ANNUAL BYRD NEWSLETTER

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EDITORIAL

This is the final *Annual Byrd newsletter*. There is nothing sinister in this. Clifford Bartlett is reorganizing *EMR* and I prefer to stop while still receiving positive feedback. I thank Clifford for his supportive hospitality and Ann Yardley for much typing over the years. I am in the throes of writing a new edition of *William Byrd: a guide to research* for the New York office of Routledge, and much of what would have gone into next year's putative *Newsletter* will appear in the book. Thereafter there is talk of a new edition of *Tudor music: a research and information guide*, the first edition of which updated *Byrd*. Additionally, it is planned that regular Byrd bibliographical updates should appear in the February issues of *EMR* from 2006. I am intensely proud of all the articles carried in past *Newsletters*. Clifford has allowed me a bumper concluding issue and twice as many articles, all of which continue the *ABN* tradition of extending and deepening our knowledge of the composer.

Finally, just in case it has not been obvious, I think Byrd is the most wonderful of composers, and I believe that the widest possible knowledge and understanding of his music makes the world a better place. Thank you for reading *ABN*. I am always glad to respond to enquiries about Byrd. Please keep reading and writing about him (*EMR* is happy to print individual articles as well as the bibliographical updates) and, most of all, listening to him.

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NEW WRITING

The numerical sequence concludes that of the first edition of my *William Byrd: a guide to research* (New York: Garland, 1987) items 1-140; *Tudor music: a research and information guide* (New York: Garland, 1994) items 141-189; "Byrd at 450" *Brio* 31 (1994): 96-102, items 90-212; and the previous nine *Annual Byrd Newsletters*, items 213 onwards. In the new edition of *William Byrd: a guide to research* the numerical sequence will be replaced in the Bibliography with a classified sequence designed as a response to the expansion in Byrd literature since the first edition.

Entries 381 to 390 on page 2 function as an index to the contents of this issue.

361. Rimbault, Edward F. *The pianoforte, its origin, progress, and construction; with some account of instruments of the same class which preceded it; viz. the clavichord, the virginal, the spinet, the harpsichord, etc. to which is added a selection of interesting specimens of music composed for keyed-stringed instruments, by Blitheman, Byrd, Bull, Frescobaldi, Dumont, Chambonnieres, Lully, Purcell, Muffat, Couperin, Kuhnau, Scarlatti, Seb. Bach, Mattheson, Handel, C.P. Emanuel Bach, etc.* London: Cocks, 1860. (1860Rp)

362. *William Byrd Festival* US-Portland, OR, 1988- . Programmes of annual festival. Contains complete listing of lectures, services and concerts, with all music to be performed. (1988Ww)

363. Milsom, John. "Tracking Tomkins: three verse anthems retrieved." *Musical times* 142 (Summer 2001): 54-63.
In the course of reclaiming three fragmentary anonymous verse anthems for Tomkins, notes that in one of them, *O God the heathen are come*, Tomkins uses the same text as Byrd in *Deus venerunt gentes*, and borrows musical material from Byrd's motet. This is consistent with the procedures described by me in several previous articles – 158, 163, 209 and 259 – and by Lionel Pike in 180.

364. Charlton, Alan. "Look and bow down: a 21st century compositional response." *Annual Byrd newsletter* 9 (2003): 13-19.
Describes the circumstances of the commission to compose a work based on the fragments of a song printed in *The Byrd edition* xvi 178-9, and how the task of composition was approached. (2003Cl)

365. Finnis, John and Martin, Patrick. "Another turn for the turtle: Shakespeare's intercession for Love's martyr." *Times literary supplement* (18 April 2003): 12-14.
In attempting to interpret the poem by Shakespeare which has come to be known as "The phoenix and the turtle" the authors suggest that "The bird of loudest lay" refers to William Byrd as composer of *Deus venerunt gentes*. In so doing they make a case for the hitherto elusive link between Byrd and Shakespeare. See also Gerald Kilroy's letter, 2 May 2003, page 17.

366. Humphreys, David. "Wilder's hand?" *Musical times* 44 (Summer 2003): 4.
Establishes that *Non nobis Domine*, long thought not to be by Byrd or Palestrina, had its origins in a motet by Wilder. (2003Hw)

367. Johnstone, Andrew. "As it was in the beginning: organ and choir pitch in early Anglican church music." *Early music* 31 (2003): 506-25.
Reports challenging evidence concerning pitch (especially deductions from the Tomkins organ pipe and the minor third theory) and the nature of organ accompaniments, both of which impinge significantly on Byrd's Anglican music, and on the *Second Service* in particular.

368. McCoy, Stewart. "William Byrd's Lullaby: an example of contemporary intabulation." *Annual Byrd newsletter* 9 (2003): 10-13.
After a surveying the surviving intabulations for lute of Byrd's music, analyses the technique displayed by Francis Cutting in arranging the *Lullaby*. (2003Mw)

369. Milson, John. "Byrd, Sydney, and the art of melting." *Early music* 31 (2003): 437-48.
Makes a case that *O dear life* was originally composed as a consort song for high voice and four viols, although there is no surviving evidence. Ponders whether Byrd expected only the first three stanzas of Sydney's poem would be sung, as printed in the 1589 *Songs*, or all eight, as in Sydney's original. Observes and explains how Byrd created the right music to express Sidney's tortured stream of erotic consciousness. (2003Mb)

370. Neighbour, Oliver. "Byrd's treatment of verse in his partsongs." *Early music* 31 (2003): 413-22.
Detailed consideration of the sources, influences and originality discernable in Byrd's method of composing his partsongs. Concentrates on the works not originally written as consort songs, but notes the extent to which song form is (and is not) evident in his partsongs, with comments on many individual pieces. (2003 Nb)

371. Neighbour, Oliver. "Philip Brett, 1937-2002." *Annual Byrd newsletter* 9 (2003): 20.
Obituary which reaches the heart of why Philip's Byrd scholarship has such seminal and resonant significance.
Reprinted as "In memoriam Philip Brett, 1937-2002: a great friend of the William Byrd Festival, to whom this year's Festival is dedicated", in *William Byrd Festival, August 18-31, 2003* [festival] programme, Portland OR, USA. (2003Np)

372. Olleson, Philip. "Byrd, the *Confitebor*, and Handel's hymns" in *Samuel Wesley: the man and his music.* Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003, pp. 187-202.
Condensed account of events described in 373, within the context of Wesley's biography. (2003Ob)

373. Olleson, Philip. "William Byrde's excellent antiphones: Samuel Wesley's projected edition of selections from *Gradualia.*" *Annual Byrd newsletter* 9 (2003): 7-9.
Comprehensive account of Wesley's abortive attempt during the mid 1820s to publish a selection of *Gradualia.* (2003Ow)

374. Smith, Mike. "Whom Music's lore delighteth: words-and-music in Byrd's *Ye sacred Muses.*" *Early music* 31 (2003): 425-35
Demonstrates how Byrd's involvement with, and sensitivity to, the meaning and poetic structure of his texts produces a transcendent musical rhetoric, not only pre-eminently in the song in question, but throughout his corpus of consort songs. (2003Sw)

375. Turbet, Richard. "A hymn attributed to Byrd." *Annual Byrd newsletter* 9 (2003): 5.
Puts forward a candidate as the possible composer of the apocryphal *Glory be to God.* (2003Th)

376. Turbet, Richard. "To Oliver Neighbour on his eightieth birthday." *Brio* 40 (Spring/Summer 2003): 47-8.
The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book was originally published in fascicles 1894-9. Using data supplied by Oliver Neighbour, lists each fascicle and provides date on wrapper and date of copyright deposit at the British Museum.

377. Weaver, Geoff. "Choral masterclass: *Sing joyfully* by William Byrd." *Church music quarterly* 161 (2003): 36-7.
Contains practical suggestions about performance. The opening paragraph contains serious biographical inaccuracies. (2003Wc)

378. Paisley, David. "German book fair catalogues." *The library*, 7th ser., 4 (2003): 417-27.
Contains information further to that in 280 about the presence of the 1575 *Cantiones* in continental Europe during the sixteenth century; see page 422, also 426.

379. Gordon, Mary. *The Children of the Chapel.* London: Masters, 1864.
Novel in which Byrd is 'the nearest thing to a hero'.

380. Turbet, Richard. "Joyful singing: Byrd's music at a royal christening". *Musical times* 145 (2004): 85-6.
Reveals that *Sing joyfully* was sung at thechristening of one of the children of James I.

381. Bankes, William. "William Byrd and the Statute of Uses: some thoughts on land tenure during his lifetime". *Annual Byrd newsletter* 10 (2004): 15-16.

382. Goodwin, Christopher. "A candidate lyric for Byrd's *The maiden's songe*". *Annual Byrd newsletter* 10 (2004): 19-26.

383. Harley, John. "Alice and Hester Cole, nées Byrd". *Annual Byrd newsletter* 10 (2004): 6-7.

384. Harley, John. "Look and bow down". *Annual Byrd newsletter* 10 (2004): 4-6.

385. Humphreys, David, "Wilder and Byrd". *Annual Byrd newsletter* 10 (2004): 26-28.

386. Pike, Lionel. "Byrd's 'echo' fantasias?" *Annual Byrd newsletter* 10 (2004): 7-10.

387. Pinto, David. "Byrd and Ferrabosco, a generation on". *Annual Byrd newsletter* 10 (2004): 10-14.

388. Smith, Mike. "Bawdry, balladry, Byrd". *Annual Byrd newsletter* 10 (2004): 16-19.

389. Turbet, Richard. "Early printed editions of Byrd: an addendum and a checklist of articles". *Annual Byrd newsletter* 10 (2004): 16.

390. Turbet, Richard. "Macfarren's organ parts for Byrd's Latin music". *Annual Byrd newsletter* 10 (2004): 16.

REVIEW

Martin Peerson, *Complete works I: Latin motets*, edited by Richard Rastall. Moretonhampstead: Antico Edition, 2002. (Antico edition, AB3)

Martin Peerson (c.1572-1651) is among the most neglected and underrated composers from the generation after Byrd. He is best known for his keyboard music, and one of his pieces, *Piper's pavan*, picked up a misattribution to Byrd during the nineteenth century. He also composed some attractive songs, and during the twentieth century, *Born is the babe* also picked up a misattribution to Byrd. Richard Rastall is a Byrd scholar, with articles under his belt and a book pending.

These fifteen motets form a collection worthy of publication. Neglect in this instance stems from the absence throughout of the cantus (uppermost) part, which Richard has editorially completed. The excellent presentation reflects the quality of Peerson's music. A clear list of contents, including *secundae partes*, is followed by an informative introduction, suggestions for performance, editorial method, critical commentary, and texts and translations. The ring binding ensures the volume remains flat during performance. Crucially the pieces are untransposed (always a good decision nowadays, especially in the light of Andrew Johnstone's article in the current *Early music* – see "New writings" *supra*) in original note-values. Both the publisher and the editor deserve our gratitude for rescuing from oblivion a fine composer and his complete works in an edition both practical and scholarly. R.T.

SIGNIFICANT NEW RECORDINGS

Since *Newsletter* 9 there have been two discs containing works by Byrd new to CD, and one of these is new to disc altogether. *Lord in Thy rage* receives its first recording on *Great music from the Court of Elizabeth I* on The Gift of Music label CDG1052, released by Classical Communications Ltd. It is performed by Sara Stowe with the Elizabethan Consort, and proves fit for the voice in the uppermost part, and two viols. Incidentally, the setting of *Monsieurs alman* is not, contrary to what the label says, one of Byrd's.

Motets of William Byrd, sung by the Choir of Durham Cathedral conducted by James Lancelot (Priory PRCD 801), includes *Gloria tibi Domine*, the fifth and final section of *Quem terra Pontus*, for the first time on CD.

Forthcoming releases make the most exciting news. Volume IX of *The William Byrd edition* on the renamed Gaudeamus label will be a *Gradualia* disc consisting of propers, antiphons and hymns for Corpus Christi, Ascension, Pentecost and the Blessed Sacrament.

Fretwork with Emma Kirkby have recorded a programme of consort music and songs, including two hitherto unrecorded fantasias and the likewise unrecorded song *He that all earthly pleasure scorns*.

Oliver Hirsch, leader of The Duke His Viols who were responsible for the excellent disc *The Spirit of Byrd*, is making a disc of keyboard music which includes two unrecorded songs, sung to accompaniments arranged for chamber organ: *My soul oppressed* and *Truce for a time*.

MISCELLANY

Thanks to David Humphreys we now know where *Non nobis Domine* originated but there is just time to cite another sighting: as the subject of the second movement of Samuel Wesley's *Voluntary* op.6 no. IV. Wesley does not ascribe it to Byrd, and composed the set twenty years before his attempt to publish Byrd's "antiphones" in 1826, but had he thought it not to be by Byrd, his scholarship would have been nearly 170 years ahead of its time.

It seems that when it came to arranging pieces of Byrd's music, our forefathers were unable to make a complete job of it. In last year's Newsletter I mentioned the recording of Bantock's orchestration of *Sellenger's round*; this, delightful though it is, consists only of variations 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7. Meanwhile Percy Grainger's ebullient recorded arrangement for piano of the *Carman's whistle* omits the second variation; his spoken introduction is transcribed in item 219 (see Newsletter 1).

A search of the *International index to music periodicals* revealed three items about Byrd from the early 1920s in *Revue de musicologie*. *Pace IIMP* none qualify as articles. To be fair, one is correctly designated a review, and it is somewhat of a collector's item, being a review of the elusive *List of the music of William Byrd* (London: Oxford University Press, 1923) in volume 4 for 1923, on page 89. This was compiled by the equally elusive Byrd Tercentenary Committee: see my *William Byrd: a guide to research* (New York: Garland, 1987) pp 303-16. In fact the work of compilation was done by its secretary, Gerald Cooper: see page 148 (for "11" read "chapter VIII"). The reviewer, M L Pereyra, has some pithy things to say, both complimenting and criticizing the contents and, despite the Committee's dismissal of early editions, issuing a timely reminder about how much is owed to the initiatives of the Musical Antiquarian Society from 1840.

Another item is entitled "Manuscrits de musique religieuse de Byrd" on page 134 of volume 2, 1920-21. This is merely three unheaded paragraphs forming part of a section headed "Nouvelles musicologiques", the title extracted from the first. What is interesting here is that the anonymous writer refers to manuscripts of Anglican music by Byrd found at Wimborne Minster, including a Creed. No such source for either of Byrd's Creeds is listed in EECM, TCM or BE, so either this turned out to be another composer's Creed, or the MS is of too recent a provenance to bear any editorial significance. Finally there is a paragraph that really is headed "Le centenaire de

Byrd" also from volume 4, this time page 37, which summarizes planned events including publication of the *List* mentioned above.

"Gainsborough, as is sufficiently known, was an enthusiastic admirer of music; and... could modulate to a certain degree on a keyed instrument.... [J.C.] Bach, who had a true German share of dry humour, used to sit and endure his miserable attempts and, laughing in his sleeve, exclaim 'Bravo!' whilst Gainsborough, not at all abashed at his irony, would proceed, labouring hard at any particular key, be it major or be it minor, and drolly exclaim 'Now for Purcell's chaunt, now a specimen of old Bird.'" Angelo, Henry. *Reminiscences of Henry Angelo.* London: Colburn, 1828, vol. 1, pp. 184-5.
[The 'specimen of old Bird' was probably from *Parthenia.*]

Rachelle Taylor completed her awe-inspiring project "Byrd in the hands" successfully. Every Saturday from 3 May to 26 July 2003 she played through the complete keyboard works of Byrd in Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal. See page 4 of last year's *Newsletter* for details.

On a visit to Richmond, Yorkshire, during 2003 I picked up a brochure at the Theatre Royal, the town's historic Georgian theatre. The brochure was a preview of events for August, and on the 3rd advertised a concert by Songbyrd, "Norfolk's chirpiest singing ensemble", directed by Geoff Davidson. And part of the programme, which spanned 700 years, was indeed by Byrd: *Alleluia ascendit Deus.*

The Dunedin Consort continues to evangelise throughout Scotland for all that is the best in choral music, touring throughout the first half of September with a programme featuring Byrd (mass a5 plus motets) and Tallis, plus Tomkins, Morley and Cornysh. I attended the final concert, at Chapel of Garioch [pronounced Gairy] in rural Aberdeenshire, and it was full.

Lincoln Cathedral Library music collections: 17th-19th centuries has been published by World Microfilms Publications, 4 Foscote Mews, London W9 2HH, England (tel +44 (0)207 266 2202, fax 266 2314, email microworld@ndirect.co.uk, website www.microworld.ndirect.co.uk). This consists of sixty reels of silver positive roll microfilm. The firm publishes a list of contents of reels with introduction, and the current price is £2,800, though reels can be purchased separately. It is interesting to follow Byrd during the period when his reputation was at its nadir, at the Cathedral where he had been Organist. The extent of Byrd manuscript material there can be seen in my pamphlet *William Byrd 1540-1623: Lincoln's greatest musician,* 2nd ed. (Lincoln: Honywood, 1999) pages 32-4.

Still at Lincoln Cathedral, the Music Appeal remains open for donations. Donations should be sent to Cathedral Fundraising, FREEPOST, 4 Priorygate, Lincoln LN2 1BR, cheques payable to Lincoln Cathedral Music Appeal.

Facsimiles of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book and the Weelkes Keyboard Manuscript, with introductions by Alan Brown, and the Will Forster Virginal Book, with an introduction by Oliver Neighbour, were scheduled for publication by Minkoff during 2003.

Silas Standage has "devised" a set of three *Improbable In nomines*, the first of which is *New Year's In nomine*, after Byrd (Teddington: Fretwork, 2002).

What we really do: the Tallis Scholars (London: The Musical Times Publishing, 2003) is Peter Phillips's own history of the choir he founded thirty years ago. Page 229 contains the most succinct account of Byrd's genius that I have ever read.

There is now a website for the William Byrd Festival held annually in Portland, Oregon, USA (see above *sub* New Writing). The url is http:www.rdrop.com/users/jamesb/cantores/byrdfest/byrdbiog/.shtml.

An important resource for Byrd research is the Christ Church Library Music Catalogue within the University of Oxford. It is only available electronically and is the work of John Milsom, a scholar who needs no introduction in these pages. The catalogue includes entries for many early printed editions of Byrd's music, and contains invaluable provenance entries in which a start has been made on identifying those among the first owners who signed their copies. Go to www.chch.ox.ac.uk/library/public/music.

LOOK AND BOW DOWN

John Harley

The song 'Look and bow down' is among those in a lute-book compiled for Edward Paston about 1600. It is found in no other source, but it is ascribed to Byrd, and there is no reason to doubt that, like other songs in the part of the collection where it occurs, it is an arrangement of one of his works.[1] The only words given are those with which the song begins ('Looke and bow downe'), and those which begin the third and final section (inaccurately written as 'Tis Josephes hearde'). The full text of the words is, however, provided by two other sources, both of which name Queen Elizabeth as the author. One is a manuscript at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich,[2] and the inclusion of this in the Museum's exhibition 'Elizabeth' during 2003 provides an occasion for consideration of Philip Brett's notes on the song in volume 16 of *The Byrd Edition* (hereafter BE 16).[3]

The Greenwich manuscript, written in a contemporary hand, is reproduced on p. 239 of the exhibition catalogue.[4] Several modern transcriptions have been published, including one in BE 16.[4] A slightly different text, also printed in BE 16, occurs in a book entitled *The Countrie Mans Comfort*, of which only the 1637 edition is known. Insofar as any authority attaches to either of the sources, that of the Greenwich manuscript may be marginally the greater. At

the beginning of the third verse its words ('This Josephes Lorde') correspond more closely to the Paston manuscript's garbled incipit than those of *The Countrie Mans Comfort* ('This Iacobs head'); and the Greenwich manuscript's words throughout fit the music better than the printed words.

The version in *The Countrie Mans Comfort* is preceded by another poem beginning 'Deliver me O Lord my God', and the poems together are described as 'Two most excellent songs or Ditties, made by Queen Elizabeth, as it is credibly reported (and as it is very likely by some words in it) in the yeare 1588, When the Spaniard came to possesse this land and is in manner of prayer to God.'[7]

The sources agree that 'Look and bow down' was sung (presumably in Byrd's setting, since no other is known) when the Queen visited St Paul's on 24 November 1588, to give thanks for the English victory. (It is a little puzzling that the Greenwich manuscript, while undoubtedly describing the events of 24 November, says the song was sung in December.)[8] There are several contemporary descriptions of the Queen's journey in procession to the cathedral. In point of publication the earliest may be the one in *An answer to the untruthes published and printed in Spaine* (1589), though Petruccio Ubaldini's account may have been written earlier.[9] I have not attempted to discover who copied from whom, but an apparently authoritative account was published in 1602 by William Segar, Portcullis Pursuivant at the time of the Queen's visit.[10] This says that she proceeded in state 'from Somerset place to Pauls Church', where 'at the West doore', before entering, she knelt and said the Lord's prayer. Then she received from the Bishop of London a book containing the Orders, Charters and Privileges of the Church, and confirmed them and returned them to the Bishop;

> and so with the whole Quire singing before her, she proceeded up into the Chancell, where within a Travers she rested untill the Procession and other divine Anthems were sung. After which, her Maiesty entred into the place ordained for the Duchie of Lancaster, which at that time was newly reedified with faire and large glasse windows, in which she stayed during the Sermon preached at the Crosse by Doctor Perce then Bish. of Salisbury ... The Sermon being done, her Maiestie went to the Bishops Palace, where she dined: and towards evening she returned unto Somerset place by torchlight.

In a similar passage John Stow says

> she was brought to a closet, of purpose made out of the north wall of the church, towards the pulpit Crosse, where she heard a Sermon made by doctor Pierce bishop of Salisburie, and then returned through the church to the bishops palace, where she dined.[11]

The sources disagree about the music performed in the cathedral. Segar mentions 'the Procession and other divine Anthems'. Brett quotes a Mr Bertrand T. Whitehead, who describes Stow's as 'the most famous' account of the royal visit to St Paul's, and then mentions 'the Te Deum in the cathedral'. But Stow in fact refers only to 'the cleargie singing the Letanie'.[12] The 'singing of sundry Psalms, of which I will onely name this himne... Te Deum Laudamus' is mentioned in *An answer to the untruthes* (p. 27).

In the information given to Brett, Whitehead also describes 'a contemporary ballad', from which he quotes four lines. I am indebted to Mr Edward Furlong for identifying this ballad and telling me where to find it. It was printed in full (all twenty-four eight-line stanzas of it) by A. M. W. Stirling, who claimed to have found it in 'an old copybook' at Cannon Hall, in the West Riding of Yorkshire.[13] Some material from Cannon Hall, which is now a museum, were transferred to the Sheffield Archives; but despite the efforts of Mr William Bell, a member of the staff, no trace of the ballad has been found there, and the supposition must be that it is in private hands, if it survives at all.

The long title begins 'A Joyfull ballad of the Royal entrance of Quene E.': the first two lines are

> *Amonge the woonderous works of God*
> *For savegard of owre Quene.*[14]

Since it mentions Edward de Vere, the seventeenth Earl of Oxford, the ballad is one of the sources put forward as evidence by those who seek to show that he was the author of the works of Shakespeare, and I suspect that is why it was known to Whitehead. It agrees with Segar's statement that the Queen heard the sermon from an enclosed place with windows. This is evident from the following passage (part of which is quoted in BE 16):

> *And afterward* unto Paules Crosse*
> *She dyd dyrectlye passe*
> *Wheare by the byshop of Salysburye*
> *A sermon preached was*
>
> * after the service
>
> *The Earl of Oxford openyng than*
> *The wyndowes for hyr Grace*
> *The Chyldren of the Hospytall*
> *She saw before her face.*

The 'Chyldren' must have been, as Whitehead and Brett suggest, those of 'Christs Hospitall in Newgate market of a new foundation in the Grey Fryers church by king Henry the eight'.[15] Whitehead and Brett also seem to suggest that 'Look and bow down' is likely to have been performed by the Children immediately after the sermon. This requires examination.

Brett notes that, although the intabulations in the Paston manuscript are mostly of five-part pieces, the first and last sections of 'Look and bow down' are labelled '.6. voc:'. The annotations are marginal, however, and are placed at the top of each verso leaf of the song. They appear to indicate that the whole song is in six parts, not just two sections of it. A possibility is that it was originally written for one or two singers and a consort of viols, maybe with a vocal chorus or choruses, along the lines of the six-part 'Christ rising again/Christ is risen again' (which follows 'Look and bow down' in the Paston manuscript). But, if it was, it is doubtful whether it could have been sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital. Although the Children in their distinctive russet livery participated in a number of Elizabethan celebrations,[16] it does not appear that they

were trained in singing until the reign of James I, and then perhaps only to an elementary standard.[17] It seems more probable that the Queen heard the song performed, possibly under Byrd's direction, by some of her own musicians or other professionals.

Superficially, the hypothesis that 'Look and bow down' was performed at Paul's Cross appears to be supported by *The Countrie Mans Comfort*, which introduces it as: 'The other song of Queene Elizabeth made in manner of a thankesgiving to God for her and our deliverance from the invincible Navie of the Spaniard (as he termed it) which thanks and praise was performed at Saint Pauls crosse in London.' But this means that 'thanks and praise' was performed there, not the song. The Greenwich manuscript says a setting of the Queen's poem was 'songe before her at her cominge from white hall to Powles throughe fleetest[reet]e'. This could refer generally to the day of the Queen's procession, or it could refer to a more specific performance location. If the song was sung during the Queen's journey to St Paul's, it would not have been the first or the last time that English sovereigns were greeted with music as they passed through the streets of Westminster and the City, but none of the sources mentions such an occurrence on this occasion.[18] Where was it sung, then? Could it have been at the Bishop's palace, where the Queen dined?[19] This strikes me as an altogether more likely venue than either the street or the churchyard, where the performers would have had to battle against the noise of the crowds and an outdoor acoustic.

1. British Library, Additional MS 31992, ff. 43v-44v. See Philip Brett, 'Edward Paston (1550-1630): a Norfolk Gentleman and his Musical Collection', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, iv, pp. 51-69, and 'Pitch and Transposition in the Paston manuscripts', in *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on the British Library Collections*, ed. Chris Banks, Arthur Searle and Malcolm Turner (London, 1993), pp. 89-118; also Stewart McCoy, 'William Byrd's Lullaby: an Example of Contemporary Intabulation', *Annual Byrd Newsletter*, ix (2003), pp. 10-13.

2. Caird Library, National Maritime Museum, MS SNMG/4, at one time part of a volume of papers belonging to the historian and antiquary Sir Henry Spelman (1564?-1641).

3. *Madrigals, Songs and Canons*, ed. Philip Brett (London, 1976).

4. *Elizabeth: the Exhibition at the National Maritime Museum*, ed. Susan Doran (London, 2003). The handwriting is at first glance reminiscent of Byrd's, but the forms of certain letters (e.g. 'A' and 'a') show it is not his.

5. BE 16, p. 198. Brett evidently consulted the manuscript, as he followed its capitalization and abbreviations fairly closely. It is also transcribed in *The Naval Miscellany*, iv (1952), pp. 83-84; and Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago, 2000), p. 41.

6. *The Countrie Mans Comfort. Or Religious Recreations ... Which was Printed in the yeare of our Lorde 1588. And since corrected, amended, and enlarged by the same Author.* I. R.... London, M. D. (sold by Ann Boler), 1637, ff. [D6v-7r]. As noted in BE 16, a book entitled *The Galorye of goodnes: and the Cuntreymans Comfort* was registered on 16 December 1588. In BE 16 the sentence introducing the poem in *The Countrie Mans Comfort* is printed with slight inaccuracies (notably 'promise' for 'praise').

7. *Countrie Mans Comfort*, f. [D6r]. The defeat of the Armada was also celebrated in three ballads by 'T. D.' (Thomas Deloney), two of which were intended to be sung to tunes set for the keyboard by Byrd: *Mounsieur's Almain* and *Wilson's Wild*. The ballads are reprinted in *An English Garner. Tudor Tracts 1532-1588. With an Introduction by A. F. Pollard* (Westminster, 1903), pp. 485-502.

8. This may be the result of a simple error on the part of the copyist; it is hard to see why he might have dated the Queen's visit according to the calendar promulgated by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582 and used on the Continent.

9. *An answer to the untruthes published and printed in Spaine, in glorie of their supposed victorie atchieved against our English navie... first written and published in Spanish by a Spanish gentleman; who came hither out of the Lowe Countries... Faithfully translated by I. L.* [i.e. James Lea], London, printed by Iohn Iackson, for Thomas Cadman. 1589. The narrative of Ubaldini (who first came to England from Tuscany) was published as *A Discourse concerninge the Spanishe fleete invadinge Englande in the yeare 1588... written in Italian by Petruccio Ubaldino... and translated for A Rythet...* [Imprinted at London, by A. Hatfield, and are to be sold at the shop of A. Rither... 1590]; for a note on this see *Bibliography of British History, Tudor Period 1485-1603 ... Second edition*, ed. Conyers Read (Oxford, 1959), p. 301. Later accounts, apparently based on early publications or manuscripts detailing the order of procession (e.g. Harleian 894, f. 3v), include those in William Camden's *Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum, regnante Elizabetha* (1615), Samuel Clarke's *England's Remembrancer* (1657), and John Nichols's *The progresses and public processions of Queen Elizabeth* (1788-1805).

10. William Segar, *Honor Military, and Civill* (London, 1602), pp. 244-5. Segar was Portcullis Pursuivant 1585, Somerset Herald 1589, Norroy King of Arms 1593 (temporarily Garter King of Arms 1603-7), and knighted 1616.

11. John Stow, *The Annales of England* (London, 1605), f. [Nnnn 6v-7r]. John Gipkym's painting 'Farley's Dream', depicting Paul's Cross, is reproduced in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Second edition*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 2001), xv, p. 92.

12. Stow, loc. cit.

13. A. M. W. Stirling [formerly A. M. D. W. Pickering], *Life's Little Day* (London, 1924), pp. 277-81. Part of the ballad was subsequently published in B. M. Ward, *The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford* (London, 1928), pp. 293-4.

14. On 25 November 1588 the printer Thomas Orwyn, with commendable speed, registered 'A Joyefull Songe or Sonnett of the royall receavinge of the queenes maiestye into the cyttye of London on Sondaye the 24th of November 1588, all alonge Flete Streete to the Cathedrall church of Sainct Paule.' I have found no reference to a copy having survived, and it is uncertain whether it was the ballad printed by Stirling.

15. John Stow, *A Survey of London, reprinted from the text of 1603*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, (Oxford, 1908), ii, p. 145. Stow says: 'poor fatherless children be there brought up and nourished at the charges of the cittizens.'

16. On the afternoon of Christmas Day 1552, for example, when the Lord Mayor and aldermen rode to St Paul's, the children 'stood, from saint Lawrence lane end in Cheape, towards Powles, all in one livery of russet cotten, 340. in number' (Stow, *Survey*, ii, p. 319). Russet was an indication of social status, like the blue livery that later replaced it.

17. 'In this Hospital, anno. 3 Jac. a free singing school was founded and endowed by Robert Dow' (Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (New York, 1963), ii, p. 825). Dow was the father of Robert Dow the younger, compiler of a manuscript anthology containing many pieces by Byrd (Christ Church, Oxford, Music MSS 984-8). Hawkins noted that, in his day, the Christ's Hospital children sang only psalm tunes, 'and those by ear'.

18. Stow, *Annales*, loc. cit., mentions speeches and gifts made to the Queen during her journey.

19. The Bishop's palace was on the northwest side of St Paul's churchyard (Stow, *Survey*, ii, p. 20)

ALICE & HESTER COLE, NÉES BYRD

John Harley

In an article written a few years ago I suggested that Alice Cole, who was listed as a recusant along with William Byrd's wife, Julian, in a gaol delivery roll of 1586/7, might be the composer's sister ('New Light on William Byrd', *Music and Letters*, lxxix, 1998, p. 487). This idea is supported by the presence of an Alice Cole in a later list of recusants in the parish of St Mary Overy, Southwark (Hugh Bowler, ed., *Recusant Roll no. 2 (1593-1594)*, London, 1965 (Catholic Record Society Publications, Records Series, 57), p.180). She appears with 'Ann Byrde', who could well be the widow of William's brother Symond.

More information has come to light about Symond Byrd's daughter Hester. Her second husband, Robert Chantflower (Chanflowre, Chaundflowre, Chaundler or Chandler), was a member of the Salters' Company who lived in Budge Row (John Harley, *William Byrd, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal*, 1997, p. 118-9). The parish registers of St Antholin Budge Row show that Hester died, probably in childbirth, in 1597; she was buried on 27 July, the same day that her son Robert was baptised (Guildhall Library MS 9016; *The parish registers of St Antholin Budge Row*, ed. Joseph Lemuel Chester and Geo J. Armytage (Harleian Society Registers, 8), London, 1883, pp. 38-39). Chantflower was quickly married again on 22 January 1598 to Priscilla Talbois at St Pancras, Soper Lane (Guildhall Library, MS 5015). But life in Elizabethan times was nothing if not uncertain, and 'Precilla' was buried at St Antholin's on the following 29 October. Information about the family from which Chantflower came is contained in the will of his father, John Chaundflower *alias* Chandler, made on 22 March 1584/5 and proved on 3 April 1585 (National Archives, Prob. 11/68, ff. 113v-114r).

BYRD'S 'ECHO' FANTASIAS?

Lionel Pike

Echo Fantasias written to exploit the possibilities of dynamic contrast on an organ with more than one manual were quite popular in the early years of the seventeenth century, especially in the Netherlands. It has been said that Sweelinck was the first to write such pieces,[1] though there are examples of the form by other composers roughly contemporary with him, and a few which are similar in style can be found to pre-date Sweelinck's. Although pieces 'for a double organ'[2] appear in England, instrumental echo pieces were not so popular in England as on the continent. In the later years of the sixteenth century echo madrigals and polychoral works became popular; and during the same period Banchieri and Giovanni Gabrieli used the terms *pian* and *forte*, which clearly belong to the same trend. In England the frequent division of liturgical music into parts for the *decani* and *cantoris* sides of the choir also suggests answering or echo techniques.

Alan Curtis[3] puts forward the view that the prevalence of paired imitation in renaissance music was primarily responsible for suggesting the echo principle to Sweelinck and his contemporaries, though this seems to be only one of several contributory factors. The early baroque fantasias *in echo* in fact build on a tradition which stretches back over at least the last thirty years of the sixteenth century: the designation 'echo' is not always applied to the pieces which form this tradition, and there are several different treatments of the device. These pieces are mostly for instrumental consort, and the echo technique in each one of them becomes a potent force in achieving cohesion.

I owe to Oliver Neighbour the idea that Byrd took Parsons's *The song called trumpets* and *De la court*[4] – instrumental fantasias which include elements of 'echo', though the device is not so marked – as the starting-point for some 'echo' fantasias of his own. The influence is likely to have been direct, for Byrd, like Parsons, was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and both men had Lincolnshire connections. Several of Byrd's instrumental works use the echo principle without making it the central feature;[5] but it is in his two six-voice fantasias Nos 12 and 13 in Kenneth Elliot's edition[6] – I shall refer to them as B12 and B13 – that Byrd most clearly anticipates the style of the echo fantasia as we know it from the examples by Sweelinck. Although the word 'echo' is neither used in Byrd's fantasias (as it is in the title of some, but not all, the Sweelinck sources), nor suggested by the notation,[7] the close mirroring of short phrases in the two upper voices, and the focussing of attention on them, make the style very like that of the continental echo fantasias – or, more accurately, *vice versa*. One might be forgiven for mistaking the music of Example 1 for an echo fantasia by Sweelinck, even though it is not the *pian e forte* idea that creates the effect so much as an alternation of the direction from which the sound proceeds.

Sweelinck may or may not have known Byrd's fantasias: it is, however, clear that his pieces in this style were written later than Byrd's. After careful research, Alan Curtis concluded that the echo fantasias

> were essentially a forward-looking and novel genre in Sweelinck's day, a genre created perhaps no earlier than the first years of the 17th century (though most likely before 1609, when Scheidt left Amsterdam).[8]

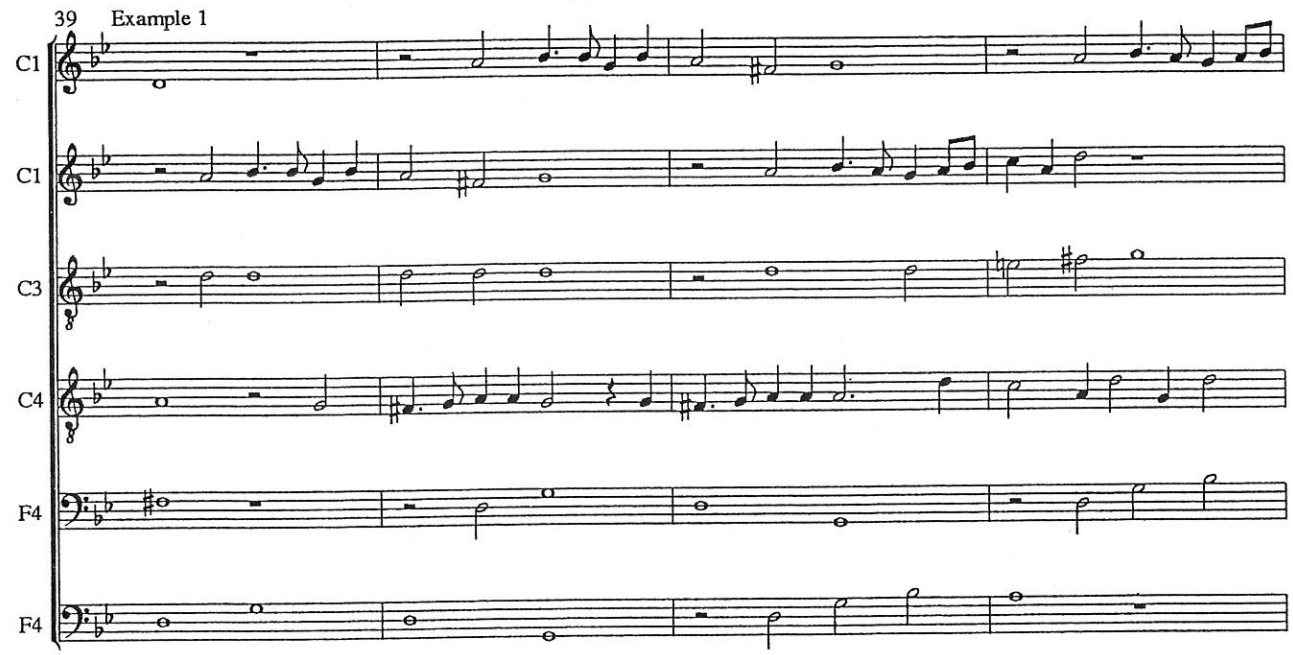
Byrd's two fantasias, though difficult to date precisely, belong to the sixteenth century, and Parsons's two fantasias predate Byrd's:[9] B12 appears to be earlier than B13, for although the latter does not share B12's thematic material (apart from one brief phrase), it does rework its main ideas in a somewhat more accomplished and certainly more thorough fashion.[10] Whether or not Sweelinck knew B12 and B13, or either of the Parsons pieces – they were all quite popular and survive in a fair number of contemporary sources – Byrd's fantasias repay study for the handling of the idea and the logical growth of development which goes beyond anything found in later echo fantasias.

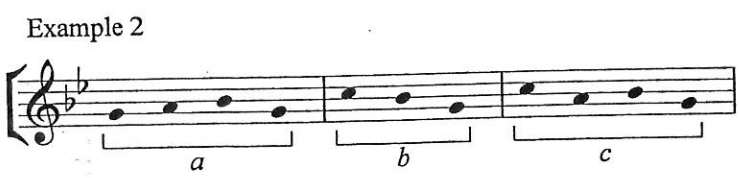
B12 and B13 are similar to each other and somewhat novel in form. After an introductory passage in the imitative style normal for openings of fantasias (as found in Parsons's *De la court*), a freer section follows in which various kinds of echo effects are introduced: next comes a short dance (a feature which recalls both pieces by Parsons), and both of Byrd's fantasias are completed by a brief return to the stricter imitative style of the opening. Within this framework Byrd treats the two works rather differently.

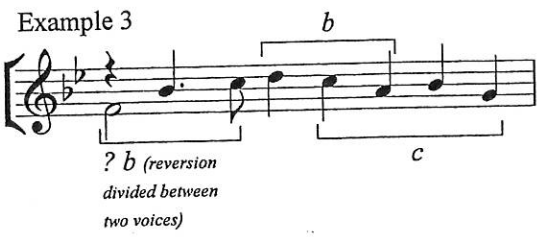
The first hint of the 'echo' style in B12 occurs in bars 12-14, the short phrase in the topmost part being imitated by the next voice down: attention is drawn to these two since

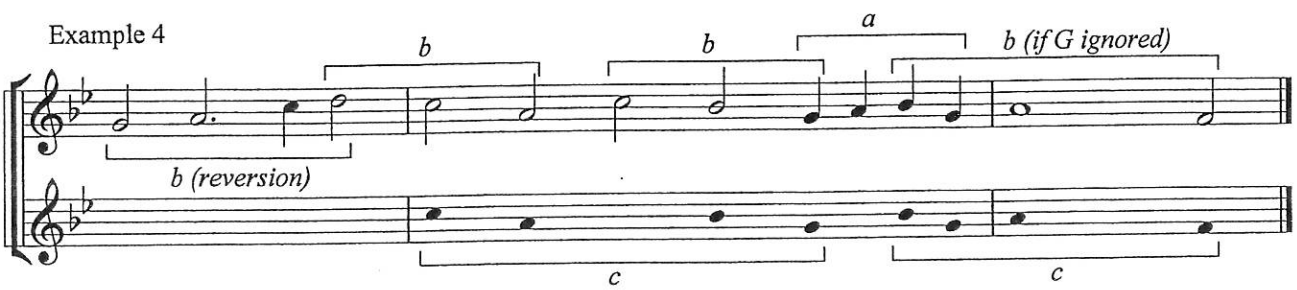
they are set apart by being much higher than the accompanying voices. Further echoes are given in a freer form until a contrasting section is reached at bar 32. This new section, a large one extending to bar 65, makes much use of alternating blocks of sound, phrases being tossed between various groups in double-choir fashion. Although the phrases so treated differ considerably in length, it is clear that the idea is an extension of the more straightforward echo presented earlier in the fantasia. Byrd's next step (taken at bar 65) is to combine these two ideas so that the short phrases are echoed by the two upper voices in a manner very similar to that used earlier by Parsons and later by Sweelinck, and imitations are worked on off-beats in the lower voices. There follows a combination of *Greensleeves* (announced in echo fashion by the two upper parts) and the *Romanesca* bass."

The introduction of a complete galliard extends an idea found in Parsons's two fantasias mentioned above: this, together with the *Romanesca* bass and *Greensleeves*, creates in B12 the impression of a rather eclectic quolibet. This particular galliard is carefully integrated into the piece as a whole so that, despite the surprise occasioned by the arrival of a full-scale dance, the musical logic does not cease. Melodic figures already much used (one consisting of three notes rising by step, the other of four notes falling by step) become more widespread here and reach their culmination in the dance, which they permeate completely. They give a sense of climax and of progression towards that point: indeed, the galliard opens with a statement of the rising three-note figure which is immediately inverted to form the falling one of four notes – a nice fusion of the two motives into a single melodic phrase.









More important than this is the continued development of the echo idea. The galliard is in the usual three strains, each of which is repeated; in all three strains the tune is announced in one of the two upper voices, the repeat being given to the other voice as a 'long-range echo' – a development of the echo techniques used earlier in the piece. In the second strain the highly-rhythmic nature of the tune (as compared with the more static accompaniment) helps to focus attention on the model and its echo. One might also argue that within each of these three strains further echoes can be heard (though the pitches vary), for Byrd constructs the strains carefully in a series of sequences: this impression of echoes on the smaller, as well as the larger, scale is intensified by the interchange of voices within the strains, and also by the echoes at a lower octave in the third strain. Byrd uses this galliard for the same purpose as he had used the *Romanesca* bass and its well-known counterpoint *Greensleeves* earlier in the piece: the formality, predictability, and familiarity of the dance form make no demands on the listeners themselves, and so help them to concentrate on the internal logic of the echoes spread across the galliard on two distinct levels.

To end, Byrd returns to the more regular style of the opening, writing freely-imitative polyphony over a purely harmonic bass. The echoes are now forgotten, and though the imitative point apparently attempts to fuse the rising and falling step-wise figures, the section is over-long and too loosely constructed for its position in the work. One imagines that Byrd considered B12 unsatisfactory in some respects: his magnificent galliard is the culmination of a development that is itself too lacking in direction and too eclectic to call for such a superb peroration. Whether or not that was his view, he completely reworked the idea of unifying a piece by means of 'echo' devices in B13.

Although he uses the same instrumental combination,[12] ground-plan, and mode[13] in B13 as he had done in B12, Byrd makes no reference to pre-existing music.[14] Instead, he follows the echo principle through with greater single-mindedness. As is normal in those continental echo fantasias which come later, the opening point of B13 acts as an introduction in thoroughly renaissance imitative fashion, without recourse to echoes: it is set apart from the remainder of the piece by a complete stop on a G-major chord. Nevertheless, the opening imitations introduce thematic elements which unify the fantasia as a whole in a manner not found to such an extent in B12: they begin to fall over one another in *stretto* as the point proceeds. The figures in question are *a* (see Example 2), which permeates the point almost to the exclusion of the other two figures; *b*, which results from a tonal answer of the opening notes (in bar 13); and figure *c*, which plays a considerable part after the imitative introduction.

From bar 21 a new section begins (using figures *a* and *b* prominently) and almost immediately the two upper voices, by their canonic behaviour, suggest the echo style: moreover, there are further suggestions of echo (or, rather, of canon) in the four lower instruments. There is, however, an immediate and interesting difference between the four lower voices and the two upper ones, for the latter overlap exactly as a natural echo might, whereas the lower four instruments behave more like the echoes of Sweelinck in that their imitations come after the completion of the model. (Only with considerable physical difficulty would it be possible to produce the effect of overlapping echoes, so frequently found in B12 and B13, on the organ.) The suggestion of multiple canons which Byrd makes at this early stage is a clear development of the idea of echo and its implications which he had already partially explored in B12. Freer imitations continue, until from bar 39 straightforward echoes of phrases of various lengths begin to be heard, the interest being focussed upon the two upper voices which form model and echo (see Example 1): together with bars 12-32 and 72-87 of B12, these bars in B13 are the nearest in style to the later Sweelinck fantasias. The rhythmic ingenuity (perhaps derived from a study of Parsons's *The song called trumpets*), melodic interest, variety of phrase length and the amount (or absence) of overlap between model and echo make B13 a much more impressive achievement than any of Sweelinck's essays in this form. Moreover, the frequent appearances of motif *c* (sometimes ornamented, as in bars 43-6) and of *b* will be plainly evident: Example 3 shows a typical instance. At this stage figure *a* is less in evidence: nevertheless, the motivic unity of the piece is of a type not attempted at all by Sweelinck, though it occurs at times in Parsons's earlier fantasias.

From bar 57 Byrd uses coloration to produce triple rhythms – a complication found in Parsons, though not in B12. Occasional echoes still occur, though the imitations are now freer, the pitch being sometimes varied. This quite lengthy passage juxtaposes white and coloured notation to produce a conflict between duple and triple rhythms:[15] such rhythmic complexities fascinated Byrd. The conflict provides a nice link with the dance section[16] which follows, for here the accentuation of six beats as either two multiples of three or three multiples of two, characteristic of the galliard, is explored with a thoroughness typical of Byrd at his best. If this expression of the conflict of duple and triple in two different ways links the dance (beginning at bar 80) to the preceding section, so does the opening of the tune of the dance, which seems to derive from the second half of bar 57. One can go further than this, though: just as Byrd integrates the galliard section of B12 by thematic means, so here by even more intricate thematic means does he integrate the dance section of B13. The opening of this section is shown in Example 4: a connection with the passage shown in Example 3 will be immediately evident, reminding one of the kind of thematic handling often found in pavan and galliard pairs, and also of Parsons's thematic handling in *The song called trumpets*.

In the present dance there is, however, an ornamented repeat of each strain, rather than the more simple echoes found in the galliard section of B12. In varying the repeats, Byrd also introduces extra echoes within the strain (though sometimes they differ from the model in pitch)

and extra statements of the unifying thematic material. Moreover, strains 1 and 2 have a tune which migrates between the two upper voices in echo fashion; and on a still smaller scale, the statements of *b* in Example 4 might be said to present little echoes (though such repetitions of small fragments are frequent in Byrd's instrumental music). The third and final strain of the dance (beginning at bar 92) introduces echoes – some at the octave – at a much shorter distance, the main phrase quickly migrating between various instruments. During the repeat of this strain the number of echoes multiplies in *stretto* fashion – a device which clearly recalls Byrd's treatment of the opening point – so that echoes occur on off-beats. Moreover, in bar 99, the most audible echo (in the topmost voice) is not the 'correct' one rhythmically, for the latter is placed in the bass a minim[17] later – a rhythmic device suggested by Parsons's *The song called trumpets*. The dance, granted all its expressiveness and beauty of melodic line, treats the idea of echo on several levels which overlap with each other in a most learned fashion: in it the idea of governing and unifying the piece by using this device is raised to a very high degree. This complexity provides a sense of climax, and again the formalism of the dance helps the ear to follow the intricate reasoning.

A brief return to the tempo and style of the opening rounds off the piece. The growth of tension through the handling of learned devices is not relaxed in B13 as it had been at the corresponding point in B12, for to end Byrd writes what one might take as the ultimate form of echo – a canon 4 in 2. This recalls the canon which had appeared immediately after the introductory imitative points, at bars 21-28. Moreover, apart from the use of *b* in the *nota cambiata* phrase, the material of the canon is *c* and its inversion.

Peter Philips probably knew Byrd's two six-part fantasias discussed above, for he himself took over some of the ideas and used them in a consort work of his own – the *Passamezzo Pavan*; and Philips was possibly the link between Byrd and Sweelinck. There were close musical ties between the Netherlands and England at the time, and Sweelinck was not only a great admirer of English music but also incorporated many of its traits into his own instrumental style.[18] Like Philips, he was a fine keyboard player: he was almost never absent from Amsterdam, though it is known that Philips visited him there. Philips's embryonic echo phrases (though not marked as such) in the third strain of his famous 1580 pavan were copied when Sweelinck made his own arrangement of that piece. The wide knowledge that Sweelinck clearly had of English musicians and their compositions suggests that he knew the English consort pieces discussed above, and the similarity of various points of style make it seem likely that he was building upon that knowledge; but it is impossible to prove the point beyond doubt.[19]

1. Alan Curtis, *Sweelinck's Keyboard Music*, Publications of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute Leiden, Leiden and London, 1972, 66f.
2. i.e. a two-manual instrument.
3. Curtis, op cit, 66ff.
4. *Musica Britannica* xliv, nos 70 and 34.
5. These are the *Echo Pavan* and *Echo Galliard* tentatively attributed to Byrd in *Musica Britannica* xxviii (pp. 206-210), and the rather odd and somewhat experimental six-voice *Pavan and Galliard* for consort (Byrd, *Collected Works*, xvii, Nos 15a and 15b). The variation in what might loosely be termed 'double-choir style' – that is, the use of blocks of sound imitating each other with some variation of scoring, octave, or key – in *The woods so Wild* (*Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* No. 67) merely uses a technique common at the time. In addition, the echo idea is used in embryo in the ground-bass section of *Prelude [and Ground]* for five instruments (Byrd, *Collected Works*, xii, No. 9): the last two bars of each phrase of the ground are repeated, giving Byrd the opportunity to use cross-relations and a somewhat modal scheme of chord roots, while avoiding four-square rhythms. The two-bar repeat is at first handled like an echo at a lower octave, the 'echo' being re-scored so as to suggest the double-choir style (see the remarks in Francis Routh, *Early English Organ Music from the Middle Ages to 1837*, Barrie and Jenkins, London, 1973, 78): this 'echo' nature is gradually superseded by the more continuous polyphony, the voices running across the cadence rather than breaking completely as they had done earlier in the piece. This *Prelude [and Ground]* seems to be about contemporary with the two six-voice fantasias discussed below. See also the *Gloria tibi Trinitas [1]* by Blitheman printed as *Musica Britannica* i, No. 91.
6. Byrd, *Collected Works*, xvii. Bar numbers given in the text refer to this edition.
7. Only in No. 11 of the Leonhardt edition (Amsterdam 1974) is any indication of echoes given by Sweelinck in the notation of his pieces: this is not in the form of dynamics, but of red notation.
8. Curtis, op. cit., 86. Noske says nothing to contradict this view of Curtis's (see Fritz Noske, *Sweelinck*, Oxford Studies of Composers, 1988, 96ff.).
9. See Oliver Neighbour, *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd*, Faber and Faber, London, 1978, 79. Joseph Kerman and Warwick Edwards both put Byrd's two fantasias in the 1580s, for good reasons: Ralph T. Daniel and Peter Le Huray, *The Sources of English Church Music, 1549-1660*, Stainer and Bell, London, 1972, date the earliest source, *GB-Ob* Mus, Sch. E. 423, as 1575-90 (see also *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*). Robert Parsons, on the other hand, died in 1572.
10. In most sources B12 is relatively closely followed by B13.
11. With regard to *Greensleeves*, John M. Ward, *Apropos the British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, Journal of the American Musicological Society xx, No.1, 1967, 44 *et seq.*, points out that 'This tune type is, almost without exception, associated with the romanesca and/or cut-time passamezzo antico'.
12. The clefs vary slightly, yet both pieces are – in the words of B12 in *GB-Lbl* Add MSS 29996 fol. 211r – 'A Fantasia a 6 voci two Basses two Trebles / a Tenor & contra Tenor'.
13. Not all sources agree that B12 is on G rather than A.
14. Except that the point at bars 28 *et seq.* seems to derive from the opening point of B12.
15. See especially bars 75 *et seq.*.
16. In galliard style, yet not so regular as in B12, and beginning with an upbeat.
17. In the original note-values.
18. Curtis, op. cit., *passim*.
19. Both B12 and B13 were copied into several different manuscripts, and must therefore have been quite popular at the end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth, when most of the sources were written down. Giovanni Gabrieli's *Canzon per sonar in echo Duodecima Toni* (1597) exhibits some of the same features as do Byrd's fantasias B12 and B13.

BYRD AND FERRABOSCO, A GENERATION ON

David Pinto

Since 1959, with a copious selection of *Jacobean Consort Music* (*MB* 9), the *Musica britannica* collection has accumulated in a very comprehensive series the ensemble chamber music of the century and a half up to Henry Purcell, starting from the Tudor precursors of Byrd. Two absences to be slightly regretted are Purcell himself and Byrd too

(except for his appearance in its keyboard series); though *Opera omnia* not accordable to everyone must be granted to the greatest eminences. But even the lower peaks afford vistas enjoyable in their own right, a terrain now mapped in enough detail for almost all the heights to be assailable. Texts of the lesser masters give alignments on the music of Byrd, too, if only in the sense of the fuller opportunities they afford for assessing the effects of his example on contemporaries and successors; for better, for worse, or even not at all. Here, Alfonso Ferrabosco II (Junior) makes an arresting contrast, all the more because of the story of friendly, respectful rivalry between Byrd and his father of the same name, so well-plumbed through the efforts of modern scholars as to need no revisiting here. The son is another matter: across the generation gap, should one have high hopes of valid points of comparison? After his four-part fantasias, in *MB* volume 62, the appearance of the remainder in five and six parts in volume 81 makes it easier for those interested to compare for themselves afresh his works on similar scale to those in the *The Byrd Edition* volume 17, or elsewhere by other writers; and these comments are a (necessarily) personal and partial view of some immediate ramifications.

One problem in gauging Byrd's influence is our modern perspective, a justifiable view of him as a titan beside his contemporaries. But did *they* have the same distant, dispassionate discernment? How effectively could they have gauged his whole output? His personal influence may have been most as a player-teacher on keyboard; his part in Anglican service music, through the Chapel Royal, his most widely influential music. His mass-settings, and other contributions to the liturgy like the *Cantiones Sacrae* (1589, 1591) were published with a main eye on the recusant community, restricting audience and impact. His part-songs cannot have affected contemporary fashions much, even at the time they came to print. Vocal forms evolved rapidly in his mid-life, and so did instrumental music; the new Stuart dynasty in 1603 did nothing to allay the rate of change. Here Thomas Tomkins, perhaps the most traditionally-minded or faithful craft follower in the ensemble field, acts as a benchmark (*MB* 59). None of his work can precede the 1590s, going by his birth-date, even if it naturally occupies similar genres of dance, and fantasia (free, or on a cantus firmus). Scratch the surface, and changes in approach appear in most areas. Fantasia in three parts was much affected. The few small pieces by Byrd that survive are not too removed from the didactic vocal style of the bicinium, or minor excerpts from mass-movements of a type found widely in renaissance amateur literature – even before one looks for models in the smallish ricercar literature. There is no sign that Byrd had a personal involvement in disseminating this sort of repertoire. By contrast, three-part Tomkins is an opus in its own right: large, varied, but as a series an amalgam. It veers at times to the learned (with a notable example of an exercise in spiral canon) or the archaic, as in one In Nomine – written incidentally on a small scale unknown elsewhere in the ensemble genre – that disposes the cantus firmus in the bass: a keyboard trait? But usually his counterpoint is florid in a 'forward'-looking manner, if it can become stranded between successions of little-related 'points': the model may well be Gibbons and an incipient trio-sonata scoring (c.1622), where problems of attaining organicity have moved beyond the contrapuntal. To four-part fantasy Byrd, possibly out of tune with its improvisatory structure, was no large contributor. As well as indeterminate style, fantasia on this scale had anyway a cross-media identity, as shown in the few extant Tudor examples, by Philip van Wilder, Ranaldo Paradiso, James Harding, Ferrabosco Senior and Byrd himself. All of these figure in transcriptions for lute or keyboard, even where ensemble versions are not preserved. Tomkins too was untempted by free fantasia on this scale, if intrigued enough by Alfonso Junior's series to score and scrutinise it with attention. His only venture was a reversion: a selection all too obviously adapted from an extended keyboard variation set on the scholastic hexachord, much worked-over in draft, but with little to extend the scope of the genre except by re-importing old-fashioned metre changes. In six parts, Tomkins did, in one fantasy (no.3), very faithfully pay tribute to the vital dance-rhythms and close antiphony that make Byrd's two linked fantasias in *g* so bracing, but turned away from their decidedly formal structure of prelude dance-sections and 'close'. His other essays also tend to the derivative, but look more to the writing of others, in a newer luxuriant style with admixtures of italianate chromaticism. On a five-part scale he was little drawn to fantasy (even the ground or *canto fermo* forms favoured by Byrd), but did expend some energy on the pavan. That was socially archaic, even by 1610, but still stayed the principal dance-form admissible into chamber music up to the civil war. Pavan is the area where Tomkins seems most poised between the worlds of Byrd and progressive trends seen in Alfonso Junior; and in fact this second Alfonso does more than any other composer seem to be the touchstone for measuring the scale and rate of change, round about 1600.

It is no accident to find Alfonso Junior so associated with a new range of proto-baroque genres or techniques. His motets and canzonets are unremarkable if solid, but then he never had professional responsibility for traditional singing groups. Other vocal works show him as perhaps the pioneer of continuo styles and recitative in England, an early associate of Ben Jonson in the court masque – extant examples that he left unpublished are collected in *Alfonso Ferrabosco II Manuscript Songs* ed. Ian Spink (Stainer & Bell; London, 1966 – *The English Lute-Songs* 19). His purely instrumental music shows in its own ways general baroque traits of pervasive reorganisation of characteristics across old boundaries. His 4-part fantasias (*MB* 62) have moved into a world that carries limited amounts out of preceding English writing. Just what that tradition was is not always clear, of course. Also, a precise precedent for his style does not seem to exist, since it is possibly a quite authentic new italianate blend: pervasive imitation from the ricercar, as the editors of MB 62 discuss, assimilated to a new thematic profile, a more vigorous rhythmic drive on canzona models, as Bruce Bellingham has additionally

pointed out: 'Convention and Transformation in Ferrabosco's Four-Part Fantasias', *John Jenkins and His Time* ed. Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman (Clarendon Press; Oxford, 1996) 111-135. His themes are typically elongated, more prolonged than habitual before, often not reducible to a basic row under ten pitches or so (including canzona-like repetitions of pitch). Contrapuntal procedures of varying degrees of severity had been responsible, very early on, for the classic successes in Italy: in the severely contrapuntal 'Bourdeney Codex' pieces (now plausibly attributed to Giaches Brunel), or Annibale Padovano's superbly mature and varied *Ricercari* (Venice, 1556) that integrate plainchant themes. Hybridisation from canzona is evident as early as Claudio Merulo's fluent ricercari (Venice, 1574 onwards), but Alfonso II seems to have found the mood of the moment in purveying to an English audience something more muscular, in a dialect idiomatic for strings that extended vocal part-range (as Tomkins noted in his own marginal comments). His pieces also mark a decisive break from vocal models and quotation of popular themes, but equally avoid the more inaudible scholarly binding devices like inversion and retrograde movement for a punctuated phrasing, underscored often by a trusty device: cadential augmentation. (With the modulatory procedures, derided by Byrd as 'sourest sharps and uncouth flats', that is one of the features transmitted to the closest developer of his style, John Jenkins). Some aspects, here and in the stylistically less unified but otherwise very similar six-part opus, do seem quite traditional, like pedals *in coda*; but that is counterbalanced with an approach to structure that at times can be free. Warwick Edwards has suggested a debt to Byrd in one four-part fantasia that falls into two strains (VdGS no.13; edn no.15), but it may be as useful to see its almost dance- or 'aire'-like structure as one strongly marked by the hand of a lyra-violist: it was after all published in a version for three lyras in the composer's *Lessons for 1.2. and 3. Viols.* (1609). That says something for his audience, too. All evidence to date suggests a court clientele, and it is certainly hard to see this music having the effect that it did without a highly-esteemed centre of distribution. Possibly the Stuart court, with a new emphasis on conspicuous consumption, provided it, though it requires vision to see what circumstances at court could have provided intimate chamber experiences for courtiers. One may underestimate the degree to which writers were craft-led, composing for fellow-players; and the serious side of the lyra repertoire, as opposed to the trivial dances that make up its greater bulk, does seem to have been persistently court-based. Even so, there is a gap that remains to explain the emergence of this particular repertoire with Alfonso II and fellow-players, even in a court ensemble, well-placed to disseminate the music, without the assumption of a newly-converted class of recipients amongst the gentry (who, whatever their shortcomings, did preserve the bulk of our extant sources for the music). And how much did they, in copying a new Jacobean fantasia literature, look back to the Elizabethan past? Appearances may be deceptive, but as often a change of dynasty marks a change in cultural fashion. Extant Jacobean partbooks reflect less and less of Byrd.

There is still all too little evidence of how composers went about their craft: a puzzle less apparent in word-setting, where a text may be considered the dominant partner, but not negligible there either. With absolute or textless music, it is acuter. How did they find a theme, or proceed on it? Very luckily, one of the traditions behind Alfonso Junior's methods is visible, in one unusual six-part fantasia on the Hexachord theme in his output. It has escaped consideration until recently, taken as an anonymous work; but there is no difficulty in the attribution, since it comes at the end of a group of his pieces in a single partbook set, all governed by the same meagre level of ascription (IRL-Dm MSS Z.3.4.7-12, manuscript sequence no.6: formerly VdGS Anon. 3006). It is made up of hexachord statements, and nothing but, apart from free use of chromatic degrees. The interest of that lies less in its sonorous qualities than its didactic governing principle, deducible as an exercise in *inganno*: a particular application of that term to denote a method of transposition. This technique uses the solmised syllable of any particular note as its convertible transposing 'value', to reposition it from its own natural hexachord into the others, 'soft' or 'hard', by a fourth or fifth upwards or downwards. A contour can thus undergo wide variation. The technique has been studied for its use as far back as Giaches Brunel in generating thematic evoluation, notably by Anthony Newcomb, 'Form and Fantasy in Wert's Instrumental Polyphony', *Studi Musicali* vii (1978) 85-102. For Byrd and others in England it has so far only been suspected (notably by John Harper). Given this instance, it is tempting to look back and wonder if it constituted part of the senior generation's practice. A clue may lie in two small three-part hexachord works by Alfonso Senior and William Daman (preserved chiefly by Paston and Baldwin; conveniently available as *MB* 44, nos. 1-2). They fall into a three-part tradition of intensive monothematic play on a subject, typified by a treatment of the 'La sol fa re mi' theme, the opening piece of Vicenzo Ruffo, *Capricci in Musica à Tre Voci* (Milan, 1564: facsimile Studio per Edizioni Scelte; Florence, 1979). Now their methods come under scrutiny, too; can they be demonstrated to mutate solmisable syllables through *inganno*? It is a query tractable with their material if one assumes a minimum general constraint in such works – an *obbligo* – that, *so long as* at least one statement of the hexachord is in progress, other parts may be free invention. An answer then seems to be that there *is* pretty certainly an incidence of such material: as implied in Ruffo's treatment of 'Lascia fare mi', which may also include a small amount of *inganno*. In Daman, note 1 in line II, bar 26, could be a mutated 'la' level completing a row at a point from bar 24 where none other was operative (note 3 in line I, bar 23, could be a mutated 'ut' level, but the cadential bars 24-5 seem otherwise blank for a statement). In bar 37, line III, notes 2-3, pitches d'-e' stand for the fourth higher expected to complete a hexachord (in the absence of one in other lines). The treatment by Ferrabosco Senior is tighter: but bar 25 line III is the one place where a hexachord is absent otherwise than by *inganno*, and here pitch a could stand for d' (but then maybe implying a flat on the previous b', the 'fa' level).

The fascinating question of the extent that the practice underpins general thematic developments could be variously pursued. Though hard to isolate instances where this, and *only* this, device is at work, one example may be Alfonso Junior's four-part fantasia, *MB* 62 no. 19 (VdGS no. 20), an exercise in triple counterpoint. The initial 8-note theme has a four-square outline, all in crotchets but for a penultimate minim, maintained with undented precision through tonal and real answers and against two countersubjects (which combine into a triple statement at bar 36, with an extra felicitous bass augmentation of the main theme). The main theme is repeated with exactitude over the first ten bars before ceding to the first countersubject, but reappears in line II at the first cadence point (bar 15), the height of the texture. This however is the first of three occasions during the main development on which the 8-note theme deviates into an *inganno* on its last two notes: it is the original 're-ut' on the last part of the theme as found in bar 1. Here it is stated from a beginning on pitch d" but with notes 6-7 mutated into a hexachord a fourth higher: they rise to the fifth, pitch a", and retreat to g", rather than fall to the second and first degrees, e'-d'. Something placed so audibly, with maximum exposure, must be highly deliberate. The second occasion is the very culmination of the piece at bar 36, the combined statement with bass augmentation. This time in bar 37 it is the bass that rises, to g instead of falling to the expected 're' level of d. Again in line II, bars 41-3, the last exact statement in any part, show a rise to a peak instead of a fall – though by this point the treatment of the theme *has* fragmented beneath it. There is enough here to make a live issue of the extent to which Alfonso Junior was reworking traditional methods, passed down from his father, or colleagues like Byrd who were still much in evidence for much of his working life. But on the whole, with the four-part repertoire it is a severance of links with vocal types of thematic material that is a larger characteristic. With obvious implications for the degree of attention that the piece commanded, Tomkins scored for keyboard Alfonso Junior's extraordinary modulating fantasias on the hexachord in its upward and downward forms (in both four-part and five-part scorings: *MB* 81 nos. 1-2). Here again, though, he did not attempt to emulate him. To the extent that it foreshadows modulatory practice by Jenkins, and others to come, it marks another decisive break. The hexachord 'form' , however, was itself on the verge of inanition. Ferrabosco's example had no real successor except in a derivative shorter work by Richard Mico (VdGS no.5: *MB* 65 no. 25). This, though, occurs in a four-part series in the composer's self-copied parts, which show that the court was still the ambience for composition of this type in the period 1625-35. The term hexachord, by the way, seems to have been used as a title in no manuscript source for any setting, but contrary to the opinion sometimes expressed, *was* current in England, if rare. It occurs in the Address 'To the Reader' of John Dowland *A Pilgrimes Solace* (1612). Even this apparent first usage, uncited by *OED*, is trumped after a fashion. Thomas Morley (also uncited) employed it in *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597) sig. ¶v, 'hexachorda or deductions of his [Aretino's] sixe notes': here spelt with a Greek termination though, atypically for Morley's use of a foreign word, unitalicised.

One need not linger over Alfonso Junior's dances, since points of comparison with the previous era are limited. In a recent survey of current dance-forms, Peter Holman has remarked how restricted tonal plans were in most Elizabethan pavans, at a time when practical use was foremost: *Dowland* Lachrimae *(1604)* (Cambridge University Press, 1999). In its increasing obsolescence, the pavan moved into a posture of a privileged abstract form, posted at the head of suites of aires as late as Matthew Locke. Features in examples by Alfonso Junior, showing its newer liberated aspect, include a resort to *ostinati* on transposed note-rows: here comparison may be closest with Frescobaldi, another individualist. Ferrabosco's thematic development has touches of *inganno* here too, though that was only one weapon in the battery. As earlier, even with Ruffo, simple stave-transposition of a phase into hexachordally-unrelated areas that modify all intervallic relations, account for at least some of the development. The main shift that he witnesses is probably from writers with clerical or keyboard training to a new type: the player-composer whose fingers 'thought' on strings, not keyboards. John Dowland is also to be named here for his *Lachrimæ* collection, mainly his name-piece, 'Semper Dowland Semper Dolens'. A breed of figurate pavan with character features and extended phrase-length was of course current keyboard practice with one colleague of Ferrabosco, John Bull, who, until he fled abroad in 1613, had some common interests, as in the modulatory hexachord. Ferrabosco was certainly active at the same time as these men, and differed only to the extent that his expertise related to the lyra viol, of which he can be considered a founding father in England (though his father too is credited here, with introduction of an earlier lyra bastarda style). Some of his pavans also have character titles associated with them, though there is no evidence that these were his own. They show a far greater play of contrapuntal motif at the expense of thematic rigour than the fantasias: as seen in the well-known 'Dovehouse' Pavan, which is all dissolved more or less in motivic play. Entirely without coincidence, that is a piece known from his own published version for lyra viol, as are many of his almaines and the one four-part fantasia. In their individual ways of expanding the scope of the pavan, both Dowland and Ferrabosco are technique-led as respectively lutenist and lyra violist. Here, though, Ferrabosco's technical and theoretical background makes his work, with its frequent major-minor contrasts, far more tonally progressive.

One major area where the Jacobean development disguises a fault-line and Ferrabosco Junior could be rated as on its *non*-progressive side, is in the fantasia, specifically in five parts. At the time that he was presumably developing his style most assiduously, around 1600, there cannot, for unknown reasons, have yet emerged a major impulse to supply post-vocal fantasias of the sort that distinguish the period up to war in 1642, the effective end of the reign of

Charles I. The Jacobean divide seems especially sharp *within* this level: between specialists in either fantasia or In Nomine. On one hand are italianate works, sometimes titled, by court-based composers: Coprario, Lupo, Ward (who *is* credited with one such In Nomine, but in an attribution less likely than the alternative, to Simon Ives). On the other, for Ferrabosco and Orlando Gibbons in chief, the major link with the Byrd generation is not free fantasia but the In Nomine. The ongoing functions of this solely English form have stayed, to some extent, mysterious. Did it serve at first as a sort of test-piece for initiation into the composing stratum of church musicians' guilds? It may superficially appear to have enjoyed continual esteem for an extended period, from Taverner to Purcell; but the reality is more chequered, and the timespan contains large disjunctions. Purcell's own exercises are an extremity, an almost inexplicable archaism: he can have known no living writer of the form. His own tutelage would have provided no encouragement: Locke, if Locke it was who guided him, was a modern, and had a taste for canon, but not cantus firmus composition, in his dances. Beforehand, there are no examples dating after c.1640, when John Jenkins and William Lawes added elaborate, baroque 6-part examples to the fast-waning tradition. Preceding them is a sizeable gap back to the earlier part of the reign of Charles I: only slighter figures like William Cranford and Ives involved themselves, and had little fresh to offer. Before the Jacobean up-swell, the late Elizabethan period seems to have been another fallow patch, in which routine single works can be positioned, but few series or works of substance among them (with exceptions like John Bull and Thomas Weelkes, represented in *MB* 9). A new efflorescence of multiples, rather than single contributions, seems to reappear with Ferrabosco Junior: if maybe not sets as such, then sequences. If Ferrabosco *was* the instigator, infusing fresh life into the tradition for a time, it is still no clear-cut claim with plain reasons behind it: but since those must include family pride or piety, the notion has some probability. His father was, after all, the only foreigner ever to try his hand at it (one must except another resident outsider, if that is not too chauvinist a term: a Scot, Robert Johnson I, produced one four-part piece with a *vagans* fifth: found in *MB* 15).

Ferrabosco II, then, seems to mark the start of a new wave of decided thematic connections to the works written in 'friendly emulation' by his father and Byrd. Continued by the son (*MB* 81 nos. 3-5), they appear elsewhere too. It is Byrd (5/4) with its downward opening fifth that Ferrabosco Junior's In Nomine 5/2 seems to follow, rather than his father's 5/1, with his own new pace on it, the plainsong set high. He copies Byrd's late entry for the bass line, but compresses the preceding development, with immediate stretto in the first two entries. He also keeps Byrd's intermixture (bar 12) of the point in diminution at his bar 14, which must be deliberate. The head of a piece is the main place to look for a sustained attempt at reference; the remainder stretches the limits of comparison with its decidedly new, bravura string figurations. The superb 5/2 by Gibbons (*MB* 48 no. 28) surely belongs here too, even if it alters this same 'point' almost beyond recognition. Its opening is a *tour de force* in syncopation, so atypical of string writing as to suggest it was co-opted from keyboard practice: one parallel is in Bull's 12th In Nomine (*MB* 14 no. 31). The ending roulades however are ultimately descendants of those in Ferrabosco I. But if Gibbons, too, was looking back here to the older school, he may well have had an eye on his slightly senior contemporary too. In his 5/3 he follows Ferrabosco Junior's 5/3 for a hitherto unusual scoring with an extra bass line taking the place of a tenor strand (in a florid writing idiomatic only for strings). He may adopt main points too: his opening from Ferrabosco's bars 44 ff.; his new point, at 43 ff., suggested by 46 ff. in Ferrabosco. But echoes also reverberate of the other main emulation, between Byrd (5/3) and Ferrabosco I (5/1), in both Ferrabosco II and Gibbons – in each case, their 5/1. Byrd's debt to the father here, if debt is the right term, was mainly limited to the head-motif, since thereafter he chose to differ by pacing the remainder more parsimoniously than Ferrabosco cared, with his succession of points. Which piece, though, did later writers resort to? In this case, the answer seems on current showing to be Ferrabosco I. It is his original opening motif rather than Byrd's that his son fills out with sinuous passing notes (if in a way comparable to Byrd's solution) and develops thereafter more assiduously than either piece in the parent line. There is also a subtle motivic extension, with a nod to a source as distant as Taverner, possibly (who may anyway have been at the back of the minds of all these writers: Ferrabosco II bars 22-6, Taverner's first two points, 1-14). What is as curious is for Gibbons too to make recognition of Ferrabosco I rather than Byrd. His 8-note head-motif in line I is that by Ferrabosco note for note, and he offers further unadulterated reminiscences, like the entry of his line III from Ferrabosco line I bars 11-14. His development has its own web of references, of course, which leave the past well behind them (and include one remarkable slow passage quoting, to or from, his own six-part fantasia no.5: *MB* 48 nos.27,35). There are, however, links here worth pondering, if one asks again how much Byrd's instrumental music still attracted the attention of amateur players. His In Nomines too seem to have persisted if anything less securely than those of his old sparring-partner into Jacobean copies. One assiduous collector, Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, had two In Nomines by 'Alfonso Seignior' copied alongside current fantasia fodder into his partbooks of the 1630s (GB-Lbl Additional MSS 39550-4), and then the third inserted to complete the group. Only later, it seems, did he have two extra items inserted *around* this group: Byrd's 5/3 and 5/4. This after-thought was possibly less out of respect for Byrd's pieces as worthy of first-degree attention in themselves than to place them in deliberate parallel for their correspondences, anticipating the thoughts of modern scholars. The most elaborate of Byrd's examples, 5/5, did have had an independent life-span in other Jacobean sources; but at least to the gentry who took up playing Ferrabosco II, Gibbons, and then their successors in free fantasia, the Ferrabosco family reputation for 'deepe skill' seems to have been equally or even more impressive.

WILLIAM BYRD AND THE STATUTE OF USES

Some thoughts on land tenure during his lifetime

William Bankes

On reading John Harley's definitive biography, it became clear that Byrd, in the course of his life (c. 1540 to 1623), owned a number of houses and other properties, of which the majority were leasehold. This made me reflect on the enormous changes which occurred in that period, many of which have affected our lives to this day.

I do not intend to review the whole period and discuss all the momentous events of that time. When Byrd was born, the monasteries had just been dissolved but the first Prayer Book was still nine years away. Most people associate the period with Henry VIII's divorces and executions, the Reformation in England, gross extravagance, and expensive and on the whole, unsuccessful wars with France, followed by Bloody Mary and eventually the routing of the Armada and the Elizabethan Settlement. Before Byrd died, the Crown had devolved painlessly on King James I and the civil war was still nineteen years away at his death.

Lay people attach little importance to the Statute of Uses (1535), paying far more attention to the undreamed of riches which poured down upon the King and his supporters from the release of monastic assets. Yet the Statute of Uses served both to place landowners firmly into the clutches of the King and as an anti-tax avoidance measure of which Gordon Brown would have been proud.

In case anyone is under the misapprehension that "spin" is a modern phenomenon, this is what Maitland wrote about the introduction of this fundamental and regressive change in the law:–

> A long preamble states the evil effects of the [existing] system, and legal writers of a later day have regarded the words of the preamble as though they stated a generally admitted evil. As a matter of historical fact this is not true. The Statute of Uses was forced upon an extremely unwilling parliament by an extremely strong-willed King. It was very unpopular and was one of the excuses, if not one of the causes, of the great Catholic Rebellion known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. It was at once seen that it would deprive men of that testamentary power, that power of purchasing the repose of their souls, which they had long enjoyed. The King was the one person who had all to gain and nothing to lose by the abolition of uses.

The legal historian, Sir William Holdsworth, sees the Statute principally in the context of the struggle between the two jurisdictions of English law – the Common Law and Equity, which gave a temporary boost to the former and to the prosperity of its practitioners. Dr Cheshire, on the other hand, in his book "Modern Real Property" considers it principally as an instrument of interference with the rights and liberties acquired over many years, even centuries, by the landowners of England and as a barefaced extortion of revenue whilst parliament, as a break on the powers of the crown, was comparatively undeveloped.

The Statute had its greatest effect during the lifetime of Byrd. By the time it reached its centenary, in the words of Cheshire, "the Statute had utterly failed in every one of its chief objects". Feudal dues had become far less important and profitable and were emasculated by an Act of 1660, whilst various decisions of the courts, the first being Sambach v Dalston (1634), started to bring back the use in the shape of the modern trust. Much ingenuity of lawyers was devoted to creating loopholes in the Statute, and during the Commonwealth respectable counsel were loath to appear in the courts, no longer the King's, and devoted their time to devising schemes to lessen the burdens of taxation and executive interference in landowners dealings with their own property.

Nevertheless, the Statute gave rise to vast areas of abstruse learning and legal documents full of complicated verbiage and was not finally repealed until the Law of Property Act, 1925.

So what then was this system of "Uses"? To explain it, it is necessary to take a cursory look at the development of English law up to the middle of the sixteenth century. The 'Common Law' developed by the courts of Common Law was often narrow and technical and unable to deal adequately or fairly with every circumstance that came within it purview. To remedy, or at lest mitigate, these shortcomings, there evolved the interference of that presently most maligned officer, the Lord Chancellor. Gradually this interference developed from an *ad hoc* system into a jurisdiction based on clear principles and administered by the Lord Chancellor, or the Chancerty courts, called 'equity'. The courts of equity were said to be 'courts of conscience' and it is no accident that the holders of the office of Lord Chancellor were frequently important and high-ranking ecclesiastics.

The principles of equity were expressed in legal maxims, of which I will quote only the two most important:

He who comes to equity must come with clean hands.
Equity regards that as done which ought to have been done.

The Use was an equitable device in the nature of a trust, regarding 'that done which ought to be done', so that, if someone held land 'to use' of another, that other person was the beneficiary of the terms laid down by the use. This 'equitable interest' was free of tiresome restrictions and oppressive burdens on present enjoyment and future devolution. It was the almost worthless freehold to which burdensome and oppressive feudal burdens and restrictions applied. The use could therefore be considered a nail in the coffin of the detritus left over from the feudal system.

This beneficial development, the Statute of Uses sought to reverse. It vested the whole of the estate – legal and equitable – in the beneficiary, who thus became subject to all the burdens of the freehold estate and to the juris-

diction of the courts of Common Law, as opposed to the more benevolent regime of Equity.

There were, however, a number of exceptions when the Statute did not apply. Some of the most important were copyholds and leaseholds, which brings us back to where we started.

One thing that emerges from John Harley's book is that William Byrd, notwithstanding the tiresome burdens imposed on catholic recusants, was able to live a full life, enjoy property and above all make an unrivalled, not to say uniquely important, contribution to the development of English music, principally though not exclusively, in that most contentious of all fields, the Church.

Is it not an aspect of the adaptability of this great man, who managed to survive and flourish in spite of his loyal adherence to the hated and persecuted doctrines of Rome, that he was able to circumvent the worst provisions of the oppressive royal interference in the rights and prosperity of landowners?

MACFARREN'S ORGAN PARTS FOR BYRD'S LATIN MUSIC

Richard Turbet

Arguably the most neglected publications of the Byrd revival of the mid-nineteenth century are the two volumes of accompaniments to the Mass for Five Voices and the first book of *Cantiones Sacrae*. The volumes of the vocal music, published in London by the Musical Antiquarian Society, are well known, but the so-called organ parts, published there by Chappell, the firm which printed the vocal volumes, have received attention only once before. The article in question was a history of the Society, 1840-8, and concluded with a list of its nineteen publications plus the sixteen volumes, published by Chappell, of accompaniments to the Society's volumes of vocal music. But what of the contents of, in the context of this journal, the two Byrd volumes (1841-2)? Is there much to say about them?

The candid answer is: no, not much. And dismissive as this may seem, it can be interpreted as a compliment to the arranger, Alexander Macfarren, and to the publisher, Chappell. The layout on two staves, treble and bass, is clear and spacious. Every note from the vocal works in question is reproduced. Of most interest is that whereas the Society's editions of the vocal works reproduce the original note-values, Macfarren halves the note-values in his organ parts. He also provides textual prompts at the beginnings of salient phrases. Both of these editorial interventions demonstrate a practical attitude to these arrangements, and we know that Horsley, editor of the *Cantiones*, had organized singers to perform all the motets while he was editing his volume. Macfarren follows Horsley in transposing three motets (five numbers) up a minor third.

1. Richard Turbet, "The Musical Antiquarian Society, 1840-1848". *Brio* 29 (1992): 13-20.
2. Richard Turbet, "Horsley's 1842 edition of Byrd and its infamous introduction". *British Music* 14 (1992): 36-46. 3. *ibid*

EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS OF BYRD: AN ADDENDUM AND A CHECKLIST OF ARTICLES

Richard Turbet

In my contribution to Oliver Neighbour's festschrift (1 below) I cited all the early printed editions of Byrd's music (up to and including 1901) which my researches had found. Subsequently other editions have come to light. In this brief article I mention one further addition and then, with an eye on the forthcoming new guide to Byrd research, I append a checklist of the half-dozen articles that refer to these editions. The new addition is an edition of 'While that the sun' (no. 23 from the *Songs of sundrie natures*, 1589). It was published in 1852 by Novello in London as number 68 in volume 3 of the series *Novello's glee hive*. It was also available separately. Like an even earlier edition of this song (see 1 below) it was re-titled 'While the bright sun', making it difficult to escape the thought that Novello selected this 'madrigal for four voices', as it was subtitled, for publication in imitation of, or competition with, the recent edition.

Acknowledgments: Adrian Yardley (Music Librarian, Guildhall School of Music and Drama) for providing a copy of the "madrigal", and Morag Mackie (Music Librarian, Glasgow University Library) for checking an original set of *Novello's glee hive*.

Checklist of articles
(all written by R.T. except where stated)

1. "The fall and rise of William Byrd, 1623-1901". In: *Sundry sorts of music books: essays on the British Library collections, presented to O.W. Neighbour on his 70th birthday*, ed. Chris Banks, Arthur Searle and Malcolm Turner.
2. "Byrd at 450". *Brio* 31 (1994): 96-102, esp. pp.101-2.
3. Ota, Diane O. and Turbet, Richard. "Heathen poets". *Annual Byrd newsletter* 3 (1997): 7.
4. "More early printed editions attributed to Byrd". *Brio* 35 (1998): 105.
5. "Two early printed editions attributed to Byrd in the Wighton Collection, Dundee". *Annual Byrd newsletter* 8 (2002): 10-13.
6. "Early printed editions of Byrd: an addendum and a checklist of articles". *Annual Byrd newsletter* 10 (2004): 15-16.

BAWDRY, BALLADRY, BYRD

Mike Smith

'Naturally disposed to Gravitie and Pietie': Henry Peacham's words, published in 1622, have set the tone for our perception of Byrd as man and musician. Hadow spoke of 'his high and noble seriousness of purpose'; for Fellowes he was 'a man of deep and sincere religious conviction', 'endowed with a strong sense of justice, tempered, perhaps, with a certain degree of obstinacy'. 'The qualities of Byrd's music' as listed by Harley include 'sincerity, depth, and a controlled but profoundly experienced emotional content'. To be sure, a lighter side has been

acknowledged, and Kerman in *New Grove II* writes of Byrd's 'exuberance and gaiety' and his 'celebration of popular songs'.[1] Still, by and large, Byrd looms as a lofty figure, able to unbend, perhaps, but surely not to unbutton.

Recent work is changing this picture. Laurence Dreyfus refers to 'Byrd's pleasure in the erotic', and John Milsom describes Byrd's sympathetic treatment of 'erotic, carnal or onanistic' words. Oliver Neighbour can characterise one of Byrd's compositional manners as 'his popular style'.[2] The final issue of *ABN* may be a suitable place for speculation, for exploration of the less familiar, and for enjoyment of this less austere side of the Byrd we know and admire. This note follows the tempting trail laid by Dreyfus, Milsom and Neighbour, and raises questions about Byrd's own attitude to popular music.

Milsom's article takes its title from the words 'My life melts' in Sir Philip Sidney's *O dear life*, three stanzas of which were set by Byrd as no. 33 of *Songs of sundrie natures*, 1589. (These stanzas do not include those words, but Milsom argues that Byrd may have envisaged performance of the complete poem.) 'I have had no luck' he says (p.447, n.13) 'in locating a lexicographical source that would justify interpreting the word 'melt' in the meaning given here [= experience orgasm]....'. How much luck I have had, I am not sure. But, as Milsom shows so well, words in verse as sophisticated as Sidney's are hard to pin down: they inhabit a fluid world of received 'literal' meaning, metaphor and *double entendre*, and if we allow ourselves to trawl all these areas (in and out of dictionaries) the catch is not so bad, especially if we bear in mind the dictum in Eric Partridge's *A dictionary of slang*:

> the words and phrases that are dealt with in this Dictionary are by their very nature unlikely to be found in print until, in many instances, long after their introduction into the (usually lower strata of the) spoken language.[3]

Partridge supplies 'melt: To experience the sexual spasm: (slightly euphemistic) coll.: mid-C.19–20'; 'melting-pot: The female pudend: low: C.19', and related forms. *OED*, ed. 2, tells us that 'melt' is also an alternative spelling for 'milt', 'To impregnate the roe or spawn of the female fish'; the same source gives an intransitive example from 1694: 'I...saw...fish...milting, spawning'. In Rochester's *The imperfect enjoyment* (1672 or later) we get

> *In liquid* Raptures, *I dissolve all o're,*
> *Melt into Sperme, and spend at ev'ry Pore*[4]

Spenser, in the 1590 version of *The Faerie Queene*, III, xii, 45, gives us the woman's experience:

> *But she faire Lady ouercommen quight*
> *Of huge affection, did in pleasure melt,*
> *And in sweet rauishment pourd out her spright*[5]

(the editor's note reads 'melt: suggests orgasm, but goes beyond it').

Shakespeare in *Timon of Athens*, IV.iii.254–6, has

> *thou would'st haue plung'd thyself*
> *In generall Riot, melted downe thy youth*
> *In different beds of Lust*[6]

OED interprets as 'to weaken, enervate'; Partridge in *Shakespeare's bawdy*[7] as 'dissolved thy marrow, thy youthful ardour, virility, strength', with 'marrow' glossed as 'Mettle, spunk, semen' (compare the quotation from Guilpin below). *OED* 'To waste away, become gradually smaller; to dwindle', is illustrated from Sidney's sister, the Countess of Pembroke, in her version (1586) of Ps. cvii. 9: 'Their might doth melt, their courage dies'. This last is particularly helpful if we regard 'life', also, as ambiguous. One *OED* sense for it is 'The cause or source of living; the vivifying principle.... 'soul'; 'essence'....', e.g. in *Troilus and Cressida*, II.ii.194, 'Why? there you toucht the life of our designe'. Such a meaning might well be transferred to a member so regarded by many; I cannot resist an example from a source remote from Sidney in date but not in feeling: 'My life was handled by little Lo in an energetic, matter-of-fact manner as if it were an insensate gadget unconnected with me'.[8]

Perhaps the word 'eyes', actually set by Byrd in stanza 1 of the poem and present also in stanza 7, should be considered too. Partridge, *Shakespeare's bawdy* (pp. 21–2, 102), gives 'eye' in a list of words for 'pudend', 'because of the shape, the garniture of hair, and the tendency of both organs to become suffused with moisture'. The plural is also possible; in a poem by Michael Drayton, at 'the foot of pleasure's sacred hill'

> *There little Love sore wounded lies*
> *His bow and arrows broken,*
> *Bedewed with tears from Venus' eyes;*
> *O grievous to be spoken!*[9]

As for 'We change eyes' in stanza 7, *A dictionary of slang* interprets 'eye-hole' as '*Introitus urethrae*: low: late C19–20', and Thomas Nashe's *The choise of valentines* (before 1597) describes a dildo thus:

> *He is a youth almost two handfulls highe,*
> *Streight, round, and plumb, yett having but one eye.*[10]

These examples support Milsom's interpretation and his comment (p.440) that the stanzas unpublished by Byrd 'are more sexually explicit than any other Byrd is known to have set to music'. But a close runner-up may be the MS song 'My mistress had a little dog', another text probably connected with the circle of Sidney and Lady Penelope Rich, and dated on this supposition by Brett between 1596 and 1605. The relevant stanzas are nos 1 and 2:

> *My mistress had a little dog*
> *Whose name was Pretty Royal,*
> *Who neither hunted sheep nor hog,*
> *But was without denial*
> *A tumbler fine that might be seen*
> *To wait upon a fairy queen.*
>
> *Upon his mistress he would wait*
> *In courteous wise and humble,*
> *And with his craft and false deceit,*
> *When she would have him tumble,*
> *Of coneys in the pleasant prime,*
> *He would kill twenty at a time.*

Dreyfus has argued that this text refers to the Earl of Essex, 'notorious as.... a gallant libertine'.[11] Lexicography

lets us down again; for 'dog' I can find nothing naughtier than *OED*'s 'gallant', without the 'libertine'. However, in Thomas Ravenscroft's *Pammelia* (1609), no. 23 of 'Cannons in the unison' features the words 'My Dame has in her hutch at home, a little dog, with a clog'. A 'clog' is 'A block or heavy piece of wood, or the like, attached to the leg or neck of a man or beast, to impede motion or prevent escape' (*OED*); the image recalls no. 72: 'Lady come down and see the Cat sits in the Plumtree'.[13] *A Handful of pleasant delights* (1584; probable editions of 1566 and 1576 have not survived) includes a ballad (before 1578) entitled 'The scoffe of a Ladie, as pretie as may be,/to a young man that went a wooing'; the lady taunts the young man thus:

> *Then say as I bade thee*
> *That the little dogge Fancie*
> *Lies chaste without moouing,*
> *And needeth no threatning,*
> *For feare of wel beating,*
> *For feare of wel beating.*[16]

'Tumbler' (*OED*) is 'A dog like a small greyhound, formerly used to catch rabbits', from its movements when hunting, as in 'tumble: To roll about on the ground'. But this also means 'To have sexual intercourse with', and both figure in Autolycus's 'Summer songs for me and my aunts [=wenches]/While we lie tumbling in the hay' (*The Winter's Tale*, IV.iii.11–12). 'Coney' is 'A term of endearment for a woman... Also indecently', and Partridge equates it with 'Cunny. The *pudendum muliebre*'. *The black man*, a jig (see below) of the Commonwealth period, refers to 'Gentlemen, Cony-catchers, Smell-smocks, Tear-plackets'. [15]

In the article already cited, Neighbour writes (p.416): 'Byrd's liking for popular tunes is well attested by the many sets of variations that he based on them and their occasional unexpected appearance in the course of other instrumental compositions....So it is not surprising that he should have set secular verse with short lines to comparable melodies....'. Byrd's music for the first three verses of 'My mistress had a little dog' is comparable with the examples of his songs given by Neighbour, and he treats the suggestive text with gusto. The same springy phrase is used for 'A tumbler fine' and 'Of coneys in the pleasant prime'.

It is instructive to consider the associations of two of the tunes Byrd used. 'The Carman's Whistle' was the tune of a broadside ballad of that name, which could also be sung to 'Rowland' (see below).[16] Broadside ballads date from the very early sixteenth century; by Byrd's time they common targets for criticism on social, moral and aesthetic grounds:[17] 'these doltish coystrels their rude rhythming and balducktoom ballads';[18] 'melt true valour with lewd ballad stuffe';[19] 'I conclude that many of our English rimers and ballet-makers deserue for their bawdy sonnets and amorous allurements to bee banished, or seuerely punished';[20]

> *base fellows, whom meere time*
> *Hath made sufficient to bring forth a Rime,*
> *A Curtaine Iigge, a Libell, or a Ballet.* [21]

Rollins, Baskervill and Livingstone all warn against taking attacks on broadsides at face value; but Henry Chettle in 1592 'forestalled a charge of mere puritanism' (Baskervill, p. 198) by mentioning four particularly noxious examples including, 'The carmen's whistle' for its 'odious and lasciuious ribauldrie',[22] and Chappell/Wooldridge, *Old English popular music*, where it is described as 'not suitable for publication in this work', gives a further quotation from Chettle: 'It would be thought the carman, that was wont to whistle to his beasts a comfortable note, might as well continue his old course, whereby his sound served for a musical harmony in God's ear, as now to follow profane jigging vanity'.[23] 'Jig' in Byrd's day was of course not only a dance expressive of 'vigorous up and down movement'; it was also a popular entertainment with dance and song.[24] The terms can be hard to distinguish; moreover, 'jig' and 'ballad' may be practically co-terminous.[25] The jig (the word may also have a sexual meaning) came in for the same social, moral and aesthetic opprobrium as the ballad.[26] 'Lord Willoughby's Welcome Home' is the same as 'Rowland', the tune of the most popular Elizabethan jig; there is no surviving English text, but continental analogues suggest that it concerned the cuckolding of Rowland by the Sexton.[27]

'Jigging' in its rhythmic sense is also a negative term. One charge brought against jigs and ballads was their rhythmic crudity:

> For though many such can frame an Alehouse song of fiue or sixe score verses, hobbling vppon some tune of a Northern Iygge, or La Lubber etc., and perhappes obserue iust number of Sillables, eyght in one line, sixe in an other, and there withall an A to make a ierke in the ende.[28]

The 'eight and six' metre described here is what became known as 'ballad metre'. Webbe's 'Alehouse song' must be a 'traditional' ballad, not a broadside, but 'hundreds of broadside ballads' were in this metre.[29] It is also the metre of almost all metrical psalms, including many of the psalm-texts set by Byrd. What did the Father of Musick, the stern champion of decorum and especially of the fit setting of sacred words, make of the widely perceived similarity between these two amazingly disparate genres? Elizabeth I is said to have called the psalms 'Geneva jigs', and the term was still current in Dryden's time.[31]

Evidently he cannot have been too concerned. John Ward notes that the neglect of ballad tunes by contemporary anthologists 'cannot have been inspired by contempt for the *genre*, since court musicians....drew heavily on street song for dance and variation themes'. He regards the tune of a broadside, interchangeable between different ballads, as 'a purely neutral element', and suggests that the interest of composers was in 'transforming simple tunes into interesting, sometimes serious, certainly idiomatic instrumental music'.[32] But suppose, as Neighbour suggests, Byrd really *liked* these tunes? There is no avoiding another famous passage:

> Certainly, I must confess my own barbarousness, I never heard the old song of Percy and Douglas that I found not my heart

> moved more than with a trumpet; and yet it is sung but by some blind crowder, with no rougher voice than rude style...[33]

The context makes it clear that it is the story, not the tune (let alone the verse), that moved Sidney. Nevertheless, there is a parallel: Sidney would have preferred to hear the story 'trimmed in the gorgeous eloquence of Pindar', and Byrd, as Ward says, was concerned to fashion a similar garment for the tunes he set. But as with Sidney's story, there must have been something in the tunes themselves: the decorous Byrd would not have used them had he not found them 'fit'.

Chettle's words on 'The Carman's Whistle' echo those of the Oxford scholar John Case, whose work Byrd acknowledged in his song *A gratification unto Master John Case, for his learned booke, lately made in the praise of musicke*:

> Again in base & in ignoble persons, the very senses & spirits are wo[n]derfully inflamed, w[t] the rural songs of *Phillis & Amaryllis*: insomuch that even the ploughma[n] & cartar, are by the instinct of their harmonicall soules co[m]pelled to frame their breath into a whistle... [34]

But in Chettle there is also a pre-echo:

> In brief it [music] is a sensible fit of that Harmony, which intellectually sounds in the eares of God... [35]

Philip Brett, in the article already referred to, says (p.60): 'In the dedication of the first book of *Gradualia*, 1605, Byrd...implies, in a variation upon a well-known medieval theme, that all his 'fittest numbers' (*aptissimi numeri*) are but echoes of a greater harmony....'. Brett describes the source of that harmony in words from the same passage in *Religio medici*. Browne, like Case, has been defending the use of music in church. Byrd would have agreed about that. But he might have found himself in more general accord with them, and especially with Browne:

> For my selfe, not only from my obedience but my particular Genius, I do embrace it: for even that vulgar and Tavern-Musick, which makes one man merry, another mad, strikes in me a deep fit of devotion, and a profound contemplation of the first Composer... [36]

1. Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, cited in J. Harley, *William Byrd, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot, 1997; corr. repr. 1999), p.366; W. H. Hadow, 'William Byrd, 1623–1923', *Collected Essays* (London, 1928), pp.41–64, at p.64; E. H. Fellowes, *William Byrd* (London, 1936; 2/1948), pp.241, 243; Harley, p.370; J. Kerman, 'Byrd, William', *New Grove II*.
2. L. Dreyfus, liner note to Phantasm, *Byrd song: songs and consorts by William Byrd* (Simax PSC 1191, *rec* 1998), p.7; J. Milsom, 'Byrd, Sidney and the art of melting', *Early music*, xxxi (2003), pp.437–48; O. Neighbour, 'Byrd's treatment of verse in his partsongs', *Early music*, xxxi (2003), pp.413–22. I am grateful to John Milsom for his encouragement.
3. E. Partridge, *A dictionary of slang*, 8th ed. by Paul Beale (London, 1984), p.xxi.
4. *The poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. K. Walker (Oxford, 1984), p.31.
5. *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (London, 1977), p.421.
6. Shakespeare quotations as in D. Morton (introd.), *Mr. William Shakespeares comedies, histories, and tragedies. A facsimile of the first folio, 1623* (New York, 1998).
7. E. Partridge, *Shakespeare's bawdy: a literary & psychological essay and a comprehensive glossary* (London, 1947; rev. ed. 1968), pp.148, 146.
8. Vladimir Nabokov, *Lolita* (1955; London, Transworld Publishers, 1961), p.141. I owe this reference to Ruth Smith.
9. John Ward, *The first set of English madrigals* (1613), in *English madrigal verse, 1588–1632*, ed. E. H. Fellowes, rev. ed. by F. W. Sternfeld and D. Greer (Oxford, 1967), p.269.
10. Text in D. Norbrook (sel. and introd.) and H. R. Woudhuysen (ed.), *The Penguin book of Renaissance verse 1509–1659* (London, 1992), p.261.
11. Text from The Byrd Edition, xv: *Consort songs*, ed. P. Brett (London, 1970), no. 36, pp. 131–3.
12. Dreyfus, liner note to Phantasm, *Byrd song*, pp.4–6.
13. Thomas Ravenscroft, *Pammelia, Deut[e]romelia, Melismata*, facsims ed. MacE. Leach, Philadelphia, 1961, pp. [10], 33.
14. Clement Robinson and divers others, *A handful of pleasant delights (1584)*, ed. H. E. Rollins, (Cambridge, MA, 1924), pp.12–14, 86.
15. Printed in C. R. Baskervill, *The Elizabethan jig and related song drama* (Chicago, 1929; repr. New York, 1965), pp. 465–72, at p.471.
16. William Byrd, *Keyboard Music I* (Musica Britannica, xxvii), ed. A. Brown (London, 1969), no.36; C. M. Simpson, *The British broadside ballad and its music* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1966) pp.86, 469.
17. E. Doughtie, *English Renaissance song* (Boston, MA, 1986), p.36; H. E. Rollins, 'The black-letter broadside ballad', *PMLA*, xxxiv (1919), pp.258–9, at pp.299–301, 329; Baskervill, pp.30–32, 111–15, 198–210; N. Temperley, *The music of the English parish church* (Cambridge, 1979), I, 66; C. R. Livingstone, *British broadside ballads of the sixteenth century: a catalogue of the extant sheets and an essay* (New York, 1991), pp. 31, 840-46.
18. Richard Stanyhurst, dedication in *Thee firste foure bookes of Virgil his Aeneis...* (1582); in G. G. Smith, *Elizabethan critical essays* (Oxford, 1904), I, p.142.
19. Edward Guilpin, *Skialetheia* (1598); cited in Baskervill, p.112.
20. William Vaughan, *The Golden-groue* (1600); in Smith, II, p.326.
21. George Wither, *Abuses stript and Whipt*, 1613; cited in Baskervill, p.115.
22. Simpson, p.86.
23. W. Chappell, *Old English popular music*, rev. H. E. Wooldridge (London 1893; repr. New York 1961), I, p.253–4.
24. *NNG II*, 'Jig' (M. Dean-Smith), 'Jigg' (T. Dart/M. Tilmouth); Baskervill, pp.356–60.
25. Baskervill, pp.9–16, 164–70.
26. Baskervill, pp.106–20, 198–208.
27. MB xxvii, no.7, and note on p.173; *NNG II*, 'Jig'; Baskervill, pp.4, 219–31.
28. William Webbe, *A discourse of English poetrie* (1586); in Smith, I, 246.
29. Temperley, p.26.
20. P. Brett, 'Word-setting in the songs of Byrd', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, xcviii (1971–72), 47–64, at p.62; Harley, pp.233–4.
31. Temperley, p.67; Baskervill, p.66 n.3.
32. J. Ward, 'Music for *A Handfull of pleasant delites*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, x (1957), p.154.
33. Sir Philip Sidney, *A defence of poetry* (1595, but probably written c.1580), ed. K. Duncan-Jones and J. van Dorsten, *Miscellaneous prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, Oxford, 1973, p.97. The 'old song' is *Chevy Chase*, and this was not originally a broadside but a traditional ballad; however, Sidney's view of these was evidently similar to Webbe's.
34. [John Case], *The praise of musicke* (Oxford, 1586; repr. Hildesheim, 1980), p.43. Case is himself anticipated in Nicholas Whight, 'A commendation of Musicke, And a confutation of them which dispraise it', a broadside of c. 1563 (Livingstone, pp.242-3. Is there a common source?
35. Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio medici* (1643, but probably written by c.1636), ed. G. Keynes, *The works of Sir Thomas Browne*, I (London, 1928, 2/1964), p.84.
36. Browne, p.84. Brett quotes the last seven words.

A CANDIDATE LYRIC FOR BYRD'S *THE MAIDENS SONGE*

Christopher Goodwin

This paper sketches out ideas first presented at a Byrd Conference held in Montreal in 2003, organised in conjunction with the first performance in Canada of the complete keyboard works of William Byrd, played by Rachelle Taylor. The author gratefully acknowledges the conference organisers, and also the helpful personal correspondence of John Harley, Ian Payne, and Jane Flynn. The reader will note that many lines of enquiry remain.

[Refrain:]
How showld I rock the cradle,
Serve the table,
Blow the fyre and spyn e.

But late in place
A pretye lasse,
That was both fayre and yonge e,
With wepyng eie,
Right secretlye,
Untyll hersealfe she soonge e.

This lytle foote,
And ite toote,
With notes both swete and cleere e,
She syght full ofte,
And soong alofte
In forme as ye shall here e;
How showle I. /

Alas she sayde,
I was a mayde,
As other maydens be e:
And thowgh I boste,
In all the coste
Ther was no more lyke me e.

My byrth ryght good,
Of jentle blood
I am undowtghtydly e:
They calde me wyse,
I bare the pryce
Of all then who but I e.
How shoolde. /

I was belovde,
Of ech man provde,
And long I did denye e,
Tyll at the last
I have purchast
This babe that here dooth lye

Alas the tyme
Of such a cryme
That I shoule live to see e.
Now am I thrall
Unto them all,
That were thrall unto me e.
How should I /

Clene out of syght
And all delyght,
Now here in servitude e.

At the behest
Of most and least
That be, God wot, full rude

I may not swerve
The boord to serve,
To blow the fyre and spin e.
My chyld to rock
And plese this flock
Where shall I first begin e.
How showld I /

Preserve, go[o]d God,
All maydynhode,
That maydynlye entend e.
Let my defame
And endless shame
Kepe them from shameful end e.

Beware, good maydes,
Of all such braydes,
Before all other thing e:
Or all in vayne,
As I complayne
Thus wepyng shall ye syng e.

My Ladye Nevells Booke, dated 1591, contains a piece (no. 28) entitled 'The Maidens Songe'. It has long been recognised that this is Byrd's elaborated version of a much simpler piece found in a source dating from around 30 years earlier, BL Add. MS 30513, the Mulliner Book. Two statements of this rather simple tune appear as the second piece in the Mulliner Book, on ff. 3-3v, to which Denis Stevens gave the title 'The Maiden's Song', editorially, in his 1951 edition, the very first volume in the Musica Britannica series.

But what was 'The Maiden's Song'? Do any lyrics survive? Jane Flynn, in her doctoral thesis 'The Mulliner Book Reconsidered'[1] noted,[2] though did not investigate further, one candidate, a piece with the heading 'The Maidens Song' in Thomas Deloney's *The Most Pleasant and Delectable History of John Winchcombe Otherwise called Jacke of Newberie* (London, 1596/7; earliest surviving edition, 1619)[3]. The song begins thus:

It was a Knight in Scotland *borne*
Follow, my love, leap over the strand
Was taken prisoner, and left forlorne,
Even by the good Earle of Northumberland.

Then was he cast in prison strong,
Follow my love, leap over the strand,
Where he could not walke nor lye along,
Even by the goode Earle of Northumberland.

This is in fact an early version, probably the earliest surviving, of Child Ballad no. 9, whose five surviving variants include 'The fair flower of Northumberland', 'The betrayed lady' and 'The provost's daughter'. It appears later in Ritson's *Ancient Songs* (1790). The ballad was popular in Scotland, particularly in the borders. There are variants from Scandinavia, Germany and Poland.[4]

As a candidate for the Mulliner Book tune, however, this text appears to be a red herring. Aside from the fact that it does not really fit Mulliner's tune, and that Mulliner's music does not look like the call-and-response song (a la Ravenscroft 'Freemans songs'?) that Deloney enivsages, it seems to be called 'The Maiden's (or Maidens') Song' because in the action of Deloney's novel, it is sung before King Henry VIII by a group of maidens, 'two of them singing the Ditty, and all the rest bearing the burden' [presumably the second and fourth lines of each stanza]; in the preceding scene, a group of weavers sing 'The Weavers Song', appropriately beginning 'When Hercules did use to spin, And Pallas wrought upon the Loome . . .'

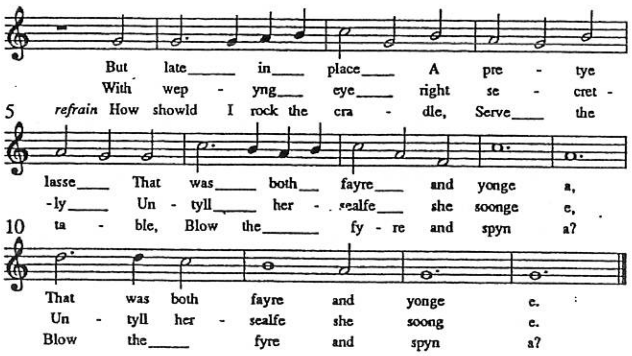
Reading through the contents of BL Add. MS 15233, in a 19th century edition made by James Orchard Halliwell,[5] I have come across some verses which, on both musical and circumstantial grounds seem to fit Mulliner's music rather well. The verses, to which Halliwell supplied a title, 'The Maiden's Lamentation', are found on ff. 32-32v of the MS; they are printed on the following page.

The text is an attractive one, not least for its immediacy and directness – coming from an age whose cultural products generally show more interest in the siege of Troy than in the lot of unmarried mothers, it is as close as Mid-Tudor verse comes to kitchen-sink drama. Given that, as we shall see, the verse probably originated in a pedagogical context, the heavy hints of sex education are surely intentional.

These verses stand in the long tradition of songs of young women lamenting the loss of their maidenhood. A well-known early example is song 'And I were a maiden' in the

Henry VIII MS (set there for five voices, *c.*1520, but referred to in a 15th century source); a later one, as hauntingly beautiful as any song in the English lute ayre repertoire, is Thomas Campion's 'My love hath vowed he will forsake me' (1601), but the theme is a common one. Indeed, the late doyenne of English lute studies, Diana Poulton, used to quip that lute songs written from the female point of view depict three kinds of women: those who want it, those who have had it but wish they hadn't, and those who don't know what it is.

Might these be the lyrics to go with Mulliner's, and thus Byrd's 'Maiden's Song'? One can easily see how these lyrics could have earned the short title of 'The Maiden's Song'. They do fit Mulliner's music rather well.



The repetition of the last phrase of the verse is perfectly normal at this period, as is the use of a very short musical phrase to set just one couplet of a long poem – repetitious to modern ears, but further indication, if any were needed, that audiences for 16th century song were often listening first and foremost to the lyrics, not the music.[6] The two statements of the tune given by Mulliner (the second more heavily ornamented) match the amount of music required to sing the six-line verses, though a further statement of the tune would be needed to sing the burden after every two verses.

It may be objected that a strictly note-per-syllable setting would be more normal at this period, so that to match music in triple time, we should be looking for dactylic, rather than iambic verses, such as the following, from Add. MS 4900 (after 1564):

Mý little prétty one, Mý little bónny one... [7]

or this song from the Dallis MS, *c.*1583:

Fórtune is fickle and wónderful tickle ... [8]

Yet syllables are sometimes spread over more than one note in mid-Tudor song, and moreover, if performed at a reasonable tempo, the broken syllables on 'late', 'place' and 'pretye' give a pleasing appogiatura-like effect – 'falls from above' as they would then have been termed. Indeed, Thomas Whytehorne in his *Songes* (1571) uses the spreading of syllables over two or more notes over and over again, as a deliberate musical effect. The 'clincher', however, in my opinion, is the 'e' syllable (we would sing 'a') at the end of each three lines – something not especially common at this date, but which fits the restated tonic chord at the end of the piece like a glove.

Of course, nothing like the entirety of mid-Tudor verse has come down to us, and again it may be objected that many more 'maiden's songs' may have been lost than survive. Reading through the whole corpus of early and mid-Tudor verse to look for an even better candidate would be a daunting task, but for the sake thoroughness I have trawled through the titles of poems in the three biggest lyric poetry collections of the period, *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557) (which deals primarily with the pangs of lovers), *The Paradyse of daynty devises* (1576) (which contains predominantly moral verses) and *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites* (1566?/1584), I have yet to find a better candidate, though one verse in *A Handefull* seems faintly to echo our lyric, probably just by coincidence:

The scoffe of a Ladie, as pretie as may be, to a yong man that went a wooing: He we[n]t stil about her, & yet he we[n]t without her, because he was so long a dooing.

Attend thee, go play thee,
Sweet love I am busie:
my silk and twist is not yet spun:
My Ladie will blame me,
If that she send for me,
and find my worke to be undun:
How then?
How shall I be set me?
To say love did let me?
Fie no, it will not fit me,
It were no scuse for me
[It were no scuse for me]

The first half of the poem fits Mulliner's music, if anything, even better than does the text from Add. MS 15233, but the second half, with its curious meter, will not fit the music, at least as it survives. In any case, this song in fact has it own tune, partly preserved in a tablature fragment in the library of Michael Andrea, and it became well known under its own title, because a ballad in Thomas Proctor's *Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (1578) is directed to be sung to the tune of 'Attend thee go play thee'.

As far as The Stationers's Company Registers are concerned, we probably do not need to look much beyond the 1564 for mention of other 'maiden's songs', for in that year John Heywood, who witnessed Mulliner's ownership of his music book (f. 2 bears the words: 'Sum liber thomae mullineri/ johanne heywoode teste' [I am the book of Thomas Mulliner, with John Heywood as witness]). and probably oversaw his music studies, left England in that year, never to return, so the music of the Mulliner Book – especially that at the very beginning of the MS – is very unlikely to postdate 1564. (Two of the texts set to music in the Mulliner Book were actually published as broadsides in the early 1560s.)[9] For the years up to 1565 the Registers

give a few ballads with 'maidens' in their short titles, perhaps only one of which has survived: 'A mery new ballad of a maid that would mary wyth a serving man', dated by Livingston to 1557,[10] but the lines have too many syllables to fit Mulliner's music. The ballad begins:

> *Now prudentlie to ponder proverbes of olde,*
> *How that seldome or when commeth the better...*

Other ballads licenced in the relevant period were in 1557/8, 'a ballet of the talke betwene ii maydes'; in 1562/3 a ballad of 'a mayde forskynge hyr lover to marry with a servingman'; in 1563/4 'Mawken was a country mayde, moralised', 'the complaynte of a mayde in London Declarynge hyr trublles to over pass the [ap]pryntes lyfe and affyrmyng the same by hyr ungentle Rewardes', and a reply, 'the answere of the mistress agaynste the causles complaynt of the [ap]prentes and mayde sarvant', and finally 'A defence of mylke maydes agaynste the terme of MAWKEN'. Then, in the next accounting year of 1564/5, there were ballets of 'howe a mayde shulde swepe your houses clene'; 'a prety new ballet wherby you may knowe how maydes of the countrye in fayrereynge do shewe', and 'the Reporte of the wytty answeres of a beloved mayden'. We cannot exclude the possibility that any of these might have been Mulliner's 'maiden's song'.

Be all this as it may, there is a good circumstantial case for considering the lyric from Add. MS 15233 as a good candidate for Mulliner's tune. The two sources are related both by context, and actual contents.

Additional MS 15233 is an oblong quarto book containing keyboard pieces by John Redford (d.1547), the text of a play *Wit and Science*, also by Redford, and fragments of two interludes, one attributed to him; the rest of the MS is filled up with 33 poems, seven by Redford (and three more, the songs from the play, presumably also by him, though transcribed in a different hand from the play), nine by John Heywood (*c.*1497-*c.*1578), three by John Thorne (*c.*1519–73), and one each by Thomas Pridioxe (before 1532–after 1574), Miles Huggard (fl. before 1548-57) and 'Master Knyght'. Of the remaining eight unattributed poems, one is by Richard Edwards (1525-66): his 'In youthfull yeares, when first my yonge desires beganne', and one which seems to be an early version of a poem by George Gascoigne (1537/40-1577), 'Gascoigne's Goodnight'; these last two seem to be the last additions to the MS, in a different hand.

There are close reciprocal relationships between the two MSS. Heywood, Mulliner's probable teacher and witness to his ownership of his keyboard book, is the second most important contributor to Add. MS 15233 after Redford, with nine poems in that source, while conversely the Mulliner Book is an important source for the music of Redford, with 28 pieces certainly or probably by him (making him the largest single contributor to the MS), including five pieces actually concordant, found among the keyboard pieces on the first leaves of Add. MS 15233, as well as in Mulliner. And both sources have one more common contributor: Richard Edwards, with a poem in Add. MS 15233 and three song arrangements in the Mulliner book. These links of content and authorship reflect the social context that appears to have produced the two manuscripts. To cut a very long and complicated story short, both seem to be associated with the staunchly Catholic circles around St Paul's Cathedral in the middle of the 16th century, of men who were involved professionally with the education of the choirboys, and the staging of choirboy plays at court.

The provenance and context the Mulliner Book, and of BL Add. MS 15233

Jane Flynn has convincingly argued, in her doctoral thesis, that the Mulliner Book was the musical 'course work' book of Thomas Mulliner, while he undertook a musical apprenticeship, probably with the musician and playwright John Heywood *c.*1558-64 (and possibly with Sebastian Westcott, Redford's successor as master of choristers at St Paul's, where Heywood may also have been a minor canon); that its contents reflect the musical (and moral) training of choirboys during these years; and that in common with Heywood, Thomas Mulliner had marked Catholic sympathies – he may have been one and the same as a Thomas Molyneux, of a Catholic family in Lancashire, who was indicted for recusancy in 1606. She argues that that some of the instrumental and vocal music (intabulated for keyboard) in the MS would have been suitable for inclusion in the plays that John Heywood wrote and organised.

British Library Add. MS 15233 is a more complex document, and slightly harder to place with absolute certainty; a really thorough new study might well be merited. (The present author hopes to print a table of musical settings of poems in this MS in a forthcoming issue of *The Lute, Journal of the Lute Society*, since none of the lists of musical concordances published hitherto seems quite complete.) Arthur Brown, in a thorough codicological study in the introduction to the Malone Society edition, *Wit and Science by John Redford* (London: Malone Society, 1951) states:

> The dating of the play and of the compilation of the manuscript are entirely matters of conjecture. There are no contemporary references to performances, nor is the play known to have been printed . . . There seems to have been a deliberate attempt to destroy both interludes, the last page of each being allowed to survive for the sake of the poems on their versos. This must have been done, therefore, after the completion of the manuscript, since one of the poems in question, Edwards's *In youthfull years*, was undoubtedly the last poem but one to be included...

It seems probable that the manuscript was originally intended to contain the work of a group of friends connected in one way or another with John Redford's choir school at St Paul's, and that it is not until the inclusion of works [in the last hand to add material to the MS] by Edwards or Gascoigne, who are of a later generation than the other contributors, that the original

purpose was abandoned. It is of interest to notice that Richard Edwards and Sebastian Westcott, who was Redford's successor at St Paul's, are each recorded as having presented to Queen Mary on New Year's Day 1557 'a book of ditties written'.

[It is worth noting that the play was not entirely forgotten, for it inspired later plays, such as the anonymous *Marriage of Wit and Science* (1569); that the MS is perhaps rather too a scruffy document to set before to a princess; that while Edwards and Gascoigne may never have met Redford, they were both in London or at court during Heywood's later years there; and that the later hands to add to the MS did make minor amendments to the play, implying some continuity of purpose.]

Ringler's very thorough *Bibliography and Index of English Verse in Manuscript 1501–1558* (London/New York: Cassell, 1992) suggests a dating for the manuscript of 1554–8, during the reign of Mary I, though without giving reasons.

The manuscript's principle contributor, John Redford, is recorded as one of the vicars choral at St Pauls in 1534, and was briefly master of choristers there in 1547, the last year of his life. He seems to have been involved in putting on plays at court (such as, perhaps, his own play of *Wit and Science* – and some of the other verses in the MS seem to be play songs), possibly collaborating with John Heywood in this capacity as early as 1537. (Though there is sometimes confusion in the records as to whether the boys of St Paul's Cathedral or St Paul's Grammar School are referred to in court theatrical productions, Heywood certainly collaborated with Sebastian Westcott, Redford's successor at St Paul's Cathedral, to put on plays in 1551 and 1559. [12]) Edwards, the third common contributor to the two manuscripts, was also involved in the staging of plays, as was Gascoigne.

Since Redford died in 1547, how he would have reacted to subsequent religious changes cannot be known. Richard Edwards may have been made of the willow rather than the oak in religious matters, successfully serving Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth I. But several of the other contributors to the MS seem to represent the very core of the die-hard Catholic faction. This has been emphasised by Daniel Page, in his doctoral thesis, 'Uniform and Catholic, Church Music in the Reign of Mary Tudor (1553-1558)' (Brandeis University, 1996).[13] Heywood, who married Joan Rastell, Sir Thomas More's niece, was imprisoned in 1543 for his part in a plot to overthrow Cranmer, and only escaped execution for denying the royal supremacy by recanting in the following year; he left England in 1564, never to return, rather than submit to the Act of Uniformity. Thomas Prideaux, an M.P. under Mary I, was also related to the More family by marriage; like Heywood he went into exile in 1564. Miles Huggarde (fl. before 1548–1557) was a vigorous Catholic controversialist and ardent support of Mary Tudor. He wrote a number of tracts in defence of Roman Catholicism; one of these *The Abuse of the Blessed Sacrament of the Aultare* is reproduced in its entirety in a Protestant counterblast dated 1548, so he was writing before this date; his *The Assaulte of the Sacrament of the Aultare* (1554) says on the title page that it was 'written in 1549 by Myles Huggarde, and dedicated to the Quene's most excellent Maiestie, being then Ladie Marie: in which time (heresie then reigning) it could take no place.' On the title page of another of his works he describes himself as a 'servant of Queen Mary'. From the 1540s he took part in semi-public religious disputations organised by Bishop Bonner in his palace adjoining St Paul's. (Edmund Bonner was the strongly Catholic Bishop of London who was deprived of his bishopric under Edward VI, restored to it by Mary, and imprisoned shortly after Elizabeth came to the throne; Prideaux wrote an elegy on him later printed in John Harrington's *Brief View of the State of the Church in England* .)

So the milieu of the MS is reasonably clear, even if the grounds for Ringler's dating of this source to a four-year period, 1554-8, are less so. It can be stated with certainty, that Redford's compositions must predate 1547, when he died; that the late addition of a poem by Edwards cannot be much earlier than *c.*1550 around which time he seems to have arrived in London (the song concerns the experiences of a young man arriving at court);[15] that the poem by Gascoigne (if it is by him) would be a little later still, as he was born 1537-40; and that Heywood's contributions must predate 1564, when went into exile; but apart from these considerations it is hard to see grounds for confidence about dating the MS to within more than a decade or so.

Some new observations on Add. MS 15233

If it does not seem too much of a digression from Byrd studies, I should like to take this opportunity to make a few new observations on BL Additional MS 15233 and its contents. In sum, this new evidence inclines one to follow Arthur Brown in erring on the side of caution regarding the provenance of the MS.

1) *Doubtful attributions.* Ringler questions the attribution of 'O Lord, whych art in hevyn on hye', to Myles Huggarde, on the grounds of its Protestant, pentitential sentiments – the very last sort of tone one would expect a famous Catholic controversialist to adopt. Indeed, this poem sits oddly in the collection, the prevailing tone of which is a sort of schoolmasterly cheerfulness ('Pluck up the heart, comfort is at hand' begins one poem) according with optimistic Catholic notions of free will, as opposed to more pessimistic Protestant notions that we are predestined, either to salvation or to damnation. But there is one further doubtful attribution, which seems to have gone completely unnoticed: one of the poems, attributed to John Redford (whose entire known musical oeuvre consists of keyboard variations on plainsong chant), 'Where Ryght-wysnes doth say', is in fact a canticle (again, strongly Protestant in sentiment) which was printed immediately before the psalms in the psalters published by John Day, from 1562 onwards. The first verse runs as follows:

Wher Ryghtwysnes doth say
Lorde for my synffull parte
In wrath thou shouldest me paye
Vengeance for my desearte

I can it not denye
But neds I must confes
How that contynwallye
The lawes I doo transgres

The tune given by John Day in 1562 was set by Daman in 1579 and 1591 (as the cantus), by Farmer (as the tenor) in Este's book of psalms in 1592, and (as the cantus) by Allison in 1599, by Dowland in Henry Noel's funeral psalms, and by Ravenscroft in 1621. A lute song setting is found in the Dallis MS. Diana Poulton, in her biography of Dowland (presumably drawing her information from Maurice Frost's *English & Scottish Psalm & Hymn Tunes c.1543-1677*, London 1953, p. 213) states that 'the anonymous words of this canticle were first printed in the English Psalter of 1562, where the tune also appears for the first time'. (This means that, unlike some psalm tunes, it had not previously appeared in the psalters produced in Edward's reign, in 1550, 1551 or 1553, or in Geneva by English Protestant exiles in 1556 or 1558, during Mary's reign.) The attribution to John Redford seems intriguing, then. It is not impossible that he wrote either words, tune, or a harmonised setting, now lost. Other explanations would be that this is a simple misattribution by a scribe who had no means of verifying Redford's authorship; and that either the verse was circulating in manuscript sources for some years before its publication in 1562—or that in fact that it was simply copied in from a psalter after 1562, (though the wording is not identical to the printed version that I have seen) which would mean that lyrics were being copied into the MS (and by its principal scribe) at a date rather later than the biographical details of the principal contributors might lead one to guess.

2) *Cover stamp.* The Malone Society edition notes initials embossed in the centre of the contemporary calf binding: the letters 'S B'—presumably the first owner of the book. Who could this person have been? Was there an 'S B', either at court, or at St Paul's cathedral, perhaps (since the first thing written into the manuscript was keyboard music) a keyboard player, or someone associated with Redford, Heywood, or one of the other contributors; perhaps someone in the circle of Mary and her supporters? Indeed there was: Simon Burton, a virginals player. The entry for Simon Burton in the *Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians* suggests that there were probably two men of this name, father and son; it is the younger one who is relevant here:

> quarterly payments of 50s to Simon Burton begin at Lady Day 1528. Initially only his name appears, but he is always placed between John Heywood 'player on the virginals' and William Beeton the organ maker. From Christmas 1543 'player on the virginals' is added after his name, but presumably this description should be applied to the earlier entries. The last recorded payment to him is at Christmas 1545.
>
> On 10 November 1531 a warrant was issued for a livery for Simon Burton 'servant to oure dearest dowghter the pryncesse [Mary]' Many payments to him occur in the surviving privy purse accounts of the Princess between December 1536 and December 1544. None of these specifically names him as her teacher on the virginals—and indeed 'Mr Paston' was paid for that duty up to April 1537; it is more likely that he served as a gentleman of her Privy Chamber who may also have held responsibility for music-making in her household and would have played on demand . . . He is listed among 'gentlemen' attending the Princess on 30 May 1536.'

Perhaps BL Add. MS 15233 started as a blank manuscript book belonging to Simon Burton, servant of Princess Mary and keyboard player, and that Redford's compositions were written into the book at some date between Redford's appearance at St Paul's in 1534, and Burton's disappearance from the records in 1545; his point of contact with Redford being the latter's collaboration with fellow virginalist John Heywood in putting on choirboy plays at court, some of them specifically for Mary's entertainment. This would presumably be the same conduit by which interludes, music and poems by Redford, and poems by Heywood, and some other notable supporters of Mary and the Catholic cause, came to be copied into the book. (Even Edwards, a little later, was in good odour with the Princess—his surviving poems include one of fulsome flattery for her court ladies.)

But by now, Byrd enthusiasts will have thought of a second, more exciting possibility. There was an 'S.B.' at St Pauls in the 1550s – Symond or Simon Byrd, William's brother, mentioned as a chorister (in the King's Remembrancer, Memorandum Roll, PRO E159/334) in 1554. Could this be his book, either acquired in connection with his education, or as a personal anthology? Interestingly, in view of the thought that it might have been a student's book, it came from the same binder of blank books as the Mulliner Book, known as the 'H.R.' binder from the initials that appear in the blind stamped binding; the binding of 15233 occurs most commonly in books made in the 1550s, according to Page. This question obviously deserves further investigation, in terms of handwriting studies, and the likelihood that a chorister would have been supplied with such a book. In fact there was one more 'S.B.' at St Paul's, Samuell Busshe, mentioned as a chorister in 1561, so caution is required here.

3) *Watermark.* Brown, in The Malone Society edition says that the watermark, a handled pot with a crown, a flower and the initials RA, resembles no. 12660 in Briquet's *Les Filigranes*, but I think it looks more like no. 12807, found in a manuscript dated to 1568. Like the observation on the book's binding, this would militate a little against the idea that Simon Burton was the first owner of the MS, since he disappears from the picture in 1545; but of course records are incomplete, and 'RA', if those are the artisan's initials, could have worked in the same paper mill for decades.

4) *Pen trials.* As for the later history of the MS, pen trials on the last leaf give some clues. These include the names 'Mr Heyborne' and 'Ann Chuntle'. The Malone edition notes these, and suggests that Mr Heyborne might be Edward Heyborne, a letter from whom to Lord Keeper Puckering regarding a church appointment surives, dated

1593. The surname Chuntle, however, is rare to the point of non-existence: there are no Chuntles at all in the English parish registers now searchable on the internet. Once again, the *Biographical Dictionary* provides a solution to the puzzle, this time beyond a peradventure, for Ferdinando Heybourne (*c.*1558–1618), Groom of the Privy Chamber from 1586 to 1611, married one Anne Chandler in 1592; with the final 'e' sounded, Chuntle is no doubt a variant spelling of her maiden name. This Mr Heyborne may have been a child in the Chapel Royal, for a Latin poem he contributed to Byrd and Tallis's *Cantiones Sacrae* (1575) refers to Tallis as his teacher. He was also a keyboard player, with works surviving in the Fitzwilliam virginal book. With these musical and courtly links, it is not hard to see how his and his wife's name could have appeared together on the back of the MS, given the milieu of its creation. It could even have come to Heybourne via the Byrd family, if it had once belonged to Symond. There is one more name among the pen trials, perhaps a John T—e, or C—e, in the same hand, but the middle letters of the name are obscured by an ink blot.

Conclusion

A few more thoughts. By 1558, when Mulliner seems to have arrived in London after three terms at Magdalen College, Oxford, (he was to return to Oxford, being appointed organist of Corpus Christi college in March 1563) the religious climate was returning to Protestantism, and, Flynn suggests, Mulliner's own Catholicism may have caused him to gravitate to the tuition of Heywood and Westcott, and to St Paul's. St Paul's at this period was known as a nest of Catholicism; in 1563, Grindal, Bishop of London complained that Wescott was corrupting the choristers with Catholicism:

> those corrupt Lessons of false Religion, which he the space of Two or Three Years hath instilled into the Ears and Minds of those Children commited unto him. Wherein, no doubt, he hath been too diligent, as hath appeared by his fruits.

Fruitful indeed; later St Paul's choristers who grew up as Catholics included Peter Philips and Thomas Morley. John Harley has shown that William Byrd's elder brothers, Symond and John, were choirboys at St Paul's, and the name of Redford's successor, Sebastian Westcott, appears in documents connected with them. So it is tempting to connect Catholic resistance at St Paul's with William Byrd's own recusancy. While the Mulliner Book contains music by Chapel Royal composers as well as by those connected with St Paul's,[16] we have seen how to some extent at least it has connections with the Cathedral, and if our lyric from Add. MS 15233, 'a St Paul's Miscellany', as Page calls it, is indeed Mulliner's 'Maiden's song', then the links between the musical and theatrical activities of the boys of St Paul's and the Mulliner Book are strengthened further. But even if 'How shall I rock the cradle?' is not the text of 'The Maiden's Song', the fact that members of the Byrd family were choirboys at St Paul's at this period would explain perfectly why the music for 'The Maidens Song' is found only in the Mulliner Book, and in the setting by Byrd, and not in any other source; it may never have been widely known – it is a slight enough tune after all – but rather was a piece of St Paul's internalia. And insofar as one is much more likely to remember songs from one's own school theatricals and concerts than from one's brothers', the case for supposing that William Byrd himself was a choirboy at St Paul's is perhaps strengthened.

POSTSCRIPT: Richard Turbet has pointed out that in the *Annual Byrd Newsletter* 4 (1998) he published John Harley's edition of the inventory of Symond Byrd. 'In ye Studye' were 'his songe bookes', (as well as a clavicord and other 'bookes'). Perhaps addition MS 15233 was among them, later passing into, or at least through the hands of Ferdinando Heyborne.

1. Jane Flynn, 'A reconsideration of the Mulliner Book (British Library Add. MS 30513): Music education in sixteenth-century England' (Ph.D dissertation, Duke University, 1993). I take this opportunity to note the slightly alarming fact that those engaged in Mulliner Book studies do not always seem to be aware of each other's work. As a companion to his edition, Musica Britannica i, *The Mulliner Book* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1951, 2nd ed. 1954) Denis Stevens produced a study, *The Mulliner Book, A Commentary* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1952). Since Jane Flynn's thesis appeared there have been at least two more studies, Francis Knights, 'Thomas Mulliner's Oxford Career', *The Organ*, vol. 5, no. 297 (summer 1996), pp. 132 ff., and Gerald Gifford, 'The Mulliner Book revisited: some musical perspectives and performance considerations', *The Consort* 58 (2002), pp. 13-28, neither of which cite Flynn's work.
2. p. 339.
3. Modern edition included in ed. George Saintsbury, *Shorter Novels: Elizabethan and Jacobean* ... (London: Everyman, 1929).
4. All five variants of Child Ballad no. 9 can be found on the internet, at www.contemplator.com/child/variant9.html, whence comes the later information about the ballad given here.
5. James Orchard Halliwell in *The Moral Play of Wit and Science and Early Poetical Miscellanies from an Unpublished Manuscript* (London: Shakespeare Society, 1848).
6. Other instances of single-couplet musical settings for long poems include the anonymous settings of Surrey's 'In winter's just return' and 'If care do cause men cry', and Thomas Mulliner's own setting of Vaux's 'The higher that the cedar tree'; see John M. Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992).
7. See ed. C. Goodwin, *Songs from Additional Manuscript 4900*, (Oldham: The Lute Society, 1997) no. 8.
8. See ed. C. Goodwin, *Songs from the Dallis Manuscript*, (Oldham: The Lute Society, 1996) no. 17.
9. 'Of wise heads' (Mulliner Book, no. 78) corresponds to 'a ballet intituled Volcan and Venus', licensed in 1562/3; 'The wretched wandering prince' (no. 89) is almost certainly 'the wanderynge prynce', licensed in 1564/5. Other lyrics for Mulliner book songs are found in Tottel's *Songes and sonnettes*... (1557, facsimile, Scolar Press (1970), modern edition, ed. H. Rollins (1965)), the *Paradyse of daynty devises* which was not published until 1576, but substantially compiled by Richard Edwards, who died in 1566, and *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites* (London, 1584; probable lost first edition 1566; facsimile: Scolar Press, 1973); ed. H. E. Rollins (Cambridge MA, 1924), the surviving copy of which dates from 1584, but was almost certainly first published in 1566, and as Rollins shows, even then gathered together material some of which had probably already been published; all of which supports Jane Flynn's dating of the source to the early 1560s.
10. Carol Rose Livingston, *British Broadside Ballads of the Sixteenth Century, a Catalogue of the Extant Sheets and an Essay* (New York/ London: Garland, 1991), no. 53.
11. *New Grove* entry.
12. W. R. Streitberger, *Court Revels 1485-1559* (University of Toronto Press, 1994), pp. 149-50, 355; Eds. A, Ashbee, D. Lasocki, P. Holman, F. Kisby, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1714* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), entry for John Heywood.
13. pages 349-359.

14. *DNB* entry for Miles Huggarde.
15. see Ros King, *The Works of Richard Edwards* (Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 4.
16. Ward, op. cit., pp. 74-78. Of the composers and writers of song lyrics represented in the Mulliner Book, Blitheman, Edwards, Farrant, Newman, Sheppard, Tallis, Taverner, Tye, Hunnis and Palfreyman were connected with the Chapel Royal; Redford with St Pauls, Mundy and Heywood with both institutions, and Alwood, Carleton, Churchyard, Heath, Johnson, Shelby and White, not known to be connected with either. The predominance of music by Chapel Royal composers should surely not surprise us in any London anthology, and as has been noted, Redford is by a substantial margin the best-represented composer in Mulliner.

WILDER AND BYRD
Wilder's *Aspice domine a6*

David Humphreys

Source Superius: Wimborne Minster, 'James' partbook p. 177: *M^r Phillipps vi voc.*

Contratenor: Oxford, Bodleian Library Tenbury 389 p. 177: *M^r Phillips vi parts*

Two partbooks from a set of six copied c. 1580-1600

Text *Aspice Domine, quia facta est desolata civitas plena divitiis, sedet in tristitia domina gentium, non est qui consoletur eam nisi tu, Deus noster.*

Plorans ploravit in nocte, et lacrimae eius in maxillis eius. Non est qui consoletur eam nisi tu, Deus noster.

Behold, Lord, for the city once full of riches is made desolate, she that ruled the peoples sits in sadness; there is none to console her but thou, our God.

Weeping she wept in the night and her tears were on her cheeks; there is none to console her but thou, our God.

Liturgical source Respond for November during the weeks before Advent, Sarum and Roman rites. Harry B. Lincoln: *The Latin Motet, Index to Printed Collections* (Ottawa, 1993) cites settings by Baccusi, Benedictus, Biaumont, Byrd, Gombert, Jacquet, Vaet and one anonymous composer from 16th-century printed sources.

Editorial method Barring and bar-numbering are editorial. Text underlay indicated by repeat signs in the source is given in italics. Editorial accidentals are placed above the note to which they apply.

Van Wilder made two distinct, though closely related settings of the *Aspice Domine* text, a5 and a6. The five-part setting, which is known from seven Tudor manuscript sources, became popular in Elizabethan England and served as a partial model for Byrd's *Civitas sancti tuii (Ne irascaris Part II)*, which was published in his *Cantiones sacrae* of 1589 but seems to have been in circulation in manuscript sources from about 1580. A modern edition of the five-part setting is available in J. Bernstein (ed.) *Philip van Wilder, Collected Works (Monuments and Masters of the Renaissance 4, New York, 1991) Part I (Sacred Works)* pp. 9-26. Unfortunately the six-part setting is known from a single set, only two partbooks of which have survived.

Joseph Kerman *(The Masses and Motets of William Byrd, London, 1981, p. 102)* makes the additional observation that Byrd's own *Aspice Domine a6* (published in the Tallis/Byrd *Cantiones* of 1575) also draws from Van Wilder's setting at the words 'plena divitiis' (bars 38-50 in Craig Monson's text from *The Byrd Edition).* Kerman believes that both Byrd's parodies were based on Van Wilder's five-part setting. It is perhaps more likely that Byrd used the six-part version for his own *Aspice Domine* (compare bars 53-63 in the present edition) and then turned to the five-part setting for *Civitas sancti tui.* A point in favour of this alternative view is that the relevant passage in Van Wilder's six-part setting sets the same text-phrase 'plena divitiis' as the Byrd re-setting, whereas in the five-part version the imitative point is set to a different phrase ('sedet in tristitia'). Byrd's partial dependence on Van Wilder may also explain his choice of G Mixolydian as the mode for this motet.

The remains of the motet are given in small print on the following two pages. Anyone who wishes to attempt to compose the remaining four parts is invited to write for a copy set out with blank staves.

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The challenge we set last year to complete *Look and bow down* was offered to members of the lute society, and we have received versions of Part I from Franz Gruss (2 voices and lute), Gerd Keuenhof (2 voices and lute or 6 voices), Stewart McCoy (2 voices and four viols, with six-voice chorus) and Scott Pauley (one voice and lute). This did not produce a version of the whole work that could be sung by Christ's Hospital (which Alan Charlton was hoping he could set up). The piece does seem to be more difficult to sort out than I hoped. Of the entries received, I would pick Stewart McCoy's as the winner, since he has come up with what would seem to be the most likely scoring for the piece and produced music that makes perfect stylistic sense. Since Stewart reviews for *EMR*, I may be accused of bias, but it would be interesting if he could try the other two parts.

Congratulations to Richard Turbet for achieving 10 issues of the *Annual Byrd Newsletter.* Despite failing to find a new piece by (or not by) Byrd for this issue, he has assembled his most impressive *Newsletter* of the ten. We hope that any who have subscribed to *EMR* chiefly for the *Newsletter* will continue to do so, in anticipation of the continuation of bibliographical updatings and, of course, for the other features of *Early Music Review.* *CB*

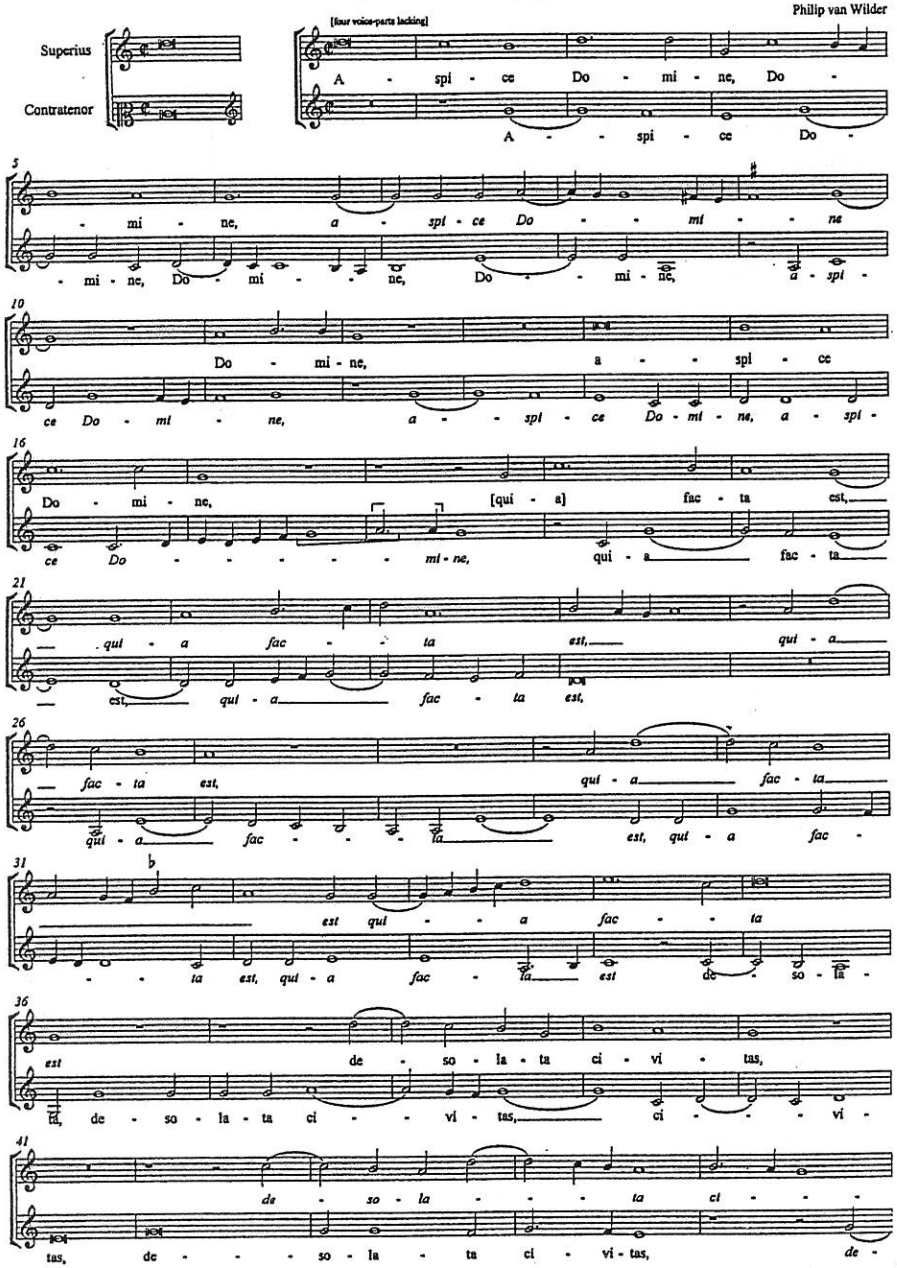
Aspice Domine (a6)

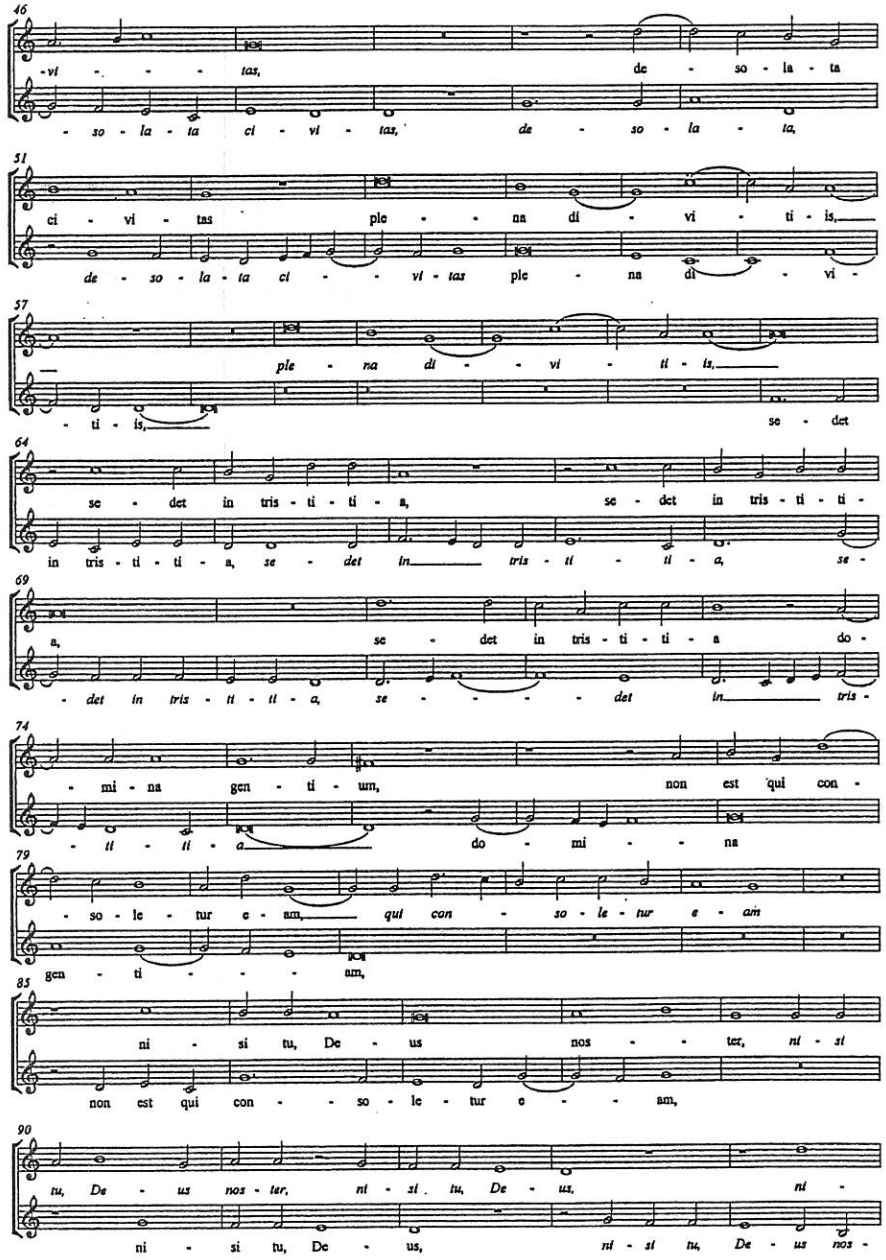
Philip van Wilder

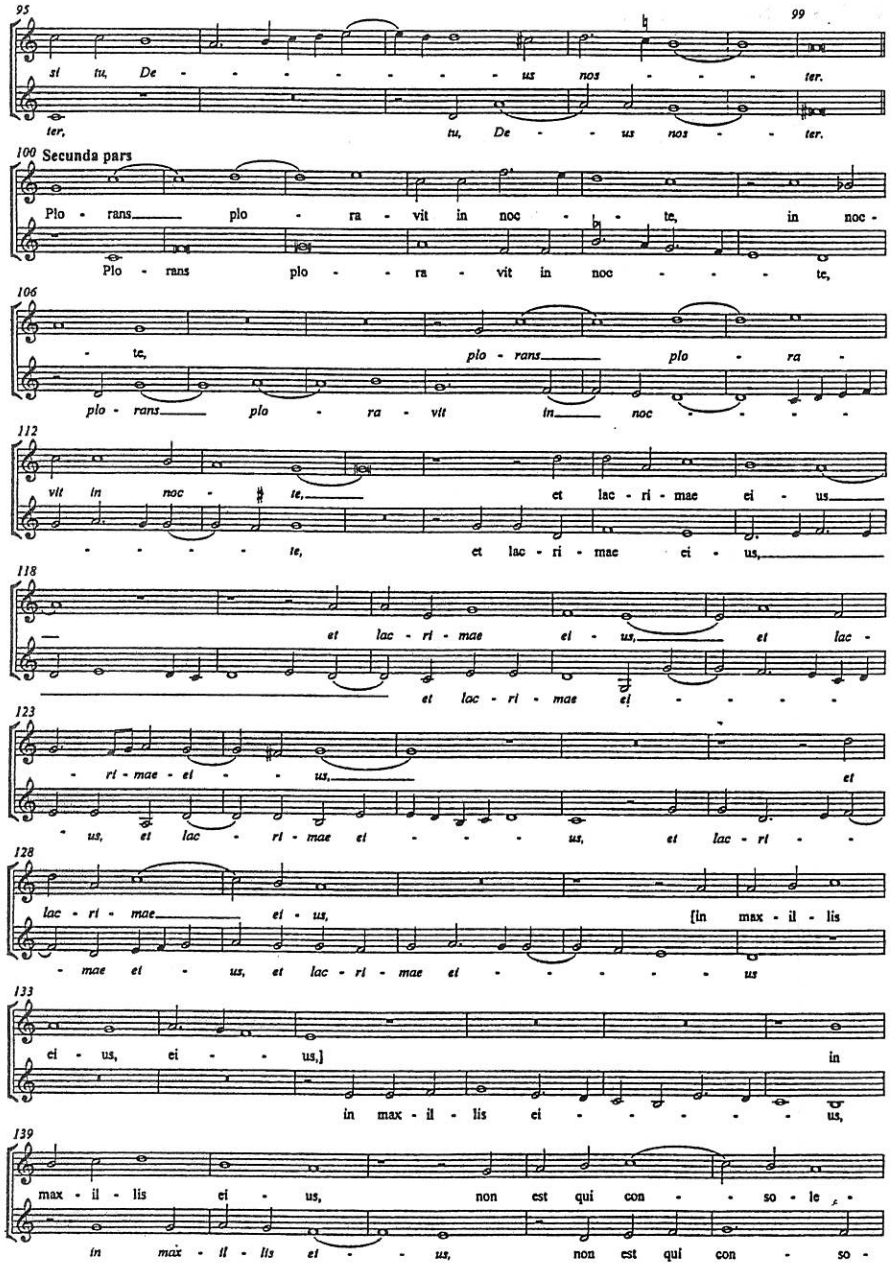
[four voice-parts lacking]

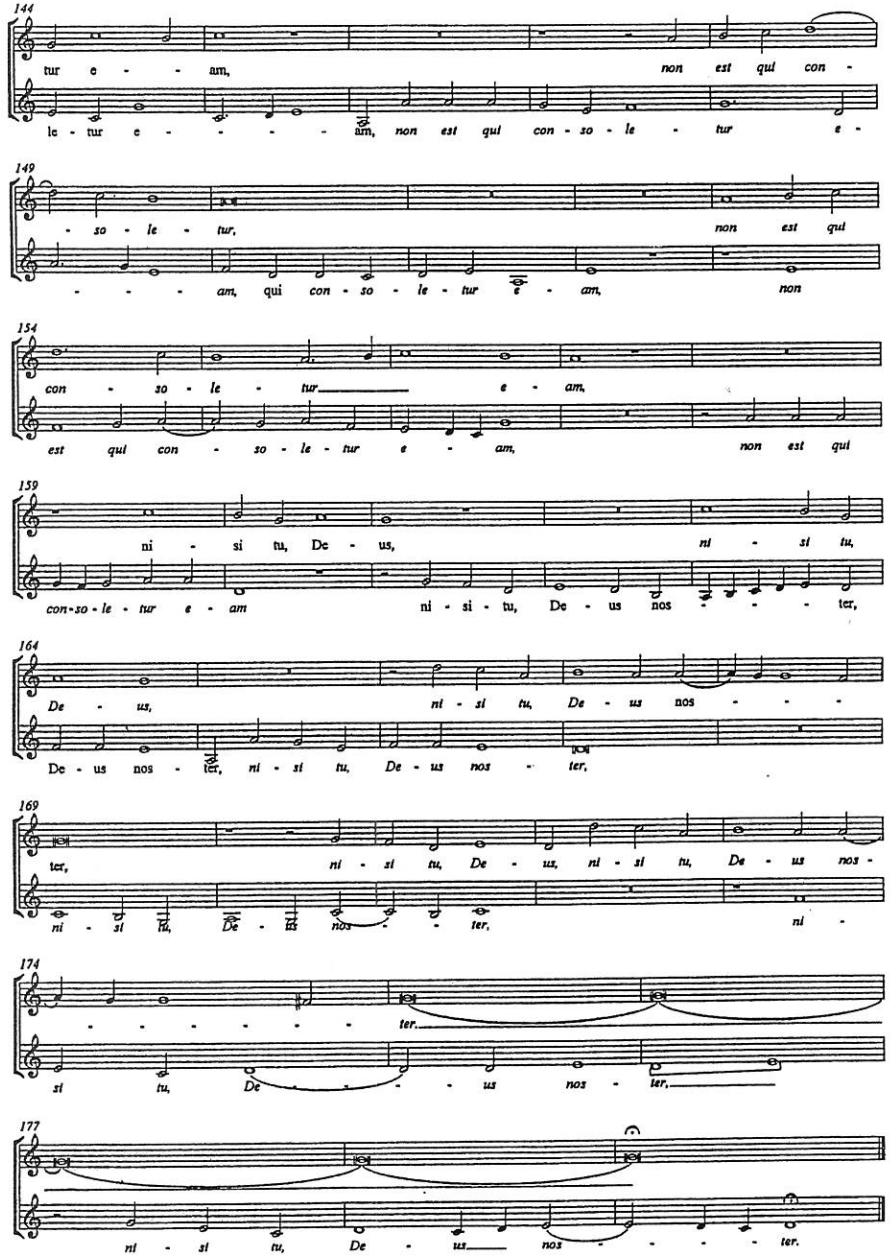
Superius

Contratenor






95
si tu, De - - - - - - - - us nos - - - - ter.
ter, tu, De - - us nos - - ter.
99
100 Secunda pars
Plo - rans plo - ra - vit in noc - - te, in noc -
Plo - rans plo - - ra - vit in noc - - - - te,
106
- te, plo - rans plo - ra -
plo - rans plo - ra - vit in noc - - - -
112
vit in noc - te, et lac - ri - mae ei - us
- - - - - te, et lac - ri - mae ei - us,
118
et lac - ri - mae ei - us, et lac -
et lac - ri - mae ei - - - - -
123
- ri - mae - ei - - us, et
- us, et lac - ri - mae ei - - - us, et lac - ri - -
128
lac - ri - mae ei - us, [in max - il - lis
- mae et - us, et lac - ri - mae et - - - - - - us
133
ei - us, ei - - us,] in
in max - il - lis ei - - - - - - us,
139
max - il - lis ei - us, non est qui con - - so - le -
in max - il - lis ei - - us, non est qui con - so -


144
tur e - - am, non est qui con -
le - tur e - - - - am, non est qui con - so - le - tur e -
149
- so - le - tur, non est qui
- - - - am, qui con - so - le - tur e - am, non
154
con - so - le - tur e - am,
est qui con - so - le - tur e - am, non est qui
159
ni - si tu, De - us, ni - si tu,
con - so - le - tur e - am ni - si - tu, De - us nos - - - - ter,
164
De - us, ni - si tu, De - us nos - - -
De - us nos - ter, ni - si tu, De - us nos - ter,
169
ter, ni - si tu, De - us, ni - si tu, De - us nos -
ni - si tu, De - us nos - - ter, ni -
174
- - - - - - - ter.
si tu, De - - - - us nos - ter,
177
ni - si tu, De - us nos - - - - ter.