



ANNUAL BYRD NEWSLETTER

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EDITORIAL

Until 1997, when John Harley told us otherwise, it was thought that Byrd was born in 1542 or 1543. Many events took place in 1992 and 1993 to celebrate his '450th' anniversary. One such was the concert devoted to his music given in Edinburgh and repeated twice in Glasgow during 1992 by the late lamented Scottish Early Music Consort. In the course of the recital, their violists played Warwick Edwards's reconstruction of the third fantasia a4 (now published by King's Music) and verses 1-3 and 8 of the first *Te lucis* set. In 1993 Fretwork made their famous recording of all of Byrd's consort music that survives complete. Thanks to a quirk of history, this includes the second verse of the second *Te lucis* set. The remaining four verses of *Te lucis* I and the remaining three verses of *Te lucis* II, plus a setting of *Salvator Mundi* in two verses, each in four parts, all stayed unrecorded and, to my knowledge, unperformed. As I observe below in *Miscellany*, last year University Music in the University of Aberdeen inaugurated its Teatime Recitals. This initiative has proved successful in giving soloists and ensembles within the University an opportunity to perform one or two items within a varied programme before a good audience. One such ensemble is the recorder consort *Cantores ad Portam*, directed by David J. Smith. The recital on 1 May 2002 was of the greatest significance for Byrd's music, because as part of their fine and enjoyable contribution, *Cantores ad Portam* played verses 4-7 of *Te lucis* I, plus all of *Salvator Mundi* and *Te lucis* II. Although early pieces, each of the ten verses revealed at least one unique moment that marked it as the work of a composer far beyond the average. Yet again: made in Scotland!

NEW WRITING

329. Wesley, Samuel. [Proposal to publish, by subscription, SW's transcriptions of antiphons by William Byrd in the Fitzwilliam collection, Cambridge.] 1826.

No copies are known to survive: see Kassler, Michael and Olleson, Philip: *Samuel Wesley (1766-1837): a source book*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) p.705. (1826Wp)

330. Darton, Ruth. ' "A father of musick": an exhibition on William Byrd.' *FULLview* 12 (1994): 4-5. Report on 227/1993Df. (1994Df)

331. Ashbee, Andrew *et al*, comps: *The Viola da Gamba Society index of manuscripts containing consort music*. Vol. 1. Aldershot: Ashgate 2001.

Many entries under Byrd in index, p.397.

332. Dirksen, Pieter. 'Byrd and Sweelinck: some cursory notes'. *Annual Byrd newsletter* 7 (2001): 11-20.

Far-from-cursory consideration of evidence for links between the two composers. Suggests that an anonymous Prelude (*Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* no.117) once ascribed to Sweelinck may be by Byrd. Discusses and transcribes the version of the Petre (Tenth) pavan and galliard from the Düben Tablature Book, 'the only source with a documented connection with the Sweelinck school'. (2001Db)

333. James, Peter. 'The significance of Byrd's verse compositions: a reappraisal'. *Annual Byrd newsletter* 7 (2001): 7-10. Sets Second Service and church anthems in context of origins and development of verse idiom. (2001Js)

334. Keller, Arne. 'Some observations on R134 of the Herlufsholm Collection, with proposed identifications of owners and compilers: a new source for Byrd's *In resurrectione*'. *Annual Byrd newsletter* 7 (2001): 10-11.

Draws attention to Danish MS containing the tenor part, reproduced in facsimile in *Early music review* 71 (2001): 23. (2001Ks)

335. Mitchell, Nicholas. 'Pitch in viols and harpsichords in the Renaissance'. *Galpin Society journal* 54 (2001): 97-115. Penultimate section 'Instrumental transcriptions of works by Byrd', pp.112-13.

336. Turbet, Richard. 'Recommended recordings of music by Byrd'. *International Association of Music Libraries, Archives and Documentation Centres United Kingdom Branch newsletter* 42 (2002): 10-11. (2002Tr)

ADDENDA TO WILLIAM BYRD: A GUIDE TO RESEARCH

T 287: add MB LXXIV 24 no.8

T 314: add MB LXXIV 114 no. 28

p.10: add [MB] LXXIV. Watson, Thomas. *Italian madrigals englished* (1590), edited by Albert Chatterley. 1999.

All unsigned contributions are by Richard Turbett

CHECKLIST

The following numbers, usually provided in parentheses and continuing the sequence established in chapter II of my *William Byrd: a guide to research*, were omitted from the 'New writing' section of Newsletter 7, 2001.

295:	1999BOe	311:	2000Hb	319:	2000Tbyr
303:	1998Mb	312:	2000Hw	320:	2000Tj
304:	1924Fn	313:	2000HOh	321:	2001Ci
305:	1943Ww	314:	2000Km	322:	2001Kb
307:	1997Su	315:	2000Pb	326:	2000Pf
308:	1998HOr	316:	2000Rb	327:	2001Bb
309:	1999Bb	317:	2000Tby	328:	2001Sb
310:	1999SMf	318:	2000Tb		

THE BYRD EDITION 7

Cantiones Sacrae 1589 & Propers for Lady Mass from Christmas to the Purification The Cardinall's Music, Andrew Carwood & David Skinner ASV CD GAU224

These wonderful recordings continue to impress and delight in equal measure. With the seventh of the series we are on relatively unknown territory, and the listener may do well to begin with tracks 5-10, the Lady Mass Propers from the first book of *Gradualia*, whose material is somewhat more approachable. Byrd's all-purpose *Gloria Patri*, the same as in *Rorate caeli*, is reassuringly familiar, and there are the usual Byrd-isms in the word-setting to delight, move or enthrall. With the eight sacred songs from the 1589 *Cantiones* we enter a dark and dangerous world, described in disturbing and graphic detail in David Skinner's booklet notes. Vocal lines twist and turn about in semitones, and the scoring is low-pitched, dense and sombre, as befits the gloomy and anguished texts.

I had some fairly serious reservations about the performances when I reviewed the first of these discs, but I found this one much more satisfying. There is still a tendency for the singers always to be on the forward edge of the pulse, as though being slightly hustled along, but the speeds are generally more comfortable these days, and the singing is expressive, even impassioned at times. I could wish still for a rather more mellow tone-quality in the singing: there is a rather thin, pinched sound in the upper voices at times, which occasionally grates on the ear. These are minor quibbles, however, when set against the powerful impact of the performance as a whole. An essential addition to your collection.

Timothy Storey

OTHER SIGNIFICANT NEW RECORDINGS

The leader of the Jaye-Consort Berlin, Tilman Muthesius, has sent me a review copy of their disc *Farewell all ioyes* which contains exciting material by Byrd. Most importantly it includes premiere recordings of the songs *Oh Lord bow down* and *The day delayed*. (The latter is regarded by

Philip Brett in volume 15 of *The Byrd edition* as a dubious attribution.) Furthermore it includes the first recording on CD of the incomplete second fantasia a4. The remaining two items by Byrd receive interesting treatment. The duet *Delight is dead* is performed as a solo song, and during the instrumental opening to *Ye sacred muses* the soprano beats funereally upon a drum before she begins to sing. The rest of the disc contains songs and consorts by Dowland, Wilbye, Morley, Holborne, Robert Johnson, Bennet, Simpson, Hume, Gibbons, Chetwode and Pilkington. The singer is the Argentinian soprano Ines Villanueva, and the Jaye-Consort Berlin consists of four violists whose instruments are made after those of the great London maker Henry Jaye. The disc is a recording of a recital at the Kapelle Klein-Glienicke on 7 February 2001. It can be obtained by sending 22 Euros to Tilman Muthesius, Tuchmacherstrasse 44, D-14482 Potsdam, Germany. Herr Muthesius tells me they obtained the Byrd songs 'which are so great for singer and viols!' from one Herr Schasiepen, an enthusiast who visited Great Britain in the sixties to find viol music and copied masses of music from the originals in the libraries here. (As a music librarian with a penchant for Byrd this gladdens my heart.)

13 Motets from Cantiones sacrae sung by the Sarum Consort on the ASV label (CD QS 6211) contains a selection from all three books, including the first recording of *Recordare Domine* from book II.

Keyboard music by William Byrd played by Davitt Moroney (Hyperion CDA66558) is the selection from the complete recording (CDA66551-7) listed on page 4 of Newsletter 7, 2001.

All three discs of CRD's selections from Byrd's *Cantiones sacrae* of 1575, 1589 and 1591 have been reissued as a boxed set (CRD 5003), sung by the Choir of New College, Oxford.

One of Oxford University's fine mixed choirs, that of The Queen's College, sings four of the Easter propers (excluding *Victimae paschali*) and the ecclesiastical version (with organ) of *Christ rising* on a disc of that title (Guild GMCD 7222) conducted by Owen Rees, himself a Byrd scholar of distinction.

It is good to welcome the reappearance of the unique recording of *Is love a boy* sung by The King's Singers (EMI CDC 7 49265 2). Unfortunately the booklet retains the misinformation from the 1982 notes that this is Byrd's arrangement of one of his consort songs. There are few of these among the 1589 Songs and this piece in four parts is not one of them. Last among the 35 madrigals on 'All at once well met' is the version in six parts of *This sweet and merry month*.

There are three new versions of consort songs on a disc with the cumbersome title *Allegri: Miserere: Renaissance polyphony and consort songs* by Pro Cantione Antiqua on the Regis label (RRC 1065). None of the songs are familiar but all are on other discs. Accompanied by the English Consort

of Viols, the countertenors James Bowman and Paul Esswood sing the duet *Delight is dead*; James Bowman sings *How vain the toils* and the tenor James Griffett sings *O Lord, how long wilt thou forget?*

Interlude: three slices of sheer fun. On *Stokowski's Symphonic Baroque* BBC Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Matthias Bamert includes his arrangements of the Salisbury pavan and the Gigg (Chandos CHAN 9930). The soundtrack of the film *Elizabeth* contains an hallucinatory arrangement of the first part of *Domine secundum actum* (London 460 796-2). And on Dutton CDSJB1008, Sir John Barbirolli conducts the BBC Symphony Orchestra in a performance of *An Elizabethan Suite* which includes his arrangement of the Salisbury pavan.

In Newsletter 5, 1999 (p.3) I drew attention to an 'intriguing novelty': pianist Joanna MacGregor's recording of the first nine variations from *Hugh Aston's ground*. Now she has recorded the whole piece on her most recent album *Play* (SoundCircus SC007).

Volume 8 of the ASV Byrd Edition, including the rest of book 1 of the *Cantiones*, 1589, will be released before Christmas. Volume 9 is scheduled for recording in September and will feature the *Gradualia* for Corpus Christi. Volume 10 will be the first of three covering book 2 of the *Cantiones*, 1591, and will include the reconstruction of the unpublished *Domine exaudi* with the identically titled and similarly texted motet published in 1591.

During 2001 the NMC label, which is run by Colin Matthews, a contributor to the Newsletter, released a disc entitled *Themes & variations*. It consists of three composite sets of variations on traditional tunes, by a total of nineteen British composers, played by the BBC Symphony Orchestra under Jac van Steen. The best-known and earliest set is the Variations on an Elizabethan theme, Sellenger's round, for string orchestra. It begins with Imogen Holst's transcription of Byrd's first variation, to be played twice over. None of the succeeding settings invoke him, nor does Tippett in his *Divertimento on Sellenger's Round* which is derived from his contribution here. This work is scheduled for performance at the 2002 Proms.

A fuller, though not complete, arrangement of *Sellenger's Round* forms the fifth and final movement of Granville Bantock's *Old English Suite* played by the Czechoslovak State Philharmonic (Kosice) conducted by Adrian Leaper on Naxos 8.223274.

MISCELLANY

In 'Sports Daily' from *The Times* of 23 June 2001, under the headline 'Aussie rules (even if Shakespeare's better than Neighbours)' by Simon Barnes:

The traditional defence against Australian sporting triumphalism is the invocation of the Cultural Cringe. Who is the Australian

Shakespeare? Must be the joker who writes Neighbours. Is Rolf Harris's *Sun Arise* the nearest Australia can get to *Peter Grimes* and William Byrd's *Mass for Five Voices*?

Readers who have browsed through the Byrd volumes of the British Library's Catalogue of printed music will have espied a reference under *The battle to Bird-Boogie* by Franzpeter Goebels (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1974). The first part is 'The flute and the drum' followed by a Boogie and Coda 'based on free improvisations by the editor (after V. Nelhybel)'. For information about Vaclav Nelhybel see *Grove*.

Gerald Finzi founded the Newbury String Players in 1941, and its collection of sets of 700 parts is now in Reading University Library. A catalogue was compiled in 1959. This was rewritten forty years later, and is now on the world wide web. Byrd is represented by his Browning (*The leaves be greene*) in Terry's edition, two versions of the 'Cradle song', i.e. *My little sweet darling*, now regarded as spurious, and a 'Carol for Christmas day', in fact *An earthly tree*. A 'Fantasia for strings' was regrettably 'noted as missing from the Collection at the time it was deposited at Reading' in 1981. Nevertheless it is gratifying that this amateur body was drawn to some of Byrd's music during the lull between Fellowes and the subsequent professional musicologists, a period when his music involving the instrumental consort was still relatively inaccessible.

In the notes to his recording of music from the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, Christopher Hogwood suggested that some of the popular tunes set by William Byrd might have had a special meaning for Byrd's fellow-Catholics, since it is conceivable that words of a specifically Catholic significance were sometimes sung to them. In support of this idea he cited the Scottish publication *Ane Compendius Buik of Godly and Spirituall Sangis*, generally known as *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*. The first known edition of this collection appeared in 1567, although it is thought there may have been earlier editions and some of the contents may have been circulated in the form of broadsheets. *Gude and Godlie* is markedly Lutheran in character, but its adaptation of popular songs is clear in the case of verses beginning 'Johne, cum kis me now' and 'With huntis up'. These may indeed represent a more general practice of adaptation, but so far no verses of a particularly Catholic import have been located. Can anyone suggest where they might be found?

It is always gratifying to discover how widely Byrd's music was performed during the century between the beginning of his revival and the first publication in his complete edition, 1840-1937. Recently I purchased a programme for one of 'Mr Sam Vickers Popular Concerts season 1925-26' at the Philharmonic Hall, Liverpool. In part 2, item 6(c) was 'Hey ho to the greenwood (canon)' by 'William Byrd (1580)' sung by John Goss and The Cathedral Male Voice Quartet. (Why 1580?) This item is now regarded as spurious, but later in part 2, item 8, The Cathedral Male Voice Quartet sang 'Wounded I am (madrigal)' again by 'William

Byrd (1580)'. It would be interesting to know whether they sang the entire song, or just the first part as it was later published in *Invitation to madrigals for SATB* edited by Thurston Dart (London: Stainer & Bell, 1962, no.167, p.48). Samuel Vickers, who was born in 1864, was well known locally as a concert promoter, besides owning S. Vickers, piano showrooms. Despite stating the present season was his last, he continued until just before his death in 1930. The Cathedral Male Voice Quartet consisted of A. Whitehead, S Taylor Harris, A. Pilgrim and A.K. Maclean. Presumably the first named was Albert Whitehead, the male alto immortalized as the soloist on the famous first recording of Constant Lambert's *The Rio Grande*.

It is a pleasure to congratulate Cathedral Press on its fifth anniversary. Series editor Peter James has contributed two significant articles to the Newsletter, and his editions have expanded the Tudor Anglican repertory, as he specializes in reconstructing fragmentary Services and anthems. Particularly welcome are the two early verse Services by Byrd's pupil Tomkins, conventionally numbered Sixth and Seventh, and consisting only of the evening canticles. These Services exhibit vestigially the influence of the opening of Byrd's seminal Second Service: both settings of the *Nunc dimittis* and the *Seventh Magnificat* begin with the first three notes of the modern minor scale. (This observation corrects the one on page 490 of my article 158.) Cathedral Press also publishes Weelkes's First Service, another possible homage to Byrd's Second, as well as the neglected but superb Verse Service by Michael East. Byrd himself is not overlooked. Cathedral Press publishes Peter James's edition of *Exalt Thyself O Lord*. Peter himself rediscovered sufficient material to make this reconstruction possible, and he wrote about it in Newsletter 4 (1998), pp.9-10. The Press also publishes Byrd's verse anthem *O Lord rebuke me not* using the organ accompaniment rediscovered since Fellowes' edition of 1949. Peter's article on Byrd's verse compositions is in Newsletter 7 (2001), pp.7-10.

In last year's Newsletter it was noted that Byrd had made his breakthrough into the cinema. (See also under 'Significant new recordings' in the present issue.) His music was also used in the 20th-century commercial theatre. Healey Willan arranged the *Pavan*: the Earl of Salisbury for a production of Shakespeare's *Love's labours lost* in 1920 at Hart House Theatre, University of Toronto, where he was musical director from 1919 to 1925. The previous year Arthur Bliss arranged three pieces for a production of the same author's *As you like it* at the Stratford Memorial Theatre. No trace of the music survives, though it is known that the three pieces were pavane, galliard and jig. I would be grateful to hear of any other examples of Byrd's music being arranged or played (not recorded) as incidental music in the commercial theatre or on film.

Last year's William Byrd Memorial Concert took place on 3 July 2001 in the Parish Church of St Peter and St Paul, Stondon Massey, its usual venue. The regular choir, the Stondon Singers, was conducted by Edward Wellman, and

sang *Justorum animae, Laetentur coeli, Ave verum corpus* and *This sweet and merry month a 4* plus several other Renaissance works. Their guests, The Ravenscroft Consort, played an arrangement of the *Salisbury pavan*, the *Pavan* and *Galliard*, and the now discarded *My little sweet darling*.

At the inaugural Teatime Recital given by University Music in the University of Aberdeen on 3 October 2001, *Cantores ad Portam* performed Byrd's *Fantasia a 3 no.1*, and the Chapel Choir of King's College sang the first part of *Laetentur coeli*.

The Music Appeal at Lincoln Cathedral is in the middle of a 'big push' towards its initial target of £1.75m. Donations can be sent to Mrs Susan Ridley, Secretary, Cathedral Fundraising, 4 Priorygate, Lincoln LN2 1PL.

Byrd featured at the Proms on 25 July 2001 in a programme given by the Tallis Scholars including his *mass a 5* and *Ne irascaris*.

On 5 May 2001 the Royal Musical Association celebrated the golden jubilee of *Musica Britannica* with a concert and reception at the Royal Academy of Music in London. Among several contributions from its publications, Davitt Moroney played Byrd's *Hornpipe* and his arrangement of Dowland's *Lachrymae* *pavan* and Harding's *galliard* pairing.

Byrd was Composer of the Week on BBC Radio 3 from 31 December 2001 to 4 January 2002. At a time when the station's coverage of early music is in serious decline, this was a judiciously selected, chronologically based sequence of programmes.

The third annual William Byrd Festival took place in Portland, Oregon, from 26 August to 3 September 2000, and the fourth from 25 August to 2 September 2001. The latter featured pieces from the second *Cantiones* of 1591.

Three motets which are increasingly aired in public concerts – *Miserere mei, Peccantem me quotidie* and *Infelix ego* – were performed by Cappella Nova as part of 'Tenebrae', given on successive nights in Aberdeen, Glasgow and Edinburgh on April 27-29. At Aberdeen, the demands which Byrd places on his singers were made manifest, particularly in *Peccantem*. One hopes that the audiences in the Central Belt heard something closer to what Byrd intended. Nevertheless, the climax to *Infelix* came off gloriously.

ORDINARY BYRD: MASSES AND PRECES

Byrd could not have made his music ordinary even if he had tried. My reference here is to the ordinarys of the Latin and Anglican liturgies, specifically to a couple of issues that need to be addressed concerning the performance in Byrd's day of his masses and his *Preces*. How were Byrd's masses, and indeed his *proper*s, performed in his own day? We know they were sung illegally and secretly by recusants including females. Instruments were involved, but we do not know

whether these were doubling voices, replacing absent parts, or providing voluntaries, or some of these, or all. But what was actually sung? If the entire service was choral, and if Byrd's propers were used, did the performers sing one of his masses or someone else's or plainsong? If they sang one of Byrd's, did it correspond to the number of parts in the propers? If so, what happened when his propers for SS Peter and Paul were sung? Did singers double up on the three-part mass? (One must bear in mind Joseph Kerman's hypothesis that it might have been composed for Holy Saturday.) And to turn the questions round, if any of Byrd's masses were sung, were the propers chanted or were another composer's settings used, or Byrd's?

Anyone who has heard, or better still sung, Byrd's First and Second Preces and his Preces and Responses will agree with Craig Monson that the Second Preces were probably composed first, followed by the First Preces, and the Preces and Responses last. Why are there no Responses to go with the Second and First Preces? Could the Preces and Responses have in fact been composed first, so that the Responses could be used with any further Preces that Byrd composed? Or were the Second and First Preces indeed composed first, at Lincoln where perhaps the Responses were routinely chanted, or settings by another composer were used? And were the Preces and Responses composed when Byrd moved to the Chapel Royal, where there was a bigger and more able choir singing within a more musically conscious environment, where everything including the Responses was sung to composed music rather than to chant?

R.T.

MEANINGS

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

What does William Byrd mean to a busy cathedral organist working in West Yorkshire?

I recently adjudicated at a school choirs competition on the cathedral steps in Wakefield and quoted to the children Byrd's famous dictum:

Since singing is so good a thing
I wish that all would learn to sing

How extraordinarily relevant this still is in 2002, when so many children go through school without being taught how to sing.

Byrd's Latin and English church music is of supreme importance and we sing a fair amount of it in Wakefield Cathedral. The choristers find the style hard to get into at first ('Where's the tune, Sir?'); on the other hand, the layclerks live every suspension and false relation ('Why don't we sing more Tudor music, Jonathan?'). There are some interesting statistics in John Patton's *A Century of Cathedral Music 1898-1998*. With regard to the 1998 Survey, in the Most Popular Anthems category Byrd's *Ave verum corpus* comes ninth; in the Most Popular Canticles category

his Second Service comes thirteenth; in the Most Popular Eucharists category his Mass for 4 voices comes first, his Mass for 3 voices comes sixth, and his Mass for 5 voices comes eighth. Here at Wakefield we sing all three Masses plus:

Ave verum – with its searing cross relations.

Haec dies – we love the dancing 6/8 cross rhythms and ever-rising bass Alleluias.

Short Service – the *Te Deum* can seem awfully long if you have got boys away.

2nd service – 'As he promised' is good for trying out a new treble soloist.

Sing joyfully – we like blowing the trumpet in the new moon

Teach me, O Lord – a delightful verse anthem.

William Byrd's musical style was conservative rather than avant garde. He obstinately continued to write for the Roman rite while supplying the obligatory vernacular settings for the new Anglican liturgy. His musical genius and religious faith brought forth in the first Elizabethan Age a plentiful supply of superb masses and motets, settings and anthems. His star will not wane in the 21st century. In this new Millennium cathedrals are expected to provide music in the traditional language and also for the modern liturgies, be ecumenical, and provide music which speaks to believer and unbeliever alike. In the wider musical field postmodernism has replaced experimentalism. Byrd is well placed to prosper in this second Elizabethan Age and beyond, and rise to increased importance in both cathedral and concert hall, in live performance and on disc.

Jonathan Bielby

Jonathan Bielby has been Master of the Music at Wakefield Cathedral since 1970 and Lecturer at Leeds College of Music since 1979.

WILLIAM BYRD INVESTIGATED, 1583-84

'Was William Byrd a traitor?', asked Christopher Harrison, when conveying to us the most important knowledge about the composer's life to have emerged for a long time.¹ The answer is: 'Almost certainly not', but the idea does not now seem quite as far-fetched as it may have done. I have a couple of things to report about the question, which will help to fill up the story of Byrd's doings at a particularly tense moment in Elizabethan history, and in his own.

1. The rest of us have underestimated the gravity of suspicions raised against Byrd as a collaborator with Catholics involved in conspiracy against the state: to be exact, in what is known as the Throckmorton Plot. This was an attempt to organise an invasion of the country and a concurrent Catholic rising, which was frustrated by the arrest of Francis Throckmorton in November 1583 and the interrogation of Throckmorton and a string of other Catholics thereafter. We had known that Byrd was one of them: Dr William Parry wrote in a letter of 22 February 1584 that Byrd had been examined by the Council, but 'very honorably intreated' by them, and left at liberty. We also knew that about that date Byrd was required, under a bond

of £200, to make himself available at his house at Harlington 'within any reasonable warning'.² The bond was evidently the result of the examination, and its terms are just about compatible with Parry's benign description of it. But they might imply something stiffer, and we can now see that they do.

Sir Francis Walsingham, the Secretary of State, was in charge of the investigations which had been going on since Throckmorton's arrest, and in his office diary of the period there are three references to Byrd. The first dates from about 10 February 1584:

'To seek out matters against Byrd.'

Shortly after this, Walsingham is

'to send to Francis Myles Mr. Byrd's note'.

The final mention, written in what seems to be early March, is:

'To sende for Mr. Byrd.'

The first note is ominous: a dossier is to be compiled against Byrd who, as a criminal suspect, is not given the title 'Master'. It looks as if Francis Myles, one of Walsingham's confidential servants, had been instructed to draw up the evidence against Byrd, and that Byrd had been summoned to appear. His 'note', I imagine, said that he could not come just then because the queen was detaining him at court. By Parry's account he must have appeared shortly after, and the bond have been taken then. He must have been examined twice. Perhaps his second appearance was only before Walsingham; in any case, we may note that in the second and third references Byrd's 'Master' has been restored, which may imply that he was off the hook. Possibly the queen had intervened to stop any heavy interrogation, as she did in the case of another suspect, Lord Henry Howard. The dossier against Byrd must have been dropped, though we shall see that one item of it probably survives. Byrd certainly remained under suspicion, because his house was rigorously searched a year or so later, in a panic caused by the attempt of Philip Howard, the young Earl of Arundel, to flee the country and join the Catholic opposition.⁴

2. What exactly was Byrd investigated about? This has now become pretty clear, and may be expounded in two stages.

First. We have recently discovered how close Byrd's relations had been with members of the Catholic aristocracy who were, one way and another, connected with the plot. In particular he was intimate with the Paget family, two of whose members were heavily implicated. Through the emergence into light of the Elizabethan Paget papers, we have found that Thomas, Lord Paget, his family and his houses at Drayton in Middlesex (very close to Byrd's Harlington), at Burton-on-Trent and in London had formed the centre of a network of Catholic nobility and gentry deeply concerned with music; and that in this circle Byrd's musical and social activities, so far as he was not occupied at court, had been pursued for several years before 1583. Byrd had, among other things, been coaching Lord Paget's

younger brother Charles in composition.⁵ Charles had gone to France in 1581; on the arrest of Francis Throckmorton Lord Paget had fled there too, his escape organised by his friend the Earl of Northumberland from his house at Petworth in Sussex. Both he and Northumberland had been too close to Throckmorton's doings for comfort; and it would emerge that a principal event in the conspiracy had been a clandestine visit made from France to Petworth by Charles Paget in September 1583. There he had met both lords and sought to recruit them for a rising in Sussex to coincide with a landing on the coast.

Second. Byrd appears to have kept up his friendship with Charles Paget after Charles's departure for France, and we have two pieces of evidence about this. The first is William Parry's letter of 22 February 1584, cited above (n. 2), which was addressed to Charles Paget. In it he complained that Paget had written to him, presumably via the French embassy, a letter enclosed, with others, in a packet addressed to somebody else. Immediately after this he reported Byrd's examination before the Council; which might suggest, no more, that the packet had been addressed to Byrd. The suggestion becomes more persuasive when we add another piece of evidence which, if sound, is new. In the same collection of Walsingham's papers in which Parry's letter survives, there is the copy of another letter to Charles Paget in Rouen in France, dated from London on 17 November 1583 and signed 'W. B.'.

The writer said that he had had two letters from Paget, one very loving to himself, the second, which he had received yesterday, containing 'matter of cold comfort' to an unidentified gentlewoman about her 'travelsome' husband. He would pass on an enclosed letter from Charles to a Dr. Bourne, and had given a message to Charles's mother, the dowager Lady Paget. He enquired after two sums of money, one sent over to a friend of Charles, the other to Charles himself. He asked to be remembered to one Mr. Davison and his wife, who had evidently emigrated to France; he hoped that Davison had found a way of supporting himself there. Perhaps the first thing we can extract from this letter is that Paget had written to the writer at least twice from France, and had enclosed in one of the letters a letter to somebody else; which ought to remind us that was the way Paget's later letter was to come to Parry.

Was W. B. William Byrd? From Byrd's known and intimated connection with the Pagets, and perhaps particularly with Charles; and from Parry's letter to Charles which, even if it does not mean that Charles had sent another packet to Byrd, does mean that Charles was interested in Byrd's fortunes, I think we can be pretty sure that he was. It is implausible to suppose that anyone else with those initials would have received a long and loving letter from Paget; and Byrd would be a natural person to pass on news of Charles to his mother. W. B. was evidently close to her, and Byrd was to be a mourner at her funeral in 1586. We do not learn much from the other persons mentioned in the letter, except that they all seem to be connected with

emigration to France. I cannot identify the 'travelsome husband' to whose wife W. B. was to pass on a message of cold comfort. 'Dr. Bourne' may be Anthony Bourne, who had fled to France in 1577 on a passport provided by the French ambassador, either because of political persecution or because he had run away with somebody else's wife. He was presumably now back in England. 'Master Davison' must be John Davison, a catholic émigré who was to make a career in the law faculty of the University of Paris. I do not find a wife in the relevant records, and wonder whether she would be compatible with that career. W. B.'s enquiry about Davison's prospects may perhaps indicate that he was wondering whether to emigrate himself. On the positive side there are three more things to say: that W. B. referred to 'our Lord', which I think means that he was a Catholic; that he sent money to Catholics abroad, which Byrd is known to have done; and that the form and language of the letter are similar to those of the two letters of Byrd from the period which we have. I conclude that William Byrd wrote it.

How had his letter got to the authorities? It is one of three written from England to Charles Paget which must have fallen into Walsingham's hands together. All of them survive in copies. All the signatures are disguised: one of the others signs himself 'R[ichard] Maemor', the other with the initials 'F V F R'. Their letters are dated 17 and 20 December 1583. To cut a long story short I shall suggest that the three letters had been meant to go, as Byrd's had probably come and as Parry's was to come later, via the diplomatic bag of the French ambassador, Castelnau; that the person carrying them was one George More, who had been a postman between Mary, Queen of Scots, Throckmorton and the French and Spanish ambassadors; and that More, who had turned informer, handed them over at the time he had his confession, which was 20 December. Why they are all in copies I cannot say: perhaps the originals were put into Byrd's dossier to be produced at his examination. We can now be pretty sure what he was examined about.

My thanks to the Keeper of the Public Records for permission to reproduce W. B.'s letter, and to the British Library Board for the quotations from Harleian Ms. 6035.

1. 'William Byrd and the Pagets of Beaudesert. A musical connection', *Staffordshire Studies*, iii (1990-91), 51-63, at p.51.
2. See my *Under the Molehill. An Elizabethan Spy Story* (New Haven and London, 2001), pp.82-106; for Parry's letter, which is in Public Record Office, SP 12/168, no.23, see *ibid.* pp.97 f and John Harley, *William Byrd, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT, 1999 edn), p.74. In *Under the Molehill*, p.97, I date Parry's letter new style (i.e. 12/22 February); from the Byrd reference it now seems clear that it was old style (22 February/3 March). Harley (p.73) dates the bond to 17 February, from PRO SP 12/200, no.59; David Crankshaw, in his unpublished 'New Evidence of William Byrd's Aristocratic Catholic Friends', p. 16, n. 3, from PRO SP 12/205, ff. 21r, 27r, 29v, to 27 February. I quote from Crankshaw, for the use of whose piece I am very grateful.
3. British Library, Harleian 6035, ff. 56v, 58r, 61r. I date them from the letters of Walsingham to Stafford, ambassador in Paris, of 7 - 8 February and 2 March (*Calendar of State Papers. Foreign* Elizabeth London, 1863-), viii (1583-84), nos. 408-10 and 456, notes for which are in the diary at ff. 55v and 60v.
4. J. H. Pollen and W. MacMahon (ed.), *The Ven. Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel* (Catholic Record Society, xxi, 1919), p.123; Harley, *William Byrd*, p.74.
5. Christopher Harrison, art. cit., above, n. 1; Harley, *William Byrd*, pp.

17 November 1583, W. 3. To Charles Paget, London Copy
Public Record Office, S.P. 12/164, no. 37 (f. 60)

Sir, I have receaved two letters from you the first a long and a most frendlie explanation of your love towards me and care of my poore estate to which I have returned aunsweare by that meane that yt came to my handes. The second and last contayning some matter of cold comfort to the good gentlewoman expecting to heare well from her travelsome husb: I receaved but yesterday and meane with all convenient speed to geve her such intelligence as your letter dothe report. The letter inclosed directed to Dr. Bourne shall be sent unto him.

I have not omitted the remembrance of your dutie to my Ladie your mother who ys allwayes very joyous to heare from you of your welfare. All the rest of your frendes are yet well. I hope you have long since receaved x^h. of late by exchange. I would gladlie knowe the certentie therof in your next because some of your former letters do impute the contrarye.

I praye you commend me verye hartelie to my old frendes and acquayntances M^r Davison and his wief of whose good habilitie to live I would be right glad to heare. And thus our Lord ever more preserve you. London this xviith of November 1583.

Your worship's ever to commaund W: B

Superscribed

To the right worshipfull and my assured frende
M^r Charles Paget esquier at Roane.

Endorsement

Decemb: [sic] 17 1583
Copie of W: B: letter
To M^r Charles Paget.

The letter is written in a plain secretary hand, except for the initials of the signature, which are italic. The endorsement is in a largish italic hand, which may be the same as that of the initials of the signature of the letter.

46-50, 58-63. David Crankshaw's piece cited above, n. 2, gives a broader view of the circle and adds important detail.

6. *Under the Molehill*, pp. 75 f, and references there cited; the accounts of Charles Paget in DNB, and in L. Hicks, *An Elizabethan Problem: some Aspects of the Careers of Two Exile-Adventurers* (London, 1964), are mainly about his political career in exile, and predate the emergence of the Paget papers.

7. PRO SP 12/164, no. 37, printed here.

8. From David Crankshaw's piece, cited above, n. 2 at p. 30.

9. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign* xi (1575-77), nos. 1387-91 (Bourne); my thesis, 'Elizabethan Catholicism: the Link with France' (Cambridge Ph. D., 1961), p.99 (Davison).

10. E.H. Fellowes, *William Byrd* (London, 1936), p. 41; Harley, *William Byrd*, pp.58, 60, from PRO SP 12/146, no.137.

11. To Lord Paget, 28-vi-1573: Harrison, art. cit., document no. 1 (facsimile at p.56); Harley, *op. cit.*, pp.47 f (facsimile at plate 3, pp.240 f). To Robert Petre, 17-x-1581: Fellowes, *op. cit.*, pp.41-2 (facsimile at p.42); Harley, *op. cit.*, pp.90 f.

12. PRO SP 12/164, nos. 38 and 47.

13. *Under the Molehill*, pp. 30 f; confession in PRO SP 12/164, no. 44. The endorsement to it is in the same hand as those of the three letters, and indeed of a large number of connected pieces.

John Bossy

BYRD'S 'CATHOLIC' ANTHEMS

It is generally acknowledged that many of Byrd's motets set Latin texts which can be construed as reflecting the Catholic community's plight in Elizabethan England. For this we are indebted to the writings of Joseph Kerman, notably his *Masses and Motets of William Byrd* (1981), and of others who have dealt with the topic. 'Vide, Domine, afflictionem nostram' (Behold, Lord, our affliction), 'libera populum tuum' (deliver thy people), and similar appeals abound in Byrd's motets.

While some of Byrd's Latin works were intended for the secret celebration of Catholic rites, many were suitable for recreational or other social purposes, particularly in Catholic households. When, in 1586, Henry Edyall was questioned about musical activities at the home of Lord Paget, the implication being that Catholic services had been held there, perhaps with the Mass being sung, he admitted only to singing songs by Byrd and Tallis, by which he probably meant the motets published in *Cantiones Sacrae* (1575), and denied singing any that were unlawful.¹

A major source for Byrd's music is a manuscript (Bodleian Library MS Mus. Sch. E.423) which belonged to his Catholic friend and patron Sir John Petre.² It is a contratenor part-book of c.1575-89, with 'I. P.' stamped on the cover, and although not limited exclusively to music by Byrd it contains a substantial number of his motets, including half a dozen which he did not publish, together with early versions of pieces printed in *Psalmes, Sonets, & Songs* (1588) and *Songs of Sundrie Natures* (1589), and a number of unpublished songs. The nature of the contents supports the notion that motets might be regarded as part-songs suitable for domestic performance. It also shows that anthems with English words were just as suitable, for among the songs are *Christ rising again*, which appears in seventeenth-century ecclesiastical sources as a verse anthem,³ and the full anthem *Arise, O Lord*.

Byrd may have known Petre as early as 1567/8, when the latter gave a penny to 'Byrdes boye';⁴ but the first clear testimony to Byrd's connection with Catholic patrons follows his return to London from Lincoln in 1572. The Paget papers at Keele University and the Staffordshire Record Office reveal that by the middle of 1573 Byrd was associating with a group of Catholic noblemen, who for some years had been writing their own songs; and it is evident that Byrd's help was sometimes called for: 'I understand you thinke there was a berd sange in my ere' wrote the future Earl of Worcester to his friend Lord Paget.⁵ This is precisely the period when Byrd was composing his early motets, and when he seems to have written his earliest anthems.⁶ It is not usually remarked that some of the latter appear to give voice to the woes of Byrd's co-religionists.

Is the idea tenable that Byrd set English texts, as well as Latin, with that purpose in mind? The early anthems *Arise O Lord* and *O God whom our offences*, with words such as

'wherefore hidest thou thy face, and forgettest our misery and trouble?' and 'hear the prayers of thy people', suggest that it is at least possible.⁷ Indeed, the words of a third early anthem, *How long shall mine enemies*, are taken from Psalm 13, to which Byrd turned again in the motet *Exsurge, Domine*, included in *Liber Secundus Sacrarum Cantionum* (1591). The notably 'political' aspect of the motets in this collection and its predecessor, *Liber Primus* (1589) is largely absent from Byrd's motets of 1575, so it may have been in his English works that he first began to explore the possibility of setting words with a double meaning. As it happens, in *Psalmes, Sonets, & Songs* (1588), Byrd published another English version of Psalm 13, with words beginning 'O Lord, how long wilt thou forget / To send me some relief?' Clearly, questions about the way Byrd's texts are to be read must be extended not only from his motets to his anthems, but to his songs as well. Once they have been raised, it is difficult not to see the relevance to Catholics of words such as 'Turn our captivity, O Lord, as a brook in the south', a setting of which Byrd published in his last song collection, *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets* (1611).

How much guidance in selecting the texts of his motets and songs Byrd usually had from his patrons, or the priests they helped to sustain, is something about which we know next to nothing. It may nevertheless be supposed that he chose some texts for his own satisfaction, some to please people whose tastes he knew, and some to meet specific requests or for particular occasions. Among the last, for example, is the hymn *Petrus beatus*, which was evidently set for an event of importance to Sir John Petre. The anthems are in a different category, since they may well have been written for Lincoln Cathedral or the Chapel Royal, but we have very little information about the music sung in these places, and know still less about who selected the words of Byrd's anthems though if they were intended either for the Cathedral or the Chapel they must presumably have been acceptable to the Dean or his deputy. There is no difficulty, however, in finding Biblical texts describing suffering and adversity, and they would have been as familiar to adherents of the English church as to Catholics.⁸ If, therefore, Byrd was allowed a reasonably free hand in choosing his texts, he could, without causing eyebrows to be raised, easily have chosen words which, as much as those of his motets, reflected the feelings of Catholics.

1. Public Record Office, SP12/193/63.

2. David Mateer, 'William Byrd, John Petre and Oxford', Bodleian MS Mus. Sch. E.423', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 29 (1996), 21-46.

3. At the beginning of *Christ rising* one of the viols plays the Sarum plainsong 'Alleluia, Christus resurgens'. See Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, London, 1967 (repr. Cambridge, 1978), 244.

4. Essex Record Office, D/DP A17

5. Staffordshire Record Office, D603/K/1/5/5; printed in full by Christopher Harrison in 'William Byrd and the Pagets of Beaudesert: a musical connection', *Staffordshire Studies*, iii (1990-91), 51-63. Lord Herbert (i.e. Edward Somerset, later the Earl of Worcester) wrote to Paget about his songs in 1570 or before, but the letter in which he first mentions Byrd probably dates from 1573, the year in which Byrd wrote an extant letter to Paget.

6. Craig Monson, 'Authenticity and Chronology in Byrd's Church Anthems', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxxv (1982), 280-305.

7. The anthem *O God, the proud are risen*, which contains similar words, is thought to be one of Byrd's later works.

8. This is well illustrated by the anthem *Save me, O God*, which includes the phrases 'avenge thou my cause' and 'strangers are risen up against me'. Once attributed to Byrd, this anthem is now thought more likely to be by Coste (see Monson, 'Authenticity and Chronology', 289-90, Richard Turbet's note on p. 8 of *Annual Byrd Newsletter* no. 4, 1998, and Roger Bowers's letter on p. 27 of *Early Music Review*, no. 42, 1998). Further evidence that Byrd did not write it may perhaps be found in the fact that its highest note is e" flat, whereas Byrd's Anglican music never rises above c" or d" (at written pitch).

John Harley

BYRD'S FRIENDS THE ROPERS

Some years ago John Bennett raised the question of Anthony Roper's connection with Thomas Tallis.¹ In fact the Roper family's association with musicians extends further. The connections I have noticed are outlined below, and, as Lord Dacre has pointed out, they date from after William Roper's withdrawal from public life to 'internal exile' at Well Hall, near Eltham.² I should be interested to hear of any I have missed.

William Roper (1498?-1578) was a Catholic, as were several of the musicians he knew. He was the son-in-law of Sir Thomas More, whose niece Joan Rastall married the Catholic musician John Heywood. In 1551 or 1552 Heywood was associated with Sebastian Westcote, another Catholic, in the presentation of a play. Westcote was probably already Master of Choristers at St Paul's, where John and Symond Byrd, the brothers of the Catholic William Byrd, were in the choir; and he had Peter Philips, Byrd's probable pupil, as a lodger before Philips went abroad on account of his Catholicism in 1582. Westcote witnessed Roper's will in 1576.

Roper was himself an overseer of the will of Richard Bower (d.1561), Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal and a colleague of Thomas Tallis, who was the other overseer of the will and also witnessed it. It is possible that William Byrd was one of Bower's choristers and a pupil of Tallis. The religious inclinations of Bower and Tallis are unknown. Richard Edwards, whose beliefs are also unknown, succeeded Bower in the Chapel Royal; he was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1564, sponsored by William Roper and George Fisher.³ The children of the Chapel performed a play at Lincoln's Inn under his direction in 1564/5.

Tallis's widow, Joan, made bequests to William Byrd and Anthony Roper, William Roper's younger son. It was from the Catholic Anthony Roper that Byrd obtained (by 1577) the house at Harlington in Middlesex which William Roper had bought in 1552. In 1591 or 1592 Byrd's son Christopher married Katherine, the daughter of the Catholic Thomas More (Moore), who was a grandson of Sir Thomas More and a cousin of Anthony Roper.

Although the records mostly connect the Roper family with court musicians, none emanates from the court; they are either wills or concern property. In 1580, for example, the trumpeter Edward Elliot of Eltham owed £10.8s. to William Roper's executors, perhaps in respect of property; but since a number of court musicians, including Tallis, had houses at Greenwich and many were often on duty there, it is not

difficult to envisage some of them forming part of a social circle centred on nearby Well Hall. This may have been based largely upon Catholic sympathies; for though Tallis, who links several of the Ropers' musical acquaintances, does not figure in lists of recusants, it is evident that he and his wife were not only tolerant of Catholics but had Catholic friends. Sebastian Westcote, who was not a court musician but had been a yeoman of the King's bedchamber at about the time Tallis entered the service of Henry VIII, was one of them.

There are other Roper connections with William Byrd.

- (1) James Good, William Roper's physician and trustee, with whom he lodged in London in his last years, was the father of Kinborough Good, after whom Byrd named one of his keyboard pavans; both Kinborough and her mother are mentioned in Westcote's will.
- (2) Mary, the wife of Roper's nephew John, was the daughter of Sir William Petre, for whom Byrd wrote another keyboard pavan.
- (3) Lucy Browne, Lady Montagu's daughter, married William Roper's elder son Thomas; Lady Montagu's chaplain was Christopher Byrd's brother-in-law. Lucy was the aunt of Mary Browne, for whom Byrd's song *Though I be Brown* is thought to have been written; Mary married the eldest son of Edward Paston, whose collection of manuscripts contains numerous compositions by Byrd.

A Byrd connection of a different kind forms only a footnote to the above, but is not without interest. In the early nineteenth century Maria Hackett lived at Crosby Place, Bishopsgate, where William Roper had his home for a period from 1547. She was probably the person who unearthed a petition linking Westcote and Byrd's brothers, though she did not know exactly who the brothers were. She seems to have been aware that Byrd's daughter-in-law was a More, and mistakenly thought that the William Byrd who lived near Crosby Place must therefore have been the composer. In fact he was the composer's namesake, of the Mercer's Company. But that leads on to another set of family relationships, which concern the Pagets rather than the Ropers.⁴

It may not be entirely out of place to add a note about Byrd's friends the Pagets. I have recently noticed a letter dated 30 July 1560 about the dispersal of books 'in tyme of the lamentable spoyle of the lybraries of Englande' written by Bishop John Bale to Archbishop Matthew Parker. 'My lorde Paget and Sir Johan Mason', says Bale, 'are thought to have many notable monuments' from dissolved monasteries.⁵ Did Byrd's connection with the Paget family give him access to these 'monuments'? It would be nice to think so.

1. John Bennett, 'A Tallis patron?', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 21 (1988), 41-4.
2. Personal communication. Lord Dacre's article on William Roper will appear in the *New DNB*.
3. I am indebted to Andrew Ashbee for this reference, and the one below to Edward Elliot.
4. See John Harley, 'William Byrd and his Social Circle', *Early Music Performer*, 7 (2000), 4-9.
5. Bale's letter is printed in *Cambridge Antiquarian Communications, being papers presented at meetings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, no. XVII,

being no. 3 of the third volume, 1866-1873 (Cambridge, 1878), 157-173 (the passage quoted occurs on the last page). The volume may be catalogued as *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, vol. 3, 1865-1879

John Harley

MUSIC OF ORLANDO GIBBONS IN EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS: A SUPPLEMENT

My original article on this topic¹ appeared as a separate appendix to the recent book about Gibbons.² Bibliographers never have the final word and although this can be frustrating, it is for the best, because it means that research reveals newly rediscovered sources, and does not stagnate.

Since the publication of my paper, that invaluable tool, a secondhand bookseller's catalogue, suggested a further early printed source of music by Gibbons: *Sacred music, selected from the compositions of Tye, Tallis, Gibbons, Ravenscroft, &c. and adapted to portions of the different versions of the Book of Psalms* (London: Burns, 1842). All six items by Gibbons are from *The hymns and songs of the Church* (London: Wither, 1623) compiled by George Wither, though, as implied by the wording of James Burns's title-page, none of them use the original texts, and Gibbons's rhythms are frequently regularized; two inner parts are also provided, to enable performance in four parts.

"Sing to the Lord" on p. 8 is *Song 3* originally set to words beginning "Sing praises Israel to the Lord".

"O Lord our God" on p. 12 is *Song 47* originally set to words beginning "A song of joy".

"That man is truly blest" on p. 20 is *Song 11* originally set to words beginning "O Lord of hosts".

"To Thee O God of hosts" on p. 21 is *Song 5* originally set to words beginning "Thy beauty Israel is gone".

"O God! my safety and my confidence" on p. 24 is *Song 1* originally set to words beginning "Now shall the praises of the Lord be sung".

"As on Euphrates' banks" on p. 52 is *Song 24* originally set to words beginning "How sad and solitary".

An opportunity to visit the library of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, revealed *A collection of madrigals for three, four, five & six voices, selected from the works of the most eminent composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Carefully extracted from the original books, as preserved in the Madrigal Society*, edited by Richard Webb, 2nd ed. (London: Hawes, 1814). It contains *O! that the learned poets* (p.33) and *Dainty fine bird* (p.63). The British Library holds the first edition (London: Webb, 1808) the title of which mentions fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which was subsequently rectified as above. The madrigals by Gibbons are present in both editions, though at the head of the former piece the first word is 'No!'

1. Richard Turbet, 'Orlando Gibbons: music in printed editions 1625-1925', *Fontes artis musicae* 47 (2000): 42-47.

2. John Harley, *Orlando Gibbons and the Gibbons family of musicians* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

3. *Tudor Church Music* iv (1925) pp. 317-324 & *Orlando Gibbons, Full anthems, hymns and fragmentary verse anthems*, ed. David Wulstan, Early English church music, 21 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1978), pp. 106-122.

Richard Turbet

TWO EARLY PRINTED ATTRIBUTIONS TO BYRD IN THE WIGHTON COLLECTION, DUNDEE

In some recent articles I noted early sources printed between 1623 and 1901 that contain pieces attributed to Byrd.¹ (A recurring observation is that many attributions until 1840 have now been shown to be spurious, but at least the compilers, editors or publishers thought they were by Byrd.) Two further sources can be announced. Both are in the Wighton Collection of Dundee Central Library, and in either case the piece attributed to Byrd is the ubiquitous and spurious *Non nobis Domine*.

James Oswald, *A collection of musick by several hands, both vocal and instrumental*. Edinburgh: Oswald, c.1740, p.24. (Location 53668)

Essex harmony. London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter, [1816], vol.2, p.72. (Location 31976)

Oswald's presentation, reproduced on p. 11, is interesting in that he precedes it with a symphony using the theme of the round for two violins and figured bass. Oswald's music has enjoyed a revival over the last few years. He was also a publisher, working in Edinburgh from 1736-40 before moving south to London.

This edition of *Essex harmony*, a publication descending from one originally issued by John Arnold in the 1760s, can be dated with some confidence despite the omission of the year from the imprint. The watermark is 1816, which indicates no more than a *terminus a quo*. But the imprint also lists the publisher's Dublin premises which, according to Humphries and Smith,³ they occupied only until 1816.

Acknowledgements: David Kett and Brian Clark (Dundee Central Library).

1. "The fall and rise of William Byrd", 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, London: British Library, 1993, pp.119-28; 'Byrd at 450', *Brio* 31 (1994) pp.96-102; with Ota, Diane O., 'Heathen poets', *Annual Byrd newsletter* 3 (1997) p.7; 'More early printed editions attributed to Byrd', *Brio* 35 (1998) p.105.

2. Reproduced in facsimile on p. 11 from the unique copy in the Wighton Collection, Dundee Central Library. The title 'Non nobis', the designation 'Symphony', the tempo 'Allegro', the instrumentation 'Vo 1mo, Vo 2do, Basso' are printed but the two ascriptions to 'Byrd' are in MS.

3. Humphries, Charles and Smith, William C. *Music publishing in the British Isles, from the beginning until the middle of the nineteenth century: a dictionary of engravers, printers, publishers and music sellers, with a historical introduction*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1970, p.158.

Richard Turbet

We have added on p. 12 (continuing on p. 13 of the main magazine) an edition of an anthem by James Kempson that takes *Non nobis Domine* as its starting point. Like the Oswald piece on p. 11 – and more sophisticated uses like Mudge's *Concerto* 6 and *Concertino* 3 by Wassenaer [*quondam Pergolesi & Ricciotti*] – it shows the canon being used as part of a longer composition. My thanks to Sally Drage for supplying a photocopy. The edition is available full-size at £1 per copy. King's Music also publishes facsimiles of the Mudge & Wassenaer partbooks.

Clifford Bartlett

James Kempson – Anthem from Psalm CXV

CANON by W. BIRD

Slow
40