child, who set the royalist text *O Lord, grant the King a long life*, was himself blessed with extraordinary longevity. Born shortly after the death of Queen Elizabeth, and gathered to God within a few years of the accession of Queen Anne, Child bore witness to most of the 17th century. Entering into a musical world that was buzzing with the polyphonic style of the great Tudor composers, Child was eventually to outlive Purcell, and his substantial oeuvre reflects the evolving musical style of the century, from the final blossoming of Elizabethan counterpoint to the first fruits of the English Baroque. According to Thomas Tudway, the anthem *Sing we merrily* was submitted by Child as part of his exercise for the Bachelor of Music degree at Oxford University in 1631, and it survives as one of his earliest known works. Despite visual attempts to make the work appear as an eight-part anthem, it is in fact nearly always in seven; Boyce¹ published the work with the two tenor parts condensed into one, as (save for one occasion at bars 33-34) the voice parts are never employed independently. This observation has fired some critics' belief that Child was deficient in composition, for although he was clearly trying to emulate the eight-part English anthems of Gibbons (*O clap your hands*) and Tomkins (*O God, the proud are risen*), the omission of the eighth part apparently suggests a weakness in part-writing. Something of the aforementioned anthems of Gibbons and Tomkins can faintly be heard in *Sing we merrily*, but as Geoffrey Webber has recently observed,

'specific musical ties can be found with William Byrd's six-part anthem on the related text *Sing joyfully*, particularly in the choice of rhythms for common phrases of the text'.²

Despite Byrd's well-known recusancy, he served as a member of the Chapel Royal, providing music for the liturgy of the Church of England, and *Sing joyfully* was perhaps the most popular of his anthems during the 17th century, appearing in almost every important source. The crux of this work on verses from Psalm 81 is the celebration of God through the medium of music, a theme that reappears in other anthems such as *Exalt thyself, O God*. This exercise in musical exuberance seems to have been a prototype for other composers to draw from; many 17th-century settings of the text owe something to Byrd's, frequently using the translation in the Book of Common Prayer *Sing we merrily* rather than the version in the Geneva Bible *Sing joyfully*.³ Byrd himself made a setting of the BCP text in *Sing we merrily*, which is found in the *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* of 1611, a secular work written for Francis Clifford, 4th Earl of Cumberland (d.1641). The unusual voice distribution of this piece (SSSAT) suggests that it was perhaps written for a specific non-liturgical occasion. Away from the gravity and sobriety of the church, Byrd obviously felt at liberty to be even more indulgent in madrigalian mannerisms in his setting of the text, with extremes in word-painting (including a move to triple-time at 'the merry harp with the lute' and extended triadic writing at 'Blow up the trumpet'). But what this work lacks is the harmonic structure of *Sing joyfully*, which provides a powerful momentum from start to finish.

A useful point to commence comparisons between the settings by Child and Byrd is at the text 'Blow up the trumpet'. Here, one might contest that the correspondences are nothing more than the composer responding to Morley's imperative 'If a merry subject you must make your music also merry'.⁴ In both instances the trumpet is brought to life by saturating the texture with brazen arpeggiation (with an almost total purgation of passing notes and suspensions), and by following a simple harmonic pattern of fifth-related chords – unsurprising responses to a vivid and dramatic piece of text. However, the fact that both composers reach this point via an unusual harmonic twist is surely more than coincidence. Byrd prepares a cadence which would seem to be arriving at A from E, but is in fact interrupted, and instead the trumpet is blown in F. In a similar manner, Child finishes his previous phrase on a G major chord, and commences 'Blow up the trumpet' in B flat. The exact reversal of this harmonic shift occurs at 'For this was made a statute', where a B flat chord leads to one of G. This exciting and startling tonal juxtaposition is identical to the progression used by Weelkes in his macaronic anthem *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, at the text 'Crave thy God to tune thy heart'. Weelkes is likely to have first heard such extreme types of chromaticism in the music of Orlando Lassus, Giuseppe Caimo and Cipriano de Rore.⁵

The opening points of imitation in Child's anthem resemble the first lead in Byrd's; both lines share an almost identical contour, the Child setting being a prolongation of that by Byrd. Where Byrd is content to adjust his opening point in

subsequent entries, Child prefers to keep his opening points at the same interval. The interval of the fifth, which serves as a clarion call to attention at the opening of both versions, reappears at the text 'take the song/psalm', but here both composers choose to adjust the point of imitation. Byrd's melodic material for the phrase 'ev'n in the time appointed' is also taken up by Child, though here the technique employed to modify Byrd's setting is inversion, and whereas Byrd permits the entries only to sound on a strong beat, Child eventually brings in entries on weak beats which culminate in an effervescent cadential point. In the following section we hear Child's own voice, with the attractive and subtle shift towards the flat side for the text 'and upon our solemn feast day'. The corresponding text in the Byrd setting relies on the similar exhilaration that breathed life into the shawms, harps and trumpets, but Child reserves this occasion for a more solemn and dignified musical setting. The close of this section in both examples is separated from the ensuing text by a brief pause (be it a rest or punctuation) before the homophonic and broader textures appear for the passage 'for this is a statute/for this was made a statute'.

The final portion of the text set by the composers (ignoring the appended 'Hallelujah' of the Child setting), 'and a law of the God of Jacob', shares a phrase that is so melodically and rhythmically similar that it would seem to dispel any doubt surrounding the contention that Child made specific use of Byrd's anthem as a model for his own composition. Child does, however, alter this point of imitation quite considerably in subsequent entries, but it can still be heard on occasion in full or fragmented form in the middle of the texture.

William Child has been frequently regarded as a composer whose output is inferior and unsatisfactory. Certainly his large output is uneven in quality, but a number of works from different periods of his life stand out as minor masterpieces. Some of these reveal Child the progressive composer, whilst others, like *Sing we merrily*, betray his debt to earlier musicians. Although *Sing we merrily* fails to outshine its model, Child can scarcely be criticised for benefiting from the study of one of Byrd's finest anthems.

1. Boyce, *Cathedral Music*, Vol. II, p.90

2. Notes from the recording of *Sacred Choral Music* by William Child (ASV GAU 182), performed by The Choir of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge, directed by Geoffrey Webber.

3. Other composers who set this Psalm text include Batten, Peerson, East, Taylor, John Mundy and Blow.

4. T. Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musick* (London, 1597), p.177.

5. See Kim Seng Teo, 'Three continental chromatic compositions in mid-16th-century England', *Music Review*, 85 (February 1995), pp. 1-11.

Since readers may not have easy access to Child's anthem, we have included on pp 15-17 of *EMR* a very reduced facsimile of the edition in Boyce's *Cathedral Music*. This is a last-minute decision, so I have not been able to check the accuracy of Boyce's text. The continuo part is Boyce's addition: none of the three late-17th-century scores which I have at hand – the Texas Gostling MS, Cambridge Fitzwilliam MS 88 (copied by Purcell) and MS 117 (copied by William Isaack) – include an organ part. CB

William Byrd and Thomas Tomkins's Offertory: (re-)evaluating Text and Context

John Irving

Among the seventy-odd keyboard works of Thomas Tomkins (1572-1656) is a large and quite unusual Offertory.¹ It consists of an introductory passage of closely-knit imitative counterpoint, followed by 55 statements of a 'ground' which migrates through the texture. At 399 semibreves, it is one of the composer's most substantial efforts, although it was probably never intended to be performed entire. The only surviving manuscript source of the Offertory (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms C93) divides it up into several discreet sections by means of pause marks placed over the most prominent cadential articulations, pointing perhaps to piecemeal composition or copying (the source will be discussed presently), or else to different moments at which the piece might be terminated in performance. The latter interpretation might be a clue that its original function was a purely practical one, namely, to accompany the offertory within the communion service – almost certainly at Worcester Cathedral, where Tomkins was organist from 1596 until his death – in which case the amount of 'covering' music required might vary from relatively little to relatively much, according to circumstance. Tomkins's sectional piece, capable of coming to a convincing stop at many different and roughly equidistant points, would suit such a situation very well indeed.

What we have here, then, is not a definitive text, but several possible texts to be derived from the material provided, depending on variable extra-musical factors. It is a 'mobile' work, living in any one of several particular performances that its notation supports, rather than a 'fixed' work, presenting an analysable musical structure on paper. The brief comments on the piece given below are not therefore intended to add up to any kind of formalist analysis of the Offertory as a whole. They merely describe what is going on within individual sections.

The only source of this composition is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Music School Manuscript C. 93, fols.73v - 80 (henceforth Ob93), at the end of which it is ascribed and dated as follows: 'Mr Thomas Tomkins:– organist of his maiesties Chapell 1637'. Ob93 is a composite manuscript containing music from various periods, including liturgical organ music by John Redford (d.1547), baroque instrumental ensemble sonatas by Bassani and Knupfer and six (?restoration) organ pieces, as well as some pieces by Tomkins which occupy fols. 67-81v. The music by Tomkins is presented in the hands of three (perhaps four) different copyists, including the composer himself in the case of three short Verses (MB5: 74-6) written for his friend Edward Thornborough at some point after his installation as Archdeacon of Worcester on 3 August 1629. Although the whole of the Offertory is in a single (anonymous) hand, two or more of the several copyists' hands are sometimes

intermixed within individual pieces in Ob93, such as two hexachord fantasias, *Ut, re, mi* (MB5: 35) and *Ut, mi, re* (MB5: 38) that immediately precede the Offertory and are based on similar constructional principles.² This suggests that the folios of Ob93 devoted to Tomkins's music began life during the 1630s as an informal collection of pieces intended for circulation among his colleagues at Worcester, possibly including John and Humphrey Withy (to each of whom Tomkins dedicated consort pieces in further Worcester manuscripts dating from about this time or slightly later), Richard Brown and Edward Thornborough.

All except one of the 55 ground statements are on A (the exception is number 53, bb.277-81, on D). Occasional prolongations of its final note are found (bb.74, 81, 103, 118, 133, 207, 215), their placement being apparently without significance. At b.216 the values of notes 1-6 of the ground are halved, reducing the length of each statement from seven to four semibreves; the original values are restored at b.281 (statement 54).⁴ The Offertory is organised on two broad fronts: an opening contrapuntal section (bb.1-74) and a series of shorter sections whose purpose is to display a wide range of keyboard figurations (or else techniques of setting a ground, if the piece were conceived pedagogically). Tomkins's control of the imitative texture during the ground's first sixteen statements is especially fine. He begins with short motives (bb.15, last beat, and 16) which soon overlap in stretto (b.19) and, combining in sequences, develop into longer phrases (b.25 foll.). Later, whole phrases are treated sequentially (bb.31-9) and paired statements are introduced (bb.39, last beat - 42, last beat and bb.42-7: both subjects stem from similar material forming statements 8 and 9 of the ground). All this ensures a convincing growth from long initial note-values (principally semibreves and minims) to flowing quavers at the close of the contrapuntal introduction, preparing for the impressive variety of animated textures that occupies the remainder of the Offertory. The principal divisions of the work may be tabulated as follows:

section	bars	number of ground statements
Intro.	1-15	–
1	15-74	16 (1-16)
2	75-118	7 (17-23)
3	119-207	13 (24-36)
4	208-231	5 (37-41; 38-41 in reduced values)
5	232-251	5 (42-46; reduced values)
6	252-292	9 (47-55; 54-55 in original values)
Coda	293-304	–

We may or may not accord much value to such a formalist reading of the Offertory's various segments. More important is the fact that, in the absence of a fixed and definitive text upon which to found formalist values for this curiosity, we impute a meaning to it by assembling a context of some kind (consciously or not). It is to this issue that I turn finally.

Until recently the origin of the curious seven-note ground on which this Offertory is based was obscure. Various suggestions have been offered over the years. In my study

of Tomkins's keyboard and consort music, written during the early 1980s, I pointed out a resemblance to the offertory intonation *Felix namque*. Walker Cunningham in his study of Bull's keyboard music suggested as alternatives the offertories *Exultabunt sancti* and *Benedicta sit*.⁴ Interpretive consequences flow from such assumptions, among them the tendency to locate Tomkins's problematic Offertory within an established canon of English keyboard music that includes Tallis's two settings of the *Felix namque* offertory, preserved in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. Tomkins described the second of these (dated 1564) as being among 'Especiall good lessons in that key of A re to be placed together' on p.186 of a manuscript now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds du Conservatoire), Paris (MS Rés.1122), a source containing most of the composer's keyboard music in autograph and (usefully) with precise dates. If Tomkins based his Offertory ground on the *Felix namque* intonation, then perhaps one or other of Tallis's famous pieces – likewise sectional in outline, and with occasional passing resemblances in figuration – could in some sense be invoked as an exemplar? (This is a contextual avenue I pursued in my earlier study.)

Another manuscript owned by Tomkins in the seventeenth century is London, British Library, MS Add. 29996, another composite manuscript containing in its earliest layers liturgical organ music by Redford, Preston and their contemporaries. Among the folios of this manuscript are to be found settings of *Exultabunt sancti* and *Benedicta sit* by Preston, ap Rhys and Thorne, and if either of these two offertory plainchants was truly the origin of Tomkins's ground then once again, possible models for the genre and for specific keyboard figuration are suggested. In either case, attempts at derivation of the ground used in Tomkins's curious piece suggest a particular context (liturgical organ music) and Tomkins's Offertory gains credence by association with a noble tradition to which Tomkins himself was a contributor in no small degree. This approach even influenced the manner in which I treated the work in *The Instrumental Music of Thomas Tomkins*: I placed it in the chapter on Plainsong Settings, rather than with the Grounds and Related Keyboard Pieces, so convinced was I of the work's plainsong derivation and therefore its categorisation. Actually, although the quality of the Offertory's keyboard figuration is not really different from either Tomkins's plainsong settings or his grounds, its general layout (as a series of variations organised around a repeating melodic pattern) should have alerted me to its closer kinship with, for instance, the *Ut, re, mi*-type pieces than with the *Miserere* settings (which Tomkins does occasionally arrange as variation-chains). Regrettably, my wish to formulate a context within which this strange piece could acquire a meaning led me to deny some of its quite obvious features (indeed, it is so patterned in its successive counterpoints to the ground that it could plausibly have been intended as a pedagogical exercise). The ground of Tomkins's Offertory bore a close resemblance to several plainsongs; that was the basis of its legitimacy, and so – blinded to competing readings – I treated it alongside the composer's other (genuine) plainsongs.

In fact, as recent investigations by Stephen Jones and Richard Turbet have shown, none of these plainsong derivations is correct. In a letter to *The Musical Times* the authors explain that

the ground in the Offertory is not based on plainsong, but is taken from the concluding passage of the Te Deum from Byrd's *Great Service*...set to the words 'Let me never be confounded'. Tomkins' only alteration is to elide and shorten the value of the first two notes to make the theme more manageable as a ground. In Byrd's Te Deum the theme, which is also in A minor, first appears at bb.190-93 of the Decani tenor, then in the bass at bb.193-96 and again in the treble at bb.196-99. This last occurrence includes an augmented interval in the accompanying polyphony and is followed by a striking syncopated phrase (bb.199-200), both of which are emulated by Tomkins at bb.6-8...⁵

So, the true picture is rather different than the one previously imagined: although the function of the piece was probably as described at the outset of this essay, its pedigree was Anglican, rather than a survival from the Catholic liturgical tradition.

Nevertheless, the discovery of the ground's origin, while solving one puzzle, has created another. Why on earth should Tomkins base a functional keyboard piece on a snippet of music from Byrd's iconic *Great Te Deum*? We may never be able to answer this definitively, but part of the answer is perhaps to be sought in our historical positioning of Tomkins in relation to the English tradition. The fact that we now know where the ground came from has not altered our mind-set regarding Tomkins's legitimacy as a composer: he is forever to be represented as the faithful disciple of William Byrd ('my ancient and much reverenced master', as Tomkins styled him in the dedication of one of his 1622 Madrigals).⁶ Some progress has been made in that we shall no longer continue to contextualise Tomkins's Offertory in relation to a spurious plainsong origin, but rather in relation to Byrd, whose setting of 'Let me never be confounded' becomes the ancestor of rather more than Tomkins's ground (notice how, in the quotation from Jones and Turbet above, certain harmonic and rhythmic features in Byrd's Te Deum have already become paradigmatic for Tomkins, who emulates them in his keyboard piece). In our revised view of the problematic Offertory, some of the points that I highlighted earlier will still fit, but the focus will be shifted somewhat: elegant contrapuntal thinking will doubtless be privileged in our new Byrd-influenced reading of the piece, along with its carefully wrought pacing of texture and figuration.

Discovery of the unknown ground is indeed welcome, but in signalling an alternative set of generic and stylistic criteria against which Tomkins's Offertory is to be measured it re-sites, rather than resolves our problems in appreciating the work. Principal among these is the question of cross-generic influence. Tomkins's source for the ground was evidently from outside of the keyboard repertory, and such an abstract concept as a ground clearly survives this transplantation well. But does it necessarily follow that other features (such as those pointed out by Jones and Turbet) survive equally well? Their interesting closing comment is that Byrd's Great Service was in the repertory of Worcester Cathedral during Tomkins's spell as organist there. His Offertory is dated 1637, the worst year

of the plague in Worcester. Given the words to which the ground phrase is sung in Byrd's *Te Deum*, 'Let me never be confounded', its notes would have resonated in the minds of those hearing Tomkins's Offertory in this distracted time.

Possibly such a hypothesis places too great a strain on the associative power of Byrd's word-painting. Whether or not Byrd's musical setting of this single phrase could have retained its effect denuded of its original textual, textural and rhythmic environment, the fact remains that in Tomkins's Offertory the notes of the ground serve an entirely different, rather abstract purpose compared to their representative function in Byrd's service. If the cross-generic hypothesis is accepted, and Byrd's original setting, 'framed to the life of the words', resurfaces transformed somehow in Tomkins's keyboard piece, then a tension arises between imported cross-generic pretensions and surviving genre-specific features such as the quality of keyboard figuration, or the tendency (following Byrd?) to group successive ground statements into families of variations, controlling broader sections of the Offertory as a whole. Perhaps, though, this further problematic is part of the abiding enigma of the piece.

1. I am grateful to Richard Turret for inviting me to reconsider this work here. It is published as No. 21 in Thomas Tompkins: *Keyboard Music. (Musica Britannica vol.5)* ed. Stephen D. Tuttle; rev. ed. Thurston Dart (London, 1964). henceforth MB5. It is one of the pieces in which note values have been halved: comments on

note-lengths in this article relate to the original values. The length of the bars of the edition is erratic.

2. Like the ground on which Tomkins's Offertory is based, these two hexachord settings present grounds of finite length, upon which successive variations are designed. For a discussion of the origin of the Offertory's ground, see below.
3. For further details on Ob93, see John Irving, *The Instrumental Music of Thomas Tomkins, 1572-1656* (Garland; New York & London, 1989), pp.15-18. The sources of Tomkins's consort music are dealt with in Chapters 9 and 10 of that study.
4. *The Keyboard Music of John Bull* (Ann Arbor, 1984), p.251.
5. Stephen Jones and Richard Turbet, 'Unknown ground' in *The Musical Times* 134 (1993), pp.615-16. Bar numbers refer to *The Byrd Edition* vol. 10b.
6. This master-and-pupil relationship has been further strengthened recently: see Richard Turbet, 'Homage to Byrd in Tudor Verse Services' in *The Musical Times* 129 (1988), pp. 485-490.

Music supplement

Of all the mistaken attributions to Byrd which cannot be blamed on typographic error or textual misreading, one of the most improbable is a hymn 'set by Mr. Byrd 1570' to a text beginning *Glory be to God most high in Psalms, hymns & anthems, used in the chapel of the Hospital for the Maintenance & Education of Exposed & Deserted Young Children* (London, 1774), p. 32. This patently early Baroque work for 'Duett & Chorus' has not subsequently been published. Nevertheless it is interesting to find out what, over 200 years ago, was regarded as an acceptable attribution to Byrd.

32 A HYMN Duet & Chorus Set by M^r Byrd 1570

Glory be to God most high and on Earth and on Earth Peace good
 Glory be to God most high and on Earth and on Earth Peace good
 will tow'rds Men We praise thee weblets the
 will tow'rds Men We praise thee weblets the
 we wor ship thee we glori fy thee
 we wor ship thee we glori fy thee
 we give thanks to thee for thy great Glory
 we give thanks to thee for thy great Glory