

The Transmission and Reception of the Marian Antiphon in Early Modern Britain

Volume 1 of 2

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Abstract

A substantial proportion of extant pre-Reformation sacred music by English composers survives only in Elizabethan manuscript sources. The evident popularity of this music among copyists and amateurs after it became obsolete in public worship remains largely unexplained, however. Using the Marian votive antiphon as a case study, exemplified by the surviving settings of the popular antiphon text *Ave Dei patris filia*, this thesis comprises a reception history of pre-Reformation sacred music in post-Reformation England. It sheds light on the significance held by pre-Reformation music to Elizabethan copyists, particularly in relation to an emergent sense of British nationhood and the figure of the composer as a category of reception, in doing so problematising the long-standing association between the copying of pre-Reformation sacred music and recusant culture. It also uses techniques of textual filiation to trace patterns of musical transmission and source interrelationships, and thereby to gauge the extent of manuscript attrition during the sixteenth-century Reformations.

Chapters 1 and 2 discuss the production of the *Ave Dei patris* antiphon corpus, particularly the ways in which its meanings were shaped by composers in the decades before the English Reformations. Chapter 3 concerns the transformations undergone by the Marian antiphon during the 1540s and 1550s and following the Elizabethan Settlement. The remaining chapters discuss the post-1559 afterlife of pre-Reformation polyphony. Chapter 4 investigates the career of the music copyist William Forrest, and his role in reshaping and transmitting pre-Reformation music in the mid- to late-sixteenth century. Chapters 5 and 6 explore, respectively, the motivations for copying pre-Reformation music in Elizabethan England, and the means by which Marian votive antiphons circulated in manuscript after 1559. The three appendices comprise a translation of *Ave Dei patris*; critical editions of the settings by Fayrfax, Tallis, and Johnson; and a series of commentaries on three principal manuscript sources.

S. D. G.

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Abbreviations used in notes and figures

Bibliographic abbreviations

A full list of manuscript abbreviations can be found in the Bibliography, beginning at p. 453.

<i>BHO</i>	<i>British History Online</i> , access via < www.british-history.ac.uk >
<i>CHR</i>	<i>The Catholic Historical Review</i>
<i>CMM</i>	Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae
<i>EECM</i>	Early English Church Music
<i>EHR</i>	<i>The English Historical Review</i>
<i>EM</i>	<i>Early Music</i>
<i>EMH</i>	<i>Early Music History</i>
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , access via < www.oxforddnb.com >
<i>GMO</i>	<i>Grove Music Online</i> , access via < www.oxfordmusiconline.com >
<i>HJ</i>	<i>The Historical Journal</i>
<i>JAMS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
<i>JM</i>	<i>The Journal of Musicology</i>
<i>JRMA</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>M&L</i>	<i>Music & Letters</i>
<i>MD</i>	<i>Musica Disciplina</i>
<i>MQ</i>	<i>The Musical Quarterly</i>
<i>MT</i>	<i>The Musical Times</i>
<i>PRMA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>RMARC</i>	<i>Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i>
<i>SPO</i>	<i>State Papers Online 1509-1714</i> (Gale Cengage Learning), access via < http://go.galegroup.com/mss/start.do?p=SPOL&u=new_itw&authCount=1 >
<i>TCM</i>	Tudor Church Music

Voice types

Tr	Triplex
M	Medius
Ct	Contratenor
T	Tenor
B	Bassus

Throughout this thesis, all translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

Introduction

After the company hath drunke carouse about, and sung *Chorobent*, and *Gaude plurimum*, forward goes he, By gotts hundred towsand ton a deuels, all Caesars armie had bene lost without wine...

Thomas Lodge, *Wits miserie, and the worlds madnesse* (1596)

I.1. Pre-Reformation sacred music in Elizabethan England: context and problems

The poet, playwright, and physician Thomas Lodge's¹ satirical attack on late-Elizabethan society, *Wits miserie, and the worlds madnesse*, provides a rare and perhaps unique contemporary account of a performance of a Henrician votive antiphon in the last decade of the sixteenth century. At the helm is a youth, 'an apprentise to drunkennesse since the yeeres of his discretion', the personification of a demon vomited up by Beelphogor, devil of gluttony. This young man is grotesquely ugly and immensely fat, 'his braines long since... sunk in a quagmire: hee hath cheekes dropsie prooffe, and a nose, such a nose as neuer nose was greater: from the wast to the foot of equall proportion: his necke drowned in his head and shoulders, his body in his buttocks, and his buttocks in his calves: all pure beefe of twenty pence a stone, a dog would not eat it.' He considers time not spent drinking to be time wasted. Yet he is well educated, his speech peppered with Latin and French aphorisms, and in his paeans to the merits of drink he cites both the classics and his own experience travelling abroad. His principle hobby besides drunkenness is the writing and illustration of epigrams on 'all the faithfull drunkards of his age'.²

Lodge's stereotypical Elizabethan performer of pre-Reformation music is a Dorian Gray figure whose personality is an attractive but somewhat sinister combination of total dissipation and refined intellectual and aesthetic sensibility. He would have sympathised with the sentiments expressed in Robert Dow's partbooks, which explicitly associate the love of music with the love of wine: 'Vinum et musica laetificant cor', 'wine and music gladden the heart'.³ His irreverent performance of the Marian antiphon *Gaude plurimum*—surviving today

¹ On Thomas Lodge, see Alexandra Halasz, 'Lodge, Thomas (1558-1625), author and physician', *ODNB*.

² Thomas Lodge, *Wits miserie, and the vworlds madnesse discovering the deuils incarnat of this age* (London, 1596: RSTC 16677), 78-80.

³ *GB-Och Mus.* 984, p. 24. Dow's comment prefigures that of Robert Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* that '[many] and sundry are the meanes, which Philosophers & Physitians haue prescribed to exhilerate a sorrowfull heart, to divert those fixed and intent cares and meditations, which in this

only in John Taverner's setting, one of the best-transmitted pre-Reformation pieces in Elizabethan England—is totally divorced from its devotional roots in the Henrician Church, a fact which was surely not lost on the Catholic Lodge.

Lodge's fictional performance highlights one of the many questions concerning amateur music-making in Elizabethan England, which this thesis aims to answer: why did certain individuals collect, copy, sing and play Latin-texted vocal music by Henrician and Marian composers after it had ceased to be used in church? The fondness of amateur musicians for Latin vocal polyphony like Taverner's *Gaude plurimum* is evident from the large quantity of this music surviving in Elizabethan manuscripts, a fact that is well-established in studies of Tudor music-making; indeed, without these manuscripts, often copied decades after the composers represented in them had died, much early Tudor polyphony would not now survive. The manuscripts' existence suggests that liturgical and devotional music dating from before the 1559 Elizabethan Settlement retained a degree of popularity with amateurs of music despite having lost its place in the Church of England liturgy.

Latin-texted music did not in itself lack official sanction. Thomas Tallis and William Byrd's *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* of 1575 was published by the two composers thanks to their monopoly on music publishing in England and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth I herself.⁴ The number of composers employed by the Chapel Royal who were involved in composing Latin music after 1559, including Tallis, Byrd, Robert Parsons and William Mundy, shows that a reputation for composing Latin music would not damage a musician's prospect of employment even by the very authority in whose name the Latin liturgy had been suppressed. Nevertheless, a distinction must be drawn between the motets in the *Cantiones sacrae*, which are (at least ostensibly) doctrinally neutral, and pre-Reformation polyphonic Masses and Marian votive antiphons which were barred from public performance in the established Church of England due to the doctrinal principles they espoused. The attitudes towards this music that were held by singers and copyists outside the public church context have not been fully explored, and as such the preservation, circulation and

malady so much offend; but in my Iudgment none so present, none so powerfull, none so apposite as a cup of strong drinke, mirth, Musick, and merry company.' Burton, *The anatomy of melancholy vvhhat it is. VVith all the kindes, causes, symptoms, prognostickes, and seuerall cures of it* (London, 1621: RSTC 4159), 372.

⁴ See most recently, Thomas Tallis and William Byrd, *Cantiones Sacrae 1575*, ed. John Milsom, EECM 56 (London: Stainer and Bell for the British Academy, 2014), xi-xiii.

performance of Latin-texted music expounding points of doctrine rejected by the reformed Church of England remain largely unexplained.

The change in the role of pre-Reformation music, and its transference from the public sphere to the private, from church to chamber, can be usefully conceptualised using Umberto Eco's theory of semiotics in architecture. Eco defines two separate aspects of an object or artwork's role: the 'primary function', that is, its 'utility value' or practical application; and the 'secondary function', its semiotic significance.⁵ Either or both of these functions may change depending on the context in which a work is encountered. Carl Dahlhaus adopts Eco's theory as a mode of analysing musical reception, suggesting that a piece of music may acquire new secondary functions as a result of a change of performance context, or just a new primary function, or both.⁶ During the English Reformations Latin polyphony underwent a profound shift in its primary function: its role as an essential participant in church ritual was lost. The question at stake here is to what extent its secondary function also changed: whether it remained symbolic of the sacred, and specifically of the pre-Reformation Church, or whether it acquired a new, secular, secondary function; and, if the latter, what the nature of this new function was.

Conventionally, it has been assumed that the secondary function of pre-Reformation Latin polyphony remained relatively unchanged throughout the sixteenth century, and consequently the phenomenon of Latin music's continued popularity has been explained as an example of Catholic survivalism—the efforts of an increasingly persecuted minority to preserve the devotional routine of the past, and the music that went with it.⁷ The presence of certain pieces, especially Latin music composed in Elizabeth's reign, has occasionally led

⁵ Umberto Eco, 'Function and Sign: The Semiotics of Architecture', in Neil Leach (ed.), *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory* (London: Routledge, 1997), 173-193 at 179-182.

⁶ Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, trans. J. B. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 163-164.

⁷ David Price's study *Patrons and Musicians in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) describes Catholicism as 'clearly a vital factor in the conservation of the Latin musical tradition' (p. 166). Philip Taylor gives three possible options for the purpose of *GB-Ob* Tenbury MS 354-8, a source associated with the recusant Edward Paston: broadly speaking, these are liturgical performance, informal devotional performance and no performance at all. The tacit assumption that any performance of the Latin music must have had an explicitly religious purpose is especially telling. (Philip Taylor, 'Music and Recusant Culture: The Paston Manuscript Collection and William Byrd's Songs' [PhD dissertation: Lancaster University, 2007], 47-48.)

scholars to assume Catholic sympathies on the part of the copyists and performers.⁸ However, the problem of the survival of Latin music cannot simply be explained by assuming that the manuscript owners were Catholics. For example, how do we explain the fact that this music was often copied in extracts, without text, side-by-side with instrumental pieces, or even occupying the same manuscript as English anthems that would not be out of place in a conforming parish church? Comparatively few surviving Elizabethan sources of Latin polyphony are known to have originated in Catholic circles, and those that are, such as the Paston sources, tend to treat the pieces with a casualness that parallels that of Lodge's singers, splitting them into extracts, simplifying mensurations, and excising their texts. Moreover, the sharing of sacred music between different confessional groups was not limited to England; it has also been noted in Lutheran Germany, where pieces like Josquin's Mass *Pange lingua* were copied, printed and reinterpreted in both sacred and secular contexts by people of different faiths decades after their first production.⁹ It appears from extant sources that in the aftermath of the English Reformations the secondary function of pre-Reformation music changed as much as its primary function: its performance was rarely used either for clandestine worship or as part of the outward expression of Catholic communal identity. It is therefore a principal aim of this thesis to put the notion of a 'Catholic' or 'recusant source' to rest, by identifying other motivations to copy and perform pre-Reformation sacred music besides the too-simplistic confessional ones identified by previous scholarship.

As a reception history of early sixteenth-century music, my thesis aims to discover as much about the culture of religious and social change in which the music was heard and appreciated as about the music itself. In this respect my research is interdisciplinary in nature, and can be described as 'ethnomusicological', in the sense of the term as used by Gary Tomlinson—I hope that in this thesis, in Tomlinson's words, 'the study of music-making might open out on the study of world-making.'¹⁰ In order to gain a complete picture of the musical culture under consideration, three fundamental questions need to be answered.

⁸ David Mateer has speculated about the religious preferences of Robert Dow and John Sadler in particular: see Mateer, 'Oxford, Christ Church Music MSS 984-8', *RMARC*, 20 (1986-1987), 6-7; and 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1-5', *M&L*, 60 (1979), 289.

⁹ Alanna Ropchock Tierno, 'The Lutheran Identity of Josquin's *Missa Pange Lingua*: Renaissance of a Renaissance Mass', *EMH*, 36 (2017), 193-249. I am grateful to Dr Andrew Johnstone for drawing my attention to this article, which was published after this thesis's original submission.

¹⁰ Gary Tomlinson, 'Musical Pasts and Postmodern Musicologies: A Response to Lawrence Kramer', *Current Musicology*, 53 (1993), 24.

The first of these questions concerns the religious and political change that took place in sixteenth-century England: exactly how did the English Reformations impact on how Elizabethan subjects conceptualised and interpreted the medieval past? Behind this question lies the related problem of discerning the extent to which Catholic beliefs, practices and discourses survived into the Elizabethan period, and the relationship between these survivals and the confessional self-identification of their practitioners. It is clear that there was at times a sharp dissonance between the theory and practice of parish religion in the late sixteenth century. Christopher Haigh has described how in 1604, one year after Elizabeth I's death, the clergy of England believed that their country was divided between 'those effectually called by the preaching of the Gospel to the more sincere profession of religion'; those who were 'merely ignorant and superstitious'; and those who were 'either indifferent or plain neuters, of which the last sort greatly regard[ed] not of what religion they be'.¹¹ This represents the culmination of forty years of religious change and confusion, and shows just how little the religious teaching of the Protestant clerical elite was believed to have influenced the worship practices of ordinary parishes. As Haigh points out, the clergy 'disputed whether the second or third group was the largest of the three; none could suppose the first might be.'¹² Yet Jonathan Willis's study of the role of music in post-Reformation worship has suggested that 'by the end of Elizabeth's reign, the majority of English men and women would certainly have considered themselves to be Protestant'.¹³ Except in extreme cases, there was no polarity between Protestant and Catholic identity in Elizabethan England in the way we might imagine; pre-Reformation elements could persist in the religious thought and practice of self-professed loyal Protestant communities. In investigating the survival of pre-Reformation musical artefacts in the late sixteenth century, we must therefore try to escape the historiographical fallacy that Catholic music could not possibly have been appreciated anywhere except in recusant circles, and become more willing to investigate people's individual involvement with cultural practices for which we have documentary or archaeological evidence.

A second question concerns the circulation of music: where were people getting their music from, and what were the loci of its transmission, whether places or people? Techniques

¹¹ Quoted in Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 66.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Jonathan P. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 244.

acquired from the field of textual and music editing, especially stemmatics, can point usefully to ways in which music travelled by showing how groups of sources interrelate, but they need to be used in conjunction with information about the context of manuscript production. Music did not travel by itself: for a piece of music to circulate, it must acquire a material state in which it can move from place to place, and human agents who effect this travel. This is the point at which codicological study, study of manuscript provenance and the investigation of the transmission of musical texts can interact, to uncover the nature of this movement and the role of the people involved—the people who commissioned manuscripts; who bought prints and borrowed manuscripts from acquaintances to add the music to their own collections; who slipped a book or a few unbound sheets into their pack to lend to a friend on their travels; who eagerly awaited the arrival of the latest music from London or Norwich that a visiting colleague or relative might bring.

A final question that may shed light on music reception concerns the somewhat fraught area of musical meaning. I shall not, however, be attempting to answer of specific pieces ‘What does the music mean?’ but rather, ‘What has the music meant in the past?’ Such an approach will, I hope, avoid the charge that I am delving too far into the ‘gnostic’—in Carolyn Abbate’s formula¹⁴—or that I am striving for ‘a too-familiar modernist mastery’ over the opinions and interpretations of the sixteenth-century listener.¹⁵ I shall proceed from the assumption that any meaning carried by a piece of music does not originate from the sounds themselves, but from the associations it has acquired over the course of its lifetime, and in my enquiry into how people in the sixteenth century might have interpreted their music I shall use not just our knowledge of the intellectual context, but also the evidence of surviving manuscripts, their form and contents. The model of music criticism I am taking here is Gary Tomlinson’s, who has proposed a new ‘contextualism’ in the study of music history. He claims that

¹⁴ Abbate argues that when suggesting hermeneutic interpretations of musical works or musical acts, that is, the ‘gnostic’ approach to reading music as social practice, the musicologist can proceed in one of two ways: ‘low’ hermeneutics ‘craving the blessing of history or the dead and seeing immanent supra-audible content in musical artifacts [sic.] from the past’, or ‘soft’ hermeneutics ‘which acknowledges such content as a product born in messy collisions between interpreting subject and musical object’. (Carolyn Abbate, ‘Music—Drastic or Gnostic?’, *Critical Enquiry*, 30 (2004), 516.) The moral judgment implied in the choice of the word ‘low’ is, of course, intentional. Soft hermeneutics, Abbate suggests, ‘inevitably becomes low as well’ (ibid.), since the whole hermeneutic enterprise involves establishing a position of authority, in the form of knowledge, over the music studied.

¹⁵ Tomlinson, ‘Musical Pasts and Postmodern Musicologies’, 20-21.

[this] contextualism will not circle back narrowly to the notes but instead will *resolutely historicize musical utterance*, exploding it outwards through an imaginative building of contexts out of as wealthy a concatenation of past traces as the historian can manage. Such contextualism will aim to describe a local set of meanings in as full a volume as possible. It will not pose as a reconstruction of some putative and unitary “original” situation the music inhabited but will recognize the myriad situations we as historians might construct around a musical utterance and the plurality of meanings the music might then engage.¹⁶

Tomlinson thus argues that the historical musicologist’s role is to cast their net as widely as possible in their discussions of the cultural backdrop to a musical utterance. In this kind of thick-descriptive contextualism, the context of a performance is of equal value to its contents and nothing is irrelevant. Furthermore, Tomlinson suggests that such historicising arguments cannot pretend to undercover a single, authentic meaning for a composition or first performance, which each subsequent performance aims to reenact. Rather, the interpretation of music in this way is more a creative than a recreative process, able to suggest what the music might have meant at a particular time and place only by simultaneously forming new significations based on the historian’s own experience and perception. With some notable exceptions to be discussed shortly, very little work of this kind has been carried out on either hermeneutic analysis of Henrician sacred music or the study of its reception, so its meaning to audiences both at the time of its composition and in the following decades remains obscure. Although this thesis is too small to go far towards correcting the balance between the interpretative work done on later Tudor and Continental polyphony, and the Latin polyphony of Henry VIII’s reign, it will at least demonstrate how a contextual interpretation of Henrician church music might be carried out both for the point of its creation and for its subsequent reception.

I.2. The state of the existing literature

Defining my study as a reception history carries with it a set of scholarly obligations, in particular the need to engage with theoretical discussions well-established in the study of the reception of works of literature. Recognition of this fact has been lacking among previous generations of musicologists. Nearly two decades ago Mark Everist commented that

[if] investigations of reception are popular in music, there may exist a correlative disinclination to consider the theoretical dimension of the subject. Such disinclination can take the form simply of omission: not a reluctance to countenance a theoretical framework, but a

¹⁶ Ibid., 22. Original emphasis.

clear one-sidedness of approach that is the result of an inadequate or insufficiently reflective critical practice... Occasionally, disinclination verges on outright hostility.¹⁷

The failure to address the broader theoretical implications of reception history seems to stem from a reluctance to see the discipline as one of textual criticism as much as of social history. As soon as reception history focuses on the text (in this case a musical repertoire) and how it changes in status and meaning according to context and readership, rather than on the readership itself, its theoretical basis becomes clearer, even if this textual criticism remains a means to an ultimately ethnomusicological end.

Perhaps the best-known argument for the merits of writing reception history is that of Hans Robert Jauss, who recommended that a consideration of the aesthetic reception of a literary work might provide the necessary tools to situate it in the context of others. Jauss argued that

The historicity of literature as well as its communicative character presupposes a dialogical and at once processlike relationship between work, audience, and new work that can be conceived in the relations between message and receiver as well as between question and answer, problem and solution.¹⁸

Jauss saw reception history as a new way of writing a history of literature by enabling the scholar to discern in a historically justifiable way a work's influence on others. But rather than being predicated on a notion of the work that is completed by the author and thereafter remains static, Jauss also argued that the influential character of a piece of literature is formed through dialogue between work and reader, 'like an orchestration that strikes ever new resonances among its readers and that frees the text from the material of the words and brings it to a new existence'.¹⁹ Each text is thus completed afresh every time it receives a new reader. This approach can be taken even further by studying the reception of a piece or repertoire not as after the fact of its production, but as the means through which it manifests itself as a 'work'. In the context of musicology such an approach has been demonstrated by Suzanne Cole in her monograph on Tallis's music.²⁰ Cole's study focusses on the roles of two of Tallis's 'works', the English-texted *Preces and Responses* and the 40-part motet *Spem in alium*, in the post-Beethovenian musical culture of nineteenth-century England; and on the figure of Tallis himself as a category of reception. She cites theoretical discussions by Jan

¹⁷ Mark Everist, 'Reception Histories, Canonic Discourses, and Musical Value', in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (eds.), *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 381.

¹⁸ Hans Robert Jauss, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', in Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 19.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 21.

²⁰ Suzanne Cole, *Thomas Tallis and his Music in Victorian England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008).

Mukařovský and Felix Vodička, especially the latter's theory of 'concretization'—that is, the realisation, as material text or aesthetic fact, of an artwork in the intellectual climate of a particular time—alongside discussions of the work-concept by Lydia Goehr and Roman Ingarden.²¹

It is not my aim here to write a history of Elizabethan church music based on its roots in the past, although as will be seen in chapter 2, Jauss's notions of artistic influence have immense relevance to musical composition in the sixteenth century. My goals overall are closer to Cole's: I hope to examine the 'changes in shape'²² of pre-Reformation music as its primary meaning was transformed, just as she does in relation to Tallis's sacred music and its nineteenth-century transferral from cathedral to concert hall. However, a straightforward application of her principles are impossible in this study because most of the sources she uses—concert programmes, articles, and reviews—simply did not exist in the musical culture of the sixteenth century. With very few exceptions the sole evidence of pre-Reformation church music in post-Reformation England comprises the manuscript sources of the music itself; that is, to use Vodička's term, the physical concretizations of what we now consider musical works. Concretizations of a work in written form, according to D. F. McKenzie, afford us privileged access to the ways in which such music was viewed aesthetically by its audiences: it is impossible to divorce the textual content of a source from its material form, in that both combine in the reader's experience to effect the overall meaning of a text.²³ Taking in place of the word 'texts' the repertoire of extant pieces of pre-Reformation music, my research therefore fulfils exactly the definition of 'bibliography' posed by McKenzie; that is, 'the discipline that studies texts as recorded forms, and the processes of their transmission, including their production and reception'.²⁴ The extant corpus of Elizabethan sources of pre-Reformation sacred music provides the first port-of-call for my study: not just for such factors as textual variants and concordances, but equally importantly for the material status of the books themselves and their non-musical as well as musical contents.

In its consideration of a wide range of Elizabethan musical sources, as well as the direction of its argument, the most important precedent for my thesis is John Milsom's

²¹ Ibid., 3-10.

²² Ibid., 9.

²³ D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 19, 29.

²⁴ Ibid., 12.

influential essay ‘Sacred Songs in the Chamber’.²⁵ Milsom argues from the evidence of surviving manuscripts that most Elizabethan Latin music was originally designed for performance by a small group of singers in a chamber context.²⁶ More importantly for my purposes, however, he also approaches a justification of the Elizabethan habit of collecting music along aesthetic, rather than religious, lines, by focussing on the evidence of the manuscript sources. Therefore, he describes John Sadler, owner of the five partbooks called here *Sadler*, *Wilmott* and *TI486*, not as the closet Catholic depicted in earlier studies by David Mateer and Judith Blezzard,²⁷ but as ‘an elderly man with a taste for good Latin-texted music and handsome books’.²⁸ Robert Dow is praised for his ‘sophisticated musical tastes’,²⁹ which, Milsom argues, ‘placed more value on [Robert] White’s restrained expressivity and decorous oratory’ than on fact that his motet texts could be read as expressions of Catholic identity.³⁰ The unknown owner of *Hamond* is portrayed as ‘a performer who valued the musical substance of a motet but had no interest in its words.’³¹ Even the Paston sources, coming from a known Catholic milieu, are described as containing ‘chocolate-box-like selections of pieces’³² which ‘shows limited respect for the integrity of works from the Catholic past’.³³ In Milsom’s view, therefore, copyists primarily appreciated the sophisticated craftsmanship and aesthetic beauty of the music they copied, rather than its religious associations, and enjoyed the conviviality of performance.

However, Milsom does not entirely escape the old habit of assuming that Latin-texted music must always have been favoured by Catholic copyists. Based on its Latin-texted contents, he assumes that the former owners of *GB-Och 45* must have been Catholics.³⁴ He is somewhat preoccupied with the religion of the owners of *TI464*, and suggests that the presence of William Hunnis’s English setting *My soul O God doth now confess* amid the Latin polyphony and *In Nomines* that make up the rest of the manuscript is difficult to

²⁵ Milsom, ‘Sacred Songs in the Chamber’, in John Morehen (ed.), *English Choral Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 161-179.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 179.

²⁷ Mateer, ‘John Sadler and... e. 1-5’; Judith Blezzard, ‘Monsters and Messages: The Willmott and Braikenridge Manuscripts of Latin Tudor Church Music, 1591’, *The Antiquaries Journal*, 75 (1995), 311-338.

²⁸ Milsom, ‘Sacred Songs in the Chamber’, 165.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 166.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 170.

³² *Ibid.*, 173.

³³ *Ibid.*, 174.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 172.

explain, even paradoxical: ‘Certainly this piece stands in curious isolation amidst the overtly Catholic music that most appealed to the copyist: masses and hymns, antiphons, and works of less securely ritual or votive function, such as Lamentations and motets.’³⁵ Elsewhere he swings too far in the opposite direction, suggesting that the compiler of *e423* must have been a religious conformist because of the presence of English anthems alongside the Latin polyphony.³⁶ It is not clear quite why this assumption should have been made for *e423* and not *T1464*, and indeed it has since been discovered that the manuscript originated at the household of the Catholic Sir John Petre.³⁷ Clearly, using the contents of music manuscripts to position their owners on either side of a presumed Catholic/Protestant divide can be very misleading. Therefore, rather than taking this approach, my thesis will develop Milsom’s theory that Elizabethan copyists and performers were beginning to appreciate pre-Reformation polyphony in a way that approaches our own aesthetic sense, and will suggest other means by which their fondness for ‘obsolete’ music might be explained.

My thesis is also part of a long tradition of source-based dissertations. Studies of a single manuscript, or of the relationships between a series of manuscripts, seem to lend themselves as topics for doctoral theses, and this has resulted in a wide range of topics being covered, all on the same broad theme of ‘manuscript study’. We can divide these theses into two broad categories: those which cover a single manuscript, describing and contextualising it in detail, and those which deal with issues of transmission between the sources of a particular repertoire. Into the first category we can place the theses written by Nick Sandon,³⁸ Isobel Woods,³⁹ David Skinner,⁴⁰ Magnus Williamson⁴¹ and Hector Sequera,⁴² while the second

³⁵ Ibid., 168.

³⁶ Ibid., 174.

³⁷ David Mateer, ‘William Byrd, John Petre and Oxford, Bodleian MS Mus. Sch. e. 423’, *RMARC*, 29 (1996), 21-46.

³⁸ Nick Sandon, ‘The Henrician Partbooks Belonging to Peterhouse, Cambridge (Cambridge, University Library, Peterhouse Manuscripts 471-474): A Study, with Restorations of the Incomplete Compositions Contained in Them’ (PhD dissertation: University of Exeter, 1983).

³⁹ Isobel Paterson Woods, ‘The Carvor Choirbook’ (PhD dissertation: Princeton University, 1984).

⁴⁰ David Skinner, ‘Nicholas Ludford (c. 1490-1557): A Biography and Critical Edition of the Antiphons, with a Study of the Collegiate Chapel of the Holy Trinity, Arundel, under the Mastership of Edward Higgon, and a History of the Caius and Lambeth Choirbooks’ (D.Phil. dissertation: University of Oxford, 1995).

⁴¹ Magnus Williamson, ‘The Eton Choirbook: Its Institutional and Historical Background’ (D.Phil. dissertation: University of Oxford, 1997).

⁴² Hector Sequera, ‘House Music for Recusants in Elizabethan England: Performance Practice in the Music Collection of Edward Paston (1550-1630)’ (PhD thesis: University of Birmingham, 2010).

body of writing encompasses the work of May Hofman,⁴³ Penelope Rapson,⁴⁴ and Hilary Gaskin.⁴⁵ To these two categories we must add the ‘repertoire studies’ of John Milsom,⁴⁶ Catherine Hocking,⁴⁷ David Allinson⁴⁸ and Noël Bisson,⁴⁹ and the work on choral institutions carried out by Roger Bowers⁵⁰ and Fiona Kisby.⁵¹ There is much overlap between all of these categories, but the taxonomy remains useful for assessing more recent contributions to the field—including my own, which is why I choose to review it here.

Sandon, Woods, Skinner and Williamson take single manuscripts or groups of manuscripts as their focus. Their work varies in its emphasis according to the nature of the manuscript studied. Williamson’s thesis, on *Eton*, deals with a manuscript whose provenance was well-known at the time of writing and whose music was well-known and studied, and is therefore devoted to a rigorously detailed contextualisation. Woods’s work on *Carver* is partly an apologetic for Scottish Renaissance music and an attempt to redress the historiographical balance between *Carver* and *Eton*, and so deals with the style of the music as much as the codicological and palaeographical content of the manuscript itself. As with *Ph* (in Sandon’s thesis) and *Lambeth* and *Caius* (in Skinner’s), the date and provenance of *Carver* had yet to be established at the time of Woods’s research. Indeed, the dating and tracing of a previously mysterious manuscript has become something of a trope in source-based dissertations: theses seem to be the medium of choice for discoveries of this kind, and the findings contained within them have had great historiographical impact. For example, Sandon’s and Skinner’s findings on the provenance of *Peterhouse*, *Lambeth* and *Caius* seem

⁴³ May Hofman, ‘The Survival of Latin Sacred Music by English Composers 1485-1610’ (D.Phil. dissertation: University of Oxford, 1973).

⁴⁴ Penelope Rapson, ‘A Technique for Identifying Textual Errors and Its Application to the Sources of Music by Thomas Tallis’ (D.Phil. dissertation: University of Oxford, 1982).

⁴⁵ Hilary Gaskin, ‘Music Copyists in Late Sixteenth-Century England, with Particular Reference to the Manuscripts of John Baldwin’ (PhD dissertation: University of Cambridge, 1985).

⁴⁶ John Milsom, ‘English Polyphonic Style in Transition: A Study of the Sacred Music of Thomas Tallis’ (D.Phil. dissertation: University of Oxford, 1983).

⁴⁷ Catherine Hocking, ‘Cantus Firmus Procedures in the Eton Choirbook’ (PhD dissertation: University of Cambridge, 1995).

⁴⁸ David Allinson, ‘The Rhetoric of Devotion: Some Neglected Elements in the Context of the Early Tudor Motet’ (PhD dissertation: University of Exeter, 1998).

⁴⁹ Noël Bisson, ‘English Polyphony for the Virgin Mary: the Votive Antiphon, 1430-1500’ (PhD dissertation: Harvard University, 1998).

⁵⁰ Roger Bowers, ‘Choral Institutions within the English Church: Their Constitution and Development, c. 1340-1500’ (PhD dissertation: University of East Anglia, 1975).

⁵¹ Fiona Kisby, ‘The Royal Household Chapel in Early-Tudor London, 1485-1547’ (PhD dissertation: Royal Holloway, University of London, 1996).

to have now become firmly established,⁵² and have revolutionised our assumptions about the kind of music used by choirs in the 1530s and 40s.⁵³ Hector Sequera's thesis on the manuscripts formerly owned by Edward Paston—the so-called 'Paston sources'—provides a discussion and thorough contextualisation of several sources and their original social context in the late-Elizabethan gentry house, while focussing primarily on issues of performance practice.

The second category of thesis covering manuscript sources is that dealing with issues of transmission. May Hofman's thesis was pioneering in this area, and still has currency more than forty years after it was written, being a systematic survey of the relationships between all the surviving sources of Latin music from sixteenth-century England. It is, of course, limited. Hofman's lines of transmission are based on what might be termed 'externals': as she puts it, 'the evidence of copying methods such as the identical order of a number of pieces, the existence of unusual concordances, identity of handwriting and the date and provenance of the manuscripts'.⁵⁴ Hilary Gaskin's study focuses primarily on scribal habit in the books copied by John Baldwin, but extrapolates from this a number of conclusions about the copying relationships between manuscripts. Unlike Hofman, who excludes any evidence gleaned from the substance of the musical text, she also covers issues of accidental placement which might on occasion affect the sound of the musical performance.⁵⁵ Penelope Rapson's thesis describes a new stemmatic technique to identify the transmission of musical compositions, but focuses primarily on defending the technique itself rather than applying it to draw conclusions about manuscript relationships. This means that a large-scale study of copying relationships between English manuscript sources based on textual filiation alone has not yet been carried out. The application of Rapson's techniques to a broader repertoire is therefore a vital part of my methodology in establishing copying relationships and the geographical focus of sources. It has also led me to revise many of Hofman and Gaskin's conclusions, which are discussed in chapter 6. A third category of thesis, not explicitly based on musical sources, is the critical-analytical study of a specific repertoire. These include the work of Catherine

⁵² But see the exchange between Skinner and Roger Bowers, in which Bowers amplifies Skinner's argument for an Arundel provenance for *Lambeth*, but queries his identification of its precise institutional origin. David Skinner, 'Further Thoughts on the Lambeth Choirbook and Jena 9', *EM*, 33 (2005), 155-157; Roger Bowers, 'More on the Lambeth Choirbook', *EM*, 33 (2005), 659-664.

⁵³ Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks Belonging to Peterhouse', 141-142.

⁵⁴ Hofman, 'The Survival of Latin Sacred Music', ii. 2.

⁵⁵ Gaskin, 'Music Copyists', ch. 2.

Hocking, David Allinson and Noël Bisson, whose theses all deal with the fraught issue of musical hermeneutics in the Henrician votive antiphon.

Having surveyed the taxonomy of theses covering sources of Tudor vocal polyphony, it will perhaps come as no surprise that my own work will not fit uniquely into any of these categories, but will take elements from all of them. In answering the three questions set out above—the means by which Elizabethan copyists acquired their music; the effect of religious change on attitudes to pre-Reformation music; and the changing meanings and significations of music throughout the sixteenth century—I shall incorporate methodologies from the stemmatic studies of Rapson and the palaeographical studies of Gaskin, Hofman and Woods, as well as the paratextual content of sources discussed by Williamson and Milsom in his ‘Sacred Songs in the Chamber’ essay. Like Allinson, Hocking and Bisson, I shall also investigate the musical meanings afforded to Henrician votive antiphons at various stages in their reception, but, unlike them, I shall rely comparatively little on musical hermeneutics, referring instead to a wide range of literature from the fields of social, religious and literary history. The result is a deeply contextualised history of the sixteenth-century reception of one body of music, which sheds light on broader cultural issues of sixteenth-century religious, social and ideological change.

I.3. Case-study: the *Ave Dei patris filia* tradition

To answer these questions for all surviving music in Elizabethan manuscripts would be a Herculean task and is beyond the scope of this thesis. As a result I have chosen to narrow my study in the first instance to the repertoire of Henrician votive antiphons to the Virgin Mary, and specifically to the body of compositions based on the text *Ave Dei patris filia*. This text was one of the most commonly set Marian antiphons of the sixteenth century. It was set five times by named composers—Robert Fayrfax (1564-1521), John Taverner (c.1490-1545), John Merbecke (c. 1505-c.1585), Robert Johnson (d. after 1549), and Thomas Tallis (c.1505-1585)—and also appears in two anonymous settings in *Lambeth* and *H1709*. Fayrfax’s setting sparked off a compositional tradition, with younger composers emulating his work as a means of paying homage to him and perfecting their own styles. Merbecke’s setting survives only in *Ph*, but Fayrfax, Taverner, Tallis and Johnson’s settings were widely transmitted in a range of sources that represent a considerable proportion of the English manuscripts of Latin-texted polyphony now surviving. The sources transmitting Fayrfax’s setting in particular are so

Figure 0. Extant sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources of attributed *Ave Dei patris filia* settings

Source (in approximate chronological order)	Fayrfax	Taverner	Tallis	Johnson	Merbecke
<i>GB-En</i> MS Adv. 5.1.15 (Carver choirbook)	x				
<i>GB-Lbl</i> MS Harley 1709 (c. 1525)	x				
<i>GB-Cjc</i> MS 234 (K. 31) and <i>GB-Cu</i> Dd.13.27 ('UJ' set, c. 1530)	x	x			
<i>GB-Cp</i> MS 31, 32, 40, 41 (Peterhouse 'Henrician' partbooks)	x	x			x
<i>GB-Ob</i> MS Tenbury 1464 (East Anglia, c. 1565)	x	x		x	
<i>GB-Ob</i> Mus e. 1-5 (Sadler partbooks)	x	x		x	
<i>GB-Och</i> MS Mus. 979-983 (Baldwin partbooks)	x	x			
<i>GB-Ob</i> MS Mus. Sch. e. 423 (Lord Petre's partbook)		x			
<i>GB-CF</i> MS D/DP Z6/1 (Lord Petre's partbook)	x		x	x	
<i>GB-Ob</i> MS Tenbury 1486 (Braikenridge) and 'Wilmott' MS (copied by John Sadler)			x	x	
<i>GB-Lbl</i> MS R. M. 24. d. 2 (John Baldwin's commonplace book)	x				
<i>GB-Ob</i> MS Tenbury 1469-71 (Paston)	x		x	x	
<i>GB-Ob</i> MS Tenbury 354-8 (Paston)	x		x	x	
<i>GB-Ob</i> MS Tenbury 341-4 (Paston)			x (<i>T342</i> only)	x (<i>T342</i> only)	
<i>GB-Lcm</i> MS 2035 (Paston)	x	x	x	x	
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 34049 (Paston)	x		x	x	
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 29246 (Paston lute-book)	x	x	x	x	
<i>GB-Ob</i> MS Tenbury 807-11 (early 17 th century)				x	

varied that a study of the relationships between them provides a valuable case-study for Elizabethan manuscript transmission more generally.

Other characteristics of the *Ave Dei patris filia* text and its settings make it an ideal case-study. As a Marian antiphon sung in paraliturgical votive services, usually in the evening after Compline,⁵⁶ it had no place whatsoever in the reformed Church of England liturgy, while its content would have made it inappropriate for the religion of Elizabeth's reign: it is a prayer to the Virgin Mary that lists many of her epithets and finally prays for her intercession. Its primary function thus cannot have remained unscathed after the English Reformations; rather, it was totally transformed. The various settings are also important for compositional reasons. Taverner, Tallis, Merbecke and Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* settings were all deliberately modelled on Fayrfax's. Later copyists seem to have been aware of the relationships between these pieces, and to have actively cultivated this awareness, to the extent that some saw the pieces as forming one unit. Fayrfax, Taverner, Tallis and Johnson's settings appear in certain manuscripts such as *Z6* in close proximity to each other, and there are also examples, such as *T354-8* and *T1464*, where one of the settings has been mistaken for another and consequently misattributed. There was an understanding in the sixteenth century that settings of this text were connected to one another, and that there were good aesthetic, musical or historical reasons for copying several different settings; the pieces therefore held interest in their own right independently of their text. The *Ave Dei patris* corpus thus provides evidence of copyists' interests in the differing contributions of individual composers, as well as a compositional tradition that ultimately derives from the work of a single individual. These two facts make it an ideal vehicle to study the role of the sixteenth-century composer—and of Fayrfax in particular—as a category of reception in his own right, as seen previously in Suzanne Cole's study of Tallis in the nineteenth century.

On two levels, therefore, the *Ave Dei patris filia* tradition can tell us a great deal about sixteenth-century musical reception, and, more broadly, about attitudes to the past throughout the period. The compositions themselves reveal Henrician composers' varied approaches to the music of Fayrfax, a well-known predecessor, while the compositions' subsequent wide transmission can tell us a great deal about how pre-Reformation music was conceptualised and used by Elizabethan copyists and performers. Ultimately, the popularity and survival of this tradition provide an important window onto the three issues to be discussed in this thesis:

⁵⁶ Hugh Benham, *Latin Church Music in England 1460-1575* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1977), 19.

textual transmission, the impact of religious change on attitudes to pre-Reformation music, and changing notions of musical meaning.

Focussing this study on the *Ave Dei patris filia* tradition also affords the opportunity to expand the geographical scope of the thesis from England alone to Scotland as well—hence the use of the word ‘Britain’ in my title. The use of Fayrfax’s material by the Scottish composer Robert Johnson poses important questions about musical relations between England and Scotland in the early Tudor period, as does the appearance of Fayrfax’s *Ave Dei patris* in the Carver choirbook. As will be seen later on in this thesis, the partbooks copied by the Scottish priest Thomas Wode in the latter half of the sixteenth century provide crucial evidence of Johnson’s career in Scotland and England, and of post-Reformation attitudes to Fayrfax and his music. Viewing the survival of pre-Reformation music as a British, rather than an English, phenomenon is also consistent with attitudes current in England before the unification of England and Scotland, and evidenced in Elizabethan musical sources. Thomas Tallis and William Byrd in particular were often identified in manuscript and in print as ‘Britanni’, ‘Britons’, or coming from ‘Britannia’, as well as being specifically English. Thanks to the influence of medieval writers, especially Geoffrey of Monmouth, Britannia was understood to have been an ancient kingdom ruled by legendary heroes such as King Arthur and Cadwaladr. English imperial ambitions were justified by semantic equation of this ‘Britain’ with England itself, thus diminishing the importance of Scotland and Wales and implicitly expanding the meaning of ‘England’ to mean the whole of the Atlantic Isles.⁵⁷ This rhetorical twist also had the effect of claiming the legendary achievements of ancient Celtic culture, whether Scottish, Irish, or Welsh, for England alone. The impact of such English proto-nationalism and the idea of ‘Britishness’ on Elizabethan musical culture will be discussed in chapter 5.

I.4. The subject position of the author

The ideas discussed in this thesis are closely intertwined with my own identity as a British evangelical Christian. British national identity is a problematic concept, thanks to its

⁵⁷ Alan MacColl, ‘The Meaning of “Britain” in Medieval and Early Modern England’, *Journal of British Studies*, 45 (2006), 266; Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Politics and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 11; Cathy Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England 1530-1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 18-19.

conflicting associations with imperialism (and, increasingly, xenophobia) on the one hand, and with so-called ‘British values’, including ‘individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs’, on the other.⁵⁸ I do not intend, in identifying sixteenth-century individuals as conscious of their ‘Britishness’, to imply any kind of moral judgment for or against them as a consequence. However, I do intend to pay close attention to the most problematic aspects and implications of the discourse used to describe their national identity, in the hope that by doing so I may acknowledge the roots of dangerous and contemptible attitudes both in the age of the British Empire and today.

The question of religious identity is for me much more fraught. There exists a powerful discourse in the modern evangelical subculture of which I am a member that defines it as a minority, set apart from wider society—in the world but not of it, to paraphrase John’s Gospel. In that respect modern evangelicalism is fundamentally different from Elizabethan Protestantism, one of whose central tenets was the need for an ordered, cohesive society through the marginalisation of all other value systems. Instead, it has far more in common with Elizabethan Catholicism, which sought to win converts, but directed much of its attention towards supporting the already faithful in order to maintain a discrete community. It is, I believe, because of the challenge faced by many Elizabethan Catholics to play a full role within society, and yet maintain their integrity when they found that their own values and those of the world at large were in opposition, that I admire and sympathise with them to such an extent. I can only imagine the agonies they endured for the sake of practising their religion: millions of people in the world today are not as lucky. Nevertheless, purely in terms of my beliefs I find myself firmly on the side of the Protestant establishment, and I cannot help but view some of the practices of Elizabethan Catholics as misguided even while utterly condemning the persecution they suffered at Protestant hands. It is with this ambivalent perspective on sixteenth-century religion that I present the following arguments.

I.5. The shape of the thesis

This thesis aims to gain a full and rounded picture of the *Ave Dei patris filia* tradition and its reception by narrating and richly contextualising its many iterations by performers, composers

⁵⁸ ‘Promoting fundamental British values as part of SMSC in schools: Departmental advice for maintained schools’ (Department for Education, 2014), 5. Online access via <<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/promoting-fundamental-british-values-through-sm-sc>>, accessed 4 April 2018.

and copyists. It is divided into three parts ordered chronologically, which deal with, respectively, the pre-Reformation creation of the *Ave Dei patris* tradition; its mid-century transformation during the English Reformations; and its afterlife in the 1560s and later. Part 1 is concerned primarily with establishing the origins of the text and its first and subsequent musical appearances. The text of *Ave Dei patris* comprises a rich web of quotations from theological literature, Marian liturgy and devotional material. Chapter 1 identifies the sources of these quotations, and uses these along with other evidence to date Fayrfax's setting and to identify the most likely milieu in which the text was first produced. I argue that the text was most likely written especially for Fayrfax's setting, for performance at a royal occasion around the turn of the sixteenth century, which goes some way towards explaining the piece's subsequent prominence and popularity. Chapter 2 analyses the extant settings of *Ave Dei patris* in relation to the biographies and outputs of their composers, and their relationship to Fayrfax's model. In doing so, I revise current knowledge of musical borrowing practices in Henrician England, which have been neglected in scholarly literature in comparison to their continental analogues. The evidence of the surviving *Ave Dei patris* settings by Tallis, Taverner, Merbecke and Johnson shows that Fayrfax was already considered a musical authority by around 1520, and that his *Ave Dei patris* was reified and appropriated by younger composers as a worthy model for emulation.

Part 2 of the thesis is the pivot around which my argument turns. Chapter 3 reviews the impact of the Henrician and Elizabethan Reformations, and the Marian Counter-Reformation, on late-medieval devotional practice and the polyphonic Marian antiphon in particular. From a wide range of primary sources it amplifies the emergent scholarly view that, rather than being subject to gradual attrition during the last decade of Henry VIII's reign, which then continued under Mary I, Marian devotion remained a living, vibrant tradition throughout the early- to mid-1540s and, with some caveats, underwent a vigorous revival in the 1550s. Consequently, the polyphonic Marian antiphon carried continued relevance to the English people right up until 1559, and was strongly associated with political as well as religious orthodoxy. Marian devotion, including its musical manifestations, was part of the shared heritage of the vast majority of Elizabethan subjects, and like many aspects of pre-Reformation culture its traces died out only slowly. This chapter therefore argues for a dissociation of post-Reformation retrospective music collections from Elizabethan recusancy or other politicised non-conformity. While some extant manuscripts did originate in known recusant circles, there is sufficient evidence from the sources themselves and from elsewhere that other copyists succeeded in reconciling their allegiance to the established Church with

their fondness for pre-Reformation devotional music. The music's meaning underwent a thorough transformation which the remaining chapters of the thesis aim to uncover.

The three chapters which make up part 3 of the thesis are all concerned with the Elizabethan afterlife of the Marian antiphon and of pre-Reformation music more generally. Chapter 4 is a case-study of the only named Elizabethan collector of pre-Reformation music manuscripts whose collection has survived into our century: William Forrest, best known as a writer of rather turgid vernacular devotional poetry, the author of the antiphon text *Vox patris caelestis*, and as the former owner of the Forrest-Heyther partbooks. Based on fresh archival research, the chapter comprises a thorough revision and re-investigation of Forrest's biography, which over the centuries has been subject to many serious misunderstandings and omissions, and his role in musical transmission during and after the Henrician and Elizabethan Reformations. Forrest's equivocal attitude to the Elizabethan Settlement exemplifies those discussed in chapter 3. In addition, both his career and his attitudes to the music he collected pose further questions about Elizabethan approaches to music collecting, which will be considered in the final two chapters.

Chapters 5 and 6 can be considered investigations of the 'motivations' and 'means' to collect pre-Reformation music in Elizabethan England, respectively. Chapter 5 uses a variety of literary and musical sources to analyse the popularity of music collecting in relation to contemporary antiquarianism. I focus particularly on the function of music as a site of memory in early modern Britain, on the ways that pre-Reformation music was used to construct English national identity by recourse to the past, and on the role of the composer, especially Fayrfax, as a category of music reception. Chapter 6 investigates the transmission of Marian antiphons in Elizabethan manuscripts, using the *Ave Dei patris* settings as case-studies from which more general hypotheses can be formed. This chapter uses techniques of textual filiation and stemmatics in order to trace relationships between extant sources, which allows conclusions to be drawn about the popularity of music collecting, and the quantity and nature of the manuscripts available to copyists. Finally, in the conclusion to this thesis, I offer three tentative hypotheses derived from recurrent narrative threads that have arisen in the course of my research, and suggest some directions for future investigation.

PART 1. CREATION

Chapter 1. Robert Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris filia*: Examining the context of its production

1.1. Introduction

Seven settings of *Ave Dei patris filia* survive: those attributed to Fayrfax, Taverner, Merbecke, Johnson and Tallis, the 'Lambeth Anonymous' (in *Lambeth*) and the 'Harley Anonymous' (in *HI709*). This large number of settings is unusual for a paraliturgical antiphon text. Based on the number of extant settings in early Tudor sources, the popularity of *Ave Dei patris* was matched only by that of the standard *Horae* texts *Gaude virgo mater Christi*, *O bone Jesu* and *Stabat mater dolorosa*, and exceeded only by the immensely popular *Gaude flore virginali* and the troped *Salve Regina*,¹ all of which predate *Ave Dei patris* by several decades if not centuries.

Of the seven settings, Fayrfax's is the best transmitted in extant pre- and post-Reformation sources, and, as will be discussed in chapter 2, provided the inspiration and model for four of the other settings. The popularity of *Ave Dei patris* among composers in the first half of the sixteenth century, and among copyists in the second, therefore poses questions about both the text and Fayrfax's setting of it, and how they came to prominence. The dates of each must also be established in order to confirm Fayrfax's setting as the archetype of its compositional tradition.

1.1.1. Contextualising Tudor polyphony: the nature of the evidence, and potential pitfalls

Dating early-Tudor polyphony is notoriously difficult, partly because of the nature of the surviving sources, most of which long postdate the music they contain; and partly because current knowledge does not allow us to make convincing arguments based on style. Occasionally external evidence allows a piece to be pinpointed to a specific time and place, but this is exceptionally rare. More often, an early manuscript can provide strong evidence of a piece's date, but these sources are often impossible to date more precisely than to the nearest decade or so; moreover, the dating of manuscripts often relies on the dates of the other pieces

¹ May Hofman and John Morehen list 13 attributed settings of *Gaude flore virginali*, 6 settings of *Gaude virgo mater Christi*, 4 settings of *O bone Jesu*, 7 settings of *Stabat mater*, and a grand total of 18 settings of the troped *Salve Regina*, not counting the numerous anonymous settings and settings by mainland European composers which survive. Hofman and Morehen, *Latin Music in British Sources c. 1485-c. 1610*, EECM supplementary volume 2 (London: Stainer and Bell for the British Academy, 1987), 147, 148, 162, 169, 171.

they contain, potentially resulting either in circular reasoning or an impasse in which the chronology of both music and source are mutually dependent. Manuscript and print sources, in any case, can only provide a *terminus ante quem* for a piece's composition. Instead scholars must usually rely on a combination of biographical data and textual features, ranging from references to the liturgy, feasts and saints to more elusive literary devices such as metaphor and allegory.² The subjective nature of this methodology means that contextualisations acquired through close textual readings cannot be proven. They are therefore vulnerable to advances in knowledge which often force them to be revised. Nonetheless, this remains the most precise method of dating votive antiphon texts. Moreover, it provides the musicologist and the social or political historian with a useful point of contact, potentially allowing historians to use music as a rich source of evidence for prevailing social attitudes, discourses, and particularly for the methods of self-fashioning used by the political elite.

William Mundy's Marian antiphon *Vox patris caelestis* is a case in point, illustrating both the strengths and weaknesses of using votive antiphon texts as a source of contextual information. Since Mundy was born in or around 1529, the most likely range of dates for its composition is 1553-1558, during the reign of Mary I. One very plausible context for its original performance was identified by Kerry McCarthy in 2004.³ Based on the facts that *Vox patris* is a trope of the Assumption antiphon *Tota pulchra es*, and the Assumption was the patronal feast of the church of St Mary-at-Hill in London, Mundy's place of work between 1548 and 1558, McCarthy suggests that Mundy may have written *Vox patris* for performance at St Mary-at-Hill on the Feast of the Assumption.⁴ The full polyphonic texture of *Vox patris* requires a choir of both men and boys, and during Mundy's tenure at St Mary-at-Hill (whose regular choir after 1549 consisted of only men) boys were hired for performances at the

² Examples include the discussions of individual Latin-texted pieces in Daniel Page, 'Uniform and Catholic: Church Music in the Reign of Mary Tudor (1553-1558)' (PhD thesis: Brandeis University, 1996); Hugh Benham, 'Prince Arthur (1486-1502), a Carol and a *cantus firmus*', *EM*, 15 (1987), 463-468; David Skinner, 'Deliver me from my deceitful enemies: A Tallis Contrafactum in Time of War', *EM*, 44 (2016), 233-250; Magnus Williamson, 'Royal Image-Making and Textual Interplay in Gilbert Banaster's "O Maria et Elizabeth"', *EMH*, 19 (2000), 237-278; Williamson, 'Queen Mary I, Tallis's *O sacrum convivium* and a Latin Litany', *EM*, 44 (2016), 260-4; Daisy M. Gibbs, 'England's Most Christian King: Henry VIII's 1513 Campaigns and an Antiphon Newly Attributable to William Cornysh', *EM* (forthcoming).

³ Kerry McCarthy, 'William Mundy's "Vox patris caelestis" and the Assumption of the Virgin Mary', *M&L*, 85 (2004), 353-367.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 355-6; 362.

church only three times: the feast of the Assumption in 1556, 1557 and 1558.⁵ According to McCarthy, St Mary-at-Hill's regeneration of its resources, choir and liturgical practices during the mid-1550s suggests that Mundy probably wrote *Vox patris* for performance there on the feast of the Assumption during the last three years of Mary I's reign.

In the absence of any hard evidence by way of specific references to *Vox patris* in the St Mary-at-Hill accounts, McCarthy's conclusion is vulnerable to the discovery of new information suggesting that the antiphon may have been composed before 1556. Such information is discussed by John Milsom in a later article, which redates *Vox patris* to 1553.⁶ From a new identification of the text's author as William Forrest, a known apologist for Mary Tudor;⁷ the fact that *Tota pulchra es* is an antiphon for the Vigil of the Assumption and not the Assumption itself; and a politicised, allegorical reading of the text's content, Milsom suggests that *Vox patris* was composed by Mundy for performance during the civic pageantry on the day preceding Mary I's coronation in September 1553. Acknowledging the fact that McCarthy's theory is in itself plausible, he comments that he 'makes no attempt to dislodge that theory', but rather he 'adds some new information about the work [principally the identification of the author], and looks in fresh ways at the other evidence, in order to show how at least one alternative interpretation can be made.'⁸ In combination with the allegorical reading of *Vox patris*, and the known association between Assumption imagery and the coronation of Tudor queens, Milsom's discovery of the text's authorship provides a more solid basis for contextualisation than McCarthy's more circumstantial reasoning. However, Milsom's theory is itself impossible to prove, and is just as vulnerable to falsification as McCarthy's: as he points out, there remains 'the nagging suspicion that [Forrest's] name might yet be found among the records of the church of St Mary-at-Hill', which would bolster McCarthy's theory at the expense of his own.⁹

The case of *Vox patris* thus illustrates the weaknesses inherent in dating and contextualising Tudor polyphony based on close readings of texts. Any contextualisation of Fairfax's *Ave Dei patris* relies similarly on subjective textual interpretation and will be just as vulnerable as Milsom's and McCarthy's datings of *Vox patris*. However, *Vox patris* also

⁵ Ibid., 362-3.

⁶ John Milsom, 'William Mundy's "Vox patris caelestis" and the Accession of Mary Tudor', *M&L*, 91 (2010), 1-38.

⁷ Ibid., 9. On Forrest's biography and his contributions to mid-Tudor musical culture, see ch. 4.

⁸ Ibid., 2.

⁹ Ibid., 33.

shows how useful textual analysis can be as a dating technique. Besides enabling more precise dating of the antiphon than is possible from biographical or stylistic data alone, by bringing together a vast array of information from musical and non-musical sources the two scholarly investigations of its cultural context shed light on the ways music could be used and read in the sixteenth century, and especially its role in political panegyric and royal self-fashioning.

1.1.2. Robert Fayrfax's oeuvre: the current state of knowledge

With the foregoing discussion in mind it is absolutely essential that any attempt to date and contextualise *Ave Dei patris* be firmly based on a core of historical fact. Of Fayrfax's extant compositions, the votive antiphon *Aeternae laudis lilium*, datable to 1502, and his Cambridge doctoral exercise, the Mass *O quam glorifica* composed in 1511,¹⁰ can be chronologically fixed. In addition, the two pieces by Fayrfax in *Eton*, *Salve regina* and *Ave lumen gratiae*, must have been composed before 1500-1505, when the choirbook was copied. Establishing the chronology of his other works requires stylistic judgments to be made about whether they are earlier or later than these four pieces, and by how much, a process fraught with uncertainty. The task is made more difficult by the stylistic variety of Fayrfax's output and the distinctive character of each of his works, particularly his votive antiphons, and little attempt has been made to carry it out since the completion of Edwin Warren's Fayrfax edition in the 1950s and 1960s.¹¹ Hugh Benham's discussion of Fayrfax's music in his *Latin Church Music in England*, for example, did not attempt to establish even relative chronology for his output.¹² Benjamin Collingwood's recent exhaustive analysis and stylistic study of Fayrfax's antiphons and Masses, which partly aimed to improve on Warren's chronology, did not successfully draw any firm conclusions.¹³

¹⁰ *Aeternae laudis lilium*, when written with original Latin spelling as it survives in the sources, forms an acrostic spelling the name 'Elisabeth regina anglie', that is, Elizabeth, Queen of England. It is widely assumed to be identifiable with the 'Anthem of our lady and St Elizabeth', paid for out of the queen's Privy Purse when she visited St Albans in 1502. See David Mateer and Elizabeth New, 'In Nomine Jesu': Robert Fayrfax and the Guild of the Holy Name in St Paul's Cathedral', *M&L*, 81 (2000), 514; Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks Belonging to Peterhouse', 98; Williamson, 'Royal Image-Making', 270. On the Mass *O quam glorifica* see Roger Bray, 'Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England', *M&L*, 76 (1995), 7, 12-14.

¹¹ See Edwin B. Warren, 'Life and Works of Robert Fayrfax', *MD*, 11 (1957), 134-152; 'The Masses of Robert Fayrfax', *MD*, 12 (1958), 145-176; 'Robert Fayrfax: Motets and Settings of the Magnificat', *MD*, 15 (1961), 113-143.

¹² Benham, *Latin Church Music*, 115-125.

¹³ In Collingwood's various analyses *Aeternae laudis* more than once occupies an anomalous position to that expected from its date, which suggests that the stylistic justification for categorising other

The following analysis will attempt to rectify this chronological uncertainty in the case of *Ave Dei patris*, using both internal and external categories of evidence: the text, its content and signification; the earliest source to contain the piece, *Carver*; and Fayrfax's later antiphon *Lauda vivi Alpha et Omega*, whose text was modelled on that of *Ave Dei patris*. I shall begin with what is known for certain and expand outwards from this towards more creative inference, in order to form as full a picture as possible of the social background to *Ave Dei patris*'s creation. As will become clear, it is highly likely that the antiphon was composed for a royal occasion early in the first decade of the sixteenth century, and moreover it is possible to identify this occasion. We can also tell from the contents of *Ave Dei patris*'s text that its author or authors had access to sources from a range of social milieux, consistent with the lifestyle of a church musician in aristocratic or royal employment.

1.2. Internal evidence: the text

1.2.1. Grammatical structure

To enable cross-referencing between the following discussion and the prayer text, a complete text and translation of *Ave Dei patris filia* can be found in Appendix A.

The text of *Ave Dei patris* consists of seven quatrains followed by a final petition. Each stanza opens with the word *Ave*, directly addressing the Virgin, and contains four epithets referring to her, with the exception of the last stanza which contains five.

Each title in the first five stanzas is based on the same grammatical sentence structure. They all contain a noun in the genitive case (colour-coded red in figure 1a), a noun in the nominative case (coded black), and an adjective or attribute which agrees with the noun in the nominative case (coded green), always in that order. These adjectives always refer to the Virgin, and are frequently superlatives, as indicated by their *-issima* endings. There may also be an adjective agreeing with the noun in the genitive case, which always precedes it (coded blue). The noun in the nominative case is always one of a choice of four, *filia*, *mater*, *sponsa*, or *ancilla*, which all refer to attributes of the Virgin's familial relationship to the different persons of the Trinity. Since the noun in the genitive, or possessive, case always signifies an aspect of God—Father, Son, Spirit, Trinity, eternity, wisdom, or something else—the result is

pieces as earlier or later than it may be flawed. Benjamin Collingwood, 'Methods of Analysing Early Tudor Sacred Polyphony: The Works of Robert Fayrfax (1464-1521)' (PhD thesis: Exeter University, 2008), 218, 264-265; 280-288.

a string of parallel epithets which all identify a particular facet of Mary's relationship with God.

Figure 1a. *Ave Dei patris filia*: Stanzas 1-5 of 7, showing parallel grammatical structure

Ave	Dei patris filia nobilissima Dei filii mater dignissima Dei spiritus sponsa venustissima Dei unius et trini ancilla subjectissima	Hail, most noble daughter of God the Father; most worthy mother of God the Son; most lovely bride of God the Spirit; most humble handmaid of God, One and Three.
Ave	summae aeternitatis filia clementissima summae veritatis mater piissima summae bonitatis sponsa benignissima summae trinitatis ancilla mitissima	Hail, most merciful daughter of the highest Eternity; most dutiful mother of the highest Truth; most beneficent bride of the highest Good; most gentle handmaid of the highest Trinity.
Ave	aeternae caritatis filia desideratissima aeternae sapientiae mater gratissima aeternae spirationis sponsa sacratissima coaeternae maiestatis ancilla sincerissima	Hail, most longed-for daughter of eternal Charity; most beloved mother of eternal Wisdom; most holy bride of eternal Spirit; most pure handmaid of co-eternal Majesty.
Ave	Jesu tui filii dulcis filia Christi Dei tui mater alma sponsi sponsa sine ulla macula deitatis ancilla sessione proxima	Hail, daughter of your sweet son, Jesus; kindly mother of Christ your God; bride of the bridegroom without any fault; handmaid of the Godhead, seated at his side.
Ave	domini filia singulariter generosa domini mater singulariter gloriosa domini sponsa singulariter speciosa domini ancilla singulariter obsequiosa	Hail, uniquely generous daughter of the Lord; uniquely glorious mother of the Lord; uniquely beautiful bride of the Lord; uniquely humble handmaid of the Lord.

The highly standardised grammatical structure of these stanzas clarifies their meaning: for example, it signals that the adjective *dulcis* in stanza 4 must refer to the genitive noun *fili* and not the nominative *filia*, since the line structure demands that any adjective agreeing with the word *filia* must follow it. Along with the lack of verbs or any complexities of grammar, it also ensures that the poem is easy to understand with the most elementary grasp of Latin, and would have been similarly easy to construct.

1.2.2. Literary precedents

In the absence of any direct evidence of which person or community might have produced the antiphon text, we must look elsewhere to identify its origins. For this purpose the internal evidence of the text's contents is a valuable source of information. *Ave Dei patris* is original in structure, but not in content, and the earlier texts which it cites are highly informative of the kind of milieu that might have produced it. The following commentary divides the poem into its constituent phrases and identifies their most likely origins, not in order to interpret the

poem by ‘reading between the lines’, but to identify the sources to which the poet had access, and thus to find out in what context they may have been working. The most striking finding of this analysis is the enormous range of material that the poet appears to have accessed.

Ave... Maria The poem takes the form of an *Ave Maria* trope. The first and last words of the whole text are taken from the first part of the archangel Gabriel’s salutation to Mary in the Latin Vulgate (Luke 1:28). Gabriel’s salutation was one of the three fundamental prayers learnt by the vast majority of medieval Christians (the others being the *Pater noster* and the Apostles’ Creed); repetitions of the *Ave Maria* formed the greater part of the Rosary devotion, and were often prescribed to the illiterate as substitutes for indulgenced prayers.

The word *Ave* was a very common opener not only for liturgical Marian hymns, sequences and antiphons (such as *Ave maris stella*, *Ave mundi spes Maria* and *Ave regina caelorum*) but also for paraliturgical votive texts. Quoting the angelic salutation in this way is entirely appropriate given the structure of these prayers, which generally begin with a series of acclamations to the Virgin, followed by a request for intercession or assistance. David Allinson has traced this structure to the prayer treatises that circulated in medieval England, in particular that of Hugh of St Victor (*De modo orandi*, ‘On the method of praying’), which was widely accessible to English clerics in the fifteenth century: there were copies at Canterbury, St Albans Abbey, Waltham Abbey, and Lincoln Cathedral.¹⁴ Hugh’s treatise, following the manner of Classical rhetorical treatises such as Cicero’s *De inventione* and the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, divides the ideal prayer into three sections: the *captatio*, in which the petitioner attempts to make the hearer sympathetic to their cause, often by flattery or self-deprecation; the *postulatio*, or the request itself; and finally the *exactio*, which sums up the petition. Within this basic structure other sections could be added, such as the *salutatio*, or greeting, which is often repetitive or meditative in character; or the *narratio*, in which the postulant explains their current situation.¹⁵ Like many other votive antiphon texts, *Ave Dei patris* is a particularly concise example of Hugh’s ideal prayer. There is no separate *salutatio*, *narratio*, *exactio* or any elaboration of theological argument: the vast majority of the text is taken up with *captatio*, and the final stanza, from ‘Esto nobis...’, fulfils the role of *postulatio*.

Dei Patris filia... mater... sponsa... ancilla The first stanza of this poem has a variety of direct and indirect precedents in devotional literature. All four titles refer to Mary’s familial

¹⁴ Allinson, ‘The Rhetoric of Devotion’, 173-185.

¹⁵ Ibid., 165-173.

relations with the Trinity and all are biblical. Mary is described as ‘*Dei patris filia*’, the daughter of God the Father; this has several parallels in the Latin New Testament, in which Christian believers are described as ‘*filius Dei*’, children of God.¹⁶ ‘*Dei filii mater*’, mother of God the Son, needs no explanation. The idea that Mary is the *sponsa*, the bride of God, originates in medieval exegesis on the Song of Songs,¹⁷ whilst the word *ancilla* is used by Mary to describe herself in the Vulgate translation of Luke 1:38, ‘*Ecce ancilla Domini*’, ‘Behold the handmaid of the Lord’. The epithets themselves appear in several different sources. The title ‘*Dei patris filia*’ appears in the text *O domina sancta Maria filia dei patris*, which is found in a manuscript Book of Hours, Leeds, Brotherton Collection 15, dating from the second half of the fifteenth century.¹⁸ In addition, a very close parallel for the whole first stanza is found in the manuscript Médiathèque d'Agglomération de Cambrai 142:

Ave filia dei patris
Ave mater Ihesu Christi
Ave amica spiritus sancti
*Ave ancilla trinitatis*¹⁹

Although the precise wording of the Cambrai text is different, its sense is identical to that of the first stanza of *Ave Dei patris*. Cambrai 142 was copied in 1475 by Nicolas Stampion, a canon and scribe at the Abbey of St-Sépulcre, Cambrai. In the sixteenth century it was owned by Zeger van Male, a prominent citizen of Bruges, and it had returned to St-Sépulcre by the

¹⁶ For example, Matthew 5:9, ‘*beati pacifici quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur*’, ‘Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.’ Luke 20:36 reads ‘*neque enim ultra mori poterunt aequales enim angelis sunt et filii sunt Dei cum sint filii resurrectionis*’, ‘For they will no longer be able to die, for they are equal with the angels, and they are the children of God, since they are the children of the Resurrection.’

¹⁷ Mary is usually said to be the Bride of Christ; it is unusual to find her, as here, described as the Bride of the Holy Spirit. The Mariological interpretation of the Bride (or Shulamite) in the Song of Solomon derives from the early tradition of interpreting her as the Church and the Bridegroom as Christ. Ephesians 5:25-32 uses Christ’s relationship with the church as a metaphor for that between husband and wife. In later centuries, Mary began to be identified with the Church, as the first believer in Christ who articulated her faith in Him at the Annunciation. For more on the development of Mariological readings of the Song of Solomon, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), 25-26, 29-30, 91-92, 122; Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Vintage, 2000), 123-135; and Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), 158-161.

¹⁸ Bisson, ‘English Polyphony for the Virgin Mary’, 334.

¹⁹ G. G. Meersseman, *Der Hymnos Akathistos im Abendland* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1958), ii. 173.

eighteenth century.²⁰ If *Ave Dei patris* was inspired by a Flemish poem—and it seems likely to be Flemish, since *Ave filia Dei patris* is absent from the list of *Ave* prayers compiled by Hoskins, meaning it does not appear in any known English sources²¹—this has clear implications for the context of its production.

Coaeternae maiestatis This phrase is derived from the Athanasian Creed, or *Quicumque vult*, sung at Prime on Sundays, double feasts and simple feasts of nine lessons.²² This creed outlines and elaborates on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and includes the line ‘Alia est enim persona Patris alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti: sed Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti una est divinitas, aequalis gloria, coeterna maiestas’ (‘For one person is of the Father, another is of the Son, another is of the Holy Spirit: but of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit there is one divinity, an equal glory, a co-eternal majesty’). The phrase ‘coaeterna maiestas’ thus symbolises God as Trinity and Unity, the full sum of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. In *Ave Dei patris* it functions in parallel to the phrases ‘Dei unius et trini’ and ‘summae trinitatis’ found in earlier stanzas.

Jesu tui filii... filia The idea that Mary is the ‘daughter of her son’, an extension of the idea that she is the daughter of God the Father, is rather uncommon in this period, especially with the exact wording in which it appears here. The expressions ‘nati nata’, ‘nata nati’, ‘prolis filia’, or the related phrase ‘mater patris’, ‘mother of the father’, appear in several Marian liturgical texts, including the hymns *Te collaudat coelestis curia*, *Sacra mundo fulget dies*, and *Stellam maris attendamus*, and the Conception sequence *Dies iste celebretur*.²³ From these texts, the ‘daughter of the father’ trope passed into Italian vernacular poetry,²⁴ which, given the similarities of phraseology between this poetry and *Ave Dei patris*, seems to have provided the likely model for our anonymous poet. For example, the phrase ‘del tuo parto gentil figliola et madre’, ‘daughter and mother of your noble son’, appears in *Vergine bella*,

²⁰ I am grateful to Fabien Laforge, Curator of Historic Collections at the Médiathèque d'Agglomération de Cambrai, for providing me with this information in a private communication dated 3 July 2015.

²¹ Edgar Hoskins, *Horæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis* (Westmead, Farnborough: Gregg, 1969), 388-9.

²² John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 99-100.

²³ The phrase ‘nata nati’ also appears in the roughly contemporary motet text *Illibata Dei virgo nutrix*, set by Josquin des Prez.

²⁴ Steven Botterill, *Dante and the Mystical Tradition: Bernard of Clairvaux in the Commedia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 180-181, 191.

the last of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*.²⁵ This is an almost exact Italian translation of 'tui filii dulcis filia'. Both phrases share the same ambiguity of exactly what the adjective describes: in either case, the adjective could refer to either the mother or the son. A yet-closer precedent is found in Canto XXXIII of Dante's *Paradiso*, in which Bernard of Clairvaux addresses the Virgin as 'figlia del tuo figlio', 'daughter of your son'.²⁶ In the Latin translation of the *Divina Commedia* by Giovanni da Serravalle, written during the Council of Konstanz in 1416-17,²⁷ this line appears as 'Filia tui Filii'.²⁸ This line in Dante's *Paradiso* and the line in Petrarch's *Vergine bella* thus constitute the closest precedents for the line in *Ave Dei patris*, 'tui filii dulcis filia', and are much closer to it than any Marian liturgical text.

There existed in the late medieval period a substantial tradition of citing and translating Italian vernacular poetry in work by English poets; Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* is ultimately derived from Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato*, for example, and a translation of part of the *Decameron* survives by the composer Gilbert Banaster.²⁹ However, although Dante's *Commedia* was cited by Chaucer in the *House of Fame* and the *Canterbury Tales*, in more scholarly circles he was known primarily through Latin translations of his vernacular poetry and for his original Latin works. Serravalle's Latin translation and commentary on the *Commedia* was overseen by two English bishops, the Bishop of Salisbury and the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the latter seems to have brought a copy home with him from Konstanz.³⁰ It was still in Wells Cathedral library when John Leland conducted his visitation of the country's libraries in the 1530s.³¹ Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester donated a copy of Serravalle's commentary to Oxford University in 1444, and another book which may have been the *Commedia* in the original Italian.³² There may also have been a copy of Serravalle at St Alban's Abbey in the first half of the fifteenth century, since it was quoted extensively in

²⁵ Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, ed. Marco Santagata (Milano: A. Mondadori, 2004), 1413.

²⁶ Botterill, *Dante and the Mystical Tradition*, 180.

²⁷ Nick Havely, *Dante's British Public: Readers and Texts, from the Fourteenth Century to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 15.

²⁸ Giovanni da Serravalle, *Translatio et comentum totius libri Dantis Aldighieri* (Prati: Giachetti, 1891), 1204.

²⁹ See below, pp. 36-38, for evidence that *Ave Dei patris* was indeed written in England. Banaster enrolled as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1468 and was promoted to Master of the Children in 1478. Jonathan Hall and Magnus Williamson, 'Banastre [Banaster], Gilbert (d. 1487), composer and poet', *ODNB*.

³⁰ Havely, *Dante's British Public*, 16-17.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 34.

³² *Ibid.*, 17-18.

the work of Abbot John Whethamstede.³³ Whethamstede travelled to Italy in the 1420s, and had personal connections with Duke Humphrey: he gave the Duke an autograph copy of Matthew Paris's *Chronica maiora* some time before 1441.³⁴ It is thus easy to see how he might have acquired a copy of Serravalle's work. There is no record of the work at St Alban's or in catalogues of Whethamstede's collection, but since many of his books were disposed of by the abbey in the period between his two stints as abbot, from 1441 to 1452, a considerable proportion of them have vanished without trace.³⁵

Before the 1520s, when Dante's vernacular work also began to circulate more widely in England,³⁶ Petrarch was known in England primarily for his Latin prose. His vernacular poetry did not achieve the wide circulation which, thanks to Serravalle's translation, Dante's did. The *Trionfi* are thought to have arrived in England in 1500 or thereabouts,³⁷ possibly under the influence of John Colet, and Petrarch was certainly known as a vernacular poet from the first two decades of the sixteenth century.³⁸ However, although Chaucer and Lydgate had provided translations and paraphrases of some of the *Canzoniere*, they do not seem to have become well-known in England until the 1520s.³⁹ Since Fayrfax died in 1521, providing us with a concrete *terminus ante quem* for the writing of *Ave Dei patris*, the evidence that Petrarch's vernacular poetry became better known in England after this date does not help us ascertain where the anonymous poet got their material. Indeed, the limited surviving evidence

³³ Ibid., 18-24. On Whethamstede's writing, and especially his choice of material for quotation, see Alfred Hiatt, 'The Reference Work in the Fifteenth Century: John Whethamstede's *Granarium*', in Carol M. Meale and Derek Pearsall (eds), *Makers and Users of Medieval Books: Essays in Honour of A. S. G. Edwards* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014), 13-33.

³⁴ James G. Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance at St Albans: Thomas Walsingham and his Circle c. 1350-1440* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 97.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ On citations of Dante in Henrician England, see Havelly, *Dante's British Public*, 37-49.

³⁷ Robert Coogan, 'Petrarch's Latin Prose and the English Renaissance', *Studies in Philology*, 68 (1971), 282.

³⁸ Along with Boccaccio, Dante, Chaucer, Lydgate and Gower, Petrarch was cited as one of the great vernacular poets in 1519 by William Horman, headmaster of Eton. There are also references to him in early sixteenth-century publications of Chaucer and Lydgate. Jackson Campbell Boswell and Gordon McMurry Braden, *Petrarch's English Laurels 1475-1700* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 15-18.

³⁹ On the early circulation of Petrarch's work in England, see Coogan, 'Petrarch's Latin Prose and the English Renaissance', and 'Petrarch's "Trionfi" and the English Renaissance', *Studies in Philology*, 67 (1970), 306-327. The influence of Petrarch on English literature began relatively late: see Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 78-79, 90; Gary Waller, *The Virgin Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern English Literature and Popular Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 136-140.

of the circulation of Petrarch's work before Fayrfax's death, and the close correlation between Serravalle's translation of the *Commedia* and the 'daughter of your son' trope in *Ave Dei patris*, both suggest that Dante, not Petrarch, is most likely to have been the model for the antiphon text.

The text of Dante's *Commedia*, especially in Serravalle's translation, was probably most easily accessible in a monastic or collegiate institution, not an aristocratic one. This can be discerned from the inventories of Henry VIII's libraries, compiled in 1542 and 1547, which offer an ideal example of a well-stocked early Tudor aristocratic book collection. While the royal libraries contained works by both Dante and Petrarch, neither *Paradiso*, Serravalle's translation and commentary, nor the *Canzoniere* were present, and their most closely related works only became available in the 1510s. The court possessed volumes of Petrarch in Italian, and of both Dante and Petrarch in Castilian, which presumably had once belonged to the library of Katherine of Aragon.⁴⁰ These included item 2527 of the 1542 inventory of Whitehall Palace, 'Dantis Workes in the Castilian tonge'. This probably refers to the translation of the *Inferno* by Pedro Fernández de Villegas, published in Burgos in 1515, a copy of which was owned by Queen Katherine and survives in the British Library.⁴¹ Henry also owned a French translation of Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*, which survives as GB-Lbl Royal MS. 20. C. v. This book dates from the early fifteenth century, and may be identified with the 'greate volume of velom named John Bokas lymned', which Margaret Beaufort left to her grandson in her will.⁴² Katherine Parr owned a copy of both Petrarch's *Canzoniere* and the *Trionfi*, but this was not published until 1544.⁴³ Dante's *Paradiso*, either in Italian or in Latin, has left no trace in the royal collection.

Dei... mater alma This is a direct quotation from the first stanza of the Marian hymn *Ave maris stella*, by far the most common of the Marian hymns: it was prescribed for first and

⁴⁰ Inventory items 2523, 2857, 2950 and 2951. Maria Hayward, *The 1542 Inventory of Whitehall: The Palace and its Keeper* (London: Illuminata Publishers for the Society of Antiquaries of London, 2004), i. 170, 178, 180; James P. Carley, *The Books of Henry VIII and his Wives* (London: The British Library, 2004), 121. The collection included a Spanish translation of Petrarch's *De utraque fortuna*, which was published in 1518, and a Spanish translation of the *Trionfi*, made by Antonio de Obregón and published as *Los seys triunfos* in 1512. Carley, *The Books of Henry VIII*, 121.

⁴¹ Hayward, *The 1542 Inventory of Whitehall*, i. 170; Havely, *Dante's British Public*, 35; Carley, *The Books of Henry VIII*, 120-121.

⁴² Carley, *The Books of Henry VIII*, 49.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 138.

second Vespers of the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Conception of the Virgin. It also appears in Books of Hours as part of Vespers of the Hours of the Virgin.

... *sponsi sponsa sine ulla macula* This is a paraphrase of Song of Songs 4:7, spoken by the bridegroom, the *sponsus*, to his bride, the *sponsa*: ‘Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te’ (‘You are all beautiful, my beloved, and there is no fault in you’). This verse was interpreted as evidence of Mary’s perpetual virginity and freedom from original sin,⁴⁴ and appears in slightly adapted form as an antiphon, *Tota pulchra es*, sung during First Vespers of the Assumption of the Virgin.

... *sessione proxima* This is a direct quotation from the sixth stanza of *Gaude flore virginali*, an extremely popular meditation on the Seven Joys of the Virgin, attributed in the fifteenth century to St Thomas Becket.⁴⁵ It was frequently set by late fifteenth-century English composers: seven settings survive in *Eton* out of an original eleven, for example, outnumbering all other texts except *Salve regina*.⁴⁶

Ave... plena gratia This is a paraphrase of the opening of the *Ave Maria*.

misericordiae mater This phrase alludes to the opening of the *Salve regina*, one of the four staple Marian antiphons and by far the most popular text set in *Eton*. As discussed in chapter 3, it was commonly prescribed in institutional statutes both in England and in mainland Europe as part of the evening votive service after Compline, and was also invariably included in Books of Hours.

... *meritis praeclara* There is no obvious direct precedent for this phrase, but it does appear occasionally in addresses to saints—for example, the hymn at First Vespers of the Office of St Victor by Bernard of Clairvaux, which opens ‘Vita Victoris meritis praeclara’.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Sarah Jane Boss, *Empress and Handmaid: On Nature and Gender in the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London and New York: Cassell, 2000), 143.

⁴⁵ See Bisson, ‘English Polyphony for the Virgin Mary’, 77-95.

⁴⁶ Settings survive by Kellyk, Davy, Horwood, Turges (two settings), Lambe, and Cornysh. Originally there were also settings by Wylkynson and Browne, a second setting by Lambe, and a setting attributed to Dunstable. Later in the sixteenth century settings were also written by Fayrfax (this survives as a bass voice only) and Robert Carver.

⁴⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. Jean Leclercq (Romae: Editiones Cistercienses, 1959-1977), iii. 501.

... patriarchis... prophetis ‘Patriarchs and prophets’ are often paired in texts that list the categories of saints, for example in litanies. The phrase ‘patriarcharum et prophetarum’ appears in Walter Lambe’s Marian antiphon *O Maria plena gratia*.

... a prophetis preconizata The use of the Latin verb *praecono* to describe the prophets’ prediction of Mary (referring, presumably, to Isaiah 7:14, ‘... ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium...’) has ancient precedence. The line ‘Haec sancti expectabant patriarche. hanc preconebant prophetae’ appears as part of a Matins lection, *Opere pretium quippe est*, in the earliest extant Marian Office, which is found in the Worcester manuscript Cambridge Corpus Christi College 391.⁴⁸ According to Mary Clayton, this manuscript’s contents probably originated in Winchester, an early centre of Marian devotion, and the three lections also appear in later monastic sources, including the fourteenth-century Breviary of Hyde Abbey and the Hereford Breviary.⁴⁹ They are listed in the nineteenth-century edition of the 1531 Sarum breviary by Procter and Wordsworth as optional readings for the Marian Office between the Purification and Advent.⁵⁰

poli regina... mundi domina... imperatrix inferni In contrast to the quotation from Dante discussed above, which extends the literary horizons of *Ave Dei patris* across Europe, this trio of titles has a much more insular character. They stress the universal power of the Virgin over heaven, earth, the dead, angels and demons, not only as *mediatrix* but as a quasi-divine figure in her own right. While the epithets ‘poli regina’ and ‘mundi domina’ have close precedents in Latin prayers and sequences, the title ‘Imperatrix inferni’, ‘Empress of Hell’, is most often seen in English sources, not in Latin but in the vernacular.⁵¹ It appears as a stand-alone epithet in the anonymous fifteenth-century carol *Out of your sleep* (found in *GB-Ob* MS. Arch. Selden B. 26, f. 14v), among others including *Heyle, of wymmen flour of alle* attributed to John Audelay (*GB-Ob* MS Douce 302) and *O spowsesse of Crist and paramour* (*GB-Cu* Ee.i.12). As a unit of three, the titles ‘Queen of Heaven, Lady of the World, Empress of Hell’ appear widely in Middle English devotional texts. For example, *GB-Ob* MS Tanner 110, f. 244, has a poem attributed to Lydgate, ‘To Mary, The Queen of Hevene’, which opens

⁴⁸ Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 78.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁵⁰ Francis Procter and Christopher Wordsworth, *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum* (Cambridge: Typis atque impensis almae matris academiae Cantabrigiensis, 1879), ii. 309.

⁵¹ Catherine Oakes, *Ora pro nobis: The Virgin as Intercessor in Medieval Art and Devotion* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 172.

‘Queen of heuene, of helle eeke emp[er]esse, Lady of this world, O varray loodsterre!’⁵² The complete trio of titles is also found in ‘Mirk’s Festial’ in the sermons on the Assumption, which date from c. 1400: in the first, for example, we are told that when the Virgin was assumed into heaven ‘Crist set hur þer by hym yn his trone, and crowned hur qwene of Heuen, and emp[er]ice of hell, and lady of al þe worlde, and hath a high ioy passyng all þe sayntys.’⁵³ John Mirk’s yearly cycle of sermons was circulated widely both in manuscript and in print in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

For the specific phrase in *Ave Dei patris* there is a yet-closer English precedent than these. This is *From stormy winds*, a carol by Edmund Turges perhaps written in 1501 to celebrate the marriage of Prince Arthur, which describes the Virgin as ‘empres Infernall’.⁵⁴ ‘Imperatrix inferni’, in *Ave Dei patris*, is a literal translation of this phrase. It is unclear whether the line in Turges’ carol is a translation from Latin or *vice versa*; either is possible.

Ave Dei patris is not the only Latin prayer which adapts this Middle English commonplace. William Cornysh’s short prayer setting *Ave Maria mater Dei* also contains the complete threefold title:⁵⁵

Ave Maria, mater Dei, regina caeli, domina mundi, imperatrix inferni, miserere mei et totius populi Christiani; et ne permittas nos mortaliter peccare; sed tuam sanctissimam voluntatem adimplere. Amen.

Hail Mary, mother of God, Queen of Heaven, Lady of the World, Empress of Hell, have mercy on me and on all Christian people, and allow us not to commit mortal sin, but to fulfil your most holy will. Amen.

This piece survives in *Eton*, and dates from before c. 1505, the approximate *terminus ante quem* for its copying.⁵⁶ According to David Skinner its text is derived from another prayer in an early fifteenth-century English Book of Hours, Bodleian Library MS. Gough liturgy.3,⁵⁷ and along with *From stormy winds* these prayers suggest that by around 1500, the phrase ‘imperatrix inferni’ had achieved some currency in both Latin prayer and English courtly song.

⁵² Henry Noble MacCracken (ed.), *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, 2 vols (London: Trench, Trübner & Co. and Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 1911), i. 284.

⁵³ Theodor Erbe, *Mirk’s Festial: A Collection of Homilies by Johannes Mirkus (John Mirk)* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. for the Early English Text Society, 1905), 224. See also Oakes, *Ora pro nobis*, 169.

⁵⁴ See Benham, ‘Prince Arthur’, 463-467.

⁵⁵ See David Skinner, ‘Ave Maria, mater Dei’, *MT*, 138 (1997), 13-17.

⁵⁶ Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook*, 187.

⁵⁷ Skinner, ‘Ave Maria, mater Dei’, 17.

The use of the threefold title ‘Queen of Heaven, Empress of Hell, Lady of the World’ in *Ave Dei patris* is surely sufficient evidence to argue for an English authorship. This unsurprising conclusion provides the justification for more detailed consideration of the text’s precise origins within England.

virgo foeta... mater intacta These contrasting paradoxes, ‘fertile virgin... virginal mother’, are found in the sequence for the Octave of the Assumption, *Post partum virgo Maria*.

ut sol praelecta... sicut luna perpulchra This phrase is ultimately derived from Song of Songs 6:9, ‘quae est ista quae progreditur quasi aurora consurgens pulchra ut luna electa ut sol...’, ‘Who is she that goes forth like the rising dawn, lovely as the moon, eminent as the sun...?’ This verse was a very common source of material for the Assumption liturgy. In a slightly adapted form it is found in two Benedictus antiphons for the Assumption, *Quae est ista* and *Virgo prudentissima*. The prefixes *prae-* and *per-*, as found in *Ave Dei patris*, simply add emphasis to the adjectives they accompany. They are also a common addition in earlier material: the sequence *Area virga primae*, for Mass on the feast of the Assumption, has the line ‘perpulchra ut luna’, while *Ave praeclara maris stella*, for the feast’s Octave, has ‘praelecta ut sol’.

Salve parens inclita enixa puerpera The Introit for Mass of the Vigil of the Assumption, and for Lady Mass from the Purification to Advent, is *Salve sancta parens*: ‘Salve sancta parens enixa puerpera regem, qui caelum terramque regit in saecula saeculorum’, ‘Hail holy parent, who laboured to give birth to the king, who rules heaven and earth for ever and ever.’ The sequence *Post partum virgo Maria*, for the Octave of the Assumption, has the line ‘Salve parens inclita felix puerpera’, ‘Hail, illustrious parent, fortunate mother’. The line ‘Salve parens inclita enixa puerpera’ is a portmanteau of these two similar sentences.

stella maris praefulgida felix caeli porta This is a paraphrase of the first stanza of *Ave maris stella*.

Esto nobis... gloria This is an extract from the antiphon that traditionally followed *Gaude flore virginali* in Books of Hours, *O sponsa sancta et humilis*. Together, the prayer, antiphon, a short versicle and response and a concluding prayer formed a complete devotion to the Seven Spiritual Joys of the Virgin. One Book of Hours printed in 1528 gives the antiphon and response as follows:

O sponsa sancta et humilis virgo pulcherrima maria mater dei/ virgo electa: *esto michi via recta/ ad eterna gaudia/ ubi pax est et gloria*: et nos semper aure pia dulcis exaudi maria. V. Exaltata es sancta dei genitrix. R. super choros angelorum ad celestia regna.⁵⁸

Earlier examples of the antiphon in two different versions have been found by Noël Bisson.⁵⁹ The version quoted in *Ave Dei patris* has its origins in the thirteenth century or even earlier: it appears in the manuscript fragment Worcester Cathedral Library Additional 68, frag. xxix in a shorter form, as follows:

O sponsa dei electa
Esto nobis via recta
Ad eterna gaudia
Ubi pax & gloria
Tu nos se[m]p[er] aure pia
Dulcis exaudi Maria.⁶⁰

The variation between sources of *mihi* and *nobis* is not significant, since it is the kind of change a scribe might be able to make depending on the context of the prayer's use. It makes perfect sense for *Ave Dei patris* to use the *nobis* form, since it is a polyphonic piece designed for performance by a group.

As mentioned above, in rhetorical terms this stanza forms the second section of *Ave Dei patris*, the *postulatio* or petition. *Gaude flore virginali* lacks a *postulatio*—it is pure *captatio*, praising the Virgin's power through the medium of her Joys. Instead, the antiphon *O sponsa sancta* or *O sponsa dei* fulfils the role of *postulatio*, as it also does in *Ave Dei patris*. It thus appears that the poet of *Ave Dei patris* purposefully appropriated a large section of an existing devotion in order to complete the structure of their own. It is especially significant that the poet should have chosen to use the antiphon associated with *Gaude flore virginali*, as through this addition, the seven-stanza structure of *Ave Dei patris* resonates with the seven joys of the earlier prayer.

1.2.3. Conclusion: the internal evidence of the text

The anonymous poet or poets of *Ave Dei patris filia* had access to a variety of literary and liturgical sources, varying from the extremely familiar to the somewhat obscure. These

⁵⁸ *Enchiridion p[re]clare ecclesie Sarum* (Paris: Thielmann Kerver, 1528), Newcastle University, Robinson Library ROB 325, f. 65^r. My emphasis.

⁵⁹ Bisson, 'English Polyphony for the Virgin Mary', 86-8.

⁶⁰ f. 2b^v. William J. Summers and Peter M. Lefferts, *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony: A Facsimile Edition*, EECM 57 (London: Stainer and Bell for the British Academy, 2016), 33, plate 192. See also Christopher Page, 'Marian Texts and Themes in an English Manuscript: A Miscellany in Two Parts', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 5 (1996), 34; Bisson, 'English Polyphony for the Virgin Mary', 88.

include well-known items from Marian liturgy and popular private devotion, sequences proper to specific Marian feasts (and therefore sung only once a year), phrases from contemporary English poetry, occasional Latin texts set by English composers, and Italian vernacular poetry by Dante in a popular Latin translation. The poet therefore seems to have been not only well-versed in the Sarum liturgy and popular devotions to the Virgin, but also familiar with vernacular literary trends and current styles of Marian antiphon composition, and they appear to have had access to more scholarly arenas in which continental literature circulated. Overall, they favoured imagery relating to the Assumption, and modelled both the seven-stanza structure of their text and a substantial proportion of its content on the much earlier devotion *Gaude flore virginali*.

Already some institutions begin to suggest themselves as possible places of origin for *Ave Dei patris*. We can tell from their use of distinctive phrases also used by William Cornysh⁶¹ and Edmund Turges that the poet may have had links to London musical circles, and perhaps the Chapel Royal. The allusion to the Flemish prayer *Ave filia Dei patris* also points towards the royal household as a plausible context for the poem's composition. Throughout the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century there was a great deal of artistic and musical contact between the English court and those of the Low Countries. Many of Henry VII and Henry VIII's household musicians were Flemish, and the court was often visited by Flemish travelling minstrels.⁶² More pertinently, the book collection of Edward IV, later inherited by Henry VII and Henry VIII, included at least twenty-one manuscripts from the Burgundian Netherlands, an area which until 1477 encompassed the region around Amsterdam, the whole of modern Belgium and Luxembourg, and the counties of Hainault, Artois, Vermandois and Boulogne.⁶³ This collection was begun after the Yorkist restoration in 1471 and seems to have been mostly complete by 1480.⁶⁴ Edward was therefore collecting illuminated manuscripts from the Burgundian Netherlands around the time that *Cambrai 142*, with the prayer *Ave filia Dei patris*, was copied. It is possible that *Ave filia Dei patris* could

⁶¹ On the identity of the composers of music attributed to 'Cornysh', see David Skinner, 'William Cornysh: Clerk or Courtier?', *MT*, 138 (1997), 5-12.

⁶² On the Continental profile of Henry VII and Henry VIII's household musicians, see Theodor Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 63-86.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 15-16; Carley, *The Books of Henry VIII*, 40.

⁶⁴ James Carley (ed.), *The Libraries of Henry VIII* (London: British Library in association with the British Academy, 2000), 3.

have travelled to England in a book that became part of the royal collection, perhaps in one of the many now-lost ‘primers’ listed in Henry VIII’s inventories.

The reference to Serravalle’s translation of Dante’s *Paradiso*, discussed earlier, also invites questions concerning what sort of institution might have offered access to such a source. The three institutions known to have held copies at any time during the fifteenth century are Wells Cathedral, St Alban’s Abbey and Oxford University, while the royal court apparently did not possess one, suggesting that the most likely context in which Serravalle’s work might have been known can be characterised as monastic or collegiate, rather than courtly or aristocratic. If the poet did enjoy royal patronage, then, they also had connections to scholarly circles beyond the royal household.

1.3. External evidence for *Ave Dei patris*’s provenance

1.3.1. Textual responses: *Lauda vivi Alpha et Ω*

The text of Fayrfax’s Marian antiphon *Lauda vivi Alpha et Ω* is clearly modelled on that of *Ave Dei patris filia*.⁶⁵ Like *Ave Dei patris*, it is a non-metrical, stanzaic, Trinitarian text, which lists attributes of the Virgin Mary in groups of four grammatically parallel phrases, followed by a petition. However, unlike *Ave Dei patris*, it ends with a specific prayer for ‘Henrico octavo inclito’, ‘the illustrious Henry VIII’. As Nick Sandon has suggested, the rhythmic profile of the musical phrase precludes this reference having once been to ‘Henrico septimo’.⁶⁶ *Lauda vivi* therefore falls into the category of prayers for named members of Tudor royalty, which it shares with Fayrfax’s own *Aeternae laudis lilium*, the anonymous antiphon *Potentia patris* found in *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 34191,⁶⁷ and Gilbert Banaster’s *O Maria et Elizabeth*.⁶⁸ It is considerably more sophisticated in its vocabulary and expression than *Ave Dei patris*, and it does not contain the same concentration of quotations from other sources. Moreover, the poet of *Lauda vivi* added metrical sophistication by incorporating internal assonance within stanzas 2 and 3: between *spirantis*, *conspirantis* and *concordis*, and between *productoris*, *producti* and *procendentis*. This additional complexity and originality of content, combined with the increased specificity of the final petition, shows that *Lauda vivi* was

⁶⁵ Sandon, ‘The Henrician Partbooks Belonging to Peterhouse’, 184.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ On *Potentia patris*, see Gibbs, ‘England’s Most Christian King’.

⁶⁸ *O Maria et Elizabeth* ends with a prayer for a monarch and his family, but leaves a gap for the name of the monarch to be supplied in performance. Williamson, ‘Royal Image-Making’, 244.

Figure 1b. *Lauda vivi Alpha et Omega*: Text (version in *Ph*; spelling standardised) and translation

<p>Lauda <i>vivi Alpha et Omega</i> filia <i>supernissima</i> <i>vivique verbi</i> mater <i>splendidissima</i> <i>vivique flaminis</i> sponsa <i>immaculatissima</i> <i>vivique trinitatis et unitatis</i> ancilla <i>exaltatissima</i></p>	<p>Praise, <i>most heavenly</i> daughter of the living <i>Alpha and Omega</i>, and the <i>most splendid</i> mother of the living <i>Word</i>, and the <i>most faultless</i> bride of the living <i>Spirit</i> and the <i>most exalted</i> handmaid of the living <i>Three and One</i>.</p>
<p>Lauda <i>fortis spirantis</i> filia <i>notissima</i> <i>fortisque conspirantis</i> mater <i>mansuetissima</i> <i>fortisque conspirantis</i> sponsa <i>praemundissima</i> <i>fortisque concordis voluntatis</i> ancilla <i>glorificatissima</i></p>	<p>Praise, <i>most famous</i> daughter of the mighty <i>Living One</i> and the <i>most gentle</i> mother of the mighty <i>Fellowship</i> and the <i>most spotless</i> bride of the mighty <i>Fellowship</i> and the <i>most glorious</i> handmaid of the mighty <i>Harmony of Will</i>.</p>
<p>Lauda <i>immortalis productoris</i> filia <i>sacratissima</i> <i>immortalisque producti</i> mater <i>complacentissima</i> <i>immortalis procedentis</i> sponsa <i>inviolatissima</i> <i>immortalis celsique tonantis</i> ancilla <i>prefulgidissima</i></p>	<p>Praise, <i>most holy</i> daughter of the immortal <i>Creator</i> and the <i>most pleasing</i> mother of the immortal <i>Creature</i> <i>most inviolate</i> bride of the immortal <i>One Who Leads The Way</i> <i>most shining</i> handmaid of the immortal and lofty <i>Thunderer</i>.</p>
<p>Lauda <i>admirabilis gignentis</i> filia <i>innocentissima</i> <i>admirabilis fecunditatis</i> mater <i>mellifluissima</i> <i>admirabilis obumbrantis</i> sponsa <i>intemeratissima</i> <i>admirabilis et trini potestatis</i> ancilla <i>incomparabilissima</i></p>	<p>Praise, <i>most innocent</i> daughter of the admirable <i>Begetter</i> mother of the admirable <i>Fertility</i>, <i>richest in honey</i> <i>most chaste</i> bride of the admirable <i>Defender</i> <i>most incomparable</i> handmaid of the admirable and <i>threefold Power</i>.</p>
<p>Lauda <i>perhennis retributoris</i> filia <i>peramantissima</i> <i>perhennis restitutoris</i> mater <i>illuminatissima</i> <i>perhennisque infusoris</i> sponsa <i>fecundatissima</i> <i>perhennis uniusque essentiae</i> ancilla <i>prelaudatissima</i></p>	<p>Praise, <i>most beloved</i> daughter of the eternal <i>Avenger</i> <i>most enlightened</i> mother of the eternal <i>Restorer</i> <i>most fertile</i> bride of the eternal <i>Progenitor</i> <i>most venerated</i> handmaid of the eternal and unique <i>Essence</i>.</p>
<p>O rosa gratiae redolentissima O virga Jesse efflorentissima Jesum predulcem natum pro rege nostro ora, Henrico octavo inclito, ac implora optanda [triplex, contratenor, bassus; medius: eterna] illi semper dari gaudia nunc et tandem immarcessabilem gloriam, nosque tuos pios famulos salvifica [medius, triplex: adiuta] O precatrix et adiutrix benedicta O deipara, O deigena, O virgo Maria. Amen.</p>	<p>O most fragrant rose of grace O most blossoming root of Jesse Beseech your most sweet son Jesus on behalf of our king, the illustrious Henry VIII and ask that he always be given what he desires, joy at this time, and at the last, imperishable glory and save us, your dutiful servants. O intercessor and blessed helper O bearer of God, O mother of God, O virgin Mary. Amen.</p>

modelled on *Ave Dei patris* rather than the other way around: it appears that *Ave Dei patris*, a relatively simple, general-purpose text, has been ‘upgraded’ for a more specialised purpose by being rewritten as *Lauda vivi*.

Nick Sandon has suggested that ‘[the] grandiloquence of the poem, the inclusion of a lengthy prayer for the king and the huge scale of the musical setting suggest that the work was intended for a major state event, perhaps even to mark a coronation.’⁶⁹ The possibility that *Lauda vivi* may have been composed for the coronation of Henry VIII is tempting, but there is no evidence whatsoever either to prove or disprove the hypothesis, and there are no grounds on which to postulate a specific alternative occasion. It does seem likely, however, that the antiphon was originally composed for a royal event between 1509, the year of Henry VIII’s accession, and 1521, when Fayrfax died. At this time Fayrfax was in regular employment in the Chapel Royal. We know that Fayrfax was paid personally by members of the royal family on several occasions from 1502 onwards, both for specified services and at other times when no specific service is mentioned. He therefore had a professional relationship with the royal family over and above his regular employment with the Chapel Royal,⁷⁰ and it is likely that he would have been their first port-of-call if a large new occasional antiphon was required.

Further circumstantial evidence that *Lauda vivi* was intended as a royal occasional piece can be found in the fact that it remained in the repertoire of both the Chapel Royal and St George’s Chapel, Windsor, a royal foundation, into the late 1530s. The 1570 edition of John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* tells the story of the martyrdom of Robert Testwood, a singing-man of St George’s and an ardent religious reformer. On one occasion narrated by Foxe, Testwood and Robert Phillips, a member of the Chapel Royal from 1524 until about 1550, sang *Lauda vivi* together at St George’s.⁷¹ Foxe does not offer a date for this

⁶⁹ Sandon, ‘The Henrician Partbooks Belonging to Peterhouse’, 184.

⁷⁰ These include the payment made out of Elizabeth of York’s Privy Purse for the composition of *Aeternae laudis lilium* (see above, n. 10). Fayrfax was paid 10 shillings on 4 December 1504, for unspecified services to Lady Margaret Beaufort. He was paid again by her the sum of 6s 8d on 30 August 1507 ‘for brynging of my lade grace a newe masse’ (Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music* [Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995], viii. 2.) He was also charged with the board and education of two ‘scholars’ (perhaps children of the chapel), William Alderson and Arthur Lovekyn, from 1509-13. In the 1510s Fayrfax received an annuity from the king and a daily allowance of 12*d*, and was rewarded on five occasions for lavish New Year gifts to Henry VIII. Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, vii. 36-37; Nick Sandon, ‘Fayrfax [Fairfax], Robert (1464-1521), composer and church musician’, *ODNB*.

⁷¹ John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*, 1570 edition (Sheffield: HRI Online Publications, 2011), viii. 1427. Online access via <www.johnfoxe.org>, accessed 18 July 2015. On

performance, but Roger Bowers has suggested that it took place in about 1538, five years before Testwood's martyrdom in 1543.⁷² The account strongly implies that *Lauda vivi* was well-known to both singers at the time of performance, and if true it suggests that the antiphon remained a valued part of the repertoire of both royal foundations into the late 1530s.⁷³

If *Lauda vivi* was originally written for a specific royal occasion, why did the poet decide to model it on *Ave Dei patris filia*? It cannot have been a labour-saving device, since beyond the repetition of the words *mater, filia, sponsa, ancilla* the poems are very different. Indeed, despite its greater length, *Ave Dei patris*, with its list of highly stereotyped epithets and quotations, must have been quicker to write than the self-consciously extravagant *Lauda vivi*. Because of the different approaches evident in the composition of the texts—one relying on quotation from other sources, the other more original in scope—we cannot say with certainty that the same poet composed both. It seems, rather, that the writer of *Lauda vivi* deliberately adopted the formula of *Ave Dei patris* because it was appropriate for or had some association with the context for which they were writing. The likely conclusion is that Fayrfax's setting of *Ave Dei patris* had been originally composed either for a specific royal occasion or for more general-purpose use in Chapel Royal services, and the poet of *Lauda vivi* either was commissioned or decided to write a work alluding to it later on.

1.3.2. Chronology

The surviving sources of Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris filia* strongly point to a date of composition early in the first decade of the sixteenth century.⁷⁴ This is based on the evidence of the earliest extant source of Fayrfax's setting, *Carver*, a choirbook known principally as a source of

Phillips, see Roger Bowers, 'Phillips, Robert (b. 1499x1502, d. in or after 1553), musician', *ODNB*. See also Bowers, 'Documentary Synthesis', *EM*, 27 (1999), 482; Magnus Williamson, 'Evangelicalism at Boston, Oxford and Windsor under Henry VIII: John Foxe's Narratives Recontextualized', in David Loades (ed.), *John Foxe at Home and Abroad* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 37-43.

⁷² Bowers, 'Phillips, Robert'.

⁷³ On Foxe's veracity see below, p. 84 n. 76. See also Thomas Freeman, 'Texts, Lies, and Microfilm: Reading and Misreading Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 1999 (30), 23-46.

⁷⁴ *Pace* Hugh Benham, who suggests that it dates from after 1513, when the text first appeared in an extant Book of Hours. However, as explained in the following chapter (pp. 99-100), the published text is significantly different from that set by Fayrfax. Hugh Benham, *John Taverner* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 66, 95, 295 n. 12.

music by the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth-century Scottish composer Robert Carver;⁷⁵ sections of the manuscript were also copied by him. It represents the growing repertoire of the Chapel Royal at Stirling, of which Carver was a member.⁷⁶

According to a palaeographical study by the late Isobel Woods, *Carver* was compiled between 1503 and 1548, perhaps later, with a fragmentary setting of Psalm 1 added after 1560.⁷⁷ However, the circumstances surrounding the copying of *Ave Dei patris* and the pieces surrounding it were somewhat peculiar and allow them to be fairly precisely dated. The Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium*, attributed to Carver in his own handwriting, appears from the evidence of the manuscript marginalia to have been begun and partly copied in 1508 but not completed until 1511 at the earliest and certainly by 1513.⁷⁸ From the evidence of the ink colours, Woods judged that *Ave Dei patris filia* was also copied in two stages, the first two and last two pages copied at the same time as *Aeternae laudis lilium* which precedes it, and the remainder added later.⁷⁹ We can thus extrapolate from Woods's findings that the copyist encountered an interruption as they were working on *Ave Dei patris*, probably the completion of the Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium*, dated by Woods to 1511, whose copying was completed in the same ink as the first layer of *Ave Dei patris*. The second layer of *Ave Dei patris* is in the same ink as *Vos quoque sancti patriarche*, a litany setting for James IV who died in 1513,⁸⁰ and the date 1513 in the margin of the Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium*. *Ave Dei patris* must therefore have been copied into *Carver* before 1513, and most likely in 1511.

1511 was a most unpropitious year for English music to find its way to the Scottish Chapel Royal, whose repertoire *Carver* represents. Political relations between England and Scotland were at this time outwardly cordial but nonetheless strained. In November 1511 Henry VIII allied himself with the Holy League against the French, and he invaded France

⁷⁵ Isobel Paterson Woods, 'The Carver Choirbook' (PhD dissertation: Princeton University, 1984). See also Kenneth Elliott, 'The Carver Choir-Book', *M&L*, 41 (1960), 349-357, and Denis Stevens, 'The Manuscript Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. Ms. 5. 1. 15', *MD*, 13 (1959), 155-167; Isobel Woods Preece, *Our Awin Scottis Use: Music in the Scottish Church up to 1603*, ed. Sally Harper (Glasgow: Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, 2000), part II. No more up-to-date study of *Carver* exists, and Woods's findings have not been significantly revised or revisited.

⁷⁶ Carver's identity and institutional affiliation have not been uncontroversial: see Woods Preece, *Our Awin Scottis Use*, 126-8.

⁷⁷ Woods, 'The Carver Choirbook', 152.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 17, 213.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 121, 146-8.

twice over the next two years, once by proxy in 1512 and in person in 1513.⁸¹ According to the ‘Auld Alliance’, formed in 1295, if Henry made war against either France or Scotland the other would attack him in response, so that declaring war against one nation automatically meant that he was at war with the other, and the resulting tension with Scotland culminated in the Battle of Brainston Moor in September 1513. Following the battle the border between England and Scotland was closed, but crossing it had been dangerous for some years beforehand. We have no documentary evidence that any English musicians travelled to Stirling during the late 1500s and 1510s, although there is evidence that they travelled later in the sixteenth century and in the years before 1503.⁸² It is thus hard to imagine how *Ave Dei patris* could have been copied into *Carver* unless it had arrived in Scotland some years beforehand.

Woods writes that the most likely opportunity for both *Ave Dei patris* and its companion piece, *Aeternae laudis lilium*, to have travelled to Stirling was in the hands of musicians in the retinue of Margaret Tudor, as she made her way through the north of England to meet her new husband, James IV.⁸³ Taking all the evidence above into account, especially the royal associations of both pieces, this seems an extremely likely possibility. There was an enormous influx of English musicians into Scotland at the same time as Margaret arrived, albeit none of them singers.⁸⁴ We can therefore infer, based on the surviving sources, that the text and music of Robert Fayrfax’s *Ave Dei patris* cannot have been written for any occasion later than Margaret Tudor’s marriage. This accords well with Edwin Warren’s stylistic dating of the piece to c. 1500-1502.⁸⁵

This early date for Fayrfax’s *Ave Dei patris* makes it almost certain that he was the first named composer to have set this text. Tallis is thought to have been born around 1505, and Merbecke within a few years later, after the composition of Fayrfax’s piece. John Taverner is believed to have been born in the 1490s, too late to have composed his ambitious setting before 1503; indeed, he may even have been born later than this, as no documentary

⁸¹ For Henry VIII’s foreign policy in the early 1510s, see R. B. Wernham, *Before the Armada: The Growth of English Foreign Policy 1485-1588* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1966), ch. 6; J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 2nd edn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), ch. 2; David Loades, *Henry VIII* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2011), chs 2 and 3; Gibbs, ‘England’s Most Christian King’.

⁸² Woods, ‘The Carvor Choirbook’, 127-130.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 127-9.

⁸⁵ Warren, ‘Motets and Settings of the Magnificat’, 114-5.

evidence of his musical employment survives before the mid-1520s. Robert Johnson is the least well-documented of all these composers, but was still alive and actively composing under Edward VI and, as discussed in the following chapter, probably under Mary I as well, so was almost certainly considerably younger than Fayrfax.⁸⁶ In addition, as chapter 2 will argue, the style and sources of his *Ave Dei patris* suggest it was by far the latest of the surviving settings. The setting in *Lambeth*, whose only extant source dates from the early 1520s, was perhaps composed earlier than 1503, but this seems unlikely. Nick Sandon has suggested that it may have been composed by Walter Lambe.⁸⁷ If this is the case it could well have predated Fayrfax's setting and indeed provided the source of Fayrfax's text, since Lambe occupied a prominent post as *informator choristarum* and later singing-man of St George's Chapel until at least 1504. Lambe's authorship, however, rests on a series of very tenuous stylistic features. In addition, the *Lambeth Ave Dei patris* is musically unrelated to the others, which are closely based on Fayrfax's setting: its possible early date thus does not affect the status of Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris* as the archetype of its compositional tradition.

1.4. Political resonances

The original performance context of Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris filia* is unknown. Unlike, for example, *Aeternae laudis lilium* or Gilbert Banaster's *O Maria et Elizabeth*, which allude to the story of the Visitation,⁸⁸ the text does not obviously refer to any Marian feast. There is a noticeable emphasis on Assumption themes in the language of the poem, but nothing overt enough to suggest the Assumption as the only possible context. However, if, as suggested above, *Ave Dei patris* originated as an occasional text for a royal celebration, it would have resonated powerfully with concerns of the English monarchy around 1500. In particular, it may have been interpreted as a comment on the role of a queen or a princess in the political and dynastic endeavours of the royal family, thanks to a well-established late-medieval discourse which symbolically connected English queens to the Virgin Mary.

Yorkist and Tudor queens often alluded to the Virgin Mary in their visual self-presentation, in order to claim for themselves her unparalleled beauty, nobility, and perpetual

⁸⁶ On Tallis's date of birth, see below, ch. 2, p. 80; on Merbecke's, see ch. 2, p. 85 n. 78; on the date of Johnson's setting, see ch. 2, pp. 91-9. On Taverner's date of birth see Benham, *Taverner*, 5-6.

⁸⁷ Sandon (ed.), *The Lambeth Anonymous: Ave dei patris filia*, Antico Edition RCM32 (Newton Abbot: Antico Edition, 2006), iii-iv.

⁸⁸ Williamson, 'Royal Image-Making', 238, 245-6, 270.

virginity. Until the accession of Mary I in 1553 as England's first queen regnant, a queen by definition could not be a virgin, since her status was afforded to her through marriage. However, it was customary for fifteenth-century queens to make use of the visual trappings of virginity at their coronations and during the accompanying pageantry, by wearing their hair loose beneath their crowns like an unmarried girl or a bride.⁸⁹ After their coronations, they were often depicted with loose hair whenever they wore their crowns, apparently alluding to the Virgin Mary's role as Queen of Heaven. The practice of alluding to a queen's virginity at her coronation continued into the sixteenth century. Helen Hackett has traced the extensive Marian imagery used in the pageantry accompanying the coronation of Anne Boleyn, at which she was about five months pregnant, which emphasised Anne's supposed simultaneous chastity and fecundity. This was a paradox apparently reconciled only in the Virgin, and in the phrase 'virgo foeta... mater intacta' it is exploited to the full by the author of *Ave Dei patris*. According to Hackett, the invocation of this paradox at Anne's coronation 'appears to be generated both by mere convention as to the virtues to be praised in a queen, and by a purposeful evocation of the virgin birth.'⁹⁰ By presenting themselves as, so to speak, 'honorary virgins', even whilst married or visibly pregnant, Yorkist and Tudor queens thus aligned their marriages with those of the Virgin, both her earthly marriage to Joseph (which was said to have been unconsummated), and her spiritual marriage to Christ. It is not at all far-fetched that a prayer text could be devised translating this visual parallel between the Virgin and a queen (or future queen) of England into words.

Similar comparisons between a future queen and the Virgin Mary can be seen in the pageantry held to celebrate the marriage of Katherine of Aragon and Prince Arthur in 1501. On Friday 12 November, two days before the wedding ceremony, Katherine entered the City of London greeted by a series of pageants. One surviving poem from the first of these, read by the figure of 'St Katherine', describes her as a bride of Christ:

And as I holpe you to Crist your first make,
So have I purveyed a secunde spouse trewe,
But ye for him the first shal not forsake;

⁸⁹ Joanna L. Chamberlayne, 'Crowns and Virgins: Queenmaking during the Wars of the Roses', in Katherine J. Lewis, Noël James Menuge and Kim M. Phillips (eds), *Young Medieval Women* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 56; see also Chamberlayne, 'English Queenship 1445-1503' (D.Phil. thesis: University of York, 1999), 81, 85-6, 91.

⁹⁰ Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*, 31, 29-34.

Love your firste spouse chef, and aftir that your newe...⁹¹

The role of 'bride of Christ' afforded to Katherine in this text was associated not only with the Virgin Mary, but also with committed virgins, including nuns and virgin martyrs.⁹² However, the speech also reveals that Katherine's marriage to Arthur did not entail a severing of this first bond to Christ. Even after her marriage, she retained the virgin's privilege thanks to her royal husband's unique kinship with the Godhead. This created an obvious parallel with the Virgin, who, like Katherine in this text, also had two husbands, one earthly and one divine.

The connection between Katherine and the Virgin was made more explicit in the fifth pageant, in a poem read by a 'Prelate of the Chirche'. This text symbolically aligns the marriage of Katherine and Arthur with the figure of Christ and the mystery of the Incarnation:

... the moost convenient wise
For manys Redempcion was thought to be than
The maryage of God to the nature of man.

This mariage was so secret a mystery
That oure Blissid Savyour, Crist Jhesus,
Compared it to a maryage erthely,
To make it appiere more open and pleyn to us
By a parabill or symylitude, seyeng thus:
The Kyng of Heven is like an erthely kyng
That to his sonne prepareth a weddyng.⁹³

Here Katherine is likened to the human element in a union of the divine and the human, a metaphorical marriage, in which the dual natures of Christ are joined in one body: the 'maryage of God to the nature of Man'. Arthur represents the divine, which mingles equally with the human in the body of Christ, and Henry VII represents God, the King of Heaven, overseeing the joining together of these two natures. Katherine's role in her marriage was thus described as exactly that of the Virgin in the Incarnation, uniting with the Holy Spirit in order to conceive Christ, who takes his two natures equally from her and from God. Rather than

⁹¹ Gordon Kipling (ed.), *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 1990), 14.

⁹² Nuns were referred to as 'brides of Christ' on their consecration, which prevented them from taking a husband later on. See Silvia Evangelisti, 'Wives, Widows, and Brides of Christ: Marriage and the Convent in the Historiography of Early Modern Italy', *The Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), 246-7; Thomas Head, 'The Marriages of Christina of Markyate', *Viator*, 21 (1990), 75; Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 128-130; Dyan Elliott, *The Bride of Christ Goes to Hell: Metaphor and Embodiment in the Lives of Pious Women 200-1500* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 65-66; Carolyn Diskant Muir, 'St Agnes of Rome as a Bride of Christ: A Northern European Phenomenon, c. 1450-1520', *Simiolus*, 31 (2004-5), 134-155.

⁹³ Kipling (ed.), *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, 30. This text has also been analysed by Joanna Chamberlayne; see Chamberlayne, 'Crowns and Virgins', 53-4.

being merely the bride of Christ—a role shared with all virgins—Katherine became the means through which he enters the world. This is a unique status shared only with the Virgin Mary.

As we have seen, royal women derived a quasi-divine status, symbolically akin to that of the Virgin Mary, through their marriages. *Ave Dei patris filia* could therefore have been intended as a comment on the role of a royal woman, either a princess or a queen. If the description of the Virgin in *Ave Dei patris* is supposed to refer also to a real Tudor queen, the text allows us to make certain assumptions about her family background. The poem read at Katherine of Aragon's wedding shows that kings could be symbolically likened to God, the 'Kyng of Heven'. The woman referred to in *Ave Dei patris filia* could therefore have derived her status partly from being the daughter of such a king. Taking this allegorical interpretation further, the reference to her as 'mother of God the Son' alludes to the queen's capacity to give birth to a male heir who could become king later on. As shown above, Katherine of Aragon's role in her marriage to Arthur was likened to the Virgin's role in the birth of Christ. Finally, she is also described as the bride of God the Spirit. The woman referred to in *Ave Dei patris* was therefore both the daughter, mother, and bride of a king. Crucially, it seems that her status was derived equally from all these family relationships, not only from her marriage.

Ave Dei patris filia's constant references to the Virgin Mary's familial relationships to the Trinity chimes with Henry VII's desire for dynastic stability and security and the potential of his queen, and their children, to provide it. Suitable marriages allowed Tudor monarchs to secure and legitimise their reigns both by forming political alliances, and crucially, by producing legitimate heirs. This was a concern not only to Henry VII, a Lancastrian with dubious claims to the throne who had usurped the crown from the reigning Yorkist dynasty, but even to his son Henry VIII, whose mother had been the daughter of Edward IV. Resentment against Henry Tudor's rule had grown throughout the last decade of his reign, and the new king took drastic measures on his accession to distance himself from his father's regime, arresting and executing two of his father's fiscal enforcers, Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley 'as a sop to public feeling'.⁹⁴ Henry VII therefore had to craft his children's marriage alliances carefully, since the security of his family's rule depended on their generation as much as it had done on his. Dynastic security was a concern in music by royal composers of the period, as shown in Magnus Williamson's analysis of *O Maria et Elizabeth*,

⁹⁴ Christine Carpenter, 'Henry VII and the English Polity', in Benjamin Thompson (ed.), *The Reign of Henry VII: Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995), 16-17; David Loades, *Henry VIII* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2011), 51-53.

by Gilbert Banaster, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal. Williamson suggests that this piece was written in 1486 to celebrate Elizabeth of York's first pregnancy, which, it was hoped, would secure the Tudor lineage by providing a male heir to the throne.⁹⁵

Several women close to Henry VII around 1500 fulfilled all the attributes of the woman described in *Ave Dei patris*. His wife, Elizabeth of York, was the mother of his heirs, but she was also heiress in her own right of her father, Edward IV, following the disappearance of his two sons in 1483. Arguably, it was through his marriage to Elizabeth that Henry gained royal status, not the other way round. Henry's daughter Margaret, married to the King of Scots in 1503, and his daughter-in-law Katherine of Aragon also fulfil the relevant criteria.

Moreover, Robert Fayrfax, who appears to have set *Ave Dei patris* in or before 1503, enjoyed the patronage of the royal women closest to Henry VII: his wife Elizabeth of York, and his mother Margaret Beaufort.⁹⁶ The evidence of *Carver* suggests that his music travelled to Scotland under the influence of another royal woman, Princess Margaret. He was well-connected to the court both by his membership of the Chapel Royal and his personal associations with the royal family. His antiphon *Lauda vivi* is probably royal in origin and remained in the repertory of royal foundations late into the reign of Henry VIII. These royal connections, the clear symbolism of *Ave Dei patris*, its allusions to royal dynasty-building and the role of a queen, and its close relationship to *Lauda vivi*, all suggest that Fayrfax composed the antiphon for a royal woman: the daughter and wife of a king.

I have already discussed the potential pitfalls which surround the dating of votive antiphons through the analysis of their texts. With this caveat in mind, having already considered the possible milieu in which the text may have been compiled, and the kinds of interpretations it may have received when it was first written, it is now possible to suggest a plausible context in which an early performance of *Ave Dei patris*, or even the very first, may have taken place: the marriage of Katherine of Aragon and Prince Arthur in November 1501. The text's references to the role of the ideal woman within the family; the likely dating of Fayrfax's setting to shortly before 1503; the use of Marian imagery, especially that connected to the marriages of the Virgin, by Yorkist and Tudor queens; and the close connections between the content of the text and the pageantry surrounding the 1501 marriage have been

⁹⁵ The baby grew up to become Prince Arthur.

⁹⁶ See n. 70, above; see also Collingwood, 'Methods of Analysing Early Tudor Sacred Polyphony', i. 23-25.

discussed above. Two more factors make this marriage a plausible context. Firstly, the Trinitarian content of *Ave Dei patris* mean that it would have been appropriate for celebrating a wedding, since the Use of Sarum prescribed a Mass of the Trinity to follow the consecration of a marriage, and marriage was closely associated with the Trinity in both Latin and vernacular writing throughout the medieval period.⁹⁷ Secondly, the marriage of Katherine and Arthur took place in St Paul's Cathedral, an institution to which Fayrfax is known to have been connected through his involvement with its Guild of the Holy Name of Jesus.⁹⁸ His links to the Chapel Royal, the royal family, and the location of the marriage itself would have made him an ideal candidate to provide music for the marriage service.

The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne, a principal source of information on the marriage dated by Gordon Kipling to between August 1502 and February 1503,⁹⁹ contains several references to the singing of antiphons, any of which could have been *Ave Dei patris*. The most compelling of these is found in the fifth pageant held the day before the marriage ceremony. It is here that the comparisons between Arthur and Katherine's marriage and the Incarnation of Christ, described above, appear. The pageant, which took place on Cheapside, opened with an image of God seated on his throne in heaven, surrounded by angels, 'singing full armoneously as it had been in a chirche with a swete and a solempne noyse'.¹⁰⁰ This implies that the style of music used in this performance was more associated with divine service than with civic pageantry, and the description of the music as 'solemn' and the style of singing as 'harmonious' suggests that the music being described was polyphonic. Professional singers, perhaps from St Paul's, would have been needed for such a performance, in order properly to evoke the sound of a church choir. If *Ave Dei patris* was sung during this pageant, it would have occupied a position analogous to that of *Vox patris caelestis*, as argued by John Milsom, in the pageantry that preceded Mary I's coronation.

This suggested contextualisation is, of course, provisional, but it provides an explanation of the textual features and content of *Ave Dei patris*, and the evident popularity that resulted firstly in its travelling to Scotland with Margaret Tudor, its adaptation into *Lauda vivi Alpha et Omega*, and subsequently, its many imitations. The explanation is plausible thanks to

⁹⁷ M. Teresa Tavormina, 'Kindly Similitude: Langland's Matrimonial Trinity', *Modern Philology*, 80 (1982), 117.

⁹⁸ Fayrfax gave at least one book of music to the Guild and may have also composed polyphony for use in its Jesus Masses. See Mateer and New, "'In Nomine Jesu'", 507-519.

⁹⁹ Kipling (ed.), *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, xliii.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

what is known of Fayrfax's biography, his personal and professional links to the royal family and his connection to St Paul's.¹⁰¹ The suggestion that *Ave Dei patris* may have been written in the second half of 1501 for a first performance during the marriage celebrations of Katherine of Aragon and Prince Arthur is intended principally as a hypothesis to be tested and challenged, in the hope that by questioning and refining it our understanding of Henrician polyphony, and the methodology we use to study it, may increase.

1.5. The epistemological status of the votive antiphon: some considerations

The contextualisation of a piece of early-Tudor polyphony invites questions surrounding the way in which we study late-medieval and Henrician votive antiphons, and especially antiphon texts. As I suggested earlier, the lack of alternative sources of evidence has encouraged scholars to devise narratives that pin votive antiphons down to particular events, usually royal or courtly in character, using their texts. But, although our urge to contextualise may have arisen from necessity, it is now time to step back and ask questions not only of the kind of cultural work these antiphons may have carried out at the time of their composition, but also of the way we study them, and how our methodology affects our perception of their cultural role. Why were votive antiphons written, what did their performance achieve, and is the way in which they are currently studied likely to lead to the best possible understanding of these goals?

The first of these three questions is easy to answer in general terms, but extremely difficult to extrapolate to specific examples. In an influential study of the social politics of fifteenth-century composition, Roger Bowers has argued that late-medieval English composers were not generally subject to 'patronage' relationships in the way that their mainland European contemporaries were. On the one hand, he points out that very little evidence survives of any specific orders for compositions by ecclesiastical institutions, and suggests that '[the] nature of much of the fifteenth-century repertory is, with the possible exception of some settings of votive antiphons, conspicuous for the fact that the existence of the music cannot be explained in terms of its having to satisfy some particular function which

¹⁰¹ The possibility that *Ave Dei patris* was written for the choir of St Paul's Cathedral is intriguing in light of the 'close affinity' noted by Edward Warren between the antiphon and Fayrfax's Mass and Magnificat *O bone Jesu*, particularly their similarities of mode, clefs, vocal tessitura and motif. Warren, 'Motets and Settings of the Magnificat', 126.

the composer's employer required and intended it to serve.¹⁰² As a consequence, he argues that 'the relationship between the composer and his employer... could be described less as that of patron and client than as one of plain *laissez-faire*.'¹⁰³ This conclusion is supported by the findings of Jeffrey Dean, who argues that around 1500 mainland European composers produced music independently of any requirements imposed on them by the Church.¹⁰⁴ However, Bowers also contrasts this relationship between the composer and his institution, with his relationship to the laity or high-ranking clerical individuals, and shows that it was as a direct result of lay, aristocratic or episcopal benefaction that churches acquired both the reason and the means to perform votive antiphons such as *Ave Dei patris*.¹⁰⁵ As has already been seen in the case of Robert Fayrfax, there is ample evidence of composers nominally employed by the Church receiving additional remuneration from lay patrons who presumably had either requested, or received as a gift, occasional compositions from them.

Therefore, the crucial question is whether *Ave Dei patris*, and pieces like it, were more likely composed in response to lay or episcopal patronage, or in a spirit of *laissez-faire*. This is difficult to answer. Indeed, as we have seen, at present the only way to approach this question is creatively and imaginatively to interrogate each text for its potential to carry politicised or allegorical readings. The assumption inherent in all such studies of votive antiphon texts is that if they are able to support an allegorical interpretation which hints at an identifiable political event, they can reliably be assumed to have been commissioned for or inspired by that event.

The advantages of analysing antiphon texts in this way are by no means negligible. It cannot be stressed enough that this form of analysis is often the only means of reliably dating early Tudor polyphony, and identifying specific performances of a particular piece enables scholars to discern how it was heard and interpreted at a particular stage in its reception by a specific audience. But opportunities to pin the composition of individual votive antiphons down to a time and place by means of their texts remain rare and serendipitous; votive antiphons are still generally considered to have been repertory pieces, sung interchangeably as

¹⁰² Roger Bowers, 'Obligation, Agency and *laissez-faire*: the Promotion of Polyphonic Composition for the Church in Fifteenth-Century England', in Iain Fenlon (ed.), *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 1-20 at 16.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁰⁴ Jeffrey Dean, 'Listening to Sacred Polyphony c. 1500', *EM*, 25 (1997), 614-620, 624.

¹⁰⁵ Bowers, 'Obligation, Agency and *laissez-faire*', 5-10.

part of the daily round of worship, as their sources suggest. With the probable exception of the manuscript *GB-Lbl* MS Royal 11 E. xi, perhaps compiled to celebrate the arrival of Henry VIII's sister Mary in England in 1516,¹⁰⁶ and the manuscript additions to the processional *B.1852*, probably copied for the procession held at the feast of the Conversion of St Paul on 27 January 1555,¹⁰⁷ no extant music manuscript from Tudor England can be confidently attributed to a specific event. All other manuscripts represent the regular repertoire of their institutions, sung daily or weekly, as is clear from, for example, the inclusion of Banaster's *O Maria et Elizabeth* in *Eton*, copied fifteen years or so after the event for which it was composed. There is a danger that the more prominent a status we afford to votive antiphon texts, and the more creative and playful our readings of them become, the less they are seen as repertory pieces and the more as occasional works designed to make a political statement—similar to the antiphons dating from the 1550s which will be discussed in chapter 3. Treating Henrician votive antiphons as occasional works with deliberately allusive texts, and studying them primarily with this cultural role in mind, shifts their epistemological status away from that which would have been assumed or recognised by the majority of their sixteenth-century singers and hearers both before and after the Henrician, Edwardian and Elizabethan Reformations. In fact the meaning that *Ave Dei patris* carried at the moment of its creation and first performance was only a tiny part of the significance which it held during the sixteenth century, and which led to its long survival after the Reformation. Consequently the high esteem in which it was held among Elizabethan copyists cannot be fully understood without prior investigation of its Henrician reception, the subject of the following chapter.

1.6. Conclusions

Ave Dei patris would have resonated profoundly with royal listeners at the turn of the sixteenth century. It can be read as an exploration of the role and attributes of the ideal late-medieval queen, and in aligning her figuratively with the Virgin Mary, it continues the construction of parallels between queens and the Virgin prevalent in Yorkist and Tudor discourse. Understanding that *Ave Dei patris* was probably written by a poet with court contacts, and presumably contacts with Fayrfax himself, narrows the field considerably in our search for where the text was produced. The poet was well-read: they knew the poetry of Dante in its Latin translation, which could not be expected from a late-medieval poet working

¹⁰⁶ See Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court*, 143-7.

¹⁰⁷ Williamson, 'Queen Mary I... and a Latin Litany', 261-2.

only in aristocratic circles. They were also very well-versed in the Marian liturgy, more so than a person would be from studying a Book of Hours alone. They were certainly English, yet they had access to prayers of Flemish origin. We can infer, then, that they had links both to scholarly (if not humanistic in the Italian sense), perhaps monastic, and court circles. One obvious possibility is Fayrfax himself. There is no reason why he could not have written his own poetry, especially given the close connections between the text of *Ave Dei patris* and his later work *Lauda vivi*. He is also a likely possibility because of his connection to St Alban's,¹⁰⁸ where, it seems, a copy of Serravalle's Dante was housed. (Any time spent in Oxford before gaining his doctorate post-dates the composition of *Ave Dei patris*.) He would not be the first or the last Chapel Royal singing-man to be also a poet: both original works and translations survive by Gilbert Banaster, and Fayrfax's own contemporary William Cornysh 'Junior' wrote theatrical works for the boys in his charge. In addition, taking into account all the available evidence, including a politicised, allegorical reading of the *Ave Dei patris* text, I have suggested that the antiphon may originally have been performed during the pageantry surrounding the marriage of Katherine of Aragon and Prince Arthur in November 1501.

Interrogating the origins of the text in this way is not without its historiographical problems, and poses important questions about the epistemological status of the votive antiphon both in the sixteenth century and today. To the majority of sixteenth-century audiences the antiphon's political meaning at the time of its composition must have had little or no effect on their reading of it. In the case of Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris* these readings are easily accessible thanks in part to its many imitators. The likely royal origins of *Ave Dei patris* go some way towards explaining its many musical imitations, as they could not have been made without its having been well transmitted and having acquired a degree of musical authority. But these imitations, too, had a profound effect on the antiphon's meaning and signification to future generations of readers, listeners, performers and copyists. The following chapter will explore the responses to Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris* by four younger composers, John Taverner, Thomas Tallis, John Merbecke and Robert Johnson.

¹⁰⁸ Collingwood, 'Methods of Analysing Early Tudor Sacred Polyphony', 31-33.

Chapter 2. ‘A patriarchis preconizata’: The seven surviving *Ave Dei patris filia* settings

2.1. Introduction

Of the seven surviving settings of *Ave Dei patris filia*, Fayrfax’s is the only one which—as was demonstrated in the previous chapter—can be dated with certainty to before 1510.¹ The others can be assumed to postdate this, primarily because the composers to whom settings are attributed were all considerably younger than Fayrfax. This chapter will assess each piece in turn, and argues that with the exception of the anonymous settings, all the later *Ave Dei patris* settings reveal that their composers were well acquainted with Fayrfax’s setting of the text. The extensive similarities between Fayrfax’s and later settings moreover suggest a practice of deliberate modelling or emulation. Fayrfax’s *Ave Dei patris filia* must therefore have held a privileged position among musicians of the early sixteenth century, consistent with the royal associations of the text discussed in the previous chapter.

The study of aspects of musical borrowing, including the practice of modelling newly composed pieces on pre-existing works, plays a prominent part in Renaissance music historiography.² However, despite the existence of a strong scholarly tradition surrounding

¹ Throughout this chapter the reader is referred to the editions of Fayrfax’s, Johnson’s, and Tallis’s *Ave Dei patris* settings in Appendix 1 of this thesis; Hugh Benham’s edition of Taverner’s setting in Taverner, *Votive antiphons*, EECM 25 (London: Stainer and Bell for the British Academy, 1981), 1-31; and Nick Sandon’s editions of Merbecke’s setting, Antico Edition RCM124 (Newton Abbot: Antico Edition, 2002) and of ‘Lambeth Anonymous’s setting, Antico Edition RCM32 (Newton Abbot: Antico Edition, 2006).

² For example, Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (eds), *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005); Honey Meconi (ed.), *Early Musical Borrowing* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Andrew Kirkman, ‘“Faisant regretz pour ma dolente vie”: Piety, Polyphony and Musical Borrowing’, in Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass: Medieval Context to Modern Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Cristle Collins Judd, ‘Multi-Layered Models: Compositional Approaches in the 1540s to *Si bona suscepimus*’, in Owen Rees and Bernadette Nelson (eds), *Cristóbal de Morales: Sources, Influences, Reception* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 123-140. For articles that discuss musical borrowing as a Renaissance phenomenon, see especially Howard Mayer Brown, ‘Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance’, *JAMS*, 35 (1982), 1-48. Of specific repertoires which make especial use of musical borrowing, the *L’homme armé* Mass tradition has received by far the most attention. See, for example, Lewis Lockwood, ‘Aspects of the ‘L’Homme armé’ Tradition’, *PRMA*, 100 (1973-4), 97-122; James Haar, ‘Palestrina as Historicist: The Two ‘L’homme armé’ Masses’, *JRMA*, 121 (1996), 191-205; Joseph Sargent, ‘Morales, Josquin and the *L’homme armé* Tradition’, *EMH*, 30 (2011), 177-212; Owen Rees, ‘Guerrero’s ‘L’homme armé’ Masses and Their Models’, *EMH*, 12 (1993), 19-54.

Renaissance musical borrowing, this literature tends to exclude English music of the early Tudor period. For example, two important recent volumes of essays on musical intertextuality in the Middle Ages and Renaissance limit their discussion of English music to passing mentions of Dunstaple and a study of English-language chansons in *Ritson*.³ Recent studies have begun to reassess the epistemological distance between English and mainland European music of the early sixteenth century by investigating patterns of cultural exchange between musicians of different nationalities; we now need to expand this process to cover the Europe-wide similarities in compositional procedure which also included England.

To a certain extent, this problem has been addressed by small-scale studies of English compositional traditions, similar to the *Ave Dei patris* corpus. The three Masses on the tune *Western Wind* by Taverner, Tye and Sheppard have been much discussed, and provide the closest English parallel to the mainland European and Scottish *L'homme armé* Mass corpus.⁴ According to Nigel Davison, 'Tye's *Western Wind* Mass shows a similar element of competition in relation to Taverner's... while Shepherd [sic] may have composed his setting to show how the cantus could be adapted to a more modern, animated style';⁵ in other words, the two later composers were trying to outdo Taverner and bring the idea of a *Western Wind* Mass up to date. Like the *Ave Dei patris* settings, the *Western Wind* Masses must have been viewed by some copyists as constituting a unified group of pieces: they appear side by side in *Gyffard*. May Hofman and John Milsom have noted similarities in motivic material between the settings of *Dum transisset Sabbatum* by Taverner, Tallis, Sheppard, Strabridge, and Johnson.⁶ Another significant sixteenth-century compositional tradition is represented by the corpus of In Nomine settings, based on a passage of Taverner's Mass *Gloria tibi Trinitas*;⁷ while Richard Turbet and Philip Brett have also explored musical borrowing practices later in

³ Clark and Leach (eds), *Citation and Authority*; Meconi (ed.), *Early Musical Borrowing*.

⁴ On the *Western Wind* Mass settings, see especially Nigel Davison, 'The "Western Wind" Masses', *MQ*, 57 (1971), 427-443. See also Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 149-151, 204-5, 208; Benham, *John Taverner*, 191-7; David Josephson, 'In Search of the Historical Taverner', *Tempo*, 101 (1972), 44; Judith Blezzard, 'New Church Music' (review), *MT*, 122 (1981), 629; John Aplin, 'John Taverner, Four- and Five-Part Masses, edited by Hugh Benham' (review), *JRMA*, 116 (1991), 305.

⁵ Davison, 'The "Western Wind" Masses', 434.

⁶ Hofman, 'The Survival of Latin Sacred Music', 33 n. 2, 45, 68, 185-190; John Milsom, 'Taverner, Tallis...' *MT*, 118 (1977), 914; see also Richard Abram, 'Alleluia', *MT*, 118 (1977), 642; and Milsom, 'Tallis's First and Second Thoughts', *JRMA*, 113 (1988), 218f.

⁷ See for example Warwick Edwards, 'In Nomine', *GMO*.

the sixteenth century, particularly in compositions by Byrd.⁸

However, most studies of intertextuality and allusion in music during the Henrician period have been limited to the examination of cantus firmus technique. The *Western Wind* melody discussed by Davison is monophonic, and is used by Taverner, Tye and Sheppard as a cantus firmus repeated many times over the course of each Mass section. Hugh Benham's discovery that the cantus firmus underpinning John Browne's *Stabat juxta Christi crucem* is the same as that in Edmund Turges's *From stormy windes* has revealed that composers were capable of using *cantus firmi* in order to allude to political events, in this case the death of Prince Arthur in 1502.⁹ Catherine Hocking's analysis of the *Eton* repertory also centres on cantus firmus procedure, especially the interaction between the implied text of a plainchant cantus firmus and the text actually sung during the performance of a composition.¹⁰ She concludes that 'in certain cases, the cantus firmus appears to have been selected because ideas articulated in the set text may be reinforced by ideas within the cantus firmus'¹¹ and observes that 'the interrelationships between the cantus firmus and the set text merit careful examination'.¹² These interesting discoveries aside, however, Honey Meconi has discussed the relative ease of studying cantus firmus use in comparison either to more complex borrowing techniques, or to other analytical features of the music, and has called for more subtle analysis of the interrelationships between both monophonic and polyphonic compositions.¹³

In their use of musical borrowing the surviving *Ave Dei patris* settings offer examples of very similar compositional and artistic principles to those used on the European mainland during the same period. However, the analytical techniques previously used for mainland European music cannot straightforwardly be applied to the *Ave Dei patris* corpus: such

⁸ Philip Brett, 'Homage to Taverner in Byrd's Masses', *EM*, 9 (1981), 169-176; Richard Turbet, 'Wings of Faith', *MT*, 138 (1997), 5-10; Turbet, 'Homage to Byrd in Tudor Verse Services', *MT*, 129 (1988), 485-490; Turbet, 'The Great Service: Byrd, Tomkins and Their Contemporaries, and the Meaning of 'Great'', *MT*, 131 (1990), 277; Craig Monson, "'Throughout All Generations": Intimations of Influence in the Short Service Styles of Tallis, Byrd and Morley', in Alan Brown and Richard Turbet (eds), *Byrd Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 83-111.

⁹ Hugh Benham, 'Prince Arthur (1486-1502), a Carol and a *cantus firmus*', *EM*, 15 (1987), 463-468.

¹⁰ Catherine Hocking, 'Cantus Firmus Procedures in the Eton Choirbook' (PhD dissertation: University of Cambridge, 1995).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 190.

¹² *Ibid.*, 191.

¹³ Honey Meconi, 'Introduction: Borrowing and Early Music' in Meconi (ed.), *Early Musical Borrowing*, 2.

techniques tend to focus on the composers' use of fuga, which is comparatively unimportant in early-sixteenth-century English music. One example of a similar compositional corpus from mainland Europe is the *Si bona suscepimus* set of motets, studied by Cristle Collins Judd.¹⁴ There are many commonalities between Zarlino's imitation of Verdelot in their settings of the same motet text, and those of Fayrfax under discussion here: for example, the relative proportions of sections, the similarities in texture between the openings of the motets, and the fact that, as Judd writes, overt references between the settings 'appear to be limited to the adoption of monophonic material' rather than whole polyphonic complexes.¹⁵ However, Zarlino's motet is derived from a motif, or *soggetto*, based on a combination of motifs taken from Verdelot's setting and whose relationship to the original is not always immediately audible:¹⁶ the *soggetto* concept, relying as it does on a compositional style built on structural imitation, is alien to the English votive antiphon style. In the following analysis of the *Ave Dei patris* antiphon settings, which do not share this close contrapuntal kinship, surface melodic citations at once carry more weight and should be treated with greater caution. Where similarities in compositional procedure arise—as will be seen in the case of Fayrfax, Johnson and Merbecke—this is unusual and becomes more significant as a result.

A further difficulty in the study of musical borrowing and intertextuality is that there is little consensus on the terminology used to describe such compositional techniques, which makes comparison between the specific approaches of different composers and compositions more difficult. The issues of terminology have arisen partly because of a lack of understanding of original sixteenth-century words used to describe borrowing. The word *imitatio*, for example, was first adopted by Lewis Lockwood, who offered it as a more historically justifiable alternative to 'parody' for describing Masses based on polyphonic models.¹⁷ Imitation in fifteenth-century rhetoric consisted of studying the classics—particularly Cicero—identifying particularly important turns of phrase or ideas, noting them down, and later incorporating them into one's own work, assimilating them and transforming them.¹⁸ The imitator was expected to show creativity in their choice of model, the context in

¹⁴ Cristle Collins Judd, 'Learning to Compose in the 1540s: Gioseffo Zarlino's *Si bona suscepimus*', in Clark and Leach (eds), *Citation and Authority*, 184-205.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 194.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 202.

¹⁷ Lewis Lockwood, 'On "Parody" as Term and Concept in 16th-Century Music', in Jan LaRue (ed.), *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), 560-575.

¹⁸ Mayer Brown, 'Emulation, Competition, and Homage', 40-41.

which it was used, and the way this new context could transform its meaning.¹⁹ In Baldassare Castiglione's dialogue *Il cortegiano* (1528), the character Federico Fregoso argues that

whoever wishes to avoid all doubt and be quite safe, must needs select as model someone who by consent of all is rated good, and must take him as a constant guide and shield against any possible adverse critic... But we are so daring that we do not deign to do that which the good writers of old did, —that is, devote themselves to imitation, without which I think a man cannot write well.²⁰

Following the publication of Lockwood's article the word *imitatio* was adopted with enthusiasm, resulting in an expansion of its meaning to refer to any borrowing practice, whether pedagogical in intent or not. This expansion was strongly criticised by Rob C.

Wegman, who suggested that the term's meaning should be limited along the following lines:

[Musical] *imitatio* is the practice of learning musical composition by studying and imitating the works of established masters. It may be objected that the concept of *imitatio* becomes practically useless to our purposes if it is defined in this way. But that is precisely the point. The rhetorical concept of *imitatio* is really of very limited applicability to the music history of the Renaissance, and if it is used without circumspection it can end up doing more harm than good.²¹

His essay targeted in particular Howard Mayer Brown's earlier use of *imitatio* to describe 'concepts which are foreign to its rhetorical meaning, such as competition, emulation and homage'.²² Wegman did not deny that such allusions between works of Renaissance music (in the form of quotations and the use of cantus firmus) do exist and can act as conduits of meaning, but he proposed 'intertextuality' as a better descriptive term for these techniques and even queried whether, given their variety, it is possible or desirable to find an overarching term to describe them at all.²³

More recently John Milsom has proposed that 'intertextuality' can be used to describe not just intentional similarities between compositions, but accidental ones as well. He suggests that accidental resonances might arise through similarities in composers' approach:

¹⁹ This is discussed at length in Nancy S. Struener, *The Language of History in the Renaissance: Rhetoric and Historical Consciousness in Florentine Humanism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970); David J. Burn, "'Nam erit haec quoque laus eorum": Imitation, Competition and the "L'homme armé" Tradition', *Revue de Musicologie*, 87 (2001), 249-287; G. W. Pigman III, 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance', *RQ*, 33 (1980), 1-32.

²⁰ *The Book of the Courtier by Count Baldesar Castiglione (1528)*, trans. Leonard Eckstein Opdycke (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), 41.

²¹ Rob C. Wegman, 'Another "Imitation" of Busnoys's Missa L'Homme armé—and Some Observations on Imitatio in Renaissance Music', *JRMA*, 114 (1989), 198.

²² *Ibid.*, 197, referring to Mayer Brown, 'Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance'.

²³ *Ibid.*, 199-200.

Through shared musical background and the use of common musical ‘grammar’, composers continuously and unavoidably replicate one another; two composers may even fortuitously arrive at identical formulations.²⁴

Expanding even further on Milsom’s definition, Kirsten Gibson has argued (following Elizabeth Eva Leach and Kevin Brownlee) that intertextuality can take on a more general character, founded on similarities of genre or on shared cultural understanding.²⁵ Ultimately, Milsom’s and Gibson’s arguments derive from Mikhail Bakhtin’s theory of the utterance: ‘There is no such thing as an isolate utterance. It always presupposes utterances that precede and follow it’.²⁶ Bakhtin points out that all ‘utterances’—that is, all texts—are formed from deliberate and accidental citations, in the words of Roland Barthes ‘a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture’.²⁷ This idea has obvious implications for any study of more subtle musical allusion. Apparent quotations of one composer’s work by another may in fact be the result of similarities in education and of a consequent shared musical *lingua franca*, especially if composers worked in the same or similar institutions, were of the same nationality or had travelled to the same countries, or were the same age. The fact that so much surviving pre-Reformation music originated in circuits connected with London, and especially the Chapel Royal, means that close similarities of style between composers and even apparent quotations are especially likely. Therefore, in a reception study such as this, similarities must not be immediately interpreted as quotations, but rather they should be carefully examined to assess how intentional they might have been.

Nevertheless, as the following analysis will show, the concept of *imitatio* in the strict pedagogical sense has particular applicability to the *Ave Dei patris* corpus, which contains ample evidence of composers using another’s work as a modelling device, support or prop for their own. The repertoire also contains clear examples of allusion to an earlier work without the intention of learning from it, normally by means of audible melodic citation, in the practices described by Mayer Brown as ‘emulation, competition and homage’. The appropriateness of these terms reflects the great similarity in artistic intent between these

²⁴ John Milsom, ‘Imitatio, Intertextuality and Early Music’, in Clark and Leach (eds), *Citation and Authority*, 146.

²⁵ Kirsten Gibson, ‘So to the wood went I’: Politicizing the Greenwood in Two Songs by John Dowland’, *JRMA*, 132 (2007), 222-6.

²⁶ Quoted in Kevin Korsyn, ‘Beyond Privileged Contexts: Intertextuality, Influence, and Dialogue’, in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (eds), *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 57.

²⁷ Roland Barthes, ‘The Death of the Author’, in *Image Music Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (London: Fontana, 1977), 146.

English compositions and the mainland European repertoire which is the subject of Mayer Brown's study, and argues for a narrowing of the epistemological gulf between practices of musical borrowing in Britain and on the mainland.

2.2. Robert Fayrfax's setting: the model

The earliest *Ave Dei patris filia* setting is Robert Fayrfax's, which served as a model for the younger composers Taverner, Tallis, Johnson and Merbecke. The setting in *Lambeth* perhaps also predates these later four settings, since its source was copied in the early 1520s, about the same time that they were composed (see ch. 1 above, pp. 46-7; the dates of the later settings will be discussed in detail below). However, a glance at figure 2a, above, will show that many differences exist between the *Lambeth* setting and the attributed settings, and therefore that it was not deliberately modelled on Fayrfax's original. For example, there are significant differences in scoring and in mensural structure, and there are also differences in the positions of some changes in scoring which are not shown in the table.

Fayrfax's setting of *Ave Dei patris filia*, along with the majority of votive antiphons composed under Henry VII and Henry VIII, is divided into two sections, the first in *tempus perfectum* and the second in *tempus imperfectum*. The length ratio of the first to the second section is approximately 1:2, assuming that the breve remains constant throughout, and approximately 1:1 1/3 assuming a constant semibreve, although there does not seem to be any numerical relationship between the sections. Within this two-part structure, the antiphon is divided into nine subsections sharply delineated by changes in voicing: these correspond to the seven stanzas of the prayer text, the petition *Esto nobis*, and the conclusion *O gloriosissima—Amen*. The declamation of the text is strikingly syllabic, and in this respect *Ave Dei patris* is similar to other pieces by Fayrfax such as *Aeternae laudis lilium*, *O Maria Deo grata* and *Lauda vivi*, but contrasts with the work of many of Fayrfax's contemporaries such as Davy, Browne and Cornysh found in *Eton*. In particular, Fayrfax makes frequent use of homophony or near-homophony in which only one voice is displaced, a technique *Ave Dei patris* shares with the almost contemporaneous *Aeternae laudis*. There is no systematic use of fuga. Note values are comparatively long throughout—semiminims are rare—in keeping with the primarily syllabic declamation of the text. The word *Ave*, which opens each stanza, is used by Fayrfax as a method of defining even more clearly the changes of texture which mark the beginning of stanzas 3 and 4: it is set homophonically for all five voices, in the practice

Figure 2a. Compositions belonging to the *Ave Dei patris filia* corpus

	Fayrfax					Taverner					Tallis (parts of Tr and T lacking)					Merbecke (lacks T)					Johnson					'Lambeth Anonymous'					'Harley Anonymous' (M only)						
Final	D					E					D					G					D					C					D?						
Key signature	None					None					One flat					None					Two flats					One flat					None						
Mensuration change	Ave domini					Ave domini					Ave domini					Ave domini					Ave domini					Ave tui filii					None (cut C throughout)						
Extant voice parts	Tr	M	Ct	T	B	Tr	M	Ct	T	B	Tr	M	Ct		B	Tr	M	Ct		B	Tr	M	Ct	T	B	Tr	M	Ct	T	B		M					
Voicing at beginning of each text section	Ave Dei	■					■					■					■					■					■					■					
	Summae														?						?																
	Aeternae	■					■					■					■					■					■					■					
	Tui	■					■					■					■					■					■					■					
	Domini	■					■					■					■					■					■					■					
	Plena	■					■					■					■					■					■					■					
	Virgo	■					■					■					■					■					■					■					
	Esto	■					■					■					■					■					■					■					
	O gloriosissima	■					■					■					■					■					■					■					
	Amen	■					■					■					■					■					■					■					
Clef	Tr	C2					C1					[G2?]					C2					C1					G1										
	M	C4					C3					C2					C4					C3					C1					C3					
	Ct	C5					C4					C4					C5					C5					C3										
	T	F4					C5					[C5?]					[F4?]					F4					C4										
	B	F5					F5					F4					F5					F5					C5										
Range	D-c'' (21 notes)					E-e'' (22 notes)					F-g'' (23 notes)					D-c'' (21 notes)					D-d'' (22 notes)					A-a'' (22 notes)					Unknown						
Proportion of main sections	1:1.396					1:1.363 (excluding Amen)					1:1.339					1:1.22					1:1.333					1:1.678					n/a						

known as *noema*,²⁸ and each syllable is marked with a fermata in all the early sources. *Ave Dei patris* is in the *protus plagalis* mode with frequent B flats in the sources, and although it is fully scored for five voices it has a noticeably narrow range of only 21 notes.

Bearing in mind the sixteenth-century practice of *imitatio* discussed above, it seems likely that Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris* was chosen as a paradigmatic setting by younger composers for the way in which it foregrounds the text on all the levels of structure, phrase and word. The other attributed settings of *Ave Dei Patris* share with Fayrfax's setting not only its structure and disposition of voices but also the syllabic text setting and use of homophony, the narrow range of note values, and to some extent the limited vocal range. Extended quotations are comparatively few and often very noticeable when they appear; there are, however, numerous more subtle resemblances in rhythm, melodic shape, and declamation between the settings, rarely more than five or six notes in length and too many to list fully (some examples are given in figure 2b.) All of these resemblances show that the younger composers assimilated the style of Fayrfax's piece fully, not simply alluding to it in their own different work, but appropriating it in order to create as many parallels as possible between Fayrfax's setting and their own. The younger composers also adopted the way that Fayrfax articulated the structure of his antiphon text by changing the texture at the beginning of each stanza, and delineating each phrase in the more irregularly structured final stanza. Moreover, although Fayrfax did not explore a style of text-setting that we would recognise as 'affective' or pictorial, the examples in figure 2b show his sensitivity in selecting a suitable rhythmic and melodic profile for each section of text, and the frequency with which the younger composers incorporated similar phrases in their own settings.

²⁸ Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 167.

Figure 2b. Examples of similar text-setting in *Ave Dei patris* settings

Example 1

Fayrfax, Ct, bars 42-4



Taverner, Ct, bars 39-41 (original note values restored)



Merbecke, Ct, bars 41-3



Tallis, Ct, bars 48-50



Example 2

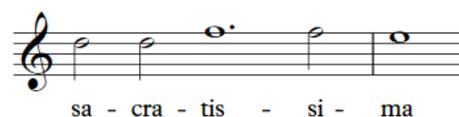
Fayrfax, Tr, bars 70-72



Taverner, Tr, bars 76-77 (original note values restored)



Tallis, Tr, bars 83-84



Johnson, Tr, bars 68-69



Example 3

Fayrfax, Tr, bars 22-25

ni an - cil - la sub - ie - ctis - si - - -

Taverner, Tr, bars 20-22 (original note values restored)

an - cil - la sub - ie - ctis - si - - -

Johnson, Tr, bars 22-24

ni an - cil - la sub - ie - ctis - si - - -

Example 4

Fayrfax, Ct, bars 115-117

sin - gu - la - ri - ter

Taverner, Ct, bars 134-135 (original note values restored)

sin - gu - la - ri - ter

Johnson, Ct, bars 116-118

a sin - gu - la - ri - ter

Fayrfax, Ct, bars 134-136

a sin - gu - la - ri - ter

Tallis, T, bars 130-132

a sin - gu - la - ri - ter

2.3. John Taverner's setting

2.3.1. Dating

The earliest surviving source of Taverner's *Ave Dei patris filia* is the so-called *UJ* pair of contratenor and bassus partbooks, which contain Mass settings and antiphons, all with attributions (see figure 2c). Only the pieces by Stephen Prowett and Lovell are *unica*. Prowett has been identified by Roger Bowers as a stipendiary priest at St Peter Mancroft, Norwich, in 1547.²⁹ He also appears in the accounts of St Mary's, Bungay, Suffolk, in 1526, and he may already then have been involved with St Peter Mancroft, or perhaps the collegiate church of St Mary de Campis.³⁰ Both of these churches maintained choirs, for which Prowett could have sung or composed. The other clue to the books' provenance is the inscription on the cover of the bassus book, 'Launcelot Prior', which has been identified by Judith Middleton-Stewart as probably referring to a Launcelot Wharton.³¹ Wharton appears as prior of Rumburgh, Suffolk in 1523, and of Horsham St Faith, Norfolk, in 1532.³² He no longer held either office by 1534, which suggests that he must have acquired and signed the partbook before this date, although it is not known when he first became prior of Rumburgh except that his predecessor was still in office in 1507. Without knowing Prowett's birth year it is possible only to speculate concerning when he might have begun to compose, but there is no documentary evidence for his career before 1523.³³ Although Prowett's and Wharton's biographies therefore do not allow us to date *UJ* with certainty, they are suggestive of a date between the mid-1520s and 1534 and provide good evidence of the partbooks' East Anglian provenance.³⁴

²⁹ Roger Bowers, 'Prowett, Stephen', *GMO*. For a summary of Prowett's career, and on his association with the civic plays of Norwich, see also Richard Rastall, *Minstrels Playing: Music in Early English Religious Drama* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001), 230-2.

³⁰ Bowers, 'Prowett, Stephen'.

³¹ Judith Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour: Death and Remembrance in the Deanery of Dunwich, Suffolk, 1370-1547* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press in association with the Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, 2001), 174.

³² 'Houses of Benedictine monks: Priory of Rumburgh' in William Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Suffolk* (London: Archibald Constable, 1907-), ii. 77-79, *BHO*; 'Houses of Benedictine monks: The priory of St Faith, Horsham', in Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk* (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1901-), ii. 346-349, *BHO*.

³³ Bowers, 'Prowett, Stephen'.

³⁴ Roger Bowers dated the partbooks to c. 1525-30 before 'Launcelot Prior' was identified. Iain Fenlon (ed.), *Cambridge Music Manuscripts 900-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 131. Middleton-Stewart has suggested that the books may have originally been used at the collegiate church of St Mary, Mettingham, close to Rumburgh and a known musical centre (*GB-Lbl* Add. MS 33989, a volume of the St Mary accounts, includes a fragment of music, *Saepe praecinebant*). However, she argues that given the inclusion of music by Prowett in the collection, it is more likely that they may

Figure 2c. Contents of *GB-Csj* K. 31 (UJ Bassus)

Folio	Title	Attribution
[3] ^r -[4] ^r	Ave Dei patris	Doctor ffayrfax
[4] ^r -[5] ^r	Lauda vivi	Doctor ffairfax
[5] ^r -[6] ^r	O Bone Jhesu	D[omin]us Stephan[us] proweth
[6] ^v -[7] ^v	O D[omi]ne celi & terre	Richardus Davy
[7] ^v -[9] ^r	Stabat mater	Richardus Davy
[9] ^r -[10] ^r	Eterne laudis	ffayrfax
[10] ^r -[11] ^r	Te matrem	hewghe Austen
[11] ^r -[12] ^v	Plaude potentissime	D[omin]us proweth
[13] ^r -[14] ^r	Ave dei p[at]ris	Joh[ann]es Taverner
[14] ^r -[15] ^r	Ave fuit salus	lovell
[15] ^v -[16] ^v	Gaude plurimu[m]	m[agister] Tav[er]ner
[18] ^r -[21] ^r	Missa de Regali	Doctor ffayrfax
[21] ^r -[24] ^r	Missa De O Bone Jh[esu]	Doctor ffayrfax
[24] ^r -[26] ^v	Te deum messe	hew Austen
[26] ^v -[29] ^v	[Mass] Cristus Resurgens	wyll[ia]m pasche
[29] ^v -[32] ^r	[Mass] God save kyng herry	Thomas Aschwell
[32] ^v -[33] ^r	[Magnificat]	doctor ffayrfax

Ave Dei patris has previously been characterised as an ‘early work’ within Taverner’s oeuvre, composed before both of his other large-scale votive antiphons, *Gaude plurimum* and *O splendor gloriae*. Both Colin Hand and David Josephson dated it to the 1510s, a period during which Taverner was previously believed to have been in London.³⁵ However, Hand’s dating is based on false evidence,³⁶ and Josephson’s proceeds from an interpretation of the piece’s musical language as ‘conservative’, the quite reasonable observation that ‘[there] is nothing in it that might not have come from the pen of Robert Fayrfax’, and the fact that it does not contain key stylistic features of Taverner’s other work—‘rapid scale passages, ornamental melodic filigree, dramatic accumulation of sonority in full sections, bold points, and technical virtuosity’.³⁷ This stylistic judgment has been corroborated by Hugh Benham, who sees *Ave Dei patris* as ‘the least accomplished’ of the votive antiphons, ‘with a few dull and inelegant passages, notably in the five-part writing’,³⁸ and ‘[musically] less striking than

have been used at St Peter Mancroft itself, which was easily accessible from Horsham St Faith after Wharton had left Rumburgh. Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity*, 174-5.

³⁵ Hand, *John Taverner*, 76; Josephson, *John Taverner*, 151.

³⁶ Hand dates both *Ave Dei Patris* and *Gaude plurimum* to before 1520, based on the false belief that both *UJ* and *H1709* dated from c.1520 and were produced for Henry VIII’s Chapel Royal. Hand, *John Taverner*, 76.

³⁷ Josephson, *John Taverner*, 151.

³⁸ Benham (ed.), *John Taverner II: Votive Antiphons*, xi.

Gaude plurimum'.³⁹ He also sees the comparative lack of fuga and the use of cantus firmus as archaic traits.⁴⁰ However, to interpret the style of *Ave Dei patris* at face value, as evidence of an early dating, is to misunderstand and underestimate the compositional concept behind the piece. Following close analysis of its musical content, *Ave Dei patris* can be definitively shown to have been modelled on Fayrfax's setting of the same text, a fact which casts new light on its dating and purpose. The style of the piece, therefore, should not be seen as evidence of its dating, but rather as a deliberate emulation and transformation of another composer's work. Although a date of after 1525 is unlikely given its presence in *UJ*, composition as late as the early 1520s cannot be ruled out.

2.3.2. Use of cantus firmus

Unlike Fayrfax, Taverner incorporates a cantus firmus into his setting of *Ave Dei patris*: the *Te Deum*, used at Matins, on feast days, and at important ceremonial occasions. It is usually regarded as a hymn to the Trinity, since verses 13-15 address the Father, Son and Holy Spirit in turn. The chant does not appear in its entirety. Each time it appears it quotes the first iteration of a different musical phrase (see figure 2d), thereby incorporating all of its characteristic musical formulae with no repetition. There does not seem to be any topical association between the chant text and the specific phrases of *Ave Dei patris* which it underpins, although on a general level the Trinitarian content of *Ave Dei patris* resonates strongly with the *Te Deum*. The inclusion of the cantus firmus only in full choir passages is entirely conventional.

In English music of the early Tudor period, as in other repertoires, cantus firmi could fulfil a variety of communicative and devotional functions, according to their relationship to the text to be set. David Rothenberg has commented *à propos* of the thirteenth century motet that

[a] motet tenor can impart meaning in two basic ways: first, its words—few though they are—can serve as a basis for textual commentary in the other voices; and second, the theological and devotional associations of the liturgical occasion(s) from which it is drawn can interact both literally and allegorically with the Latin and French texts in the upper voices.⁴¹

These interpretative principles have been applied to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century music by Andrew Kirkman in his study of the *L'homme armé* Mass repertoire: according to Kirkman,

³⁹ Benham, *John Taverner*, 96.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ David J. Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 24.

Figure 2d. Use of *Te Deum* chant in Taverner's *Ave Dei patris*

bars 55-91 (stanza 3, 'Aeternae caritatis')



Te De - um lau - da - mus: te Do - mi-num con-fi - te - mur.

bars 92-103 (stanza 4, 'Tui filii')



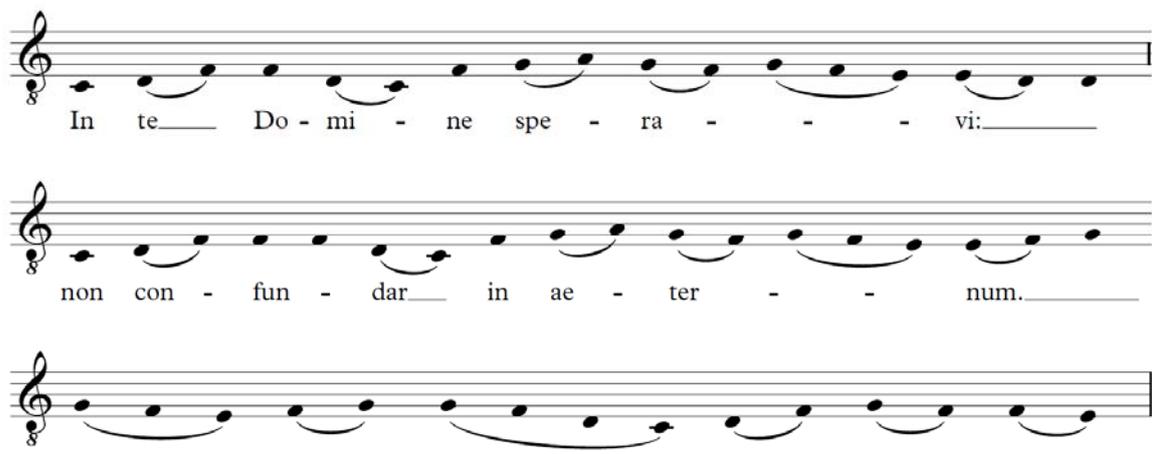
Te - ae - ter-num Pa - trem: om - nis ter - ra ve - ne - ra - tur.

bars 186-201 (stanza 7, 'Virgo foeta')



San - ctus: Do - mi - nus De - us Sa - ba - oth.
Tu - rex glo - ri - ae Chris-te.

bars 230-253 ('Amen')



In te Do - mi - ne spe - ra - vi:
non con - fun - dar in ae - ter - num.

the resonances between the courtly origins of the *L'homme armé* melody, the image of the armed man, Christ's victory on the cross and the priest's battle against evil in the sacrifice of Mass intertwine to add layers of significance to the Mass Ordinary text and the associated ritual.⁴² Catherine Hocking has applied similar techniques of cantus firmus interpretation to the early Tudor repertoire.⁴³ In her analyses of Eton's *Salve regina* and Magnificat settings and the works of John Browne, she argues that the choice of cantus firmus could play a powerful communicative role in early sixteenth-century compositions. For example, in John Browne's Marian antiphons *Stabat mater dolorosa* and *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem*, which are based on carol melodies by Edmund Turges,⁴⁴ the vernacular texts implied by the quotation of their melodies provide a pathos-filled commentary on the sacred words they underpin. Alternatively, the implied 'polytextuality' of a piece built on a cantus firmus could function on a smaller scale in rhetorical fashion. In Sutton's *Salve regina*, Hocking writes, 'the arrangement of the cantus firmus is managed in such a way that complete phrases from the cantus firmus may be synthesized with similar ideas in the *Salve Regina* text'; in other words, phrases in the *Salve regina* text fuse with implied phrases in the cantus firmus heard simultaneously in order to create additional layers of meaning.⁴⁵ Cantus firmi might also add liturgical specificity to paraliturgical texts, fitting them for use at a specific feast, especially if they fulfilled no obvious rhetorical function: it seems likely, for example, that Wylkynson's *Salve regina*, which includes the cantus firmus *Assumpta est Maria*, incorporates this chant in order to make it especially appropriate for the Feast of the Assumption.⁴⁶

The *Te Deum* melody, as it is used in Taverner's *Ave Dei patris* setting, could be sung on a wide range of occasions, including as part of occasional paraliturgical celebrations such as royal entries, and as Hugh Benham points out, it is possible that Taverner's piece could have been written for an occasion now unidentifiable.⁴⁷ The cantus firmus in Taverner's *Ave Dei patris* also fulfils a role similar to that of the hymn *Pange lingua* in Browne's *O regina mundi clara*,⁴⁸ where according to Hocking, Browne incorporates the Christological cantus

⁴² Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass*, ch. 5. See also Craig Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music* (London: Harvard University Press, 2004), chs. 6 and 7.

⁴³ Hocking, 'Cantus Firmus Procedures'.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 26-45.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 115.

⁴⁶ Magnus Williamson, 'Pictura et scriptura: The Eton Choirbook in its Iconographical Context', *EM*, 28 (2000), 371.

⁴⁷ Benham, *John Taverner*, 99.

⁴⁸ Hocking, 'Cantus Firmus Procedures', 48-9.

firmus in order to expand the invocation of Mary in the set text to include Christ as well.⁴⁹ Taverner's incorporation of the *Te Deum* chant thus not only amplifies the already-present Trinitarian theme of the antiphon text, but also expands its audience to include the three persons of the Trinity—a possibility also fully exploited in Hugh Aston's setting of the Marian *Te Deum* paraphrase, *Te matrem Dei laudamus*, which similarly incorporates the Trinitarian chant.⁵⁰ Such an interpretation would make sense in light of Taverner's career. His first known employer was the collegiate church at Tattershall, with dedications including the Holy Trinity, whose statutes ordered that a Marian antiphon was to be sung by the boys in the Lady Chapel each evening, in front of an image of the Virgin;⁵¹ in the 1520s this antiphon could have easily been Taverner's *Ave Dei patris*. Cardinal College in Oxford, his employer from 1526, likewise included the Trinity among its dedicatees. The college statutes of 1527 specified that each evening should be sung 'three antiphons in polyphony; namely, one of the Trinity, another of St Mary, the third of the divine William'.⁵² Of these, that of 'the divine William' has been convincingly shown to be Taverner's *Christe Jesu*, whose text originally began 'O Wilhelme'.⁵³ The others remain unidentified.

It is possible that imagery in the church at Tattershall provided the justification for including the *Te Deum* in Taverner's *Ave Dei patris*. The *Te Deum* was a popular source of imagery for stained glass.⁵⁴ Richard Marks's study of the glass at Tattershall does not mention a *Te Deum* window, but it is certain that many of the themes included in the *Te Deum* were depicted in the Tattershall windows. These include the Nine Orders of Angels in a main light and several other images of angels in the tracery lights; several sets of apostles, prophets and saints; and two Church fathers, shown mitred, which are suggestive of the *Te Deum*'s

⁴⁹ Ibid, 49.

⁵⁰ Devotion to the Virgin was closely associated with devotion to the Trinity in the later Middle Ages. See Barbara Newman, 'Intimate Pieties: Holy Trinity and Holy Family in the Late Middle Ages', *Religion & Literature*, 31 (1999), 77-101 at 78-9, 81.

⁵¹ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions within the English Church', 5083.

⁵² 'tres canant intorto cantu antiphonas; videlicet, unam de Trinitate, alteram de Sancta Maria, tertiam de divo Willielmo'. 'Statutes of Cardinal and King Henry the VIII's Colleges, Oxford', in *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford* (Oxford and London: J. H. Parker and Longman, 1853), ii. 57.

⁵³ Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1959), 340-341.

⁵⁴ Well-preserved fifteenth-century *Te Deum* windows are found in York Minster, St Peter and St Paul, East Harling, and All Saints, Wrexham. See Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England During the Middle Ages* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1993), 85.

supposed authorship by Ss. Ambrose and Augustine.⁵⁵ Because most of the Tattershall glass is now fragmentary and widely dispersed, it is not possible to say where all of it was originally positioned in the church, and we can speculate that there might have been a particular concentration of *Te Deum* themes in the space where the nightly Mary antiphon was sung, if not actually a *Te Deum* window.⁵⁶ Along with the church's dedication to the Trinity this would provide a good reason for inclusion of the *Te Deum* and emphasis on Trinitarian themes in the music sung at Tattershall.

As well as presenting the *Te Deum* melody in long note values in the tenor, Taverner also incorporates snippets of the chant into the music sung by the other voices. These quotations are more obviously recognisable to the hearer than the tenor cantus firmus. One of the most prominent occurs at 'Aeternae caritatis filia', the first verse which features the cantus firmus in the tenor. Here the bassus paraphrases the opening of the chant before the tenor's entry, in combination with pre-imitation in the medius, which allows the characteristic E-G-A figure of the *Te Deum* opening to be clearly heard. In a further example, the opening of the stanza 'Ave domini filia', where the phrase G-A-G-F-E is heard first in the tenor and then in the bassus, is highly suggestive of the characteristic Phrygian cadence formula of the chant phrase 'cum Sanctis tuis in gloria numerari'. Here it is overlaid with a phrase very strongly reminiscent of the bassus line which opens the same verse in Fayrfax's setting, audibly combining Taverner's two influences—the chant and his predecessor's work—in a transparent trio texture.

The most striking quotation of the *Te Deum* chant, however, occurs at the very beginning of the piece (figure 2e). Here, the triplex sings a paraphrase of the first phrase of the chant, 'Te Deum laudamus', with the rising minor third between the first two notes anticipated by the tenor. As Hugh Benham has pointed out, this would surely be instantly recognisable to all early sixteenth-century listeners and singers of this piece.⁵⁷ However, it can also be read as a powerful musical gesture on Taverner's part, unmistakably announcing his appropriation of Fayrfax's work. The fugal triplex-contratenor pair at the beginning of

⁵⁵ Richard Marks, 'The Glazing of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, Tattershall (Lincs.): a Study of Late Fifteenth-Century Glass-Painting Workshops', *Archaeologia (Second Series)*, 106 (1979), 145-6.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 147-8. Marks comments that '[the] contents of the main lights of the two great windows in the transept facades are unknown', and little is known of the rest of the transept windows. The Lady Chapel is in the south transept.

⁵⁷ Benham, *John Taverner*, 99-100.

Figure 2e. Openings of Fayrfax's and Taverner's *Ave Dei patris* settings

Fayrfax, bars 1-5, Tr, M and Ct only, *Salve regina* quotations highlighted in red

A - - - ve De - i

A - - - ve De - - - i

A - - ve De - i pa - - tris___ fi

Taverner, bars 1-3, Tr, M and T only, *Te Deum* quotations highlighted in green

De - - i pa - - tris

A - ve De - - - i pa - -

A - ve De - i Pa - tris fi - li - a___

Fayrfax's setting, which is strongly reminiscent of the opening of the festal *Salve regina*, is here translated almost gesture-for-gesture by Taverner into a literal quotation of the *Te Deum*. This musical transformation signals a shift in the devotional emphasis of the text from the Virgin, to the Trinity, its secondary addressee, allowing Taverner to incorporate the *Te Deum* more fully, and thereby continue his exploration of the text's Trinitarian content, later on. In reworking the opening of Fayrfax's piece in such an overt way, Taverner at once acknowledges his musical debt to Fayrfax and asserts his independence from him. By modelling his composition on one by an older composer, Taverner invokes his authority; by adding a plainchant cantus he adds extra compositional complexity, displaying his compositional prowess in comparison to his model and invoking the higher (because more ancient) authority possessed by liturgical plainchant.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ On the concept of *auctoritas*, the invocation and appropriation of authorities in order to validate a new piece of work, see Jennifer Saltzstein, 'Relocating the Thirteenth-Century Refrain: Intertextuality,

This opening heralds a large number of similarities between Taverner's and Fayrfax's settings throughout. For the most part these similarities are extremely small, besides the almost identical styles of declamation in the two pieces. There are textural similarities in the way voices are brought in: for example, the way two voices begin a minim apart, followed by a third voice trailing behind but imitating the first at the phrase 'Dei filii mater' (Taverner bars 7-8; Fayrfax bars 9-10). At 'summae veritatis mater' (Taverner bars 34-7; Fayrfax bars 36-40) the bassus lines of both settings are nearly identical, a subtle hint on Taverner's part as in his three-voice texture this line would probably be difficult for a listener to discern. More overt references include the almost identical melodic shape, stated only twice by Fayrfax but extended over a third entry by Taverner, at the word 'obsequiosa' (Taverner bars 142-3; Fayrfax bars 147-9), and the quotation from Fayrfax's triplex in Taverner's contratenor at the phrase 'Ave plena gratia' (Taverner bars 149-51; Fayrfax bars 160-5). Most noticeable of all is the quotation of Fayrfax's phrase 'a patriarchis', again extended to a third fugal entry by Taverner (Taverner bars 162-4; Fayrfax bars 187-90). This has obvious symbolic implications: Taverner may be deliberately hinting here at Fayrfax's status as a musical patriarch.

These significant similarities include one point where Fayrfax commits an apparent solecism, at the phrase 'mundi domina' (Taverner bar 160; Fayrfax bars 182-4). This moment of textural transparency in Fayrfax's setting, in which there is no overlap between the end of the triplex's phrase and the beginning of the contratenor's, is only found in *Carver*. In the English sources both sounding parts have one semitone fewer here; because this results in a rhythmic displacement of all parts by a semibreve which makes the accentuation of the text incorrect for the remainder of the piece, the variant in *Carver* is probably authoritative. This moment is unusual, as early sixteenth-century composers normally maintained a consistent flow of sound during each section of a votive antiphon, and is arguably archaic: in *Eton* moments of stasis such as this are found most often in the work of Davy and Lambe, and less in the work of younger composers. This is not the only example in the work of Fayrfax, however; there are two instances in *Aeternae laudis* and six in *Maria plena virtute*, five of which have an obvious rhetorical function. If the style of text-setting at 'mundi domina' was considered by Taverner to represent a Fayrfax 'fingerprint', despite mostly being eschewed by younger composers, this would explain its appearance in Taverner's own work. Fayrfax's use

Authority and Origins', *JRMA*, 135 (2010), 264-8. The suggestion that the use of plainchant cantus firmi by Tudor composers could be an example of *auctoritas* has been made by Hugh Benham, *Latin Church Music*, 47.

of texture at this point also has an exact parallel in Tallis's setting (bars 200-202), and Merbecke also engineers an unusual degree of transparency at the same moment in his own (bars 150-151).

The effort made in Taverner's *Ave Dei patris* to surpass the work of his predecessor—shown by his addition of a cantus firmus to add musical complexity and intertextual meaning, the transformation of Fayrfax's opening, and the addition of an extra voice to two direct quotations from the earlier piece—suggests that his composition can be read both as an act of homage, and as an attempt to compete with Fayrfax and display his own musical prowess. One obvious display of compositional ability in Taverner's setting is his use of a musical pun, setting the words 'ut sol' to a rising fifth, as in the solmization syllables *ut sol* (bars 187-9). While showing himself off to advantage in this act of competition, Taverner vested Fayrfax's work with the status of an authority, honouring Fayrfax and increasing the likelihood that the older composer's work would later be quoted by others.⁵⁹

2.4. Thomas Tallis's setting

2.4.1. Chronology: *Harley 1709* and *Salve intemerata*

Tallis's *Ave Dei patris filia* survives only in Elizabethan sources dating from the 1580s and after. However, it can be dated to approximately 1520 based on the evidence of Tallis's career and sources of other related pieces by him, and is thus roughly contemporary with Taverner's setting.⁶⁰

One of the sources for this date is the manuscript *HI709*, the earliest extant source of Tallis's music, which contains the votive antiphon *Salve intemerata* and dates from around 1525.⁶¹ This means that *Salve intemerata* must have been composed in the early- to mid-1520s. It is reasonable to assume that *Salve intemerata* was composed very near to the time when *HI709* was copied: Tallis's music appears in no other extant sources that antedate *Ph*, and judging by Tallis's date of death and this pattern of early transmission, we can conclude that at the time *HI709* was copied he was both young and little-known outside his immediate

⁵⁹ Saltzstein, 'Relocating the Refrain', 272.

⁶⁰ The following argument owes much to a discussion on *HI709* chaired by David Skinner, as part of a study day held on 12 May 2015 at the British Library, 'Henrician Musical Sources at the British Library'.

⁶¹ See Nick Sandon, 'The Manuscript British Library Harley 1709', in Susan Rankin and David Hiley (eds), *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 356-79; see also Appendix C1.

musical circle. Unfortunately, the provenance of *HI709* is unknown, as is Tallis's career path before 1530, when he was organist at Dover Priory. Roger Bowers has recently suggested that Tallis was probably already in Kent in the early 1520s, perhaps under the patronage of Archbishop William Warham, and therefore that *HI709* also hails from the south-east, but there is little evidence for this supposition.⁶²

The dating of Tallis's *Ave Dei patris filia* thus rests on whether it is believed to have been composed before or after *Salve intemerata*. On the grounds of musical style it is often believed to be a student work, one of the earliest Tallis pieces now extant,⁶³ as it shows signs of discomfort with the medium uncharacteristic of other pieces by Tallis. There are examples of very narrow avoidance of parallel perfect intervals, even in duet passages and at the interval of a minim rather than a semibreve (for example in bar 17, medius and contratenor; 101, medius and contratenor; 109, medius and bassus; 154, medius and tenor; 157, medius and bassus; 218, triplex and contratenor; 241-2, tenor and bassus; 242, medius and tenor; 275, contratenor and bassus; 294, contratenor and bassus). There are many similar examples of alternating fifths and sixths in Fayrfax's setting, but in these the sounding fifths are a semibreve apart, not a minim, and they are far less plentiful than in Tallis's. Another potential 'fault' in Tallis's *Ave Dei patris* is the often rather rough manner in which sections are joined. For example, the simultaneous entry of triplex and medius in bar 12 leaves an uncomfortable gap in the texture at the start of the bar. The transition between bars 146 and 147 is similarly problematic, because there is no overlapping voice bridging the gap between the cadence and the new phrase. The issue is made worse by the fact that this break divides two words which properly belong to the same phrase. Most obvious, however, is the listener's frequent impression that the melismas that conclude sections last longer than is warranted by either the material or the occasion. For example, the phrase sung by the medius in bars 167-177 circles repeatedly around the four notes C#-D-E-F, perhaps echoing the rising sixth A-F in the analogous position in Fayrfax's setting. Whereas Fayrfax's phrase initiates a descending sequence that leads to the cadence, however, Tallis's appears to stall around these four notes. The triplex-contratenor duet in bars 179 onwards suffers similarly: its final melisma, beginning at bar 225, ends with four bars that circle tediously around the pitches D-E-F. In the

⁶² Bowers, 'Thomas Tallis at Dover Priory, 1530-1531', *EM*, 44 (2016), 202.

⁶³ Paul Doe and David Allinson, 'Tallis [Tallys, Talles], Thomas', *GMO*; David Skinner, 'Ludford, Sheppard, Fayrfax', *EM*, 23 (1995), 367; Joseph Kerman, 'Review: A Tallis Mass', *EM*, 27 (1999), 670.

Figure 2f. Sources of Tallis's Marian antiphons

Source (in approximate chronological order)	<i>Ave Dei patris filia</i>	<i>Ave rosa sine spinis</i>	<i>Salve intemerata</i>	<i>Gaude gloriosa</i>
<i>GB-Lbl</i> MS Harley 1709 (c. 1525)			x	
<i>GB-CP</i> MS 31, 32, 40, 41 (Peterhouse 'Henrician' partbooks)		x	x	
<i>GB-Occ</i> MS 566 (mid-sixteenth century fragment of English contrafact)				x
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 30513 (Mulliner keyboard book)			x	
<i>GB-Ob</i> MS Tenbury 1464 (East Anglia, c. 1565)			x	
<i>GB-Ob</i> Mus e. 1-5 (Sadler partbooks)			x	
<i>GB-Och</i> MS Mus. 979-983 (Baldwin partbooks)			x	x
<i>GB-Och</i> MS Mus. 45 (tablebook, late 16 th century)				x
<i>GB-Ob</i> MS Mus. Sch. e. 423 (Lord Petre's partbook)			x	x
<i>GB-CF</i> MS D/DP Z6/1 (Lord Petre's partbook)	x	x	x	
<i>GB-Ob</i> MS Tenbury 1486 (Braikenridge) and 'Wilmott' MS (copied by John Sadler)	x	x	x	
<i>GB-Lbl</i> MS R. M. 24. d. 2 (John Baldwin's commonplace book)			x	x
<i>GB-Ob</i> MS Tenbury 1469-71 (Paston)	x		x	
<i>GB-Ob</i> MS Tenbury 354-8 (Paston)	x	x	x	x
<i>GB-Ob</i> MS Tenbury 341-4 (Paston)	x	x	x	
<i>GB-Lcm</i> MS 2035 (Paston)	x	x	x	x
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 34049 (Paston)	x	x	x	
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 29246 (Paston lute-book)	x	x	x	x
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 18936, 18937, 18939 (early 17 th century)			x	x
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 4900 (triplex and lute, early 17 th century)			x	
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add MS 41156-8 (early 17 th century)			x	
<i>GB-Ob</i> MS Tenbury 807-11 (early 17 th century)			x	x

context of this rather dull counterpoint, Tallis's frequent and unusual use of dotted semiminim-fusa rhythms (such as in bars 55, 57-9, 135-6, and 177) seem more like a forced attempt to enliven the vocal lines than a meaningful musical gesture.

Ave Dei patris also fares less well than *Salve intemerata* in its transmission (see figure 2f). Not only is it found in far fewer sources overall, these sources are very late (all copied after Tallis's death) and narrowly confined to those connected in some way to Edward Paston (1550-1630). With the exception of the two partbooks copied by John Sadler, who seems to have shared several sources with the Paston scribes,⁶⁴ all the extant sources of *Ave Dei patris* were copied by scribes employed by Paston.⁶⁵ Z6 was owned by Paston's fellow Catholic John, Lord Petre, and is in the same handwriting as 29246, a source copied by Paston's secretary, William Corbett.⁶⁶ This limited pattern of transmission suggests that *Ave Dei patris* was less well-known among Tallis's contemporaries than *Salve intemerata*, the piece which arguably sealed his reputation.

Exactly how much earlier *Ave Dei patris* is than *Salve intemerata* depends on Tallis's date of birth, which is usually given as c. 1505. Roger Bowers has recently argued that Tallis's role at Dover Priory, which probably involved instructing a group of five or six choirboys as well as playing the organ, was most suited to a talented young man in his very early twenties. From this, Bowers extrapolates that Tallis was probably born in about 1508-10.⁶⁷ This assertion is not entirely watertight as it assumes that Tallis began work at Dover Priory in 1530; in fact, we do not know when he arrived there and he could have already been working at the priory for some time when the first extant record of his employment was made. Bowers's contention that such positions were held by young men depends on the nature of Tallis's employment at Dover being identical to similar posts elsewhere. At present, therefore, Nick Sandon's dating of his birth to 1505 based on the evidence *H1709* still holds,⁶⁸ and suggests that Tallis could have begun to compose reasonably accomplished pieces from about 1520 onwards. Given the date of *H1709* and Tallis's date of death, *Salve intemerata* cannot have been written much later than his early twenties. A date of c. 1520 for *Ave Dei patris* thus

⁶⁴ See below, ch. 6, pp. 280-81.

⁶⁵ See Philip Brett, 'Edward Paston: A Norfolk Gentleman and his Music Collection', in Joseph Kerman and Davitt Moroney (eds), *William Byrd and his Contemporaries: Essays and a Monograph* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 31-59.

⁶⁶ Mateer, 'William Byrd, John Petre and... e. 423', 40; Brett, 'Edward Paston', 40.

⁶⁷ Bowers, 'Thomas Tallis at Dover Priory', 201.

⁶⁸ Sandon, 'The Manuscript British Library Harley 1709', 360.

seems likely: it cannot have been composed much earlier than this, because then Tallis would have been extremely young to have composed so ambitious a piece; nor can it have been written much later if we are to account for the dramatic change in style and competency evident between *Ave Dei patris* and *Salve intemerata*. This positioning of *Ave Dei patris* so early in Tallis's career means that rather than functioning as an act of homage from one established composer to another—as in Taverner's setting of the same text—it is more likely to have been a true example of musical *imitatio*, using Fayrfax's setting as a means of inspiration and structural support.

2.4.2. Similarities to Fayrfax's setting

The similarities between Fayrfax's and Tallis's settings of *Ave Dei patris* were first described by Robert Ford in an unpublished paper of 1980.⁶⁹ Since then they have also been noted by John Harley, who mentions the similarities in proportion between the pieces (Fayrfax's *tempus perfectum* section is 107 breves long, compared to 331 in the whole piece; Tallis's *tempus perfectum* section is 123 breves long compared to 371 overall), the disposition of voices, the sparing use of fuga (though still more generous in Tallis's setting than in Fayrfax's) and the shared final of D.⁷⁰ Harley also notes Tallis's more expansive, melismatic style of text setting (to which can be added his greater fondness for semiminims and even fusae), his use of a wider vocal range, and the comparatively small number of melodic similarities between the settings.⁷¹ He writes that Tallis used Fayrfax's setting primarily as 'a plan to guide him' in his own original composition.⁷²

Tallis's use of Fayrfax's composition does not seem to have been only for his own edification, however. The similarities of musical material between Tallis's and Fayrfax's work, though they are few, nevertheless suggest that Tallis intended his model to be recognisable. The motivic and textural similarities between the pieces' openings are illustrated in figure 2g. Textural similarities are also apparent at the words 'Dei filii mater' (Tallis bars 12-13; Fayrfax bars 9-11), and in the second stanza, where the contratenor enters at the words 'summe veritatis' in both pieces (Tallis bar 41; Fayrfax bars 34-5). The end of stanza 3 is set antiphonally in both pieces: the word 'sincerissima' is stated twice, first in triplex, medius and tenor; and then in contratenor, tenor and bassus (Tallis bars 90-94;

⁶⁹ Robert Ford, 'Re-upholstery by a master craftsman: Tallis and Fayrfax', unpublished paper read at the eighth Annual Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference (London, 1980).

⁷⁰ John Harley, *Thomas Tallis* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 25-27.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 26-7.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 25.

Figure 2g. Openings of Tallis's and Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris* settings

Tallis, bars 1-4

Fayrfax, bars 1-4

Fayrfax bars 80-84). Like Taverner, Tallis alludes strongly to Fayrfax's setting at the words 'a patriarchis', with treble and contratenor in canon at the octave a breve apart and outlining a rising and descending fourth (Tallis bars 204-7; Fayrfax bars 187-90). The key word here may be 'presignata', with each voice 'prefiguring' the next to enter. Similarly, Tallis sets the words 'semper virgo Maria' fugally, as Fayrfax does, again with only slightly different musical material, descending the fourth D-A by means of a leap rather than a downward scale (Tallis bars 321-5; Fayrfax bars 292-7). The section which Tallis modelled most explicitly on Fayrfax's setting is the final address 'O gloriosissima semper virgo Maria'. The words 'O

gloriosissima' begin identically, set as a trio with a rising fifth against a rising third, with a third voice displaced by a semibreve and entering in unison with the others (Tallis bars 313-14; Fayrfax bars 287-8). Tallis also imitated his model in his use of accidentals in stanza 5 (Tallis bars 124-78; Fayrfax bars 108-60). Fayrfax uses B flats in the second half of this stanza, in contrast to the prevalent B naturals of the rest of the piece. Tallis likewise introduces E flats during this stanza in addition to the B flat of the stave signature. The melodic shapes used by the two composers are also similar at this point, presumably as a result of Tallis's wish to articulate the new modality, with frequent use of rising fourths and semitones.

That Tallis's use of Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris* goes beyond using it as a structural prop is most apparent from his setting of the word 'Amen'. Fayrfax's setting is relatively perfunctory, flowing seamlessly out of the preceding phrases. By contrast, and very unusually, Tallis's Amen forms an entirely independent musical section and seems to have had a different function, probably to be sung after the verse, response, and prayer that together with the polyphonic antiphon comprised an evening votive memorial.⁷³ Nevertheless, Tallis carefully constructed the final sections of his antiphon to ensure musical continuity between them. The word 'Maria' is set very expansively, providing a fitting ending to the first musical section of the memorial, and functions as preparation for a large-scale 'perfect cadence' on the final D: it stresses the cofinal A repeatedly and ends with a fermata chord on A, which we can assume would probably originally have included a C#. The Amen section is shorter and is, in effect, built on a D pedal. It is clearly designed to provide a climactic ending to the devotion. Rhythmic momentum and tension is maintained by the repeated use of the descending motif D-C-B flat-A, and the ending is signalled by the registral climax on g'' in the penultimate bar. This treatment of the Amen suggests that Tallis's setting was not just a sterile compositional exercise, but had an intended ritual purpose: Tallis adapted his model to suit the individual worship practice of the institution he was writing for.

2.5. John Merbecke's setting

2.5.1. Chronology: Merbecke's confessional identity and the testimony of John Foxe

As far as can be discerned from the fragmentary archival record, John Merbecke was employed by St George's Chapel, Windsor for most of his adult life, at least from 1531, and it

⁷³ On other extant votive antiphons which are structured so as to allow ritual or spoken texts in between their musical sections see Sandon, 'The Manuscript British Library Harley 1709', 371-375.

is likely that he was also educated there as a child.⁷⁴ From the 1540s he was employed as organist. His Latin-texted music survives in sources dating from the 1520s onwards (see figure 2h): the layer of *FH* in which his Mass *Per arma iustitiae* appears probably dates from the late 1520s,⁷⁵ while his setting of *Ave Dei patris* survives in *Ph*, copied c. 1540.

Figure 2h. Sources of Latin-texted music by John Merbecke

Title	Source
<i>Ave Dei patris filia</i>	<i>Ph</i>
<i>Domine Jesu Christe</i> (Jesus antiphon)	<i>Sadler</i>
Mass <i>Per arma iustitiae</i>	<i>FH</i>

The evidence of the sources thus suggests 1540 as a *terminus ante quem* for *Ave Dei patris*, the approximate date of *Ph*. However, it is possible to push the piece’s composition back further than this. A lot of information survives concerning Merbecke’s biography in the 1530s and 1540s, partly thanks to an account by John Foxe in the 1570 edition of his *Acts and Monuments* which he claims to have heard directly from Merbecke himself.⁷⁶ According to Foxe, and to the testimony given by Merbecke in the preface to his Concordance of the English Bible,⁷⁷ he was a member of a small unofficial reformist enclave at St George’s in the late 1530s and was arrested for possessing heretical writings in 1543. We cannot assume that Merbecke’s conversion to the reformed faith would have prevented him from composing music for the Catholic rite after the mid-1530s, but musical evidence corroborates the hypothesis that Merbecke’s extant Latin music dates from before his conversion. The Mass

⁷⁴ The preface to Merbecke’s Concordance to the English Bible, addressed to Edward VI, states that he was ‘altogether brought up in your highnes College at Wyndstore, in the study of Musike and playing on Organs’. Merbecke, *A Concorda[n]ce, that is to saie, a worke wherein by the ordre of the letters of the A. B. C. ye maie redely finde any worde conteigned in the whole Bible, so often as it is there expressed or mencioned* (London, 1550: RSTC 17300), f. aii^r.

⁷⁵ John Bergsagel, ‘The Date and Provenance of the Forrest-Heyther Collection of Tudor Masses’, *M&L*, 44 (1963), 246-248.

⁷⁶ John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*, 1570 edition (Sheffield: HRI Online Publications, 2011), viii. 1438. Online access via <www.johnfoxe.org>, accessed 21 January 2016. Foxe’s reliability, particularly his use of eyewitnesses, has been affirmed by the most recent commentators. See Thomas Freeman, ‘“As True a Subject Being Prysoner”: John Foxe’s Notes on the Imprisonment of Princess Elizabeth, 1554-5’, *EHR*, 117 (2002), 107-110; Stefan J. Smart, ‘John Foxe and “The Story of Richard Hun, Martyr”’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 37 (1986), 8; I. Ross Bartlett, ‘John Foxe as Hagiographer: The Question Revisited’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26 (1995), 780-781, 788-789.

⁷⁷ Merbecke, *A Concordance*, f. aii^r.

Per arma iustitiae was certainly written by the late 1520s, and there are many similarities between the Mass and *Ave Dei patris filia*—compare, for example, the final cadence of *Ave Dei patris* with that of the Gloria of the Mass—which might suggest a similar date for the two pieces. The relative chronology of the Mass and antiphon is hard to assess, given the lack of material available for comparison, and similarity of style is by no means always evidence of contemporaneity, but the similarities in fugal procedure and strategy at section breaks between the two pieces would suggest that they were composed at a similar time. Most of the stylistic differences between the two, such as Merbecke’s predilection for canon in *Ave Dei patris*, and for semiminim movement in *Per arma iustitiae*, can be accounted for by the very different procedures involved in the composition of a paraphrase Mass on a cantus firmus compared to an antiphon designed to imitate the style of a predecessor. The use of mostly white notes in *Ave Dei patris* settings had been well established by Fayrfax, Tallis and Taverner. On the basis of its stylistic similarity to the Mass we can assume that Merbecke’s *Ave Dei patris* was most likely composed in the 1520s or early 1530s, when (assuming a birth date of no earlier than 1500-1505)⁷⁸ the composer was in his twenties.

2.5.2. Similarities to Fayrfax’s setting

Of all the post-Fayrfax *Ave Dei patris* settings, Merbecke’s is the only one to imitate not only the structure and musical material of Fayrfax’s setting, but also the timbre and sound quality. The cleffing, mode and range of Merbecke’s piece are identical to those of Fayrfax’s.⁷⁹ Unlike Taverner and Tallis, Merbecke also considered mode an important characteristic to imitate. The melodic and modal procedure of his setting is identical to Fayrfax’s at the end of stanza 4: at the word *proxima* both composers use a descending scale from C to G# in the triplex to reach a major triad on E (Merbecke bars 116-7; Fayrfax bars 106-7). Towards the end of stanza 5, like Fayrfax, he begins to add B flats in order to change the mode, and dwells

⁷⁸ Merbecke’s birth date has been the source of some controversy. Currently, a birth date of 1505 is normally assumed to be correct given the date of the Mass *Per arma iustitiae* and the birth of Merbecke’s son Roger in 1535 (Robin A. Leaver, ‘Marbeck [Merbecke], John’, *GMO*; David Mateer, ‘Marbeck [Merbecke], John (c.1505–1585?), composer and writer’, *ODNB*). This dating was first proposed by John Bergsagel in 1963 (Bergsagel, ‘The Date and Provenance’, 247-8), to correct the suggestion of 1510 made by the editors of *Tudor Church Music* in 1929. Bergsagel’s suggestion was not immediately accepted since it rests on his dating of the first layer of *FH*: see the exchange between Nick Sandon and Herbert Byard (Byard, ‘Farewell to Merbecke?’, *MT*, 114 (1973), 300; Sandon, ‘Merbecke’, *MT*, 114 (1973), 597-8.) Merbecke is unlikely to have been born much earlier than 1505 since he is still recorded as sole organist of St George’s in 1584, but an alternative date of 1500 must be suggested to account for the possibility that *Ave Dei patris* predates the Mass.

⁷⁹ Sandon’s Antico edition is transposed up a perfect fourth from Merbecke’s original.

on the word 'obsequiosa', which includes a B flat, by treating it fugally (bars 118-142, at bars 137-8). This change of mode happens again at the beginning of the Amen, in a very similar way to Fayrfax's setting: not by means of the rising fourth as in stanza 5, but the rising minor third, G-B flat (Merbecke bars 215-8; Fayrfax bars 311-4). Unlike the other composers, Merbecke does not use *noema* for the *Ave* acclamation between stanzas 2 and 3, although he ends his setting of the word on a triad on F, as Fayrfax does (Merbecke bars 52-4; Fayrfax bars 51-3).

There are also motivic and textural similarities between the pieces, although these are surprisingly few considering the attention Merbecke paid to his model in other respects. Merbecke preserves the order of the first voice entries in stanza 1 and Fayrfax's voicing at 'Dei filii mater' (bars 8-10). Like Tallis's and Fayrfax's, his contratenor enters late in stanza 2, but at the words 'filia clementissima', rather than 'summae veritatis' (bars 33-6). Instead of using antiphony to conclude stanza 3, Merbecke takes up the descending scale from c", found in Fayrfax's triplex, and treats it fugally in the bassus, contratenor and triplex (Merbecke bars 84-8; Fayrfax bars 80-82). In stanza 6, Merbecke develops Fayrfax's rising scale on the word 'misericordiae', again treating it fugally (Merbecke bars 146-7; Fayrfax bars 171-3). Unlike Fayrfax, he opens stanza 7 with all five voices (bar 162), but his 'Esto nobis', like Fayrfax's, is sung by only the medius, tenor and bassus (Merbecke bars 194-202; Fayrfax bars 271-86), and his 'O gloriosissima', while it is set for all five voices, makes a feature of Fayrfax's rising fifth D-A (Merbecke bars 203-8; Fayrfax bars 287-8). In the context of the whole piece, these tiny melodic citations are much less significant than his use of Fayrfax's overall modal and timbral plan.

Merbecke incorporates an almost literally canonical passage in stanza 2, adopting and extending a fugal passage at the same point in Fayrfax's setting (Merbecke bars 40-52; Fayrfax bars 34-45). Like Fayrfax's, Merbecke's canon here is between the contratenor and bassus, at the words 'summae veritatis' and 'summae bonitatis'. While Fayrfax's imitation is not literal in its disposition of tones and semitones, and the timing of the second entry is different at each point, Merbecke's canonic entries are literal at the octave and each at the interval of a bar. This is consistent with the increased use of imitation throughout his setting in comparison to those of the other 1520s settings: see also, for example, the close of stanza 2 from bar 40 onwards, and the passage 'singulariter obsequiosa' at the end of stanza 5, bars 135-142.

The attention paid to structure and modality in Merbecke's treatment of his model, and his fondness for canonic entries, suggests a learned attitude towards composition which is consistent with the scholarly Merbecke depicted recently by Hyun-Ah Kim.⁸⁰ Merbecke's extensive reading is well-evidenced in his published writings, and his studies as a choirboy would have schooled him well enough in music theory that he was able to compose canons fluently and manipulate hexachord mutations in order to enable sight-reading.⁸¹ The aspects of Fayrfax's setting which Merbecke chose to adopt would have been familiar from his education at the St George's song school, and it is likely that he chose to imitate Fayrfax in order to further that education. The precision with which Merbecke adopted Fayrfax's work, especially in its structure, and his age at the time of composition suggest that, like Tallis, Merbecke imitated Fayrfax as an example of good compositional practice.

2.6. Robert Johnson's setting

2.6.1. Biography

Robert Johnson's life has been the subject of much scholarly speculation, and is still poorly understood; no documentary evidence survives to confirm any stage of his career. Most of what is known of his life is derived from comments and marginalia in the manuscripts that contain his music.⁸² The sources containing biographical information—the Sadler partbooks, John Baldwin's commonplace book, and Thomas Wode's partbooks—are unanimous in describing him as a priest. John Sadler simply attributes *Ave Dei patris filia* to 'Robert Johnson priest'.⁸³ According to Baldwin, Johnson was a 'peticanon of windsore', presumably

⁸⁰ See Kim, *Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music*, which argues that Merbecke's *Book of Common Prayer Noted* and literary works show a deep understanding of Erasmian humanism. In particular, Kim analyses the style of declamation in *BCPN* in terms of contemporary discourse on plainchant, rhetoric, and text-music relations, and suggests that Merbecke's style of chant placed him at the very forefront of sixteenth-century debates on the subject. Kim's depiction of Merbecke as scholar has been strongly criticised by Roger Bowers (Bowers, '*Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music in Early Modern England*', 562). Bowers is correct in pointing out Kim's lack of evidence for the 'reform of plainchant' in the mid-sixteenth century, but otherwise his case is overstated: Merbecke's writings give ample evidence of his learning.

⁸¹ Jane Flynn, 'The Education of Choristers in England during the Sixteenth Century' in Morehen (ed.), *English Choral Practice*, 183.

⁸² For a summary of the current state of research into Johnson's biography, see David Mateer, 'Johnson, Robert (d. after 1549), composer', *ODNB*.

⁸³ *GB-Ob* Mus. e. 1, f. 28^v. 'Quod M^r Robert Johnson priste'; Mus. e. 2, f. 26^f, 'Quod Master Robert Johnson priste'; Mus. e. 3, f. 26^f, 'Quod m^r Rob[er]t Johnson p[ri]ste'; Mus. e. 5, f. 24^f, 'Quod Master Robert Johnson preste'. The attribution in Mus. e. 4 is illegible due to damage to the manuscript.

referring to St George's Chapel.⁸⁴ It is not clear whether this comment postdates Baldwin's own arrival at St George's, but his suggestion that Johnson worked there is corroborated by the fact that both the Johnson pieces copied in *24d2*, at a time for which there is documentary evidence for Baldwin's presence at Windsor, are *unica*.

However, the vast majority of our information about Johnson's life comes from the partbooks of Thomas Wode. The bulk of these partbooks was copied by Wode himself between 1562 and his death in 1592, and the books that survive today once formed part of two complete sets of four partbooks each, principally containing vernacular metrical psalms.⁸⁵ Wode was connected with St Andrew's Kirk from at least 1565,⁸⁶ and describes himself in his partbooks as 'vicar of Sanctandrous'.⁸⁷ His narrative of Johnson's life was evidently gleaned from the oral accounts of his musical acquaintances, and appears in a series of brief snippets written in the margins of his partbooks, of which the following are the most informative:

- a) *GB-Eu* MS La III. 483 (c), p. 158 (beside the psalm setting *Domine in virtute tua*): 'finis q[uod] Ane blind Inglishe man [perhaps William More]⁸⁸ / not trew/ this wes ane scottis preist borne in dunce [most likely Duns in Berwickshire] his name Robart Jhonson, fled for accusation of heresy Thomas hutsons father knew him weil'
- b) *GB-Eu* MS La III. 483 (a), p. 168 (*Deus misereatur*): 'Set i[n] ingland i[n]deid; Bot be ane scott[is] preist quha wes diletit for ane heretyke and fled in ingland Thomas hutcheon that is with the kyng knew hin i[n] ingland, & sa the first and report wes "wrang",'
- c) *GB-Eu* MS La III. 483 (b), p. 156 (*Domine in virtute*): 'Set in ingland in tyme of papistry: ix or x 3eiris before reformation'
- d) *Ibid.*, p. 158 (*Deus misereatur*): 'Set in Ingland ten or xii 3eiris before reformation'.

According to Wode's account, Robert Johnson was born in the Scottish Borders; was ordained priest; was either officially accused of heresy, or tried for it, or both; and as a result fled to England, where he composed two Latin psalm settings either in the late 1530s (if by

⁸⁴ *GB-Och* Mus. 980, n^o. 5. That Johnson was at St George's sometime in the sixteenth century cannot be verified, since there are several gaps in the chapel records in which the petty canons were listed. In particular, records do not survive from most of the 1530s, from 1549-1553, and from 1559-62. See Mateer, 'Johnson, Robert'; and Edmund Fellowes, *The Vicars or Minor Canons of His Majesty's Free Chapel of St. George in Windsor Castle* (Windsor: Oxley and Son, [1945]), 16f.

⁸⁵ The most complete study of the partbooks is still a thesis by Hilda Hutchinson, 'The St. Andrews Psalter: Transcription and Critical Study of Thomas Wode's Psalter' (BMus thesis: Edinburgh University, 1957). More recently, they have been studied as part of the AHRC-funded project, 'Singing the Reformation': see <<http://www.wode.div.ed.ac.uk/index.html>>, accessed 7 April 2016.

⁸⁶ Hutchinson, 'The St. Andrews Psalter', 8.

⁸⁷ *IRL-Dtc* MS 412, f. 15^v.

⁸⁸ The suggestion that Wode's 'blind Inglishe man' refers to William More was made to me by John Milsom.

‘reformation’ Wode was referring to the first English religious settlement of 1549) or the late 1540s (if he meant the Scottish Reformation of 1559-60, or the second English religious settlement of 1559). From this narrative David Mateer has inferred that Johnson’s escape to England is ‘unlikely to predate 1547’ since ‘[during] the reign of Henry VIII protestant heretics were no safer in England than in Scotland’,⁸⁹ thereby encouraging a dating of *Domine in virtute* and *Deus misereatur* in the 1540s rather than the 1530s. But in fact, the arrival of Scottish religious refugees in England began at least as early as 1538. A considerable number of reformers left Scotland in the reign of James V, the vast majority in the years 1538-40.⁹⁰ Most of those who arrived in England in 1539 had been accused of promoting, or reading, vernacular Scripture, which since the previous year had been officially sanctioned south of the border.⁹¹ Therefore, if Johnson arrived in England as a refugee, it was most likely a decade earlier than Mateer suggests.⁹²

For information about Johnson after his arrival in England we must turn to another source: the many English manuscripts and prints containing his music that date from the 1540s and 1550s. In these sources Johnson appears repeatedly with composers active in London in the reign of Edward VI. His music is found in *Wanley* along with the London composers Thomas Causton, William Mundy, Thomas Tallis, John Sheppard, Christopher Tye, Robert Okeland, Robert Stone, and William Whytbroke. However, *Wanley* also contains a considerable number of anonyma, and pieces by Thomas Knight of Salisbury Cathedral and the otherwise unknown Heath.⁹³ The Mulliner keyboard book, compiled in the 1560s, has a

⁸⁹ Mateer, ‘Johnson, Robert’, *ODNB*.

⁹⁰ Alec Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2006), 42.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁹² Virginia Covert Colla’s claim that Johnson arrived in England ‘to escape persecution sometime between c. 1528 and c. 1535’ is based on Henry Farmer’s suggestion that Johnson’s escape may have been motivated by the burning of Patrick Hamilton for heresy in 1528, and Kenneth Elliott’s own dating (given without elaboration) of his emigration to 1535 (Colla, ‘The Sacred Music of Robert Johnson [c. 1500-c. 1560]’ [DMA dissertation: University of Illinois, 1986], 17; 28-9.) Otherwise there is no corroborating evidence for either of these dates. Colla’s assertion has subsequently been cited by Jane Flynn as evidence to identify a clerk of St Thomas’s Chapel, London Bridge, from 1528-30 as the composer. Flynn, ‘A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book (British Library Add. Ms 30513): Music Education in Sixteenth-Century England’ (PhD dissertation: Duke University, 1993), 76.

⁹³ ‘Heath’ may refer to Thomas Hethe, master of the children at Westminster Abbey during the reign of Mary I, or the organist of Exeter Cathedral from 1558, or both. Flynn, ‘A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book’, 75. On Knight and his possible London connections see Mateer, ‘The “Gyffard” Partbooks: Composers, Owners, Date and Provenance’, *RMARC*, 28 (1995), 27-8.

clear London provenance,⁹⁴ and contains an arrangement of Johnson's macaronic carol *Benedicam Domino* and his secular song *Defiled is my name*. *Benedicam Domino* also appears in *GB-Lna* S. P. 1/246, a bassus partbook probably copied during the 1550s, which has several concordances with *Mulliner* and includes music by Sheppard.⁹⁵

Further hints that Johnson may have been connected with London are found in John Day's *Certaine Notes*, published in London in the 1560s; this contains settings attributed to Johnson of *I give you a new commandment*; *O eternal God, almighty*; and *Relieve us O Lord* (the last a contrafact of *Deus misereatur*).⁹⁶ David Mateer points out that Johnson appears here along with other composers active in Edward VI's London, suggesting that he may also

Figure 2i. Composers in *Certaine Notes*

Composer	Employment c. 1545-1555
Thomas Causton	Listed as Gentleman of the Chapel Royal c. 1550
Robert Hasilton	Unknown; may have been the Robert Haselton who lived in the parish of St Nicholas Cole Abbey, London, and who was buried (perhaps having died of plague) in St Paul's churchyard on 13 November 1578
Heath (Thomas?)	Master of the Children at Westminster Abbey, 1553-1558
Thomas Knight	Organist of Salisbury Cathedral until 1543 or later
Robert Okeland	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal before 1545, left (or died) after 1547
John Sheppard	Became Gentleman of the Chapel Royal between 1548 and 1552; exact date of enrolment unknown
Robert Stone	Listed as Yeoman of Chapel Royal in 1546 and as Gentleman in 1553
Thomas Tallis	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal from before 1544
Whitbroke	Sub-dean of St Paul's Cathedral from 1534

⁹⁴ *Mulliner* was bound in London. (Flynn, 'A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book', 19). Thomas Mulliner, the original owner, also appears to have been a pupil of the London musician John Heywood (ibid., 71-2), and many of the composers and poets represented in the book can be shown to have been in London for at least part of their careers (ibid., 74-8).

⁹⁵ On *1/246*, see Denis Stevens, 'A Part-Book in the Public Record Office', *Music Survey*, 2 (1950), 160-170. Stevens dates the partbook to 'the latter part of Henry VIII's reign', based on the fact that it was found among state papers dating from the mid-1540s. However, its contents are probably Edwardian or even later: they include a secular contrafact of an anthem by Sheppard, *I will give thanks unto the Lord*, and an anthem *If ye love me* (not Tallis's famous setting). The handwriting of the latter half of the manuscript seems to me more characteristic of the second half of the sixteenth century than of the first.

⁹⁶ *Certaine notes set forth in foure and three parts to be song at the morning communion, and euening praier very necessarie for the Church of Christe to be frequented and vsed: & vnto them added diuers godly praiers & Psalmes in the the like forme to the honor & praise of God* (London, 1560-65: RSTC 6418 and 6419).

have worked in the capital at this time.⁹⁷ Almost all of the composers in *Certaines Notes*, even the very best known, were active there, mostly at the Chapel Royal, within a very short time period (see figure 2i).⁹⁸ Even the sole piece by Taverner, *In trouble and adversity*, is a contrafact of his *In Nomine* attributed to Causton.⁹⁹ The evidence of the surviving musical sources thus suggests that Johnson worked in or near London during the reign of Edward VI, and may have had connections to the Chapel Royal, either through St George's Chapel or in person.¹⁰⁰

2.6.2. Allusions to other settings of Ave Dei patris

One question which may assist in identifying the provenance of Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* is whether it shows signs of awareness of other settings of the same text, and given the possibility that he spent part of his career at Windsor, any correspondences between his setting and Merbecke's must be carefully examined. There are signs that Johnson was indeed familiar with Merbecke's setting. Like Merbecke, and unlike any of the other attributed composers of *Ave Dei patris* settings, Johnson brings in the contratenor in stanza 2 on the words 'filia clementissima', not on 'summae veritatis' (bar 31). Johnson also follows Merbecke in his contrapuntal procedure in stanza 2. Here both composers make use of canon at the interval of a perfect breve between the outer voices, and this canon is made up of repeated melodic fragments (see figure 2j). Fayrfax's setting is also fugal at this point, which is probably what inspired Merbecke to include a canon here, but the regularity of his and Johnson's counterpoint and the rhythmic correspondence between them argues that Johnson was familiar with his work as well as Fayrfax's. In stanza 5 the procedure of both composers is similar (Johnson bars 109-66; Merbecke bars 118-42). A final point of correspondence with Merbecke is the melodic line on the first *singulariter* of stanza 5 (Johnson bars 115-7; Merbecke bar 121).

Johnson seems also to have known Taverner's setting. Like Taverner, Johnson sets the words 'Ave Jesu' polyphonically, and does not use *noema* at this point, though he does on the word *Ave* that follows stanza 2, following Fayrfax, Taverner and Tallis (bars 49-50 and 80-

⁹⁷ Mateer, 'Johnson, Robert'.

⁹⁸ For Robert Hasilton's burial (see figure 2h, above), see London Metropolitan Archives, St Nicholas Cole Abbey, P69/NIC2/A/001/MS05685 (composite register: baptisms 1538/9-1650, marriages 1584-1650/1, burials 1538-1647), p. 170, online access via www.ancestry.co.uk.

⁹⁹ John Milsom, 'Causton's Contrafacta', *JRMA*, 132 (2007), 2-3.

¹⁰⁰ Hugh Baillie's suggestion that Johnson 'probably had no connection with London' is given without full explanation and is hard to reconcile with the evidence of the sources. Baillie, 'Some Biographical Notes on English Church Musicians, Chiefly Working in London (1485-1560)', *RMARC*, 2 (1962), 41.

Figure 2j. Johnson and Merbecke’s use of quasi-canon in stanza 2 (Contratenor and bassus voices only shown)

The figure displays musical notation for two settings of a text, Merbecke's and Johnson's, focusing on the Contratenor (Ct) and Bassus (B) voices. The notation is presented in three systems, each with a vocal line and a bass line.

Merbecke: Ct (measures 40-41):
 ma, _____ sum -

Merbecke: B (measures 40-41):
 [ma,] _____ sum - me bo - ni - ta -

Johnson: Ct (measures 32-33):
 tis - si - ma _____ sum -

Johnson: B (measures 32-33):
 [si] - ma _____ sum - me ve - ri - ta -

Continuation (Measures 34-35):

Ct: - me bo - ni - ta - tis _____ spon - sa be - nig - nis - si -

B: tis _____ spon - sa be - nig - nis - si - ma _____

Continuation (Measures 36-37):

Ct: - me ve - ri - ta - tis _____ ma - ter pi - is - si - ma

B: tis _____ ma - ter pi - is - si - ma

83). Johnson also adopts Taverner’s use of a three-part texture and identical points of entry in stanza 6, as opposed to Fayrfax who sets this verse as a duet (Johnson bars 166-213; Taverner bars 149-184; Fayrfax bars 161-220), and his melodic line at the words ‘domini ancilla’ in stanza 5 (Johnson bars 147-153; Taverner bars 139-141). This is a particularly prominent moment in Taverner’s setting due to the unusual use of homophony. Johnson sets the text in adjacent fuga—that is, fuga in which the subject is completed in one voice before beginning in another—passing Taverner’s melodic line between the voices so it is heard clearly three times. Elsewhere Johnson’s melodic material and compositional procedure alludes more frequently to Fayrfax’s setting than to any other. His disposition of voices at the very opening, at ‘dei filii’ (bars 9-10), and at the end of stanza 3 (bars 73-80) matches Fayrfax’s exactly.

The melodic line in the triplex at ‘domini sponsa’ in stanza 5 is an almost exact replica of Fayrfax’s (Johnson bars 136-9; Fayrfax bars 131-4). So are the contratenor and tenor entries at the word ‘misericordiae’ in stanza 6: Johnson’s tenor enters the duet at exactly the same moment in the rising scale as Fayrfax’s contratenor, although it is a third rather than a fifth below the higher voice and rises a fourth instead of falling a fifth (Johnson bars 174-6; Fayrfax bars 171-5). Other melodic similarities worth mentioning include ‘imperatrix inferni’, where the quoted melodic shape is repeated by Johnson three times compared to Fayrfax’s once (Johnson bars 197-202; Fayrfax bars 196-9). As discussed above, this method of repetition is also used by Taverner to draw attention to quoted material. Finally, Johnson adopts Fayrfax’s use of a sequence in the bassus at the words ‘Esto nobis via recta’, using a melodic shape that is very similar to Fayrfax’s (Johnson bars 271-6; Fayrfax bars 271-6).

Johnson’s apparent knowledge of Taverner’s and Merbecke’s settings in addition to Fayrfax’s suggests that his own piece was written after 1530. It also adds weight to Baldwin’s testimony, which states that Johnson was a colleague of Merbecke’s at Windsor, with the caveat that Merbecke’s music was relatively well-transmitted, finding its way to Oxford by about 1530 in *FH*.¹⁰¹ The date and political context of Johnson’s *Ave Dei patris* may be further refined by an examination of the surviving sources of his music.

2.6.3. Dating Johnson’s Latin-texted compositions (see figure 2k)

The date and provenance of Johnson’s Latin-texted oeuvre is almost entirely unknown. However, several pieces of evidence combine to suggest that, like his vernacular works, at least some and perhaps all of his surviving Latin-texted music was composed in the London area.

Along with the allusions to Fayrfax, Taverner and Merbecke in his *Ave Dei patris*, as May Hofman has pointed out Johnson’s *Dum transisset Sabbatum* settings also include quotations from Taverner’s own two settings of this text.¹⁰² The vogue for *Dum transisset* settings was probably connected to the repertoire of cantus firmus office music composed for the English Chapel Royal in the 1550s, when Johnson was certainly in England. In her study of the musical links between the various settings of this text by Taverner, Tallis, Sheppard, Strabridge and Johnson, Hofman has argued that with the exception of Tallis’s, all the settings

¹⁰¹ It is just possible that Merbecke had a more personal connection with Oxford: he is recorded as having been present at Magdalen College in 1550. David Skinner, ‘Music and the Reformation at Magdalen’, *Magdalen College Record* (2002), 82-3.

¹⁰² Hofman, ‘The Survival of Latin Sacred Music’, 185.

Figure 2k. Sources of Latin-texted music by Robert Johnson

Title	Sources
<i>Ave Dei patris filia</i> (Antiphon of the Virgin and the Trinity)	<i>Z6</i> (Lord Petre's partbook) <i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 5059 (18 th century) <i>29246</i> (Paston lute-book) <i>34049</i> (Paston) <i>RCM</i> (Paston) <i>Sadler</i> <i>T342</i> (Paston) <i>T354-8</i> (Paston) <i>T807-11</i> (c. 1610) <i>T1464</i> (East Anglia, c. 1565) <i>T1469-71</i> (Paston) <i>T1486</i> and <i>Wilmott</i> (copied by John Sadler)
<i>Deus misereatur nostri</i> (Vulgate Psalm setting)	<i>Wode</i> (St Andrew's, c. 1567-1592) <i>Hamond</i> <i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 4911 (Scotland, c. 1580) <i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 36484 (David Melvill's partbook: Aberdeen, c. 1604)
<i>Domine in virtute tua</i> (Vulgate Psalm setting)	<i>Z6</i> <i>Hamond</i> <i>Sadler</i> <i>T341-4</i> <i>T389</i> and <i>McGhie</i> <i>Baldwin</i> <i>Wode</i>
<i>Dicant nunc Judaei</i> (Processional verse at Matins, Easter Day)	<i>24d2</i> (John Baldwin's commonplace book)
<i>Dum transisset I</i> (Third respond at Matins, Easter Day)	<i>Dow</i> <i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 47844 (miniature partbook, 1581)
<i>Dum transisset II</i>	<i>Gyffard</i>
<i>Gaude Maria virgo</i> (Ninth respond at Matins, Purification of the Virgin; set for paraliturgical use, without section breaks)	<i>Gyffard</i> <i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 31390 (tablebook, a. 1578)
<i>Laudes Deo dicam</i> (Trope Lesson at Mass in <i>gallicantu</i> on Christmas Day)	<i>24d2</i> <i>Baldwin</i> (Mus. 982 only)

are closely connected, and all are derived from Taverner's model.¹⁰³ Judging by Hofman's musical examples,¹⁰⁴ Johnson and Sheppard were at the very centre of this borrowing tradition, and in some cases their pieces are more closely related to each other than they are to Taverner's. This adds evidence to the argument that Johnson was closely connected to the Chapel Royal circle of composers around 1550.

The situation with *Ave Dei patris* is similar. Although Fayrfax's setting of the text had obviously found its way into Scotland by the time Johnson's career began, the same cannot be said for Taverner's or Merbecke's. There is no evidence whatsoever that either of these composers' music was known in Scotland. *Carver*, a royal source which might be expected to be more international in outlook than other contemporary lost sources, had no English music added to it after the 1510s. A fragmentary copy of the Mass *Jesu Christe* by Taverner's contemporary Thomas Ashwell, and Van Wilder's motet *Vidi civitatem* also survive in the so-called 'Lincluden Partbooks' (*GB-Eu 64*), offering further evidence of English music travelling to the Scottish Lowlands, but this source dates from the 1550s and was copied by Robert Douglas (c. 1530-1609), an unusually widely-travelled man.¹⁰⁵

Moreover, an examination of the subsequent reception of Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* reveals a possible connection to Mary I's Counter-Reformation and, consequently, a date of composition significantly after Johnson's move to England. This can be inferred from the contents of the early-seventeenth-century partbook set *GB-Ob MSS Tenbury 807-11*. Although it is very late, this partbook set can allow us to reconstruct earlier patterns of transmission, because it falls into discrete sections, discernible by both content (i.e. genre, language and date), and ink colour, which suggest a process of compilation from a variety of exemplars (see figure 21).¹⁰⁶ The positioning of *Ave Dei patris* in a subset alongside compositions by Sheppard and Tye suggests that the three works came from the same exemplar, a notion supported by the fact that these are the only paraliturgical pieces in the set given marginal titles by the scribe. These three pieces, and the three that follow them, are also written in a distinctive brownish ink which contrasts with that of the previous section, showing that they were not only copied from a different exemplar, but were also copied at a

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., Appendix 1, examples 1-4.

¹⁰⁵ See Kenneth Elliott, "'Church Musick at Dunkell'", *M&L*, 45 (1964), 228-232 at 231; John Milsom, 'Josquin and Jacquet: A New Tudor Source?', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 52 (2002), 117-131.

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix C3 for a palaeographical study of *T807-11*.

Figure 21. Contents of *GB-Ob* Tenbury MS 807, showing layers of copying

Folio	Incipit	Title	Modern title	Attribution	Composer
1-1v	Descendit de caelis		<i>Descendit de caelis</i>	[none]	William Byrd
1v	Domine, domine, domine non sum dignus		<i>Domine non sum dignus</i>	[none]	William Byrd
2 – 3v	Infelix ego, omnium auxilio		<i>Infelix ego</i>	[none]	William Byrd
3v-4v	Afflicti : Pro peccatis nostris		<i>Afflicti pro peccatis nostris</i>	[none]	William Byrd
4v-5	Cunctis diebus		<i>Cunctis diebus</i>	[none]	William Byrd
5v	Domine, salva nos		<i>Domine salva nos</i>	[none]	William Byrd
5v-6	Hæc dies, qui fecit dominus		<i>Haec dies</i>	m ^r Bird	William Byrd
6-7v	Manus tue fecerunt me		<i>Manus tuae fecerunt me</i>	m ^r White	Robert White
7v-10	Gaude. gloriosa dei mater		<i>Gaude gloriosa</i>	m ^r Tallis	Thomas Tallis
10-11v	Anne mulieris, sanctissima		<i>Salve intemerata</i>	m ^r Tallis	Thomas Tallis
11v-12	Et exultavit spiritus meus		<i>Magnificat</i>	m ^r Taverner	John Taverner
12v-13v	Ex mortuis. Jam non moritur		<i>Christus resurgens</i>	m ^r Willi[am] Parsons	William Parsons
13v-14	Behold how good & ioyfull a thing it is			[none]	Anonymous
14v	Let god arise. and let his enemies be scattered			[none]	Anonymous
15-15v	If the lord himselfe had not beene on our side		<i>If the Lord himself</i>	[none]	Matthew Jeffreys
15v-16v	Sing we merrilye		<i>Sing we merrily II</i>	[none]	Matthew Jeffreys
16v-17	Out of the deepe have I called unto the O lord		<i>Out of the deep</i>	m ^r Jeffries	Matthew Jeffreys
17-17v	Gloria in excelsis deo [...] Sing my soule		<i>Gloria in excelsis Deo. Sing my soul to God</i>	m ^r Tho[mas] week[es]	Thomas Weelkes
17v-18	Hosanna, hosanna, to the sonne of David		<i>Hosanna to the Son of David</i>	m ^r Tho[mas] week[es]	Thomas Weelkes
18-18v	When David heard. that Absolon was slaine		<i>When David heard</i>	m ^r Tho[mas] week[es]	Thomas Weelkes
18v-19v	In thee O lord put I my trust		<i>In thee O Lord put I my trust</i>	Doctor Bull	John Bull
20-21	Gaude virgo christipera	Gaude virgo christipera	<i>Gaude virgo Christophera</i>	m ^r John Shepherd	John Sheppard
21-22	Tue tamen clementie	Peccavimus	<i>Peccavimus cum patribus nostris</i>	Doctor Tye	Christopher Tye
22v-23v	Ave. dei, patris, filia, nobilissima	Ave dei p[at]ris	<i>Ave Dei patris filia</i>	m ^r Johnson	Robert Johnson
24	Laboravi, in gemitu laboravi		<i>Laboravi in gemitu meo</i>	m ^r Thomas Week[es]	Thomas Weelkes
24v	Vox in rama, audita est		<i>Vox in rama</i>	Georg Kirbye	George Kirby
25-26v	Et exultavit spiritus meus	Et exultavit	<i>Magnificat</i>	m ^r Robert Parsons	Robert Parsons
26v-27v	Et exultavit, spiritus meus		<i>Magnificat</i>	m ^r Robert White/ Bach: of Musique	Robert White
28v	Laura gentil (untexted)		<i>Laura gentil</i>	R: Paradiso	Renaldo Paradiso
29-30v	Et exultavit spiritus meus		<i>Magnificat</i>	[none]	Robert Parsons

different time. As discussed in chapter 3, it is likely that both Tye’s *Peccavimus cum patribus nostris* and Sheppard’s *Gaude virgo Christophera* were associated with the regime of Mary I at the time that *T807-11* was copied. The transmission of Johnson’s *Ave Dei patris* alongside these highly allusive mid-century antiphons suggests that to the compiler of *T807-11* or that of its exemplar, Johnson’s antiphon carried similar contextual associations.

The musical content of the antiphon itself displays characteristics consistent with a considerably later date of composition than that of Taverner’s, Tallis’s or Merbecke’s settings, and a date in the 1540s or 1550s, while surprising, would not be problematic in terms of style. Johnson uses many of the same techniques in *Ave Dei patris* as he uses in *Domine in virtute tua*, which according to Wode was composed after his emigration to England. Johnson makes frequent and consistent use of fuga, and also occasionally uses snippets of true stretto fuga as a device to create entries (see figure 2m).¹⁰⁷ These passages of stretto are very short, never more than five notes in length, in contrast to *Domine in virtute* where entire 5-voice textures are built from overlapping stretto entries. However, they are very striking when used here, in a genre from which this technique is normally alien. They suggest that *Ave Dei patris* was influenced by Johnson’s experience of composing in a more modern style, with more consistent use of fuga, during the 1540s.

Figure 2m. Use of stretto fuga in Robert Johnson’s *Ave Dei patris filia*

Bars	Voices
18-19	M, Ct
32-33	T, B
37	T, B
41-42	Ct, B
84	Ct, T
87-91	Tr, M; Ct, T
96-97	Ct, B
136-137	T, B
153-154	M, T
268-70	Tr, M

Bars 287-290 are not stretto fuga, but they do make use of strict fuga in a way that is relatively unusual in votive antiphon style.

¹⁰⁷ The phrase ‘stretto fuga’ was first used by John Milsom in 2005 (‘Absorbing Lassus’, *EM*, 33 (2005), 106) and developed subsequently in later work (See Milsom, ‘Making a Motet: Josquin’s *Ave Maria... virgo serena*’, in Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (eds), *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 183-199.) It describes the practice of improvising canon with a delay of only one note, usually at the fifth but sometimes at the octave or fourth.

The harmonic orientation of some of Johnson's fuga, and his cadences and their approaches, is strikingly adventurous for a votive antiphon. A significant example of this is the series of adjacent fugal entries which begin at bar 98, on the phrase 'sessioni proxima'. The tenor enters first with a rising scale beginning on B^b. The other voices then enter in succession, outlining a rising cycle of fifths; the bassus enters last after a bar's delay repeating exactly the triplex's entry on G, effectively prolonging G harmony which leads to a cadence on D. Secondly, Johnson's setting of stanza 6, ends with a very distinctive four-part cadence in the style of a polyphonic metrical psalm, with the harmony changing every minim, and is then followed by a dramatic slowing-down of the harmonic movement at the beginning of stanza 7 (bars 209-216). This shift from minim-beat chord changes to a sustained G harmony over two breves emphasises the solemnity of the final stanza, with its list of epithets drawn entirely from the Marian liturgy. A final feature suggesting that Johnson was familiar with progressive ways of manipulating harmonic movement is the preparation for the final cadence, from bar 300 onwards. The whole of this passage can be interpreted as an extended dominant, circling around a triad of D minor and its mediant, B^b and F, reinterpreting these characteristically early-sixteenth-century tertiary relationships in order to create movement towards the end of the piece. All of these harmonically-oriented features suggest that Johnson was influenced by a variety of different styles: not just the votive antiphon, but also the mid-century fugal style which he had used in his psalm settings.

Fortunately, one votive antiphon survives from the 1550s whose date is known with near-certainty and which can serve as comparison with *Ave Dei patris*: William Mundy's *Vox patris caelestis*, which is discussed further in the previous and following chapters.¹⁰⁸ Mundy's Marian music, like Johnson's *Ave Dei patris*, bears traces of both the Henrician votive antiphon and later fugal styles. *Vox patris caelestis* shares many stylistic features with *Ave Dei patris*: short entries of stretto fuga (such as in bars 22-3, 58-60, 63-4, 170-1, 180-1, 206-7, 207-8, 232, 237-8), and similar mid-century-style cadences, decorated in *Vox patris* with flattened sevenths (e.g. bars 226-7, 237-8, 240-1, 247-8). Mundy's and Johnson's antiphons both exploit rapid ascending scales to create movement against an otherwise static harmonic background: in *Ave Dei patris* this is found in bars 198-202, and in *Vox patris caelestis*, during the final Amen in order to build up momentum towards the cadence.

Comparison of Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* with the pieces appearing alongside it in *T807-11—Gaude virgo Christophera* and *Peccavimus cum patribus nostris*—is also revealing.

¹⁰⁸ See ch. 1, pp. 24-26, and ch. 3, p. 133.

Like *Ave Dei patris*, Tye's *Peccavimus* contains many examples of stretto fuga (see bars 62-4, 73, 101-3, 112-5, 194-7, and 205-8). The two pieces also share a penchant for descending triadic figuration, which is pervasive in the Amen sections of both. Both Tye and Johnson use the same standard harmonisation for this descending triad figure: compare, for example, bars 59-60 of *Peccavimus* with bars 311-2 of *Ave Dei patris*. A date for Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* in the 1540s or 1550s, therefore, is stylistically unproblematic, and is positively supported by the evidence of *T807-11*. His composition marks the first stage in the afterlife of the *Ave Dei patris* tradition, over four or even five decades after Fayrfax's piece was first written.

2.7. The anonymous settings

Figure 2n. Text set by 'Harley Anonymous', with variants from Fayrfax's text in red

1. Ave Dei Patris filia nobilissima Dei filia mater dignissima Dei Spiritus Sancti venustissima Dei unius et trini ancilla subiectissima	[5. Ave domini: tacet]
[2. Ave summae: tacet]	6. Ave plena gracia poli regina Misericordie mater miseris preclara Mundi domina a patriarchis prefigura Imperatrix inferni a prophetis preconizata
3. Ave eterne caritatis desideratissima Eterne sapiencie mater gratissima Eterne spiracionis sponsa sacratissima Coeterne maiestatis ancilla sincerissima	[Stanza 7 is not set] Esto nobis via recta Ad eterna gaudia Ubi pax est et gloria
4. Ave Jesu tui filii filia Christi Dei tui mater alma Sponsi sponsa sine ulla macula Deitatis ancilla cessioni proxima	['O gloriosissima' is not set] Amen

The two anonymous *Ave Dei patris* settings in *Lambeth* and *H1709* bear little resemblance to the settings by named composers. While the setting in *H1709* appears, broadly speaking, to follow the disposition of voices laid out in Fayrfax's setting, the one in *Lambeth* does not, and neither recycle material from earlier settings. In the case of 'Harley Anonymous', the reason for this is clear. Rather than setting the same text as Fayrfax, this piece uses a version of the prayer printed by Richard Pynson in 1513, with the seventh stanza and part of the final petition omitted (see figure 2n).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ 'Septem salutationes ad beatam Mariam virginem nostram mediatricem efficacissimam', in *Hore Marie virginis s[e]c[un]d[u]m vsu[m] Saru[m]* (London: Richard Pynson, [1513]), f. 192^v. The title, 'Seven salutations to the blessed Virgin Mary, our most effective mediatrix', makes the prayer's

It is not possible to say with certainty that Pynson's text postdates that set by Fayrfax. On balance, however, more of Pynson's variants look like corruptions of Fayrfax's than the other way round. The first line of his stanza 4 is closer to Dante's original than the same line in Fayrfax's version. 'filia' in stanza 1 looks more like an error than a genuine variant and there is little to choose between 'meritis' and 'miseris' in stanza 6. However, 'Spiritus Sancti' in stanza 1 disrupts the *filia, mater, sponsa, ancilla* pattern of the other two extant stanzas in Harley 1709 and of Fayrfax's text, while 'a patriarchis prefigura' in stanza 6 is grammatically unsatisfactory compared to the past participle, 'presignata', in Fayrfax's version.

It is thus likely that 'Harley Anonymous' composed his setting after 1513 directly inspired by Pynson's text. The circumstances surrounding the composition by 'Lambeth Anonymous', which uses a text close to Fayrfax's, are less easy to explain. It is most likely that he was a local composer working in the Arundel area, where the manuscript was copied.¹¹⁰ He probably encountered the text in one of its other musical settings, but since no source known to have been used at Arundel survives of any other *Ave Dei patris* setting, it is impossible to confirm this.¹¹¹

The real value of the setting by 'Lambeth Anonymous' for this study is that by offering an example of an independently conceived treatment of the same text, it can reveal just how pervasive was the influence of Fayrfax on the other composers of *Ave Dei patris* settings. For example, the final climax of the *Lambeth* setting begins at the phrase 'ad eterna gaudia': here all the voices enter after a long period of reduced scoring, perhaps illustrating either the 'joy' expressed in the text or the choirs of the faithful in heaven. Following Fayrfax's example, the named composers tend to be rather understated at this point, reducing the scoring at 'Esto nobis' and not reinstating the full choir until later. Fayrfax and Taverner withhold full scoring until the 'Amen', Tallis until 'Amen' or possibly the last syllable of 'Maria', Johnson until 'Ubi pax est et gloria', Merbecke until 'O gloriosissima'. Similarly, Fayrfax's decision not to create a section break before the line 'Salve parens inclita', preserving the four-line stanzaic structure rather than emphasising the new address of the

connection to the standard Horae text *Gaude flore virginali* (as described in chapter 2) explicit. See also Benham, *John Taverner II: Votive Antiphons*, 168.

¹¹⁰ See David Skinner, 'Discovering the Provenance and History of the Caius and Lambeth Choirbooks', *EM*, 25 (1997), 245-266; the Arundel provenance of *Lambeth* has been confirmed by Bowers, 'More on the Lambeth Choirbook', 659-60.

¹¹¹ For a transcription and discussion of the 'Lambeth Anonymous' setting, including evidence that it was composed by Walter Lambe, see Sandon (ed.), 'Anonymous (Lambeth choirbook), Ave dei patris filia', Antico Edition RCM32.

Virgin for rhetorical effect, is also taken up by all the named composers (with the possible exception of Tallis whose tenor part is lost), all of whom blend this line seamlessly into the texture using overlapping entries. However, ‘Lambeth Anonymous’ takes the opposite decision, dramatically altering the scoring at this point and highlighting the acclamation of the Virgin, ‘Salve’, just as the word ‘Ave’ is emphasised elsewhere. The fact that his decisions in both these cases can be justified so easily highlights the thoroughness with which Fayrfax’s composition was absorbed by its later imitators: even his most idiosyncratic decisions were adopted as worthy of emulation.

2.8. Conclusions

Why did such a disparate group of composers as Taverner, Tallis and Merbecke, working at different institutions, all decide to write votive antiphons modelled on Fayrfax’s *Ave Dei patris filia* around 1520? We do not know which composer wrote his setting first, nor whether these three younger composers were aware of one another’s settings. It is likely, however, that the three composers had different motivations in creating their settings of the text. While for Taverner writing an *Ave Dei patris* setting was an act of competition, attempting to surpass his model in creativity and complexity, Tallis and Merbecke seem to have used Fayrfax’s setting primarily as an example of good practice, an exercise in text-setting and textural and modal variety, to be emulated as part of their compositional development. Robert Johnson’s setting, being almost certainly much later than the other three, takes a different approach. In his composition he was able to look back and survey all the settings then available, and invoke them all as emblems of good practice and compositional tradition. As the earliest piece of evidence to suggest that several different *Ave Dei patris* settings could be viewed as a cohesive group, his composition marks the first stage in the ‘afterlife’ of the *Ave Dei patris* corpus. It can also be situated within the new modes of mid-century Marian devotion discussed in the next chapter, which similarly constitute a revival of the votive antiphon tradition following the reforms of Edward VI’s reign.

The rationale behind musical imitation, *imitatio* and intertextuality in English repertory has been explored very little in comparison to that in mainland Europe. However, the surviving music suggests that borrowing practices in England were not significantly different to those on the European mainland, to the extent that they can be characterised in the same way. In particular, the manner in which English composers treated *Ave Dei patris* settings is a close match for the way late fifteenth-century mainland European composers

often treated their own models: in Mayer Brown's words *à propos* of late fifteenth-century chansons modelled on previous compositions, 'the structural framework of the exemplary chanson is borrowed for the new, usually with close reliance on the older melodic material'.¹¹² The realisation that 'insular' and mainland European composers were incorporating the same principles of *imitatio* and borrowing in their work, albeit in the context of quite different musical styles, argues for a narrowing of the epistemological gulf between the musics of the two regions, and the inclusion of Henrician music in compositional studies of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries which conventionally have been limited to mainland European music. The *Ave Dei patris* corpus furthermore reveals Fayrfax's status as a musical authority in the years immediately following his death, a status which later afforded his music the opportunity to survive the turmoil of the English Reformations.

¹¹² Mayer Brown, 'Emulation, Competition, and Homage', 15.

PART 2. TRANSFORMATION

Chapter 3. The English Reformations and the Marian votive antiphon

3.1. Introduction

The response of Elizabethan collectors to the devotional polyphony proscribed by the Elizabethan Settlement cannot be properly assessed without some understanding of the actual impact of the Settlement on their musical experience. This in turn relies on at least two further considerations. The first is the changing dynamic of Marian devotion in the decades before 1559, particularly following the first Henrician liturgical reforms in the late 1530s, and its effect on the ways that both clergy and laypeople accessed votive polyphony. Any changes to the contexts in which such polyphony was performed are likely to have had a profound effect on its significative power. The second consideration to be made is the effect, if any, that the 1559 settlement had on public attitudes to pre-Reformation culture, and to Marian devotion and music in particular.

Most recent scholarship on Marian devotion, particularly in the disciplines of social and religious history, argues for a gradual decrease in emphasis on the Virgin's role in salvation throughout the last decade of Henry VIII's reign, which then continued through the reign of Mary I. These arguments suggest that the Settlement of 1559 had minimal impact on the laity's exposure to public Marian devotion, and therefore to votive polyphony. However, while older histories of music under Henry VIII and Mary I tend to present the view that elaborate paraliturgical polyphony declined along with the liturgical changes of 1538,¹ there is now increasing recognition among musicologists, thanks especially to the survival of *Ph*, that musical practice remained largely unchanged until the death of Henry VIII. Referring to the impact of new religious legislation on musical style, Roger Bowers has argued that 'the devotionally very limited substance of the Henrician Reformation up to 1545 was not such as to create on its own account any local stimulus towards modifying the prevailing manner of musical composition for the church services.'² Dana Marsh has recently hypothesised along related lines that public Marian devotion, including the performance of Marian votive

¹ For example, Paul Doe, 'Latin Polyphony under Henry VIII', *PRMA*, 95 (1968), 84; Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 162; 'Towards the end of Henry VIII's reign, the status and role of the Virgin in worship was greatly reduced, a doctrinal change which might well have affected the practice common to many collegiate institutions of singing a Lady-antiphon such as *Gaude gloriosa* as a daily or weekly devotion', John Milsom, 'A New Tallis Contrafactum', *MT*, 123 (1982), 430. For an extensive list of examples, see Nick Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks', 115-17.

² Bowers, 'Taverner, John', *ODNB*.

antiphons, remained widespread into the mid-1540s, and has suggested that this might merit further investigation.³

Focussing on Marian devotion and the votive antiphon in particular, the present chapter will amplify and confirm this view by revisiting prevailing scholarly opinion on a variety of sources, both musical and non-musical. Perhaps the most defining characteristic of late-medieval Marian devotion was that it was found on both sides of the boundary between the formal, prescribed liturgy of Marian feasts, enacted uniformly in all institutions that followed the same Use; and voluntary religion in the form of paraliturgical public devotions and private prayer, which was prescribed in less detail than the liturgical offices and guided by the choices of individuals or communities.⁴ The former category of Marian worship changed only with the dramatic legislation that authorised, or abrogated, the vernacular Books of Common Prayer in 1549, 1553, and 1559. This chapter is therefore entirely concerned with paraliturgical public and private devotions, which included the votive antiphon: these were vulnerable to changes both in theology and institutional structure and reflect the preferences of their time and place. Using a range of sources—extant primers, religious injunctions, visitation records, theological publications and other documents—I shall show that this kind of Marian devotion prospered until the end of the reign of Henry VIII, and underwent a significant revival during the reign of his daughter Mary. The votive antiphon also remained an important part of the sacred choral repertoire under Mary, with certain caveats that will be discussed. Consequently, the 1559 Settlement represented not the end point of a gradual decline but a sudden extinguishment which, for the second time in a decade, rendered obsolete a living, vibrant tradition.

³ Dana Marsh, 'Music, Church, and Henry VIII's Reformation' (D.Phil. thesis: University of Oxford, 2007), 266-7.

⁴ The role of prayer to the Virgin in the late-medieval liturgy, in public paraliturgical devotion, and in the private devotions of the laity is well-understood. See Eva de Visscher, 'Marian Devotion in the Latin West in the Later Middle Ages', in Sarah Jane Boss (ed.), *Mary: The Complete Resource* (London: Continuum, 2007), 177-199; Rubin, *Mother of God*, parts 4 and 5; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*, 2nd edn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 256-265; Donna Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2001), introduction and chs 1-3; Bisson, 'English Polyphony for the Virgin Mary'; Catherine Oakes, *Ora pro nobis: The Virgin as Intercessor in Medieval Art and Devotion* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008); Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries*. On mainland European equivalents see Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500-1648* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 24-45.

I shall then move onto a discussion of the long-term impact of the 1559 Settlement on the beliefs and practice of Elizabethan subjects, with particular emphasis on their response to pre-Reformation culture. Although this area is very well trodden ground, its most recent historiographical trends have made only inconsistent inroads into musicology. I shall therefore begin this section with a literature review, covering a wide range of social, religious, and literary history, before examining the ways in which recent discoveries might modify our view of Elizabethan manuscript sources. As might be expected given the devotional conservatism of Mary Tudor's Church, within living memory of most Elizabethans until perhaps the late 1570s, there is ample evidence of surprisingly sympathetic attitudes to late-medieval culture in Elizabethan England, and indeed an unwillingness to associate it explicitly with the outlawed religion. Many survivals from Catholicism sat comfortably alongside true, heartfelt loyalty to the Elizabethan Church. This is borne out in surviving music manuscripts, especially those whose former owners are known.

3.2. 'Redemptrix et salvatrix': The votive antiphon and the Henrician laity

Marian devotion pervaded late-medieval Latin Christendom. Thanks to the importance assigned to the *Ave Maria*, along with the *Pater noster* the most important prayer taught to children; the ubiquity of Marian prayers in popular Books of Hours; the popularity of Marian miracle stories in both written and oral tradition; and the rich Marian liturgy and high status of her feast days, by the fifteenth century English culture was saturated with the presence of the Virgin. Marian devotion was part of the fabric of everyday life within all social strata as individuals and in community, in literate and non-literate media, in English and in Latin, and there was considerable overlap between these different registers of prayer to the Virgin: the rosary, for example, was accessible to everyone, and could be prayed either using the common prayers that were known by heart, or using the written-out *Rosarium Beatae Mariae*, found in Books of Hours. Marian votive polyphony had especial potential to bridge the gap between public and private devotion: many of the most popular texts set by early Tudor composers, and even some unusual ones—*Salve intemerata*, for instance—were either drawn from contemporary Books of Hours or subsequently found their way there.⁵

⁵ *Salve intemerata* first appeared in a still-extant Book of Hours in 1527. *Ave Dei patris* appears in a Book of Hours printed by Richard Pynson in 1513. Hoskins, *Horæ Beatae Mariae Virginis*, 128, 134. The close association between primer texts and compositional practice may have continued well into the second half of the sixteenth century. See Owen Rees, 'The English Background to Byrd's Motets:

Reflecting this overlap in textual content, the Marian antiphon was also among the most accessible to the laity of all institutional devotions, and one to which members of the public contributed extensively. Even in monastic and collegiate foundations the nightly or weekly antiphon was often performed in a location which the laity could access, as had been customary from the earliest Dominican origins of the *Salve* devotion,⁶ and when they could not, it must have usually been audible from places in which they could listen (see Figure 3a).⁷ Moreover, the many endowments for Marian polyphony, and specifically for *Salve* services,⁸ by individuals, craft guilds and fraternities in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries suggest that these devotions mattered to the public (see Figure 3b),⁹ and there is evidence that members of guilds were encouraged not only to contribute to their upkeep, but also to attend them. At St James's Church, Louth, for example, a bell was rung each night to summon people to the *Salve* ceremony, which was collectively funded by the Lady Guild and Trinity Guild of the town;¹⁰ a very similar practice took place at Lichfield Cathedral, to call worshippers to the Jesus antiphon on Friday nights.¹¹

Textual and Stylistic Models for *Infelix ego*', in Alan Brown and Richard Turbet (eds), *Byrd Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 24-50.

⁶ Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 118-121; William R. Bonniwell, O.P., *A History of the Dominican Liturgy 1215-1945* (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1945), 161-164.

⁷ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions in the English Church', 4061-3, 5033, 5044, 5083-4; Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 82-7; Williamson, '*Pictura et scriptura*', 359-63; Henry Littlehales (ed.), *The Medieval Records of a London City Church: St Mary At Hill, 1420-1559* (London: Trübner, 1905), xlvi-lxiii, *BHO*; A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The Statutes of the College of St. Mary and All Saints, Fotheringhay', *Archaeological Journal*, 75 (1918), 292.

⁸ On mainland European equivalents, see Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 39; Rob C. Wegman, 'Music and Musicians at the Guild of Our Lady in Bergen op Zoom, c. 1470-1510', *EMH*, 9 (1990), 175-249 at 183-6; Kristine K. Forney, 'Music, Ritual and Patronage at the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp', *EMH*, 7 (1987), 1-57; Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 38-9.

⁹ Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 87; Magnus Williamson, 'The Role of Religious Guilds in the Cultivation of Ritual Polyphony in England: The Case of Louth, 1450-1550', in Fiona Kisby (ed.), *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 82-93; Williamson, 'Liturgical Polyphony in the Pre-Reformation English Parish Church: A Provisional List and Commentary', *RMARC*, 38 (2004), 1-43 at 24-43. With thanks to Magnus Williamson for information on All Saints' Northampton, which is taken from TNA C47/45/383.

¹⁰ Williamson, 'The Role of Religious Guilds', 83-7.

¹¹ Mateer and New, "'In Nomine Jesu'", 508-9.

Figure 3a. Location of votive antiphon performance in selected churches, cathedrals and colleges

St George's Chapel, Windsor	Jesus antiphon sung nightly before the crucifix in the chapel
Bridlington Priory	Nightly Mary antiphon sung by the choristers before her image in the priory church
Canterbury Cathedral	Mary antiphon sung in the Lady Chapel, in the north transept
Chichester Cathedral	Mary antiphon sung at the south choir door in the screen built by Bishop John Arundel
Durham Cathedral	Jesus antiphon sung each Friday at the Jesus altar in the nave Mary antiphon sung in the quire
Eton College	Mary antiphon sung before devotional image in the nave
Exeter Cathedral	Mary antiphon sung at the Altar of St Paul, in the north transept
Fotheringhay College	Mary antiphon sung in the quire followed by additional suffrages to the Virgin and other saints in the nave
Jesus College, Rotherham	Mary antiphon sung on Saturdays at the Lady altar in the parish church
Lichfield Cathedral	Friday night Jesus antiphon at the altar of Jesus and St Anne, in a loft across the north choir aisle
Lincoln Cathedral	Mary antiphon sung at tomb of Bishop John de Bokingham in the quire
Salisbury Cathedral	Mary antiphon sung before the high altar; after 1540 this was changed to a Jesus antiphon in the nave
St Mary at Hill, London	<i>Salve regina</i> sung each evening in the nave before an image of the Annunciation
St Mary Newarke College, Leicester	Jesus antiphon <i>Sancte Deus</i> sung in the nave
St Paul's Cathedral	Mary and Jesus antiphons sung in the nave before the rood
Stoke-by-Clare College	Antiphons to St John the Baptist, the Trinity, and the Virgin sung in the quire, immediately followed by <i>Salve regina</i> in the Lady Chapel
Tattershall College	Mary antiphon sung in the Lady Chapel, in the south transept
Wells Cathedral	Jesus antiphon sung before image of the Rood in the nave Mary antiphon sung by her image at the north choir door
Whittington College, London	Mary antiphon in the church attended by 'poor artisans and neighbours'
Winchester Cathedral	Mary antiphon sung at William Wykeham's chantry in the south aisle of the nave

Figure 3b. Examples of endowments by guilds and fraternities of votive antiphon performances

Lichfield	Guild of Ss Mary and John the Baptist	Daily Lady Mass and <i>Salve regina</i> at the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary <i>in foro</i>
St Antholin, London	Skinners' Company	Daily Mary antiphon before her image in the Lady Chapel
St Magnus, London Bridge	Fraternity of <i>Salve regina</i>	Nightly <i>Salve Regina</i> sung by five chaplains and conducts
Salisbury	Jesus Guild	Jesus antiphon sung each Friday during Lent at St Edmund's Church
Stratford on Avon	Holy Cross Guild	Mary antiphon sung on Wednesday and Friday in the parish church by the master and scholars of the guild's grammar school
Wisbech	Trinity Guild	From 1517, daily Mary antiphon at the Church of Ss Peter and Paul
Louth	Lady Guild and Trinity Guild	Nightly <i>Salve</i> service at St James's Church
St Paul's Cathedral	Guild of the Holy Name of Jesus	Nightly performance of the <i>Salve</i> in the crypt, before images of Christ, the Virgin and St Sebastian
Chichester	Fraternity of St George	Antiphon sung on St George's Day in the cathedral
Northampton	Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary	Records of publicly attended polyphony and organ music at All Saints' Church from late fourteenth century

3.3. 'Full of grace, by god endued so plentuously': Marian devotion, c. 1537-1547

The nature of paraliturgical Marian devotion undoubtedly changed due to the reforms enacted in the last decade of Henry VIII's reign, but the degree to which this happened, and the effect it had on the musical and devotional experience of the laity, remain somewhat obscure. This is at least partly because of two further problems, both of which still await a satisfactory answer. The first of these is the continuing debate as to just how consistent religious practice in England was between 1537 and 1547. The second is the even more thorny issue of the king's personal religion: how internally coherent were his thoughts on, for example, the intercession of saints, and how influenced was he by those around him? The usual narrative is that increasing evangelicalism, exemplified by the rise of Thomas Cromwell, the dissolution of the monasteries, the Act of Six Articles, and the legislation against shrines, especially that of

Thomas Becket in 1538, was stopped in its tracks by a conservative reaction marked by the Act of Ten Articles, Cromwell's fall, the *King's Book* of 1543, and the Prebendaries' Plot;¹² then experienced a dramatic revival thanks to the restoration of Cranmer to royal favour, the influence of Katherine Parr, the *Exhortation and Litany* of 1544, and finally the appointment of noted evangelicals to the guardianship of the young Edward VI.¹³ But this pendulum-like depiction of late Henrician doctrine and devotion has undergone much scrutiny in recent years. The following sections will amplify the emerging scholarly view that at least regarding Marian devotion, there was a high degree of consistency in officially sanctioned practice between 1537 and 1547, and that this included the performance of elaborate votive antiphons to the Virgin.

3.3.1. The official Mariology of Henry VIII's Church

Prayer to the Virgin before reform was primarily, though not exclusively, supported by belief in purgatory. It was believed that since Christ was bound to obey his mother in all that she asked, she was the most powerful intercessor on behalf of sinners, both before and after death. As such, changes in her cult during the reign of Henry VIII were closely bound up with developments in soteriology. These in turn were related to the king's rejection of papal authority, since the Pope and the Church had long been held to have the power to release souls from purgatory or to create indulgences to reduce their time there: the abandonment of papal supremacy unwittingly called into question the practicalities of dealing with purgatory, since there was no one else with sufficient authority to replicate the Pope's powers to bind

¹² The Prebendaries' Plot of 1543 resulted directly in the arrest of John Merbecke and the martyrdom of Robert Testwood; see ch. 1, pp. 43-44, and ch. 2, p. 84.

¹³ A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 2nd edn (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), 206-7, 216-221; G. R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England 1509-1558* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), 190-200, 256-9, 273-302, 317-9, 328-38; David Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics*, 2nd edn (London: Vintage, 2002), chs 7 and 8; J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 2nd edn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) 420-23, 470-84; David Loades, *Henry VIII* (Stroud: Amberley, 2011), 285-97, 313-7. For a more critical narrative see David Loades, *Henry VIII: Court, Church and Conflict* (London: National Archives, 2007), 190-99. For an opposing view, see Haigh, *English Reformations*, ch. 9. Haigh argues that Henry VIII had never approved of Cromwell's reforms and remained a lifelong conservative; that 'parish religion had not changed very much under the impact of the first Reformation' (p. 158); and that there was no evangelical revival after 1543. However, Haigh's case is arguably overstated and does not take into account the subtle changes that did take place in the devotional climate of the late 1530s and 1540s: for example, the abolition of saints' shrines receives very little attention.

and loose.¹⁴ Rejecting the Pope did not prove that purgatory was a fiction, but it did make discussions of it essentially futile. The article on purgatory in the Act of Ten Articles reflects these problems: it does not attack belief in purgatory itself, but only papal indulgences as a reward for Masses and pilgrimages, and it positively commends prayers for the dead.¹⁵ The *King's Book* of 1543 (properly, *A necessary doctrine and ervdition for any christen man*) argued that purgatory should not be mentioned or discussed, not because it did not exist, but in order to avoid invoking its papist implications.¹⁶ Perhaps because the belief in purgatory was attacked only at the institutional periphery and not at the doctrinal roots, the decline in provision for indulgences was slow and in some places indulgences were still available in the last year of Henry VIII's reign.¹⁷ Prayer to the Virgin in the 1530s and 1540s was affected similarly: although the removal of shrines and indulgenced pilgrimage sites meant that some of the institutional structure surrounding Marian devotion was lost, the associated theology seems to have remained relatively intact.

The continued and consistent advocacy of Marian devotion during the last decade of Henry VIII's reign is best exemplified by the books of doctrine issued by his regime: the *Bishops' Book* of 1537 (properly, *The institvtion of a christen man*), and the *King's Book*. These books are often seen as representing polar opposites in the theological debates of the early Reformations. The *King's Book* is generally portrayed as a conservative reversal in Henry's theology, part of the backlash against evangelicalism following the fall of Thomas Cromwell. Eamon Duffy suggests that 'traditionalists saw in the *King's Book* a vindication of their position'.¹⁸ By contrast, recent accounts by Lucy Wooding and G. W. Bernard have identified features that remain consistent between the two books, which accord with both writers' opinion that Henry's religion was more evangelical than is often acknowledged.¹⁹ The implication that the *King's Book* retained some of the reformist ideas from the *Bishops' Book*, particularly regarding saintly intercession, is also reflected in Diarmaid MacCulloch's more nuanced comment that the *King's Book* was '[in] almost every respect... more doctrinally conservative than the Bishops' Book, the exception being its highly dismissive

¹⁴ R. N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 470, 486-494; Alan Kreider, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 104-5.

¹⁵ Bernard, *The King's Reformation*, 285-8 at 287. See also Kreider, *English Chantries*, 122-4.

¹⁶ *A necessary doctrine and ervdition for any christen man* (London, 1543: RSTC 5168), f. xciiii^{r-v}.

¹⁷ Swanson, *Indulgences*, 504-509.

¹⁸ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 443. See also Bernard, *The King's Reformation*, 583.

¹⁹ Lucy Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 63; Bernard, *The King's Reformation*, 583-9.

treatment of purgatory'.²⁰ As discussed above, this overstates the degree to which the later treatise undermined the role of prayers for the dead. Regarding Marian devotion, examination of the texts of the two treatises reveals that while there are indeed significant continuities between them, these in fact incline towards the traditional, even in the *Bishops' Book*.²¹

The *Bishops' Book*, which was compiled by Convocation and presented to Henry in 1537, is extremely cautious in its advocacy of devotion to the saints, describing Christ as 'thonely mediatur betwene god and mankynde, and the onely intercessor for the synnes of all them that ryghtfully beleue in him',²² but nevertheless goes on to argue that

all though it be sayde... that Christe is our onely mediatur and intercessour, yet therby is not excluded the intercession of the holy sayntes, whiche be nowe in heuen, or hereafter shall be: neither yet the intercession of the minysters of Christis church, or of any the holy membres of the same, whiche be liuing here in this worlde. But we muste knowe for certayne, that all the membres of Christis church, whether they be departed this lyfe, or yet lyuing here in the worlde, be all knytte and vnyted togyther in perfyte charitie, and eche dothe care and pray for other continually vnto almyghty god, and that Christe beinge heed of the same body, is aduocate and intercessour for them all...²³

In the *King's Book* of 1543, based on Henry's own revisions to the *Bishops' Book*, Christ is described similarly as 'the onely mediatur betwene god and mankynde, the redemer, intercessour, and aduocate, for the remission of synnes'.²⁴ Moreover, the gist of its main argument on saintly intercession is the same as that of 1537: while Christ is the only mediator between humanity and God the Father, the saints may mediate between humanity and him.

...although the intercession and mediation by prayer, of saintes departed, and of suche the membres of the catholike church, as be yet lyuing on earthe, be good, acceptable & profitable unto us, yet that is onely by the mediation and intercessio[n] of Christ our head, in whom god the father is pleased, and contented, and through whom saintes departed this life, and raignyng in heauen with Christ, and suche as truly confesse Christ in the church catholique, yet liuing, may and do effectually pray for us, and therefore be of us also auaylably prayed unto, that is to say, desyred to pray for us...²⁵

²⁰ MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 309.

²¹ On Henry's annotations to the *Bishops' and King's Books* and their conservative bent see Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 403-415. This perspective has also been argued from the evidence of Henry's ecclesiastical foundations by Richard Rex and Colin Armstrong: 'Henry VIII's Ecclesiastical and Collegiate Foundations', *Historical Research*, 75 (2002), 390-407.

²² *The institvion of a christen man* (London, 1537: RSTC 5164), f. C^r. The printed pagination in this edition is very inaccurate.

²³ *Ibid.*, f. Fiii^r. Richard Rex and Colin Armstrong state that the intercession of saints 'had been omitted from the Bishops' Book of 1537', which is patently wrong. Rex and Armstrong, 'Henry VIII's Foundations', 406.

²⁴ *A necessary doctrine and ervdition for any christen man* (London, 1543: RSTC 5168), f. x^v.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, f. x^v-xi^r.

As is clear from these two passages, neither book attacks directly the intercession of saints, and indeed both strongly encourage the reader to rely on them. The nature of the *Ave Maria* is also treated almost identically in both books. In their commentaries on the Angelic Salutation, both books stress the fact that when the Virgin is called ‘full of grace’, this is a gift of God unaffected by her merits. According to the *Bishops’ Book*, ‘For that she is ful of grace, she hath it of hym’,²⁶ while according to the *King’s Book*, the angel Gabriel ‘called her *Full of grace*, by god endued so plentuously, bycause she shulde conceiue and beare him, that was the very plenitude and fulnes of grace, the lorde of grace, by whom is all grace, and without whom is no grace.’²⁷ The *Bishops’ Book* makes explicit use of Scripture in its discussion of the Virgin, which the *King’s Book* does not, but this is by no means an indicator of radicalism in the earlier work, since it cites the Gospel of John to liken the Virgin to Christ: ‘For her sonne, the sonne of god, was content with this name, where he is by the holy euangelist saynt John called also full of grace.’²⁸ The most noteworthy difference between the two books in

Figure 3c. Comparison of the treatment of the *Ave Maria* in the *Bishops’* and *King’s Books*. Material in common is given in pale grey and material in only one source is coloured black. Note the *Bishops’ Book*’s narrow definition of ‘prayer’, and its emphasis on the clergy’s didactic role

Bishops’ Book, f. Aaⁱⁱ^v

FIFTLY we thinke it conueniente, that all byshops and preachers shall instructe and teache the people, commytted unto their spirituall charge, that this *Aue Maria* is not proprely a prayer, as the pater noster is. For a prayer properlye hath wordes of peticion, supplication, request, and suite: but this *Aue Maria* hath no suche. Neuer the les the churche hath used to adioyne it to the end of the *Pater noster*, as an himne, laude, and prayse partly of our lord and sauour Jesu Christ for our redemption, and partly of the blessed virgin, for her humble consent gyuen and expressed to the Angel at this salutation. Laudes, prayses, and thankes be in this *Aue Maria* principally gyuen and yelded to our lorde, as to the auctour of our sayd redemption: but here with also the virgyne lacketh not her laudes, prayse, and thankes for her excellent and singuler vertues & chiefly for that she humbly consented...

King’s Book, f. lxxxiii^v-lxxxiv^r

AND IT IS to be noted that although this salutation, be not a prayour of petition, supplication or request or suite: Yet neuer the lesse, the churche hath used to adioyne it to thende of the *Pater noster*, as an hymne, or a praiour of laude and prayse, partely of our lorde and sauour *IESV CHRISTE* for our redemption, and partly of the blessed virgine, for her humble co[n]sent giuen and expressed to the aungell, at this salutation[n]. Laudes, praise and thankes are in this *Aue Maria*, principally gyuen & yelded to our lorde, as to the autour of our redemption: But herewithal the virgin lacketh not her laudes, praise and thankes, for her excellent and singular vertues, and chiefly for that she beleued and humbly consented...

²⁶ *The institvtion*, f. Aa^{r-v}.

²⁷ *A necessary doctrine*, f. lxxxii^v.

²⁸ *The institvtion*, f. Aa^r.

their discussions of the *Ave Maria* concerns the appropriateness of addressing ‘prayers’ to the Virgin. As shown in Figure 3c, the *Bishop’s Book* denies that the *Ave Maria* is a prayer: it thus follows Luther and Zwingli, both of whom interpreted the text as a statement of praise and defined ‘prayer’ narrowly as a petition or request.²⁹ Conversely, the preface of the *King’s Book* describes the *Ave Maria* as ‘a prayer conteinyng a ioyful rehersal, and magnifying of god in the worke of the incarnation of *CHRIST* whiche is the ground of our saluation, wherein the blessed virgine our lady, for the abundance of grace, wherwith god endued her, is also with this remembrance honoured and worshipped.’³⁰ In this respect, the *King’s Book* is undeniably more conservative, particularly in its rejection of mainland European Protestant ideas. However, as with the discussion of Christ’s role as mediator, considered above, it is noteworthy that such a subtle change—while theologically significant—would have little to no impact on readers’ practical devotions. Both books implicitly sanction prayer to the Virgin in the form of the *Ave Maria* and of pleas for intercession.

Henry VIII’s will provides arguably the strongest evidence of his continued attachment to traditional devotions, and particularly the intercession of the Virgin, throughout the 1540s. Although it has been in the past characterised as ‘provisional’, excessively influenced by the religious beliefs of the king’s evangelical associates, or even tampered with after his death,³¹ the most recent scholarly opinion is that the will accurately reflects Henry’s beliefs in the years leading up to its creation,³² and it is surprisingly conservative in content especially given the provision it makes for the future Edward VI’s evangelical upbringing. One clause explicitly demands the Virgin’s help, in terms which express the king’s continued belief in something like purgatory:

Also we do instantly requyre and desyre the blessed Virgin Mary his mother with all the holy company of heaven contynually to pray for us and with us whiles we lyve in this woorld and in the tyme of passing out of the same, that we may the soner atteyn everlasting lief after our departure out of this transitory lief.³³

Moreover, this belief was clearly not a new development. Henry’s two ecclesiastical foundations of 1537, Bisham and Stixwold, received charters that explicitly affirm his faith in

²⁹ Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 62.

³⁰ *A necessary doctrine*, preface, f. Aii^v-Aiii^r.

³¹ See Suzannah Lipscomb, *The King is Dead* (London: Head of Zeus, 2015), 11-14, 218-9; see also David Loades, *Henry VIII: Court, Church and Conflict* (London: National Archives, 2007), 204; Haigh, *English Reformations*, 167.

³² Bernard, *The King’s Reformation*, 591-4 (with the caveat that Bernard bizarrely states that there is no mention of the Virgin Mary in the will); Lipscomb, *The King is Dead*, 90-98.

³³ ff. 3-4. Quoted in Lipscomb, *The King is Dead*, 173-4.

the Virgin and the saints—even at the height of the Dissolution and closely contemporaneous with the *Bishops' Book*.³⁴

3.3.2. *The late Henrician primers*

In the late 1530s and early 1540s the ‘party line’ of Henry VIII’s Church, reflected in the treatises issued by his regime and his personal Mariology, was only one of several possible approaches to Marian devotion in the largely unregulated private sphere. Figure 3d shows a comparison between Matins, Vespers and Compline in four sample primers published during this period, and the official Wayland-Pole primer issued under Mary I (discussed in section 3.4.1., below). The tables are colour-coded to enable similarities and differences between the primer texts to be easily identified. Explicitly Marian content is highlighted in blue, and it should be clear at a glance that the amount of Marian devotion found in these primers varies enormously. The Petit primer, issued in 1544—the same year as the *Exhortation and Litany*—is absolutely traditional in its contents.³⁵ The Little Office, partly shown in the tables below, is that found in any Sarum primer from earlier in the century. In addition, the primer contains a variety of late-medieval prayers to the Virgin, including the rosary, *Ave rosa sine spinis*, *Ave Maria ancilla sancta trinitatis*, *O intemerata*, prayers to the Veronica and the Five Wounds of Christ, and an expansive Litany with a list of individual saints. This is in stark contrast to the primer compiled by Bishop Hilsey of Rochester and printed by John Wayland in 1539.³⁶ The Wayland-Hilsey primer incorporates an adapted Office with considerably less Marian content; that which it does contain clearly emphasises the Virgin’s dependence on God for her status. The most influential feature of the Wayland-Hilsey primer was its omission of the *Salve regina* and other paraliturgical Marian prayers, replacing them with newly composed Jesus-prayers including a bowdlerised *Salve regina*, *Salve caelorum rex*. An even more evangelical example is the primer printed by Kele in 1543,³⁷ which contains no Marian texts at all, and an adapted Office with almost entirely new texts that do not follow Hilsey’s. Some of these are distinctly evangelical in tone, promoting the reading of Scripture. The Litany continues to mention named saints, but the Marian prayers have been totally excised; in place of *Salve regina* after Compline we find the *Salve rex* familiar from the Wayland-Hilsey primer.

³⁴ Rex and Armstrong, ‘Henry VIII’s Foundations’, 395-7. *Pace Loades, Henry VIII*, 177-8.

³⁵ *This prymer of Salysbury vse is set out alonge without anye searchynge with many prayers* (London, 1544: RSTC 16032).

³⁶ *The manual of prayers or the prymer in Englysh & Laten set out at length* (London, 1539: RSTC 16009).

³⁷ *This is the prymer in Englysh set out a longe with dyuers additions* (London, 1543: RSTC 16030).

Figure 3d. Contents of selected Office Hours from five late-Henrician and Marian primers:
Marian content is highlighted in blue, psalms in green, canticles and other content identical in all primers in yellow; other shared content highlighted to enable comparison across different primers

	RSTC 16009 (Wayland/Hilsey) 1539	RSTC 16030 (Kele) 1543	RSTC 16032 (Petit) 1544	RSTC 16040 (King's Primer) 1545	RSTC 16060 (Wayland/Pole) 1555
Matins					
Invitatory	Come unto me	Come unto me	Ave Maria	Hayle Mari full of grace	Hayle Mary full of grace
Venite	Come and let us ioyfully	Come & let us ioyfullye	Venite exultemus with Ave Maria	Come & let us reioyce with Ave Maria	Come and let us ioyfullye with Ave Maria
Hymn	Come holy ghost	The governour of the triple engin	Quem terra pontus	Nowe the cherefull day	The governoure of the triple engyn
Psalms	Here my wordes (O lorde)	O Lorde, which arte our lord	Domine dominus noster	O Lorde, whiche art our lord	O Lord, which art our lord
	Unto the (O lord) I lyfte up my soule	The heave[n]s declare the glory of God	Celi enarrat gloriam dei	The heavens declare the glory of God	The heavens declare the glory of god
	Bowe downe thyne eare	The erthe is the lordes	Domini est terra	The yerth is the lordes	The earth is our Lords
Antiphon	O wonderful exchaunge	All we are synners	Benedicta tu	Christ is of power, ever perfetely	Blessed be thou among wome[n]
Versicle	Holy mother of god	In what thyng standeth the glory	Sancta Dei genitrix		Holy mother of God
Answer	Pray thou for us	In the free forgyvenesse of synnes	Intercede pro nobis		Pray thou for us
	Our father	Our father/ Hayle Mary	Pater noster	Our father	Our father/ Hayle mary
Blessing	Lorde we beseche the of thy blessing	Lorde we beseche the of thy blyssyng	Iube domine benedicere	The everlastyng father blesse us	Lorde we beseche thee
Answer	With a blessing perpetuall	Blessed are they that suffre	Alma virgo virginum		Holy virgin of virgins
Lesson	We knowe that whatsoever the lawe sayeth	Lo I sende you forthe as shepe	Sancta Maria virgo virginum	A Rod shall come furth	Holy Mary most pure of virgins all
Answer	If we were reconcyled unto God	These thynges have I sayde unto you	Tu autem Domine	Thus saith the Lorde	Thou lorde have mercy on us
Verse	Not onely that: but we reioyce also	Such thynges shal they do to you	Sancta et immaculata		Holy and undefyled virginity
Repetition	By whom we have nowe receyved	They shal excommunicate you	Benedicta tu		Blessed be thou among al women
Blessing	Lorde we beseche the of thy blessing	Lorde we beseche the of thy blessinge	Iube domine benedicere	God the sonne of God, vouchesafe	Lorde we beseche thee
Answer	Of God the onely begotten son	Blessed are the poore in spyrite	Ora mente pia		Pray for us devoutely, O virgin Mary
Lesson	Whe[n] thou prayest	The burden of synne cast away	Sancta Maria piarum piissima	The angel Gabriel was sent fro[m] God	Holy Marye, of all godly the godlyest
Answer	What so ever ye desyre i[n] your prayer	Yf ye shall endure chastenyng	Tu autem Domine	Thus saith the lorde	Thou lord have mercye on us
Versicle	And whe[n] ye stande and pray		Beata es virgo Maria		Blessed art thou virgin Mary
Repetition	Beleve that ye shall receyve it		Ave Maria		Hayle Mary full of grace
Blessing	Lorde we beseche the of thy blessing	Lorde we beseche the of thy blyssyng	Iube domine benedicere	The grace of the holy gost	Lorde we beseche thee
Answer	The grace of the holy spyryt	Blessed are all men that trust in the lorde	Sancta Dei genitrix sit nobis auxiliatrix		Goddes holy mother be helpyng to us
Lesson	These are the co[m]mau[n]dementes	In the last iudgement	Sancta Dei genitrix que digne	Then sayd Mari to the aungel	Holy mother of god, which hym hast conceyved
Answer	Here (o thou Israel) the preceptes	When ye were mynysters of his kingdome	Tu autem Domine	Thus saith the lorde	Thou lord have mercy on us
Versicle	Take hede therfore	To the weake lytle ones is graunted mercye	Felix namque		Surely happy art thou blessed virgin Mary
Repetition	And I wylly gyve the a lande	Fearfullye & shortly shal he appere	Ora pro populo		Praye for the people, entreate for the clergy
Te Deum	We prayse the (o lord)	We prayse the (o God)	Te Deum laudamus	We praise the O God	We prayse the (O god)
Versicle	Holy mother of God make thy petycyon	Chryst is deade for our syn[n]es	Ora pro nobis sancta Dei	Pray for us holy mother of God	Holy mother of god make thy peticion
Answer	That we may deserve Christes promysson	And is rysen agayne	Ut digni efficiamur	That we be made worthy	That we may deserve

Figure 3d continued.

	RSTC 16009 (Wayland/Hilsey) 1539	RSTC 16030 (Kele) 1543	RSTC 16032 (Petit) 1544	RSTC 16040 (King's Primer) 1545	RSTC 16060 (Wayland/Pole) 1555
Vespers					
Antiphon	O howe moche ought		Post partum virgo		After thy birth virgin thou dydest remayne
Psalms	Blessed is the man that fereth	Blessed is that man, whiche walketh not	Laetatus sum in his	Praise the lorde, O ye chyldren	I reioysed in those things
	Prayse the Lorde (O ye servauntes)	Wherfore do the ge[n]tyles	Ad te levavi	Praise ye the name of the lord	Unto thee have I lyfte up myne eyes
	Wha[n] Israel came forth	Lorde see what a sort are these	Nisi quia Dominus erat	I wyll geve thanks to the o lorde	Excepte oure Lord had been among us
	O prayse the name of the Lorde	Not to us lord, not to us	Qui confidunt		They that truste in oure Lorde
	O geve ye tha[n]kes unto the Lorde		In convertendo		Whan our Lorde turned the captivite
Antiphon	O how much ought we to geve thanks	We that are stronge (sayth Paul)	Post partum virgo	Blessed be the name of the lord	After thy birth virgin thou dydest remayne
Chapter	The Angell of the Lorde appeared	Let everye man please his neyghboure	Beata es virgo Maria	Blessed art thou, o virgyn Mari	Blessed art thou virgin Mary
Hymn	Let us prayse the Lorde omnipotent	Blessed be God the father almighte	Ave maris stella	O Lorde the worldes saviour	Hayle sterre of the sea most bryghte
Versicle	Grace in thy vysage encreaseth	What thing is precious in gods syght	Diffusa est gratia	Blessed is Mari, amonges al women	Grace in thi visage encreaseth
Answer	Thou hast ben blessed	The deth of his faythful men	Propterea benedixit te	And blessed is the fruite of her wombe	Thou hast ben blessed of God therfore
Antiphon	O Lord moost mercyfull God		Sancta Maria virgo		Holy Mary
Magnificat	My soule magnifyeth the Lorde	My soule magnifyeth y[e] lorde	Magnificat	My solle doth magnifie the lorde	My soule magnifieth our Lorde
Antiphon	O Lord moost mercyfull God	Somtyme the scripture	Sancta Maria succurre miseris	Lo, all thynges be fulfilled	Holy Mary succoure the miserable
Versicle	Lorde God heare my prayer	O Lorde sende us the preachers	Domine exaudi	Lorde heare my praier	Lord god heare my prayer
Answer	And let my crye come to the	And gyve us grace to beleve it	Et clamor meus	And let my crye come to the	And geve hearyng unto my clamour
Prayer	Lorde whiche by the Annuncyacion	Oure mercyfull father	Concede nos famulos	Holy lord, almighty father	Graunte we besече the lord god
Compline					
	Converte us (o god) our sayvoure	Turne us unto the (O God)	Converte nos Deus	Convert us God our saviour	Convert us (O god) oure savioure
Antiphon	O Lord		Cum iocunditate		Let us wyth all iocunditte
Psalms	Hear me whe[n] I cal (o god)	How longe lorde wylt thou forget me	Usquequo domine oblivisceris	Howe long wylte thou forget me	Howe long Lorde, wylt thou forget me
	In the (o lord) is my trust	Juge me o god, and discerne my cause	Iudica me deus	Judge on my side, o God	Judge me, O God, and discerne mi cause
	Behold (o prayse the lorde)	Ofte[n]tymes have they assayled me	Saepe expugnaverunt		Eftsones have they assayled me
	I wyl geve thanks to the (o Lord)	Lorde my herte is not exalted	Domine non est		Lorde my hearte is not exalted
Antiphon	Have mercy on me Lorde	Israel i[n] scripture betokeneth	Cum iocunditate	Save us good lorde wakyng	Let us with all gladnesse
Chapter	The benignite and humanite of god	Whe[n] we are drive[n]	Sicut cinamomum	Thou art (o Lorde) in the myddest of us	My savour hath ben like unto the cinamom
Hymn	O Lorde of the worldie the sauioire	Worshyp we the spyrite purelye	Virgo singularis	O Lorde, the maker of al thyng	O blessed lady, O singular virgine
Versicle	Kepe us lorde as the apple of the eye		Elegit eum deus	Beholde the handmayd of the lorde	God hath her chosen al other before
Answer	Under the shadow of thy wynges		Et habitare	Be it done unto me	And maketh her with hym to dwell
Antiphon			Glorificamus		O mother of god
Nunc dimittis	Lorde nowe lettest thou thy servaunt	Lorde now lettest thou thy servaunte	Nunc dimittis	Lorde, nowe lettest thou thy servaunt	Lorde nowe lettest thou thy servaunte
Antiphon	O Lorde saue us wakyng	Howe fearfull a iudgement	Glorificamus te dei genitrix	Graunt us O lorde thy light	O mother of God we doe glorifie thee
Versicle	O Lorde heare my prayer	Kepe us iesu co[n]firmed in thy word	Domine exaudi	Lorde heare my praier	Lorde god heare my prayer
Answer	And geve hearynge to my clamoure	Holde us to thy trouthe	Et clamor	And let my cry come to the	And geve hearyng to my clamour
Prayer	Lord whiche by the Annuncyacion	O Lorde Jesu restore	Gratiam tuam quibus domine	O Lorde God, we besече the to lighten	Lorde we besече thee to pour out

Ever-desirous of unity within his Church, in his official primer of 1545 Henry VIII attempted to mediate between these conservative and evangelical currents.³⁸ The *King's Primer* has previously been characterised as having 'a consistently reforming emphasis', 'promoting reform within the shell of traditional forms'.³⁹ Outside the Office, its reformed character is indeed clear. For example, the Litany it includes is the English Litany published in 1544, which strips down addresses to the saints to the bare minimum of one verse for the Virgin and one verse for the rest. There are no post-Compline suffrages in the book, nor are there any Marian prayers amongst the extensive selection of devotions in the last fifty folios. Henry's new Office also contains some surprisingly evangelical elements and omissions. It is immediately striking how much shorter the *King's Primer* Offices are than any other versions, meaning that many of the Marian versicles and responses of the Sarum primers are automatically omitted. Some of the responses chosen by the king are clearly influenced by those of Hilsey (these are highlighted in purple on p. 117), and like Hilsey he used a new hymn, *O Lord of the world the saviour*, to replace a traditional Marian composition (it replaces *Ave maris stella* in the *King's Primer* and *Virgo singularis* in the Hilsey primer). In other places, the *King's Primer* is just different to Hilsey's, neither more nor less evangelical. For example, where the 1539 primer uses the traditional response *Diffusa est gratia* at Vespers, Henry chose a different Marian response derived from the *Ave Maria*. But in most ways Henry's Office is more conservative than that of Hilsey. Like Kele's, the *King's Primer* generally uses the traditional Sarum psalms, as opposed to the Wayland-Hilsey primer which incorporates new ones, and like the old Sarum primers it prescribes the use of *Ave Maria* as an invitatory and the chapter at Vespers, *Beata es virgo*. The versicle and response that closes Matins is the traditional Sarum plea for intercession, 'Ora pro nobis sancta Dei genitrix'. Overall, therefore, the *King's Primer* represented a compromise between the experimentation of the late 1530s and early 1540s and the traditional Sarum primer. It relegated Marian devotion to a secondary role in comparison to prayer to Christ, but retained prayer for her intercession in a non-negotiable position within lay worship. In this respect it was consistent with both the *Bishops'* and *King's Books*.

³⁸ *The primer in Englishe and Latyn, set foorth by the Kynges maiestie and his clergie to be taught learned, and read* (London, 1545: RSTC 16040).

³⁹ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 445-7 at 446; MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 335-6 at 335. Christopher Haigh goes arguably too far in the opposite direction in describing the primer as 'a collection of traditionalist devotions': Haigh, *English Reformations*, 162.

3.3.3. Evidence for votive antiphon performance in the 1540s

According to the evidence of the *Bishops' and King's Books* and the *King's Primer*, nothing in late-Henrician theology in theory precluded the continuation of musical devotions to the Virgin. This is reflected in the injunctions issued by Bishop Nicholas Heath to Rochester Cathedral in 1543, which ordered that an antiphon should be sung by the choristers every evening, and that on feast days it should be sung in pricksong by the whole choir.⁴⁰ It was not just the theology of the votive antiphon that could prove controversial, however; the melismatic style frequently associated with the genre was also a potential bone of contention. One piece of evidence suggests that public paraliturgical devotions to the Virgin during the early- to mid-1540s remained essentially identical to that of earlier decades in style as well as in content: the Peterhouse 'Henrician' partbooks (*Ph*). Nick Sandon has convincingly dated this set of books to approximately 1539-41 and argued that they were probably copied for the Cathedral of the New Foundation at Canterbury.⁴¹ Canterbury's chapter was considerably more conservative than its Archbishop in the early 1540s—its resistance to change culminated in the so-called 'Prebendaries' Plot' against Cranmer in 1543⁴²—but as Sandon suggests, it is difficult to imagine that an institution so important to the public image of the English Church would be far out of line either with official policy or with the majority of the country's other cathedrals.⁴³ About half the collection in *Ph* consists of melismatic votive pieces to the Virgin in five parts, on both prose and metrical texts, and including traditional indulgenced prayers such as *Ave rosa sine spinis*. If this kind of music was still being performed at England's metropolitan cathedral in about 1540 we must conclude that elaborate musical devotion to the Virgin remained no more out of the ordinary than it had been in the 1520s.

Dana Marsh has plausibly connected the likely survival of melismatic polyphony through the 1540s to the influence of Richard Sampson, Bishop of Chichester and Dean of the Chapel Royal, who used passages from 1 Corinthians and the writings of St Augustine in order to defend the use of melismatic Latin polyphony in church.⁴⁴ Marsh argues that in an

⁴⁰ W. H. Frere and W. P. M. Kennedy (eds), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, 3 vols (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1910), i. 96.

⁴¹ Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks', 125-138.

⁴² On the events of 1543 see MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 297-322.

⁴³ Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks', 138-42.

⁴⁴ Dana Marsh, 'Sacred Polyphony 'not understandid': Medieval Exegesis, Ritual Tradition and Henry VIII's Reformation', *EMH*, 29 (2010), 33-77; Marsh, 'Music, Church, and Henry VIII's Reformation', ch. 5.

early draft of the *Rationale of Ceremonial*, compiled in 1540,⁴⁵ Sampson or some other writer left open the possibility that music could still inspire the listener to prayer even if its text could not be understood, and that moreover such music represented an ideal form of prayer, the *jubilus*, which was so extreme that it could not be rationalised into words.⁴⁶ The *Rationale* was never officially released, perhaps because neither of the two extant versions found the right balance between conservative and evangelical. It is also not clear which version is the later. MacCulloch suggests that the one in Lambeth MS 1107, ff. 167-202, was written last, as it is more evangelical in tone and contains a conclusion lacking in the other version, British Library, Cotton MS Cleopatra E. v., ff. 268-93. Marsh argues instead that the Cotton version is more evangelical in its treatment of music and therefore is the later source.⁴⁷ For the present argument this question is unimportant, however, as neither version received official backing. Rather, they offer clues to the ways in which votive antiphon style and content could be rationalised and negotiated between those with different theological perspectives. The Cotton manuscript contains some additions to the passage on music found in the Lambeth draft, which are surprisingly minimal considering that they supposedly represent an evangelical overhaul of the otherwise quite traditional *Rationale*. With words absent from the Lambeth draft in italics, the passage reads as follows:

The *Sobre* discrete and devoute Syngyng Musike and playing with orgayn[es] usid in the churche in the s[er]vyce of god ar ordeynyd to move and sterve the people to the swetnes of goddis worde *the which is* their songe. And by that swete armonye bothe to excite them to prayere[s] and devocion and also to putt theym in remembraunce of the hevenlie triumphant churche where is everlasting joye w[ith] contynuall laude & prayis *to god*⁴⁸

The last addition, ‘to god’, need not imply ‘exclusion of the saints and the Virgin as devotional subjects of texts set to music’, as Marsh suggests;⁴⁹ rather, as seen in the *Bishops’ and King’s Books* and illustrated in figure 3c, above, emphasis on God as the ultimate object of devotion was a classic Henrician tool for the defence of prayers to saints. The addition of the word ‘sober’ is a stylistic point, not a theological one. The implication that the texts being sung should be scriptural is new and significant but still potentially allows for a wide range of text forms, including, perhaps, retellings of biblical narratives like that of the Visitation in

⁴⁵ On the *Rationale of Ceremonial* see MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 276-8; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 427-30.

⁴⁶ Marsh, ‘Music, Church, and Henry VIII’s Reformation’, ch. 5.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 206.

⁴⁸ Transcribed from the MS facsimiles in Marsh, ‘Sacred Polyphony ‘not understandid’’, 72, 74.

⁴⁹ Marsh, ‘Music, Church, and Henry VIII’s Reformation’, 209.

Fayrfax's *Aeternae laudis liliium* or the Passion in his *Maria plena virtute*, or passages commonly given allegorical Marian readings.

One further piece of evidence supports the idea that the accession of Edward VI enforced a sudden halt in the performance of votive polyphony: the visitation injunctions issued to various colleges and cathedrals at the beginning of the new reign. For example, the royal injunctions to Winchester College issued in 1547 orders that the boys 'henceforth omit to sing or say "Regina Caeli", "Salve Regina", and any suchlike untrue or superstitious anthem.'⁵⁰ Those for York Minster in the same year abolished all memorial prayers except for two new ones, in English, prescribed by the visitors.⁵¹ A well-known injunction to Lincoln Cathedral in 1548 refers both to the content and style of votive antiphons like those found in *Ph*: it states that the clerks and choristers

shall from henceforth sing or say no anthems of our Lady or other Saints, but only of our Lord, and them not in Latin; but choosing out the best and most sounding to Christian religion they shall turn the same into English, setting thereunto a plain and distinct note for every syllable one: they shall sing them and none other.⁵²

The concern displayed in these injunctions to stamp out the singing and saying of antiphons to the Virgin suggests that it was an ongoing practice at the time they were issued.

From the *Rationale of Ceremonial*, the *Bishops' and King's Books*, the *King's Primer* and other 1540s prayer books, and from the will of the king, it is clear that both the form and content of most Marian antiphons found in *Ph* remained relevant throughout the last decade of Henry VIII's life, and had support both from circles close to the king, and at institutions where the laity might have accessed them. Nothing in these publications, documents and statements implies that devotion to the Virgin was thought suspect before 1547, and indeed some examples go to great semantic lengths to justify it: by the narrowing of the definition of the word 'prayer' in the *Bishops' Book*, for example, or by insisting that devotion to the saints represented merely another route to the worship of God.

3.4. 'Mariarum omnium Maria nobilissima': The Virgin in the reign of Mary Tudor

The death of Henry VIII and the earliest Elizabethan manuscript of pre-Reformation polyphony are separated by around two decades, and the same manuscript and the religious legislation of 1538 by almost three. For a true picture of the Elizabethan experience of Marian

⁵⁰ Frere and Kennedy (eds), *Visitation Articles*, ii. 151.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 154-155.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 168.

devotion and its impact on music collecting, we must look not only to the reign of Henry VIII, but also to that of his daughter Mary.

The practice of Marian devotion under Mary Tudor in religious institutions and in private is ripe for reappraisal. In the past two decades, the English Counter-Reformation in the 1550s has been the subject of several revisionist studies which focus not on the reasons for its failure, but on its many achievements.⁵³ As a consequence, our understanding of the period in the context of both English and mainland European Catholic reform has improved. It is also now widely appreciated that had Mary I managed to produce an heir, Catholicism in England might well have retained the upper hand. The recent search for positive achievement within Mary's Church has, however, tended to focus on similarities with contemporary Protestantism and deflect attention away from continuities with the 1520s and 1530s. For example, the Marian Church's 'Christocentric' approach—though exemplified by its particular devotion to the Mass as a sign of Catholic orthodoxy—is often cited in opposition to a soteriology which focuses on the role of the intercession of saints, including the Virgin Mary.⁵⁴ Indeed, with the exception of the work of William Wizeman, S.J., the prevailing view seems to be that devotion to the Virgin was peripheral to 1550s Catholicism, and references to Marian devotion in scholarly writing on Mary Tudor's regime are few and far between.⁵⁵ This is probably because the theology of the 1550s intellectual elite is much better understood than the devotional practices of their less educated contemporaries. Wizeman and Wooding, for example, concentrate on contemporary printed texts as their main sources of evidence, including not only primers but also works of theology, which would have had little to no effect on the lives or beliefs of most laypeople. The lack of understanding of popular devotions under Mary is reflected in the late David Loades's most recent contribution to scholarship on the church of Mary Tudor, *The Religious Culture of Marian England*, which devotes an entire chapter to 'Popular Religion' of which only the last three-and-a-half pages actually discuss the reign of Mary I.⁵⁶ The role of music for the Virgin under Mary Tudor is

⁵³ See Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009); William Wizeman, SJ, *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Duffy and David Loades (eds), *The Church of Mary Tudor* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006); Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism*, chs. 4 and 5.

⁵⁴ David Loades, 'The Personal Religion of Mary I', in Duffy and Loades (eds), *The Church of Mary Tudor*, 21-2, 25; Wizeman, *The Theology and Spirituality*, 85-96, 239-40; Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism*, 166-74.

⁵⁵ Wizeman, 'The Virgin Mary in the Reign of Mary Tudor', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church and Mary*, *Studies in Church History* 39 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), 239-48.

⁵⁶ David Loades, *The Religious Culture of Marian England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 61-4.

still more in need of reassessment. The major study of Latin music under Mary Tudor, Daniel Page's thesis 'Uniform and Catholic',⁵⁷ has been in part superseded by recent research into mid-century musical chronology. More recently, while Wizeman rightly mentions the music of Mundy, Tallis and Sheppard in his reappraisal of Marian devotion under Queen Mary, he does so only in passing, seeing it primarily as a symbolic promotion of Mary's regime rather than as active prayer to the Virgin.⁵⁸

As the following discussions will show, sources including prayer books, musical sources, and college and cathedral statutes reveal a rich tapestry of devotional practice, in which prayers to the Virgin often occupied a central role and in which much of the hesitation surrounding their efficacy had evaporated; at the same time, in the highest echelons of the Church, Marian doctrine was couched in cautious and ambivalent terms in order carefully to negotiate evangelical objections to prayer to the Virgin. Moreover, as several writers have suggested, musical devotion to the Virgin carried new associations unknown in the 1520s: it was seen as emblematic of Catholic orthodoxy as exemplified by the queen.⁵⁹ Overall, the Marian antiphon and prayers to the Virgin appear to have represented a living, vibrant tradition to most of the generation worshipping in the 1550s, although this tradition was not uniformly enacted.

3.4.1. Private prayer

The primers produced for the English market from 1555 onwards provide strong evidence of the didactic and doctrinal emphases of Mary's Church, and the ways these were enacted in practice. It has become something of a scholarly commonplace that the Marian-period primers contained far less devotional material to the Virgin than their late medieval predecessors, beyond the customary Little Office of the Virgin that still formed their backbone. The primers have been portrayed as reformist for several reasons: their contents now appeared in English; the late-medieval profusion of indulgences and rubrics had been excised; and they included both long extracts from Scripture and apparently Protestant prayers such as the *Ave rex*.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Page, 'Uniform and Catholic: Church Music in the Reign of Mary Tudor (1553-1558)' (PhD thesis: Brandeis University, 1996).

⁵⁸ Wizeman, 'The Virgin Mary', 246.

⁵⁹ Ibid.; Page, 'Uniform and Catholic', 342.

⁶⁰ See Helen C. White, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1951), 122-129; Wizeman, 'The Virgin Mary', 242; Wooding, 'Catholicism, the Printed Book and the Marian Restoration', in Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell (eds), *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476-1558* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014), 320f; Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism*, 176; Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 167; Wizeman, *The Theology and Spirituality*, 205-9; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 537-43.

However, a more detailed study of extant Marian-period primers reveals that while this picture remains broadly true, it requires considerable modification.

The Marian-period primer most often discussed in scholarly literature is that printed by John Wayland in June 1555 ‘with the assente of the moste reuerende father in god the Lorde Cardinall Pole hys grace’.⁶¹ This official primer does indeed contain many of the reformed features identified by Wizeman, Wooding, and Duffy. Outside the Office, the only Marian prayer it includes is the *Salve regina* with the traditional tropes (ff. Oiiii’-Pi’). It ends with a lengthy section of prayers both to Christ and to God combining medieval and reformed influences, including the *Ave rex*, *O bone Jesu* and *Conditor caeli*. In this, the Wayland-Pole primer closely parallels the Wayland-Hilsey primer of 1539. However, this is not to say that devotion to the Virgin in these primers remained peripheral, as it had in the *King’s Primer* of 1545 and the Wayland-Hilsey primer. Firstly, as Figure 3d shows clearly and as William Wizeman and Eamon Duffy have noted,⁶² the Wayland-Pole primer incorporates the Use of Sarum Little Office, like the Petit primers and late-medieval versions, thus reinstating prayer to the Virgin at the very heart of readers’ daily devotions. It also restores the medieval litany, with its expansive list of saints. Wooding implies that the Wayland-Pole primer was very popular, echoing Duffy in stating that it ‘went into over ten editions during Mary’s reign’; Wizeman suggests that ‘it went into more editions than any other’.⁶³ But, *pace* Wizeman and Wooding, there was no single ‘Wayland primer’. Rather, John Wayland printed many versions of the primer with different contents. After the first ‘uniforme and catholyke’ primer of June 1555 he never printed so evangelical a work again: later primers, some printed within months of the original, were even more conservative in their contents, a fact which allows conclusions to be drawn about the private devotions of Mary I’s public.

These subsequent primers printed by Wayland included not only the troped *Salve regina*, but also the three medieval prayers to the Virgin *Gaude flore virginali*, *Gaude virgo mater Christi*, and *Stella caeli extirpavit*.⁶⁴ These four prayers seem to have been standard regardless of the printer: they also appear in editions by Robert Caly and other contemporary

⁶¹ *An vniforme and catholyke prymer in Latin and Englishe* (London, 1555: RSTC 16060).

⁶² Wizeman, ‘The Virgin Mary’, 241-2; Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 167.

⁶³ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 539; Wooding, ‘Catholicism, the Printed Book, and the Marian Restoration’, 320; Wizeman, *The Theology and Spirituality*, 205; Duffy, *Reformation Divided: Catholics, Protestants and the Conversion of England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 206.

⁶⁴ RSTC 16063, 16064, 16079, 16080, 16081, 16082, 16083, and 16085. I have consulted all the books available on Early English Books Online which contain the word ‘primer’ as a keyword and which were published between 1553 and 1558.

primers printed in Rouen.⁶⁵ The children's primer printed in 1556 included both *Salve regina* and *Gaude virgo mater Christi* within its smaller and shorter format.⁶⁶ More elaborate editions, including those printed by Wayland's assigns John Kingston and Henry Sutton, included the prayer *O intemerata* alongside the other four standard Marian prayers,⁶⁷ while Latin-only editions, printed at Rouen, contained a whole tranche of prayers to the Virgin such as *Obsecro te*, *Ave fuit prima salus*, *Ave cuius conceptio*, and *Ave rosa sine spinis*—the last with its traditional medieval rubric.⁶⁸ There clearly remained some demand for these more traditional prayers among the English public, despite their apparent abandonment by Pole, then Archbishop of Canterbury. Moreover, the majority of these 'medieval-style' primers, by Wayland and others, do not include *Ave rex*, although they do contain the traditional Jesus-prayers *O bone Jesu*, *O rex gloriose*, and *Conditor caeli*, which was directed to be said before an image of Christ's body.⁶⁹

Why *Salve regina*, the two standard *Gaude* prayers, *Stella caeli* and *O intemerata* were chosen for the 1550s primers and others not may to some extent be discerned from their contents. *Salve regina* carried ancient authority and was specified in many institutional statutes as a nightly or weekly devotion; it was also one of the four Marian antiphons retained after the Council of Trent. *Gaude virgo mater Christi*, which narrates the five temporal joys of the Virgin, is predominantly based on Scripture—it describes the Annunciation, the birth of Christ, his resurrection and ascension—and the near-universally accepted doctrine of the Virgin's Assumption. Its language and style are straightforward and it does not petition the Virgin for anything specific; as such it probably made an ideal choice for the 1556 children's primer, as its verse translation provided an effective teaching tool about the Virgin's life while remaining moderate in tone. *O intemerata*, though long, is similarly Scriptural, recounting the Gospel narrative of the Virgin and John the Evangelist at the foot of the cross, and praying for their intercession. *Stella caeli extirpavit* is one of the only prayers in the 1550s primers provided with a rubric: it was to be said in times of plague, and as such it had a specific purpose which perhaps secured its popularity. Furthermore, although the prayer is nominally about the Virgin, and is written in quite fulsome language, the focus is on Christ: it is through his birth, for example, that the Virgin 'the mortal pestilence from us [has] banished' and can

⁶⁵ RSTC 16062, 16070, 16071, 16073, and 16077.

⁶⁶ RSTC 16075.5.

⁶⁷ RSTC 16064, 16079 and 16081.

⁶⁸ RSTC 16068 and 16076.

⁶⁹ RSTC 16062, 16068, 16071, 16073, 16076, 16077, 16080, 16082, 16083, 16085, and 16086.

‘from the foul pestilence us preserue and hear’, and the final petition is to Jesus.⁷⁰ *Gaude flore virginali*, by contrast, is much more extravagant in tone, and it describes in turn each of the seven joys of the Virgin, all of which derive from Church tradition rather than directly from Scripture.⁷¹ Along with the rubric of *Stella caeli* it is really this prayer that gives the Marian sections of the Wayland primers their conservative flavour. These features, and the resulting contrast between the first ‘humanist’ Wayland-Pole primer and the subsequent ‘medieval’ 1550s primers, suggest—intriguingly—that Mary I’s book-buying public was more conservative in its private devotional preferences than the official face of her Church.

3.4.2. Institutional devotions in the 1550s

Statutes and ordinances for cathedrals and colleges compiled in the reign of Mary I show a great variety in the type and quantity of prescribed Marian devotion. Particularly when compiled by private individuals, they reveal the devotional priorities of the compiler, and the access they thus offer to individual religious preferences makes them valuable sources of evidence. Contrary to appearances, they cannot be interpreted as evidence for the devotions of an entire community, since they are by nature prescriptive rather than descriptive. It is, for example, unlikely that the statutes ordering private prayers to be recited daily by college members were actually obeyed by everyone in practice, but in some cases the statutes probably represented the bare minimum practised by those under their jurisdiction.

At some institutions the prescribed Marian prayers were marked by a cautious ambivalence. For example, the prayer said three times daily by the boys of Durham Cathedral’s grammar school is strikingly Christocentric, focusing not on the remission of sins—the Virgin’s primary role—but on the Holy Spirit’s power to make the devotee more Christlike:

Holy virgin Mary, mother of Jesus Christ, plead with your son that this school may daily flourish in him, that all the boys here may learn to know him, and be educated in him, so that at the last they may become through him perfect sons of God. And you also, most beneficent Jesus, plead with your Father and ours that the grace of his Spirit may make us his little

⁷⁰ RSTC 16085, ff. Mi^v-Mii^r.

⁷¹ Despite the strong associations between *Gaude flore virginali* and St Thomas Becket, it was not always absent from primers printed after 1538: the 1544 Petit primer discussed above retains it, for example, although the rubric mentioning Becket was excised. Becket’s feast was reinstated in the Calendar of the first Wayland primer and in all of the official liturgical books issued by Mary’s Church. See Robert E. Scully, ‘The Unmaking of a Saint: Thomas Becket and the English Reformation’, *CHR*, 86 (2000), 579-602 at 599.

children, so to learn of you, Jesus, and imitate you in this age, that we may joyfully reign together with you in the age to come.⁷²

Although in its call for *imitatio Christi* this prayer echoes late-medieval and early Henrician spirituality, its relegation of Mary to the periphery as a subsidiary intercessor to Christ is classically late-Henrician.⁷³ At other institutions, founded by highly-educated, private individuals, Marian devotion is notable by its absence. This may well reflect the ability of their founders to engage fully with contemporary teaching, perhaps including that of the Edwardian Church on unmediated prayer and soteriology. For example, there is no mention of any Marian devotion in the statutes of Trinity College, Oxford, issued by the founder Thomas Pope in 1556. The college was ‘small, poor and ordinary’, and large-scale devotion to the Virgin there may have been impeded by its lack of a dedicated choir or choristers, although there was statutory provision for one of the scholars to act as organist.⁷⁴ Communal prayers were specified in the statutes for the welfare of the college and the founder’s family, and while these are very conservative in tone (they ask that Pope and his wife ‘always embrace most constantly the communion of Catholic faith; and that, readily lamenting their sins committed many times against your immense goodness with a penitent and doleful heart; and devoutly and piously observing all the sacraments, truly instituted in the Church for the solace of Christians, before they are crushed by death; they may deserve to come after death to eternal joy’⁷⁵) they are all addressed to the ‘most holy and glorious Trinity’, and do not mention the Virgin or the saints even as intercessors.⁷⁶ A second Marian foundation, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, is also striking for its Christ-centred and Trinitarian piety. The college’s founder, John Caius, was of unimpeachable Catholic orthodoxy,⁷⁷ and his

⁷² ‘Sancta Maria virgo et mater Jesu Christi, age cum filio tuo, ut haec schola quotidie proficiat in ipso, ut omnes pueri in eadem discant ipsum, et erudiantur in ipso, tandem ut perfecti filii dei fiant per ipsum. Et tu quoque Jesu benignissime age cum patre tuo, et patre nostro, ut gratia sui spiritus nos suos filiolos faciat, sic te Jesu discere et imitare in hoc seculo, ut una tecum feliciter regnemus in futuro.’ *Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Durham*, 180.

⁷³ See Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism*, 94-95.

⁷⁴ Clare Hopkins, *Trinity: 450 Years of an Oxford College Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 19. On the role of the organist see *The Statutes of Trinity College, Oxford* (London: George G. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1855), 26, 80.

⁷⁵ ‘Catholicæ fidei communionem constantissime semper amplexentur; utque peccata sua multoties contra immensam bonitatem tuam commissa, pœnitenti ac flebili corde continuo plangentes, et omnia sacramenta, ad vere Christianorum solatia in ecclesia constituta, devote ac pie, antequam morte opprimantur, percipientes, ad sempiterna post mortem gaudia pervenire mereantur’. *The Statutes of Trinity College, Oxford*, 36.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 36-40.

⁷⁷ Vivian Nutton, ‘Caius, John’, *ODNB*.

rededication of the college from the ‘Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin and Mother of Jesus Christ, God and Man’ to ‘Corpus Christi and the Blessed Virgin’ reflected perfectly the tone of mid-century devotion. Whereas the earlier statutes of Gonville Hall, compiled by Edmund Gonville in 1348, and William Bateman, bishop of Norwich, included detailed prescription for private devotion to the Annunciation,⁷⁸ those of the new foundation did not specify any Marian prayers at all and directly replaced them with prayers to Christ. The prayer for the soul of John Caius, for example, addresses Christ directly as ‘fons et mare misericordiae’, reallocating to him the traditional language of Marian devotion.⁷⁹

Meanwhile, some institutions, particularly those with statutes issued by the queen, remained deeply traditional in their communal prayers and returned to the practice of the 1520s and early 1530s. Cardinal Pole’s 1557 ‘Ordinances for Divine Service’ to be followed at Cambridge University state in passing that *Salve regina* was said in every college each night after Compline, as had been traditional before the reign of Edward VI.⁸⁰ At Durham Cathedral, whose new statutes were issued in 1554 under Bishop Tunstall, the queen re-instituted daily Lady Mass with polyphony.⁸¹ Certain surviving college statutes make it clear that Marian devotion, even if its prescribed quantity had decreased, retained a central role in communal prayer. At Trinity College, Cambridge, which was refounded by Philip and Mary with ample provision for choral polyphony, the nightly grace after the evening meal included a communal recitation of *Ave regina caelorum*, or *Regina caeli laetare* during Eastertide, with the versicle and response *Post partum virgo—Dei genitrix*.⁸² The statutes of St John’s

⁷⁸ John Venn, *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897-1912), iii. 346-7. After Mass every day or whenever convenient, members of the College were to say *Ave Maria* fifty times with *Pater noster* after every ten repetitions, followed by the Annunciation collect ‘Deus qui de beatae Mariae’ and a collect for the soul of Bishop Bateman. Every Saturday there was to be a Mass of the Annunciation, and members of the College were to say 150 *Ave Marias*. On rising and before bed every day they were to say the Annunciation antiphon, ‘Ingressus angelus ad Mariam dixit’, the versicle and response ‘Ave Maria gratia plena—Dominus tecum’, Alleluia with the verse ‘Rorate caeli desuper’, and again the collect ‘Deus qui de beatae Mariae’ and a collect for Bishop Bateman.

⁷⁹ Venn, *Biographical History*, iii. 368-9 at 369.

⁸⁰ *Collection of Statutes for the University and the Colleges of Cambridge* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1840), 275. On the impact of Mary’s reign on the English universities see Claire Cross, ‘The English Universities, 1553-1558’, in Duffy and Loades (eds) *The Church of Mary Tudor*, 57-76.

⁸¹ *The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Durham*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson and John Meade Falkner (Durham: Publications of the Surtees Society vol. 143, 1929), lix, 159.

⁸² On the choral foundation of Trinity College see Ian Payne, ‘The Musical Establishment at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1546-1644’, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 74 (1985), 53-69; Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c. 1547-1646* (New York and London: Garland, 1993), 33-37.

College, Oxford, founded in 1555 by Sir Thomas White, specify that on Saturdays and the vigils of Marian feasts, the whole college community was to gather in the hall and sing an antiphon to the Virgin followed by *De profundis*.⁸³ This practice was ultimately derived from that specified in the highly influential statutes of Magdalen College, issued in 1459 by Bishop William of Waynflete, and was also followed at Corpus Christi College, whose president John Claymond had transferred from Magdalen and whose statutes were issued in 1517.⁸⁴ Such communal prayers should thus be seen in the context of the popularity of late-medieval private Marian devotion, offering each participant access to the Virgin's merits both as an individual and as a member of the corporate body.

3.4.3. *The polyphonic votive antiphon in the 1550s*

Institutional statutes reflect the religious practice of individuals and ostensibly influenced that of a community of perhaps no more than fifty people; sacred music, by contrast, had the potential to reach a far larger audience. The polyphonic votive antiphon in the 1550s, however, was much less well supported, both economically and institutionally, than its 1520s predecessor. With the abolition of the fraternities and the removal of the craft guilds' endowments of chantries, priests, obits and lights in 1548, much of the votive antiphon's financial support was lost and never reinstated; along with this economic support died also its direct connection, and therefore presumably much of its relevance, to the laity.⁸⁵ The colleges listed in figure 3a, which had been founded and endowed originally as chantries, were lost, and with them their choirs. The institutional support for the votive antiphon had suffered also in ordinary parishes and university colleges, as many choirs disbanded under Edward VI took time to revive and their loss was often permanent. This is likely to have been primarily because, as Richard Lloyd has argued, the salaries of singing men, choristers and organists had been funded almost entirely by the surpluses produced by chantry endowments.⁸⁶ Even the large and musical church of St Mary-at-Hill, for example, no longer supported boy

⁸³ 'volumus ut, singulis sabbatis per annum ac singulis vigiliis festivitatum beatae Virginis Mariae, post completorium, omnes et singuli Socii, scholars, praecentor et sacrista, in aula, inter se devote cantent aliquam antiphonam in honorem gloriosae Virginis et Matris Mariae; qua cantata, decant psalmum "De profundis," cum orationibus'. 'St John's College', in *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, iii. 48.

⁸⁴ 'Corpus Christi College', in *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, ii. 45-6; 'Magdalen College', in *Statutes*, ii. 54.

⁸⁵ On the dissolution of guilds see Kreider, *English Chantries*, 197-200.

⁸⁶ Richard Lloyd, 'Provision for Music in the Parish Church in Late-Medieval London' (PhD dissertation: Royal Holloway, University of London, 1999), 88-111, ch. 4.

choristers except on the most important feasts.⁸⁷ Therefore, during the 1550s the personnel needed for a polyphonic votive antiphon performance was only available at the Chapel Royal, the cathedrals, the few more wealthy surviving colleges that supported choirs (some of which are discussed above), household chapels, and occasionally in certain parishes.

Of course, the institutions that continued to perform polyphonic votive antiphons daily or weekly needed a repertoire. There is evidence—as common sense would suggest—that when Catholicism was restored in 1553 people recycled books and music from much earlier in the sixteenth century, resulting in a strong musical continuity between the reign of Henry VIII and that of Mary. No extant music manuscripts were demonstrably copied for liturgical use in the reign of Mary I, but the Eton Choirbook was rebound at this time, perhaps to allow the performance of its music at Eton after the majority of the college’s pre-Reformation accoutrements had been sold or destroyed.⁸⁸ New pricksong books were then bought in 1556/7.⁸⁹ The reuse of *Eton* shows that, however apparently ‘reformed’ Mary Tudor’s Church was in some respects, the performance of *Salve regina* settings from the reign of Henry VII was still deemed appropriate at the beginning of her reign. Evidence of less extreme recycling also survives from Westminster Abbey, whose singing men rescued books during the reign of Edward VI and then sold them back to the Abbey for the restoration of the Sarum liturgy.⁹⁰ Furthermore, as Eric Josef Carlson has pointed out in his review of Wizeman’s book on the Marian Church, late-medieval primers with contents even more lavish than the most conservative Wayland editions retained their currency in private hands throughout the 1550s.⁹¹ Conversely, Duffy has noted extant Henrician and even Edwardian primers which bear signs of alteration for the changed theological climate of Mary’s reign.⁹² A particularly vivid example of this is a copy of the *King’s Primer* of 1545 held at the British Library.⁹³ The copy of the Litany in this book bears several manuscript emendations evidently following the accession of Mary I and the reconciliation with Rome. The phrase ‘fro[m] the tyran[n]y of y^e

⁸⁷ McCarthy, ‘William Mundy’s “Vox patris caelestis”’, 362.

⁸⁸ Williamson, ‘The Eton Choirbook’, 17-18, 432-439.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 430.

⁹⁰ Stanford Lehmborg, ‘The Musicians of Westminster Abbey, 1540-1640’, in C. S. Knighton and Richard Mortimer (eds), *Westminster Abbey Reformed* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 96.

⁹¹ Eric Josef Carlson, ‘Review: *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor’s Church* by William Wizeman’, *Journal of British Studies*, 47 (2008), 401. See also Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 162-3; Seth Lerer, ‘Literary Prayer and Personal Possession in a Newly Discovered Tudor Book of Hours’, *Studies in Philology*, 109 (2012), 409-428.

⁹² Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 165-7.

⁹³ RSTC 16040. Online access via Early English Books Online, accessed 23 March 2017.

bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities' is scrubbed out in both the English and Latin columns; on the next opening the names 'Henry the eight' and 'Catherine' are changed to 'que[en] mary', 'maria[m]' and 'Mary', although curiously the petition for the health of Prince Edward is not deleted. Perhaps the owner of the book simply omitted this section entirely, pending the birth of a new Prince of Wales.

However, the votive antiphon texts that were demonstrably newly composed in the reign of Mary I share some distinctive features that mark them out from their Henrician predecessors. This is likely to be because, based on the number of choral institutions active in England in the 1550s, the average layperson heard far fewer votive antiphon performances in each year than they could have done in the 1520s. Those that they did hear were presumably on special occasions, either when they themselves travelled to a cathedral, or if they attended a performance in a space other than a church. The majority of the polyphonic antiphons surviving from Mary I's reign, unsurprisingly, appear as a result to have been occasional works with clear propagandistic intent: they were no longer part of the everyday lives of most laypeople, and so their dramatic and celebratory potential could be fully exploited. Treating the antiphon primarily as an occasional work seems to have afforded composers and text writers of the 1550s the opportunity to 'sell' the political and religious doctrine of Mary Tudor's Church. The several votive antiphons that can be dated to Mary's reign with relative security thus provide great insights into the character of mid-century Marian devotion.⁹⁴ They reveal the surprising amount of caution that surrounded the public exposition of Marian

⁹⁴ I have not included Tallis's *Gaude gloriosa* in this group, although it was long understood to date from Mary Tudor's reign. Daniel Page was unhesitant in supporting a Marian date, primarily because of the contents of the antiphon text (which refers to the coronation of the Virgin) and a perceived expansion of Tallis's expressive vocabulary in comparison to Henrician votive antiphons. However, the dating of *Gaude gloriosa* has now been called into question on the basis of its surviving sources, and the stylistic evidence marshalled by Page is not strong enough to withstand this doubt. The fragment *GB-Occ MS 566* contains the contratenor part of an English contrafactum of *Gaude gloriosa*, *Se Lord and behold*, which has been dated by David Skinner to 1544 on the grounds that the text, written by Queen Katherine Parr, was published as a companion piece to Thomas Cranmer's *Exhortation and Litany*, first used in public on 23 May 1544. Furthermore, the musical relationship between the English- and Latin-texted versions of the piece, Skinner argues, suggests that the Latin version came first. This suggests, therefore, that *Gaude gloriosa* was composed in the late 1530s or early 1540s, and cannot have been intended to refer allegorically to Mary I. While Skinner's argument is based on circumstantial evidence and does not offer conclusive proof for an early dating of *Gaude gloriosa*, the existence of the contrafactum certainly calls into question the piece's long-established Marian dating. David Skinner, 'Deliver me from my deceitful enemies', 233-250; Page, 'Uniform and Catholic', 180-184; Milsom, 'A New Tallis Contrafactum', 430-1.

doctrine during the reign of Mary Tudor, and especially the importance of the Marian antiphon not only as prayer, but also as an emblem of orthodoxy and loyalty to the queen.

William Mundy's antiphon *Vox patris caelestis* has been dated by various scholars to the reign of Mary I.⁹⁵ Its text, written by the priest, poet and music copyist William Forrest, is an extended trope on the antiphon for the Vigil of the Assumption of the Virgin, *Tota pulchra es*, and was probably intended to refer allegorically to the coronation of Mary I. The antiphon can be read as an affirmation of the Scriptural origins of Catholic Marian doctrine. The liturgical text from which it derives is itself taken from the Song of Songs, and as such Forrest's elaboration of it asserts the traditional medieval interpretation of this book as an address from God to the Virgin, as well as to the Church as evangelical theologians of the time argued. Furthermore, as Kerry McCarthy has pointed out, Forrest incorporates other Scriptural passages commonly given Mariological readings by Catholics, but interpreted either literally or as references to the Church by evangelicals: Psalm 44, *Eructavit cor meum*, and the Book of Esther.⁹⁶ Perhaps most significant in the context of the reassertion of late-medieval Marian doctrine and Scriptural exegesis is Forrest's reference to the apocryphal legends of the Virgin's parentage, rejected by evangelicals. The epithet 'Annae prolis', 'child of Anne', is only the second afforded to Mary in the whole text, after the self-evident and uncontroversial 'mother of God's son'.

A second 1550s antiphon by Mundy, *Maria virgo sanctissima* (see figure 3e), has received much less attention than *Vox patris*, but the two share many musical characteristics and were probably composed at a similar time.⁹⁷ Like that of *Vox patris*, the text of *Maria virgo* is written in prose rather than poetry, although it has no liturgical foundation or obvious political resonances and remains anonymous. It explores the Virgin's characteristics in relation to God, first as daughter, mother and bride of the Trinity (thus closely paralleling the themes of *Ave Dei patris*), secondly as his chosen handmaid, and finally as mankind's intercessor. Three aspects of the text are significant for our understanding of mid-century

⁹⁵ Alistair Dixon, 'Mundy, William', *ODNB*; Benham, *Latin Church Music*, 25, 181, 184; McCarthy, 'William Mundy's "Vox patris caelestis"', 354-5 (this article also includes a complete text and translation of *Vox patris*); Milsom, 'William Mundy's "Vox patris caelestis"', 1-38. The historiography of *Vox patris* is fully discussed in chapter 1.

⁹⁶ McCarthy, 'William Mundy's "Vox patris caelestis"', 358.

⁹⁷ See motivic analysis of the two motets by Helena Kopchick Spencer, 'The Coronation of Two Marys in William Mundy's *Maria virgo sanctissima*', unpublished paper given at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society (San Francisco, 2011), <https://www.academia.edu/5644423/The_Coronation_of_Two_Marys_in_William_Mundys_Maria_virgo_sanctissima>, accessed 22 August 2017.

Figure 3e. *Maria virgo sanctissima*: text and translation

Maria virgo sanctissima, beatarum Mariarum venerabilissima, te singulari gratia præ omnibus creaturis ditavit Deus, qui summus, et solus est Trinus et Unus. Ex quibus personis te Pater in filiam ante mundi constitutionem præelegit, Filius in matrem et nutricem, Spiritus Sanctus in sponsam et reclinatorium suo speciali usu ornatissima ordinavit et coronavit. Et sic summæ Trinitatis templum Mariarumque omnium Maria nobilissima es.

Tu cum sis illi qui omnium solus Deus Deorum est, regum omnium regi, dominatorum omnium Domino, tam in estimabili favore et acceptatione quare te imperatricem, reginam, dominamque, et ultra si potest nominare nos licet. In hiis omnibus non deam te dicamus, sed Dei creaturam ancillamque mansuetissimam; sed quicquid boni mundus habet per te habet, ex qua salutis nostræ initium manet. Igitur quamquam tam nobilis et singularis es, reverentiaque tibi defertur, illi etiam qui talem te fecit ut virgo et mater esses exhibebitur.

Surge ergo, beatissima Virgo Maria, misericorditer actura pro nobis, da preces pro nobis, quos cernis offensos ante oculos conditoris sic illi compone, ut nobis nosci esse opus, quo servi filii tui Dei nostri effici mereamur largiente eodem Domino nostro Jesu Christo, qui est benedictus in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Most holy Virgin Mary, the most venerable of all blessed Maries: God, who is the highest and only Three in One, has enriched you with unique grace above all creatures.

The Father chose you from all people as his daughter before the world's establishment, the Son chose you as his mother and nurse, the Holy Spirit as his bride, and appointed and crowned you as a couch adorned for his own special use. And so you are the temple of the highest Trinity and the noblest Mary of all Maries.

Because you are so much in the estimable favour and so acceptable to him who alone is the God of all Gods, King of all Kings, master of all victors, for this reason we may call you Empress, Queen, and Lady, and yet even more, if it is possible.

In all these matters let us not call you 'Goddess', but 'Most gentle creature and handmaid of God'; but whatever good the world has, it has through you, in whom lies the beginning of our salvation. Therefore, although you are so noble and unique, and reverence is offered to you, still it will be tendered to him who made you such that you are both virgin and mother.

Therefore arise, most blessed Virgin Mary, to act mercifully on our behalf. Offer prayers for us, gather the sins which you perceive before the eyes of the Creator in such a way that the work may be made known to us by which we slaves of your son, our God, may be worthy to be justified by the dispensation of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed throughout all ages. Amen.

Marian doctrine. First is the emphasis placed on Mary's immaculate conception, which echoes contemporary responses to evangelical attack.⁹⁸ Unusually, *Maria virgo sanctissima* deals with Mary's conception not just on earth within Joachim and Anne's marriage, but even at the creation of the world ('ex quibus personis te Pater in filiam ante mundi constitutionem praelegit'), a common theme in mainland European post-Tridentine imagery.⁹⁹ Secondly, the text dwells extensively not on Mary's merits, but on God's favour towards her. The third and related point is that the text explicitly states the boundaries within which devotion to Mary is

⁹⁸ Wizeman, 'The Virgin Mary', 242-244.

⁹⁹ Rubin, *Mother of God*, 408-12; Sarah Jane Boss, 'The Development of the Doctrine of Mary's Immaculate Conception', in Boss (ed.), *Mary*, 222-228.

acceptable: ‘non deam te dicamus, sed Dei creaturam ancillamque... quamquam tam nobilis et singularis es, reverantiaque tibi defertur, illi etiam qui talem te fecit ut virgo et mater esses exhibebitur’. That Mary could be worshipped as a goddess seems to have been a real concern. In 1567 John Jewel accused Cardinal Bembo (d. 1547) of calling Mary ‘dominam et deam nostram’ in a letter to Charles V during the Council of Trent;¹⁰⁰ while as late as the seventeenth century, James I of England wrote that he dared not ‘mock [Mary], and blaspheme against God, calling her not only *Diva* but *Dea*, and praying her to command and control her Son, who is her God and her Saviour’, thereby suggesting that the Catholic belief in Mary’s intercession placed her on a pedestal equal or superior to Christ’s.¹⁰¹ *Maria virgo sanctissima* thus echoes Bishop Bonner’s comments that in worshipping the saints, we glorify God in their place: ‘when we worshyppe any martyr, we glorifye God and hys gyftes in the same Martyr, and when we honoure the blessed vyrgyn Mary, mother of Chryste, we honoure, in her, Chryste, whose mother she is. And when we honour the apostles, we honoure, in them, hym that sent them.’¹⁰²

Maria virgo sanctissima might therefore be read as a musical sermon about the Virgin, expounding orthodox doctrine relating to her and strictly defining and justifying its boundaries. As such it is easy to see how it might have been valuable in the reimposition of Roman Catholicism on William Mundy’s religiously divided London. It is perhaps because of its didactic potential that the text of Tallis’s *Salve intemerata* (figure 3f) also experienced a revival during the reign of Mary. It was published in 1558 in a collection attributed to the then-Bishop of Durham Cuthbert Tunstall, alongside an English translation by Thomas Paynell, and is the only Marian prayer in the published collection.¹⁰³ Like *Maria virgo sanctissima*, *Salve intemerata* stresses Mary’s parentage by St Anne, and the fact that her immaculate status derives from having been ‘chosen’ and ‘defended’ by God rather than any personal merit. It also prays explicitly for intercession, which is mentioned twice, rather than for more general services as does, for example, Tallis’s later antiphon *Gaude gloriosa*. Two other elements of *Salve intemerata*’s contents make it appropriate for the dynamic of Marian-

¹⁰⁰ John Jewel, *A defence of the Apologie of the Churche of Englande* (London, 1567: RSTC 14600.5), 314.

¹⁰¹ Paul Williams, ‘The Virgin Mary in Anglican Tradition’, in Boss (ed.), *Mary*, 325.

¹⁰² Edmund Bonner, *A profitable and necessary doctrine* (London, 1555: RSTC 3283.3), f. II.iii^{r-v}.

¹⁰³ Cuthbert Tunstall, *Certaine godly and deuout prayers* (London, 1558: RSTC 24318), f. Dii^r-Diii^r. Tunstall’s authorship of the text *Salve intemerata* was independently discovered by Jason Smart but has not appeared in print. The English text was discussed by William Wizeman (*The Theology and Spirituality*, 223), but Wizeman did not make the connection between Paynell’s text and Tallis’s antiphon.

Figure 3f. *Salve intemerata*: text and translation by Thomas Paynell

Salve intemerata Virgo Maria, filii Dei
genetrix, prae ceteris electa virginibus: quae
ex utero tuae matris Annae, mulieris
sanctissimae, sic a Spiritu Sancto tum
sanctificata tum illuminata fuisti, munitaque
tantopere Dei omnipotentis gratia, ut usque
ad conceptum Filii tui, Domini nostri Jesu
Christe. Et dum eum conciperes, ac usque ad
partum, et dum eum pareres, semperque post
partum, virgo omnium quae natae sunt
castissima incorruptissima et
immaculatissima et corpore et animo tota vita
permanseris.

Tu nimirum universas alias longe superasti
virgines sincerra mentis impollutae
conscientia, quotquot vel adhuc fuerunt ab
ipso mundi primordio, vel unquam futurae
sunt usque in finem mundi.
Per haec nos praecellentissima gratiae
celestis dona,
tibi virgo et mater Maria, prae ceteris
omnibus mulieribus et virginibus a Deo
singulariter infusa, te precamur, quae miseris
mortalibus misericors patrona es, ut pro
peccatis nostris nobis condonandis
intercedere digneris apud Deum patrem
omnipotentem eiusque Filium Jesum
Christum, secundum divinitatem quidem ex
Patre ante omnia saecula genitum, secundum
humanitatem autem ex te natum; atque apud
Spiritus Sanctum, ut peccatorum nostrorum
maculis tua absteris intercessione, tecum,
sancta Virgo, semper congaudere, teque in
regno caelorum sine fine laudare mereamur.
Amen.

AL hayle vndefiled vyrgyn Marie, mother of
the sonne of God, elected and chosyn aboue
al other virgines, the which euen from the
wombe of thy mother Anne, a woman mooste
holy, hast bene of the holy ghost so
sanctified, illuminatyd, and so gretlye
defended with the grace of God almighty,
that vnto the conceptio[n] of our lorde Ihesu
christ thy sonne, and whylest thou dydest
conceaeue hym, and vnto the tyme of his
byrth, and whilest thou didest beare hym, &
continuallye after hys byrth, thou
continuedest & remaynedste a vyrgyn of al
other that be borne most chast, most
vncorrupt, & of bodye & soule all thy lyfe,
most immaculate and vnbespottyd.

For truely thou hast far passyd al other
virgins, how many soeuer haue bene hetherto
sence the begynning of the world or euer
shalbe to the later ende there of, in a sincere
conscience of an impolutyd mynd.
By these thy moste excellent gifts of heuenly
grace, infusid in the by god very singularly.
O vyrgyn & mother Marye, aboue al other
women and vyrgyns, we pray the whiche arte
vnto vs miserable mortall men a mercifull
patronesse, that y^u wylt vouchsafe to make
intercession to God the father omnipotent,
and to his sonne Iesu christ, borne certenlye
as concerning his diuinitie of the father
before al worldes, and of the, concernyng his
humanite, and to the holye ghoste, that our
synnes maye be forgeuen vs, and that we, the
spottes of our sinnes through thy
intercessyon, cleane wpyd oute, may merite
continually to reioyce with the O holy virgin,
& to prayse the in the kyngedome of heuen,
without ende. So be it.

period devotion. The first is the careful—in fact rather laboured—explanation of Mary’s virginity at Jesus’s conception, during pregnancy, and during and after his birth, setting out explicitly and extravagantly asserting belief in her perpetual virginity. The second is the inclusion of a passage, partly taken from the Athanasian Creed, which explains the ‘two natures’ of Christ: ‘secundum divinitatem quidem ex Patre ante omnia saecula genitum, secundum humanitatem autem ex te natum.’ These passages would have been uncontentious to the majority of their contemporary audience, as the perpetual virginity of Christ’s mother and the two natures of Christ were doctrines shared by Catholics and most Protestants

alike.¹⁰⁴ Tunstall's clear reference to the Creed, as an early Christian text shared with all confessions in the Western Church at the time, is surely significant here as providing an ancient and irreproachable authority for the prayer; while the Christological focus of this section of the text situates *Salve intemerata* within the context of the Jesus-antiphons and prayers popular during Mary's reign.

The final Marian-period antiphon to be discussed is Sheppard's *Gaude virgo Christiphera* (figure 3g.) By the late 1560s, this antiphon was strongly associated with the Marian Counter-Reformation. According to the Depositions of the ecclesiastical court at Durham, an antiphon *Gaude, virgo Christipara*, was performed in Durham Cathedral on Advent Sunday, 4 November 1569, during the Northern Rebellion.¹⁰⁵ This is the only piece named in the records of the court proceedings following the Rebellion, and its inclusion as part of the newly reintroduced Office in the Cathedral is highly significant. Firstly, by reinstating Catholic services at Durham on St Andrew's Day, 1569, the rebels alluded to the role that this date played in Mary I's liturgical calendar: this was the day on which the anniversary of Cardinal Pole's reconciliation of the English Church to Rome was celebrated.¹⁰⁶ This symbolic focus on the role of Mary I elsewhere that week combined with the textual content of *Gaude virgo Christiphera* makes it highly likely that the antiphon performance was intended to function as an admiring reference to the previous monarch's fight against heresy, and that parallels were drawn in 1569 between the image of the Virgin's offspring crushing the serpent under his heel and her namesake's longed-for heir crushing the insidious spread of Protestantism.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided* (London: Penguin, 2003), 613-4, and 'The Virgin Mary and Protestant Reformers' in MacCulloch, *All Things Made New: Writings on the Reformation* (London: Allen Lane, 2016), 49-52; Williams, 'The Virgin Mary in Anglican Tradition', 316-7.

¹⁰⁵ Magnus Williamson, 'Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities, by Jonathan Willis' (review), *EHR*, 538 (2014), 709; Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 228. See the testimony given by George Cliffe, prebendary of Durham Cathedral at the time of the Rebellion. Cliffe admitted on questioning that 'on Saturdaye, the said thirde day of December, he, this examine, was at evensonge in Latten, and at singing of the anthem caulde *Gaude, Virgo Christ[i]para*, upon the said sonndaye at night, as he had bein ther at mattyns byfore in the morninge.' James Raine (ed.), *Depositions and other Ecclesiastical Proceedings from the Courts of Durham, extending from 1311 to the Reign of Elizabeth* (London: Surtees Society, 1845), 136; viii.

¹⁰⁶ On the reconciliation with Rome see Page, 'Uniform and Catholic', 145-6.

¹⁰⁷ Intriguing parallels can be drawn between the text of *Gaude virgo Christiphera* and that of Johnson's *Gaude Maria virgo*, found in *Gyffard*. The opening line of this motet can be connected to the political events of the 1550s with only a little imagination: 'Gaude Maria virgo, cunctas haereses sola interemisti', 'Rejoice Virgin Mary, who alone has ended all heresies.' This text is the Tract of

The text of *Gaude virgo Christiphera*, moreover, makes it likely that the rebels' use of this antiphon was based on historical reality. Because of its emphasis on the miracle of the Virgin's pregnancy, it would have been particularly appropriate at the end of 1554 and during spring 1555, when Mary Tudor was believed to be pregnant. As Magnus Williamson has argued, Catholic rhetoric of the period strongly associated Protestantism with both Satan and his appearance as the serpent in the Garden of Eden, both of which are mentioned in the antiphon text and appear in the readings of the Sarum Mass *pro mulieribus pregnantibus*.¹⁰⁸ It is surely significant that the principal focus of the text is not on the Virgin's own role in combating heresy, but on Christ's. The text's writers and singers must have been aware that whatever Mary Tudor achieved in returning England to Catholicism, ultimately they had to rely not on her but on her unborn child. The text also reflects mid-century debates about the role of the Virgin in the redemption of humankind. In their identification of the one who

Figure 3g. *Gaude virgo Christiphera*: text and translation

Gaude virgo Christiphera quam adumbrans lux divina selegit ex virginibus	Rejoice O virgin, bearer of the Christchild Whom the dazzling divine light Selected from all virgins
Sola ut esses singulari quam contigit decorari partu imbuta caelibus.	So that thou alone shouldst be The one whom it befell to be honoured With a unique birth engendered from heaven.
Ex te semen hoc divinum cujus caput serpentinum est contritum viribus,	From thee this divine seed is issued forth, By whose strength the serpentine head Is trodden underfoot.
Christum dico de[s]ignatum sed pro nobis incarnatum ex tuis visceribus.	I mean him that was called Christ, But was made flesh for us From thy loins.
Ergo Sathan mors peccatum hinc videtis procreatum ut vestra habens capita.	Therefore, Satan, death, and sin, Ye behold him born here That he may crush your heads.
Laus sit patri et majestas tibi Christe rex potestas qui consopisti omnia. Amen.	Praise be to the Father, and majesty And power unto thee, Christ the King, Who hast laid them all to rest. Amen. (Translation: Leofranc Holford-Strevens)

Lady Mass from Septuagesima to Easter, but as Mateer has pointed out, Johnson sets it as a paraliturgical motet without the breaks that are necessary in the ritual. It is unsurprising that such a text should have been copied in such a conservative source as *Gyffard*, in the aftermath of the events of 1569 and the excommunication of Elizabeth I from the Catholic Church. See Mateer, *The Gyffard Partbooks, II*, EECM 51 (London: Stainer and Bell for the British Academy, 2009), 192.

¹⁰⁸ John Sheppard, *Hymns, Psalms, Antiphons and other Latin Polyphony*, EECM 54, ed. Magnus Williamson (London: Stainer and Bell for the British Academy, 2012), xviii-xix.

crushes the head of the serpent in Genesis 3:15 as Christ, not the Virgin, the writer of *Gaude virgo Christophera* directly contradicted the text of the Latin Vulgate. This identification is in fact stated twice, once as Mary's offspring ('ex te semen'), and then more forcefully as Christ ('Christum dico designatum'). The writer thus explicitly positioned themselves within a centuries-long tradition of dissent concerning this issue which acquired momentum during the central decades of the sixteenth century, perhaps as a result of evangelical translations—including the Great Bible of 1540—which identified Christ as 'crusher' of Satan in Genesis 3:15.¹⁰⁹ This view was also held by Bishop Bonner, who used the Christological interpretation of the Genesis passage in order to prove the doctrine of the Incarnation:

If Chryst toke not the flesh of y^e Virgin Marye, howe is that promyse fulfilled, which God made immediatly after the falle of our first pare[n]tes, when he thrust them out of paradise, at which tyme, he said vnto the serpente (as it is written in y^e thyrde chapitre Genesis.) *I wyll set enmitie betwixt the, and the womans sede, and it shall treade downe thy hedde*: Lo, how mercifully God dealeth wyth mankynde, He promised that one shoulde be borne of the sede and stocke of Eue, which should vanquyshe our ghostly enemy the diuell.¹¹⁰

Amid the mid-century rhetoric of *Gaude virgo Christophera*, however, the antiphon's opening, 'Gaude virgo', strongly harks back to the late medieval English tradition of Marian devotion and the still-popular primer texts *Gaude virgo mater Christi* and *Gaude flore virginali*. This amalgamation of the reformed and the consciously conservative is typical of the other antiphons, prayers and discourses so far discussed and, it seems, of Marian-era devotion to the Virgin in general.

Furthermore, the antiphons *Gaude virgo Christophera*, *Vox patris caelestis* and *Maria virgo sanctissima* reveal one of the most important modes of Marian devotion in the reign of Mary I: that of symbolic allusion to, and implicit support for, the queen. Early modern monarchy was typically surrounded by a sacralising discourse that functioned as a form of critique by flattery, likening monarchs to great Old Testament figures, Christ or the Virgin in order to promote a particular political agenda. Medieval and early modern royal entries often incorporated Christological imagery, whereby the king's appearance was compared to the coming of Christ following Advent, his revelation at Epiphany, or the Second Coming.¹¹¹ The iconography of Henry VIII depicted him not only as Christ, but also as both David and

¹⁰⁹ Anne Walters Robertson, 'The Savior, the Woman, and the Head of the Dragon in the *Caput Masses and Motet*', *JAMS*, 59 (2006), 546-57, 559-64; Williams, 'English Reformers and the Blessed Virgin Mary', in Boss (ed.), *Mary*, 246-7.

¹¹⁰ Bonner, *Homelies* (London, 1555: RSTC 3285.5), f. 14^{r-v}.

¹¹¹ Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), chs 2 and 3.

Solomon, while Edward VI was commonly referred to either as another Solomon, builder of the Temple of Jerusalem, or as a second Josiah, the Old Testament child-king who was said to have purged it of idols; his expected role as a reforming prince was thus made absolutely clear within the context of conventional panegyric.¹¹² In the same fashion, Mary herself was likened to the apocryphal saviour of Israel, Judith, and especially—following a long medieval tradition fully discussed in chapter 1—the Virgin.¹¹³ Public Marian devotion thus carried political overtones in the reign of Mary, not only because it displayed worshippers’ orthodoxy, but also because it could be read freely as support for the queen. *Vox patris*, and similar pieces, were important as much as emblems of allegiance and orthodoxy as for their sacred benefits.

These textual meanings would of course be lost on the vast majority of the votive antiphon’s hearers, but that did not matter: the musical treatment that these antiphons received, in particular the number of parts in which they were set and their use of the treble voice, communicated much the same message. It has been suggested that the musical style of votive antiphons such as *Vox patris*, *Maria virgo sanctissima*, and Tye’s Jesus-antiphon *Peccavimus cum patribus nostris* might by the 1550s have been considered inherently backward-looking. Daniel Page has suggested that the image-building discourse surrounding Mary Tudor was deliberately concerned with emulating the past in order to gain legitimacy, and that music was an essential part of this.¹¹⁴ John Milsom has argued that the ‘archaic’ style of *Vox patris* was ‘its principal message’, ‘[evoking] the music of Mary’s youth in the 1520s—which is to say, the sound-world of a pre-schismatic England, not yet troubled by royal divorce or the break with Rome’.¹¹⁵ This suggestion seems more reasonable in light of the different styles we know were current under Mary Tudor, including the imitative motet style of Tallis’s *O sacrum convivium*, and William Mundy’s *Exsurge Christe*.

For the setting of long texts, however, and particularly of prayers to the Virgin, there seems to have been no alternative in the 1550s to full-choir, melismatic polyphony, including

¹¹² Margaret Aston, *The King’s Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 26-36; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London: Allen Lane, 1999), 14-18; Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 140-1, 217, 224-5. But see also MacCulloch, ‘Forging Reformation History: A Cautionary Tale’, in MacCulloch, *All Things Made New*, 321-358.

¹¹³ Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 257-8, 271-3; Page, ‘Uniform and Catholic’, 157-68.

¹¹⁴ Page, ‘Uniform and Catholic’, 38-9.

¹¹⁵ Milsom, ‘William Mundy’s “Vox patris caelestis”’, 25-6 at 26.

trebles, and with dramatic changes in texture familiar from the votive antiphon of the 1530s and 1540s: this suggests a close association between textual genre and musical style, which should warn against reading too much symbolic meaning into the musical language of the votive antiphon. If there is any message to be found in the five-, six- and seven-part choral polyphony of the 1550s, this is probably connected to the fact that by virtue of its expense and technical difficulty, it was simply less accessible than before, and therefore only heard on the most important feasts and public celebrations. Naturally these occasions were inextricably linked to either religious or political orthodoxy. The very lavishness of the votive antiphon, and its resulting exclusiveness, must have combined both to overwhelm its hearers with sound, and to impress upon them the grandeur and authority of Church and state in a manner even more pronounced than in the 1540s and earlier.

3.5. Preliminary conclusions

All the evidence examined above suggests that at the death of Mary Tudor, devotion to the Virgin in England was flourishing. It remained at the heart of the devotions of most laypeople and, as far as can be discerned, the queen herself. What is more, the most popular prayer texts were exactly those which had been current in the early decades of the sixteenth century. Overall, therefore, its developmental trajectory from the early sixteenth century to 1558—briefly interrupted by the Edwardian regime—was one of continuity and measured reform. Nevertheless, the foundations on which Marian devotion had been built, and particularly those of its musical manifestations, had by 1553 undergone a subtle but profound shift. Henry VIII's stance on Marian devotion, reflected in the theological treatises he produced and the *King's Primer*, had remained strikingly consistent throughout the late 1530s and 1540s and was more traditionalist than has often been recognised. This is reflected in the continued lavish provision for votive antiphon performance until the very end of his reign, a practice largely driven by the laity and in which they were fully engaged. The Royal Supremacy had cast doubt on the doctrine of purgatory, which drove the majority of provision for Marian devotion, but did not attack it at the roots. However, the Chantries Acts of 1545 and especially that of 1547, which dissolved all confraternities and abolished obits and chantries, stripped most parish churches of the funding that had enabled them to support devotional polyphony. This provision was not reinstated under Mary Tudor, meaning that by the 1550s the majority of the laity had lost both their access to votive polyphony and their active engagement with it. At the same time, Edwardian soteriology seems to have had a surprisingly important influence on the literate elite of England, meaning that new educational

foundations under Mary, which might previously have been important centres of votive polyphony, often lacked the focus on communal Marian devotion that usually characterised their medieval predecessors. The consequent need to reassert Marian devotion in England, and the decreased availability of votive polyphony to the laity in the 1550s, are both reflected in a change of emphasis and function discernible in mid-century votive antiphons: they now served not only as prayer, but also as tools to promote political and religious orthodoxy in a highly effective combination of text and sound.

These findings have important consequences for the context of Elizabethan music collections. They show that for adults in the 1560s paraliturgical devotion to the Virgin was a recent reality with which they had almost certainly been personally involved, not a historical phenomenon whose demise had begun thirty years previously. These devotions were also highly politicised, closely associated with the Counter-Reformation of Mary I. However, this contrasts strongly with the meanings afforded to pre-Reformation music by most Elizabethan copyists. In fact, the evidence suggests that in Elizabethan England, pre-Reformation music, even when addressed to the Virgin Mary, was rarely if ever associated with Catholic confessional identity, as the following sections will argue.

3.6. A question of faith? The religious background of Elizabethan music collections

3.6.1. Introduction

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the most prevalent hypothesis proposed to rationalise the presence of pre-Reformation sacred music in Elizabethan manuscripts is that its copyists were probably Catholics.¹¹⁶ This proceeds from the twin assumptions that pre-Reformation music must have been anathema to the majority of Elizabethans, and that sacred music in manuscript was most likely copied for devotional use.

Confessional identity may well have impinged upon the choice of music by some copyists. Three manuscripts of vocal music are known to have been owned by the Catholic Petre family, two of which—*e423* and *Z6*—contain pre-Reformation, Latin-texted devotional music. It is just possible that the liturgical pieces in these books were used in private musical

¹¹⁶ See above, Introduction, pp. 3-4; see also Mateer, 'Oxford, Christ Church Music MSS 984-8', 7; Roger Bray, 'British Museum Add. MSS 17802-5 (The Gyffard Part-Books): An Index and Commentary', *RMARC*, 7 (1969), 48 (the dating proposed in this article has since been superseded, but the speculation on confessional identity is largely independent of dating); Mateer, 'The 'Gyffard' Partbooks: Composers, Owners, Date and Provenance', *RMARC*, 28 (1993), 29-30; Mateer, 'John Sadler and... e. 1-5', 293-4; Blezzard, 'Monsters and Messages', 317, 320, 324, and especially 327-8.

devotions within the Petre family and their acquaintance.¹¹⁷ Moreover, it is well-known that music was used by Elizabethan and early Jacobean Roman Catholics to express their faith, not only from William Byrd's several dedications of Latin-texted motets to his Catholic patrons, but also from surviving ballad texts.¹¹⁸ However, this simple equation of Catholic music with non-conformism does not take into account recent developments in English Reformation historiography. Rather, it relies on a narrative which portrays the Protestant Reformation in England as both rapid and successful, resulting in a sharp polarisation between Catholic and Protestant identities from the very first decades of Elizabeth I's reign. The most recent scholarly accounts of the English Reformation instead portray the many religious changes of the sixteenth century as piecemeal, gradually imposed and even more gradually accepted (unlike the Scottish Reformation, for example), and have stressed the great variety of belief and practice that existed both before and after 1559. As contemporaries recognised, a large majority of Elizabethan and Jacobean subjects identified themselves as conformist Protestants while retaining beliefs and practices in common with their pre-Reformation ancestors. There is thus no longer any reason to associate the collection of pre-Reformation music with politicised non-conformity. Rather, a love of Latin-texted music, originally written for the medieval Church, could sit alongside not only passive attendance at reformed services, but even considered and loyal commitment to Elizabethan Protestantism.

¹¹⁷Joseph Kerman, 'Byrd's Settings of the Ordinary of the Mass', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 32 (1979), 410-12; Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd* (London: Faber and Faber, 1981), 50; McCarthy, *Liturgy and Contemplation in Byrd's Gradualia* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 71-3. The extent of the role played by pre-Reformation music in these devotions is unclear, and may have been limited for two reasons. Firstly, while the surviving books of this music owned by the Petres contain complete works, including Masses and Magnificats, their fellow Catholics and acquaintances the Pastons owned copies of pre-Reformation pieces in extracts that would have precluded liturgical use. Secondly, although the nature of English Catholicism in the early decades of Elizabeth's reign is disputed, it is clear that by the 1580s, when *e423* was copied, the Catholicism of gentry families like the Petres was heavily influenced by the Tridentine spirituality of missionary priests educated abroad. The preponderance of medieval Marian texts in this collection, in *Z6*, and in the Paston sources seems at odds with their style of Catholicism. The 1599 primer, for example, contains none of them, while the Council of Trent reduced the number of acceptable Marian antiphons to four. It may be that these families owned other volumes of music for liturgical use which have not survived. *The primer, or, Office of the Blessed Virgin Marie in Latin and English, according to the reformed Latin* (Antwerp, 1599: RSTC 16094); John Bossy, 'The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism', *Past & Present*, 21 (1962), 39-59; Andrew Muldoon, 'Recusants, Church-Papists, and "Comfortable" Missionaries: Assessing the Post-Reformation English Catholic Community', *CHR*, 86 (2000), 242-257; Alexandra Walsham, 'Translating Trent? English Catholicism and the Counter-Reformation', *Historical Research*, 78 (2005), 288-310, at 296-299.

¹¹⁸ See Emilie K. M. Murphy, 'Music and Catholic Culture in Post-Reformation Lancashire: Piety, Protest, and Conversion', *British Catholic History*, 32 (2015), 492-525.

3.6.2. *Writing the Reformation*

So far this chapter has argued that the practical implications of the Henrician Reformation, at least regarding Marian devotion, were relatively minimal, and that consequently by the end of the reign of Mary I the vast majority of English subjects believed and prayed as they had done in the 1520s and early 1530s. In adopting this perspective,¹¹⁹ I align myself with so-called ‘revisionist’ historians such as Eamon Duffy and Christopher Haigh, who depict the Reformation as slow and mostly unpopular, imposed from above through changes in legislation. These narratives contrast not only with those of the late A. G. Dickens and Geoffrey Elton,¹²⁰ but also with more recent writers including Diarmaid MacCulloch and G. W. Bernard. MacCulloch’s work argues that the early Protestant church was extremely successful in converting England’s people, to the extent that Mary’s regime could never have succeeded in undoing it. On the extent of Henry VIII’s reforms, he writes, ‘Already in the 1540s the old world was losing its enchantment,’ suggesting that people were well-prepared to receive more thorough Reformation in 1549.¹²¹ MacCulloch’s monograph *Tudor Church Militant* offers a conclusive defence of Edward’s reign, arguing that it was not simply destructive, stripping away Catholic belief, but succeeded in embedding Protestant theology into people’s minds, thus paving the way for resistance to the Marian regime and a willing reception of the Elizabethan settlement.

These contrasting impressions of just how popular the English Reformation was are paralleled by similar controversies over how quickly it was enacted. Elton’s narrative ends in 1558, and concludes that the Protestantisation of England’s religious practice and the self-identification of its population, while not necessarily complete, was substantially accomplished by 1553.¹²² G. W. Bernard’s 2012 monograph *The Late Medieval English Church* argues for the presence of ‘vulnerabilities’ within the church of the early sixteenth century, which meant that it lacked robustness and independence and could be overturned by the king with relative ease. In particular, Bernard stresses the church’s dependence upon the crown for its success, and tradition of deference to state power, which meant that as an

¹¹⁹ On the different Reformation narratives available to historians, see Christopher Haigh, ‘The Recent Historiography of the English Reformation’, *HJ*, 25 (1982), 995-1007; Peter Marshall, ‘(Re)defining the English Reformation’, *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), 564-586.

¹²⁰ Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1964), and second edition (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 1989); Elton, *Reform and Reformation*.

¹²¹ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 110.

¹²² Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, 396, 367-371 at 371.

organisation it was largely powerless to resist the king's will.¹²³ MacCulloch's account describes the overall process of Protestantisation during Elizabeth's reign as 'remarkably effective across the nation',¹²⁴ and the Reformation overall as a 'howling success'.¹²⁵ However, he nuances this conclusion by region, acknowledging that certain counties, especially Lancashire—cut off from the south-east by distance and the Pennines—remained stubbornly Catholic; while trade networks could mean that otherwise isolated areas of the country—such as Kendal, with its flourishing wool industry—were unusually receptive to Protestant ideas.¹²⁶ Despite the implications throughout Duffy's work that the Edwardian Reformation had not succeeded in fully converting the country—perhaps unsurprising given the short time Edward's regime had been in place—and that England could have remained Catholic following Mary's reign had Elizabeth not succeeded to the throne,¹²⁷ he nevertheless argues, based on his knowledge of primary sources surviving from Elizabethan parishes, that '[in] a thousand parishes in the 1570s and 1580s the same victory of reformed over traditional religion was silently and imperceptibly enacted': in other words, by the end of Elizabeth I's reign the process of Protestantisation in England was all but complete. His monograph *The Stripping of the Altars* concludes that

[by] the end of the 1570s, whatever the instincts and nostalgia of their seniors, a generation was growing up which had known nothing else, which believed the Pope to be Antichrist, the Mass a mummery, which did not look back to the Catholic past as their own, but another country, another world.¹²⁸

Other writers argue, by contrast, that the English Reformation did not end even with the death of Elizabeth I, but with the Restoration in 1660 or even later. Most approach this by studying non-conformist sects, emphasising the multiplicity of different beliefs that remained during Elizabeth's reign and showing that the majority of Elizabethan subjects, in most areas of the country, remained relatively un-Protestantised for a long time. For example, Duffy's latest work focuses on the nature of sixteenth-century Catholicism, and unsurprisingly chooses to emphasise its strength, resilience and resistance to change. Alexandra Walsham's monograph *Church Papists* (1993) argues for the important role of the crypto-Catholic

¹²³ See Bernard, *The Late Medieval English Church*, ch. 2, 'The Monarchical Church'.

¹²⁴ MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation*, 116.

¹²⁵ MacCulloch, 'Review: The Impact of the English Reformation', *HJ*, 38 (1995), 152.

¹²⁶ MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation*, 107-8.

¹²⁷ Duffy's monograph *Fires of Faith* in particular argues that the Marian Counter-Reformation was a well-thought-out, efficiently executed and well-received attempt to win the English people back to Catholicism and the Pope.

¹²⁸ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 588, 593.

community in sustaining Elizabethan recusancy.¹²⁹ By contrast, at the opposite end of the spectrum, others have argued for a slow Reformation in order to highlight the importance of Puritanism in the Elizabethan Church and the role of Puritans in bringing about religious reform. According to Patrick Collinson,

It is only with the 1570s that the historically minded insomniac goes to sleep counting Catholics rather than Protestants, since only then did they begin to find themselves in a minority situation. I would even be prepared to assert, crudely and flatly, that the Reformation was something which happened in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. Before that everything was preparative, embryonic.¹³⁰

Peter Lake, echoing Collinson, has described Elizabethan England as ‘no post-Reformation era’, commenting on the number of Puritans who campaigned for further Reformation, and who believed that the Elizabethan settlement had been a compromise that did not succeed in raising the standards of the clergy.¹³¹ The most extreme advocate of a slow or ‘long’ Reformation is Christopher Haigh, who minimises the overall impact of the Reformation, suggesting that in fact very little had changed in most parishes by 1603 and that only a tiny proportion of English subjects had absorbed Protestant teaching by this point. His monograph *English Reformations* makes this point rhetorically, ending with the wry comment ‘some Reformations’.¹³²

The image of Elizabethan England depicted in revisionist Reformation narratives is one of surprising religious pluralism and conservatism, especially outside the most well-connected areas of the country. It is against this backdrop that we must most usefully view Elizabethan collections of pre-Reformation sacred music.

3.6.3. Pre-Reformation survivals in Elizabethan culture

In the 1990s a trend emerged within Reformation scholarship for investigating confessional groups defined by their moderate attitudes to reform. These people, including ‘church

¹²⁹ Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press for the Royal Historical Society, 1993).

¹³⁰ Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1988), ix.

¹³¹ Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 16.

¹³² Haigh, *English Reformations*, 295.

papists’,¹³³ ‘parish anglicans’,¹³⁴ ‘statute protestants’¹³⁵ and ‘prayer book Protestants’,¹³⁶ are primarily known from Puritan or Catholic recusant polemic against them and from the complaints of the clergy,¹³⁷ and encompassed almost all but the Puritan and the recusant. Studies of their beliefs and practice tend to minimise the impact of Reformation on the theology and devotional practice of most Elizabethans. They are portrayed by Christopher Haigh as ignorant and poorly-educated, either as those who were sentimentally attached to the old ways; who had no serious religious conviction; or who simply did not know or care what religion they held; and could include clergy as well as laity. According to Haigh, parish anglicans (with a lower-case *a*) had replaced the Mass, the saints and the Pope with the Book of Common Prayer and the Queen, without any corresponding change in their underlying theology, and continued to believe that they would be saved ‘by worship and by works’ rather than by faith.¹³⁸ While nominally Protestant, they were highly unsatisfactory in the eyes of many contemporary ministers and educated laity, who demanded an informed commitment and trust in Christ’s sacrifice, outwardly manifested in a reformed life, and nurtured by study, prayer, and attendance at sermons.¹³⁹ Such commitment and fervour, Haigh suggests, was beyond the capabilities or contrary to the inclinations of many, who retained a set of beliefs

¹³³ ‘Church papist’ is a contemporary term of abuse, describing barely conforming members of the Church of England who in reality adhered to the Catholic faith. It referred to a wide range of people, from those who attended clandestine Masses and whose relatives or friends were recusants, but who attended church to deflect the attention of the authorities; to those who attended church and identified as Protestants, but who did not live up to the high standards of spiritual awareness demanded by Puritan commentators. See Walsham, *Church Papists*, at 1.

¹³⁴ The term is Christopher Haigh’s, who writes that these people were “‘parish”, because they stressed communal values of village harmony and worship and objected to the divisiveness of the godly; “anglican” (but not yet “Anglican”), because they stressed Prayer Book rituals and objected to the nonconformity of the godly.’ Haigh, *English Reformations*, 290-295, at 291.

¹³⁵ Like ‘church papist’, this term is first seen in the polemical writings of the Puritan George Gifford. See Walsham, *Church Papists*, ch. 5. Specifically, statute protestants were ‘men and women who supposed it sufficient to comply with the ecclesiastical regulations concerning church attendance, to present an honest demeanour, live and labour uprightly to the view of the world – and, above all, to “meane well” and try hard, naively trusting that “God will beare with me in the rest”’ (*Church Papists*, 104).

¹³⁶ This expression is Judith Maltby’s. It describes conformist Christians whose main attachment was to the rituals prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer. See Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹³⁷ Haigh quotes a group of ministers, writing in 1604, who complained that a large number of the population were ‘indifferent or plain neuters, of which the last sort greatly regarded not of what religion they be.’ Haigh, *English Reformations*, 282.

¹³⁸ Haigh, *English Reformations*, 284, 288-291.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 280-284.

which were abhorred as ‘papist’ but which still had little to do with the reformed Catholicism of the seminary priests from abroad.

This depiction of a minimal Reformation and a largely recalcitrant populace has influenced studies in other disciplines, which argue that traces of pre-Reformation belief and practice survived not only in popular theology and worship, but also in Elizabethan popular culture. These survivals offer a useful parallel to that of pre-Reformation church music in Protestant-owned manuscripts. For example, it has been argued by several literary critics that the lavishness of Elizabethan theatre was the direct descendant of pre-Reformation ritual.¹⁴⁰ References to Marian and pilgrimage imagery in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England have also been extensively studied. Marian imagery in Shakespeare’s plays has been characterised both as a means of constructing gendered relationships and identities on-stage, and as Gary Waller has argued, as a trope symbolising nostalgia and loss.¹⁴¹ Waller argues further that Marian imagery in *Pericles* in particular is used to highlight the notion of ‘pilgrimage’, the journey through life’s trials to ultimate salvation, and raise it to a higher level of universality and sanctity: ‘at the center of whatever view of the universe we may have, the Virgin (or what, in wish-fulfillment [sic], the Virgin represents) awaits us. She evokes where we came from, and where we yearn to return.’¹⁴²

A second branch of evidence comprises the so-called ‘Walsingham’ ballads, verse narratives united by a shared metre and the theme of pilgrimage, apparently intended to be sung to the same tune. Examples of complete ballads based on this melody survive by Sir Walter Raleigh, Robert Sidney, Shakespeare, and George Attowell, and there are many references to the ballad corpus in early modern plays, which assume that the audience was

¹⁴⁰ See Beatrice Groves, *Texts and Traditions: Religion in Shakespeare 1592-1604* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2007), 56-8.

¹⁴¹ See Gary Waller, ‘Traces: Shakespeare and the Virgin—*All’s Well that Ends Well*, *Pericles*, and *The Winter’s Tale*’, in Waller, *The Virgin Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern English Literature and Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 157-180; Ruth Vanita, ‘Mariological Memory in *The Winter’s Tale* and *Henry VIII*’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 40 (2000), 311-37; F. Elizabeth Hart, ‘“Great is Diana” of Shakespeare’s Ephesus’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 43 (2003), 347-74 at 358-60; Susan Dunn-Hensley, ‘Return of the Sacred Virgin: Memory, Loss, and Restoration in Shakespeare’s Later Plays’, in Dominic Janes and Gary Waller (eds), *Walsingham in Literature and Culture from the Middle Ages to Modernity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 185-198.

¹⁴² Waller, ‘Traces’, 166-171 at 169.

familiar with its themes.¹⁴³ All the ballads open with a dialogue in which the protagonist asks a pilgrim for news of their lover. It seems that Raleigh's version, in which the lover turns out to have been unfaithful, was the most closely related to the original ballad, if such existed. As Alison Chapman has convincingly argued, the later references to the Walsingham ballad on the stage rely on a widespread popular association between the ballad tune, the notion of 'pilgrimage', and sexual wanderings and promiscuity; this is perhaps connected to the supposed sexual appetites of the pre-Reformation pilgrim.¹⁴⁴ The Catholic resonances of the ballad may not have been intentional. Gary Waller assumes that Raleigh and Sidney, as Protestants, were unaware of the presence of the Virgin Mary in their texts, suggesting that Raleigh's ballad was intended as a paean only to Queen Elizabeth:

Two conflicting discourses centred on the two queens [i.e. the Queen of Heaven and the Queen of England] are certainly present in the poem, even if Raleigh acknowledges (and even perhaps knows) only one of them. Because it is derived from and carries echoes of the lost Walsingham, it is as if the poem nevertheless knows the other: it carries the remnants of an earlier discourse that disrupts and fissures Raleigh's adaptation of the ballad without his being conscious of it.¹⁴⁵

Waller's interpretation seems somewhat disingenuous; it is hard to believe that Raleigh was unaware of the associations drawn between Elizabeth and the Virgin, if indeed his poem is about the queen, which is far from proven in Waller's work. Waller's uncertainty in dealing with Raleigh's text reveals the difficulty of pinning down these poetic texts as evidence of support for Catholic tropes in Elizabeth's England. Indeed, Chapman's findings suggest disdain for the institution of pilgrimage. But we can say with near-certainty that through the ballad tradition, the closely related images of pilgrimage, the shrine at Walsingham, and the striving towards a noble, quasi-divine lover—the Virgin Mary domesticated and humanised—retained their currency throughout the sixteenth century.

Furthermore, as Phebe Jensen and Ronald Hutton have argued, the occasional survival of many popular medieval pastimes and festivities into the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was strongly associated with traditional religion; and the promotion of such games,

¹⁴³ For a detailed study of the 'Walsingham' ballad tradition, see Alison A. Chapman, "'Met I with an old bald Mare': Lust, Misogyny, and the Early Modern Walsingham Ballads", in James and Waller (eds), *Walsingham*, 217-232.

¹⁴⁴ Susan S. Morrison, 'Waste Space: Pilgrim Badges, Ophelia, and Walsingham Remembered', in James and Waller (eds) *Walsingham*, 49-66 at 56-62; Morrison, *Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England* (London: Routledge, 2000), 111-124.

¹⁴⁵ Waller, *The Virgin Mary*, 128.

and of the theatre, represented a concerted effort to re-construct the pre-Reformation past.¹⁴⁶ The gradual decline of festivities, particularly of dancing and celebration on Sundays, during Elizabeth I's reign seems to have gone hand-in-hand with the gradual Protestantisation of England and the growing influence of Puritan preachers, and especially with the publication of complaint literature.¹⁴⁷ Edmund Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* praises May games lavishly, but always using a Catholic character as a mouthpiece, while the hero of the poem denounces them.¹⁴⁸ Although festivity carried unequivocally Catholic associations to those who opposed it, it is unclear whether people taking part in May games or Sunday dancing were aware of their signification until the seventeenth century. In other words, during the reign of Elizabeth those who continued to support public celebration may have been aware only that they were opposing 'the godly', not that they were covertly supporting Catholic cultural survival. However, Jensen's and Hutton's findings clearly reveal that while English society may have been vigorously anti-Catholic in its rhetoric, the reality of popular culture was much more nuanced.

The lively intermingling of Protestant and Catholic culture was perhaps most pronounced among the Elizabethan aristocracy. While Catholicism was never condoned and Catholics still had to practise their faith in private whatever their social standing, it is well-known and understood that Catholic gentry families were quietly tolerated, often thanks to the influence of powerful Protestant patrons and family members.¹⁴⁹ There even existed among the highest echelons of society an 'indigenous courtly Catholicism'¹⁵⁰ which could occasionally be seen as no more than an inconvenient quirk; this is exemplified by four dedicatees of Byrd's works, Edward Somerset (*Cantiones sacrae I*, of 1589) Sir Christopher Hatton (*Psalmes, sonets, & songs*, 1588), Lord Henry Howard (*Gradualia I*, 1605), and—after his unfortunate involvement with the Ridolfi Plot was over—John, First Baron Lumley (*Cantiones sacrae II*, 1591).¹⁵¹ The Cavendish-Talbot family offers an example of how the

¹⁴⁶ Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), chs 4 and 5; Phebe Jensen, *Religion and Revelry in Shakespeare's Festive World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 20-22, ch. 1; Jensen, 'Singing Psalms to Horn-pipes: Festivity, Iconoclasm, and Catholicism in *The Winter's Tale*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 55 (2004), 279-306 at 280-90.

¹⁴⁷ Hutton, *Merry England*, ch. 4 at 128-134, 144.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 131.

¹⁴⁹ Susan Cogan, 'Reputation, Credit and Patronage: Throckmorton Men and Women, c. 1560-1620', in Peter Marshall and Geoffrey Scott (eds), *Catholic Gentry in English Society: The Throckmortons of Coughton from Reformation to Emancipation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 85-90.

¹⁵⁰ Bossy, 'The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism', 53-4 at 53.

¹⁵¹ On Lord Lumley, see Kathryn Barron, 'Lumley, John, first Baron Lumley (c. 1533-1609)', *ODNB*.

Elizabethan settlement could play out within a single dynasty, ranging from the matriarch ‘Bess of Hardwick’, whose conformity was evident in the fact that she was trusted with the guardianship of Mary Queen of Scots, but who kept a crucifix and ‘two pictures of our Ladie the Virgin Marie and the three Kinges’ in her chapel;¹⁵² to her daughter Mary Talbot, a Catholic convert and recusant; and Mary’s husband and Bess’s stepson, Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, whose religiosity was typically cryptic, who claimed to be a ‘rooter out’ of Catholicism but married his daughter Alethea to the Earl of Arundel.¹⁵³ This family and others like them, who being both wealthy and in the public eye were simultaneously more and less vulnerable to religious intolerance, illustrate the fluid spectrum of belief that continued to exist within the ostensibly restrictive Elizabethan Church, and the ways in which Catholicism and Catholic practices could be negotiated for the sake of familial or political unity.

3.6.4. Depictions of the Elizabethan Reformation in music historiography

Studies of music in the Reformation have tended to downplay the evident religious pluralism of Elizabethan England. Because their principal sources of information are the adoption of new genres such as English-texted anthems, canticle settings and metrical psalms, royal injunctions, and records of visitations to churches and cathedrals, all of which were designed to serve new legislation on religious practice, they give the impression of a rapid Reformation. For example, Peter le Huray’s influential book *Music and the Reformation in England*¹⁵⁴ argued that a swift decline in church music took place during the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth, with an effect on the soundscape of the parish church that can be likened to the effect of iconoclasm on its appearance. The late David Wulstan’s narrative of the early years of the Reformation is similar to le Huray’s and laden with value-judgments: he wrote that ‘little worthwhile music survives from Edwardian times’ and (explicitly likening the decline of church music to iconoclasm) that the ‘Protestant party... attempted to denude the Services of all their dignity’.¹⁵⁵ A final example is Alan Smith, who argues that while the cultivation of music did continue in cathedrals and some parish churches throughout the Reformation, it was considerably poorer in quality than what had gone before—thanks in part to rapid inflation, which led to lower stipends in real terms for the singers and organists—and was widely

¹⁵² On the contents of Bess’s chapel, see Peter Thornton and Lindsay Boynton, ‘The Hardwick Hall Inventory of 1601’, *Furniture History*, 7 (1971), 30.

¹⁵³ On Gilbert Talbot’s religion see David Price, *Patrons and Musicians*, 106-7 at 106; Michael Hicks, ‘Talbot, Gilbert, seventh earl of Shrewsbury (1552-1616), landowner’, *ODNB*.

¹⁵⁴ le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

¹⁵⁵ David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London: Dent, 1985), 283, 291.

attacked by Puritanical clergy and laity alike.¹⁵⁶ Some social and religious historians, whose understanding of music in the Reformation is often patchy, take an even more extreme view of the musical changes associated with religious reform, if they deal with music at all. Eamon Duffy's only reference to music in *The Stripping of the Altars* says that

the switch from Latin to English immediately rendered obsolete the entire musical repertoire of cathedral, chapel and parish church. Not the least of the shocks brought by the prayer-book at Whitsun 1549 must have been the silencing of all but a handful of choirs and the reduction of the liturgy on one of the greatest festivals of the year to a monotone dialogue between curate and clerk.¹⁵⁷

There is thus a substantial tradition of depicting the history of Reformation church music as a decline and fall.

Some of the evidence cited by le Huray in favour of a rapid dismantling of musical institutions could be interpreted very differently. Complaints about lowered standards in church choirs may show that the writer believed that music-making was important and deserving of improvement, or alternatively, they could remark on a situation that was considered exceptional. It could equally be argued that Puritan outrage against music in church must have been in response to actual practice. The gradual decline in numbers of organs and choirs, however, has been further explored by Christopher Marsh¹⁵⁸ and Jonathan Willis,¹⁵⁹ and it seems clear that by the end of the sixteenth century most parish churches had lost their organs and their polyphonic choirs. This has led several writers to the view that of all genres, the congregational metrical psalm was the real victor in the second half of the sixteenth century, at the expense of polyphonic choral music. Nicholas Temperley, focussing specifically on parish church music, points out the huge importance of metrical psalm singing as 'a treasured part of popular culture... which brought religious expression within reach of the common people'.¹⁶⁰ Jonathan Willis and Beth Quitslund have both expanded on this, arguing that metrical psalms actually helped to shape England into a Protestant nation: in Willis's words, the congregational singing of psalms operated 'as explicit pedagogy and

¹⁵⁶ Alan Smith, 'The Cultivation of Music in English Cathedrals in the Reign of Elizabeth I', *PRMA*, 94 (1967), 42-47.

¹⁵⁷ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 465.

¹⁵⁸ Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 394-404.

¹⁵⁹ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, chs 3 and 4.

¹⁶⁰ Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), i. 76.

propaganda, and as a process of internalised religious identity formation'.¹⁶¹ Because music operated on two levels—the texts could teach people doctrine in a palatable way, while the experience of singing together helped to form a community of believers—without metrical psalms 'the English people's accommodation with and eventual acceptance of their Reformation would have been a much slower and more difficult process'.¹⁶²

Neither the 'iconoclastic' model proposed by le Huray and Wulstan, whose admiration for Latin church polyphony is patent throughout, nor the much more positive assessment of post-Reformation church music by Marsh and Willis leave much room for a 'slow' Reformation. Both narratives view the Reformation endeavour as successful, however deplorable they believe its consequences to be, by suggesting that religious change caused elaborate church music to lose most of its support after 1547. However, other findings on the status of music in the reformed English Church have shown that attitudes to polyphony might not have been as starkly sectarian as was once thought, suggesting a greater variety in religious practice close to that found by social historians. Both Marsh and Willis have argued for a patchy survival of choirs and organs into the seventeenth century, even outside the cathedrals.¹⁶³ One of the most useful aspects of Jonathan Willis's study is his argument that this was thanks to church music's widely recognised status as *adiaphora*, a 'thing indifferent', which allowed individual communities to decide themselves what kind of music they favoured.¹⁶⁴ There is ample evidence of choral music even in the apparent austerity of Edward VI's reign in sources such as *Lumley* and John Day's *Certaine notes*. The important fact that a large number of choirs survived until the very end of the sixteenth century shows that if choral music did lose its following during the reign of Elizabeth, this happened both slowly and inconsistently.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, there may have been other reasons for the decline of choral music in Elizabethan England besides the gradual advance of Puritanism, some financial, some ideological.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547-1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 5; Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 201.

¹⁶² Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 201.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 90-121; Marsh, *Music and Society*, 394-405.

¹⁶⁴ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 62-66.

¹⁶⁵ An important exception to the general decline was St Laurence, the parish church at Ludlow: see Alan Smith, 'Elizabethan Church Music at Ludlow', *M&L*, 49 (1968), 112-3.

¹⁶⁶ According to Rob Wegman, polyphonic music faced a 'crisis' around the turn of the sixteenth century thanks to an increase in the volume of hostility towards it, a broad ideological movement which—under the influence of Erasmus—was reflected in Protestant criticisms of music later in England. Wegman's conclusions are not entirely without controversy, as the appearance of a 'crisis'

Archival discoveries modifying the chronology of mid-century music also suggest that Protestant England was less hostile to polyphony than previously thought. They refer to the dating of John Sheppard's vernacular music, particularly his relatively elaborate Second Service, which sets the text of the 1549 Prayer Book, and whether it was composed early in Elizabeth's reign or under Edward. If the service is dated to the reign of Edward, sometime between 1549 and 1552, it reveals an unexpected stylistic diversity and interpretative scope within Edwardian liturgy and ritual. Sheppard's will, discovered in 1994, supports this chronology.¹⁶⁷ It reveals that he was already dead by 31 January 1559, when his widow Elizabeth declined to become executor of the will, and her children Elizabeth and Nathan were named instead. A 'John Scheperde' was buried at St Margaret's, Westminster, the second choice of burial place given on the 1559 will, on 21 December 1558.¹⁶⁸ Identifying this man as the composer suggests that the Second Service must be Edwardian, as Sheppard was probably already ill at the time of Elizabeth's accession.¹⁶⁹ The late presentation of Sheppard's will has led Roger Bowers to conclude that the Scheperde buried at Westminster must be a different man and that the composer died around the third week of January 1559.¹⁷⁰ However, Bowers's interpretation relies on his belief that the 1549 Prayer Book was favoured in the first few months of Elizabeth's reign, while other historians have argued that the 1552 edition was more popular among the deciding committee formed in early 1559, and was thus the version used in the first few months after Elizabeth's accession.¹⁷¹

To sum up, while there is ample evidence of religiously-motivated attacks on church music during the reigns of both Edward VI and Elizabeth I, and composers responded quickly to demand for music with both simple textures and vernacular texts, the wider impact of these criticisms and stylistic innovations and the speed with which they became all-pervasive, particularly in wealthier parishes, is by no means certain. It is likely that choral music

may be largely due to an increase in the amount and elaborateness of polyphony being performed in church and a consequent increase in discussions of it. Wegman, *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe 1470-1530* (New York: Routledge, 2005), ch. 4; see also James Haar, 'Review: Rob C. Wegman, *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe, 1470-1530*', *RQ*, 60 (2007), 257.

¹⁶⁷ Wulstan, 'Where There's a Will', *MT*, 135 (1994), 25-7.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁶⁹ MacCulloch, 'Putting the English Reformation on the Map: The Prothero Lecture', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 15 (2005), 88, n. 29.

¹⁷⁰ Roger Bowers, 'The Chapel Royal, The First Edwardian Prayer Book, and Elizabeth's Settlement of Religion', *HJ*, 43 (2000), 329. For more details of the controversy, see Stefan Scot, 'Review: Service Music by Parsons and Sheppard', *EM*, 24 (1996), 511-3.

¹⁷¹ Simon Adams and David Scott Gehring, 'Elizabeth I's Former Tutor Reports on the Parliament of 1559: Johannes Spithovius to the Chancellor of Denmark, 27 February 1559', *EHR*, 128 (2013), 43-5.

remained more elaborate and conservative, for longer, than has been suspected. This picture is consistent with the findings of emergent Reformation historiography, and adds weight to a depiction of Elizabethan religion as both pluralistic and slow to change.

3.6.5. The impact of Reformation historiography on the study of musical sources

The interpretation of Latin-texted music in Elizabethan collections relies on a thorough understanding of the reception of pre-Reformation culture in the decades following the 1559 Settlement: whether it was vilified or tacitly approved, associated with non-conformity or part of the shared heritage of the Protestant mainstream. In order to understand this it is first necessary to establish the relationship between the religious beliefs and practices of the communities that copied Latin-texted music, and those associated with the music's composition and original function.

Many discussions of the relationship between Elizabethan music manuscript culture and faith either predate or do not take into account the discovery of important continuities between pre- and post-Reformation religious and musical culture, and assume a view of the Reformation which polarises Catholic and Protestant confessional identity. Proceeding from the assumption that the general Elizabethan population was passionately opposed to all aspects of pre-Reformation culture, they associate the copying of Latin church music with Catholicism, either militant or covert, by default. Their conclusions often lack nuance even apart from their arguably flawed premise. For example, David Price associated the survival of Latin sacred music with 'the patronage of private families using their country retreats as centres of county recusancy.'¹⁷² This picturesque image does not take into account the fact that out of all England's recusant families, only the Pastons and Petres are known to have owned manuscripts of pre-Reformation sacred music which have survived into our century, while many such sources originated outside recusant circles. John Milsom's suggestion that the partbook *GB-Och 45* was owned by a Catholic family appears to rest solely on its Latin-texted contents.¹⁷³ Moreover, the copyist John Sadler, a Church of England priest and schoolteacher, has been identified as Catholic by both David Mateer and Judith Blezzard, in Blezzard's case proceeding from the flawed assumption that the texts of the pieces in *Willmott/T1486* 'are all in Latin, and as such designate the source as Roman Catholic'.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, 155.

¹⁷³ Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', 172.

¹⁷⁴ Blezzard, 'Monsters and Messages', 327, 334-5.

Besides the evidence gleaned from social history and recent revisionist musicology, surviving music manuscripts themselves argue strongly for a different view of the Reformation's impact on Elizabethan musical culture. The example of John Sadler offers a particularly compelling illustration of the need for nuance, as were it not for the survival of his partbooks, which consist almost entirely of Latin-texted and often pre-Reformation motets, everything about his biography would suggest that he remained a lifelong conformist—*pace* Blezzard and Mateer. As a student and fellow at Cambridge in the 1530s and 40s he would have been exposed to the latest evangelical ideas of the time;¹⁷⁵ his patron, Francis Russell, was uncompromisingly Protestant; and he only took the living of Sudborough in 1565, after the Elizabethan Settlement. Furthermore, as Milsom has pointed out,¹⁷⁶ even if we accept that the partbooks might provide adequate evidence of his beliefs in the absence of any other sources, none of the conservative elements in the books need suggest that he left the established church. David Mateer's main source of evidence for Sadler's Catholicism is the extensive marginalia in both partbook sets.¹⁷⁷ However, the marginalia in *Willmott* need not suggest Catholic sympathies,¹⁷⁸ while the quotations from the Sarum Rite contained in *Sadler* are almost all ultimately scriptural in origin, and none of them refer to any doctrine which

¹⁷⁵ Sadler commenced study at Cambridge in 1536, proceeded BA in 1538 and was a fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge from 1539-1546. Jesus had been the college of Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Goodrich. Cambridge was a noted centre of humanistic and evangelical learning, especially from the 1530s onwards. See Mateer, 'Sadler, John', *ODNB*; H. C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958/2015), ch. 3.

¹⁷⁶ Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', 164-5.

¹⁷⁷ Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1-5', 287-289.

¹⁷⁸ The four-line poem copied after William Mundy's *Miserere* reads:

'Reason doth wonder howe faith tell can
That marie is a virgin and god a man
Leave the reason and beleve the wonder
For faith is above and reason is under'

At first glance this looks unmistakably Catholic; the origin of the text is certainly early sixteenth century at the latest. In a slightly different version (the second line reads 'that a maid is a mother') it is found in an anti-Unitarian polemical work by the Catholic John Proctor, published in 1549 with a dedication to the future Mary I (John Proctor, *The fal of the late Arrian* [London, 1549: RSTC 20406], f. [Dxviii]^v). Sadler's version may be a misremembering of Proctor's, or more likely, an independent variation of an orally transmitted text. Apart from use of the present tense 'Mary is a virgin', which seems to support the doctrine of the Virgin's Assumption, the text agrees with most Protestant reformers in that Mary remained a virgin after the birth of Christ. The main thrust of the text is the truth of the Incarnation, a safe subject for Catholics and Protestants alike. See MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700* (London: Penguin, 2004), 613-14.

opposed that of the Church of England.¹⁷⁹ The principal ‘evidence’ of Sadler’s conservative beliefs remains his choice of music.

The argument that Sadler’s musical choice was dictated by his religion is further problematized by the few sources which juxtapose Latin-texted music with settings of often uncompromising Protestant texts, and those which are known to have been owned by recusants or church papists but which nevertheless contain vernacular sacred music. For example, *e423*, which was owned by the Catholic Petre family,¹⁸⁰ includes a setting by John Heath of the Collect for the Sovereign from the 1559 Prayer Book. The text asks that God

so rule the harte of thy c[h]osen servant Elizabeth oure queene and governore that shee knowinge whose minister she is maye aboute all thynges seeke thy honor and glory... And that we her subiect[es] dewly consideringe whose auctoritie she hath maye faythfully serve honor and humbly obey her in thee and for thee accordinge to thy blessed word and ordynance¹⁸¹

It is of course possible that the Petre family reinterpreted this text to express their loyalty to Elizabeth as temporal ruler, but not as spiritual governor. In this light, the last phrase ‘according to thy blessed word and ordinance’ becomes more a caveat than an affirmation. But if the texts mattered so much to the family that this reinterpretation was necessary, we have to ask if it is likely that they would really have gone to the trouble, given the volume of other music that they copied and the fact that in a domestic context, their repertoire was surely entirely their own choice. Moreover, even with this rereading the phrase ‘duly considering whose authority she hath’ still expresses Elizabeth’s God-given authority and entitlement, since in the sixteenth century there was yet no notion of English rulers being afforded authority by the people alone. This—at least after the issue of the bull *Regnans in excelsis* in 1571—presented a profound challenge to Catholic loyalists. It seems far more likely that the text was largely irrelevant to the Petre family singers. And if amateurs who disapproved of the Elizabethan Church establishment could still enjoy its music, there is no reason why the opposite could not be true: religious conformists could appreciate Latin-texted music by Catholic composers in a way that transcended the ‘confessional divide’.

¹⁷⁹ The exception is ‘Salva nos Domine’, the antiphon to the *Nunc dimittis*, which appears in the tenor partbook. The quotations which Sadler chooses are normally taken from the psalms or the Gospels, but with slight modification of voice, tense or word order. See Mateer, ‘John Sadler and... e. 1-5’, 287-289.

¹⁸⁰ According to David Mateer, while John, Lord Petre, was a barely conforming member of the Church of England and attended church, his family and many of his household, including his wife and mother, were recusants. Mateer, ‘William Byrd, John Petre, and... e. 423’, 29-30.

¹⁸¹ *e423*, pp. 18-20.

To some extent, the often positive attitude towards pre-Reformation church music among religious conformists might be associated with the dissonance between elite rhetoric and popular practice in attitudes to salvation, the dead and religious festivity, discussed above. It suggests that some conformists were unable to perceive any conflict between the religious teaching they received and the music they favoured. However, one fundamental problem remains with this explanation: it does not fit with what we know of Elizabethan music copyists. Christopher Haigh has depicted the un-Protestantised religion of the Elizabethan majority as primarily a result of poor education (see pp. 147-8, above): an un-nuanced theology of things, words and actions, in which the worshipper's first loyalty is to worship itself rather than its object. It seems highly unlikely that this depiction of parish anglicanism reflects accurately the religiosity of the often highly-educated men (and perhaps women) who copied pre-Reformation sacred music, especially of John Sadler, a schoolmaster and erstwhile Cambridge don. Conversely, Alexandra Walsham has argued that the ritual and worship practices of the Elizabethan majority were the direct ancestors of seventeenth-century Laudianism.¹⁸² But it is equally unrealistic to characterise Sadler, Baldwin and their contemporaries as proto-Laudians and ascribe their musical taste to theological innovation: to do so would be to ignore the not-inconsiderable matter of much of their music's Marian texts. It is also tempting to connect the survival of Catholic church music with the vibrant spectrum of religious practice among the Elizabethan aristocracy, but this link is similarly impossible to pin down. The collection of pre-Reformation church music seems to have been a concern of the intellectual, rather than the social, elite, as shown by the most prolific copyists' associations with the Church and the universities.

It is thus difficult to argue convincingly for a general association between pre-Reformation church music in manuscript and Catholic confessionalisation. Indeed, given the backgrounds of most known copyists and collectors, it seems unlikely that the collecting of such music was in any way religiously motivated. To discern the real motivations behind it, we must therefore look beyond issues of faith and confessionalisation to the wider intellectual climate of post-Reformation England and its attitudes to the past.

¹⁸² Alexandra Walsham, 'The Parochial Roots of Laudianism Revisited: Catholics, Anti-Catholics and "Parish Anglicans" in Early Stuart England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 49 (1998), 620-651.

3.7. Conclusions

In a discussion of the Gyffard partbooks, Kerry McCarthy has suggested that

[once] people were out of the direct glare of religious controversy, they could show a surprising amount of tolerance toward the cultural patrimony of their Catholic ancestors. This was not a matter of subversion or secret preference; it reached to the most powerful and most unimpeachably Anglican parts of society.¹⁸³

McCarthy's argument that not all non-Catholics in Elizabethan England can have been automatically repulsed by the cultural remnants of Reformation is supported by the evidence discussed in the second half of this chapter. However, we must go further than this. The Elizabethan inclination towards the music of the past should not be seen simply as 'tolerance', which in the sixteenth century was often tainted by fear and disdain.¹⁸⁴ Nor can the copyists of Latin-texted music have spent so much effort on a repertoire to which they were indifferent. We are dealing, rather, with active sympathy with and approval of an obsolete repertoire among the intellectual elite: as McCarthy goes on to suggest, 'care and concern for old things... a love of tradition and a desire to study the past.'¹⁸⁵

Additional circumstantial evidence for this conclusion survives from the seventeenth century. According to Anthony Wood, writing in about 1688, Oliver Cromwell was fond of listening to the Latin *concertato* motets of Richard Dering in a private, chamber setting.¹⁸⁶ Many of these motets, which were published by John Playford in 1662 and 1675, have explicitly Catholic texts which reflect the faith of their composer: some refer to saints, and others are addressed to the Virgin Mary. As Jonathan Wainwright has pointed out, they were published after the death of Cromwell, and this gives us good grounds to question Wood's anecdote, which specifically refers to the printed editions.¹⁸⁷ However, it is significant that Wood found the tale believable enough to relate; he must have thought it reasonable that the Puritan Cromwell should enjoy Dering's Catholic devotional songs.

The findings of this chapter suggest that the relationship between Elizabethan copyists and the Marian votive antiphons that they copied was one of surprising immediacy and

¹⁸³ Kerry McCarthy, 'Evidence of Things Past', *JRMA*, 135 (2010), 409.

¹⁸⁴ Walsham has argued that in the early modern period, toleration did not imply tacit approval or even neutrality; rather, it was 'a casuistical stance involving a deliberate suspension of righteous hostility and, consequently, a considerable degree of moral discomfort. From the outside looking in, it might look very much like apathy, cowardice and a contemptibly lax and lukewarm commitment to upholding the true religion.' Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 4.

¹⁸⁵ McCarthy, 'Evidence of Things Past', 409.

¹⁸⁶ Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'Dering, Richard (c. 1580-1630), organist and composer', *ODNB*.

¹⁸⁷ Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice 'Concertato' Motets', *M&L*, 89 (2008), 184, n. 46.

intimacy. Marian devotion had almost certainly played an important part in their personal religion until, and perhaps beyond, 1559; and, as discussed above, Marian imagery and discourse remained part of vernacular culture into the seventeenth century along with many other pre-Reformation survivals. It is thus likely that most Elizabethan subjects, including the copyists studied here, considered the Marian antiphon part of their shared heritage, associated with their own past, not that of the marginalised Catholic community. However, in addition to this, during the reign of Mary I the votive antiphon had been strongly associated with the political and religious orthodoxy of her regime. Other factors must have ensured that, by the mid-1560s, when used outside the context of worship, Elizabethan copyists and amateurs usually understood pre-Reformation music to be independent of confessional concerns altogether.¹⁸⁸ These factors have not as yet been studied, and their nature has been only hinted at by musicologists. With this in mind, the remainder of this thesis will investigate the intellectual currents that led Elizabethan copyists to choose pre-Reformation music, and the ways these were enacted in practice.

¹⁸⁸ For an apparent exception, which reveals early Elizabethan discomfort with the Latin texts of pre-Reformation sacred music, see Appendix C2.

PART 3. SURVIVAL

Chapter 4. William Forrest: a ‘latter-day Henrician’ and his music collection

4.1. Introduction

William Forrest, a mid-sixteenth-century music copyist and prolific vernacular poet, is well-known among both musicologists and literary historians.¹ He is most familiar to musicology as the former owner of the ‘Forrest-Heyther’ set of partbooks (hereafter *FH*), the largest extant collection of complete early-Tudor Mass settings, which were partly written in his hand, most probably after the dissolution of their parent institution. However, Forrest’s significance has been obscured until now because of misunderstandings over his biography. Previous studies have tended to focus only on either his musical or his literary activity, meaning that no writer thus far has obtained a full picture of his life and achievements. This is unfortunate, as he was a pivotal figure in the mid-Tudor transformation of church music whose career spanned both the end of the medieval Church in England and the birth of establishment Protestantism, and he offers an ideal case-study of sixteenth-century musical survival. He is unique not only as a named English music copyist of the Henrician period whose work is still extant; but also as the only individual who is known to have rescued and preserved polyphonic music books during the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations and whose collection has survived (see figure 4a). From his extant writings ample evidence survives of his attitudes to religious change and of his role in musical transmission both before and after 1559; he exemplifies the non-politicised conservatism of the Elizabethan majority discussed in chapter 3, and provides a specific example of how the motivations and means for music copying discussed in chapters 5 and 6 were enacted in practice.

¹ Recent literature on Forrest includes: John D. Bergsagel, ‘The Date and Provenance of the Forrest-Heyther Collection of Tudor Masses’, *M&L*, 44 (1963), 240-248; A. S. G. Edwards, ‘Manuscripts of the Verse of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67 (2004), 283-293, and ‘The Circulation of English Verse in Manuscript after the Advent of Print in England’, *Studia Neophilologica*, 83 (2011), 67-77; Katherine Halliday, ‘New Light on “the commotion time” of 1549: The Oxfordshire Rising’, *Historical Research*, 82 (2009), 655-676; Elisabeth Jones, ‘From Chamber to Church: The Remarkable Emergence of Thomas Sternhold as Psalmist for the Church of England’, *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, 11 (2009), 29-56; Mike Rodman Jones, ‘The Tragical History of the Reformation: Edwardian, Marian, Shakespearian’, *Review of English Studies*, 63 (2012), 743-763; Milsom, ‘William Mundy’s “Vox patris caelestis”’; Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme*, 73-84; Mark Rankin, ‘Imagining Henry VIII: Cultural Memory and the Tudor King, 1535-1625’ (PhD thesis: Ohio State University, 2007), 43-57; Oliver Wort, ‘A Cuckoo in the Nest? William Forrest, the Duke of Somerset, and the *Certainne Psalmes of Dauyd*’, *Reformation*, 21 (2016), 25-46.

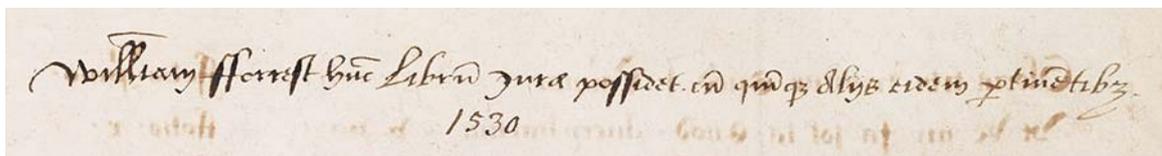
Figure 4a. List of books owned and/or written by Forrest, listed alphabetically by shelfmark

Shelfmark	Title	Forrest's contribution
Downside Abbey, Monastic Library 963 F1A	Alphonsus de Spina, <i>Fortalicium fidei</i> (Nuremberg, 1494: USTC 742719)	<i>Ex libris</i>
GB-Lbl Burney MS 357	Theological miscellany formerly owned by Thame Abbey	<i>Ex libris</i>
GB-Lbl Add. MS 34791	<i>The History of the Patriarch Joseph</i> , c. 1545	Text
GB-Lbl MS Harley 1703	Devotional miscellany, dated 1570s-80s	Text
GB-Lbl MS Royal 17.A.xxi	<i>Certaine Psalmes of davyd in meeatre</i> , 1551	Text
GB-Lbl MS Royal 17.D.iii	<i>The pleasaunt poesye of princelie practise</i> , 1548	Text and illustrations
GB-Lbl MS Royal 18.C.xiii	<i>The History of the Patriarch Joseph</i>	Text
GB-Ob MS Wood empt. 2	<i>The History of Grysilde the Second</i> , 1558	Text
GB-Ob MSS Mus. Sch. e. 376-381	'Forrest-Heyther' partbooks, owned by Forrest in the 1540s-50s	Polyphonic notation, text and <i>ex libris</i>
GB-Ojc MS 60	Sarum hymnal, subsequently owned by Robert King, Osney Cathedral, and Thame parish church, copied 1542	Chant notation, text and <i>ex donis</i>
GB-Ouc MS 88	<i>The History of Joseph the Chaiste</i> , 1569	Text
Magdalen College, Oxford (lost)	<i>Two choirbooks and five partbooks containing votive antiphons and masses</i> , 1541-2	<i>Polyphonic notation</i>
New College, Oxford (lost)	<i>Book of invitatories with antiphons</i> , 1544-5	<i>Chant notation</i>
All Souls, Oxford (lost)	<i>Votive antiphons</i> , 1544-5	<i>Polyphonic notation</i>

4.2. William Forrest and *FH*: some misconceptions

Of all the primary sources surviving from Forrest's life, none has inspired so much interest or caused so much factual confusion as *FH*, the partbooks signed in his hand. The contratenor book of the set (e. 378) bears the annotation 'William fforrest hu[n]c Libru[m] jurae possidet cu[m] qui[n]q[ue] aliis eidem p[er]tine[n]tib[us]' ('William Forrest rightfully owns this book, with five others pertaining to it') and the date '1530' in a later hand (figure 4b). John Bergsagel, apparently not noticing the difference between the two hands, used this date and the then-universal assumption that Forrest was at Cardinal College, Oxford, at that time, along with the high status given to Taverner in the manuscripts, to argue that the books had been copied by 1530 at Cardinal College and passed into Forrest's hands in that year.² This hypothesis, however, is in need of reassessment.

Figure 4b. Contratenor book from the 'Forrest-Heyther' partbook set (Bodleian Library, Mus. Sch. e. 378), f. 1^r: Forrest's *ex libris*, and the date 1530 in a later hand



Forrest has long been supposed to have been a student at Cardinal College in the 1530s. This theory originated in the late eighteenth century and was based on a combination of two passages in Forrest's poem *The History of Grisild the Second*³ and other archival detail: firstly, his statement that he had been present at Oxford in 1530 when Henry VIII's divorce was discussed by Oxford theologians; secondly, his apparently intimate knowledge of the building and establishment of Cardinal College; and lastly, the fact that evidence survived of his apparently having been awarded a £6 pension from Christ Church. By the time of William Dunn Macray's edition of *Grisild* in 1875, Forrest's studentship at Cardinal College had become established fact, despite Macray's own admission that his name could not be found in the college records.⁴ Although it has since been widely stated and restated,⁵ there is no documentary evidence that Forrest was ever present at Christ Church, either in the college

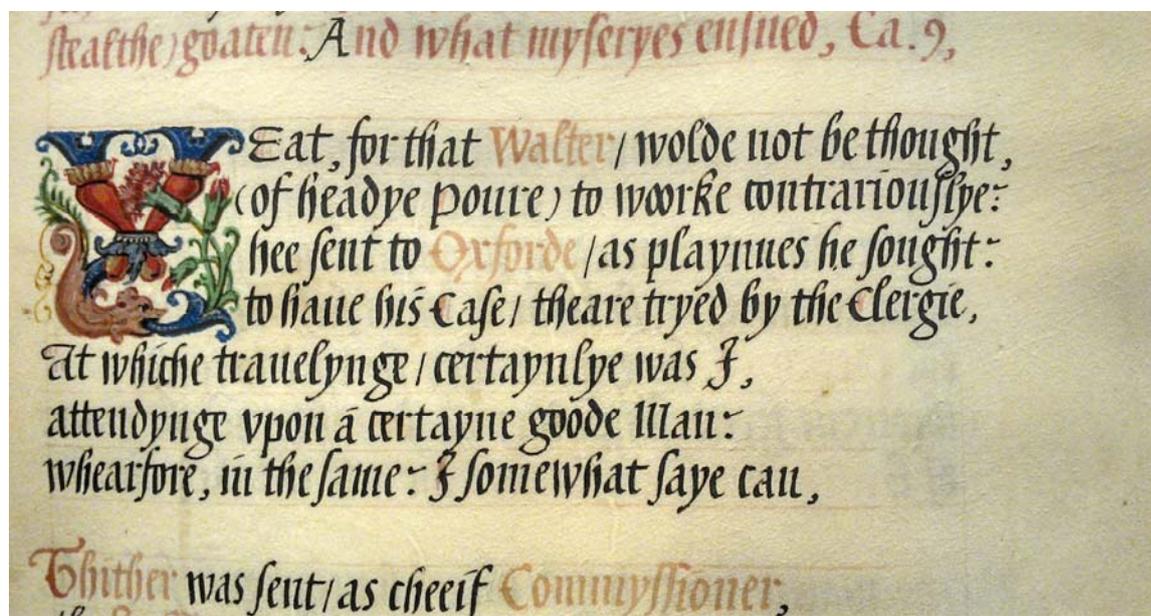
² Bergsagel, 'The Forrest-Heyther Collection', 244-8.

³ Thomas Warton, *The history of English poetry*, 4 vols (London, 1774), iii. 313.

⁴ Forrest, *The History of Grisild the Second*, ed. William Dunn Macray (London: The Roxburghe Club, 1875), xiii.

⁵ For example, Joseph Gillow, *A Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, 5 vols (London: Burns & Oates, 1885-1887), ii. 316; Peter Holmes, 'Forrest, William', *ODNB*; Bergsagel, 'The Forrest-Heyther Collection', 244-5; Milsom, 'William Mundy's "Vox patris caelestis"', 5.

Figure 4c. *The History of Grisild the Second* (Bodleian Library, MS Wood empt. 2), f. 35^r. Forrest comments that he was present at the debate over Henry VIII's divorce in Oxford, 1530: 'hee sent to *Oxforde* as playnnes he sought:/ to haue his Case theare tried by the Clergie./ At whiche travelynge certaynlye was I,/ attendynge vpon a certayne goode Man:/ whearfore, in the same: I somewhat saye can.'



archives or elsewhere.⁶ *Grisild* says only that he was in Oxford for a time in 1530 to attend the debate over the king's divorce (see figure 4c). Furthermore, as was apparently first recognised by Emden in the 1950s, the £6 pension awarded to Forrest in the 1550s refers not in fact to any time spent at Christ Church, but to the next chapter in his career, which we will turn to shortly.⁷

The partbooks' Cardinal College connection, in the form argued by John Bergsagel, seems to be a direct result of this mistake in Forrest's biography. It seems likely that the 1530 date was added to the partbooks as an attempt to tie Forrest's and Taverner's apparently concurrent presence at Cardinal College in that year to the manuscripts, sometime after 1813, when Philip Bliss cited Warton's *History of English Poetry* in order to amplify the possibility of Forrest's presence at Christ Church,⁸ and before 1875 when Macray mentioned it as having

⁶ The Cardinal College archives are fragmentary. Two account books survive from the relevant period, however, both of which are exceptionally detailed—the 1527/28 treasurers' accounts, held at Christ Church, Oxford (Christ Church Archives, vol. iii. c. 1), and an account book of 1529/30 held at the National Archives (E36/104), which includes a list of all clerks, canons and chaplains present at the college. Forrest is not named in either. The next surviving record, from 1544, which is bound with the 1527/28 accounts, is similarly detailed and does not name Forrest.

⁷ A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, AD 1501 to 1540* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 209-10.

⁸ Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss, 5 vols (London, 1813-20) i. 297 n. 6.

been recently written.⁹ The Cardinal College provenance of *FH* has been by no means universally accepted until relatively recently, and was certainly not well-established until after Bergsagel's publication. In 1875 Macray speculated that the partbooks had come from the Chapel Royal, although the date 1530 was already present at this time. Nor did Henry Davey—who accepted the 1530 date at face value—mention the books in connection with Cardinal College in his 1921 discussion of extant Tudor manuscripts.¹⁰ Frank Harrison did not mention the 1530 date either, and even speculated that Merbecke's Mass *Per arma iustitiae*, copied in the first layer of the manuscripts, might have been composed in the late 1530s.¹¹ Most recently, Hugh Benham has also argued for a Chapel Royal provenance for the partbooks based on the royal imagery of their binding, similar to that found on the Ludford Lady Mass partbooks, British Library, Royal Appendix 45-48.¹² However, John Milsom has queried this, pointing out that such images of royal arms were in common use among bookbinders.¹³

There is still good evidence for a connection between *FH* and Cardinal College. The prominence of Taverner's music, and particularly his Mass *Gloria tibi Trinitas*, within the collection, and the corresponding emphasis on other Midland composers Taverner might have encountered at Tattershall, suggest that the partbooks might have been compiled in close proximity to Taverner himself, either at his own institution or under his influence elsewhere. We also know that Cardinal College paid £12 5s in total to a 'Mr Burgis' for two stints of pricksong copying in 1529/30,¹⁴ which is an exceptional sum of money and probably referred to more than one copying project that might have included *FH*. If the books began life at Cardinal College, however, it seems rather unlikely that Forrest should have acquired them immediately on the college's dissolution, since there is no evidence that he was ever connected with the college. If the books originated at Cardinal College, therefore, Forrest most probably acquired them through another source or institution, which itself received the books after the college's dissolution or Taverner's departure; or, alternatively, they may have been compiled for another institution in or near Oxford under Taverner's influence. Whether a

⁹ *The History of Grisild the Second*, ed. Macray, xix.

¹⁰ Henry Davey, *History of English Music*, 2nd edn (London: Curwen & Sons, 1921), 89.

¹¹ Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 273-4.

¹² Benham, *John Taverner*, 21.

¹³ Milsom, 'The Date of Ludford's Lady Masses: A Cautionary Note', *M&L*, 66 (1985), 368.

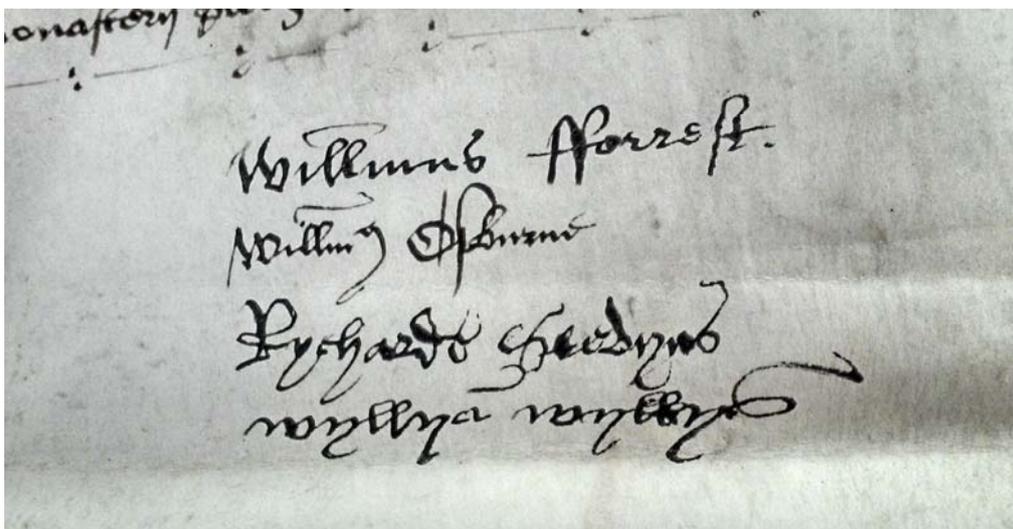
¹⁴ 'Solutu[m] m[agist]ro Burgis olim cantori p[ro] libris in torto cantu... Solutu[m] m[agist]ro Burgis cantori p[ro] libris infracti cantus'. TNA E36/104, f. 15^r.

similar large institution within Forrest's circle suggests itself for this role will be explored in due course.

4.3. Forrest's clerical career

Partially dissociating Forrest from Cardinal College allows us to focus on other areas of his biography which have received less attention, particularly his monastic career. It has been known since the late nineteenth century that a William Forrest signed the Deed of Surrender of Thame Abbey in 1539; F. G. Lee identified this man with the same William Forrest who received the £6 pension, the surviving poems including *Grisild* and *The History of Joseph the Chaiste*; the manuscript miscellany British Library, MS Harley 1703; *FH*; and certain other books signed by Forrest, an incunabulum at Downside Abbey, Somerset, and two of the Burney manuscripts in the British Library.¹⁵ Ralph Hanna is hesitant in identifying this monk of Thame with the other activities attributed to Forrest, whose time as a monk has been little mentioned by scholars since,¹⁶ but we can now lay such doubts to rest. Forrest was a monk of Thame until 1539; the handwriting found on the Deed of Surrender of that year (TNA E322/232) bears strong resemblance to other samples of his hand (see figures 4d, 4c above, and 4j below).

Figure 4d. Deed of Surrender of Thame Abbey, 17 November 1539 (TNA E322/232).
Detail showing Forrest's signature



¹⁵ F. G. Lee, *The History, Description and Antiquities of the Prebendal Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Thame* (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1883), 402-9. The identification is repeated in Wort, 'A Cuckoo in the Nest?', 27-8.

¹⁶ Ralph Hanna, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts of St John's College, Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 80-81.

Forrest can be indirectly connected to Thame Abbey through other routes as well. One of the Burney manuscripts in the British Library, Burney MS 357, a twelfth-century collection of theological texts and a polyphonic sequence titled *Amor patris et filii*, contains Forrest's signature on the last page in a formal italic script (see figure 4e).¹⁷ On the verso of this page is a twelfth-century inscription detailing the contents of the collection and the phrase 'Lib[er] s[an]c[t]e marie de Thama... Qui hunc fraude abstulerit ut[er] deposuit anathema sit', 'The book of St Mary of Thame... Whoever removes it through deceit or destroys it, let him be condemned' (figure 4f).

Figure 4e. British Library, Burney MS 357, f. 24^r, showing Forrest's *ex libris*.

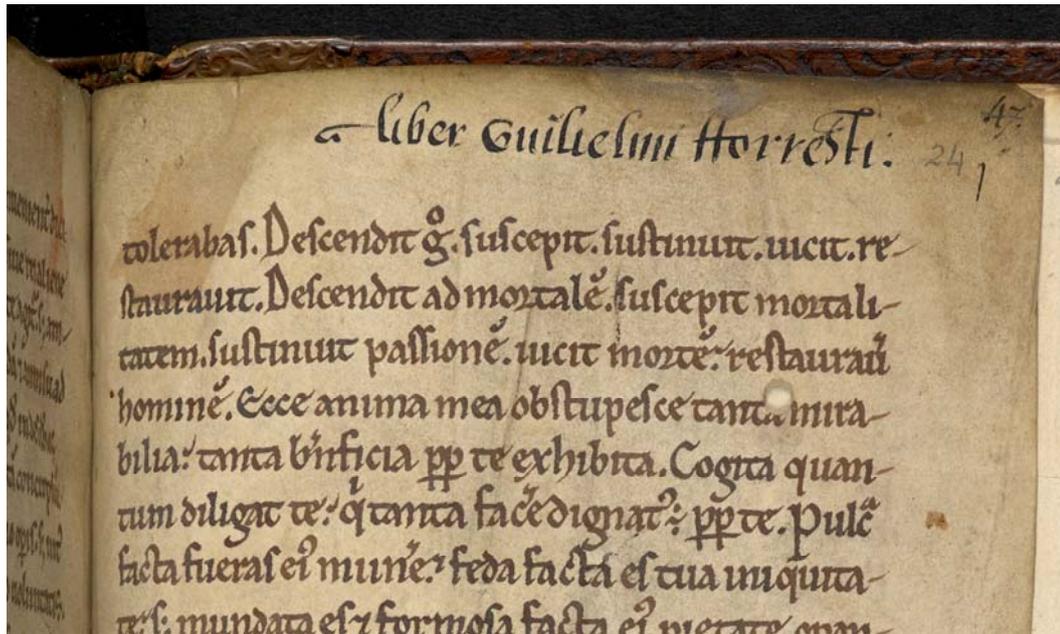
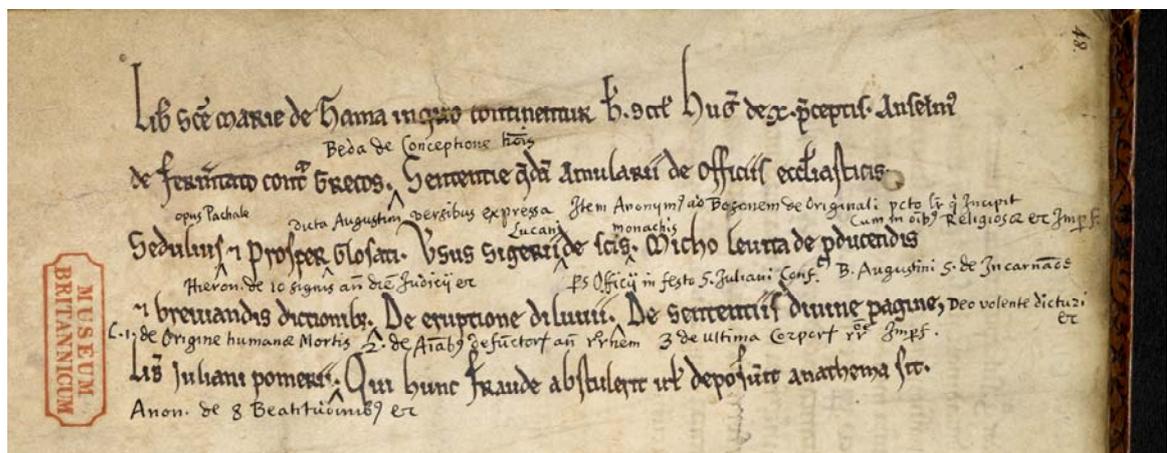


Figure 4f. British Library, Burney MS 357, f. 24^v. The mixed secretary-italic script between the lines of this inscription probably postdates Forrest's ownership.



¹⁷ For a facsimile of *Amor patris et filii* see Summers and Lefferts (eds), *English Thirteenth-Century Polyphony*, EECM 57, 19-20, pl. 70-71.

It is not known where Forrest lived or worked after Thame Abbey was dissolved. On 10 July 1545 he was granted a pension of either £5 or £6 as a former petty canon of the recently dissolved Osney Cathedral, just outside Oxford.¹⁸ This pension appears to have been paid for less than a year, as Forrest is not listed among those receiving a pension from Osney in April 1546, which suggests that he had found a new benefice by that time, although again it is not known where.¹⁹ After Osney Cathedral was dissolved, the bishop of Osney and Thame, Robert King, who was also Abbot of Thame at the time of its dissolution, moved to Christ Church to become bishop of Oxford; the dean of Osney, Richard Cox, also became dean of Christ Church, and four canons from Osney moved to Oxford with him.²⁰ Forrest was not among those who moved. On the accession of Edward VI, Cox revealed himself as a committed Protestant, and in *Grisild* Forrest vehemently attacks his reformist policies. We can speculate that this vitriolic rhetoric was somehow linked to Forrest's failure to follow his colleagues and superiors to Christ Church in 1546; perhaps he and Cox did not get on during their time at Osney, or perhaps Forrest was denied a place at the new foundation and harboured a twelve-year grudge against his former superior.²¹ By 1549 he was back in Thame, apparently working as vicar: he was frequently paid by the parish church during the reign of Edward VI.²² It is also around this time that Forrest apparently began a quest for royal patronage, with some limited success, as will be discussed shortly. His Osney pension was paid again in 1556, the last known year in which it was paid.²³ In that year Forrest became vicar of Bledlow, Buckinghamshire.²⁴ He held this vicarage until November 1576, when he

¹⁸ TNA E315/236 (Book of the Court of Augmentations, 236), f. 111 (37 Henry VIII), *SPO*, document number MC4303502040. Calendared under the wrong year in *L&P*, xxi, part 1 (i.e. 1546), p. 778.

¹⁹ *L&P*, xxi, part 1, p. 308 (21 April 1546), *SPO*, document number MC4303500815.

²⁰ Stanford E. Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals: Cathedrals in English Society* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 87.

²¹ Forrest describes Cox as 'a uery Robber/ an hearetike/ and vtter Enemy to God/ and all goode ordre' (f. 5^v); see Macray (ed.), *Grisild*, 66-8.

²² Oxfordshire Records Office, PAR/273/4/F1/2, 113; MS. Wills. Oxon. 180, ff. 130^r-131^r. Quoted in Halliday, 'New light on "the commotion time"', 672-3.

²³ TNA E164/31, f. 40^v. Forrest is listed as having worked at 'Eccl[es]ia Cathed[ralis] Christi Oxon.' Osney Cathedral was dedicated to Christ and St Mary, although according to Richard Rex and Colin Armstrong this dedication did not catch on, and the cathedral was still called 'St Mary' even after its dissolution. Nevertheless, it is most likely that Osney is the institution referred to. On the July 1545 pension list Osney is described as 'Cathedral of Christ and St Mary in Oxford'. Only dissolved institutions are listed in the 1556 document, while the colleges that previously occupied the site of Christ Church are included in a single separate section on the following line. Rex and Armstrong, 'Henry VIII's Ecclesiastical and Collegiate Foundations', 403, n. 48.

²⁴ The man who took the vicarage in 1556 is named as William Fortescue, although the ecclesiastical survey of 1561 names him as Forrest and it is most likely that the name Fortescue was an error. See

resigned it before a public notary in the parish of St Aldate's, Oxford.²⁵ Forrest's quiet middle and old age spent as a parish priest invites parallels to be drawn with his contemporary John Sadler, who resigned his own rectory of Sudborough in 1584 at the age of seventy-one. Forrest must have been similarly aged in 1576: a date of birth of approximately 1505-10 thus seems likely. It is not known when he died, but if he retired to Oxford, as his resignation of Bledlow suggests, it is possible that he can be identified with the 'M[aster] Forrest' buried on 17 October 1584 at St Peter-in-the-East. Many members of the Forrest family had been baptised and buried at this church since the surviving parish records began in 1559;²⁶ if Forrest had family in Oxford this would amply explain the many connections to this city in his career and output as a copyist.

4.4. Poetry, patronage and piety

The majority of Forrest's extensive poetic output seems to have been written for royal and politically powerful patrons. His earliest extant poetic work, *The pleasaunt poesye of princelie practise*, is dated 1548 and survives in the presentation volume British Library, MS Royal 17.D.iii. It is a conduct book dedicated to Edward VI, and it opens with a full-page image of the enthroned king being presented with a book by a kneeling Forrest, with the motto 'Vivat Rex' (see figure 4g). The facing page bears the work's title and dedication to the king, and the illuminated initial of its first paragraph contains a crowned Tudor rose. Despite this overt royal imagery and ostensible targeting of the king, *The pleasaunt poesye* is preceded by a prologue dedicated to the king's guardian the Duke of Somerset, and was in fact presented to the duke, as the king's tutor, rather than the king himself.²⁷ Forrest thus seems to have been

CCEd, record 119358; Milsom, 'William Mundy's "Vox patris caelestis"', 5; George Lipscomb, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, 4 vols (London, J. & W. Robins, 1847), ii. 118.

²⁵ C. W. Foster (ed.), *Lincoln Episcopal Records* (London: for the Canterbury and York Society, 1913), 295.

²⁶ For example, Bridget Forrest, baptised 26 February 1560; Grace Forrest, baptised 17 April 1562 and buried 2 November of that year; John Forrest, buried 30 December 1564; Ellin Forrest, baptised 8 November 1569, who married John Barksdale in the church on 3 August 1589; Simon Forrest, baptised 30 October 1586 and buried five days later; another William Forrest buried 4 April 1600; Maria Forrest, baptised 12 November 1604, whose parents William and Mary had been married two years earlier. The William Forrest buried on 18 July 1582 is more likely to be the child of the same name baptised on 8 July. There were also families called Forrest at this time in Wiltshire, in the West Midlands, and in Northamptonshire. Oxfordshire History Centre, Anglican Parish Registers, PAR213/1/R1/1, accessed via ancestry.co.uk.

²⁷ On *The pleasaunt poesye*, see Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 73-74. A modern edition of the text can be found in

Figure 4g. British Library, MS Royal 17.D.iii (*The pleasaunt poesye of princelie practise*), f. 7^v. Drawing showing Forrest presenting his book to Edward VI.



Mahmoud Manzalaoui (ed.), *Secretum secretorum: Nine English Versions*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 1977), vol. i.

seeking patronage from the duke, the real power behind the throne, by ostentatiously displaying his loyalty to the king. Three years later, Forrest dedicated a second poetic work to Somerset: a volume of metrical psalm translations, British Library, MS Royal 17.A.xxi. Beth Quitslund has argued that the psalms translated by Forrest were especially chosen to console Somerset after his fall from grace: they are generally on penitential themes and ask for comfort or forgiveness.²⁸

The metrical psalm translations for Somerset, however, also reflect Forrest's religious conservatism: as Quitslund has demonstrated, he uses the medium of the psalms to liken the persecuted Somerset to the English Church, then suffering further reformation under Somerset's rival.²⁹ The majority of Forrest's extant royal texts, moreover, were written for Mary I. Forrest seems to have been closely entangled with the culture of her court. In the Elizabethan copies of his poem *Joseph the chaiste*, he styles himself 'sumtyme Chaplayne to... Queene Mary', and although his name appears in none of the lists of Mary's chaplains compiled by Daniel Page³⁰ there is good evidence that he held this or a similar office for a short time during her reign. His devotional miscellany British Library, Harley MS 1703, which was probably copied in the reign of Elizabeth, opens with 'A Treatyse uppon the Salutation of the moste glorious virgin Marye', arguing for the merits of worshipping her. It is preceded by a prologue addressed to Mary I, which ends with the petition 'Beseachinge thyne excellent maiestee:/ in former estate: as to Accept mee.'³¹ It therefore appears that the 'Treatyse' in Harley 1703 is a draft copy of a work intended for presentation to Mary, which is either lost or was never sent, and that it was written in hope that Mary would reinstate Forrest in a post he had held and since lost. If Forrest's tenure in Mary's service was only short, this would explain his absence from the lists of her chaplains, while a desire to regain the queen's favour also satisfactorily explains both his production of *The History of Grisild the Second*, a hagiographical narrative of the life of Katherine of Aragon presented to Mary in 1558, and his failure to mention the chaplaincy in that work. Perhaps the 'Treatyse' postdated *Grisild* and Mary died before its completion.

Forrest's apologism for the queen began the moment she came to the throne. On Mary's accession, he wrote a 'New Ballad of the Marigold', which was printed by Richard

²⁸ Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme*, 82-83.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 83-84.

³⁰ Page, 'Uniform and Catholic', 417-8, 102.

³¹ Harley 1703, f. 3^v.

Lant.³² This rather verbose text, in fourteen eight-line stanzas, allegorises Mary as a marigold, comparing her to the flower both in its hardiness and its responsiveness to the sun, which is itself an allegory for Christ. The poem's style is characteristic of Forrest in two respects: his fondness for refrains (the word 'marigold' ends every stanza), and his expansion of concepts over several verses when one would suffice. Forrest also wrote the text of the antiphon *Vox patris caelestis*, which in its setting by William Mundy may have been performed as part of the pageantry on the day preceding Mary I's coronation. The obvious connection between these two men is John Heywood, the playwright and canon of St Paul's Cathedral, who also participated in the same pageant.³³

Forrest also produced two texts in praise of Mary I which were subsequently printed in the 1563 edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*: a verse paraphrase of the *Pater noster* with glosses praying for the queen; and a similar text based on the *Te Deum*. Foxe attributes the texts to 'W. Forest', and his transcription in *Acts and Monuments* shares both the initials at the end used in several texts in Harley 1703, and Forrest's frequent use of a pilcrow sign to begin a new paragraph or stanza (see figures 4h and 4i). It therefore seems likely that Foxe's exemplar for the texts originated with Forrest himself.

All the texts discussed so far amply demonstrate Forrest's aversion to religious change. The remaining works in Harley 1703 also reflect this conservatism. Alongside a poem in praise of Mary I, written by John Heywood when she was eighteen, and two other secular works—one by Thomas, second Baron Vaux, a supporter of Katherine of Aragon³⁴—the manuscript includes narratives of Marian miracles; translations and glosses of the antiphons *Salve regina*, *Ave rosa sine spinis* and *Tota pulchra es*; a retelling in verse of the legend of Theophilus;³⁵ a narration of the origins of the Feast of the Conception; a meditation on the Virgin's body; and a macaronic poem about the Assumption. One text, 'To the glorious vyrgin Marye:/ to shewe her helpe: to Peters Navye', uses the image of sailors at sea as an

³² Forrest, *A new ballade of the marigolde* (London, 1553: RSTC 11186).

³³ In Forrest's *The History of the Patriarch Joseph* (British Library, Add. MS 34791, c. 1545) Forrest refers to 'my frende Heywoode'. Milsom, 'William Mundy's "Vox patris caelestis"', 15, n. 37. The historiography of *Vox patris* is discussed in chapter 1, above, and its religious context is discussed in chapter 3.

³⁴ Arthur F. Marotti, 'Marian Verse as Politically Oppositional Poetry in Elizabethan England', in Marotti and Chanita Goodblatt (eds), *Religious Diversity and Early Modern English Texts: Catholic, Judaic, Feminist, and Secular Dimensions* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2013), 50; Milsom, "'Vox patris caelestis'", 3-5.

³⁵ On the legend of Theophilus see Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 330-331.

Figure 4h. John Foxe, *Actes and monuments* (London, 1563: RSTC 11222), p. 1140, showing the end of Forrest's paraphrase on the *Pater noster* with initial signature, and the opening of his *Te Deum*

of the Churchē

1140

Our praier we praye thee to admit,
 Quene Mary saue vs at blame.
 Thy kyngdome be vs here among,
 As in our hartes to raigne,
 Quene Mary prosper thou here long,
 Her honour none to stayne.
 Thy will in earth be done and wrought,
 Right as it is above.
 Quene Mary bothe in deede and thought,
 Prays thee bothe dreade and loue,
 Our dayly b;eade gene vs this daye,
 With all that wee doo neede
 Our noble Quene Mary we praye,
 Thou sende alwaye good spede.
 And nowe (O Lorde) our synnes remit
 Whiche we haue thee transgred,
 As we doo lette our neighbour flye,
 Out of our inward b;est.
 And lette vs not be overcome
 By soule temptacion,
 Our Quene thou graunt (of thy wysdom)
 To honour thee alone.
 But vs deliuer by thy myght,
 From euery kynde of yll.
 Quene Mary keepe bothe daye and night,
 And prosper to thy will.

Finis q̄ VV.F.

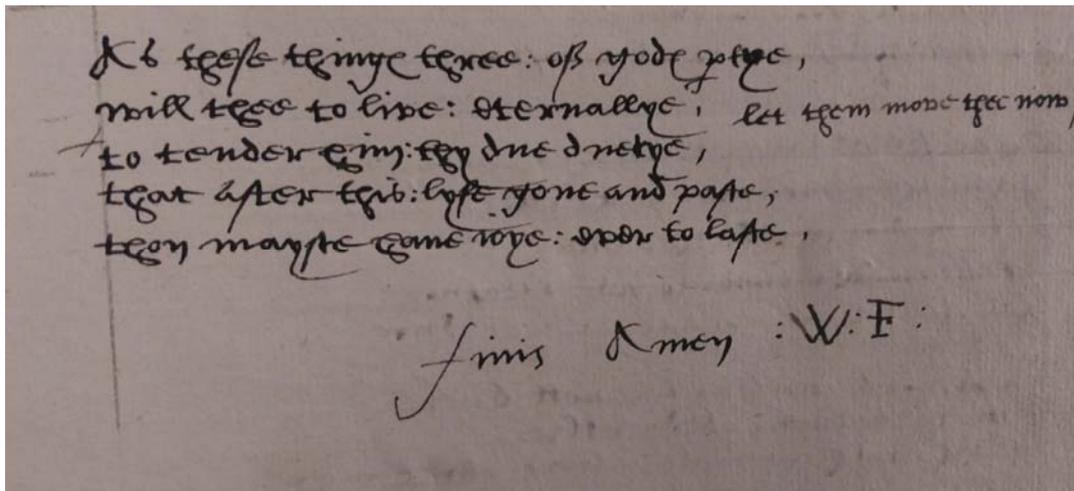
Te deum, lauding god specially
 with prayer therein, for our Quene Mary.

W God thy name we magnific,
 In thy sanctuary:
 For that thou hast of thy mercy,
 Sent vs our Quene Mary.
 To thee, this all our Englithe grounde,
 Doth render praye alway:
 Whome mercifull hath euer founde,
 So helpe vs still we praye.
 To thee the heauens incessantlye,
 In orders as they bee,
 Proclayne thy glozie w;orthily,
 With all felicitie.
 First Cherubyn, and Seraphyn,
 With ardent loue entier
 Synge night and daye, and dooth not lin
 In they; seruent manere
 Holy art thou, father of might
 Holy arte thou O sonne
 Holy art thou, O heauenly spirite,
 Thre in one vnion.
 Thou art Lord God of Sabaoth,
 Of hostes, that is to say
 So passing hyghe, thy potuer goeth,
 All thynges muste thee obeye.
 Bothe heaush and earth are fylled full,
 With glozpe of thy name,
 Our Quene thou shielde from all trouble,
 And magnify her fame.
 The quite of the apostels thine,
 Hath in thy praise delight:

Grant our deere Quene here long to thine
 And to enioye her right.
 The number passyn; laudable,
 Of Prophetes all and some:
 Sette forth thy praye honourable
 And soucraygne wysedome.
 The goodly fellowshippe so sweete
 Of Mary; flouryngynge,
 Loflye kneelinge befoze thy secte,
 Thy praye doothe allwaye synge.
 The holpe churchē here mist aunt
 ouer the worldē so rounde,
 Setth forth thy praye of rouenant,
 As thereunto mosse bounde.
 Confessing thee father to be,
 (As truth thou art no lesse)
 Of a surmounting mayde,
 Passing so; to expresse.
 Professing with all constancie,
 Thy hatytable soune
 Of thee to be gotten truly,
 Ere oughtes were here begonne.
 The holy ghost, as to procede
 From these highe persons twa;ne:
 Who (with his grace) doth all men see;
 That mekenes doth contayne.
 O Trinite, in vnitie,
 Our Quene do this respect:
 Her onely guide euer to be,
 And in her right protecte.
 O Christ, thou art we verily
 Of glozpe, Lorde and kyng:
 And so; one of the father on h;e,
 With him euer raigning.
 When thou didst please man to restore,
 With thee to raigne alwaye:
 Thou dydst not loathe, eyther abhoze;
 The vyrgins wombe that daye.
 No more do nowe withdraw thy grace,
 We humbly thee requyre:
 Our Quene inhabite in lyke case,
 With grace her to enspyre.
 The king of death by the was overcome,
 To true believers all:
 Thou didst set open thy kyngdome,
 The rapaulme celestia.
 How syttell thou on the right hande,
 Of God thy father deere.
 Preserve (O Lorde) mercy England,
 And make it so tappare.
 Thou arte beleued (certainly)
 To come and be our Judge,
 That daye (O Lorde) shewe thy mercy
 And be oure chiefe refuge.
 Therefore we pray with humble moode,
 Thy seruauntes to sustayne:
 Whom thou with thy most p;ectous blood,
 Redemed hast from payne.
 Make vs to be numbred on h;e,
 In glozpe with thy sainctes;
 Whiche in thy ioye doth glozifye,
 And therein neuer sayntes.

333.4. Thy

Figure 4i. Harley 1703, f. 98^r. Final stanza of the poem 'O well are theye: whyle life doth last', showing Forrest's initials



allegory for the church in distress at the rise of Protestantism.³⁶ However, Forrest's output also reveals a deep respect for secular authority and implicitly for the royal supremacy. The prayer for 'Peters Navye' is supportive of Elizabeth I and states that Forrest's main desire is for the Church, 'grounded on ffaythe, hoape, and true Charyte', to 'florysche: in peace: and unyte'.³⁷ He argues that breaking with the 'Busshoppe of Rome' need not mean a complete change in doctrine and worship practice, since ultimately it is the role of other authorities within each realm to maintain the unity of the Church:

Right well is it knowne: & sayde (lorde) of thee,
 the hart[es] of pryncys, in earthe/ over all:
 In thye dysposytion fullye to bee:
 Owre noble Quene heere, & kyng[es] unyversall:
 their hart[es] then into the right waye thowe call,
 to thy wyll accordinglye, their will[es] to frame:
 so to rayse uppe, that Sathan made to fall:
 Lorde (of thy mercye) thowe doo in the same,

 ffor one man, the Busshoppe of Rome (I doo meane)
 let not Chryst[es] Churche: suche myserye susteyne,
 as to conculcat, and overthrowe cleane:
 sithe yt their partyes: rather to mayntayne,
 In eaverye Royalme: as thus to ordayne,
 As James/ and the Rest, had placys by name:

³⁶ Harley 1703, ff. 73^v-76^r.

³⁷ f. 76^r.

So, in eache Countreye, A Busshoppe soveraigne,
to have/ and to doo: in chardge of the same³⁸

Moreover, Forrest's Mariology in Harley 1703 is at times strikingly consistent with the late Henrician formulations discussed in chapter 3. In the *Treatyse on the Salutation*, for example, he argues that praying the *Ave Maria* is acceptable to God,

for geavinge his Mother/ suche co[m]mendation,
And in the same, to hym a laudation³⁹

This justification of Marian devotion by recourse to the honour it affords to Christ was arguably unnecessary in a work dedicated to Mary I, and along with Forrest's sympathy for the Royal Supremacy it suggests that he had thoroughly absorbed Henrician theology.

The focus on the Virgin Mary in Harley 1703, his dedications to Mary I, and the polemics against iconoclasm in *Grisild* mean that Forrest has attracted much attention from Catholic and High Anglican historians unaware of either his psalm translations or his time at Bledlow, particularly in the late nineteenth century. The nineteenth-century Catholic historian Joseph Gillow described his poems as 'those of a religious and zealous Catholic, frequently written in strong denunciation of the heresies of the times';⁴⁰ while the Anglo-Catholic priest Frederick George Lee described Forrest as 'an honest and upright man... pious and accomplished', and commented that his poem on the Assumption in Harley 1703 'for theological exactness, apt thought, melody of rhythm, and artistic completeness, deserves high commendation.'⁴¹ Conversely, because of his dedications to Protector Somerset, Forrest has been depicted by one modern scholar as a time-server, 'ruthlessly pragmatic about matters of faith', 'continu[ing] to defy religious categorization'.⁴² The truth almost certainly lies somewhere between these two extremes. It is clear from the contents of Harley 1703 that Forrest maintained Catholic beliefs during the reign of Elizabeth and regretted the doctrinal changes of the English Reformation, although he must have publicly subscribed to them. This has led to him being aptly characterised by Arthur F. Marotti as 'religiously amphibious but

³⁸ ff. 75^v-76^r; the second stanza given here is also transcribed, with some errors, in Macray (ed.), *Grisild*, 187.

³⁹ f. 9^v.

⁴⁰ Gillow, *A Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, ii. 316.

⁴¹ Lee, *The Prebendal Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Thame*, 401, 406, 409. See also Joseph Patrick Kenna, 'An Edition of the Marian Poems of the Recusant Writer, William Forrest, from MS. Harleian 1703' (PhD thesis: University of Notre Dame, 1960); Page, 'Uniform and Catholic', 178.

⁴² Oliver Wort, 'Reception without the Theory: On the Study of Religion in Early Modern England', *Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature*, 96 (2012), 9-10.

persistently Catholic’,⁴³ able to accommodate his private belief to his public work as clergyman in the Protestant Church. One gets the impression that Forrest’s religion had reached maturity in the mid-1530s, probably in his late twenties, and never changed: he was, like many of his educated contemporaries, a ‘latter-day Henrician’, maintaining his loyalty to the Royal Supremacy and pursuing an ideal of Catholicism without the Pope.⁴⁴ It is in the context of Forrest’s persistent, measured conservatism that we must view his preservation of *FH* after the death of Mary I: not as a political gesture or a contribution to active communal resistance, but as a much more private endeavour.

4.5. Forrest’s professional musical activity

Forrest was a polymath: as well as the volumes of medieval theology and patristics from Thame, he also signed a copy of *Fortalitiium fidei*, a militantly anti-Semitic treatise on Catholic apologetics attributed to the fifteenth-century Franciscan Alphonso de Spina (see figure 4j),⁴⁵ and besides being a poet and an outstanding scribe, he must also have been a more than adequate musician. During the 1540s he was a prolific music copyist, supplying books of both chant and polyphony to Oxford colleges and to the prebendal parish church at Thame. The items that survive—*FH* (figure 4k) and the Sarum hymnal, Oxford, St John’s College MS 60 (figure 4l)—are fluently and attractively copied and are testament to Forrest’s ability to work in both chant and mensural notation and in *textualis* as well as secretary, italic and mixed hands.

Forrest almost certainly learned to sing polyphony during his time at Thame Abbey.⁴⁶ The abbey was relatively wealthy and had a Lady Chapel capable of supporting a choir: in the early 1530s, Tallis was employed as master of the Lady Chapel choir at Dover Priory, an

⁴³ Marotti, ‘Marian Verse’, 27. See also Wort, ‘A Cuckoo in the Nest?’, 43; Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme*, 81-5.

⁴⁴ On latter-day Henricians, see Alec Ryrie, ‘Paths Not Taken in the British Reformations’, *The Historical Journal*, 52 (2009), 1-22.

⁴⁵ The edition owned by Forrest is Alphonso de Spina, *Fortalitiium fidei* (Nuremberg, 1494: USTC 742719). The first edition was published in Strasbourg in 1471 (USTC 742716).

⁴⁶ On the musical culture of early Tudor monasteries, not including Thame, see Roger Bowers, ‘An Early Tudor Monastic Enterprise: Choral Polyphony for the Liturgical Service’, in James G. Clark (ed.), *The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), 21-54.

Figure 4j. Downside Abbey, Monastic Library 963 F1A, f.1^r, showing Latin devotional poem copied c. 1500 and Forrest's *ex libris*, 'Liber Guilelmi fforresti p[re]s[b]yte[ri]'

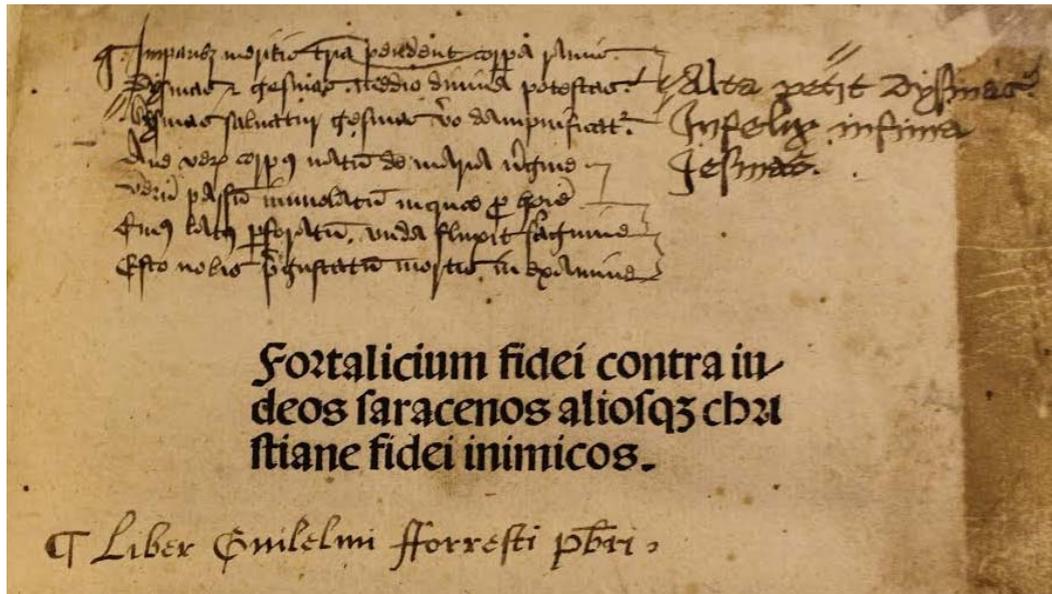
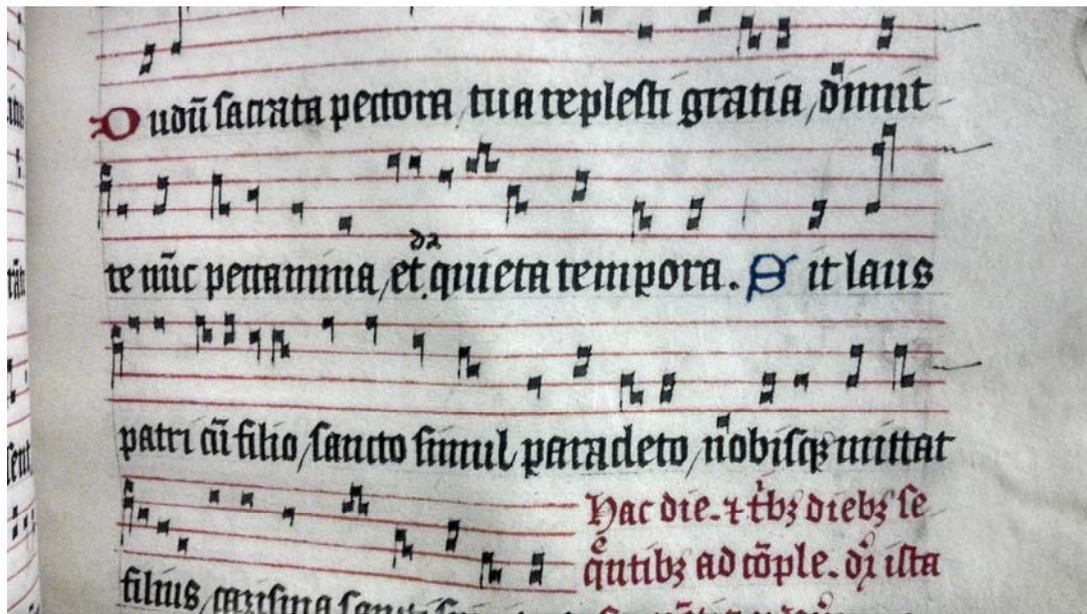


Figure 4k. Contratenor book from the *FH* set (e. 378), f. 103^r, showing Forrest's characteristic mixed italic/secretary hand (especially the epsilon-shaped letter e), black-letter script, polyphonic notation and direct shapes. The number 12 at the top of the page is in the hand of John Baldwin.

The image shows a manuscript page with polyphonic notation. The page is numbered '12' at the top. The notation consists of four staves of music. The text is written in a mixed italic/secretary hand. The text includes 'ius, Et vita ventu ri venturi sequi Li. d' and 'meu, Sanctus, San ='. The notation is polyphonic, with multiple voices on each staff. The text is written in black-letter script.

Figure 4l. St John's College, Oxford, MS 60, f. 48^r, showing samples of Forrest's *textualis* script, directs and chant notation



institution whose income was somewhat smaller than Thame's.⁴⁷ Furthermore, it is known that in 1526 there were boys living in the monastery, and polyphonic music was extensively used in the liturgy. In that year Bishop John Longland visited Thame Abbey and compiled a list of abuses which required correction,⁴⁸ among them the fact that the abbot had in his company 'in mensa et cubiculo et undequaque juvenes et pueros quo nonnulli de te male et suspicose suspicantur et fabulantur' ('at the table, and in his room, and everywhere you look, young men and boys, on account of whom several speculate and gossip evilly and suspiciously about [him]'); in addition, within the monastery there were 'multos pueros juvenes, et alias otiosas personas, quo domus depauperatur', 'many young boys and other idle people whereby the house is impoverished'.⁴⁹ The abbot's response to this article was hardly of the sort to inspire confidence in his superior: 'we will gladly endeavour to shun the society of boys and young men in future';⁵⁰ 'Who *doesn't* nourish the idle? Nevertheless, we will

⁴⁷ 'Thame: Topography, manors and estates', in William Page et al. (eds), *The Victoria History of the County of Oxford*, 18 vols (London: Archibald Constable, 1907-), vii. (ed. Mary Lobel), 160-78, *BHO*. Dover Priory's income in 1530/31 was £195 15s 10³/₄d; on this and Tallis's role there see Bowers, 'Thomas Tallis at Dover Priory', 197-200. According to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Thame's net income in 1535 was £256 13s 7d. *Valor ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII.: Auctoritate regia institutus*, ed. John Caley and Joseph Hunter, 6 vols (London, 1810-34), ii. 213-4.

⁴⁸ See Margaret Bowker, *The Henrician Reformation: The Diocese of Lincoln under John Longland 1521-1547* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 20-28 at 28.

⁴⁹ Quoted in G. G. Perry, 'The Visitation of the Monastery of Thame, 1526', *EHR*, 3 (1888), 705-6.

⁵⁰ 'puerorum et juvenum consortia quam hilariter in posterum evitare conabimur...' *Ibid.*, 708.

endeavour with great struggle to prevent this ultimate vice; we will expel other boys and young men, except for those who are really necessary to us, from our house.’⁵¹ Looking beyond the sensationalism of the accusation—it is closely connected in the articles to an allegation that the abbot was sleeping with a boy named Cowper—it seems probable that the boys were being brought up at the monastery as singers in the Lady Chapel.⁵² Other articles stated that the monks had too much contact with lay people, and the response of the abbot of Thame’s mother house, Waverley Abbey, to Longland’s complaints strongly suggests that these articles referred partly to the participation of lay musicians in divine service along the lines of Tallis’s employment at Dover Priory, as was common in monasteries during the 1520s and 1530s. One article issued to Thame by the abbot of Waverley states:

We order, on pain of excommunication to those who disobey, that secular or lay singers, whether men or boys, are excluded from the monastic choir in times of divine service. And we condemn from henceforth polyphony, called ‘pricksong’ in English, with the playing of organs by these secular people who come into choir with the monks, and who sit down there one with another, gossiping together, inciting dissolution; and we command the Abbot, on pain of similar punishment if he disobeys, diligently and discreetly to see that our order is perfectly observed in this way. However, we permit that the religious—the aforesaid lay singers always being excluded—may make some melody among themselves above the plainsong [i.e. discant] on Sundays and the birthdays of saints at Mass and Vespers, with the playing of the organs by a brother or an honest secular man, as long as he does not have too much familiarity with the brothers. Similarly, at the daily Lady Mass outside the choir, we permit the same to be carried out by the brothers, stepping out to the same place [presumably the Lady Chapel at the east end]...’⁵³

If we assume that Forrest was born in c. 1505-10, he would probably have been in his late teens at the time of the 1526 visitation and may therefore have benefited from Thame’s

⁵¹ ‘Otiosos vero quis non alit? Atqui huic morbo summo conatu obviare studebimus; pueros et juvenes alios, nisi qui nobis valde necessarii sunt, a domo nostra exulabimus.’ Ibid., 710.

⁵² See Roger Bowers, ‘The Almonry Schools of the English Monasteries, c. 1265-1540’, in Benjamin Thompson (ed.), *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain: Proceedings of the 1994 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1999), 212-3, 222.

⁵³ ‘Inhibemus quod, sub poena excommunicationis contradicentibus infligenda, seculares sive laici cantores, tam viri quam pueri, tempore divinorum ab ipso choro conventuali excludantur. Et cantus fractus, Anglice *Pryke Songe*, cum pulsatione organorum per hujusmodi seculares personas cum fratribus chorum intrantes, una cum ipsis ibidem sedentes, confabulantes, dissolutiones moventes, amodo dampnamus, et domino Abbati sub poena contemptus similiter mandamus ut diligenter et districte provideat hujusmodi nostrum statutum inviolabiliter observari. Permittimus tamen quod religiosi viri inter se, exclusis semper predictis laicis cantoribus, aliquam melodiam super simplicem cantum diebus dominicis et natalibus sanctorum in missis et vesperis cum pulsatione organorum, per aliquem fratrem aut honestum secularem facerent, ita quod non habeat cum fratribus nimiam familiaritatem. Similiter in missis Beatae Mariae cotidianis extra chorum permittimus faciendum a fratribus ibidem existentibus...’ Ibid., 712-3. See also Wegman, *The Crisis of Music*, 225.

lavish—indeed, apparently excessive—approach to music.

Forrest's recorded activity as a music copyist began shortly after he left Thame. In 1541/2 a 'magister Forrest' was paid by Magdalen College, Oxford, for 'duobus libris quibus inscribuntur quedam antiphonae et missae' and 'pro quinque libris antiphonatis'; that is, for two choirbooks of votive antiphons and Masses, presumably one for each side of the choir, and five partbooks containing votive antiphons.⁵⁴ The 'certain priest' ('sacerdoti cuidam') who was paid in 1540 for 'notulatione Passionis et antiphonarum quarundam', the notation of a Passion and some antiphons, might well also have been Forrest, although there is of course no direct evidence for this.⁵⁵ The copying carried out by Forrest at Magdalen must have been specialised enough that there was nobody available in college to do it, as in previous years the college had usually employed scribes from within its own community: before he left to become a lay vicar of Canterbury Cathedral in 1540, the singer Thomas Bull had often been paid for copying pricksong by the college, and John Sheppard also supplied the choir with music books after he arrived to become master of the choristers in 1543. The *informatori choristarum* at Magdalen at the time Forrest was copying were Thomas Appelby until November 1541, and then Thomas Preston, who had taken up office by Michaelmas 1542;⁵⁶ it seems reasonable to conclude that neither was a good copyist, and Forrest was drafted in from outside while they were in office.

After the foundation of Osney Cathedral there is no other record of Forrest's copying activity until 1544/5, when he was paid by All Souls College, New College, and Thame parish church, all for music. At All Souls a 'dominus Forrest' was paid 'scribenti diversis antiphonas'—for writing various antiphons—into five partbooks the college had bought earlier in the year.⁵⁷ He sold to New College 'libro antiph[onarum] et i[n]vit[atorum]', a chant book of invitatories (copies of the psalm *Venite exultemus* in different tones) and their

⁵⁴ Magdalen College, *Liber Computi* 4, 1541/2, under *Custus sacelli*. It is of course possible that the 'Forrest' copying at Magdalen was not William; however, since William Forrest had close Oxford connections, was aware to some extent of the goings-on of Oxford colleges, and there is independent evidence of his music copying, the most likely possibility is that he was the copyist at Magdalen and at the other colleges listed here. According to the title 'Dominus', the All Souls copyist was certainly in holy orders, strengthening the likelihood that he can be identified with William.

⁵⁵ William Dunn Macray, *A Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford*, 6 vols (London: Henry Frowde, 1897), ii. 20.

⁵⁶ Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks', 81, 125, 128-130.

⁵⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS d.d. All Souls College, c.282, account roll 1544-5 sub *Capella*. See Beth Anne Lee-de Amici, 'Cum nota solenniter celebret: Music in the Chapel of All Souls College, Oxford, 1445-1550', *Renaissance Studies*, 18 (2004), 204.

antiphons for the whole year, at a cost of 10s.⁵⁸ Forrest's last known sale of music was to Thame Church, whose churchwardens' accounts record a payment to 'Mastr fforest' of 20s for a hymnal in 1545.⁵⁹

4.6. Forrest's role in musical transmission and reception

4.6.1. Forrest and the material remnants of the Dissolution

Two of the institutions at which Forrest worked, Thame Abbey and Osney Cathedral, were dissolved during his time there. Forrest left neither empty-handed, but was actively involved in rescuing and redistributing their material goods. The theological miscellany Burney 357, which came into Forrest's possession via Thame Abbey, has already been discussed, but there is far more extensive circumstantial evidence for his involvement with the dissolution of Osney.

Osney Cathedral was dissolved in 1545, and in 1546 the see was re-established at Christ Church, in the centre of Oxford. The dissolution of the old foundation was closely entangled with the creation of the new. Along with the transfer of personnel mentioned earlier, surviving wage accounts from 1545-6 record the movement of fixtures, building materials and equipment from Osney to the new cathedral on the site of the old priory of St Frideswide. The process seems to have been fairly exhaustive, in some cases involving tearing down walls at Osney to be used for new buildings at Christ Church: on one occasion a labourer was paid 19 pence for four days spent 'pullyng downe stone at osney church for y^e masons th[at] toke th[e] wall to tasque at friswid[es]'.⁶⁰ But despite this, few items of church furniture seem to have been either moved from Osney to Christ Church or newly made, presumably because Christ Church had acquired most of what it needed during its previous incarnations as Cardinal and Henry VIII's College. A goldsmith was paid for mending the censer at Christ Church and 8½ yards of tape was bought to make new girdles for the albs;⁶¹ these are exceptions and suggest, paradoxically, that Christ Church was already well equipped, as it already had both censer and albs in its possession. The fate of most of the movable goods of Osney Cathedral is therefore unknown. However, at least one item certainly

⁵⁸ New College Muniment 7506 (Bursars' account), under *Custus capelle*.

⁵⁹ *Extracts from the Accounts of the Proctors and Stewards of the Prebendal Church of the Blessed Virgin of Thame* (Thame: Henry Bradford, 1852), 17; Lee, *The Prebendal Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Thame*, 401.

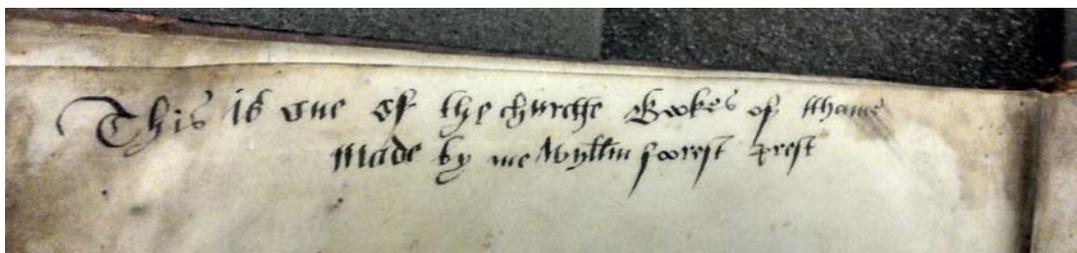
⁶⁰ Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Oxon. b. 16 SC 30770, f. 16^r.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, f. 6^v, f. 20^v.

passed through Forrest's hands on its way to a new institution, and it is highly likely that others did as well.

The Sarum hymnal St John's College, MS 60 bears the inscription, 'This is one of the churche Bookes of thame made by me Wyll[jia]m foorest prest' (f. iv^v; see figure 4m). This seems far more likely to refer to Thame parish church than to the abbey (especially since Thame Abbey, being Cistercian, would have no use for Sarum books), and suggests that the book can be identified with the hymnal bought from Forrest by Thame parish church for 20 shillings in 1545. The hymnal's connection with Osney is revealed by a further inscription on the front flyleaf, which is obscured by black ink but has been partly transcribed by Ralph Hanna as 'Ex dono reuerendisimo p[at]ris et domini domini [sic] Roberti kyn[ge hu]sius Ecclesiae cathedralis Oseneyae primi Antistitis Anno Domini MCCCCxliij':⁶² 'Gifted by the most reverend father and master Robert King, first bishop of this cathedral church of Osney, AD 1542.' The book therefore seems to have been copied by Forrest at the request of Robert King for the new foundation at Osney in 1542, retained by Forrest at the cathedral's dissolution—Christ Church, King's new destination, had no need for new hymnals—and then sold to Thame parish church. It was only three years old at the cathedral's dissolution, which would explain its high value both to Forrest and to Thame parish church.

Figure 4m. St John's College, Oxford, MS 60, f. iv^v



MS 60 was probably not the only object Forrest acquired from Osney. In 1544/5, the same year that they paid Forrest for a new chant book, the bursary of New College, Oxford paid a labourer 4d 'pro vectura organorum ab Osneye': for transporting the organs from Osney. 4d was no more than a day's wage for one labourer, so the organ in question was presumably a small instrument. Given the proximity of Osney and New College, and Forrest's involvement with both institutions around the time of Osney's dissolution, it is unlikely that he did not know about the move, and he might even have masterminded it. Secondly, the timings suggest that the book of invitatories bought by New College in 1545 might have come

⁶² Hanna, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 80-81.

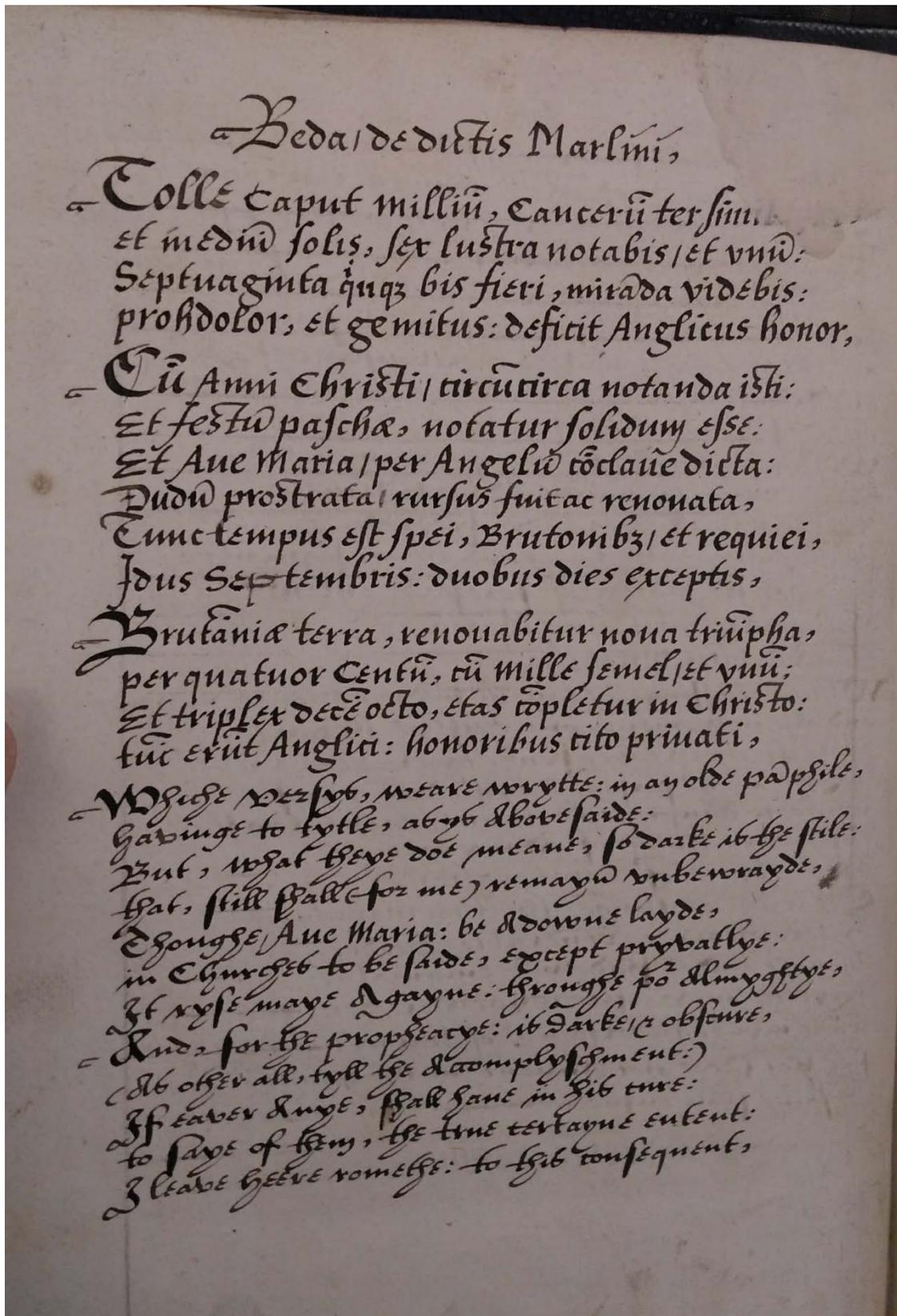
from Osney as well, along with their new organ. The New College records do not suggest that the book was newly copied when they purchased it, as do the accounts of similar purchases from Forrest by Magdalen College.

Moreover, there is evidence that Forrest possessed other books from monastic libraries whose provenance is unknown and which no longer survive. In the ‘Treatyse upon the Salutation of the moste glorious virgin Marye’, which opens Harley 1703, he transcribes fourteen lines of an ‘olde pa[m]phile’, which apparently bore the title ‘Beda/ de dictis Marlini’ (figure 4n). Forrest professes not to understand the text fully, and it contains Latin errors: the word *prohdolor*, for example, is not only meaningless but highly improbable. This suggests that he was working from either an old exemplar, perhaps in an unfamiliar script, or from a copy made from such a book. Even besides these errors the Latin of the text is obscure. It is written in fourteen hexameters and traces a narrative of the downfall of the Anglo-Saxons and triumph of the Britons. Forrest’s interest in the text, its attribution and the contents of the prophecy coincides with increased concern with the history of Anglo-Saxon Britain following the antiquarian missions of John Leland, which will be discussed in chapter 5. However, for several reasons it is almost certainly not a genuine work of Bede. The library at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow had been scattered in the ninth century, resulting in the loss of the vast majority of Bede’s works that had not already travelled abroad; and both the reference to Merlin in the title and the spelling ‘Brutannia’ for ‘Britannia’ suggest the influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia regum Britanniae*, completed in the 1130s. Moreover, the positive light in which the Britons are depicted in Forrest’s text is uncharacteristic of Bede, who considered the native Britons—adherents to the Celtic Church and uninfluenced by the papacy—to have been heretics.⁶³

The influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth in the prophecy thus gives Forrest’s manuscript a *terminus post quem* of, at the earliest, the mid-twelfth century. At this time interest in Bede and Anglo-Saxon saints had undergone a revival that coincided with the refoundation of monasteries, including Monkwearmouth-Jarrow and Lindisfarne, and the translation of St Cuthbert’s relics to Durham Cathedral; it is not unlikely that a prophecy influenced by the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth could have been ascribed to Bede in the twelfth century in a bid to establish its authority. However, evidence points to a much later

⁶³ For information on Bede here and in the following paragraph I am grateful to Dr Scott Ashley.

Figure 4n. Harley 1703, f. 10^v, showing Forrest's copy of a Merlinic prophecy attributed to Bede, 'wrytte: in an olde pa[m]phile'.



date than this for Forrest's manuscript, in the fifteenth century or even later. The manuscript British Library, Cotton Vespasian e. vii, compiled in the late fifteenth century, contains a very similar text titled 'Beda in libro de dictis merlini capitulo septimo', which is in Latin hexameters like the text copied by Forrest.⁶⁴ The copying of Vespasian e. vii can be situated within a trend of interest in newly-composed vernacular prophetic texts attributed to both Bede and Merlin in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Both men—one historical, the other legendary—occupied a liminal position relative to theological and political orthodoxy, and represented destabilising voices which made their names powerful additions to predictions of political change.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the last three lines of the prophecy in Harley 1703 appear to refer to a date in September 1454 (that is, 'quatuor centum', four hundred, plus 'mille semel et unum', plus 'triplex decem octo', three times eighteen); their precise political implications, however, are unclear.

Forrest's access to a (probably fifteenth-century) manuscript with potentially subversive contents points towards his having rescued it from the library of one of his institutions, most likely in an effort to educate himself about the pre-Norman English past. It may well be that his inclusion of the text in a poem dedicated to Mary I was a tragic miscalculation. Mary was highly suspicious of all prophetic speech and writing which she believed would lead ultimately to sedition and rebellion.⁶⁶ Despite the Catholic orthodoxy of Forrest's discussion—it is the *Ave Maria* that, in the text he copies, leads to the salvation of England—it is unlikely that a text attributed to Merlin and describing the overthrow of a political regime could ever have appealed to the queen.

4.6.2. The date and provenance of FH

The possibility that Forrest acquired books and other chattels from both Osney and Thame poses questions about the provenance of *FH*, especially now that we have seen that the burden of proof rests on the books' association with Cardinal College rather than their dissociation from it, and that the 1530 date for Forrest's acquisition of the books is fallacious.

⁶⁴ H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London: British Museum, 1883), 322.

⁶⁵ Kate Edwards, "'Bede and Merlion and Arsaladone": The Persistence of Short Verse Prophecies in Late-Medieval England', *Marginalia*, 20 (2016), 7-16 at 12-14. See also Howard Dobin, *Merlin's Disciples: Prophecy, Poetry, and Power in Renaissance England* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990); Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), ch. 3.

⁶⁶ Dobin, *Merlin's Disciples*, 43-46.

There is no reason to date the first layer of *FH* later than around 1530: the binding of the books, which bears the pomegranate symbol of Katherine of Aragon, still suggests a date before the royal divorce in 1533.⁶⁷ Forrest began his additions to the books no earlier than 1545: it was in this year that the man whom Forrest calls ‘doctor Tye’ gained his Doctor of Music degree from Cambridge.⁶⁸ His copying activity can, however, be dated considerably later than this. The first four Masses he copied, Taverner’s *Corona spinea* and *O Michael*, Ashwell’s *Ave Maria*, and Aston’s *Videte manus meas*, all accord well with the Henrician Midlands profile of the first layer, while the final three, by Sheppard, Tye and Alwood, were almost certainly acquired later and centred on the Marian Chapel Royal. Alwood’s Mass may be Henrician in date as it is based on a cantus firmus strongly associated with the court of Henry VIII,⁶⁹ but Daniel Page has very convincingly connected Tye’s Mass *Euge bone* to the sermons preached on the accession of Mary I.⁷⁰ The most obvious source for these Masses is therefore the Marian court, perhaps through John Heywood or—if Forrest was indeed Mary’s chaplain—directly through the Chapel Royal.

It should now be clear that Forrest need not have acquired *FH* until 1545 at the earliest and probably did not begin copying into the books until the mid-1550s; furthermore, his acquisition of them need have had nothing to do with Cardinal College. The question, therefore, is where Forrest could have taken possession of six books of polyphony copied in the late 1520s or early 1530s. As we have seen, Thame Abbey was easily wealthy enough to have supported polyphony of the kind found in *FH*, and Forrest is known to have acquired books from the library there on the monastery’s dissolution. It is possible that the books were begun at Thame Abbey and that copying ceased following the 1526 injunctions against polyphony (see pp. 180-182, above). Osney Abbey, and later Osney Cathedral, is perhaps an even more likely candidate given its wealth and status, and the fact that a copying date of 1526 seems a little early for the appearance of music by Merbecke. Osney’s proximity to Oxford easily explains the prominence of Taverner, and music by composers he could have

⁶⁷ Bergsagel, ‘The Forrest-Heyther Collection’, 242.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 247.

⁶⁹ Nothing is known of Alwood except that John Baldwin described him as a ‘priste’ in the *sexta pars* of *FH* (e. 381, f. 55^r), and that his keyboard music survives in *Mulliner*. On his Mass ‘Praise him praiseworthy’ see Nick Sandon, ‘F G A B-flat A: Thoughts on a Tudor Motif’, *EM*, 12 (1984), 56-63.

⁷⁰ Page, ‘Uniform and Catholic’, 171-7. The Mass has also been supposed to have been written either as a condition of Tye’s doctorate, or later in the 1540s: Paul Doe and David Mateer, ‘Tye, Christopher’, *GMO*; Nigel Davison, ‘Tye, Christopher’, *ODNB*.

known in Lincolnshire, in the manuscripts. If Forrest acquired one liturgical book from Osney Cathedral—St John’s MS 60—there is no reason why he could not have collected several.

4.6.3. Forrest as copyist and agent of musical transmission

FH was clearly not the only set of pre-Reformation books to which Forrest had access: he must have also have seen the exemplars to the seven Masses he added to it. Given the relative ages and provenances of these Masses, it is most likely that Forrest used at least two exemplars to copy them and wished to amalgamate these sources into a single set. However, there is no trace of a change in exemplar in his finished copies: all seven Masses seem to have been written within a short space of time, with no change of ink or format between Taverner’s Mass *O Michael* and Sheppard’s Mass *Cantate*. It seems to have been more important to Forrest to produce a stylistically coherent set of finished books than slavishly to imitate his exemplars. Nevertheless, although he clearly attempted to make his copying homogenise with that of the earlier copyist of *FH* (perhaps Burgis, the scribe paid by Cardinal College), he did not imitate it in any extensive way. This scribe leaves space in between Mass movements and even more between complete Masses; Forrest does not. Forrest’s script is an adaptation of the *anglicana* of the first scribe, and gradually becomes less formal and more bastardised as his copying progresses. He does not imitate the precise rhomboid notation of the earlier scribe or his direct shapes, though he was surely capable of doing so. It is striking that both scribes, and Baldwin later on, share the same careful approach to text underlay, precisely positioning final syllables of words in order to avoid the implication of terminal melisma.

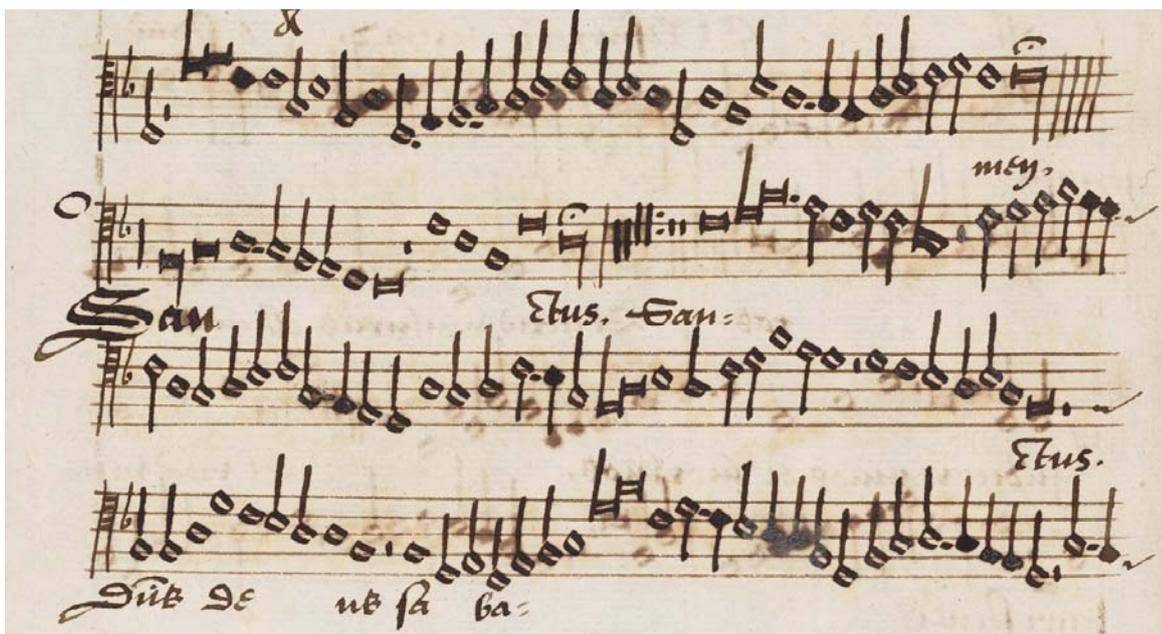
John Baldwin’s additions to the *sexta pars* book of *FH* can shed further light on Forrest’s copying habits. His copying layer begins with the start of a new gathering, part-way through Taverner’s Mass *O Michael*. It uses the same rhomboid notation style as his contributions to *Dow* and to ‘My Lady Neville’s Book’ (*GB-Lbl* MS Mus. 1591), and as such is clearly meant to harmonise with the first layer of the manuscripts. Otherwise, the style of copying, the script, and particularly the initial letters of movements and Masses, are clearly modelled on Forrest’s (see figures 4o and 4p). Because Baldwin began his copying part-way through one of the Masses copied by Forrest, and his copying coincides with the beginning of a new gathering, the implication is that it was at least partly intended to replace music already there rather than to add entirely new music. It is hard to believe that Forrest would have abandoned his copying of the Mass *O Michael* so close to its completion. There is also the problem of Baldwin’s sources: if he was not working from copies already made by Forrest he would have needed additional exemplars of all four Masses that he copied, Taverner’s Mass *O Michael*, Sheppard’s Mass *Cantate*, Tye’s Mass *Euge bone* and Alwood’s Mass ‘Praise him

praiseworthy', a coincidence that seems much too good to be true. It therefore seems most likely that Baldwin made his contributions to *FH* to replace Forrest's copies that had somehow become unusable. One possibility among many that immediately spring to mind is a spillage of liquid that affected the book's back cover and the rear few gatherings, leading Baldwin to remove and replace both the damaged gatherings and the binding of the book. Whatever the reason for Baldwin's replacement of Forrest's originals, it seems certain that the text he copied closely matched that of Forrest.

Figure 4o. *FH*, e. 381, f. 48^r (the opening to the *Sanctus* from Tye's Mass *Euge bone*), showing Baldwin's notation style. Compare the initial *s* here with those by Forrest, shown in figure 4k and 4p.



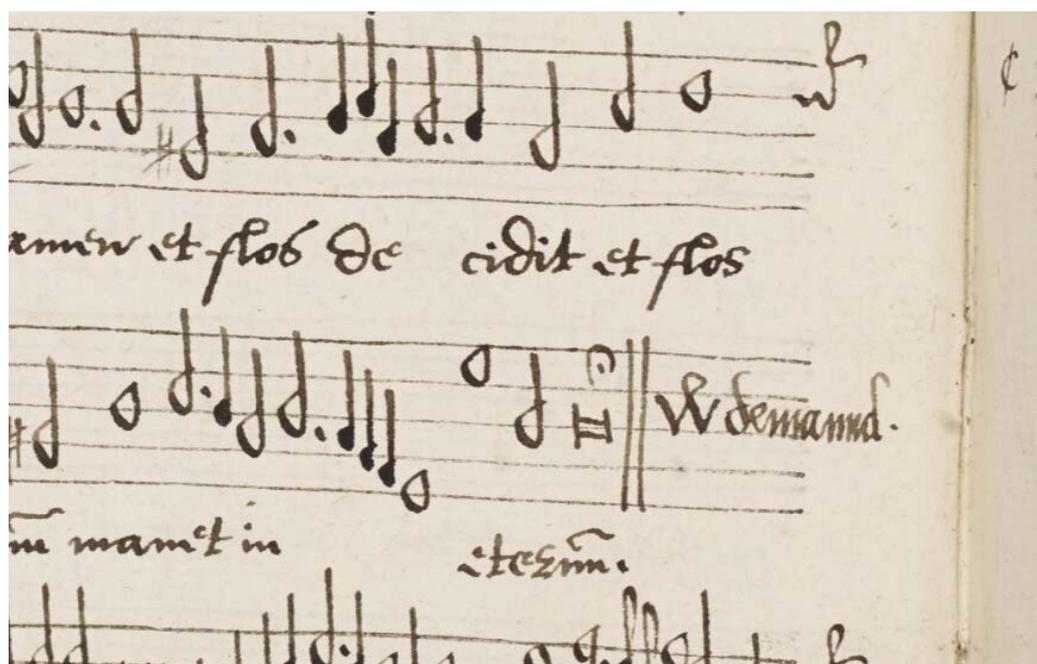
Figure 4p. *FH*, e. 381, f. 34^v (the corresponding moment in Aston's Mass *Videte manus meas*), copied by Forrest. Compare the script to Baldwin's above, especially the terminal *s*.



The exact nature of Forrest's relationship with John Baldwin is unknown. There is nothing to suggest that Baldwin's additions to *FH* took place before Forrest's death, in the early 1580s, at which time his whereabouts are uncertain; indeed, the style of notation used by Baldwin in *FH* is closest to his work of the early 1590s. Nor is it known whether Forrest passed any other music to Baldwin besides *FH*. However, there are some clues in Baldwin's partbooks (that is, *Baldwin*) which suggest that he may have done. The vast majority of the pieces in these books are written in a more cursive version of the italic script Baldwin uses in *FH*, with secretary features such as the lower-case *h* and the two-lobed lower-case *d*: the script is both relatively consistent and, though idiosyncratic, quite plain. Except for a large subset in the centre of each book, which represents the earliest copying layer, Baldwin also incorporates large ornamental initials at the start of pieces, sometimes decorated with simple line-drawn faces in profile and crucifix symbols. The few deviations from this norm bear striking similarities to ornaments and styles of script in Harley 1703 and may represent traces of Baldwin's exemplars.

One of these appears on f. 20^v of the *sexta pars* book, Mus. 982, and is an attribution to William Daman of the motet *Omnis caro gramen sit*. This motet is in the earliest layer of the partbooks and is written in an early version of Baldwin's characteristic hand, with more secretary features such as the epsilon-shaped *e*, the z-shaped *r*, and the sigma-shaped *s*. The attribution is in an awkward and cramped italic script, with a Roman-style letter *W* and a lower-case *d* that loops over towards the right (figure 4q)

Figure 4q. Mus. 982, p. 20 (attribution to William Daman in Baldwin's hand)



A second example is a *verte folium* rubric which appears before the start of a gimel passage in *Vox patris caelestis*. Almost uniquely in Baldwin's work it represents an attempt to imitate *textualis* script with the last three letters of each word formed of several angular pen strokes. The initial letters *v* and *f*, however, are purely italic (figure 4r). The same italic *f* seen here is a common feature of the attributions that end Baldwin's copies and, as can be seen in figure 4s, contrasts with the usual *f* shape of his text underlay (compare the *f* of *sacrificium* with that of *finis*). It bears close comparison to that used in figure 4i by Forrest, who similarly incorporates this italic script in the explicits of his copies but not in the copies themselves. All of the textual idiosyncrasies mentioned here can be compared to Forrest's hand in figure 4t.

Figure 4r. Mus. 982, p. 81 (rubric in Baldwin's copy of *Vox patris caelestis*)

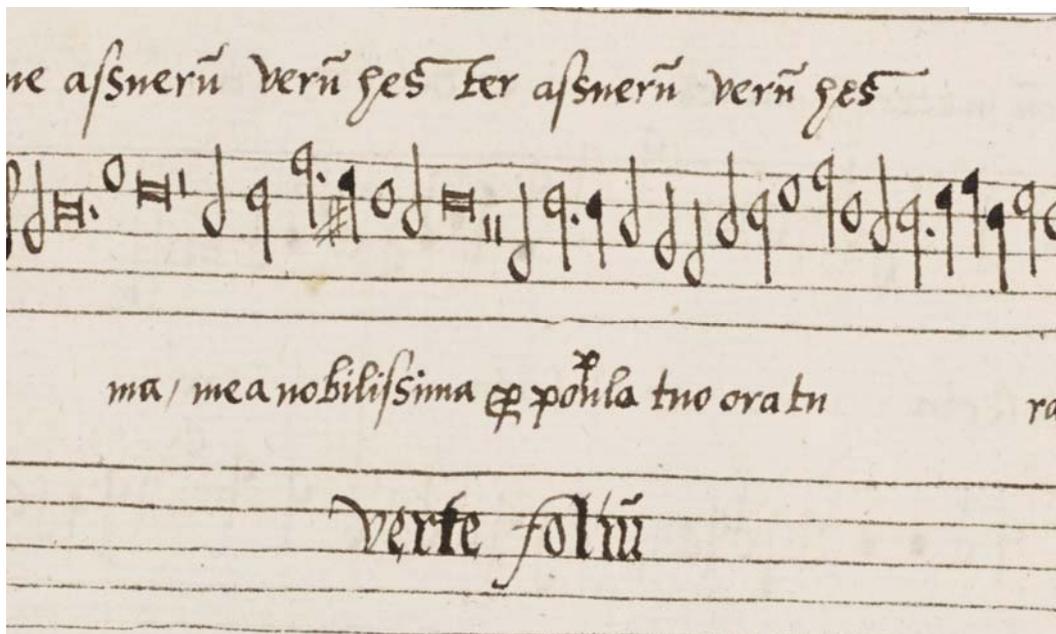
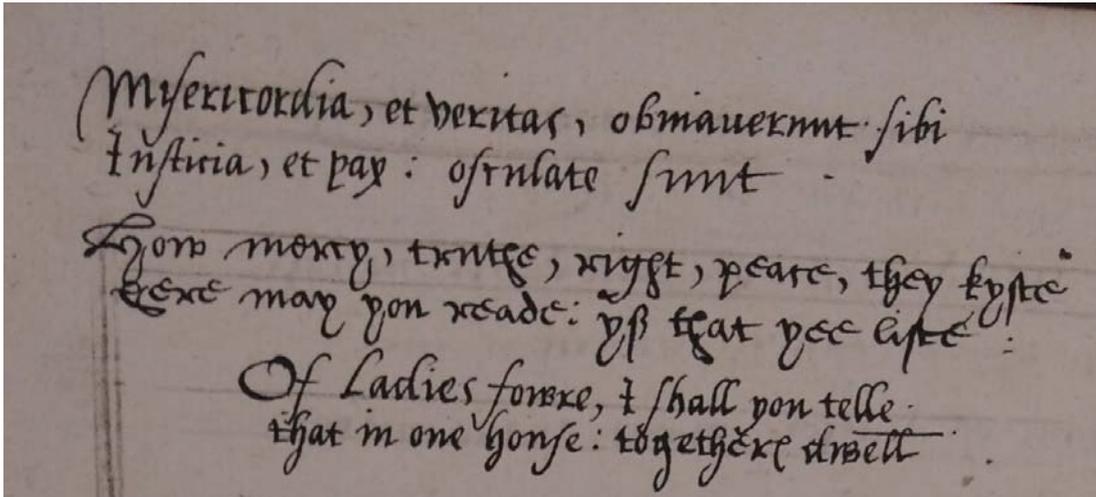


Figure 4s. Mus. 979, p. 149 (attribution of Robert White's *Miserere mei Deus*)



Figure 4t. Harley 1703, f. 82^v, showing Forrest's handwriting

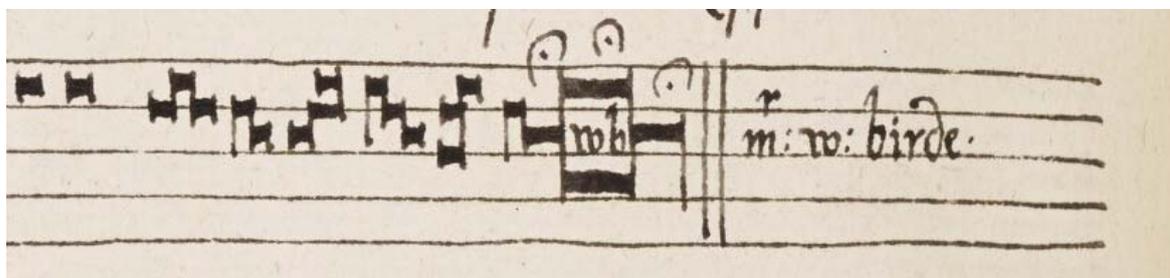


The final example is of a notational feature rather than a textual one, at the end of Byrd's *Aspice Domine de sede* in Mus. 980. Baldwin scarcely ever ornaments the final notes of his pieces, unlike the scribes of *Sadler*, for example; here he incorporates the same cross-shaped note head, with fermatas and internal decoration, as does Forrest in *FH* (figures 4u and 4v).

Figure 4u. e. 376, f. 96^r (end of Credo from Taverner's *Mass Corona spinea*)



Figure 4v. Mus. 980, p. 126 (end of Byrd's *Aspice Domine de sede*)



In conjunction with John Baldwin's known musical connections to Forrest, these four examples are compelling. They pose important questions about Baldwin's sources of pre-Reformation music which will be considered further in chapter 6.

4.6.4. *Forrest's response to pre-Reformation music*

Forrest's collection of pre-Reformation music manuscripts was self-conscious: he was well aware that by preserving them, he was participating in a wider conservation movement. His attitudes to pre-Reformation music are revealed in one of the Marian miracle stories in Harley 1703, dated 1572, which concerns a musician who possessed

syngular knowledge: in musyk[es] scyence,
So that his fame, syngularlye alone:
over this Royalme: in specyall pryce shone

Forrest writes that this musician had in the past composed many pieces in praise of the Virgin, which he now regretted: he spoke

of his tyme prystynat
In making of song[es], howe he had take peyne:
of whiche, at that deye: nu[m]bers dyd remayne,
Emong[es] whiche, of marye (whome some ladye call)
he had made manye: making Rehersall,
no syn, so greaved hym, doone in his deyes:
as song[es] whiche he made: that weare to her prayse.
Indeade, he made song[es]; that excellent weare,
and yeat in keeapinge, of some: dothe appeare...⁷¹

As a result of his heresy the musician then became senile in the last two years of his life. Forrest's narrative is strikingly consistent with John Foxe's comment in the 1570 *Acts and Monuments* that John Taverner 'repented hym very much that he had made songes to popishe ditties in the tyme of his blindnes'.⁷² Two years of incapacity at the end of Taverner's life also accords with what is known of his biography: he resigned as customs collector at Boston at Michaelmas 1543, two years before his death.⁷³ Given Forrest's career and probable family ties close to Oxford, his presence at Oxford in 1530, his known interest in music, and his acquisition of *FH*, it seems probable that he was at least slightly acquainted with Taverner, although it is unclear where he could have acquired information about Taverner's career in Boston. Perhaps it is more likely that Forrest found the core of his narrative in Foxe and the rest is a coincidentally accurate fiction.

The discussion of the musician's songs quoted above reveals two facts about their survival: firstly, that he had composed many pieces that in 1572 no longer survived; and secondly, that those which did survive were 'in keeapinge, of some'. Forrest here implicitly equates the works themselves with extant copies of them. By drawing attention to the manner

⁷¹ Harley 1703, f. 28^v.

⁷² Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (1570 edition), viii. 1213.

⁷³ I am grateful to Magnus Williamson for pointing this out to me.

which they were kept he implies that there was something unusual or self-conscious inherent in their possession. The expression he uses moreover suggests that they were kept privately, which tallies with the narrative offered in chapters 5 and 6. Forrest seems to have been aware that without those who still possessed copies of musical works, they would not survive; and indeed that several works had perished for lack of collectors. His preservation of, and additions to, *FH* are thus placed in the context not only of his repurposing of books from Thame and Osney, but also of his awareness of a wider practice of collecting pre-Reformation manuscripts.

The very fact that Forrest added to *FH* suggests further that he was eager to preserve the music of the pre-Reformation past in permanent written form. The most obvious reason for amalgamating his several sources of Masses into one volume is that this would have given the masses a permanent material status that they may have lacked before, either by the nature of their copies or due to age and wear. *FH*, being both already bound and only about three-quarters full, must have provided an ideal repository for the extra pieces.

4.7. Conclusions

As a representative of educated sixteenth-century England, William Forrest is of great significance. His poetic and musical output displays the variety and extent of the learning that could take place in an early Tudor monastic community, while his surviving music copying and extant records of further employment shed light on the skills and techniques expected of sixteenth-century professional music scribes. His poetry and prose reveal some of the ways in which Mary I's rule and public image were fashioned by her supporters. Most significantly, Forrest's career vividly reveals his personal attitude and responses to mid-century religious change. By sixteenth-century standards he was approaching old age when he took the rectory at Bledlow in 1556, and his theology—with its extravagant but nuanced devotion to the Virgin and ambivalent attitude to spiritual authority—was fixed along the lines of the late-Henrician model. Forrest could not have known that he would live another twenty-five years and serve at Bledlow for another twenty; nor could he have known that the Elizabethan Settlement would outlive him. The parallels between his and John Sadler's careers from the 1550s onwards are irresistible. Whatever the religious beliefs of both men—Forrest's Henrician Catholic, Sadler's ambiguous—neither could be described as in any way nonconformist. They represent the pragmatic approach to Elizabethan religion and the

products of late-medieval Catholicism that must have characterised many of their contemporaries.

The following two chapters will develop several themes introduced in the foregoing discussion of Forrest's career, in order to analyse the intellectual background and practical circumstances behind the activities of Elizabethan music collectors. Chapter 5 will argue that a growing sense of nostalgia and a new historical consciousness, combined with a strong sense of national identity and pride in the English past, encouraged educated people in the second half of the sixteenth century to preserve cultural artefacts whose public presence was threatened by the English Reformation. Forrest's interest in the Anglo-Saxon past—however spurious his construction of that past turns out to be—coincided with the beginnings of sixteenth-century English antiquarianism which, I shall argue, provided much of the intellectual justification for Elizabethan collections of pre-Reformation music. Chapter 6 takes the form of a stemmatic analysis of extant votive antiphon sources in order to trace the routes by which collectors and copyists acquired their music. Forrest's recognition that by the early 1570s the musical legacy of the early sixteenth century was all but lost is strikingly consistent with the results of this analysis, as will be seen.

Chapter 5. ‘Songes most excelente: and the best that is made’: motivations to collect music in Elizabethan England

5.1. Introduction

In copying liturgically obsolete music by dead composers, Elizabethan music copyists such as Robert Dow, John Sadler and John Baldwin shared a wider fascination with the pre-Reformation past that emerged during the Elizabethan period. The fact that Elizabethan collections of pre-Reformation music reflect their owners’ attitudes to the past is well-recognised. The word ‘antiquarian’, or the notion that the music was chosen because of, not in spite of, its age, has often been invoked by scholars in the absence of any more concrete explanation for the presence of old music in a manuscript. John Baldwin, for example, has been described by John Bergsagel as ‘well-known as a musical antiquarian’;¹ John Milsom has described his partbooks as ‘the hoard of an antiquarian’.² More recently—as was briefly mentioned in chapter 3—Kerry McCarthy has suggested that copyists may have been motivated by ‘care and concern for old things... a love of tradition and a desire to study the past.’³ However, the use of the word ‘antiquarian’ to describe musical sources has never been thoroughly interrogated, meaning that the ideological implications surrounding its application to the Elizabethan period have gone unnoticed.

In the late sixteenth century and at the turn of the seventeenth, academic interest in artefacts of the past and legendary and historical characters increased in visibility thanks to the work of historians and writers such as William Camden, John Weever and John Stow. There seem to have been two principal reasons for this. Firstly, antiquarian collections of epitaphs and studies of the landscape were bound up with complex developing notions of British and English national identity. Contemporaries saw the collection of images of monuments and the narration of legends about worthy British figures as important aids in constructing a national historical narrative that would allow a Protestant, and relatively isolated, England to maintain its identity on the European stage.⁴ Secondly, as Keith Thomas

¹ Bergsagel, ‘The Forrest-Heyther Collection’, 245.

² John Milsom, ‘Sacred Songs in the Chamber’, 166.

³ McCarthy, ‘Evidence of Things Past’, 409.

⁴ Evidenced in publications such as William Camden, *Britannia* (London, 1590: RSTC 4505) and *Remaines of a greater worke, concerning Britaine, the inhabitants thereof, their languages, names, surnames, empires, wise speeches, poësies, and epitaphs* (London, 1605: RSTC 4521); John Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments within the vnitied monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the islands*

has argued, many Tudor intellectuals, influenced by their reading of the classics, constructed in their rhetoric the image of a semi-mythical political ‘Golden Age’, located either in the recent past or the immediate future. Their resulting pessimism about the present—and sometimes its related optimism about the future—tied in neatly with the Scriptural doctrine of the ‘last days’, marked by a moral decline, which would be swept away by the arrival of the Second Coming.⁵

In the sixteenth century, music could provide a particularly effective *lieu de mémoire*, serving to remind its readers and listeners of a particular aspect of the past.⁶ Its eschatological associations in the modern world are well-recognised.⁷ In early modern Protestant culture, music was believed to provide the link between life on earth and the celestial harmony of eternity, and it was strongly associated with death and memorialisation in the form of elegies and death-songs.⁸ Conversely, the image of music was used elsewhere to symbolise endurance and immortality, in spite of the transience of performance. For example, in his prefatory poem to Tallis and Byrd’s *Cantiones sacrae* Richard Mulcaster described music’s

adiacent (London, 1631: RSTC 25223); William Dugdale, *The history of St. Pauls Cathedral in London from its foundation untill these times extracted out of originall charters, records, leiger books, and other manuscripts, beautified with sundry prospectes of the church, figures of tombes and monuments* (London, 1658: no RSTC number). All of these publications contain transcriptions of epitaphs; the last also contains lavish engraved illustrations of the monuments themselves. See also Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1995), 2-6, 13-14; Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, PA: 2001), 107-109; Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), introduction and ch. 2.

⁵ Keith Thomas, *The Perception of the Past in Early Modern England* (London: University of London, 1983), 15-17.

⁶ See Pierre Nora, ‘Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire’, *Representations*, 26 (1989), 7-24. Nora argues that our need for so-called *lieux de mémoire*, or sites of memory – any commemorative practice, including written histories and the preservation of historical objects – shows that a rupture has taken place between the ‘traditional memory’ of the past, whereby communal knowledge was passed down unselfconsciously as folklore, and our way of viewing the past today. We now feel the need deliberately to construct the past and our memories of it using texts, objects, and ritual. For the educated elites of Elizabethan England—the social group most concerned with antiquarianism and the preservation of music—this change in their approach to memory had already taken place.

⁷ See Philip Bohlman, ‘Music and Culture: Historiographies of Disjuncture’, in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, and Richard Middleton (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 52-4.

⁸ Katherine Butler, ‘Death Songs and Elegies: Singing about Death in Elizabethan England’, *EM*, 43 (2015), 270-71.

ability to weather political storms, remaining in royal favour while lesser arts rise and fall.⁹ As I shall demonstrate shortly, these tropes were connected to a broader literary association of music with the past, which meant that potentially problematic pre-Reformation music could be sublimated into a more universal narrative. In other words, music became a signifier not just of the religious past, but of the past more generally.

This chapter will demonstrate three elements of late-Elizabethan historical thought which encouraged the collection of pre-Reformation music. Firstly, I shall discuss a variety of literature which expresses nostalgia¹⁰ for England's Henrician and Marian past, and shows that music was an integral part of the lifestyle which these writers mourned. This was not always associated specifically with lost religious practices, but could also serve as part of a broader, secularised discourse about the moral superiority of the past compared to the present and the future. Such nostalgic discussions have a politically destabilising effect, akin to that noted by Kristine Johanson in contemporary stage works.¹¹ I shall then show how musical compositions, like any other artistic product, could function as sites of archival memory. As I shall demonstrate, from as early as the fifteenth century copies of musical works could function as *lieux de mémoire*, or in sixteenth-century parlance, 'monuments'. This long precedent ensured that copyists were aware of their role in perpetuating the memories of their composers, and adopted the lexis and appearance of stone monuments in their copies to highlight their memorial function. These 'monumentalisations' have entirely the opposite political effect to contemporary nostalgic writing. By incorporating such commemorative imagery and discourse in their collections and focussing almost exclusively on works by English composers, music copyists aimed to bolster their country's reputation for artistry by

⁹ 'Hoc etiam abtinuit, quo summo iure triumphet,/ Quo vivet, quamvis caetera mortis erunt,/ Regia Maiestas aetatis gloria nostrae/ Hanc in deliciis semper habere solet'. Thomas Tallis and William Byrd, *Cantiones quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (London, 1575: RSTC 23666), superius partbook, f. [Aiii]r.

¹⁰ I use the word 'nostalgia' here in its modern sense, 'Sentimental longing for or regretful memory of a period of the past, esp. one in an individual's own lifetime; (also) sentimental imagining or evocation of a period of the past.' (OED) There is no directly equivalent sixteenth-century term. The word 'nostalgia' first appeared in print in 1688 and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries referred to a kind of homesickness, similar to Robert Burton's notion of 'banishment', which does not adequately describe the sentiment discussed here. Nor is 'melancholy' a suitable term, since this refers to uncontrollable, pathological sadness whereas 'nostalgia' tends to describe a mode of thinking which can be adopted and dropped at will. See Helmut Illbruck, *Nostalgia: Origins and Ends of an Unenlightened Disease* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2012), 5-6.

¹¹ Kristine Johanson, 'Never a Merry World: The Rhetoric of Nostalgia in Elizabethan England', in Alessandra Petrina and Laura Tosi (eds), *Representations of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 210.

recourse to the past, sharing the proto-nationalist aims and means of the contemporary antiquarian movement. Finally, I shall discuss what, in early modern thought, constituted artistic ‘value’ or ‘worth’. This is closely tied to the notion of canon, and I shall discuss how this manifested itself in the sixteenth century to benefit the survival of Fayrfax’s music in particular.

5.2. ‘Heauens handmaid’: Remembering lost music in post-Reformation literature

In comparison to pre-Reformation literature and architecture, pre-Reformation music is discussed only rarely by Elizabethan and Jacobean writers, and the practice of collecting it is met with silence. There are two possible reasons for this. Firstly, while collectors of literary manuscripts were concerned with a long time period extending beyond the Norman Conquest, the preservation and collection of music looked back no earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹² Secondly, to Elizabethan writers, music history did not exist as a serious object of study in the same way that political history and bibliography did. Writings about music are limited to practical advice (such as Morley’s *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musick* of 1597), philosophical debate about the value of music in general, or the promotion of music-making in conduct books as an essential part of education.¹³ On the whole they are not interested in describing past musical practice or extant compositions, unless in the broader context of describing lost Catholic liturgy or practical skills.

For example, the regret expressed by Thomas Whythorne for lost pre-Reformation music was pragmatically rather than sentimentally motivated, inspired by the contraction of the employment market for musicians and, as he saw it, the decline in musical education. In his *Autobiography* he wrote:

¹² Perhaps the most likely reason for the lack of knowledge of earlier music, where it survived, was the difficulty involved in reading fifteenth-century and earlier notation. Thomas Morley argued that knowledge of complex mensural proportions was only useful to enable earlier music to be read: ‘although it be true that the proportions haue not such vse in musicke in that forme as they be nowe vsed, but that the practise may be perfect without them, yet seeing they haue beene in common vse with the musicians of former time, it is necessarie for vs to know them, if we meane to make any profit of their works.’ (Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* [London, 1597: RSTC 18133], 183.) By the beginning of the seventeenth century, knowledge of even simple *tempus perfectum* notation was becoming lost, as evidenced in the many Paston sources (such as *T354-8*, *2035* and *34049*) in which the *tempus perfectum* sections of votive antiphons are rewritten in *tempus imperfectum*: for example, all the *Ave Dei patris* settings that they contain are copied in duple time throughout.

¹³ For example, Thomas Hoby’s translation of Baldassare Castiglione’s *Il Cortegiano: The courtier of Count Baldessar Castilio... done into Englyshe by Thomas Hoby* (London, 1561: RSTC 4778); and Henry Peacham, *The compleat gentleman* (London, 1622: RSTC 19502).

In time past music was chiefly maintained by *Cathedral churches, Abbeys, Colleges, parish churches, Chantries, guilds, fraternities* etc. but when the Abbeys and colleges without the universities, with guilds, and fraternities etc. were suppressed, then went music to decay... ye do and shall see it so slenderly maintained in the cathedral churches and colleges and parish churches that when the old store of the musicians be worn out the which were bred when the music of the church was maintained (which is like to be in short time) ye shall have few or none remaining except it be a few singing men, and players on musical instruments, of the which ye shall find a very few or none that can make a good lesson of discant, and yet these would be named and accounted musicians although there by none worthy of that name except [i.e. unless] they can make songs of 2, 3 4 parts and so upward...¹⁴

In contrast to Whythorne's pragmatic approach, other Elizabethan writers who were not church musicians themselves often spoke of pre-Reformation music with an unambiguous, nostalgic sense of loss. However, this almost always appeared together with expressions of regret for the Dissolution and loss of the monasteries.¹⁵ Perhaps the most well-known example of this phenomenon is found in Shakespeare's Sonnet 73:

THat time of yeare thou maist in mee behold.
When yellow leaves, or none, or few doe hang
Vpon those boughes which shake against the cold
Bare ruin'd quires, where late the sweet birds sang.¹⁶

As is widely understood, this text uses the image of a ruined monastery to illustrate the poet's fading youth. The principal discussion of this sonnet from the perspective of antiquarian studies is by Philip Schwyzer, whose interpretation focuses on the parallels between the 'irredeemable' nature of the monasteries' ruin and the permanent physical decline of the poet.¹⁷ Less well recognised is the fact that the sacred singing of the monks forms an integral

¹⁴ *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne*, ed. James M. Osborn (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 243-5. I have modernised the orthography of this example for ease of reading. Whythorne's impression that music in the Elizabethan Church had experienced a gradual attrition as its practitioners died off or retired is consistent with the slow decline in choral music discussed in chapter 3.

¹⁵ Evidence of nostalgia for the landmarks of the medieval past, especially for the monasteries, has been extensively discussed. See Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) 273-296; Margaret Aston, 'English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 36 (1973), 231-255; Waller, *The Virgin Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern English Literature and Popular Culture*, ch. 5; Eamon Duffy, 'Bare ruin'd choirs: Remembering Catholicism in Shakespeare's England', in *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition: Religion and Conflict in the Tudor Reformations* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 233-255; Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory*, ch. 2; Schwyzer, *Archaeologies of English Renaissance Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), ch. 3.

¹⁶ *Poems: vwritten by Wil. Shake-speare. Gent* (London, 1640: RSTC 22344), ff. [49]^v-[50]^r.

¹⁷ Schwyzer, *Archaeologies*, 101-7. See also Aston, 'English Ruins', 234, n. 8; Duffy, 'Bare ruin'd choirs', 234-5, 250-1.

part of this image: church music is thus closely associated with the golden past remembered by the poet.

Another example is the anonymous treatise *The Rites of Durham*, a description of Durham Cathedral before the Reformation dated 1593. This source speaks in great detail of the lavish rituals and furnishings of the cathedral in the years immediately preceding the Reformation, in a way that implies approval and, by extension, regret for their subsequent loss.¹⁸ There are several references to music or singing, for example:

...after the eleuation of the s^d picture carried by the s^d 2 monkes uppon a faire uelutt cushion all embrodered singinge the anthem of christus resurgens they brought to the high altar settinge that on the midst therof whereon it stood the two monkes kneelinge on their knees before the altar, and senceing it all the time that the rest of the whole quire was in singinge the fores^d anthem of Xpus resurgens, the which anthem beinge ended the 2 monkes tooke up the cushines and the picture from the altar supportinge it betwixt them...¹⁹

Also eu[er]y frydaie at nyghte after that y^e evinsong was done in y^e queir there was an anthem song in y^e bodye of y^e church before y^e foresaid Jh'us alter called Jesus anthe[m] w^{ch} was song eu[er]y frydaie at nyght thorowghe out y^e whole yere by y^e m^r of the quiresters & deacons of y^e said church, and when it was done then y^e quirest[re]s did singe an other anthe[m] by them selues sytting on there kneis all y^e tyme that ther anthem was in singing before y^e said Jesus alter w^{ch} was verie devoutly song eu[er]y fridaie at nyghte by y^e toulling of one of y^e Gallelei Belles.²⁰

For the writer of the *Rites of Durham*, the music of the cathedral formed an integral part of the devotional lives of the monks, impossible to separate from other aspects of the ritual like the vestments, processions, or the ringing of the bells. The narrative focuses on the performed experience of the music, rather than on the compositions themselves.

Given the immense detail and affection with which it describes the old rituals, *The Rites of Durham* is usually understood to have been written by a Catholic: Eamon Duffy describes it as ‘blatantly papistical’.²¹ However, the link between confessional identity and nostalgia for the past is not clear-cut, and there is ample evidence that conforming Church of England writers also wrote with regret of the loss of old rituals and devotional practices, albeit

¹⁸ On *Rites of Durham* see Roger E. Moore, ‘The Hidden History of Northanger Abbey: Jane Austen and the Dissolution of the Monasteries’, *Religion and Literature*, 43 (2011), 63; Duffy, ‘Bare ruin’d choirs’, 246-7; Schwyzer, *Archaeologies*, 80. See also A. I. Doyle, ‘Claxton, William (1530–1597), antiquary’, *ODNB*.

¹⁹ *Rites of Durham, being a Description or Brief Declaration of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites and Customs belonging or being within the Monastical Church of Durham before the Suppression*, Surtees Society vol. 107 (Durham: Andrews & Co. for the Surtees Society, 1903), 12.

²⁰ *Rites of Durham*, 34.

²¹ Duffy, ‘Bare ruin’d choirs’, 247.

often ambivalently. For example, *The Fall of Religious Houses*, a treatise written by the conformist priest Michael Sherbrook, of Rotherham, South Yorkshire, between the 1560s and 1590s,²² describes the Dissolution in a way that condemns its engineers and praises the principles of monastic life, while nevertheless also admitting the decadence of the late monastic institutions. In praise of the solemnity and consistency with which the *opus Dei* was carried out, Sherbrook commented that in the early monasteries,

[there] was no time of the Night that within one House or other God's Service was not devoutly and solemnly said, sung or plaid upon the organs; as the Like is done in Monasteries beyond the Seas at this Day. For they taught and preached Faith and good Works, and practised the same both in word and Deed; not only within the Monasteries and Howses, but also all abroad without.²³

Sherbrook's treatise is not, as Schwyzer suggests, merely 'traditionalist':²⁴ he does not deny that the monasteries had become corrupted. However, he admits that he finds this hard to believe, and he argues (in a manner that now seem surprisingly reasonable and even-handed) that even if their standards had declined this did not justify the dissolution:

Peradventure some Person will say, Thou hast said the best of them; but thou tellest not what vice; as whoredom, superstition and Idolatry was used among them in all Monasteries and Abbeys. No truly, For if there were such Vices among them; (which I do as little allow, as any Protestant, be he never so zealous) it was not to be wondered at: seeing always among good Corn are some Weeds not a few: Yea very filthy and stinking, both in the sight and smell of the good Husbandman, that yet for all that, doth not destroy the Corn for the Weeds; but rather suffereth them to grow until Harvest, that he may save the Corn in his Barn, and burn the Weeds at his Pleasure.²⁵

The *Rites*' and Sherbrook's nostalgic evocations of pre-Reformation ritual and its associated music are also reflected in the partbooks of John Baldwin. Several pieces in each book of the set are ornamented with open-mouthed faces inside their initial letters, which seem to represent singers. In two parts, Byrd's *O salutaris* I in the bassus partbook and Mundy's *Vox patris caelestis* in the contratenor, Baldwin makes it clear that the context in which these cartoon singers are performing is liturgical and almost certainly explicitly pre-Reformation.²⁶ The initial at the start of *O salutaris* contains two singers in profile, facing one another, either side of a free-standing ornamental cross, which most likely represents *alternatim* performance

²² Michael Sherbrook, 'The Fall of Religious Houses', in A. G. Dickens (ed.), *Tudor Treatises* (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1959), 29, 31-2.

²³ *Ibid.*, 94.

²⁴ Schwyzer, *Archaeologies*, 102.

²⁵ Sherbrook, 'The Fall', 98.

²⁶ These copies predate Baldwin's move to the Chapel Royal, in whose services Elizabeth I kept a crucifix on display.

Figure 5a. Mus. 983 (bassus partbook of *Baldwin*), p. 256, showing opening of Byrd's *O salutaris* I and initial letter with singers in profile performing *alternatim*.

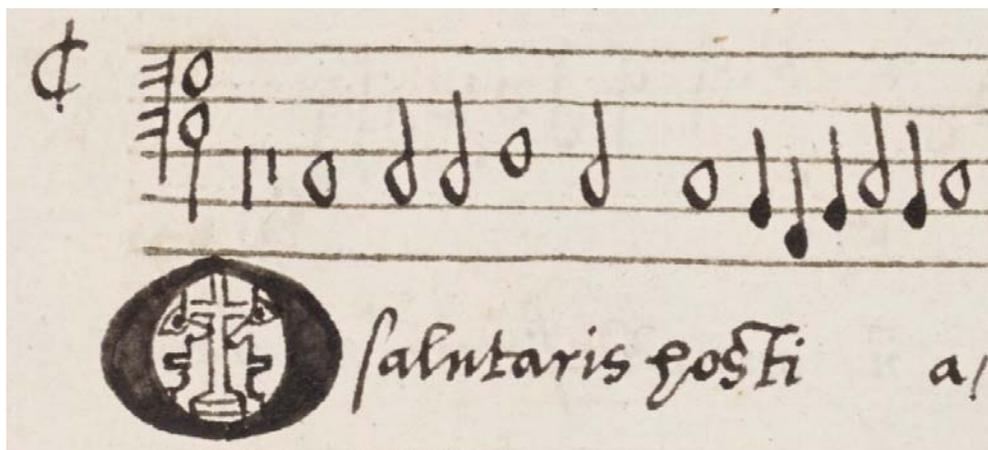
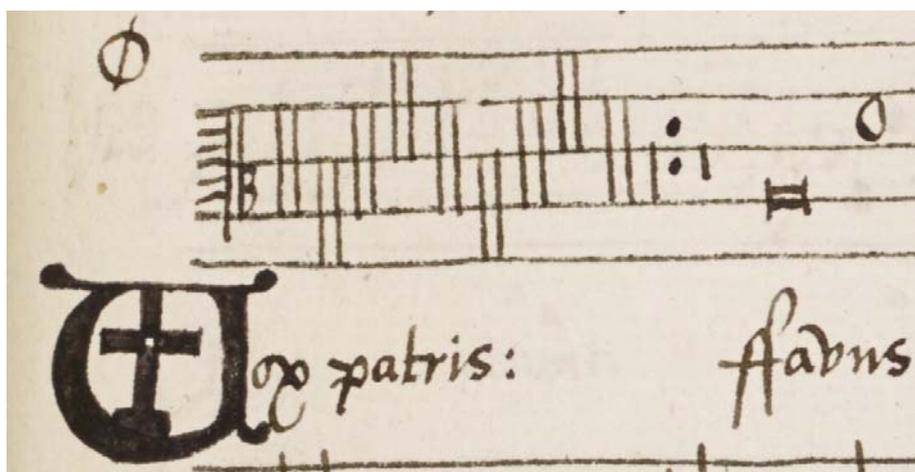


Figure 5b. Mus. 981 (contratenor partbook of *Baldwin*), p. 255, showing opening of Mundy's *Vox patris caelestis* and initial letter with freestanding ornamental cross



practice across the front of an altar (figure 5a.) The initial letter of *Vox patris* contains a similar ornamental cross, this time without singers (figure 5b.) These are the only such examples of explicitly religious imagery in *Baldwin*, and since the two pieces are of different ages and genres there does not seem to be any correlation between the type of piece and the imagery incorporated into its paratext. However, the images show that Baldwin was well aware that the music he copied had previously been inextricably linked with pre-Reformation ritual, and moreover that he wished to evoke this association in his copies.

Nostalgia for music of the past could also appear dissociated from its liturgical origins; for example in *The Mirror of Martyrs*, a versified narrative of the martyrdom of the fifteenth-century Lollard Sir John Oldcastle, written by the antiquarian John Weever and

published in 1601.²⁷ In this text Weever offers perhaps the most wide-ranging literary description of pre-Reformation music surviving from the pen of an Elizabethan Protestant. His description of the music of a chantry chapel in the early fifteenth century reveals a profound sense of loss at its demise, narrated in terms which implicitly attack the establishment that caused its dissolution. Nevertheless, it is full of ambiguity. As Weever's biographer Honigmann suggests, it is possible that the *Mirror* was written as part of Weever's efforts to find himself a patron in the Church.²⁸ As a classic piece of Protestant hagiography, it clearly proclaims Weever's conformism to the established religion, and the way in which it describes the lost chantry is intimately bound up with a more generalised lament for a lost medieval utopia.

Weever's ambivalent attitude to the Reformation is patent throughout the poem. Wearing his Protestant heart on his sleeve, he compares Oldcastle's relatively innocuous death and neglected memory to those of Thomas Becket, whose death was 'glorious' and commemorated with a tomb 'like an Egyptian high Pyramides'.²⁹ The simile aptly conjures up images both of paganism and Eastern decadence, and the mention of Egypt also immediately calls to mind the enslavement of the Israelites under the despotic, hard-hearted Pharaoh, narrated in the book of Exodus. Pharaoh, and by extension the Catholic Church, represents the reprobate, predestined for damnation, whose heart has been hardened by God against the true Church represented by Israel.³⁰ Using Oldcastle's first-person voice as a mouthpiece, Weever praises Henry VIII for having destroyed Becket's tomb, 'this mocke-ape toy, this vaine allurement'.³¹ Nevertheless, his true attitude to iconoclasm is revealed by his order to commemorate Oldcastle as a saint within the Church of England calendar: he asks that the reader '[h]im for a Saint within [their] Kalends hold'.³² Weever's order suggests that the veneration of saints and its opposite, iconoclasm, are both appropriate when they serve the correct ends of true faith and loyalty to the State, but not otherwise. Moreover, his discourse on music—although his regret for its loss is clear—is mediated through highly conventionalised neo-Pythagorean and neo-Platonic rhetoric, effectively neutralising it by

²⁷ John Weever, *The mirror of martyrs, or The life and death of that thrice valiant capitaine, and most godly martyre Sir Iohn Old-castle knight Lord Cobham* (London, 1601: RSTC 25226).

²⁸ E. A. J. Honigmann, *John Weever* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 34.

²⁹ Weever, *The mirror of martyrs*, f. Fiii^r.

³⁰ See Exodus 10:20, 'But the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart, so that he would not let the children of Israel go.' (KJV)

³¹ Weever, *The mirror of martyrs*, f. Fiii^v.

³² *Ibid.*

focusing on its musical characteristics rather than its devotional purpose.

Music is introduced into the narrative of the *Mirror* through a physical encounter with a chantry chapel, a space which before the Reformation would have been continually full of music. As Oldcastle crosses the bridge into the city of Rochester, he passes ‘the sacred church of Trinitie:/ Built by Sir Robert Knowles’.³³ Weever writes that the founders of the chapel and its attached chantry were Sir Robert Knowles and Oldcastle himself.³⁴ The way in which he describes the chantry is therefore significant, because it allows him to gloss over the problems that arise from Oldcastle’s apparent foundation of a chantry for his soul. For Weever/Oldcastle, who hears music emanating from the chantry as he passes, it is less a powerhouse of prayer than of music, ‘where Harmonie for euer should be sounded.’³⁵ His mention of the inherent harmoniousness symbolised and contained within music, and the endowment of the chapel that enabled this harmony to continue in perpetuity, launch a lengthy discourse that contrasts the eternal beauty of music, represented by the perpetual chantry, with the fragility and transience of life. Weever/Oldcastle invokes classic neo-Pythagorean rhetoric in his praise of music: it is ‘supposd of Pithagoreans,/ to be the speares and heauenly bodies motion’; ‘one of the liberall arts’; ‘The cowards courage to vphold his armes,/ The valiant mans encountering fresh alarmes’; ‘reformer of the manners’. It is simultaneously a solace, a ‘technology of self’³⁶ allowing the modification of emotions and behaviour, and a potential means of seduction, as evidenced in a series of classical allusions. In its heavenliness, the music reminds Oldcastle of his own old age and the corrupt state of the world—especially of the Church—compared to England’s ancient past. The world, he says, is ‘wylie’: she “builds high roofes with ruines of the Church,/ Sels lyes for nothing, nothing for too much;/ Faith for three farthings’. He urges that it should continue to ‘wax old, a new the sooner to be borne,/ Meane while encrease, thou maist decrease thereby,/ At length

³³ Ibid., f. [Bvii]^r.

³⁴ Weever’s source of information here is somewhat muddled. While one founder was indeed Robert Knollys, the other founder was in fact Oldcastle’s father-in-law, the previous Baron Cobham. It is curious that neither the anonymous play, *Sir John Oldcastle*, published the previous year, nor Foxe’s narrative of Oldcastle’s martyrdom, mention this chantry: the mistake is clearly Weever’s own. Perhaps this is not surprising: as Graham Parry has observed, Weever’s antiquarian knowledge is often unreliable despite his enthusiasm for the subject. Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, 195-7.

³⁵ Weever, *The mirror of martyrs*, f. [Bvii]^r.

³⁶ This phrase is Tia DeNora’s: see DeNora, *Music in Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), ch. 3.

wax old, and last for euer die.³⁷

Weever's classically-inspired description of music's beauty is entirely typical of the period. Writers defending music drew upon a variety of references, including music's role in Christian worship, as sanctioned by references in both the Old and New Testaments; neo-Pythagorean teaching on music's influence over the human body and as a reflection of the cosmos; nature; and classical myth.³⁸ The positive aspects of music that they invoked were completely independent of its verbal text, if one was present. One example illustrating this kind of rhetoric is found in Samuel Rowley's play, *When You See Me You Know Me*, a fictionalised dramatic rendering of Henry VIII's life focusing on his religious reforms, first published in 1605.³⁹ The composer Christopher Tye appears in the play as tutor to the future Edward VI. In answer to Prince Edward's worry that, although he himself loves music,

yet there are a sort
Seeming more pure than wise, that will vpbrayd at it,
Calling it idle, vaine, and friuolous

Tye replies that,

Musicke is heauenly, for in Heauen is Musicke,
For there the Seraphins doe sing continually,
And when the best was borne, that euer was man,
A Quire of Angels sang for joy of it,
What of Celestiall was reueald to man,
Was much of Musicke, tis sayd the beasts did worship
And sang before the Deitie supernall,
The kingly Prophet sang before the Arke,
And with his Musicke charmd the heart of *Saule*,
And if the Poet fayle vs not my Lord,
The dulcet tongue of Musicke made the stones
To mooue, irrationall beast, and birds to daunce
And last, the Trumpets Musicke shall awake the dead,
And cloath their naked bones in coates of flesh,
T'appeare in that high house of Parliament,
When those that gnash their Teeth at Musicke sound,
Shall make that place where Musicke nere was found.⁴⁰

³⁷ Ibid., ff. [Bvii]^v –Cii^r.

³⁸ For more on praise of music literature see Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, ch. 1; Marsh, *Music and Society*, ch. 1; Linda Phyllis Austern, 'Nature, Culture, Myth, and the Musician in Early Modern England', *JAMS*, 51 (1998), 1-47. See also *The praise of musicke wherein besides the antiquitie, dignitie, delectation, & vse thereof in ciuill matters, is also declared the sober and lawfull vse of the same in the congregation and church of God* (Oxford, 1586: RSTC 20184).

³⁹ Samuel Rowley, *When you see me, you know me. Or the famous chronicle historie of King Henry the eight, with the birth and vertuous life of Edward Prince of Wales As it was playd by the high and mightie Prince of Wales his seruants* (London, 1605: RSTC 21417).

⁴⁰ Rowley, *When you see me*, f. [28]^{r-v}.

Tye's defence invokes both religious and classical imagery: the singing of angels, the sounding of the trumpet at the Last Judgment, and the music of the mythical musician Orpheus, whose music supposedly tamed wild beasts. Many of these tropes were also used by the copyist Robert Dow in the annotations to his partbooks.⁴¹ For example, his books open with a copy of a poem by Walter Haddon, describing how music has been practised by the gods Cupid, Venus and Apollo; how it 'strengthens the minds of men' ('mentes tenuit virorum'); how it 'casts down mountains, seas and trees' ('montes et aquas et ornos sede removit') and how it is a 'cure for a sorrowful mind' ('mentis medicina maestae'), and there are other examples in the books written by Dow himself which express the same ideas. Together, his inscriptions, Rowley's defence of music and Weever's description of the music reflect some of the many associations that music could carry in Elizabethan England, as sound structures independent of any verbal texts.

Weever's positive description of the music Oldcastle hears is, however, extraordinarily ironic. We know, and Weever knew, what Oldcastle did not: that the joke is no longer on the aging Oldcastle, but on the chantry itself. In Oldcastle's imagination as he walks through the city of Rochester, the music of the chantry continues to praise God forever, frozen in time, while the outside world crumbles around it. But by the time Weever wrote the *Mirror* nearly two hundred years later, the chantry had been dissolved, and the resulting dramatic irony has the effect of projecting Oldcastle's lament for the state of the world and his own youth onto the demise of the chantry. Weever thus invokes the association of the dissolution with death and decay which is familiar from Shakespeare's 'bare ruined choirs'. The now-dissolved chantry no longer provides a contrast with the rest of the world; it, too, has been cast down, despite the worthiness of its music, which is portrayed as a tragic victim of the Reformation longed for by Oldcastle. This positive portrayal of pre-Reformation church music, in the context of a Protestant hagiography, is highly significant. In the view of Weever/Oldcastle, thanks to its heavenly properties the music of the chantry was not inherently bad, and did not require destroying in the way that the old order of the Catholic Church did.

The nostalgic evocations of pre-Reformation music by Shakespeare, Weever and Sherbrook suggest that conformist members of the Church of England might maintain an affection for pre-Reformation music. Given the many continuities of belief throughout the

⁴¹ Katherine Butler, 'In Praise of Music: Motets, Inscriptions and Musical Philosophy in Robert Dow's Partbooks', *EM* (forthcoming), 13pp.

English Reformations which were discussed in chapter 3, we should not be surprised that among Elizabethan copyists, Sadler at least, who was born in 1513, wanted to preserve the remnants of his youth. Furthermore, popular contemporary ideas in praise of music, as the *Mirror*'s discussion of the chantry and Dow's annotations suggest, seem to have encouraged the collection of pre-Reformation music by promoting music's value independently of its text. This allowed it to maintain its usefulness after its original context had disappeared and, perhaps, transcend its problematic origins. There were, however, other, more ideologically charged reasons to preserve pre-Reformation music in manuscript collections besides appreciation of its qualities as sound.

5.3. Music books and fin-de-siècle antiquarianism

The fashion for copying pre-Reformation sacred music by English composers, which seems to have emerged in the late 1560s and peaked around the 1590s, coincided with an increased interest in preserving church monuments, tombs, prehistoric structures in the landscape and medieval books found in institutions around the island of Great Britain. Early seventeenth-century antiquarian writers such as William Camden and John Weever, following in the footsteps of John Leland and John Bale, aimed to preserve worthy artistic products, or 'monuments', of the medieval past and protect them from being destroyed or sold. This would preserve the memory of their country's past for the future—or, to use the common sixteenth-century term, for 'posterity', constructing a strong narrative of nationhood through artefacts and texts.

Significantly for the study of musical antiquarianism, these early antiquarians allowed for a wide definition of what a monument could be. In 1631 John Weever opened his *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, a vast survey of church tombs, by explaining this broad category:

A Monument is a thing erected, made, or written, for a memoriall of some remarkable action, fit to bee transferred to future posterities. And thus generally taken, all religious Foundations, all sumptuous and magnificent Structures, Cities, Townes, Towers, Castles, Pillars, Pyramides, Crosses, Obeliskes, Amphitheatres, Statues, and the like, as well as Tombes and Sepulchres, are called Monuments. Now aboue all remembrances (by which men haue endeouored, euen in despight of death to giue vnto their Fames eternitie) for worthinesse and continuance, bookes, or writings, haue euer had the preheminance.

*Marmora Maeonij vincunt monimenta libelli;
Viuitur ingenio, caetera mortis erunt.*⁴²

The Muses workes stone-monuments out last;
'Tis wit keepes life, all else death will downe cast.⁴³

Weever's emphasis on 'The Muses workes'—that is, all forms of writing, prose, poetry and historiography—as potential monuments echoes the much earlier, mid-sixteenth-century conservation missions of Leland and Bale.⁴⁴ John Leland described his treatise *De viris illustribus* as containing 'who hath bene learned and who hath written from tyme to tyme in this realme... the names of them wyth their lyues and monumentes of learnynge,' suggesting that books could function as a memorial of their authors.⁴⁵ Both he and Bale believed that the book collections of monastic libraries fulfilled a worthy purpose as a monument to the past even though the monasteries themselves were deplorable. According to Bale, the only good afforded by monastic libraries was the books by ancient British authors which they contained: 'Neuer had we bene offended for the losse of our lybraryes, beyng so many in nombre, and in so desolate places for the more parte, yf the chief monumentes and moste notable workes of our excellent wryters, had bene reserued.'⁴⁶ Leland's stated aim to Henry VIII in his conservation mission in the 1530s was to save the books from their unholy surroundings: 'to peruse and dylygentlye to searche all the lybraryes of Monasteryes and collegies of thys your noble realme, to the entent that the monumentes of auntyent wryters, as wel of other nacyons as of your owne prouynce, myghte be brought out of deadly darkenesse to lyuelye light, and to receyue lyke thankes of their posteryte'.⁴⁷ In Weever's own lifetime, collectors such as Robert Cotton maintained libraries full of texts salvaged from dissolved institutions.⁴⁸

⁴² This epigram was attributed to Virgil in some sources, for example Geoffrey Whitney, *A choice of emblemes, and other deuises, for the moste parte gathered out of sundrie writers, Englished and moralized. And diuers newly deuised* (Leiden, 1586: RSTC 25438), 131; Obadiah Walker, *Periamma 'epidemion, or, Vulgar errors in practice censured* (London, 1659: no RSTC number), 79.

⁴³ Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments*, 1.

⁴⁴ On these archaeological missions see Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory*, 60-75.

⁴⁵ John Bale, *The laboryouse iourney [and] serche of Iohan Leylande, for Englandes antiquitees geuen of hym as a newe yeares gyfte to Kynge Henry the viij. in the. xxxvij. yeare of his reygne, with declaracyons enlarged* (London, 1549: RSTC 15445), f. [Cvii]^v.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, f. Bi^f.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, f. [Bviii]^f.

⁴⁸ On Robert Cotton's libraries, see Colin Tite, *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton* (London: British Library, 1994); Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, 70-94; Jennifer Summit, *Memory's Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 136-196.

The most popular objects of interest for Elizabethan and Jacobean antiquarians were funerary monuments, which attracted interest from the very highest echelons of society.⁴⁹ However, the mission to preserve them was tainted with ambivalence thanks to the inescapable associations between the past and the old religion, and particularly between memorialisation and the doctrine of purgatory. Funerary monuments produced before the Reformations aimed to solicit prayers for the commemorated person's soul. Inscriptions and epitaphs normally contained a direct call to prayer in the form of the phrase 'orate pro anima' or 'orate pro animabus'.⁵⁰ When such tombs survived into the reign of Elizabeth, they served as a reminder of the outlawed doctrines of the medieval Catholic Church. And yet they also carried scope for reinterpretation. When viewed through Elizabethan Protestant eyes, monuments could still be a force for good by inviting the onlooker to emulate the virtue of the person commemorated and, by memorialising their worthy career, bring honour to their family and the nation.⁵¹ This ambivalence is patent in the official declaration of support for the preservation of monuments, 'A Proclamation against breaking or defacing of Monumentes of antiquitie, being set vp in Churches or other publique places for memory, and not for superstition', dated 19 September 1560, which recognised

that by the meanes of sundry people, partly ignoraunt, partely malicious or couetous, there hath ben of late yeres spoyled and broken, certayne auncient Monumentes, some of metall, some of stone, whiche were erected vp aswell in Churches, as in other publique places within this Realm, only to shewe a memory to the posteritie of the persons there buried, or that had ben benefactours to the buyldynges or dotations of the same Churches or publique places, and not to noryshe any kynde of superstition. By whiche meanes, not onely the Churches and places remayne at this present day spoyled, broken, and ruinated, to thoffence of all noble and gentle heartes, and thextinguyshyng of the honorable and good memory of sundrye vertuous and noble persons deceased : but also the true vnderstanding of diuers families in this Realme (who haue descended of the bloud of the same persons deceased) is thereby so darkened, as the true course of theyr inheritance may be hereafter interrupted, contrary to Justice, besydes many other offences that hereof do ensue, to the sclauder of suche as eyther gaue or had charge in tymes paste onely to deface monumentes of Idolatry, and false fayned Images in Churches and Abbeys.⁵²

⁴⁹ In 1572/3, Elizabeth I rebuilt the tombs of her Yorkist ancestors at the Church of St Mary and All Saints, Fotheringhay. See Sofija Matich and Jennifer S. Alexander, 'Creating and Recreating the Yorkist Tombs in Fotheringhay Church (Northamptonshire)' *Church Monuments*, 26 (2011), 82-103, 150.

⁵⁰ Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Farnham, 2008), 99-100.

⁵¹ Ibid., 103-110; Nigel Llewellyn, 'Honour in Life, Death and in the Memory: Funeral Monuments in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6 (1996), 180-181.

⁵² TNA SP 12/13 (19 September 1560), *SPO*, document number MC4304182212.

The proclamation stated that it was an offence to deface any image of royalty, tomb or monument, or to break any stained glass without permission. However, the proclamation does not criticise iconoclasm *per se*. Indeed, the reference to ‘false fayned Images’ implicitly supports those who wanted to destroy all remnants of Catholic devotion.⁵³ There was, therefore, a conflict between this tolerance of iconoclasm, and the desire to preserve the memorials of medieval worthies, which could be negotiated through a mental adjustment in the way monuments were read.

As with stone monuments, those concerned with the preservation of monastic libraries retained a degree of ambivalence towards their objects. The mid-century urge to preserve the contents of monastic libraries was selective and had a specific political purpose: it aimed to seek ancient precedent for the notion of an English empire, independent from the Roman Church. Patriotic collectors from the 1530s onwards studied ancient chronicles and literary texts, especially from the Anglo-Saxon period, to find out as much as possible about England’s supposed golden age before the ascendance of papal authority. Anything outside these aims was destroyed, including books which appeared to promote the papal supremacy, or which included fairy stories or magic,⁵⁴ and because of their potential value to religious rebels, pre-Reformation liturgical books. Between 1549 and 1553 and again from 1559 these books could easily be used in a revival of Catholic worship. This may have been the case in the 1569 Northern Rebellion: several of the surviving witness statements make it clear that participants were questioned about where the rebels acquired the service books they used, although none of them either knew or were willing to admit the answer.⁵⁵ Chant books seem also to have been hidden away to serve as a locus of hope for those who still wished for a reversal of the Elizabethan religious changes.⁵⁶ In St David’s in 1571 the Cathedral sexton,

⁵³ On the destruction of funerary images, see Nigel Llewellyn, ‘John Weever and English Funeral Monuments of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’ (PhD thesis: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1983), 74-94.

⁵⁴ On the selective nature of late sixteenth-century book collecting see Jennifer Summit, ‘Monuments and Ruins: Spenser and the Problem of the English Library’, *English Literary History*, 70 (2003), 6-15; Summit, *Memory’s Library*, 101-135.

⁵⁵ William Hardinge’s testimony is typical: ‘He was not at Holmes’ sermond, nor war reconciled privilye or openly... nor knoweth not from whenc any books or ornaments cam, or what worde of them’. *Depositions and Other Ecclesiastical Proceedings from the Courts of Durham*, 158f.

⁵⁶ This policy had paid dividends in Edward VI’s reign. A recent study by Aude de Mezérac-Zanetti has argued that many Tudor liturgical books show signs of having been defaced in the Henrician reforms and then restored under Mary, revealing that they must have been kept during Edward’s reign in case of a reversal of the religious settlement. The Marian authorities must have been aware that most parishes could still access the necessary books, as a new manual was not issued until 1554 and a

Elis ap Hywel, was found to possess a large collection of ‘certain vngodly popish books: as masse books, Hympnalls, Grailes, Antiphoners, and suche like (as it were loking for a day)’. That day never came: the precentor of the Cathedral, Thomas Huett, ‘caused the said ungodly books to be canceld and torne in pieces in the Vestrie before his face’.⁵⁷ Pricksong books were also included in the destruction. In 1567 Matthew Parker, in his capacity as official Visitor of All Souls, Oxford, ordered the Warden and Fellows to send to him at Lambeth all the ‘divers monuments of superstition’ which the college still retained. The schedule enclosed with the letter listed some of these ‘monuments’ identified by the college’s visitors, all of which were service books, and which included ‘a great pricksong book of parchment... one other pricksong book of vellum, covered with a hart’s skin... [and] 5 other of paper, bound in parchment.’⁵⁸ It is clear from these descriptions that Parker was referring to two choirbooks and a set of five partbooks, perhaps even the partbooks partly copied by William Forrest in 1544/5 (see p. 182, above). They reveal his belief that polyphonic music books could be just as damaging to reformed religion—and just as useful to the seditious—as graduals, missals and antiphoners.

The nationwide success of this destructive mission is apparent from the remarkably tiny number of Henrician pricksong manuscripts that survive. Those that do survive probably fell out of use long before the Elizabethan visitations: no polyphonic manuscript survives that is known to have been in regular use at the end of the reign of Mary I. Most, if not all, pre-Reformation pricksong books that now survive and whose provenance is known had fallen out of use by 1559, and therefore had been in private hands—or otherwise out of reach—for some time by the time of the visitations. This was certainly the case with *Eton*, which was rebound at the beginning of Mary I’s reign to fulfil the urgent demand for Latin-texted repertoire, but was replaced with more up-to-date repertoire in 1557 and so seems to have been retired from service before the Elizabethan Settlement.⁵⁹ *Ph* probably never saw active use and found its home safely on library shelves, rather than in church.⁶⁰ *Lambeth*, meanwhile (assuming David Skinner’s hypothesis of its provenance is correct) had been owned privately

new processional not until 1555. ‘The Restoration of the Mass under Mary I’, unpublished paper given at the Reformation Studies Colloquium, Newcastle University (15 September 2016).

⁵⁷ Quoted in Sally Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture before 1650* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 170.

⁵⁸ John Bruce and Thomas Thomason Brown (eds), *Correspondence of Matthew Parker, D. D.* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2005), 297.

⁵⁹ Williamson, ‘The Eton Choirbook’, 440-41.

⁶⁰ Sandon, ‘The Henrician Partbooks Belonging to Peterhouse’, 7-8; 118-121.

by the Fitzalan family from Arundel College's dissolution in 1544,⁶¹ the fate of *FH* in the 1540s was discussed in chapter 4. Visitation articles issued for various dioceses and cathedrals reveal that pricksong books were often taken into private ownership at the time of the Elizabethan Settlement and were thus out of reach of the visitors. Bishop Sandys's visitation articles for Worcester diocese, compiled in 1569, include an instruction to find out 'whether there be any Latin books, Mass books, grails, portesses, or such other book of popery reserved in your church or in any private man's hand, who hath the keeping of them.'⁶² The same year, in Norwich diocese, the injunctions demanded 'whether you know of any popish and superstitious books, images, vestments, and suchlike remaining within your parish and in whose hands they be.'⁶³ Grindal's articles for the Province of York compiled in 1571—in the immediate aftermath of the Northern Rebellion and *Regnans in excelsis*—are particularly detailed, and ask

[whether]... every antiphoners, mass-book, grails, portesses, processional, manuals, legendaries, and all other books of late belonging to your church or chapel, which served for the superstitious Latin service, be utterly defaced, rent, and abolished, and if they be not, through whose default that is, and at whose keeping they remain.⁶⁴

That so few Henrician music books survive today is testament, at least in part, to the zeal with which such visitations were carried out. Whatever people's attitude to the music contained in old service books, the vast majority of the books themselves must have been given up to destruction, and re-use of their constituent materials, in the first two decades of Elizabeth's reign.

5.4. Remembering the composer in late-fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sources

While music books were viewed with suspicion at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, attitudes to the pieces they contained seem to have been rather different. As we have seen, John Bale, John Leland and John Weever recognised that works of literature could serve as monuments to their authors, allowing future readers to learn from their example. So too could musical works commemorate their composers: like funeral effigies erected before the Reformation, their useful didactic purpose allowed them, in some cases, to survive the perils

⁶¹ Skinner, 'Discovering the Provenance of the Caius and Lambeth Choirbooks', 258-62.

⁶² Frere and Kennedy (eds), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, iii. 226.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 210.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 255.

of mid-century religious change. The possibility that a piece of music could serve to preserve its composer's memory had been voiced in the fifteenth century by Tinctoris:

I say nothing of the very many distinguished musicians who have been presented with outstanding wealth and dignities, for although they have obtained honours from them, these are not at all to be compared with the immortal fame that the first composers have prolonged for themselves.⁶⁵

This idea is also well illustrated in John Baldwin's commonplace book, which concludes with a poem listing and praising the many composers represented in the collection.⁶⁶ One of the main points in this rather rambling text is that the music of English composers should be preserved in order to allow them to be remembered with praise.⁶⁷

O famus man of skill: and iudgemente greate profoude:-
lett heaven and earth ringe out: thy worthy praise to sownde:-
ney lett thy skill it selfe: thy worthie fame recorde:-
to all posterie: thy due deserte afforde⁶⁸

Specifically, Baldwin wished the music to be remembered for 'posterie' (that is, posterity) in order to remind future musicians to remember the composers' 'worthie fame'. Baldwin, at this time a singing man at St George's Chapel, Windsor, was constantly surrounded by music as both performer and copyist. Presumably in this text he refers primarily to the music which was not part of the Chapel's daily repertoire, and yet which he considered worthy of being copied in his extensive collection: secular pieces, and Latin motets, masses and antiphons by both English and mainland European composers, many of which had formed part of the Sarum liturgy (in the case of the mass settings and responds) or which promoted decidedly 'superstitious' doctrine.⁶⁹

That it was the composers' personalities, careers and talent, not just the music, that Baldwin wished to commemorate is clear from annotations in his set of partbooks. Of especial

⁶⁵ Quoted from *Complexus effectuum musices* (c. 1481-3) in Rob Wegman, 'From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450-1500', *JAMS*, 49 (1996), 461. Outside this discourse of memorialisation, old music was barely cultivated and had a very limited following. See Jessie Ann Owens, 'Music Historiography and the Definition of "Renaissance"', *Notes*, 47 (1990), 306-324.

⁶⁶ An analytical commentary on this poem can be found in Hilary Gaskin, 'Music Copyists in Late Sixteenth-Century England', 29-32.

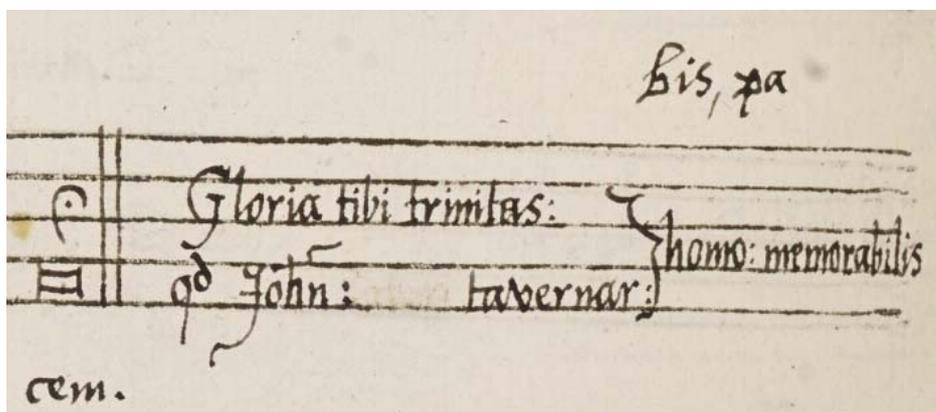
⁶⁷ Baldwin names White, Sheppard, Tye, Tallis, Parsons, Giles, Mundy 'th'oulde' (that is, William), Mundy 'yonge' (John), Byrd, 'and like wysse others moe'. The mention of Sheppard is especially significant as a long-deceased composer, much of whose music was written under the Marian regime.

⁶⁸ F. 190^r. See Roger Bray, 'British Library, R.M. 24 d 2 (John Baldwin's Commonplace Book): An Index and Commentary', *RMARC*, 12 (1974), 150-51.

⁶⁹ See Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', 166.

interest is his description of John Taverner, beside his copy of the Mass *Gloria tibi Trinitas* (see figure 5c.) Unusually, Baldwin's inscription, and the format it takes, is identical in three of the surviving partbooks: Mus. 979, 980 and 983. Following the attribution is the epithet 'homo memorabilis', 'memorable man'.

Figure 5c. Mus. 979, p. 242 (John Taverner, Mass *Gloria tibi Trinitas*, Agnus Dei)



Baldwin's emphasis on the figure of the composer followed long precedent in manuscript. One particularly early example, from the late fifteenth century, is *Ritson*, a book of sacred and secular carols and other sacred pieces copied over a long period of time by several scribes.⁷⁰ Many of the pieces are attributed. Some of the attributions—like those to Smert on ff. 20^v and 52^v—are in a very large, calligraphic hand, and draw the viewer's attention almost at the expense of the music they accompany. The attributions to Smert and Trouluffe on three carols which bear both their names, on ff. 40^v and 41^r, and ff. 56^v-58^r,⁷¹ incorporate short vernacular phrases which seem to have been personal mottoes of the two composers: 'Well fare thyn herte, sayde Smert'; 'hyt ys gode to be gracios sayde John Trouluffe'; 'Sozfte & esely sayde Trouluffe'; 'Well ffare 3eur hertys, sayde Smert'. In Smert's case both mottoes (on ff. 41^r and 58^r) are very similar, and are in different hands. His motto creates a 'persona' for himself, transferable from scribe to scribe, which was well-known and could serve as his mark of identification.

Further examples of early interest in attribution can be found in *Eton*, copied in the early sixteenth century. Almost all of the pieces it contains are attributed, including pieces

⁷⁰ On *Ritson* and its contents see John E. Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 5-10; David Fallows, 'English Song Repertories of the Mid-Fifteenth Century', *PRMA*, 103 (1976), 61-79; Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 421.

⁷¹ On Smert and Trouluffe see Nicholas Orme, 'The Early Musicians of Exeter Cathedral', *M&L*, 59 (1978), 401-3.

found only in the index, and several of these attributions, as in *Ritson*, reveal a fascination with the figure of the composer. The Magnificat by the Monk of Stratford is attributed on f. 122^v to ‘dompn[us] Will[im][us] Stratford monachus stratfordie’, an annotation which displays a concern for the composer’s status as the only monk whose music is found in the manuscript. A second example comprises a coat of arms, identified by Magnus Williamson as probably belonging to John Browne and found on f. 90^r inside one of the decorated initials of his *O mater venerabilis*.⁷² If these arms are those of Browne, then their inclusion affords him the same status within the manuscript as its probable patron, the provost of Eton College Henry Bost, the college’s founder William Waynflete, and the college itself, all of whose arms are included elsewhere in the manuscript. Browne probably acquired the right to use lilies in his arms from either Eton or Oxford, so their presence commemorates a particularly prestigious stage in his career. John Baldwin’s inscriptions, in similar fashion to those concerning Hawte and the Monk of Stratford, usually include the composer’s place of work and any academic titles they held, and if there was space he added their position within their institution. His practice thus followed a pattern common in contemporary printed volumes.⁷³ Robert White, for example, is described by Baldwin variously as ‘m^r Ro whyte batcheler of munsicke’ (Mus. 979, p. 62); ‘m^r R whytte of westminster’ (Mus. 979, p. 155); and ‘m^r Ro whytt batchelar of art batchelar of musick organist of westminster and m^r of the children of the same’ (Mus. 983, p. 282). As in sixteenth-century print, it seems likely that such references to composers’ occupation and social status were designed to impart prestige-by-association to the compositions they accompany, implicitly justifying the presence of such pieces within the collection.

⁷² Williamson, ‘The Eton Choirbook’, 497, 508.

⁷³ See Kirsten Gibson: ‘Author, Musician, Composer: Creator? Figuring Musical Creativity in Print at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century’, in Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard (eds), *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), 76f. Similar printed examples include Christopher Tye, *The Actes of the Apostles, translated into Englyshe metre* (London, 1553: RSTC 2983), ‘by Christofer Tye,/ Doctor in musyke, and one of the/ gentylnen of hys graces moste honourable chappell’; Thomas Morley, *Canzonets. Or Little short songs to three voyces* (London, 1593: RSTC 18121), ‘By/ Thomas Morley,/ Bachiler of Musicke, and one/ of the Gent. of hir Maiesties Royall/ CHAPPEL.’; John Dowland, *A pilgrimes solace* (London, 1612: RSTC 7098), ‘By *John Douland*, Batchelor of Musicke in/ both the Vniuersities: and Lutenist to the/ Right Honourable the/ Lord Walden.’ The custom of defining composers primarily in relation to an institution was also common on the Continent; however, according to Rob Wegman, it had mostly ended by the 1540s and, unlike in England, never seems to have been a feature of music publishing. Wegman’s examples are taken from institutional accounts and literary sources. Rob Wegman, ‘From Maker to Composer’, 409-11.

Such modes of attribution reveal the ambiguous status of the sixteenth-century composer. The constant reference to institutional roles, even as late as the turn of the seventeenth century, show that the composer had not yet been ‘liberated from the traditional power and restraint of ecclesiastical and aristocratic dignitaries’: according to Lydia Goehr, this process took place in the late eighteenth century and provided the crucial step towards both our modern conception of ‘composer’ as a discrete societal role, and the ‘separability principle’ whereby music ostensibly loses its need for a social or ritual function.⁷⁴ Furthermore, the interest in composers’ careers apart from their compositions suggests that they did not yet possess what Michel Foucault has termed the ‘author-function’; that is, a status independent from their paid employment which was dependent entirely on their canon of compositions.⁷⁵ Unlike the composer today, a sixteenth-century composer was not equivalent to the aggregate of their works, but derived their status through their non-musical societal role.

Nonetheless, detailed attributions in both print and manuscript would have been unnecessary and ineffective were it not for certain assumptions about the role and importance of the composer as author. A piece attributed to a socially prominent musician gained validation and proof of its quality by association. To sixteenth-century purchasers, copyists and publishers of music, attributed works were preferred to anonymous ones for this reason.⁷⁶ At the same time, so did the copying of music with elaborate attributions set down in permanent form a record of a composer’s career.⁷⁷ Indeed, it has even been argued that the wide dissemination of a writer’s or a musician’s name in print, and the unique way in which printed volumes depicted their creators, had a profound generating effect on the figure of the

⁷⁴ Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 206-8 at 206, 157.

⁷⁵ On the author-function see Michel Foucault, ‘What is an Author?’, in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, trans. by Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 113-138 at 122.

⁷⁶ Attributed works average about 57% of the manuscripts inventoried by *Tudor Partbooks*, as of 19 May 2016 (<www.tudorpartbooks.ac.uk/outputs/inventories/>). This average rises to 68% when *Caius*, *Ph*, *UJ*, *Carver*, *24d2*, *2035*, *Dow*, *Lambeth*, *GB-Lbl* Royal 11. E. xi and *Eton* are included. See also Gibson, ‘Author, Musician, Composer: Creator?’, 76-7.

⁷⁷ According to Kirsten Gibson, John Dowland’s ‘reputation was both enhanced through the widespread dissemination of his music in print and, conversely, used to make printed editions containing his work appealing to the print-buying public.’ Gibson, ‘“How Hard an Enterprise It Is”: Authorial Self-Fashioning in John Dowland’s Printed Books’, *EMH*, 26 (2007), 55.

author, or the composer, as we now know it.⁷⁸ This role could also be fulfilled by manuscript copies and their accompanying paratext in repertoires which were not transmitted in print. Moreover, even if the composer *per se* had yet to come into existence in sixteenth-century England, from the beginning of the century the act of composition was still viewed with admiration, a source of status to the musician and considered worthy of recording in exceptional cases. This is shown in the attribution to Richard Davy of the votive antiphon *O Domine caeli terraeque* in *Eton*. The scribe recorded at the foot of f. 59^r of the manuscript that Davy composed the piece in a single day: ‘hanc antiphona composuit Ricardus Davy vno die colle[gi]o magda[le]ne Oxoniis’. This is neatly penned in red ink, carefully spaced and centred in the space available like the *Ritson* attributions, and is an integral part of the *mise-en-page*. It records both the place and the process of composition, implicitly praising Davy’s facility as a composer and memorialising the act of composing the antiphon. This annotation is closely comparable to mainland European anecdotes and descriptions of composers of the same period, especially the famous letter written in 1502 from Gian de Artiganova to Ercole d’Este, which praises Heinrich Isaac’s ability to write quickly:

I must notify Your Lordship that Isaac the singer has been in Ferrara, and has made a motet on a fantasy entitled ‘La mi la so la so la mi’ which is very good, and he made it in two days. From this one can only judge that he is very rapid in the art of composition; besides, he is good-natured and easy to get along with, and it seems to me that he is the right man for Your Lordship.⁷⁹

As Rob Wegman has suggested, the ability to produce new pieces of music quickly and to order was not one necessarily demanded of composers in the fifteenth century.⁸⁰ Isaac’s and Davy’s talent for rapid composition was therefore a rather unusual one, and one that was highly valued.⁸¹ By choosing to record the time it took Davy to finish *O Domine caeli terraeque* in a polished and beautiful presentation manuscript, the scribe made a conscious decision to record Davy’s rare compositional ability for the future.

By the Elizabethan period, music’s well-established association with death and the past seems to have contributed further to the practice of using it to commemorate its composer. The form and function of epitaphs was often invoked by Elizabethan writers and

⁷⁸ Ibid., 45-7; Alan Sinfield, ‘Poetaster, the Author, and the Perils of Cultural Production’, *Renaissance Drama*, 27 (1996), 10.

⁷⁹ Quoted in Wegman, ‘Who was Josquin?’, in Richard Sherr (ed.), *The Josquin Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 38.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 39-40.

⁸¹ See also Paula Higgins, ‘The Apotheosis of Josquin des Prez and Other Mythologies of Musical Genius’, *JAMS*, 57 (2004), 461.

artists in order to evoke the ideas of memory, finality and annihilation.⁸² In other words, the text found on a monument, which added specificity of person and place to an anonymous stone structure, could retain its function in isolation from the structure itself, and indeed could serve to symbolise and call to mind that structure in other contexts. One early example of the application of this phenomenon to music is the copy of Robert Wylkynson's 9-part *Salve regina*, in *Eton*. Inside the initial of the second bass part on f. 29^r is written the phrase 'Robert[us] Wylky[n]son cui[us] a[n]i[m]e p[ro]piciet[ur] de[us]', 'Robert Wylkynson, on whose soul may God have mercy' the traditional closing formula of pre-Reformation epitaphs (see figure 5d). The copyist might well have known Wylkynson, who was master of the choristers at Eton College, and who had died before this piece was copied in or after 1515; it is likely that anyone reading this message during the usable life of the manuscript would have interpreted it as a call to prayer.⁸³ In this way the copy of Wylkynson's *Salve regina* carries two functions, one as a performance copy of the antiphon, and one as a monument to Wylkynson as a soul in need of intercession.

Figure 5d. Decorative initial, *Eton*, f. 29^r (Actual size of initial approx. 45 mm.)

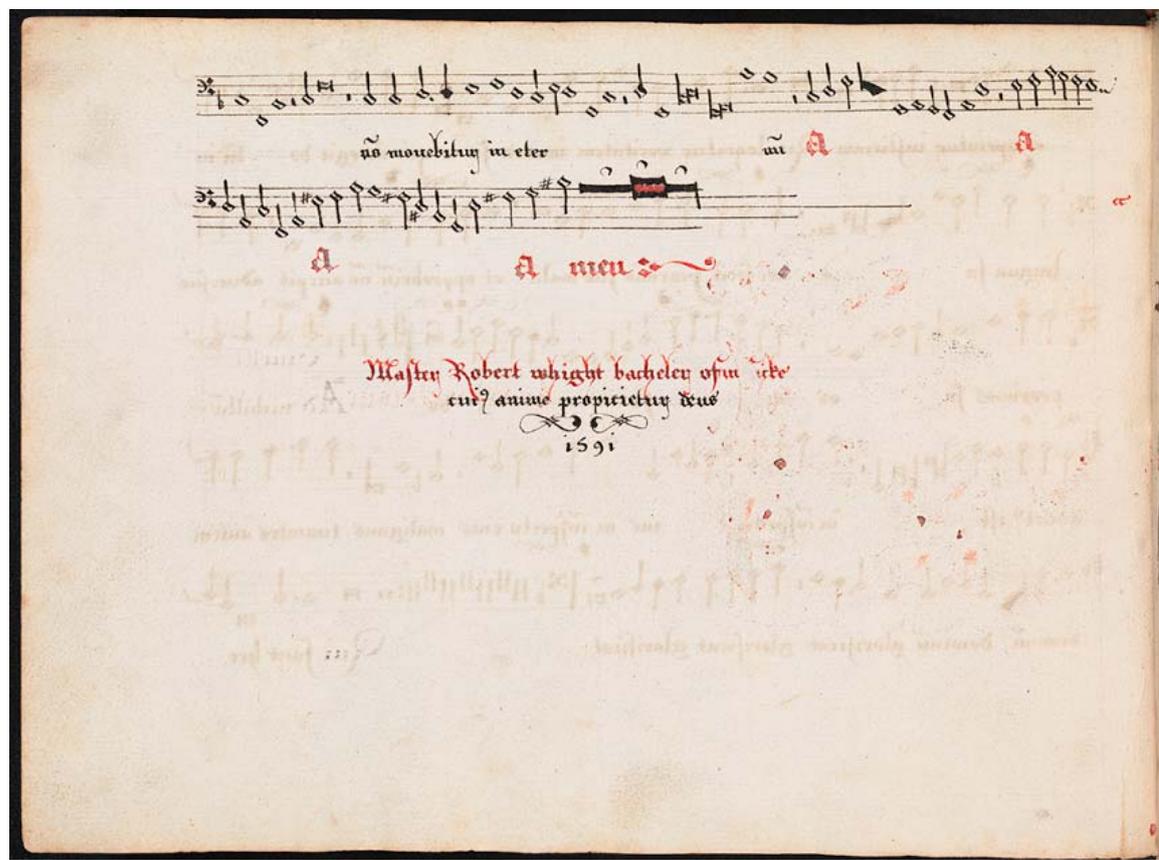


⁸² On the variety of ways in which this could happen, see Scott L. Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaphs Beyond the Tomb* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

⁸³ Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 486.

John Baldwin drew attention to the death and burial of John Taverner in an annotation beside his copy of *Gaude plurimum*: ‘m^r iohn tavernar of cardinall wolsayes chappell who died at bostone and there lieth.’⁸⁴ But the clearest evocations of the language of memorial from the Elizabethan period are in the partbooks of John Sadler and Robert Dow. Sadler’s partbook *T1486*, which participates most obviously in the discourse of memorialisation, contains several unmistakably Catholic pieces: *Salve intemerata*, *Gaude plurimum*, two *Ave Dei patris* settings, Tallis’s *Ave rosa sine spinis*, and *Vox patris caelestis*. The penultimate piece is Robert White’s *Domine quis habitabit*, a setting of Vulgate Psalm 14. Beneath this copy, Sadler has written the inscription ‘Master Robert whight bachelor of musicke/ cui[us] anime propicietur deus/ 1591’ (see figure 5e.). Such an inscription is unique in the surviving portions of *T1486* and its partner *Wilmott*; in both these manuscripts, such empty spaces are otherwise filled with pictures of animals and fantastical creatures. The sole other exception follows William Mundy’s *Miserere mei* in *Wilmott*, a four-line poem about the mystery of the Incarnation.⁸⁵ In this case, Sadler’s inscription and the psalm text set by White interact: Psalm

Figure 5e. GB-Ob MS Tenbury 1486 (*Braikenridge*), f. 44v (Robert White, *Domine quis habitabit*)



⁸⁴ *GB-Och Mus.* 983, p. 97.

⁸⁵ See ch. 3, p. 156, n. 178.

14 is a eulogy to ‘quis... ingreditur sine macula’, the one who walks blamelessly. It seems likely that Sadler intended this text, in conjunction with his invocation of pre-Reformation tomb inscriptions with which he had grown up and which still survived in churches, to be read as a celebration of White himself.

In Dow’s partbooks, the idea of memorialisation is magnified in importance to become one of the defining principles of his collection. Many of Dow’s inscriptions also invoke the language and format of tomb inscriptions, reflecting music’s literary association with the past and the ability of printed and manuscript music to memorialise its composer. His choice of *mise-en-page* enhances the sepulchral resonance of his inscriptions: they are almost invariably centred in the page beneath the pieces they accompany, reflecting the common placement of epitaphs in relation to the monuments they describe. They thus signal a shift in the meaning of the music from that of a ‘monument of superstition’, recalling the Catholic past, into a monument to the composers themselves, presenting their careers, virtues and accomplishments to the onlooker for emulation. One very clear example of this is the inscription which follows Tallis’s *Salvator mundi II* (see figure 5f):

Figure 5f. *GB-Och Mus.* 988, p. 80 (Thomas Tallis, *Salvator mundi II*)



Master Thomas Tallis.
Died 23 November 1585.
He was buried at Greenwich in the choir of the parish church.⁸⁶

By recording Tallis's death, and the place of his burial, alongside some of his best-transmitted compositions, Dow also implicitly recorded his life and career as a composer. Moreover, by invoking the form and function of a tomb inscription in his marginalia, Dow enabled the piece with which the inscription appears to act as a memorial in its own right.

The memorial function of Dow's other inscriptions is highlighted by the fact that many of them are epigrams: Latin elegiac couplets, either single or in pairs, addressing or describing a named personality. The writing of Latin epigrams, following the example of classical poets such as Martial, was a popular exercise among sixteenth-century humanists, including Thomas More; indeed, More wrote several epigrams which are strikingly similar to Dow's in their use of imagery, invoking characters from Greek mythology such as Orpheus and the Muses.⁸⁷ Since classical times these epigrams had been associated with funerary inscriptions; originally because of similarities in style and metre, and latterly because of their capacity to memorialise their subjects, especially when they passed into the permanent medium of print.⁸⁸ Furthermore, they often accompanied printed portrait engravings, which were designed to commemorate, and disseminate widely, the learning and talents of their sitters.⁸⁹

The most complex and sophisticated composer-memorial in *Dow* is the epigram to Robert White, beneath his first setting of the Compline hymn *Christe qui lux es* (see figure 5g; Dow copied only the polyphonic verses, beginning with the second, *Precamur sancte Domine*).⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Milsom, 'Introduction and Indexes', 34. All translations from Dow are by Leofranc Holford-Strevens. The Dow partbooks are unfoliated, so all manuscript page numbers refer to the DIAMM facsimile edition.

⁸⁷ On neo-Latin epigrams, see Hoyt H. Hudson, *The Epigram in the English Renaissance* (Princeton, 1947). On musical imagery in More's epigrams, see Nan Cooke Carpenter, 'St Thomas More and Music: The Epigrams', *RQ*, 30 (1977), 24-28.

⁸⁸ K. A. E. Enenkel, 'Introduction', in Susanna de Beer, K. A. E. Enenkel and David Rijser (eds), *The Neo-Latin Epigram: A Learned and Witty Genre* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009), 10-11; Rijser, 'The Practical Function of High Renaissance Epigram: The Case of Raphael's Grave', in *The Neo-Latin Epigram*, 103-156; James Doelman, 'Epigrams and Political Satire in Early Stuart England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 69 (2006), 33, 40-41.

⁸⁹ Analyses of epigrams accompanying portraits can be found in Harry Vredeveld, "'Lend a Voice": The Humanistic Portrait Epigraph in the Age of Erasmus and Dürer', *RQ*, 66 (2013), 509-567.

⁹⁰ Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, ch. 5.

Greatest glory of our muses, White,
 You perish, but your muse remains forever.⁹¹

All five voices of White's homophonic setting share the same layout in *Dow*: all are copied in square notation with the same epigram at the foot of the page. The fact that all five parts share this heavy, angular notation, bold initials, and wide black lines between phrases of the text, along with the layout on a single page, gives the pages a weightiness—a monumentality—which is absent from other pages in the partbooks. Although *Dow* uses these techniques in isolation elsewhere, the chordal texture of White's piece means that here, unusually, they all appear together.

Figure 5g. *GB-Och Mus.* 987, p.15 (Robert White, *Christe qui lux es et dies*)



Christe qui lux es is a prayer for peace at night time as the singers prepare for sleep, and the first verse copied by Dow begins with a direct petition: 'We pray you, holy Lord, protect us in this night'. The idea of prayer was frequently invoked on tombs of the later sixteenth century. The petition to the onlooker to 'pray for the soul' of the departed no longer appeared, but the deceased was still often depicted in an attitude of prayer, representing their devout and virtuous life and encouraging onlookers to emulate them. Even when these

⁹¹ Milsom, 'Introduction and Indexes', 34.

effigies are lying down, they were often dynamic, their eyes open and their hands together as if praying. Others might be kneeling or propped up on one elbow, looking directly at the viewer.⁹² Dow's 'monumentalised' copy of White's *Christe qui lux es* functions as a paper substitute for such an effigy, conjuring up in the viewer's mind the image of White praying the words of the text and inviting the viewer to join him by singing.⁹³ The homophonic texture of the piece enables the several singers to perform and pray not only as individuals, but also 'as one', with a single voice—that is, with White's voice. As Bonnie Blackburn has suggested with reference to musical settings, written prayers and devotional images, 'Time and space of another kind govern sung and poetic prayers: singing or saying the work of a deceased author also allows his prayer to be heard once more, spoken from beyond the grave.'⁹⁴

The content, genre and original context of the Sarum hymn set by White adds an extra level of meaning to Dow's copy. Despite the piece's origins within the Catholic liturgy, by depicting White praying for quiet sleep and rest, and by extending this prayer to the community of readers and onlookers, Dow invokes a set of distinctly Protestant ideas of death. The text of White's Compline hymn resonates with the doctrine of 'soul-sleeping', the idea that souls remain asleep within their bodies until the Last Judgment, which directly opposes the pre-Reformation teaching that souls would be judged immediately after death.⁹⁵ Belief in soul-sleeping has been described by Peter Marshall as 'certainly ubiquitous in English memorial culture'.⁹⁶ According to John Weever, for example, the dead 'ought to sleepe in peace vntill the last sound of the Trumpet'.⁹⁷ Sleep and death are often explicitly equated in Shakespeare's work: to give just one famous example, Hamlet points out that

To die- to sleep.
To sleep- perchance to dream: ay, there's the rub!
For in that sleep of death what dreams may come

⁹² Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, 44-5.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 104-112.

⁹⁴ Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'For Whom do the Singers Sing?', *EM*, 25 (1997), 604.

⁹⁵ The state between the moment of death and the Last Judgment is frequently depicted as sleep in the New Testament. See, for example, Ephesians 5:14, 'Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light'; 1 Thessalonians 4:14, 'For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him.' (KJV)

⁹⁶ Peter Marshall, 'After Purgatory: Death and Remembrance in the Reformation World', in *Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead*, ed. Tarald Rasmussen and Jon Øygarden Flæten (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 35.

⁹⁷ Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments*, 46.

When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,
Must give us pause.⁹⁸

Early modern musical examples equating sleep and death are not hard to find: they include the consort song ‘O death rock me asleep’, and Dowland’s lute song ‘Come heavy sleep, the image of true death’, whose final line reads ‘Come ere my last sleep comes, or come never’. By combining White’s *Precamur* with his Latin epitaph and a ‘monumental’ visual style, Dow highlighted the potential of the prayer text to refer metaphorically to the composer’s death, enabling his copy of the hymn to function as a Protestant memorial.

5.4. Musical antiquarianism and national identity

In sixteenth-century terms, this emphasis on the memorialisation of specific, admirable individuals is what gives Elizabethan music collections their ‘antiquarian’ character. It is in this respect that they parallel most closely the work of contemporary antiquarian writers: for example, in the list of epitaphs found in William Camden’s *Remaines of Britain*, which explicitly memorialise famous names from England’s history; and Weever’s *Ancient funerall monuments*, in which transcriptions of epitaphs and inscriptions are interspersed with anecdotes about the person described in them or who erected them. As a result, the epitaph-like inscriptions in the partbooks of Robert Dow and John Sadler, and the detailed attributions and descriptions of composers’ careers in those of John Baldwin should be read in the context of Elizabethan discourses surrounding monument and memorialisation.

It would be exaggerating only a little to say that in the Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline periods, historical and antiquarian writing always had proto-nationalist aims, recording and promoting the achievements of British historical figures by means of the artefacts that told their stories. Weever’s *Ancient funerall monuments* is described on the title page as ‘[a] worke reuiuing the dead memory of the royall progenie, the nobilitie, gentrie and commualtie, of these his Maiesties dominions.’ For Weever, the principal motivation for studying monuments was his realisation that inhabitants of other countries treated their monuments with far more respect than the English did.⁹⁹ In Camden’s *Remaines of Britain*, the entire first chapter is spent in praise of the island of Great Britain, supported by Latin poetic extracts; while the list of epitaphs towards the end, he explains, was included to prove ‘[in]

⁹⁸ *Hamlet*, Act 3 Scene 1, 1757-1761. Access via <www.opensourceshakespeare.org>. See also S. Viswanathan, ‘Sleep and Death: The Twins in Shakespeare’, *Comparative Drama*, 13 (1979), 49-64.

⁹⁹ Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments*, f. [4].

short and sweet poems... [that] as our countrie men now surpasses other nations, so in former times they were not inferior', justifying contemporary and future British prowess by means of its past achievements.¹⁰⁰ Anticipating this patriotic discourse, both Baldwin and Dow explicitly invoke the nationality of the composers they copy, revealing their pride in English music¹⁰¹ and strongly suggesting that their collections were at least partly intended to serve as a monument to their nation's history. The fact that in the eighteenth century composers could achieve the status of 'British Worthy' is well-recognised;¹⁰² as the evidence below will suggest, however, the beginnings of this notion were already in place in Elizabethan intellectual culture.

The nationality of William Byrd, in particular, was a common trope in writing by both music copyists and others. In 1622 Henry Peacham described Byrd's music as 'as well for the honour of our Nation, as the merit of the man', and argued that some of his madrigals 'cannot be mended by the best *Italian* of them all.'¹⁰³ John Baldwin wrote that he surpassed all musicians from elsewhere: 'in ewropp is none: like to our englishe man'.¹⁰⁴ As will be seen below, Robert Dow used a combination of music and text in his partbooks to construct a status for Byrd as a British worthy. Unlike the personalities commemorated by antiquarians, Byrd was still alive when Peacham, Baldwin and Dow were writing. Nevertheless, their purpose agrees with that of the antiquarians John Weever and William Camden: by focussing on Byrd's nationality in their discussions of his talent, they contribute towards building a positive identity for their nation based on the achievements of its great men.

Once again, it is Dow's partbooks that offer the richest paratext concerning Byrd and his relationship to nationhood. The specific identity of the nation promoted by Dow is worth a closer look. As was briefly mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis, it is invariably referred to not as *Anglia*, but as *Britannia*. Before the unification of England and Scotland, the English conceptualisation of Britain and Britishness was complex, and Dow's comments reflect an Anglocentric definition of Britain whereby it is often taken not to refer to the entire island of Great Britain, but to England alone. Conversely the word *Anglia* could be expanded in scope to refer implicitly to the whole island. One example of this semantic phenomenon in

¹⁰⁰ Camden, *Remaines*, 315.

¹⁰¹ See Butler, 'In Praise of Music', pp. 8-9 of 13.

¹⁰² On Handel as an example, see Suzanne Aspden, "'Fam'd Handel Breathing, tho' Transformed to Stone": The Composer as Monument', *JAMS*, 55 (2002), 39-90.

¹⁰³ Peacham, *The compleat gentleman*, 101.

¹⁰⁴ *24d2*, f. 190^r.

Dow's partbooks is the epigram that appears alongside Byrd's motet *In resurrectione tua* (see figure 5h):

Byrd, if the British Muse were to boast of her clients,
She would make you the ensign of her troops.¹⁰⁵

Figure 5h. *GB-Och Mus.* 986, p.66 (William Byrd, *In resurrectione tua*)



A similar instance is found in the inscription accompanying Byrd's *Exurge quare obdormis* (see figure 5i). This time Dow does not include an epigram, but a quotation from one of the letters of Cicero referring to Julius Caesar's invasions of Britain in 55 and 54 BCE, with his own comment beneath:

'The outcome of [Caesar's] British war is awaited; it is already known too that there is not a scruple of silver in that island nor any hope of booty, except from slaves, from whom I don't suppose you expect to get anyone educated in literature or music.' [Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, 4. 16. 7.]

Byrd by himself completely frees all the English from that aspersion.¹⁰⁶

Cicero would certainly have understood the name 'Britannia' to mean the whole island of Great Britain, despite the fact that, when the province of Britannia was established over a century after he wrote his letter, it encompassed only England and parts of lowland Scotland. However, Dow's gloss substitutes *Anglia*, England, for the *Britannia* of Cicero's original text,

¹⁰⁵ Milsom, 'Introduction and Indexes', 32.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.

Figure 5i. GB-Och Mus. 985, p.83 (William Byrd, *Exurge quare obdormis*)

41.

& tribulationis nostrae. Exurge Domine Exurge Exurge Domine
Domine Domine Exurge Domine. Exurge Domine .ij.
ne Exurge do- mine. Mr W^m Birde.
Cicero ad Atticum lib. 4.
Britannici belli exitus expectatur: etiam illud iam cognitum est neq. argenti scrupulum esse ullum in ea insula, neq. ullam spem praedae, nisi ex mancipijs, ex quibus nullos puto te literis aut musicis eruditos expectare.
Unus Birdus omnes Anglos ab hoc conuicio prorsus liberat.

Figure 5j. GB-Och Mus. 988, p.63 (William Byrd, *Audivi vocem de caelo*)

33.

tem Beati mortui .ij. qui in Do- mino. Qui
in domino. moriuntur. Qui in domino mori- untur. Qui in.
Domino. Qui in Domino. Qui in domino moriun-
tur moriuntur. moriuntur. moriuntur. Mr W^m Birde.
Qui decus es generi genti Philomelaq. nostrae;
Birde precor longum voce manuq. canas!

implying that they are functionally identical and in the process simultaneously exaggerating the importance of England and diminishing that of Scotland and Wales. His comment reveals a strong sense of pride in England as an ancient, imperial nation, which is only enhanced by Byrd's musical ability.

By the sixteenth century, 'Britain' was seen as defined by the ethnicity of its inhabitants as well as its geography, based on a supposed common ancestry among the English, Welsh and Scots. This rhetoric, and especially the idea that the royal family was descended from the legendary Welsh hero Cadwaladr, was used to defend the rule of the Tudors over both Wales and England.¹⁰⁷ As such, the idea of a pan-British nation and identity, presided over by an imperial England, was explicitly based on the memory of heroes of the past and their bloodline. The importance of ethnicity to sixteenth-century writers is made clear in one of Dow's epigrams, which refers to Byrd as a member of the British 'race' (in Latin, *genus/generis*) (see figure 5j). Byrd's Britishness thus rests not on his political allegiance, but more fundamentally, on his ancestry, allowing the nation to claim him and his music for its own. Dow also wittily compares Byrd to the nightingale—Philomela, one of the characters in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* who is transformed into a bird—thus affording his music the status of the universal languages of nature and Classical myth.

You who are a glory to our race, and a nightingale to our people,
Byrd, I pray that you may make music with voice and hand for a long time.¹⁰⁸

Dow's proto-nationalist ideas also found expression in his quotation from the paratext surrounding Tallis and Byrd's *Cantiones sacrae* of 1575. The prefatory material to this publication states explicitly that its aims included the promotion of English music abroad. This was achieved by invoking the products of previous decades; in John Milsom's words, *CS1575* was intended 'to survey the great panorama of Tudor musical achievement', 'memorialising the Tudor past' and 'demonstrat[ing] the excellence of English music'.¹⁰⁹ Among the front matter of the collection is a poem by Ferdinand Richardson, which asserts that the publication would redress the balance between the Continent—which had a long history of music printing—and England: exactly the same purpose as Weever's when he compiled his *Ancient funerall monuments* over fifty years later. After giving examples of famous mainland European composers who have appeared in print, Richardson writes:

At length, as the whole world was full of such great names,

¹⁰⁷ See Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory*, 31-45 at 35-9.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁰⁹ Tallis and Byrd, *Cantiones Sacrae 1575*, ed. John Milsom, EECM 56 (London, 2014), xiv, xviii.

[Music] almost began to grow angry
to have an English name printed in no book,
and to accuse our Britons of being unworthy of her gifts.
She knew for sure that they could achieve great things by singing,
and was amazed that nobody wanted to publish books.
Since they desired to change this lamentable situation,
Tallis, an old man worthy of great honour,
And Byrd, born to grace so great a teacher,
Promised that in future things would not be as they had been before.¹¹⁰

In an epigram following his *Cantiones sacrae* motet *O sacrum convivium* (see figure 5k),
Dow quotes from Richardson's poem.

Figure 5k. GB-Och Mus. 987, p.80 (Thomas Tallis, *O sacrum convivium*)



¹¹⁰ Denique nominibus plena omnia talibus, Anglum
In nullo impressum nomen habere libro.
Pene subirasci coepit, nostrosque Britannos
Indignos donis insimulare suis.
Quos certo scierat multum potuisse canendo,
Miratur nullos edere velle libros.
Cuius cum cuperent tristem finire querelam,
Tallisius magno dignus honore senex,
Et Birdus tantum natus decorare magistrum,
Promittunt posthac non fore, ut ante fuit.

Tallis and Byrd, *Cantiones... sacrae*, superius partbook, f. [Aiii]^v. The poem is written in the present tense, as is common in classical Latin poetic narratives.

This Tallis lived in fame under four monarchs,
An old man worthy of his great honour.
If ever a musician had to be accounted outstanding,
Tallis was always their chief glory.¹¹¹

In this epigram, Dow invokes Richardson's idea that a monumental collection of English music might help forge a positive identity for his country. But with regard to Tallis's relationship to British nationhood, Dow's reference to his work 'under four monarchs' is most significant. This seems to have been something of a trope in discussions of Tallis's career, as it appears also in Tallis's actual epitaph in the parish church at Greenwich:

Enterred here doth ly a worthy Wyght
Who for long Tyme in Musick bore the Bell:
His Name to shew, was Thomas Gallys [sic] hyght,
In honest vertuous Lyff he dyd excell.
He serv'd long Tyme in Chapp with grete prayse,
Fower Sovereynes Reygnes (a Thing not often seen)
I mean Kyng Henry and Prynce Edward's Dayes,
Quene Mary, and Elizabeth our Quene.
He maryed was, though Children he had none,
And lyv'd in Love full thre and thirty Yeres,
Wyth loyal Spowse, whos Name yclyipt was Jone,
Who here entomb'd, him Company now bears.
As he did lyve, so also did he dy,
In myld and quyet Sort (O! happy Man)
To God ful oft for Mercy did he cry,
Wherefore he lyves, let Death do what he can.¹¹²

Tallis died in 1585; his wife Joan died in 1589, so the epitaph must postdate this year. It therefore also postdates Dow's own death in 1588, so it is impossible to postulate a direct connection between the epitaph and Dow. Because of this it seems likely that in mentioning the fact that Tallis worked under four monarchs, both Dow and the writer of the epitaph were invoking a commonplace already in use, and that in the immediate aftermath of Tallis's death his long career already held legendary status. By implication this reference emphasises Tallis's long loyal service to the crown. Tallis's epitaph in Greenwich also refers, conventionally for a funerary inscription, to his happy marriage, and his virtuous and pious life, echoing the concerns of John Baldwin in his comments about Taverner and Sadler's

¹¹¹ The third line might literally be rendered 'If, under them [i.e. the four monarchs] a musician were to be held exceptional.' Milsom, 'Introduction and Indexes', 36.

¹¹² Transcribed in John Strype, *A SURVEY OF THE CITIES OF London and Westminster* (1720), Appendix 1, 92. <https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/strype/TransformServlet?page=app1_092&display=normal>, accessed 23 August 2017.

epitaph to White.

To sum up, the careers of Elizabethan composers were viewed with great interest because they served to validate the music they produced. In turn, just as funeral effigies were allowed to survive the Reformation thanks to their role in edifying the public, so could their close comparands in sound and on paper overcome their doctrinally problematic origins and retain their usefulness as *lieux de mémoire*. The sentiment which inspired this memorialisation was not ideologically neutral, however. As Dow's partbooks explicitly reveal, and as Baldwin's partbooks and commonplace book hint, it formed an integral part of the movement to construct a positive identity for England which also inspired contemporary antiquarians.

5.6. The apotheosis of Doctor Fayrfax? Musical merit and the canon

Closely linked to the high status afforded to composers, as evidenced in English manuscript sources, is the emergent notion of a canon of 'greats'—the idea that certain composers produced the best music, essential to any music collection, and that they carried a regulative function by which other composers could be measured. The idea of a fixed repertoire of 'great' works or composers is usually understood to have emerged in the late eighteenth century, and is said to be connected to 'the rise of the middle classes' or 'concert culture'.¹¹³ This repertoire, in the form of the performed canon which makes up the majority of today's public concert programmes, has no sixteenth-century parallel.¹¹⁴ Nor is there any evidence

¹¹³ See, for example, Jim Samson, 'Canon (iii)', *GMO*: 'A newly consolidated bourgeois class began to define itself artistically in the late 18th century, institutionalizing its musical life in a manner independent of sacred and courtly life. It established its principal ceremony—the public concert—in the major cities of England, France and central Europe, and it began to create a repertory of classical music, with related concert rituals, to confirm and authenticate the new status quo. By the mid-19th century it had already established much of the core repertory of the modern canon, in the process giving itself cultural roots, 'inventing' tradition and creating a fetishism of the great work which is still with us today.' See also William Weber, 'The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon in Eighteenth-Century England', *JAMS*, 47 (1994), 488-520; Weber, 'The History of Musical Canon', in Cook and Everist (eds), *Rethinking Music*, 336-355; Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 22-41.

¹¹⁴ William Weber points out that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries relatively few old works were still performed regularly (Weber, 'The History of Musical Canon', 341.) This statement is broadly true of Elizabethan and early Jacobean England: proportionally very few old works were preserved in comparison to newer ones. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the body of old pieces which did remain popular were seen as universal, or could cross national or social boundaries, but remained the property of the educated, musically literate classes. Pieces 'were perceived in reference

that in the sixteenth century older composers were necessarily favoured over contemporary, local or less well-known figures as they are today. However, there is ample evidence that very closely related ideas were already emerging by the turn of the seventeenth century: these included the veneration of individual, particularly talented composers; the ability of some composers to transcend local boundaries, especially after their deaths, even without the benefit of appearing in print; and an emergent ‘classicising’ discourse whereby a composer’s age might become in itself an aesthetic criterion.

Several late Elizabethan and Jacobean writers compiled lists of great composers: canons in all but name, as they represent attempts to categorise, regulate and assess composers according to the quality of their music. While they are ostensibly selective and imply that they are limited to a certain standard of musician, they do not always include the same names: they reveal that while these writers were comfortable with the idea of a canon, this canon had not yet been concretised and several notions of canonicity coexisted (see figure 5j, below). In particular, they reflect the notion that an artist gained authority not necessarily through age or ability, but through repeated citation and performance. They are therefore comparable to earlier mainland European lists of composers compiled in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹¹⁵ For example, the canon in Adrian Coclico’s *Compendium musices* (1552) lists ‘musici praestantissimi’ (‘most outstanding composers’). His criteria for inclusion seem vague to modern readers but are unmistakably musical, and they focus particularly on counterpoint and the ability to exploit music’s affective potential:

In the third category are the musicians who are most outstanding, and comparable to kings over the rest: who do not rely on technique which can be taught, but skilfully unite theory and practice in the very best way; who understand the value of musical pieces, and all the inner workings [lit. muscles, or fig. strengths] of compositions; who truly know how to set songs to music and to portray all manner of affections in them; and who see what is the best and most elegant in a musician; and they whose songs are uniquely worthy of admiration are admired by all. Josquin des Prez (of whom I have so high an opinion that I prefer him to all others) was easily the chief among them. Besides him, in this category are the most skilled musicians and the most artful composers: Pierre de la Rue, Brumel, Heinrich Isaac, Ludwig Senfl, Adrian Willaert, Jean Lebrun, Concilium [unidentified], Morales, [Johannes?] de la Fage, L’Héritier, Nicholas Gombert, Crecquillon, Champion, Jacquet, Pipelare, Nicolas Payen, Courtois, Master Ian [Jan Nasco?], Lupi, Lupus [Hellinck?], Clemens non Papa, Pieter Maessens, Iacobus de Buis [unidentified] and countless others, whom I omit for the sake of brevity.¹¹⁶

to the specific musical or social context within which they persisted, rather than according to any concept of a canonic nature’ (p. 345).

¹¹⁵ See Owens, ‘Music Historiography’, 320-21.

¹¹⁶ ‘In tertio genere, sunt Musici praestantissimi, & ceterorum quasi reges, qui non in arte docenda haerent, sed theoriam optime et docte cum practica coniungunt, qui cantuum uirtutes, & omnes

The final line of Coclico's canon, however, implies the possibility of further criteria for canonisation than musical talent alone. Although Coclico implies that the 'others' he does not name are just as worthy as those whom he does, by being left anonymous they are by implication excluded from his canon. The identified composers, conversely, have been canonised as much by being named by Coclico as by the quality of their music: they gain their authority through citation. This alternative route by which a composer could achieve canonicity is well explained in Tinctoris's *Complexus effectuum musicas* (1481-3):

In our time we have experienced how very many musicians have been endowed with glory. For who does not know Iohannes Dunstaple, Guillelmus Dufay, Egidius Binchois, Iohannes Okeghem, Anthonius Busnois, Iohannes Regis, Firminus Caron, Iacobus Carlerii, Robertus Morton, Iacobus Obrechts? Who does not accord them the highest praises, whose compositions, spread throughout the whole world, fill God's churches, kings' palaces, and private men's houses, with the utmost sweetness?¹¹⁷

Tinctoris's criteria for a great composer, according to this list, seem to be plenty of compositions, well-transmitted and performed in high-status locations—in other words, fame itself. In compiling this list, moreover, he himself contributes to the reflexive process by which composers gained status through citation: by being described as 'endowed with glory', the composers he names are not merely shown to be so, but actually become so.

The fact that a musician's fame could function as an aesthetic criterion meant that a composer's inclusion in a canon often depended not on the quality of their music, but simply whether their name was familiar to the writer. This resulted in one of the most intriguing late sixteenth-century 'canons': that compiled by Francis Meres, and included in *Palladis tamia*, a sequel to *Politeuphuia, or Wits Common wealth* by Nicholas Ling. Ling described his original compilation as 'a methodicall collection of the most choice and select admonitions and sentences, compendiously drawne from infinite varietie, divine, historicall, poeticall, politique, morrall, and humane'; it was an aid to conversation, a collection of commonplaces taken from ancient philosophers and Scripture and listed by subject, which could be learned

compositionum neruos intelligunt, & uere sciunt cantilenas ornare, in ipsis omnes omnium affectus exprimere, & quod in Musico summum est, & elegantissimum uident, & in omnium admiratione sunt, quorum cantilena, uel solae sunt admiratione dignae. Inter hos facile princeps fuit Iosquinius de Pres, cui ego tantu[m] tribuo, ut eum omnibus c[a]eteris praefera[m]. In hoc etia[m] genere sunt peritissimi Musici, & artificiosissimi Symphonistae: Petrus de Larue, Brumel, Henricus Isaac, Ludouicus Senfel, Adrian VVillarth, Le brun, Concilium, Morales, La fage, Lerithier, Nicolaus Gombert, Criquilo[n], Champion, & Iaquet, Pipelare, Nicolaus Paien, Courtois, Meyster Ian, Lupi, Lupus, Clemens non Papa, Petrus Massenus, Iacobus de Buis, & innumeri alij, quos omitto breuitatis gratia.' Adriano Petit Coclico, *Compendium musicas* (Nuremberg, 1552: USTC 622927), f. [Biv]^{r-v}.

¹¹⁷ Quoted in Wegman, 'Johannes Tinctoris and the "New Art"', *M&L*, 84 (2003), 187.

Figure 5l. Composers listed in Elizabethan and Jacobean canons, in order of popularity

Composer	Whythorne, after 1576 (1590s?)	Baldwin, 1591	Morley, 1597	Meres, 1598	Peacham, 1622
Byrd	x	x	x	x	x
Tallis	x	x	x	x	
Tye	x	x	x	x	
Cowper	x		x	x	
Dowland	x			x	x
Fayrfax	x		x	x	
Morley	x			x	x
W. Mundy	x	x	x		
Parsons	x	x	x		
Sheppard	x	x	x		
Taverner	x		x	x	
White	x	x	x		
Dallis	x			x	
Ferrabosco		x			x
E. Johnson	x			x	
Kirbye			x		x
J. Mundy	x	x			
Newton	x		x		
Phillips				x	x
Pygott	x		x		
Appleby	x				
Ashwell			x		
Avery Burton			x		
Bateson					x
Bath[e]	x				
Beech			x		
Blankes				x	
Bramston			x		
Bull	x			x	
Cobbold	x				
Corbrand			x		
Cornysh			x		
Cosen	x				
Damon	x				
Davis			x		
Davy			x		
Dering					x
Dunstaple			x		
East					x
Farding			x		
Farmer	x				
Farnaby	x				
Farrant	x				
Giles		x			
Gwynedd			x		
Hodges			x		
R. Johnson	x				
Jones			x		
Ludford			x		
Mason			x		
More	x				
Morgan Grigg			x		
Mudd				x	
Oakland			x		
Orwell			x		
Pashe			x		
Perrot	x				
Power			x		
Preston	x				
Randall				x	
Redford			x		
Risby			x		
Selby			x		
Blitheman				x	
Strogers	x				
Sturton			x		
Testwood			x		
Thorne			x		
Ungle			x		
Weelkes					x
Wilbye					x
Wylkynson			x		

and repeated to enhance one's arguments and give the appearance of great 'wit'.¹¹⁸ The inclusion of a list of musicians in this context reveals that the ability to identify music of quality, and especially to identify the best composers by name, had become an essential skill by the late sixteenth century. Meres's canon lists English musicians as a modern parallel to the great mythical or legendary musicians of the classical past:

As Greece had these excellent Musicians; *Arion, Dorceus, Timotheus Milesius, Chrysogonus, Terpander, Lesbius, Simon Magnesius, Philamon, Linus, Stratonicus, Aristonus, Chiron, Achilles, Clinias, Eumonius, Demodochus, and Ruffinus*: so Englande hath these; *Maister Cooper, Maister Fairfax, Maister Tallis, Master Tauerner, Maister Blithman, Maister Bird, Doctor Tie, Doctor Dallis, Doctor Bull, M. Thomas Mud*, sometimes fellow of *Pembrook hal* in Cambridge, *M. Edward Iohnson, Maister Blankes, Maister Randall, Maister Philips, Maister Dowland, and M. Morley*.¹¹⁹

A closer look at this list reveals that it allows for four different routes into canonicity.¹²⁰ None of the Greek musicians that Meres lists had left any written music behind: Meres knew of their reputations through literary sources. Of the composers he lists, Cowper, Fayrfax, Taverner, Tallis and Tye had all died. Their reputations, like those of the Greek musicians, may have rested primarily on anecdote—it is unlikely that Meres can have been very familiar with much of their music with the possible exception of Tallis. Others were contemporaries, whose music had been widely disseminated through print as well as in manuscript: Dowland, Byrd, Phillips and Morley. Still others—like Dallis, Mudd, and Edward Johnson—were in Meres's immediate Cambridge circle (Meres attended Pembroke Hall) and probably were personally known to him.¹²¹ Finally, some were probably famous contemporary performers. Blankes and Randall were both employed in London: Blankes as a city wait who had a psalm tune published by Thomas East;¹²² Randall as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. It is thus likely that, rather than being truly selective or impartial, for his list Meres simply listed all the composers he had heard of, perhaps regardless of whether he had heard their music.

This lack of selectivity, and the related assumption that composers known to the writer must automatically be the best, is a feature of all the other canons in figure 51. Thomas

¹¹⁸ Nicholas Ling, *Politeuph[ua]. Wits common wealth* (London, 1598: RSTC 15686), f. Aii^r.

¹¹⁹ Francis Meres, *Palladis tamia. Wits treasury being the second part of Wits common wealth* (London, 1598: RSTC 17834), f. 288^v.

¹²⁰ For an alternative interpretation of this passage, see Austern, 'Nature, Culture, Myth and the Musician', 43-4.

¹²¹ David Kathman, 'Meres, Francis (1565/6–1647), writer and translator', *ODNB*.

¹²² *The whole booke of Psalmes with their wonted tunes, as they are sung in churches, composed into foure parts* (London, 1594: RSTC 2488), 30-31.

Whythorne's 'Musical Scrap', which lists composers of 'aunsient tym', the early sixteenth century, with those of 'lat tym', focusses on those distinguished by academic recognition—listing Bachelors and Doctors of Music separately to those without degrees—modern London composers, and those of his own acquaintance.¹²³ Like that of Meres, Whythorne's canon particularly reflects his time at Magdalen College, Oxford (where Sheppard and Perrot served as organist) and Trinity College, Cambridge (where White and Preston were employed). Henry Peacham's *The compleat gentleman* of 1622 contains a canon in which composers are discussed in terms of their publications, and he names no older composers—not even Tallis, whose work was published.¹²⁴ Indeed, he favours published mainland European composers over unpublished English ones, almost certainly an accurate reflection of his, and his readers', principal sources of music.

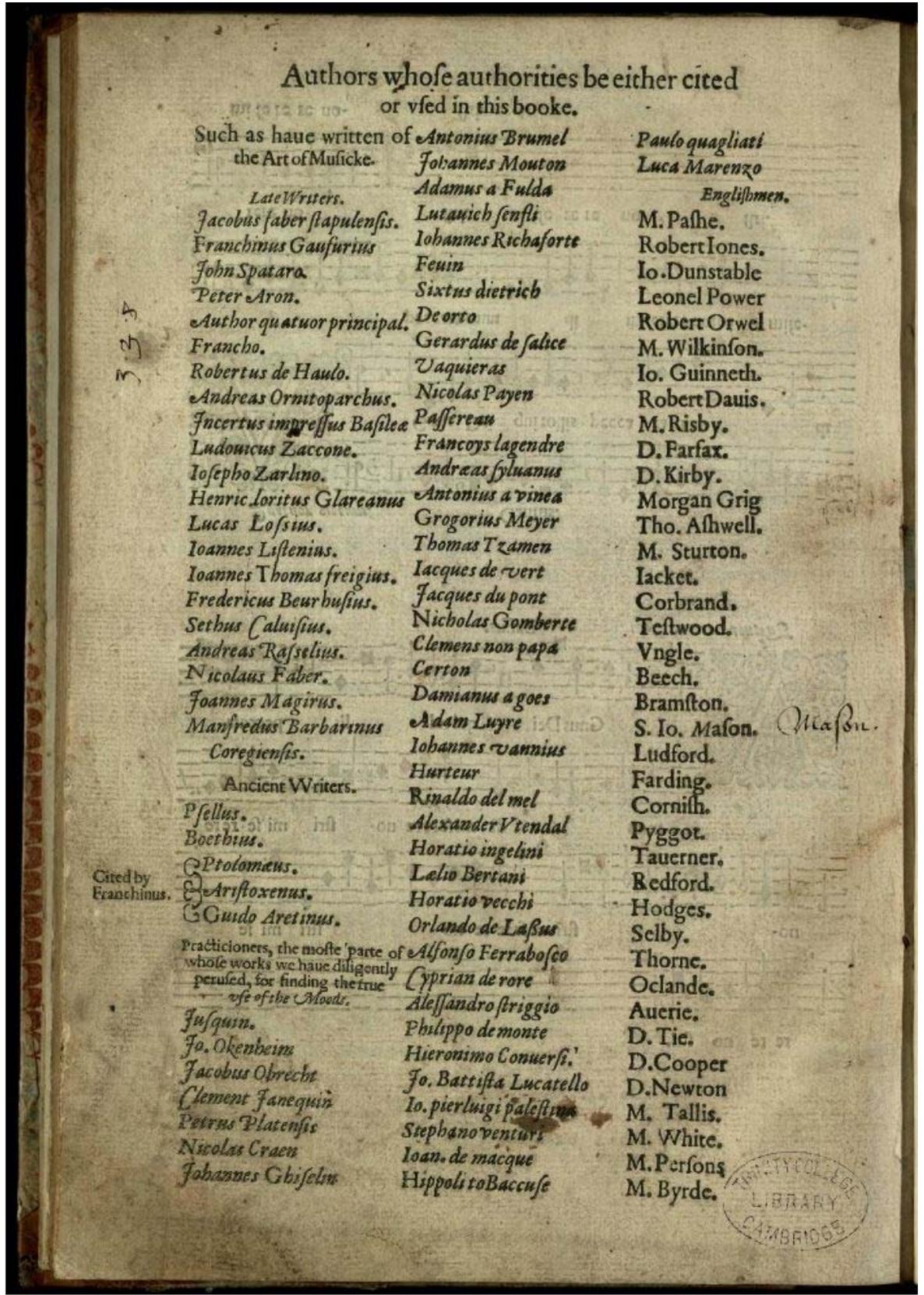
A fourth canon can be found in Baldwin's poem at the conclusion of *24d2*.¹²⁵ Baldwin's canon is heavily influenced by the idea of 'authority' seen earlier in the work of Tinctoris; that is, the idea that a composer could gain renown by constant citation and repetition. To Baldwin, as for Meres and Peacham who cite published composers, it is the wide dissemination of these men's music which affords them their authority: 'there workes no lesse declare: in everie place aboute'. This is perhaps reflected in the fact that the vast majority of the composers he cites appear in at least two other canons (see figure 51). Nevertheless, Baldwin's canon is no more impartial than those of his contemporaries. Like Meres and Whythorne with their Cambridge composers, Baldwin prioritises for his canon those who worked in close proximity to him at 'the queens pallis': all of the English composers he names except Robert White worked either at St George's, Windsor, or the Chapel Royal, and he probably sang their music daily. It is only to be expected that these should also have been well known to the other canonists discussed here.

¹²³ *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne*, Appendix 3.

¹²⁴ See Gibson, 'Author, Musician, Composer: Creator?', 72. Peacham cites Lassus, Byrd, Victoria, Marenzio, Ferrabosco the elder, Horatio Vecchi, Giovanni da Croce, Peter Phillips, Giovanni Boschetto Boschetti, Monteverdi, Giovanni Ferretti, Stephano Felis, Giulio Renaldi, Philippe de Monte, Andrea Gabrieli, Cipriano de Rore, and Benedetto Pallavicino, and specific publications by Boschetti, Vecchi, Marenzio, Lassus, and Byrd; of English composers he mentions in addition Dowland, Morley, Ferrabosco the younger, Wilbye, Kirbye, Weelkes, East, Bateson and Dering. Peacham, *The compleat gentleman fashioning him absolute in the most necessary & commendable qualities concerning minde or bodie that may be required in a noble gentleman* (London, 1622: RSTC 19502), 100-103.

¹²⁵ See p. 215, above.

Figure 5m. Thomas Morley, *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke set downe in forme of a dialogue* (London, 1597: RSTC 18133), [218]. Image taken from the copy held at Trinity College Cambridge (Reserve W VI.3.61), by permission of the Master and Fellows.



The fact that compilers of Elizabethan canons were not as selective as their writings imply is well illustrated by the case-study of John Sheppard. Baldwin, whose partbooks are our principal source of Sheppard's festal polyphony, and Whythorne, who attended Magdalen where the composer worked in the 1540s, include him in their canons. However, Sheppard is absent from the list of 'Authors whose authorities be either cited or vsed in this booke' (see Figure 5m) which concludes Morley's *Plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke*. The list includes many older composers, including Pashe, Davy, Fayrfax, Tallis and Cowper, and it is surprising that Sheppard should be excluded since Morley was, like him, a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. However, his omission is easily explained if Morley did not in fact know very much of his music. Sheppard is cited only once in the main text, as one of a list of 'famous English men' which is ostensibly intended to make a technical point about the rarity of parallel perfect consonances:

... though some doe boldly take those fiftes and eightes, yet shal you hardly find either in master *Alfonso* (except in that place which I cited to you before) *Orlando, striggio, Clemens non papa*, or any before them, nor shall you redily find it in the workes of anie of those famous english men who haue beene nothing inferior in art to any of the afore named, as *Farefax, Tauerner, Shepherde, Mundy, White, Persons, M. Birde*, and diuers others...¹²⁶

The inclusion of Sheppard in this list is remarkably unconvincing. The counterpoint in his Latin polyphony is notoriously rough around the edges: as Magnus Williamson has commented, he composed in a 'distinctively broad dialect' including direct and hidden consecutive fifths and octaves.¹²⁷ Morley seems to have known Sheppard well by reputation but without personal experience of his Latin-texted music, and included him in this list partly on the basis of his vernacular works and partly on the assumption that, because he was a 'good' composer, his style must have conformed to popular grammatical conventions. In turn, the inclusion of Sheppard in the list provides 'evidence' for Morley's argument against parallel perfect consonances. Morley's manner of citing composers' names in this example parallels the fifteenth-century theorist Franchinus Gaffurius's list of 'iucundissimi compositores' in *Practica musicae* (1496). Gaffurius lists Tinctoris, Guglielmo Guarnerii, Josquin, Weerbeke, Agricola, Compère, Obrecht, Brumel and Isaac as examples of composers who used a specific contrapuntal technique, with the intention of promoting this style by

¹²⁶ Morley, *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke set downe in forme of a dialogue* (London, 1597: RSTC 18133), 151.

¹²⁷ Magnus Williamson (ed.), *John Sheppard: Hymns, Psalms, Antiphons and other Latin Polyphony* EECM 54 (London: Stainer and Bell for the British Academy, 2012), xxii.

showing how many ‘most pleasing’ (*iucundissimi*) composers have used it.¹²⁸ Like Morley, Gaffurius thus simultaneously promotes both a particular compositional technique through the accumulation of examples, and the composers by process of association.¹²⁹

Not all of Morley’s citations are as problematic as that of Sheppard: Morley was perfectly capable of referring to specific pieces in order to exemplify points of his teaching. However, neither is Sheppard an isolated example of a composer listed without any elaboration. Many of the ‘authors’ listed at the conclusion of the book do not appear in the main text at all, and, as the following example shows, Morley frequently used both more and less specific styles of reference side-by-side:

But if they will reason by experience, and regard how it hath beene vsed by others, let them looke in the masse of M. *Tauernner*, called *Gloria tibi trinitas*, where they shall finde examples enough to refute their opinion, and confirme mine. But if they thinke maister *Tauernner* partiall, let them looke in the workes of our English doctors of musicke, as *D. Farfax*, *D. Newton*, *D. Cooper*, *D. Kirby*, *D. Tie*, and diuers other excellent men, as *Redford*, *Cornish*, *Piggot*, *White*, and *M. Tallis*.¹³⁰

There was, therefore, no requirement either for the writers of sixteenth-century canons or their readers to be familiar with music by all the composers listed. Rather, as in the case of Sheppard, it seems that composers’ names could function independently from their compositions as emblems of good music.

Robert Fayrfax is not as often included in these canons as some, but he often receives special treatment nevertheless, and benefitted especially from the independent circulation of his name.¹³¹ Reflecting the emphasis on academic distinction found in the work of both Morley (as in the extract above) and Whythorne, the name ‘Doctor Fayrfax’ often symbolises the very best of music even where his compositions do not appear. For example, one of the scribes working on the manuscript *T1464* wrote at the end of the copy of Fayrfax’s Marian antiphon *O Maria Deo grata* ‘dignum doctore ut semper’: ‘worthy of the Doctor, as

¹²⁸ Franchinus Gaffurius, *Practica musicae* (Milan, 1596: USTC 994869), f. EEii^r. See also Gaffurius, *Practica musicae*, ed. Clement A. Miller, American Institute of Musicology, Studies and Documents vol. 20 (Dallas: American Institute of Musicology, 1968), 144.

¹²⁹ The only really obscure name in Gaffurius’s list, Guanerii, is easily explained by the fact that the two men became acquainted with one another in Naples in the late 1470s. Clement A. Miller, ‘Early Gaffuriana: New Answers to Old Questions’, *MQ*, 56 (1970), 378-9.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, f. *v.

¹³¹ Baldwin does not list Fayrfax in his poem, but he still had access to his music: Baldwin’s partbooks contain a copy of *Ave Dei patris*. His commonplace book contains extracts of *Ave Dei patris* and an extract of *Maria plena virtute* attributed to Taverner.

always'.¹³² The inscription tells us two things: firstly, that to this scribe, Fayrfax was so famous that he was identifiable simply by his title 'Doctor', as if no others mattered; secondly, that Fayrfax's name, and particularly his academic title, carried a regulative function, whereby music could be judged against his standard and not attributed to him unless it was good enough.¹³³ An annotation in the partbooks of the Scottish copyist Thomas Wode suggest that to him too Fayrfax symbolised the best composer possible. In the triplex book *GB-Eu La. III. 483. (a)* Wode writes:

I haue said in ane of thir buk[es] that musik will pereishe, and this buke will shaw 3ou sum resons quhy, we se be experiance, that craft nor sye[n]ce is learnit bot to the end he may leive be it quhe[n] quhen [sic] he hes the craft or science; and if doctor farfax wer alyue in this cuntry, he wald be contemnit, & pereise for layk of mentinance...¹³⁴

I have said in one of their books that music will perish, and this book will show you some reasons why, we see by experience, that craft nor science is learnt but to the end he may live by it when he has the craft or science; and if Dr. Fayrfax were alive in this country, he would be condemned and perish for lack of maintenance...

Here, Wode complains that although music remains a popular career choice as a means of earning a living, as a result of this, the quality of music produced is diminished. He seems to have believed that the only composers who could now succeed economically were those who could compose easy-to-understand music—perhaps like the metrical psalms which he himself copied into his partbooks. By implicitly contrasting the kind of quality represented by Fayrfax with commercial ambition, as if the two were mutually exclusive, Wode invokes the common sixteenth-century trope whereby virtuous amateur connoisseurship is contrasted with the vulgarity of commerce.¹³⁵ However, whereas technical mediocrity was often valued as a mark of the gentleman amateur, Wode clearly believed that Fayrfax's music was in fact better by virtue of his apparent lack of commercial ambition. The poor reputation that Fayrfax would have enjoyed in Wode's Scotland is presented here as a travesty. The use of Fayrfax in

¹³² *T1464*, f. 20^r.

¹³³ The appearance of this attitude in the mid-sixteenth century is particularly striking when we consider how familiar it is from twentieth-century scholarship on Fayrfax's contemporary, Josquin. See, for example, Edgar Sparks's infamous statement against the inclusion of the 'Satzfehler motets' in the Josquin canon: 'True, one can hardly expect Josquin to write a masterpiece every time he sets pen to paper; nor can one expect him to write without stylistic variation. But how dull a work, and how much variation from the norm can one accept?' Sparks, 'Problems of Authenticity in Josquin's Motets' in Edward Lowinsky and Bonnie J. Blackburn (eds), *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 359.

¹³⁴ *GB-Eu La. III. 483. (a)*, pp. 176-177.

¹³⁵ Marsh, *Music and Society*, 175-6.

Wode's illustration thus shows that even in Scotland, half a century after his death, he had acquired the reputation of being a particularly sophisticated composer.

How did a composer gain this kind of reputation, and what did it mean in the late sixteenth century? For answers we can usefully turn to recent revisionist scholarship on Fayrfax's contemporary Josquin des Prez, who shared similar renown before and after his death.¹³⁶ According to Honey Meconi, the principal factors in the development of Josquin's popularity were 'a higher than average rate of attribution and thus name recognition, wide geographic distribution, and a balance among different compositional genres'.¹³⁷ By the time of his death Fayrfax had achieved all of these things, even without the advantage that print had offered to Josquin. He was known not only for antiphon and Mass composition, but also the secular songs found in the 'Fayrfax Manuscript' (British Library, Add. MS 5465) and the *XX Songes* (British Library, [pr. bk.] Music Library K. 1. e. 1, published in around 1530). His music was known in Scotland, and his Mass *O bone Jesu* was copied at the Alamire scriptorium in the Low Countries.¹³⁸ In addition, Fayrfax's music is scarcely ever found without attribution. This is in keeping with the overall fondness for attributed works in English sources, as seen above, but even within this trend Fayrfax's works are more often attributed than most. For example, in *Lambeth*, there are nine attributed works and ten anonymous ones. Eight of the nine attributed works are by Fayrfax. This suggests that the copyist, for whatever reason, was more keen to clarify authorship of pieces by Fayrfax, or perhaps that they were more aware of the identity of the author in the case of pieces by Fayrfax than in others. Although we do not know the reason that Fayrfax was so carefully named in the choirbook, careful attribution leads to canonisation more often than vice versa (as Meconi suggests),¹³⁹ and widespread awareness of Fayrfax's name and career would have

¹³⁶ See Paula Higgins, 'The Apotheosis of Josquin des Prez'. See also Edward E. Lowinsky, 'Musical Genius—Evolution and Origins of a Concept', *MQ*, 50 (1964), 486; 491; Andrew Kirkman, "'Under Such Heavy Chains": The Discovery and Evaluation of Late Medieval Music before Ambros', *19th Century Music*, 24 (2000), 93-6; 110; Richard Sherr (ed.), *The Josquin Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1-50; Honey Meconi, 'Josquin and Musical Reputation', in Barbara Hagg (ed.), *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman* (Paris: Minerve, 2001), 280-297; Jesse Rodin, 'When Josquin Became Josquin', *Acta Musicologica*, 81 (2009), 23-38; James O. Young, 'Kivy on Musical Genius', *British Journal of Aesthetics*, 51 (2011), 3; Willem Elders, *Josquin des Prez and his Musical Legacy: An Introductory Guide* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013), 29-45; 227-9.

¹³⁷ Meconi, 'Josquin and Musical Reputation', 285.

¹³⁸ *D-Ju* MS 9. On Jena 9 see Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court*, 156ff; Skinner, 'Further Thoughts on the Lambeth Choirbook and Jena 9', 155-7.

¹³⁹ Meconi, 'Josquin and Musical Reputation', 282-4.

increased the prestige value of his compositions and consequently the likelihood of them passing into standard repertoire. One important factor contributing to his wide renown in his lifetime and immediately afterwards may have been his high social status, and the respect his music commanded from the Tudor royal family. Fayrfax was born into a well-connected and relatively wealthy family,¹⁴⁰ and during his career he enjoyed not only academic recognition but also the patronage of Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII and Lady Margaret Beaufort.¹⁴¹

However, since Fayrfax's music did not have the advantage that Josquin's did of appearing in print, and because his music was rendered obsolete by changes in religious legislation after his death, we cannot explain his later sixteenth-century reputation by these aspects of transmission alone. As Whythorne's canon, Morley's discussions of music, and Wode's marginal comments suggest, Fayrfax's status as Doctor of Music was critical in shaping his posthumous reputation. Although no surviving contemporary work comments specifically on artistic quality in music, many clues allow us to reconstruct sixteenth-century views on literary quality, which reveal that by the turn of the seventeenth century, originality in art was highly prized; that this originality was often read as a rejection of commercial ambition in favour of scholarliness; and that it was believed that the most original artworks would grow more popular with time. In this context, older works written before music publication was widespread in England, and particularly by composers with a scholarly reputation, would acquire a higher status by their age and the very fact that they were unpublished.

The best evidence for these viewpoints can be gleaned from surviving playtexts written as part of the *Poetomachia*, or the 'Poets' War'—a series of plays written between 1599 and 1610 by the rival playwrights Ben Jonson, John Marston and Richard Dekker. In these satirical plays the rivals appear as semi-fictional characters, which combine caricatures of their appearances and personalities with symbolic representations of one particular attitude towards poetry and literature. Behind this comic front, the writers present serious arguments on the characteristics of 'good' art, and the relationships between art, money, scholarship, and public taste. Both perspectives are ridiculed: the mercenary poet, churning out empty rhetoric to fulfil the demands of the market; and the serious, scholarly poet who demands that his associates starve rather than betray the cause of art.

¹⁴⁰ Collingwood, 'Methods of Analysing Early Tudor Sacred Polyphony', 21-2.

¹⁴¹ See ch. 1, above, pp. 43 and 51.

The first play in the sequence, John Marston's *Histriomastix*, or 'The Scourge of Actors',¹⁴² features a thinly disguised parody of Marston's slightly older contemporary Jonson as the character 'Chrisoganus', or 'Golden-born'.¹⁴³ Chrisoganus is a serious poet, supposedly unswayed by mercenary concerns, who believes that the desire to produce great art and the desire to make money are incompatible: he tells his patrons

To make you Artists, answeres my desire,
Rather then hope or mercenary hire.¹⁴⁴

For Chrisoganus, it is lack of originality that defines a bad poet: he argues that contemporary poetry has reached a nadir because too many poets are learning and memorising rhetorical turns of phrase, or 'conceits', in order to satisfy market demands for more and more poetry:

When every artist prentice that hath read
The pleasant pantry of conceits, shall dare,
To write as confident as *Hercules*.¹⁴⁵

In contrast to Chrisoganus, Marston presents the rival poet 'Posthaste', apparently a satirical portrayal of the enormously popular writer (and former spy) Anthony Munday.¹⁴⁶ His plays are firmly rooted in popular culture and continue the tradition of civic entertainments: traditional stories and themes, much improvisation, and unpretentious language with 'no new luxurie or blandishment,/ But plenty of old Englands mother words'.¹⁴⁷ Much of Posthaste's poetry is improvised by reciting strings of commonplaces, and as a result is simply doggerel. For example, his first attempt at a prologue to his new play, *The Prodigal Child*, begins as follows:

Why Lords we are heere to shew you what we are,
Lords wee are heere although our cloths be bare,
In steed of flowers, in season, yee shall gather Rime and Reason!
I neuer pleas'd my selfe better, it comes off with such suauity.¹⁴⁸

Posthaste's aside expresses his satisfaction at his own 'suavity', but the audience is left in no doubt that his methods do not always produce good poetry.

¹⁴² John Marston, *Histrio-mastix, Or, The player whipt* (London, 1610: RSTC 13529).

¹⁴³ James P. Bednarz, 'Representing Jonson: "Histriomastix" and the Origin of the Poets' War', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 54 (1991), 3.

¹⁴⁴ Marston, *Histrio-mastix*, f. Bii^v.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, f. Div^r.

¹⁴⁶ Bednarz, 'Representing Jonson', 12-15. On Munday's former career, see Stephen Alford, *The Watchers: A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth I* (London: Penguin, 2012), 56-68.

¹⁴⁷ Marston, *Histrio-mastix*, f. Ci^v.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

The debate about poetic originality continues in a later play by Marston, *Jack Drum's Entertainment*. In this play Jonson is represented by Brabant Senior, a rich, foolish cuckold fond of laughing at his own jokes, who dismisses all contemporary poets as 'Apes and gulls,/ Vile imitating spirits'.¹⁴⁹ The final play in the series, Jonson's *Poetaster* ('The Bad Poet'), is set in a fictionalised Classical world populated by the great Latin poets.¹⁵⁰ Besides the eponymous bad poet, Crispinus, the major comic character in *Poetaster* is Ovid. Like Chrisoganus in *Histrionmastix*, he claims that poetry is above material concerns, but in his case this is pure hypocrisy: his effortless and rapid manner of composition reveals him to be a mere word-spinner. He absent-mindedly transcribes into verse the legal cases he is supposed to be studying, and when he receives a letter from his beloved Julia, his speech becomes peppered with attractive, but ultimately meaningless, rhetorical gestures which he has apparently memorised: 'Musique of wit! Note for th'harmonious *Spheares!*/ Celestiall Accents, how you rauish me!'¹⁵¹

The poet singled out for especial praise in *Poetaster* is Virgil. In the final act Horace, representing Jonson himself, praises him to the emperor, arguing that

His Learning labours not the Schoole-like *Glosse*,
That most consists in *Ecchoing* Wordes, and *Termes*,
And soonest wins a man an Empty Name:
... But with a direct, and *Analyticke* Summe
Of all the worth and first effectes of Artes.
And for his *Poësie*, 'tis so ramm'd with Life,
That it shall gather strength of Life, with being;
And liue hereafter, more admir'd, then now.¹⁵²

According to Jonson, the value of Virgil's poetry is in its originality, which has resulted from an 'analytick' study of poetry, its value and purpose ('worth and first effects'). Thanks to this originality, Virgil's poetry has 'Life'—it is real, not just an 'eccho'—which will allow it to remain popular. Moreover, we can infer from other *Poetomachia* texts that such originality stems from a genuine reluctance to bow to the demands of the majority. Intriguingly, and significantly for this passage's potential applicability to Fayrfax, this lack of concern for the public does not preclude Virgil's composing poetry in the service of the state. Indeed,

¹⁴⁹ Marston, *Jacke Drums entertainment: or The comedie of Pasquill and Katherine* (London, 1601: RSTC 7243), f. F4^v; Bednarz, 'Representing Jonson', 1, 11; Ben Jonson, *Poetaster*, ed. Herbert S. Mallory (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1905), xxvi-xxvii.

¹⁵⁰ Ben Jonson, *Poetaster or The arraignment* (London, 1602: RSTC 14781)

¹⁵¹ Jonson, *Poetaster*, f. Biv^r. James D. Mulvihill, 'Jonson's *Poetaster* and the Ovidian Debate', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 22 (1982), 242-4 at 243.

¹⁵² Jonson, *Poetaster*, f. Kii^v.

Horace's praise of him before Caesar is partly dictated by the fact that the emperor is already a great admirer of his.¹⁵³ There remains, therefore, a sense that great art might still be created even under pressure from the establishment, a notion which arguably sets the early modern notion of artistic quality at odds with more recent perspectives.

Jonson's praise of Virgil also shows that his ambition for poetry is for it to outlast the composer's life and indeed increase in popularity with time. This sentiment would have chimed with Wode, Baldwin, Dow, and perhaps also the many copyists employed by Edward Paston, who did not leave such useful marginalia as the other scribes but whose taste for old music is clear throughout the collection. It seems that all of our copyists believed that the best music would last; that, consequently, those pieces which had already lasted had proved their worth; and that such music should be preserved, as its renown would only increase as time went on.

5.7. Conclusions

In chapter 3 it was argued that the complex dynamics of Elizabethan popular religion did not preclude the enjoyment of pre-Reformation culture, including music, by conformist members of the established Church; this is supported by the evidence of surviving manuscripts. This chapter has explored the question of what inspired Elizabethan collectors of pre-Reformation music if not confessional identity. I have shown that, firstly, there is ample evidence of nostalgia for pre-Reformation music in the writings of conformist Elizabethan Protestants. They negotiated the awkward cultural associations of the music by focussing on its qualities as sound, rather than its devotional origins, invoking contemporary neo-classical discourses in praise of music to do so; and by sublimating the loss of pre-Reformation music into a more wide-ranging, secular narrative of decline and decay. As well as this, several copyists of extant manuscripts, especially John Baldwin, John Sadler and Robert Dow, appropriated the existing understanding that composers could be commemorated through their works in order to create a positive national narrative through the collection of English music, participating as they did so in the later Elizabethan and early seventeenth-century antiquarian project. These motivations were not mutually exclusive, and the partbooks of John Baldwin, for example, reveal traces of a variety of ways of thinking about the music of the past and of reasons to conserve it.

¹⁵³ See Sinfield, 'Poetaster', 8-10, 14.

Such practices as these were based to a certain extent on a shared understanding of whose music was worthy of preservation. As we have seen, evidence emerges around the turn of the seventeenth century for a classicising discourse, which suggests that to some copyists the age of the music they copied might have counted in its favour as proof of its quality. Furthermore, while analysis of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century canons and descriptions of composers' work has been partly inconclusive—writers seem often to have listed musicians, by twenty-first century standards, totally indiscriminately—patterns nevertheless emerge suggesting that certain composers, particularly those who enjoyed academic distinction, might have received wider recognition than others. This was undoubtedly a critical contributing factor to the securing of Fayrfax's reputation in the decades after the Elizabethan Settlement.

However, these factors alone did not guarantee the survival of such music into the present day. Already in Elizabeth I's reign some of the most highly regarded composers seem to have been known only by reputation. Of the early sixteenth-century Doctors of Music, for example, Newton and Cowper were clearly renowned by Elizabethan canonists but their music was not copied into manuscripts that remain extant. There is also no doubt that some composers—Sheppard, for example—who were highly regarded in their lifetime were little known in post-Reformation England, presumably because their music was lost in the iconoclasm of the 1560s and 1570s. As William Forrest recognised in the early 1570s, the effect of the Edwardian and Elizabethan Reformations on the repertoire of English sacred music was catastrophic, and the fact that music by Cowper, Newton, Sheppard and others seems to have been unavailable to interested writers in the 1590s and later is undoubtedly connected to the dramatic decline in the number of pricksong manuscripts that survived. The influence of aesthetic and other considerations on the musical choices of Elizabethan copyists cannot be truly discerned without identifying the true extent of this loss, and the degree to which it limited the amount of music available to them. These questions are the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 6. The survival and circulation of *Ave Dei patris* settings in sixteenth-century manuscript sources

6.1. Introduction

This chapter will show how pre-Reformation music, including *Ave Dei patris* settings, was transmitted in sixteenth-century manuscripts, by combining two possible methods of analysis. The first of these methods is best exemplified by May Hofman's 1977 doctoral thesis, which studies in detail the similarities and relationships between surviving English sources, specifically excluding all evidence acquired through textual comparison. Hofman's study focusses on 'the evidence of copying methods such as the identical order of a number of pieces, the existence of unusual concordances, identity of handwriting and the date and provenance of the manuscripts.'¹ The second method might be described as strictly textual, using a variety of methods, including (but not limited to) the creation of manuscript stemmata, in order to identify filial relationships between manuscript sources which are based on the textual contents of each copy. This method tends to focus less on the context and background of the sources in question. With respect to early English music, the most thorough exposition of this technique is a thesis by Penelope Rapson, which also includes a useful discussion, literature review (up to the early 1970s) and critique of the stemmatic method.²

The present chapter is not the first attempt to combine and compare evidence derived from manuscript concordances with textual evidence. Hilary Gaskin's thesis includes a chapter dedicated to verifying the conclusions drawn by May Hofman, particularly her assertion of the primacy of John Baldwin in Elizabethan musical circles, by means of textual comparisons.³ Focussing primarily on music by Byrd, Gaskin created quasi-stemmata in order to illustrate the copying relationships she found, based on a combination of textual variants and Hofman's external evidence.⁴ She concluded that '[in] every case where [textual analysis] has been applied to an inter-source relationship proposed by Hofman, the result implies some degree of contradiction between the two categories of evidence', and called for an analysis of the nature of specific variants in order to 'reconcile' them.⁵ Gaskin's chapter is a persuasive refutation of Hofman's methodology and conclusions but she is often too quick to dismiss a

¹ Hofman, 'The Survival of Latin Sacred Music', 2.

² Rapson, 'A Technique for Identifying Textual Errors'.

³ Gaskin, 'Music Copyists in Late Sixteenth-Century England', 97-131.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 111-116.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 127-8, 130.

possible connection between two sources if variants exist between them, without considering the nature of these variants and how they relate to readings in other sources beyond the immediate pair. Moreover, she does not go as far as proposing alternative conclusions about scribal relationships. Using a different repertoire—Marian votive antiphons and other early- to mid-sixteenth-century Latin polyphony—as the subject of analysis, the present chapter will address this shortfall by using more rigorous techniques of textual analysis in combination with the increased understanding of musical sources gained since Hofman and Gaskin wrote their theses.

This chapter will begin with a discussion of the techniques and sources of evidence that can be used to analyse textual relationships, and the associated terminology—stemmatics, cladistics, substantive and cosmetic variants. I shall then introduce the methods of data gathering and data analysis which I have adopted in my own study, with examples of their application. Finally, I shall apply this methodology to *Ave Dei patris* settings and related Henrician votive antiphons, and use the results to draw conclusions about the way in which pre-Reformation music circulated in England.

6.1.1. Musical applications of the stemmatic method

The traditional stemmatic method aims to strip away scribal errors accumulated over time and through repeated iterations of the same text in order to recover an ‘archetype’, presumed to be as close as possible to the original statement of the text. The aim is to produce a ‘clean’ edition of the text, whether this consists of words or notated music, as the composer first conceived it, in as objective a way possible. The distinguishing feature of this methodology is its exclusive reliance on errors to identify filial relations. Potentially viable variants are disregarded in the construction of a stemma, and are identified as errors or good readings once every source’s relationship to the archetype has been established. There are several issues with such an approach to textual editing, both practical and aesthetic in nature. One potential problem with editions produced from the stemmatic method is that although they proceed from an analysis of extant text states—that is, manuscript or print sources which actually survive—the resulting ‘eclectic’ edition normally represents a state which does not survive; indeed, which may never have existed. In addition, ‘contamination’—that is, the use of two exemplars to produce a single text—or deliberate emendation by a scribe can both cause a projected stemma to ‘collapse like a card house’.⁶ But the most critical problem with the

⁶ James Grier, ‘Musical Sources and Stemmatic Filiation: A Tool for Editing Music’, *JM*, 13 (1995), 100.

traditional stemmatic method is that it presumes that ‘errors’ are clearly identifiable as such. This is often not the case, in which circumstances a subjective judgment by the editor must be made. Indeed, sometimes there are no clear shared errors, and in these situations it is impossible to form a stemma.

Penelope Rapson’s thesis attempted to resolve this issue by using the then-current method of building a stemma using all variants equally, whether errors or not. The resulting stemma could be oriented in any direction. She then used a few clearly identifiable errors (corruptions of text, errors of rhythm or pitch that spoil the polyphonic fabric of a piece) to orient the stemma and thereby to identify which of the many viable variants were original. In her abandonment of the ‘common error’ principle she followed Dom Henri Quentin⁷ and W. W. Greg,⁸ but her equal treatment of all variants is indebted to Greg rather than Quentin, who excluded variants found only in one source. Moreover, because her method is based in the first instance on the number of variants shared between sources, rather than on characteristics of individual errors as in traditional stemmatics, it helps to resolve a problem with the application of stemmatics to music transmitted in partbooks: that is, the impossibility of checking whether errors are present or not in voice parts lost from a particular source. A further valuable contribution by Rapson was her pioneering use of computers in stemmatics, which enabled larger amounts of data to be quantified and thus allowed all variants, not just errors, to be taken into account. Since the 1990s this has been termed ‘cladistics’, after a branch of evolutionary biology, and uses computer programmes derived from those of bioinformatics to identify clades, or families, of sources. However, because computers lack the intuition required to judge whether a variant is an error or not, they cannot orient a stemma. Other sources of information must then be used to establish the directional relationship of these families from the archetype.⁹ Digital techniques derived from cladistics

⁷ Peter F. Dembowski, ‘The “French” Tradition of Textual Philology and Its Relevance to the Editing of Medieval Texts’, *Modern Philology*, 90 (1993), 517-8; J. Burke Severs, ‘Quentin’s Theory of Textual Criticism’, *English Institute Annual* (1941), 65-93, at 66-7.

⁸ Greg’s method, which relies on identifying groups of sources which share variants, is explained in W. W. Greg, *The Calculus of Variants: An Essay on Textual Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927).

⁹ A practical example of this is the Canterbury Tales Project (1992-2006), which used computer programmes to collate fifteenth-century sources of Chaucer’s *The Canterbury Tales*. See Adrian C. Barbrook, Christopher J. Howe, Norman Blake and Peter Robinson, ‘The phylogeny of *The Canterbury Tales*’, *Nature*, 394 (1998), 839; Peter Robinson, ‘The History, Discoveries, and Aims of the Canterbury Tales Project’, *The Chaucer Review*, 38 (2003), 126-139. At the time of writing (4

and from Rapson's work are still being used in music philology.¹⁰

Other recent manuals on music editing, however, have seen a return to more classical principles, which rely on the identification of scribal errors. According to James Grier, '[the] sharing of good readings, no matter how rare, simply cannot show stemmatic relationships' as they reveal only common descent from the archetype.¹¹ Georg Feder also saw the stemmatic method as founded on shared errors.¹² Most recently, Leofranc Holford-Strevens, in the unique position of being both philologist and musicologist, has corroborated the notion that '[a]greement in truth proves nothing', dismissing cladistics with the statement 'a generation ago a theory of clustering was proposed that considered only the absolute resemblances between manuscripts without regard to the truth or falsity of their readings; it no longer troubles our studies.'¹³ There are both ontological and practical difficulties with this editorial *volte-face*. Firstly, it presupposes the existence—and the desirability—of a unitary and recoverable *Urtext*, when it is well-known that sixteenth-century composers frequently revised their works and that pieces could circulate in more than one discrete version. In addition, it places the onus back onto the musicologist to identify errors using their knowledge of style, opening the possibility of circular arguments which rely on earlier editions for the establishment of later ones. This is especially problematic when dealing with composers whose style is unconventional or poorly understood. Moreover, as Grier admits, there are times when 'readings that are not clear errors can nevertheless show shared descent':¹⁴ black-and-white rules about what should be excluded from analysis can thus sometimes be undermined by the realities of practical application.

This is not to say that methods which do not distinguish between viable variants and errors are perfect or foolproof. Like more traditional practitioners of stemmatics, both Rapson

October 2016) the project website is no longer active, but an earlier version can be found at <<http://www.petermwoobinson.me.uk/canterburytalesproject.com/index.html>>.

¹⁰ See, for example, Theodor Dumitrescu, 'Ancient Concerns for the Twenty-first Century: "Music Philology" in the Realm of the Digital', in Dumitrescu, Karl Kügle and Marnix van Berchum (eds), *Early Music Editing: Principles, Historiography, Future Directions* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 211-240. For a list of examples which were accessible online at the time of publication, see Alexander Silbiger's essay in the same volume, 'The Promises and Pitfalls of Online Scholarly Music Publishing', 195-209.

¹¹ Grier, 'Musical Sources', 74.

¹² Georg Feder, *Music Philology: An Introduction to Musical Textual Criticism, Hermeneutics, and Editorial Technique*, trans. Bruce C. MacIntyre (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2011), 63-4.

¹³ Leofranc Holford-Strevens, 'Do Classical Principles Work?', in Dumitrescu et al. (eds), *Early Music Editing*, 21, 24.

¹⁴ Grier, 'Musical Sources', 95.

and Greg excluded some variants from consideration in establishing a stemma. Rather than distinguishing between viable variant readings and errors, they instead drew a distinction between ‘substantive’ and ‘accidental’ variants (the latter I shall call ‘cosmetic’ to avoid confusion). These terms were first defined by Greg as ‘those namely that affect the author’s meaning or the essence of his expression’ and ‘spelling, punctuation, word-division, and the like, affecting mainly its formal presentation.’¹⁵ In other words, substantive variants are useful in determining manuscript relationships, while cosmetic variants are the product of individual scribes’ decisions and therefore have no impact on the stemma. Rapson identifies cosmetic variants in music as ‘amongst other things, key signatures, clefs, ligatures, final notes, word underlay and musical accidentals’,¹⁶ and argues that they ‘do not constitute valid variants for the purposes of textual criticism’.¹⁷ However, in music the distinction between substantive and cosmetic variants is rather too stark. Many of the variant categories listed by Rapson, while often dependent on scribal preferences (especially text underlay and some stave signatures), have the potential to affect the sound of the music in performance and as such should be treated as substantive. Moreover, accidentals in particular may often have been passed from scribe to scribe. The range of cosmetic variants can thus be narrowed down to clefs, ligatures and the length of final notes alone, with the addition of non-essential coloration for early sixteenth-century music. Together with variants in the orthography and punctuation of any verbal text, however, this list still represents a vastly enlarged range of possible cosmetic variants compared to that found in non-musical texts. Furthermore, as I demonstrate in this chapter, it is often precisely those cosmetic variants often excluded from consideration that can provide the most information about musical-textual transmission.

6.1.2. Methodology

The present analysis is indebted to all of the approaches described above, and does not adopt a single one to the exclusion of others. Unlike traditional stemmatics, including Rapson’s study, my aim here is not the identification of errors or the restoration of an archetype. Rather, I aim to trace relationships between manuscripts and copyists which can then be confirmed by external—that is, historical, codicological, or palaeographical—evidence. In other words, my object of study is not the musical text, but the reception of that text. As a result, I am not primarily concerned with the creation of a stemma, and I make use of information such as the dating of a manuscript which is normally excluded from the analysis of textual states. I follow

¹⁵ W. W. Greg, ‘The Rationale of Copy-Text’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 3 (1950/51), 21.

¹⁶ Rapson, ‘A Technique for Identifying Textual Errors’, 62.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 63.

Rapson in including all variants in my analysis regardless of the number of sources in which they are found or whether or not they are identifiable as errors, though unlike her I also include cosmetic variants, and fortunately in this study the numbers of sources and variants are sufficiently small as to allow the analysis to be done by hand. Therefore, all disagreements between sources have been taken into account equally, whether they produce viable musical results or not.

My analysis of these variants makes use of two principal tools. The first is what I have called the ‘similarity index’ (SI), a measurement designed to compare the extent to which pairs of sources are similar to each other. It is calculated in two steps. Firstly, I have counted all the occurrences of shared readings between two sources—including but not necessarily limited to ligatures, pitch, rhythm, underlay and accidentals—in places where one or more other sources transmit a different reading. Where one source contains a unique variant I have included it in the calculations as a variant shared between all other sources. In other words, if source A of five sources A, B, C, D and E has a unique variant, I have counted shared variants in the combinations BC, BD, BE, CD, CE, and DE. I have drawn no distinction in my pair counts between substantive and cosmetic variants. This counting technique is demonstrated in Figure 6a.

The SI of a pair of sources is then found by dividing the number of variants shared between them, by the proportion of music to survive in the most fragmentary source of the pair. It thus represents the number of these readings which they might be supposed to share, had they both survived complete. For example, the SI of *UJ* and *Sadler* in Fayrfax’s *Ave Dei patris* is calculated as follows:

Total number of shared variants =	138
Proportion of surviving music in <i>UJ</i> =	0.4 (i.e. 2 out of 5 original parts)
Similarity index = $138 / 0.4 =$	345

The SI is most useful when comparing degrees of similarity in relation to a single source. For several reasons, it is not a perfect guide. It must be realised that these calculations are only estimates and become less accurate the more voice parts are lost. In sources which contain extracts, the proportion of surviving music is so small that the SI serves no useful purpose. Furthermore, it is of course impossible to calculate the SI between two orphan partbooks for different voices. Finally, the variant counts have been done by hand, and are thus subject to human error, although this is unlikely to have had substantial influence on the overall comparisons except when the numbers of variants involved are very similar.

Figure 6a. Example showing sources in parallel and technique of variant counting: Taverner, *Ave Dei patris filia*, bassus only, bb. 71-74

71

Ph [eter] - - - ne spi - ra - ci - o -

Baldwin [eter] - - - ne spi - ra - ci - o -

UJ [eter] - - - ne spi - ra - ci - o -

Sadler [eter] - - - ne spi - ra - ci - o -

T1464 [eter] - - - ne spi - ra - ci - o -

Source pair		Variants between sources, with indication of whether they are shared					Total shared variants in this extract
		Coloration	Underlay	Rhythm	Rhythm	Coloration	
<i>Ph</i>	<i>Baldwin</i>	x					1
<i>Ph</i>	<i>UJ</i>	x			x	x	3
<i>Ph</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	x			x	x	3
<i>Ph</i>	<i>T1464</i>				x	x	2
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>UJ</i>	x	x	x			3
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	x	x	x			3
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>T1464</i>		x	x			2
<i>UJ</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	x	x	x	x	x	5
<i>UJ</i>	<i>T1464</i>		x	x	x	x	4
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>T1464</i>		x	x	x	x	4

The other tool I use in this chapter is the principle of the *shibboleth*, a word I have adopted as a shorthand for what Georg Feder terms ‘separative’ and ‘conjunctive errors’.¹⁸ As it is used here, a shibboleth is any variant, especially but not necessarily an error, which divides the corpus of extant sources into two groups according to whether they carry it or not, regardless of how similar these sources otherwise are.¹⁹ It could be a single shared substantive variant, whether or not it is an error; any shared error that is unlikely to have occurred by accident; or in Feder’s words, a ‘mass occurrence of corresponding non-significative errors’²⁰ (for which read cosmetic variants) such as a large and unexpected number of shared ligatures. For the analysis to be useful, the groups defined by the shibboleth should each consist of at least two sources. The larger and more evenly-matched the groups, and the more certain we can be that the shibboleth is an error, the more it can tell us about the way sources interrelate. Moreover, some rules for handling shibboleths must be borne in mind; in the words of W. W. Greg,

...if we find that the variants habitually divide the manuscripts into the two groups ABC and DEF, then these will be significant constant groups; but, though both may also be genetic groups, that either ABC or DEF should be such will suffice to account for the facts.²¹

In other words, while as in traditional stemmatics a shibboleth which is certainly an error reveals that the sources that carry it share a common ancestor, it does not identify a common ancestor for those sources which do not carry it. Other variants must be used to identify whether this second group also derives from a single source besides the archetype. In addition, when the shibboleth is a substantive variant which gives viable readings in both groups of sources, the identification of more variants are needed to discern whether both groups are genetic or whether one of them represents the reading of the archetype.

¹⁸ Feder, *Music Philology*, 63-4.

¹⁹ My use of the word *shibboleth* is metaphorical but seems the most appropriate shorthand in this context. According to the Oxford English Dictionary a shibboleth is a sound or custom whose correct usage distinguishes those within a social group from those outside it: ‘a word used as a test for detecting foreigners, or persons from another district, by their pronunciation’, or ‘a custom, habit, mode of dress, or the like, which distinguishes a particular class or set of persons’. *OED*, online access, accessed 17 March 2017.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.

²¹ Greg, *The Calculus of Variants*, 13.

6.2. The sources

The following introduction to the extant sources of *Ave Dei patris* settings is indebted to May Hofman's work, but takes advantage of more recent studies of individual manuscripts and their broader historical context. I briefly introduce each source and any provenance information if known; any known information about its relationship to other sources, especially regarding concordances; and any particularly important unanswered questions concerning the source. In order to minimise overlap with earlier chapters I have occasionally provided cross-references.

6.2.1. Carver (see ch. 1, pp. 44-6)

Compiled at Stirling in the first half of the sixteenth century, *Carver* contains two antiphons by Fayrfax: *Ave Dei patris filia* and *Aeternae laudis lilium*, copied side-by-side, probably in the early 1510s. *Carver* is isolated both geographically and textually from the other surviving sources. The verbal texts of both pieces are often garbled and sometimes nonsensical ('venisciscia' for 'venustissima', for example; in *Aeternae laudis*, we find 'matri celita' for 'matrice cista', 'ninie' for 'lineae' and 'grandium' for 'gaudium'), which suggests that they may have been taken down from oral dictation or perhaps from an exemplar whose script was unfamiliar. They certainly show that the transmission of these texts, in musical settings or not, to Scotland had been at best limited before they were copied into the choirbook.

6.2.2. H1709 (see ch. 2, pp. 77-81; Appendix C1)

This orphan partbook for an upper voice contains twenty-six pieces, most of which are votive antiphons, including three by Fayrfax: *Ave Dei patris*, *Lauda vivi*, and *O bone Jesu*. There are two clues to its provenance, neither of which has yet been solved. The first is an unusually early copy of Tallis's *Salve intemerata*, which suggests that the source was copied somewhere near to Tallis himself. The second is a setting of *Tota pulchra es*, in a rather archaic style, by the otherwise unknown 'mr thomas hyllary'.

6.2.3. UJ (see ch. 2, pp. 68-70)

Probably copied in or near Norwich in the late 1520s or early 1530s, this pair, consisting of one partbook containing bassus parts and another containing a mixture of tenor and contratenor parts, is the remainder of an original set of at least five partbooks. Their contents are categorised by genre, with antiphons given first, followed by Masses. Both Taverner's and Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris* settings are included, with Fayrfax's in pride of place at the beginning of the collection.

6.2.4. Ph

Originally consisting of five partbooks, this set now lacks its tenor, the first twelve folios of the triplex, and six folios of the bassus. It is a large collection of over 70 pieces in all the principal festal genres: Masses, Magnificats and votive antiphons, including many unica. Nick Sandon has convincingly suggested that it represents the music collection of Magdalen College, Oxford, collated and copied in or around 1540 for a newly refounded institution, perhaps Canterbury Cathedral.²² *Ph* is the unique source for Merbecke's *Ave Dei patris*, and contains a copy of Fayrfax's setting (albeit lacking the tenor) and a partial copy of Taverner's which also lacks the triplex. Curiously, it also contains Tallis's *Ave rosa sine spinis*, but not its near-twin *Ave Dei patris*. The set shows signs of having been copied in haste, with many uncorrected errors which suggest that it was never intended for use in performance, but was copied as a repository of music to be transferred into performing copies as needed.²³ Its copy of Fayrfax's setting also contains many substantive rhythmic variants, several of which are demonstrably less satisfactory than those found in other sources: like *Carver*, it stands outside the main body of extant manuscripts.

6.2.5. T1464 (see Appendix C2)

This is an orphan bassus partbook which, had the other books of the set survived, would surely have been one of the most significant collections of music to have survived from Elizabethan England: it contains an enormous variety of genres from instrumental pieces and In Nomines, through Office hymns by Tallis and Sheppard, to arguably the most important extant collection of Fayrfax's votive antiphons. The manuscript began life as a compendium of untexted pieces copied by a single music scribe, and the texts were added subsequently by a number of others. Its inclusion of the otherwise little-known Norwich composers William Cobbold and Osbert Parsley points towards an origin in or near Norwich, and its contents and the textual state of certain pieces by Tallis suggest that it was copied in approximately 1565-70. *T1464* provides the earliest evidence of what May Hofman has named the *G2* antiphon source, a now lost source including the following pieces which circulated as a single stable unit of three:

Fayrfax	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
Taverner	<i>Gaude plurimum</i>
Taverner	<i>Ave Dei patris</i> ²⁴

²² Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks Belonging to Peterhouse', 126-131.

²³ *Ibid.*, 117-121.

²⁴ Hofman, 'The Survival of Latin Sacred Music', 48, 88, 92-3.

Also found in *Sadler* and *Baldwin*, the *G2* corpus underwent a number of transformations as it travelled from place to place and accumulated more pieces: in both *Sadler* and *T1464* the set includes Johnson's *Ave Dei patris*, and in *T1464* and *Baldwin* the set includes Taverner's *Mater Christi sanctissima*. Tallis's *Salve intemerata* appears immediately before *G2* in *Baldwin* and immediately after it in *Sadler* and *T1464*.

As well as *G2*, the copyists of *T1464* had access to a source of several other antiphons by Fayrfax: they copied *Aeternae laudis*, *O Maria Deo grata*, *Lauda vivi*, *Gaude flore virginali* (a unicum), and *Maria plena virtute* one after the other, followed by Taverner's *Mater Christi* and the *G2* antiphons. This otherwise lost Fayrfax source will be referred to hereafter as *F*.

6.2.6. Sadler

This set of five partbooks, remarkable for its completeness, was copied by at least four inexperienced scribes between the mid-1560s and the mid-1580s and owned by the Northamptonshire cleric and schoolteacher John Sadler.²⁵ Sadler's collection consists primarily of Latin sacred music. Like *T1464*, it is retrospective, especially towards the beginning of the manuscripts which include pieces by Aston and Merbecke, among others. It also appears, again like *T1464*, to have been partly sourced in Norwich.²⁶ It includes two pieces by Osbert Parsley and two Latin motets by Thomas Morley, and transmits almost exactly the same version of *G2* as does *T1464*. The following table shows a list of concordances between *T1464* and *Sadler*, and the position in which they appear in the two sources:

<i>T1464</i>			<i>Sadler</i>	
25	Taverner	<i>Mater Christi</i>	36	(appears later in the MS)
26	Fayrfax	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>	9	Fayrfax <i>Ave Dei patris</i>
27	Taverner	<i>Gaude plurimum</i>	10	Taverner <i>Gaude plurimum</i>
50	(appears later in the MS)		11	Clemens <i>Job tonso capite</i>
28	Taverner	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>	12	Taverner <i>Ave Dei patris</i>
29	Johnson	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>	13	Johnson <i>Ave Dei patris</i>
30	Tallis	<i>Salve intemerata</i>	14	Tallis <i>Salve intemerata</i>

²⁵ Julia Craig-McFeely, 'The work of DIAMM, the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music', unpublished paper given at the annual study day of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society (Worcester Cathedral, 13 May 2017).

²⁶ Hofman, 'The Survival of Latin Sacred Music', 42-3.

6.2.7. T1486/Wilmott

This pair of partbooks, one containing tenor parts, the other containing a mixture of medius and contratenor parts, was originally part of a set of five, also owned by John Sadler and dated 1591. The collection consists entirely of Latin motets, including *Salve intemerata*, *Gaude plurimum*, *Ave rosa sine spinis*, and Tallis's and Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* settings, but these do not follow the order set by *G2*; any influence from this earlier collection is therefore indirect and comes via *Sadler*. *T1486* and *Wilmott* also carry independent evidence that Sadler acquired his sources from the Norwich area: as Judith Blezzard has shown, the large initials and ornamental banners found in the books are strikingly similar to those found in the alphabet books of John Scottowe. Scottowe was a calligrapher and teacher active in Norwich from the mid-1560s until the end of the century.²⁷

6.2.8. Baldwin

Originally a set of six, these partbooks now lack their tenor. They were copied by John Baldwin in c. 1575-81,²⁸ and were bound together with a copy of Tallis and Byrd's 1575 *Cantiones sacrae*. Baldwin worked as a lay clerk and music copyist for St George's Chapel, Windsor, from at least 1586 and perhaps earlier, and was formally admitted into the Chapel Royal in 1598.²⁹ The common assumption that Baldwin arrived at St George's in 1575—first stated by Ernest Brennecke in 1952³⁰—is no longer tenable: no documentary evidence can now be found to support this date, and Baldwin is absent from the list of lay clerks receiving a stipend in the year 1575/6.³¹ We therefore do not know for sure where Baldwin was employed at the time that he copied *Baldwin*. However, he certainly had privileged access to music from the Chapel Royal: his books are now the unique source for the majority of the music of John Sheppard, including the music from his Office cycle.³² May Hofman assigns Baldwin a crucial role among Elizabethan music copyists as 'the central figure in the circulation of sources', actively gathering music, copying it and passing it on, although this conclusion has been questioned by Hilary Gaskin.³³ His partbooks include all three of the core *G2* antiphons, with *Salve intemerata* and *Mater Christi sanctissima* in close proximity to them.

²⁷ Blezzard, 'Monsters and Messages', 325-7.

²⁸ John Sheppard, *Hymns, Psalms, Antiphons and other Latin Polyphony*, ed. Magnus Williamson, xxvii.

²⁹ David Mateer, 'Baldwin, John (d. 1615), music copyist and composer', *ODNB*.

³⁰ Ernest Brennecke, 'A Singing Man of Windsor', *M&L*, 33 (1952), 36.

³¹ St George's Chapel Archives, XV.59.11 (Treasurer's account roll, October 1575-September 1576).

³² See ch. 5 above, pp. 238-40, for a discussion of Sheppard's popularity in the late sixteenth century.

³³ Hofman, 'The Survival of Latin Sacred Music', 43; Gaskin, 'Music Copyists', 126-7.

6.2.9. 24d2

John Baldwin's 'commonplace book', which bears several dates from 1591 to 1606, is a large collection of both English and Continental, texted and untexted works, mostly copied in score with some extracts towards the end copied in choirbook format. It contains two extracts from Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris*, both in three parts, copied alternately with similar extracts from Tallis's *Gaude gloriosa*. It also offers additional evidence of Baldwin's musical connections in its inclusion of Robert Wylkynson's *Credo/Jesus autem transiens*, the final piece in *Eton*, which Baldwin copied as the final piece of his collection reproducing almost exactly the format of the Eton Choirbook original: Baldwin must have had access either to *Eton* or a very closely related source.³⁴ One curious feature is that although Baldwin must have known of Robert Johnson's music through his Windsor connections, and indeed copied pieces by Johnson which are otherwise unknown into *24d2*, he did not copy Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* into any of his manuscripts. This will be discussed below.

6.2.10. e423

This orphan contratenor partbook is inscribed with the initials of John, son of Sir William Petre of Ingatestone, Essex, who was knighted in 1576 and created Baron Petre of Writtle in 1603. Petre's musical education and acquaintance with William Byrd, as well as his Catholicism, have been discussed by David Mateer.³⁵ The partbook was copied in the 1580s by Petre's steward, John Bentley, and is formed of three fascicles originally copied separately and now bound together.³⁶ The second and third fascicles consist almost entirely of Latin-texted vocal music, including a selection of Henrician antiphons in the second fascicle and a large quantity of music dating probably from the Marian period in the third; this includes Sheppard's *Gaude virgo Christophera*, Mundy's *Vox patris caelestis* and *Eructavit cor meum*, and several Latin-texted pieces by White and Tye. According to Mateer, Bentley likely came to know this music either as a Chapel Royal chorister in the reign of Mary, for which there is good circumstantial evidence, or through Nathan Sheppard, son of the composer John, who was the tutor of Lord Petre's heir William.³⁷ The second fascicle includes the following:

15	Taverner	<i>Mater Christi sanctissima</i>
16	Tallis	<i>Salve intemerata</i>
17	Taverner	<i>Gaude plurimum</i>
18	Mundy	Magnificat

³⁴ Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook', 427.

³⁵ See Mateer, 'William Byrd, John Petre and Oxford, Bodleian MS Mus. Sch. e. 423', 22-33.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 21, 36-7.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 31, 34.

19	Mundy	Magnificat
20	Taverner	Magnificat
21	Mundy	<i>Gaude virgo mater Christi</i>
22	Tye	<i>Miserere</i>
23	Taverner	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>

Figure 6b. *e423*, p. 127 (Taverner, *Ave Dei patris*)

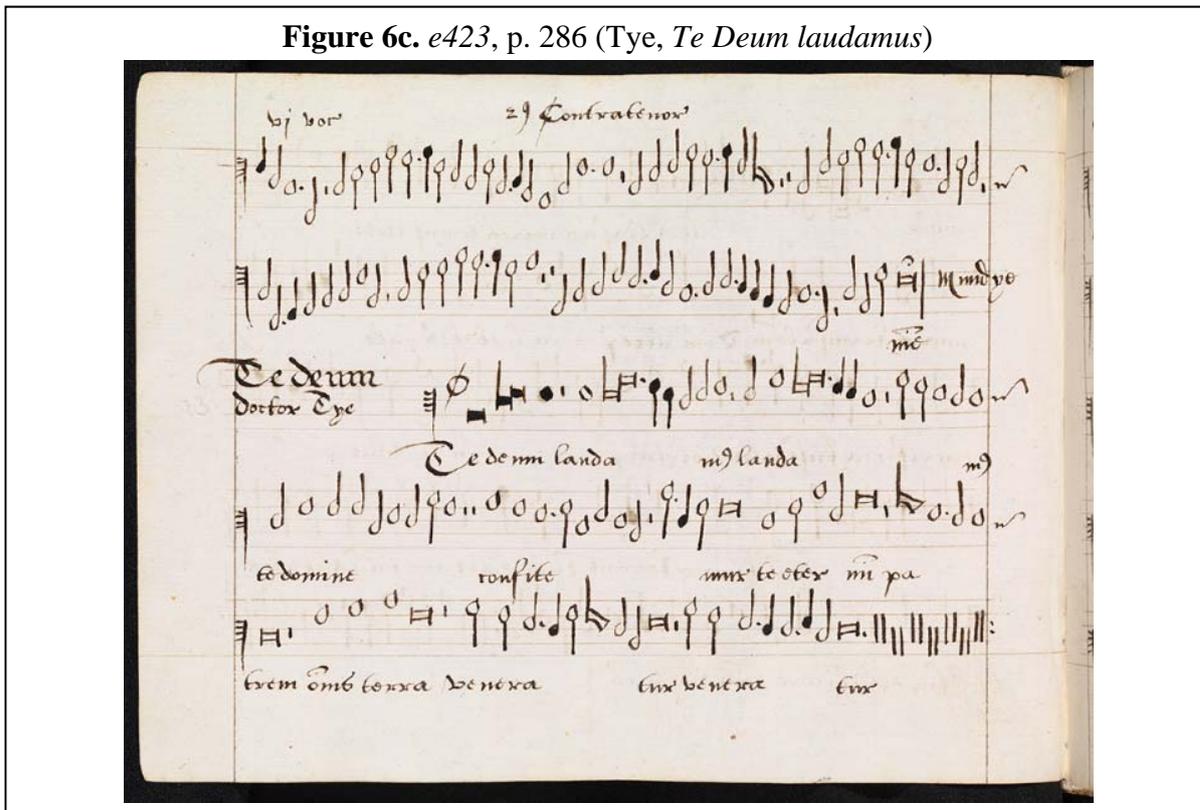


The way pieces are named and attributed in *e423* reveals traces of the manuscript's exemplar. For example, as David Mateer points out, the date 1568 on p. 222, appended to Tye's *In quo corrigit*, and the date 1570 on p. 245, beside Robert White's Magnificat, cannot refer to either the date of composition or of copying, so must have been copied directly from the exemplar.³⁸ This is corroborated by the other attribution on p. 245 of the manuscript, 'M^r Robarte parsons of the chapell', before Parsons' Magnificat, and a very similar attribution on p. 7 before his anthem *Deliver me from mine enemies*: these are uncharacteristic of *e423*, although they are very characteristic of John Baldwin's copying. Finally, John Bentley's fluent copying style is twice interrupted by a change to a different script. Both of these interruptions occur in marginal titles. The first is on p. 127, at the beginning of Taverner's *Ave Dei patris*: the title 'Ave dei p[at]ris' is written in the left margin, apparently in imitation of early sixteenth-century *anglicana* script (see Figure 6b.) There is no reason to think that this was not added by Bentley himself. The second is on p. 286 at the beginning of Tye's *Te Deum* (Figure 6c.) It is

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 37. The Magnificat is misattributed to 'William White' in *e423*.

less laboured than the Taverner example but still marks a departure from Bentley's usual style. It seems likely that both of these attributions are modelled on Bentley's exemplars, even if they are not exact replications of script and layout.

Figure 6c. e423, p. 286 (Tye, *Te Deum laudamus*)



Of the set of pieces listed above, the first three pieces and the last are associated with G2. For this and other reasons May Hofman proposed that e423 was in some way connected to *Baldwin*. The facts that *Baldwin* contains only pieces by Byrd that also appear in e423, and that many of the Byrd pieces shared between the two sources appear in the same order, implies—according to Hofman—that Bentley had access to some sources also either known to Baldwin or copied from sources known to him.³⁹ A direct connection seems unlikely, however. e423's connection to the Petre family, and therefore to Byrd himself, was unknown when Hofman was writing and amply explains the large quantity of Byrd in the book. The attributions to Parsons mentioned above might also imply a connection to *Baldwin*, but they are very unlikely to have come from the same exemplar—they appear in completely different parts of the book, and the Magnificat seems to have come from a large source purely containing Magnificats—which lessens the likelihood of a direct association.

³⁹ Hofman, 'The Survival of Latin Sacred Music', 55.

6.2.11. T807-11 (see ch. 2, pp. 95-7; Appendix C3)

These five partbooks, originally six, now lack the triplex. They date from the early seventeenth century, and include Johnson's *Ave Dei patris*. They also contain Tallis's *Gaude gloriosa* and *Salve intemerata*, but these are far removed from the Johnson piece, and are copied in a different ink and format; there is therefore no obvious indication that the scribe was influenced by G2. The provenance of the books is unclear. May Hofman postulated a Norfolk provenance, because like T1464 and e423 the partbooks contain Parsons's Magnificat; and all the votive antiphons and Magnificats in the first half of T807, as well as Sheppard's *Gaude virgo Christophera* in the second half, are also found in e423.⁴⁰ Of the more obscure composers represented, the presence of William Parsons and Matthew Jeffreys suggest a Wells connection. Craig Monson, however, suggests a London provenance based on the manuscripts' many unusual concordances with Thomas Myriell's *Tristitiae Remedium* (GB-Lbl Add. MS 29372-7) and the London source GB-Och Mus. 56-60.⁴¹

The source from which the copyist of T807-11 acquired three mid-century antiphons, *Gaude virgo Christophera*, *Peccavimus cum patribus nostris*, and Johnson's *Ave Dei patris*, will be referred to below as *M*. These three pieces, unusually, carry titles in the upper margins, which may have been transferred directly from *M*.

6.2.12. Sources written by scribes in the employment of Edward Paston (c. 1550-1630)

Sir Edward Paston, of Appleton Hall and Thorpe-by-Norwich, Norfolk, was a Catholic recusant and learned amateur musician, who passed some of his youth and education in Madrid.⁴² His partbooks and lutebooks were copied by several different scribes, all working within a 'house style', in a similar humanistic script; many include only extracts of larger pieces, often in different transpositions and frequently lacking their verbal texts. With the exception of Z6, a volume compiled as a gift, the Henrician pieces found in Paston sources tend to be copied only with similar pieces. In proximity to *Ave Dei patris* settings we find the same pieces over and over again: Taverner's *Gaude plurimum*, *Sospitati dedit aegros* and *Mater Christi sanctissima*, Tallis's *Ave rosa sine spinis* (normally paired with his *Ave Dei patris*) and *Salve intemerata*, White's Magnificat, Taverner's Mass *Gloria tibi Trinitas*, and

⁴⁰ Ibid., 93-4.

⁴¹ Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England 1600-1650: The Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1982), 71-73.

⁴² Sequera, 'House Music for Recusants', 17-19.

Fayrfax's Magnificat *O bone Jesu*. This suggests that the Paston scribes were working from a limited number of related exemplars.

The Paston scribes seem to have had privileged access to some very little-known music by otherwise famous names; for example, Taverner's *Sospitati dedit aegros*, Tallis's *Euge caeli porta* and Mass *Puer natus est*, and Fayrfax's Mass *Sponsus amat sponsam* are found only in Paston sources. The range of pieces with which the scribes were familiar, however, was relatively small in comparison to the number of times they were each copied.

Z6: This orphan bassus partbook retains its original tooled leather covers, which are inscribed 'Iohn Petre'; that is John, Lord Petre, the owner of *e423*. It is most likely that the book was a presentation volume from Paston to Petre.⁴³ The partbook, which has been dated to the 1590s, contains unsurprisingly large quantities of Byrd, alongside Latin-texted works from the 1550s and earlier, Continental sacred pieces, instrumental works, and two madrigals by Palestrina. The opening few pieces are worth listing here in full, as they relate closely to other manuscripts copied by Paston scribes (see Figure 6d.):

1	Fayrfax	Magnificat <i>O bone Jesu</i>
2	Fayrfax	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
3	Tallis	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
4	Tallis	<i>Ave rosa sine spinis</i>
5	Johnson	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
6	Parsley	<i>Conserva me Domine</i>
7	Taverner	<i>Sospitati dedit aegros</i> (untexted)
8	Taverner	The Mean Mass
9	Taverner	<i>Gaude plurimum</i>

May Hofman has suggested that these pieces may have been copied directly from early, pre-Reformation sources, because they have large titles written across the top of the page.⁴⁴

According to Penelope Rapson, in terms of its textual content, *Z6* has 'floating allegiance', and is related to several divergent sources.⁴⁵

T341-4: These partbooks were copied by the same scribe as *Z6* and 29246. They contain a large selection of motets by Byrd and Ferrabosco, hymn verses by Tallis and Sheppard, Mass

⁴³ Philip Brett, 'Edward Paston, Norfolk Gentleman', in *William Byrd and his Contemporaries: Essays and a Monograph*, ed. Joseph Kerman and Davitt Moroney (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 40.

⁴⁴ Hofman, 'The Survival of Latin Sacred Music', 100.

⁴⁵ Rapson 'A Technique for Identifying Textual Errors', 198.

Figure 6d. Occurrences of Henrician pieces in Paston sources

Each piece is assigned a different colour to enable frequently recurring combinations to be identified. Note especially the close association between Tallis's *Ave Dei patris* (yellow) and *Ave rosa sine spinis* (pale orange), Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris* (bright red), Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* (lime green) and Taverner's *Sospitati* (mid green)

fol.	<i>Z6</i>	fol.	<i>29246</i>	fol.	<i>34049</i>	fol.	<i>T354-8</i>
1	Fayrfax <i>Magnificat O bone Jesu</i>	1	Tallis <i>Ave rosa sine spinis</i>	1	Fayrfax <i>Magnificat O bone Jesu</i>	9	Taverner <i>Mass Gloria tibi Trinitas</i>
2	Fayrfax <i>Ave Dei patris</i>		Tallis <i>Ave Dei patris</i>	2	Johnson <i>Ave Dei patris</i>		White <i>Magnificat</i>
4	Tallis <i>Ave Dei patris</i>		Taverner <i>Mass Gloria tibi Trinitas</i>	6	Tallis <i>Ave Dei patris</i>	10	Johnson <i>Ave Dei patris</i>
6	Tallis <i>Ave rosa sine spinis</i>		Fayrfax <i>Ave Dei patris</i>	10	Tallis <i>Ave rosa sine spinis</i>		White <i>Lamentations a 6</i>
7	Johnson <i>Ave Dei patris</i>	2	Taverner <i>Sospitati dedit aegros</i>		Tallis <i>Ave Dei patris</i>		Parsons <i>Retribue servo tuo</i>
9	Parsley <i>Conserva me Domine</i>			11	Tallis <i>Ave rosa sine spinis</i>	12	Tallis <i>Euge caeli porta</i>
11	Taverner <i>Sospitati dedit aegros</i>	7	Taverner <i>Ave Dei patris</i>	14	Taverner <i>Sospitati dedit aegros</i>		Tallis <i>Ave rosa sine spinis</i>
12	Taverner <i>Mean Mass</i>		Johnson <i>Ave Dei patris</i>	17	White <i>Lamentations a 6</i>		Tallis <i>Ave Dei patris</i>
14	Taverner <i>Gaude plurimum</i>				Fayrfax <i>Ave Dei patris</i>	13	Taverner <i>Sospitati dedit aegros</i>
		9	Taverner <i>Gaude plurimum</i>	18	Taverner <i>Gaude plurimum</i>		Taverner <i>Mass Gloria tibi Trinitas</i>
			Tallis <i>Salve intemerata</i>	22	Fayrfax <i>Ave Dei patris</i>		
		10	Johnson <i>Ave Dei patris</i>	23	Fayrfax <i>Magnificat O bone Jesu</i>	25	Fayrfax <i>Ave Dei patris</i>
			Taverner <i>Mass Corona spinea</i>				Tallis <i>Ave Dei patris</i>
		19	Tallis <i>Ave rosa sine spinis</i>			26	Fayrfax <i>Magnificat O bone Jesu</i>
			Tallis <i>Ave Dei patris</i>			27	Johnson <i>Ave Dei patris</i>
			Tallis <i>Gaude gloriosa</i>			31	Taverner <i>Gaude plurimum</i>
						36	Tallis <i>Salve intemerata</i>

fol.	<i>T1469-71</i>	fol.	<i>RCM</i>	fol.	<i>T342</i>
2	Fayrfax <i>Ave Dei patris</i>	20	Tallis <i>Ave Dei patris</i>	93	Johnson <i>Ave Dei patris</i>
	Tallis <i>Ave Dei patris</i>	21	Fayrfax <i>Ave Dei patris</i>	94	Tallis <i>Ave Dei patris</i>
5	Taverner <i>Sospitati dedit aegros</i>	22	Taverner <i>Ave Dei patris</i>		
6	W Parsons <i>Anima Christi</i>		Taverner <i>Sospitati dedit aegros</i>	101	Tallis <i>Ave Dei patris</i>
7	R Parsons <i>Magnificat</i>	23	Taverner <i>Mass Gloria tibi Trinitas</i>		Taverner <i>Sospitati dedit aegros</i>
	White <i>Magnificat</i>				
9	Taverner <i>Mass Gloria tibi Trinitas</i>				
11	Johnson <i>Ave Dei patris</i>				
14	Taverner <i>Gaude plurimum</i>				
18	Tallis <i>Salve intemerata</i>				

settings, and votive antiphons. The last section of *T342* contains three-part extracts of larger works in choirbook format, including a set of *Ave Dei patris* extracts: ‘Ave domini filia’ from Johnson’s setting, and ‘Ave Dei patris’ and ‘Ave domini filia’ from Tallis’s, followed a few folios later by ‘Esto nobis’ from Tallis’s setting and ‘Ergo laudes’ from Taverner’s *Sospitati dedit aegros* copied on the same opening. The ‘Ave domini’ extract of Tallis’s setting concludes with an extended ‘Ave’ which is shared with *RCM*.

29246: This lutebook in Italian tablature has now lost its accompanying partbook. It contains extracts of longer works, categorised by the number of parts in the original; the top part is almost invariably omitted from the intabulation, to be added by a singer. It was copied by the same scribe as *T341-4* and *Z6*. The copying order of the pieces is influenced primarily by the level of difficulty of each extract, but the pieces chosen reflect those familiar from other sources copied by the same scribe and especially the proximity between Tallis’s two *Ave* antiphons; they include:

f. 1 ^r	‘Ave rosa sine spinis’	Tallis	<i>Ave rosa sine spinis</i>
	‘Ave plena gratia’	Tallis	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
f. 1 ^v	‘Patrem omnipotentem’	Taverner	Mass <i>Gloria tibi Trinitas</i>
	‘Agnus Dei’	Taverner	Mass <i>Gloria tibi Trinitas</i>
	‘Ave Dei Patris’	Fayrfax	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
f. 2 ^r	‘O quam probatum’	Taverner	<i>Sospitati dedit aegros</i>
	[...]		
f. 7 ^r	‘Ave dei patris’	Taverner	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
	‘Ave dei patris’	Johnson	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
	[...]		
f. 9 ^r	‘Gaude plurimum’	Taverner	<i>Gaude plurimum</i>
f. 9 ^v	‘Per haec nos’	Tallis	<i>Salve intemerata</i>
	‘Annae mulieris’	Tallis	<i>Salve intemerata</i>
f. 10 ^r	‘Ave plena gratia’	Johnson	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
	‘Et in terra pax’	Taverner	Mass <i>Corona spinea</i>
f. 19 ^r	‘Et benedictus’	Tallis	<i>Ave rosa sine spinis</i>
	‘Ave Dei Patris’	Tallis	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
f. 19 ^v	‘Gaude gloriosa’	Tallis	<i>Gaude gloriosa</i>

34049: This is an orphan triplex partbook, probably originally one of five. It contains a selection of extracts of mostly Henrician pieces, with some later works and three In nomines, and includes almost complete copies of Tallis’s and Johnson’s *Ave Dei patris* settings in positions 2 and 3 in the source. The manuscript opens with the following:

f. 1	(6 extracts)	Fayrfax	Magnificat <i>O bone Jesu</i>
f. 2 ^r	(6 extracts)	Johnson	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>

f. 6 ^v	(5 extracts)	Tallis	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
f. 10 ^r	'Dominus tecum'	Tallis	<i>Ave rosa sine spinis</i>
f. 10 ^v	(2 extracts)	Tallis	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
f. 11 ^v	(4 extracts)	Tallis	<i>Ave rosa sine spinis</i>
f. 14 ^r	(6 extracts)	Taverner	<i>Sospitati dedit aegros</i>
f. 17 ^r	'Peccatum peccavit'	White	Lamentations a 6
f. 17 ^v	'O gloriosissima'	Fayrfax	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
f. 18 ^r	(6 extracts)	Taverner	<i>Gaude plurimum</i>
f. 22 ^v	(2 extracts)	Fayrfax	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
f. 23 ^v	(7 extracts)	Fayrfax	Magnificat <i>O bone Jesu</i>

Some extracts of the Magnificat *O bone Jesu* and 'O gloriosissima' from Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris* appear twice in the manuscript. There is also confusion evident between Tallis's *Ave Dei* and *Ave rosa*, as the extracts appear jumbled up. In common with other Paston sources noted below, *tempus perfectum* sections of pieces found in 34049 are simplified into *tempus imperfectum*.

Like the other Paston sources *RCM*, *T354-8* and *T1469-71*, 34049 was compiled by at least two scribes: one who contributed the music and the incipit of each piece, and a second scribe who filled in the remainder of the text. In some pieces, only the incipit is present, suggesting that the work of the second scribe was selective.⁴⁶

T354-8: These five partbooks were copied by the same text hand as 34049, and a different music-and-incipit hand. This source contains extracts of Tallis, Fayrfax and Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* settings, including a near-complete copy of Johnson's setting, concentrated within seven folios in the centre of the source (in *T354*, ff. 27^v-31^r); Tallis's and Johnson's settings are separated by extracts from Fayrfax's Magnificat *O bone Jesu* and immediately followed by extracts from *Gaude plurimum* and *Salve intemerata*. More disparate extracts are found earlier in the source as seen below (foliation refers to *T354*):

f. 9 ^r	'Et incarnatus'	Taverner	Mass <i>Gloria tibi Trinitas</i>
f. 9 ^v	'Sicut locutus'	White	Magnificat

⁴⁶ The number of scribes at work in each Paston source has not been established conclusively. Hofman writes that *RCM* is written entirely in the same hand as *T1469-71* and *T354-8*. However, Philip Brett, the first scholar to discuss the Paston sources in detail, writes that *T1469-71* and *T354-8* were the work of the same scribe or scribes, while *RCM* is written in the same hands as these with the addition of another, and 34049 is the work of a different scribal group entirely. Brett also discussed the possibility that text and music in these sources could have been the work of different people. However, he did not mention the apparent differences in scribe between the incipits and the remainder of the texts, a characteristic which seems to be peculiar to the Paston sources containing sacred music. Hofman, 'The Survival of Latin Sacred Music', 268; Brett, 'Edward Paston, Norfolk Gentleman', 42, 56.

f. 10 ^r	‘Ave plena gratia’	Johnson	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
f. 10 ^v	‘Omnes populi’ (sic)	White	<i>Lamentations a 6</i>
	(2 extracts)	Parsons	<i>Retribue servo tuo</i>
f. 12 ^r	‘Euge caeli porta’	Tallis	<i>Euge caeli porta</i>
f. 12 ^v	‘Maria : tuo nato’	Tallis	<i>Ave rosa sine spinis</i>
	‘Esto nobis’	Tallis	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
f. 13 ^r	‘Ergo laudes’	Taverner	<i>Sospitati dedit aegros</i>
f. 13 ^v	‘Gloria tua’	Taverner	<i>Mass Gloria tibi Trinitas</i>

Here, again, we see an association between Tallis’s *Ave rosa*, *Ave Dei* and Taverner’s *Sospitati dedit aegros*; and the close association between these pieces and Taverner’s *Mass Gloria tibi Trinitas*. The specific combination of Tallis’s ‘Esto nobis’ and Taverner’s ‘Ergo laudes’ is shared with *T342*. As in *34049*, *RCM* and *T1469-71*, the *tempus perfectum* passages in this source are simplified into *tempus imperfectum*.

T1469-71: These three partbooks, as Hector Sequera has shown, were originally intended for use by instrumentalists,⁴⁷ and they were copied by the same scribes as *T354-8*. They include a near-complete copy of Tallis’s *Ave Dei patris* (including the full choir sections, with only three voices of each copied), a generous portion of Johnson’s, and two copies of the ‘O gloriosissima’ section of Fayrfax’s setting, in different transpositions. These extracts are found within the following set:

f. 2 ^r	‘O gloriosissima’	Fayrfax	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
f. 2 ^v	(7 extracts)	Tallis	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
f. 5 ^r	(4 extracts)	Taverner	<i>Sospitati dedit aegros</i>
f. 6 ^v	‘Anima Christi’	W. Parsons	<i>Anima Christi</i>
f. 7 ^v	(2 extracts)	R. Parsons	Magnificat
	(2 extracts)	White	Magnificat
f. 9 ^v	(8 extracts)	Taverner	<i>Mass Gloria tibi Trinitas</i>
f. 11 ^v	(4 extracts)	Johnson	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
f. 14 ^r	Complete copy	Taverner	<i>Gaude plurimum</i>
f. 18 ^v	Complete copy	Tallis	<i>Salve intemerata</i>

As in *T354-8* and *29246*, the *Gaude plurimum-Salve intemerata* pair is in evidence here, as is the association between *Ave Dei patris* settings (especially Tallis’s), the *Mass Gloria tibi Trinitas* and *Sospitati dedit aegros*.

RCM: This set was copied by a different text scribe to the other Paston partbooks discussed so far. The music hand has similar clefs and directs to *34049*, but shares the pendulous, teardrop-shaped noteheads of *T341-4* and *Z6*, and the incipit hand is quite

⁴⁷ Sequera, ‘House Music for Recusants’, 125-7, 143-8.

different to any of the others mentioned already. The source consists of three partbooks, which contain three-voice extracts from larger works. The extracts are arranged according to the stave signature of the uppermost voice,⁴⁸ but within this other patterns are discernible. For example, extracts from the Mundy pieces *Eruclavit cor meum*, *Miserere* and *Vox patris* appear side-by-side and jumbled up as a large set in the G2-clef section, and as another set interspersed with other late Henrician or Marian pieces (including pieces by Sheppard and Tye) in the G1 and C2 sections. As in 34049, Tallis's *Ave Dei patris* and *Ave rosa sine spinis* appear side-by-side and, like the Mundy pieces, there is evidence of confusion between them. The 'Ave domini' extract of Tallis's setting concludes with an extended 'Ave' which is shared with T342. The ubiquitous *Sospitati dedit aegros* is never far away. One section of particular note (ff. 20^v-23^r) contains the following extracts:

f. 20 ^v	'Ave plena gratia'	Tallis	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
f. 21 ^v	'Ave Dei patris'	Fayrfax	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
f. 22 ^r	'Ave Dei patris'	Taverner	<i>Ave Dei patris</i>
f. 22 ^v	'Sospitati'	Taverner	<i>Sospitati dedit aegros</i>
f. 23 ^r	'Quoniam', 'Tu solus'	Taverner	Mass <i>Gloria tibi Trinitas</i>

It will be seen that in this section of the source, the opening sections of Fayrfax's and Taverner's *Ave Dei patris* settings appear on facing pages, as if to facilitate comparison between them. This is a unique situation in this source; indeed, with the exception of two Mass settings by Taverner, the copyist of *RCM* copied no other pieces with identical texts.

The close proximity of Fayrfax's and Taverner's *Ave Dei patris* settings in *RCM* might suggest influence from *G2*, and consequently perhaps the influence of John Baldwin; but this would not explain the inclusion of *Sospitati dedit aegros* which, as is clear from the descriptions above, appears with or near *Ave Dei patris* settings in nearly all the relevant Paston sources, regardless of who composed them. It is more likely that the Paston copyists had access to a source or sources containing *Ave Dei patris* settings by Fayrfax, Taverner, Tallis and Johnson, alongside Tallis's *Ave rosa* and *Sospitati*. Another curious situation is that the several extracts of Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* appear in *RCM* not only with those pieces which appear beside it in *T1469-71*—Taverner's Mass *Gloria tibi Trinitas* and *Salve intemerata*—but also with later pieces such as those by Mundy listed above, Sheppard's *Illustrissima omnium*, *Singularis privilegii* and *Igitur O Jesu* and Woode's *Exsurge Domine*. Indeed, on f. 32^v of *RCMa* the opening of *Ave Dei patris* is given the incipit and title *Domine*

⁴⁸ Hofman, 'The Survival of Latin Sacred Music', 113.

Deus caelestis and attributed to Tye. This cannot be explained as a result of the manuscript's arrangement by clef. Nor does it necessarily suggest different exemplars according to each different transposition used, as extracts transposed up a perfect fifth are found adjacent to both earlier and later pieces. Instead, it may provide corroborative evidence of a mid-century dating for Johnson's *Ave Dei patris*, as discussed in chapter 3. It is possible that in this source, or in its exemplars, the Paston copyists afforded the piece a kind of dual affiliation – both to pieces of similar age, and to pieces with similar texts.

6.3. Textual relationships between *Ave Dei patris* sources

6.3.1. G2 sources

The existence of *G2*, first proposed by May Hofman, is confirmed by close textual analysis of the relevant sources (*Baldwin*, *Sadler* and *T1464*) and pieces (Fayrfax's and Taverner's *Ave Dei patris* settings, Taverner's *Gaude plurimum*, and to a lesser extent Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* and Tallis's *Salve intemerata*). While such analysis demonstrates a very close relationship between *Sadler* and *T1464*, however, it also reveals that the connection between these sources and *Baldwin* was more subtle than the direct relationship proposed by Hofman, who assumed that all three extant sources were copied from the same, or very closely related, exemplars.⁴⁹

Sadler and *T1464* contain almost exactly the same version of *G2*, so it might be supposed that their musical texts would be directly related to each other in all the *G2* antiphons. However, this is not the case. A glance at the SI table in figure 6e shows that in Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris*, *T1464*'s closest allegiance is not to *Sadler* or *Baldwin*, but to *Ph*, and it is as closely related to *UJ* as to *Sadler*. Furthermore, the shibboleth in b. 112, the error 'domina' for 'domini', is found in the East Anglian sources *T1464*, *UJ* and *Z6*, but not in any other source including *Sadler* and *Baldwin*. The readings in *Sadler* are also related to East Anglian sources: a second shibboleth, in bb. 296-7 of the contratenor part, reads 'virgo semper' for 'semper virgo' in both *Sadler* and *UJ*, and the SI scores of *Sadler* and *T1464*, and of *Sadler* and *UJ*, are identical. There is one shibboleth in b. 66 which is shared between *T1464*, *UJ* and *Sadler*: the bassus part reads 'coaeternae' for 'aeternae'. But the lack of the 'domina' reading in *Sadler*, as well as many differences in ligatures between the two sources,

⁴⁹ See Hofman, 'The Survival of Latin Sacred Music', 88, 91.

suggests that any close relationship between *Sadler* and *T1464* is indirect and comes from both sources' relationships to earlier East Anglian copies.

The situation is rather different in Taverner's *Ave Dei patris*. Here, the SI of *T1464* and *Sadler* is just as high in the table as in Fayrfax's setting (see figures 6e and 6f), but the relationships between *T1464* and other East Anglian sources are much weaker. There are no variants shared by *T1464* and *UJ* which are not also shared with other sources, for example. Unfortunately it is not possible to compare *T1464* and *e423*. It seems likely, however, that given the strong relationship between *UJ* and *e423* and the corresponding weak relationship between *UJ* and *T1464*, that *UJ* and *e423*—which are not directly associated with *G2*—form a pair that can be contrasted with *T1464* and *Sadler*, which are. Comparing the presence of shibboleths between sources, we see strong resemblances between *Sadler* and *T1464*: the

Figure 6e. Similarity index figures for Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris* (based on the edition and critical notes in Appendix B)

Source pair		Shared readings	Extant parts	SI
<i>Ph</i>	<i>T1464</i>	75	1/5	375
<i>T1464</i>	<i>UJ</i>	74	1/5	370
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>T1464</i>	74	1/5	370
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>UJ</i>	138	2/5	345
<i>Ph</i>	<i>UJ</i>	132	2/5	330
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Z6</i>	65	1/5	325
<i>UJ</i>	<i>Z6</i>	62	1/5	310
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>T1464</i>	60	1/5	300
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>Z6</i>	59	1/5	295
<i>Ph</i>	<i>Z6</i>	57	1/5	285
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>Z6</i>	56	1/5	280
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>UJ</i>	110	2/5	275
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>Ph</i>	214	4/5	267.5
<i>Ph</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	212	4/5	265
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	199	4/5	248.75
<i>Carver</i>	<i>T1464</i>	49	1/5	245
<i>Carver</i>	<i>UJ</i>	93	2/5	232.5
<i>Carver</i>	<i>Z6</i>	46	1/5	230
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>Carver</i>	177	4/5	221.25
<i>Carver</i>	<i>Ph</i>	171	4/5	213.75
<i>H1709</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	41	1/5	205
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>H1709</i>	41	1/5	205
<i>H1709</i>	<i>Ph</i>	39	1/5	195
<i>Carver</i>	<i>H1709</i>	36	1/5	180
<i>Carver</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	160	5/5	160

Figure 6f. SI figures for Taverner's *Ave Dei patris* (based on Benham's critical notes in the EECM edition, with the addition of varying ligatures)

Source pair		Shared readings	Extant parts	SI
<i>UJ</i>	<i>e423</i>	45	1/5	225
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>T1464</i>	29	1/5	145
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>e423</i>	28	1/5	140
<i>e423</i>	<i>Ph</i>	28	1/5	140
<i>Ph</i>	<i>UJ</i>	53	2/5	132.5
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>e423</i>	26	1/5	130
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>UJ</i>	48	2/5	120
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>UJ</i>	47	2/5	117.5
<i>UJ</i>	<i>T1464</i>	23	1/5	115
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Ph</i>	21	1/5	105
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>T1464</i>	16	1/5	80
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>Ph</i>	57	4/5	71.25
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>Ph</i>	45	4/5	56.25
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	42	4/5	52.5

error in b. 64, 'mater' for 'dulcis', is in *T1464* and *Sadler* but no others, and the two sources also share the same rhythmic variant in b. 233 and b. 235, and several incidences of coloration. In *Gaude plurimum* (figure 6g), *T1464* and *Sadler* share an error in bb. 92-3 of Benham's EECM edition, 'immortalis' for 'immortalem', along with a high number of shared variants overall. There are few verbal errors in any source of the final shared *G2* antiphon, Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* (which is not in *UJ*), and there are even fewer that are shared between more than one source; none are found in *T1464*. However, *Sadler* and *T1464* do share a unique and striking pattern of ligatures in bb. 259-266, a series of shared cosmetic variants which indicate a close relationship to a single exemplar. Finally, a close relationship is apparent between their copies of *Salve intemerata*, the final antiphon in the shared *G2* set (see figure 6h). As well as having a high number of shared readings overall, *Sadler* and *T1464* share a shibboleth in voice V at the words 'intercedere digneris': they read *m s* while *Baldwin*, *Ph* and *Z6* read *s m*. They also have all but two ligatures in common, one of which is a unique variant in *T1464*, and the other of which *Sadler* shares with the East Anglian source *Z6*.

It will be noted that in none of these pieces are the readings of *Sadler* and *T1464* identical. There are many cosmetic variants between them, and *T1464* has two unique substantive variants in *Salve intemerata*, one of rhythm (at the words 'et dum enim') and one of pitch (at the words 'maculis tua'). It is also noteworthy that in *Salve intemerata* the SI scores of *Baldwin* and *Sadler*, and of *Baldwin* and *T1464*, are relatively low. Together with the facts that Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* is not in *Baldwin* either, and that *Salve intemerata*

appears at the beginning of *G2* in *Baldwin* and at the end in *Sadler* and *T1464*, we can conclude that whatever version of *G2* *Sadler* and the copyists of *T1464* used, *pace* Hofman it was not that used by *Baldwin*.⁵⁰ More significantly, the textual differences between the copies of *Fayrfax's Ave Dei patris* in *T1464*, *UJ* and *Z6*, and that in *Sadler* suggest that the copyists of *T1464* did not acquire the piece from *G2*. This hypothesis is also consistent with the relatively low SI score between *Sadler* (which probably came from *G2*) and *Z6* (which

Figure 6g. Shared readings in voice III of Taverner's *Gaude plurimum*

Source pair		Shared readings
<i>e423</i>	<i>UJ</i>	50
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>UJ</i>	48
<i>e423</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	46
<i>e423</i>	<i>Baldwin</i>	35
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>UJ</i>	33
<i>Ph</i>	<i>UJ</i>	32
<i>Ph</i>	<i>e423</i>	31
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	30
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>Ph</i>	28
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>Ph</i>	26

Shared readings in voice V of *Gaude plurimum*

Source pair		Shared readings
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	62
<i>T1464</i>	<i>UJ</i>	56
<i>UJ</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	54
<i>UJ</i>	<i>Z6</i>	47
<i>Ph</i>	<i>Z6</i>	47
<i>UJ</i>	<i>Ph</i>	46
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Ph</i>	42
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Z6</i>	42
<i>Ph</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	41
<i>Z6</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	41
<i>UJ</i>	<i>Baldwin</i>	39
<i>Ph</i>	<i>Baldwin</i>	38
<i>Z6</i>	<i>Baldwin</i>	36
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>Baldwin</i>	26
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Baldwin</i>	26

⁵⁰ Hofman states that 'Johnson's 'Ave Dei Patris' was included in Baldwin's G2 source, but... he chose not to copy it in 979-83.' 'The Survival of Latin Sacred Music', 88; see also *ibid.*, 91, 98.

Figure 6h. Shared readings in voice III of Tallis's *Salve intemerata*

Source pair		Shared readings
<i>e423</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	83
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>Ph</i>	69
<i>e423</i>	<i>Ph</i>	62
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	58
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>Ph</i>	51
<i>e423</i>	<i>Baldwin</i>	48
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>T807</i>	39
<i>e423</i>	<i>T807</i>	34
<i>Ph</i>	<i>T807</i>	29
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>T807</i>	24

Shared readings in voice V of *Salve intemerata*

Source pair		Shared readings
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	76
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>Z6</i>	74
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Z6</i>	72
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Ph</i>	62
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>Ph</i>	61
<i>Z6</i>	<i>Ph</i>	59
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>Ph</i>	47
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>Baldwin</i>	46
<i>T1464</i>	<i>T807</i>	45
<i>Ph</i>	<i>T807</i>	45
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Baldwin</i>	44
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>T807</i>	41
<i>Z6</i>	<i>Baldwin</i>	41
<i>Z6</i>	<i>T807</i>	38
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>T807</i>	32

certainly did not) in comparison to the high score between *T1464* and *Z6*. On balance it seems likely that the *T1464* copy of Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris* came not from *G2* but from *F*, the now-lost Fayrfax antiphon source, though the copyist certainly had a *G2* copy of *Ave Dei patris* in their possession. The reason they favoured *F* over *G2* perhaps had something to do with the rhythmic and pitch errors in *Sadler*, which would cause problems in performance and may have originated with *G2*: these include bars 71-3, bars 90-91, bar 222, and bar 324.

6.3.2. Norwich sources

In all the *Ave Dei patris* settings there is a high level of homogeneity between most of the sources originating in or near East Anglia. This is clear from the high SI scores of pairs such as *UJ* and *T1464*, *UJ* and *e423*, and *UJ* and *Z6*, and the number of shibboleth-type variants they share. These include, in Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris*, b. 66 (shared between *T1464*, *Sadler* and *UJ*), b. 112 (shared between *T1464* and *UJ*) and b. 296-7 (shared between *Sadler* and *UJ*); and in Taverner's *Ave Dei patris*, b. 115-6 (shared between *UJ* and *e423* as well as with *Baldwin*), and b. 231 (shared between *Sadler*, *UJ* and *e423*). In addition to these *Ave Dei patris* examples there are notable similarities in East Anglian copies of *Gaude plurimum*: there is a shibboleth in b. 221 shared by *Sadler*, *UJ* and *T1464*, and in his edition of the piece Hugh Benham notes that *UJ* and *T1464*, 'although showing some distinctive variants, are remarkably close to *S[adler]* in their pattern of ligatures.'⁵¹ There are thus clear connections between the copies in *T1464* and *Sadler*, which derive from *G2*, and their concordances in *UJ*, which do not. One possible reason for this is that considerable contamination must have taken place in the copying process. In other words, John Sadler and the copyists of *T1464*, for a reason now irrecoverable, included features from local, East Anglian copies as well as *G2* when they copied Fayrfax's and Taverner's *Ave Dei patris* settings and Taverner's *Gaude plurimum*. The other possibility is that the copyist of *UJ* had access to a copy which ultimately derived from *G2* and copied from it, but either they changed the order in which the pieces were copied, or the pieces were out of order in their exemplar. This seems the most sensible possibility, and leads to a striking conclusion: it suggests that the original *G2* source was copied in about 1530 at the very latest, surprisingly close to the assumed dates of composition of Taverner's *Ave Dei patris* and *Gaude plurimum*, in the early 1520s.

Further connections between *Sadler* and *T1464* are apparent in pieces which do not derive from *G2*, especially in a group of pieces found in the middle of *Sadler* which have concordances in *T1464*:

Title	Position in <i>Sadler</i>	Position in <i>T1464</i>
<i>Conserva me Domine</i> (Parsley)	17	37
<i>Domine quis habitabit</i> (Tallis)	18	49
Lamentations (Tallis)	19	38
Lamentations (White)	20	55-6
[Here Sadler changed to a less corrosive ink]		
<i>Dum transisset Sabbatum</i> (Tallis)	21	-
<i>Domine in virtute</i> (Johnson)	22	5

⁵¹ Benham (ed.), *Taverner II – Votive Antiphons*, EECM 25, 173.

<i>Maria plena virtute</i> (Fayrfax)	23	24
Lamentations (Parsley)	24	3
<i>Miserere</i> (White)	25	54
<i>Exaudiat</i> (White)	26	-
<i>Domine non est exaltatum</i> (White)	27	53
<i>Manus tuae fecerunt me</i> (White)	28	52

Hofman noted a possible connection between *Sadler* and *T1464*'s copies of the last four White pieces in this list, on account of their proximity in both sources.⁵² Other connections are also apparent in the proximity of *Conserva me* and Tallis's Lamentations, and *Domine in virtute* and Parsley's Lamentations. However, close examination reveals that these connections may in fact be largely coincidental. Both copyists, it seems, grouped these pieces together because they were by White, rather than because of a shared exemplar.

On the one hand, the two copies of *Maria plena virtute* and of Parsley's Lamentations are very closely linked. The only other extant copy of *Maria plena* is found in *Ph*, which diverges in several respects from the *Sadler-T1464* pair, including its stave signature, 7 rhythmic variants, 13 ligatures and 9 accidentals. By contrast, *Sadler* and *T1464* differ only in one ligature and two accidentals. Parsley's Lamentations survive only in *Sadler* and *T1464*, both of which seem to have been copied from an identical exemplar. The two copies are identical except for minor variations in underlay. Indeed, the similarities go further than this and suggest that the copies were made from identical exemplars. Both copyists begin a new line in the middle of the phrase 'assumptiones falsas'. The *Sadler* scribe changes clef to F5 at this point, after the *m* C, before reverting back to F4 following the cadence on 'Sameth' (see figure 6i). At this point the copy in *T1464* shows signs of confusion. This scribe changes line one note later after the *m* G, which looks cramped (figure 6j.). At some point, the direct after this G was moved up by a third, from G to B. These measures were probably a response to the change of clef in the exemplar, which the *T1464* music copyist was not prepared for, perhaps because they had already added clefs to all the systems on that page. It seems that by coincidence they reached the line break at the same point as *Sadler* and the exemplar, and wrote in the direct on the bottom line, as in the exemplar. Then, having added the *m* B flat at the beginning of the next system, they realised their mistake, and had to correct it by changing the custos and adding in the low G in the small space left at the end of the line.

⁵² Hofman, 'The Survival of Latin Sacred Music', 92.

Figure 6i. Sadler, e.5, f. 44^r



Figure 6j. T1464, f. 2^v



However, in several of pieces 21-28 listed above, as well as in White's Lamentations, *Sadler* accords more with Z6 than with T1464. For example, in the second extant version of Johnson's *Domine in virtute tua*—found in *Sadler*, T1464, Z6, *Wode*, and *Hamond*⁵³—Z6 shares 10 out of 13 rhythmic variants found in the *Sadler* copy. Z6 adds no unique variants of its own, and shares only one with *Wode*. This suggests that *Sadler* and the copyist of Z6 were working from closely related sources. Meanwhile, the SI score of T1464 and *Hamond* is the highest of any pair of sources (see Figure 6k): there is only one viable rhythmic variant between them, which is unique to *Hamond* (the other two rhythmic variants between them are errors in T1464, and the only pitch variant is an error in *Hamond*.) In *Domine in virtute*, therefore, *Hamond* and T1464, and Z6 and *Sadler*, show much more affinity to each other than T1464 and *Sadler*.

⁵³ The five *Hamond* partbooks were probably copied in Suffolk and were not completed until after 1591: they were owned in 1615 by the Suffolk gentleman Thomas Hamond, and contain music written by Edward Johnson, an employee of the Kytsons of Hengrave Hall, near Bury St Edmunds, for a masque performed in 1591. David Brown and Ian Harwood, 'Johnson, Edward (i)', *GMO*.

Figure 6k. Shared readings in voice V of Johnson, *Domine in virtute*

Source pair		Shared readings
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Hamond</i>	30
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>Z6</i>	26
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Wode</i>	17
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Z6</i>	17
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	14
<i>Wode</i>	<i>Hamond</i>	14
<i>Z6</i>	<i>Hamond</i>	14
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>Hamond</i>	13
<i>Wode</i>	<i>Z6</i>	11
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>Wode</i>	3

A second example is White's *Miserere mei Deus*, whose bassus part is found in *Sadler*, *T1464*, *Z6*, *Dow* and *Baldwin*. *Z6* and *Sadler* share 8 rhythmic variants, two of which are found in *Dow* but which are not shared with any other sources. Of this total of 10, *Baldwin* and *T1464* share the same alternative in all cases but one. *Dow*, *Baldwin* and *T1464* offer identical alternatives to all 8 variants shared between only *Sadler* and *Z6*. One additional variant is shared between *Sadler* and *Dow* and another between *Dow* and *Z6*. *Dow* has three unique rhythmic variants and *Baldwin* has one. From these calculations it is apparent that *Sadler* and *Z6* form a closely related pair of sources of White's *Miserere*; *T1464* and *Baldwin* form another, though *Baldwin* appears to be one remove further from the archetype. *Dow*, to some extent, stands alone, but has far more affinity with the *Baldwin-T1464* pair than with the *Sadler-Z6* pair.

Figure 6l. Shared readings in voice V of White, *Lamentations*

Source pair		Shared readings
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>Z6</i>	92
<i>Dow</i>	<i>Baldwin</i>	65
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>Baldwin</i>	56
<i>Z6</i>	<i>Baldwin</i>	55
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>Dow</i>	48
<i>Dow</i>	<i>Z6</i>	48
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>T1464</i>	42
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>T1464</i>	27
<i>Z6</i>	<i>T1464</i>	27
<i>Dow</i>	<i>T1464</i>	26

A further example is White's Lamentations, the SI table of which is given in Figure 6l. By far the highest score is *Sadler-Z6. T1464* appears at the bottom of the table, primarily due to its omission of many accidentals and its use of *ij* signs rather than written-out repetitions of text, but its most closely related source is *Baldwin*, not *Sadler*. In contrast to these three pieces, in White's *Domine non est exaltatum*—found in *Sadler, T1464* and *Baldwin*—*Sadler* and *Baldwin* tend to accord with one another while *T1464* stands alone. There are no really significant variants in this short piece, but *Sadler* and *Baldwin* have 12 variants in accidentals in common, one shared incident of coloration, and several lines of underlay which are lacking in *T1464*.

Based on the above evidence, Hofman's supposition that *Sadler* and the *T1464* copyists probably had access to a Norfolk source of White's music independent of that available to *Baldwin* must be nuanced.⁵⁴ This hypothesis was based on the fact that White's music is grouped together in *Sadler* and *T1464*, and scattered in *Baldwin*. In fact, *Sadler*'s copies of White show no special affinity to *T1464* in any of the pieces I have examined. In the Lamentations, *Miserere*, and *Domine non exaltatum*, *Sadler* diverges from *T1464* in its White copies and is more closely related to other sources instead. Only in *Manus tuae*, which I discuss below, are there significant shared variants between *Sadler* and *T1464* in comparison to the other two sources, *Dow* and *T811*.

The connection between *Sadler*'s material and that of the Paston scribes, as shown in the similarities to *Z6* discussed above, corroborates a similar rather tenuous hypothesis by Hofman, which was based on the presence in *Sadler* and *Z6* of Tallis's *Ave Dei* and *Ave rosa* (and we should add here that Tallis's *Ave Dei* is found only in *Sadler* and Paston sources) and an anonymous *Ave regina caelorum* found in both *Wilmott/T1486* and Paston sources.⁵⁵ The *Z6* copy of Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris* shares unique readings both with other East Anglian sources—*UJ, T1464* and *Sadler*—and with the Paston sources. In Johnson's setting, *Sadler, T1486, T354* and *T1469* all carry the same error of pitch in the tenor at b. 190; and *34049, T354* and *Sadler* have 'subiectissima' for 'sincerissima' in the triplex and medius at bb. 74-7. It is unfortunate that we can now no longer tell whether *T1464* and *Z6* also contained these errors. In Tallis's setting, there seems to have been some shared material between John *Sadler* and the copyist of *Z6* and *T342*. *Sadler*'s copy *T1486* and the Paston source *T342* both contain the same textual error, 'filia' for 'filii', in b. 14, and compared to most Paston sources (which

⁵⁴ Hofman, 'The Survival of Latin Sacred Music', 86, 92.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 102.

tend to excise ligatures and add accidentals) *Z6* and *T342* share the somewhat conservative approach to notation of Sadler's sources. An added peculiarity is the omission of the syllable '-men' at the very end of the final Amen in *Wilmott, T1486* and *Z6*: given what we know of the rather literal copying in *Sadler*, this signals that the scribes' exemplars must have been very closely related. As we might expect from their provenance, therefore, the Paston sources should be added to the East Anglian family, and it is likely that at least the scribe of *Z6* and *T342*, if not all of the Paston scribes, shared sources with John Sadler.

Like *Z6*, *e423* was also owned by the Petre family, but it was copied earlier and by a different scribe, and does not transmit the same repertoire as *Z6* and the Paston sources, particularly in its Henrician sections. Indeed, apart from several pieces by Byrd, the two sources have remarkably few concordances: only *Gaude plurimum*, *Mater Christi* and *Salve intemerata* are shared. Moreover, in these pieces the two scribes seem to have used different exemplars. In particular, the 'floating allegiance' identified by Rapson in *Z6*'s relationships to other sources, which means that it does not fit in a single place in the stemma, is not characteristic of *e423*. As can be seen in Figures 6n and 6o, *Z6* shares variants with *Ph* and *UJ*

Figure 6m. Shared readings in voice V of Taverner, *Mater Christi sanctissima*

Source pair		Shared readings
<i>Z6</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	33
<i>Ph</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	25
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	20
<i>Z6</i>	<i>Ph</i>	20
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Ph</i>	19
<i>Ph</i>	<i>Baldwin</i>	19
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Z6</i>	16
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	16
<i>Z6</i>	<i>Baldwin</i>	15
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Baldwin</i>	13

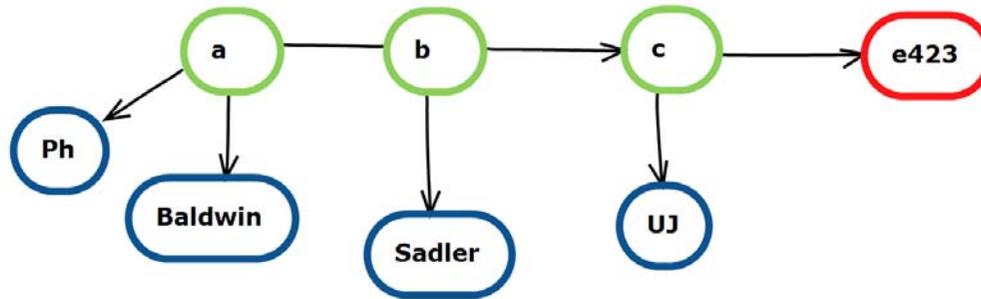
Shared readings in Voice III of *Mater Christi*

Source pair		Shared readings
<i>e423</i>	<i>Ph</i>	16
<i>Sadler</i>	<i>Ph</i>	11
<i>e423</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	10
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>Sadler</i>	8
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>Ph</i>	7
<i>Baldwin</i>	<i>e423</i>	6

in *Gaude plurimum*, and with *T807*, and *Sadler* and *T1464* in *Salve intemerata*. By contrast, *e423*'s closest relationships are usually to *Ph*, and it does not exhibit the direct relationship to *Sadler* which is found in *Z6*. This is clearly illustrated in Figure 6o, and in Figures 6m and 6p, which display readings in *Mater Christi*, and perhaps reflects John Bentley's presumed access to sources originating close to London. However, in this context the close relationship between the *UJ* and *e423* copies of *Gaude plurimum*, shown in figure 6n, is curious: it would be less unexpected if *e423* was textually more closely related either to *Ph* as in other pieces, or to *Baldwin*, given the similarity in the two sources' contents noted by Hofman. The relationship highlights the importance of East Anglia (perhaps specifically of Norwich) as a hub of musical transmission, rather than London.

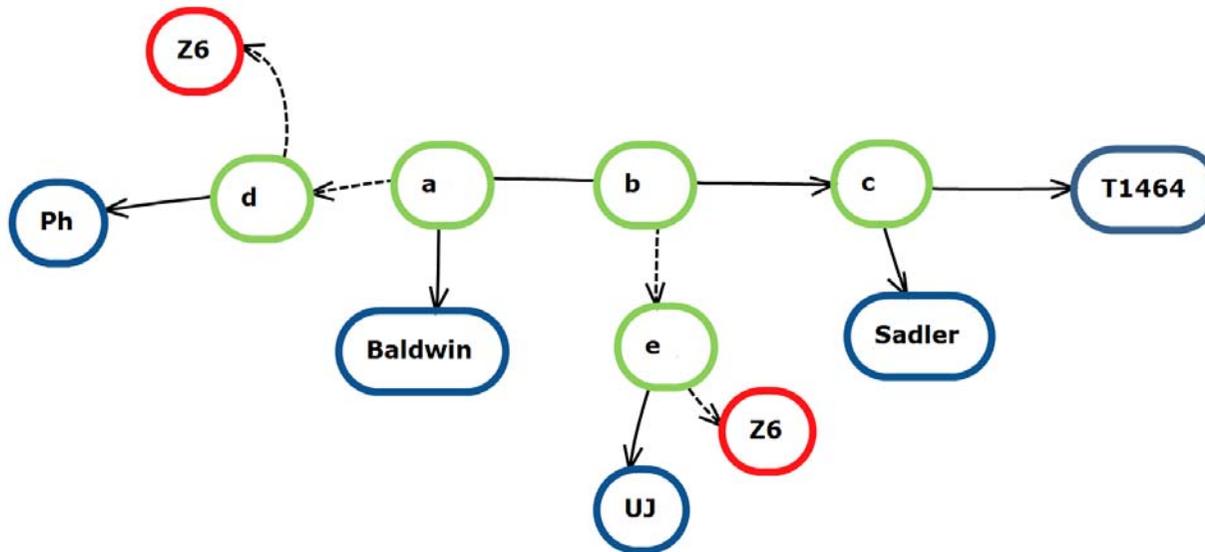
Figure 6n. Stemmatic relationships between sources of *Gaude plurimum*, showing respective allegiances of *e423* and *Z6*

Voice III



Arrows show direction of transmission, where this can be discerned through shared errors.

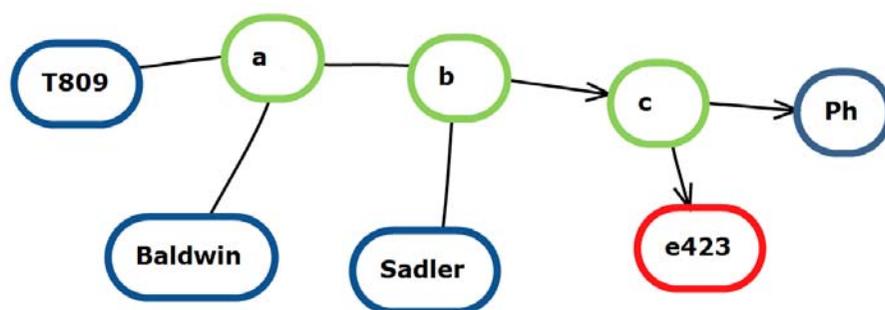
Voice V



In Voice V, *Z6* shares a number of variants with both *UJ* and *Ph*: to position it with either of these sources on the stemma means that its relationships with others are inadequately described.

Figure 60. Stemmatic relationships between sources of *Salve intemerata*, showing respective allegiances of *e423* and *Z6*

Voice III



Voice V

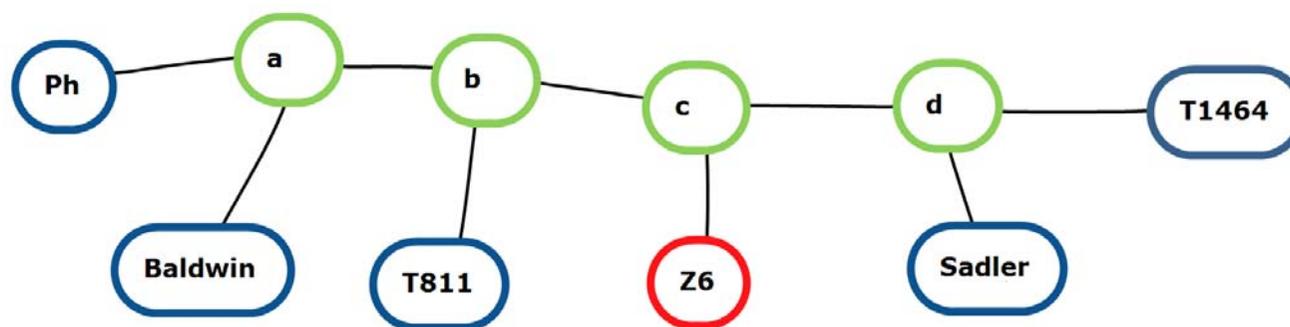
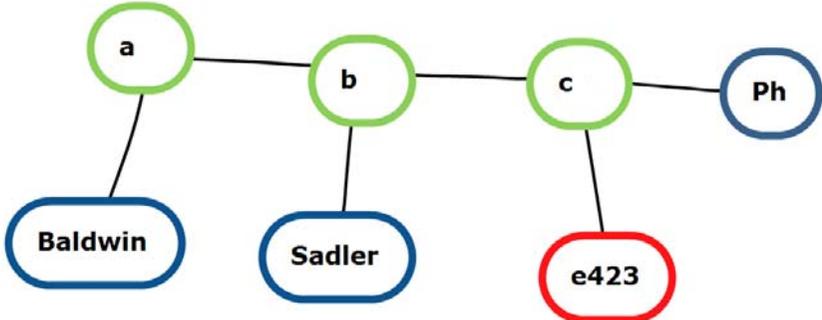
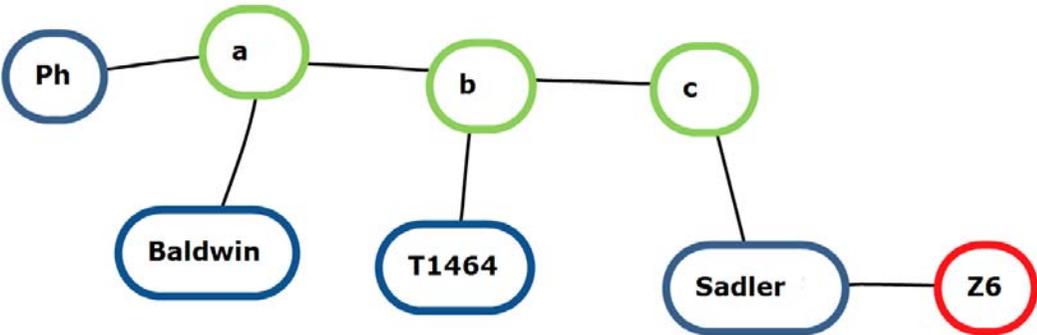


Figure 6p. Stemmatic relationships between sources of *Mater Christi sanctissima*, showing respective allegiances of *e423* and *Z6*

Voice III



Voice V



Textual analysis of the Fayrfax copies made from *F*, the lost Fayrfax source, in *T1464* reveal that this lost source probably also had a Norwich provenance. I have already mentioned the close affinity between the *F* copy of *Maria plena virtute* and its concordance in *Sadler*. Of the other *F* pieces, *Gaude flore virginali* is a unicum and cannot be analysed. *O Maria Deo grata* is inconclusive because its concordances are *Ph* and *34191*, neither of which is from Norfolk; the numbers of shared readings in voice V are 24 for *T1464/34191*, 22 for *34191/Ph* and 16 for *T1464/Ph*. Voice V of *Aeternae laudis* is found in far more sources—*T1464*, *Ph*, *Lambeth*, *UJ* and *Carver*—but it too is inconclusive, confirming only the relative isolation of *Carver* (see figure 6q). It is striking that *Lambeth* and *UJ* are both related fairly equally to all the other sources, and that they are in fact related less to each other than they are to *Carver*; this suggests that taken together they may provide a very reliable reading of the piece.

Figure 6q. Shared readings in voice V of Fayrfax, *Aeternae laudis lilium*

Source pair		Shared readings
<i>Ph</i>	<i>Lambeth</i>	33
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Ph</i>	30
<i>Ph</i>	<i>UJ</i>	27
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Lambeth</i>	26
<i>T1464</i>	<i>UJ</i>	26
<i>Carver</i>	<i>Lambeth</i>	24
<i>Carver</i>	<i>UJ</i>	24
<i>Lambeth</i>	<i>UJ</i>	23
<i>Ph</i>	<i>Carver</i>	19
<i>T1464</i>	<i>Carver</i>	15

However, analysis of *Lauda vivi* is much more illuminating of the origin of *F*. The bassus voice is found in *T1464*, *UJ* and *Ph*. *T1464* and *UJ* share 41 variants, while *T1464* and *Ph*, and the bassus parts of *UJ* and *Ph*, share only 18. Moreover, *UJ* and *T1464* share textual corruptions not found in *Ph*. While *Ph* gives the correct version of the line ‘ac implora optanda illi semper dari’, ‘and ask that whatever he may choose be always given to him’, *UJ* and *T1464* have the nonsensical ‘ac implora osanna sibi semper dare’. Later, they replace the invocation ‘O deigena’, ‘O mother of God’, with ‘O dei gracia’, ‘O grace of God’, which while plausible makes less sense when paired with the previous invocation ‘O deipara’, ‘O bearer of God’. *H1709* has the same textual corruptions. The *UJ* and *F* copies of *Lauda vivi* were thus related both to one another and to *H1709*. With the similarity between the *Sadler* and *F* copies of *Maria plena*, this relationship corroborates the assumption that *F* originated

in Norfolk, in close proximity to *T1464*, and poses further questions about the provenance of *H1709*.

Given Hofman's hypothesis that *T807-11* originated in Norfolk as well, a final word is needed about this source. The Johnson *Ave Dei patris* copy found in *T807-11* is an outlier compared to other sources of the same piece, including *Sadler*, *T1464* and *Z6*. It contains errors of omission and dittography not found in any other source (as in bars 193-5 and 316-9), and several unique pitch and rhythm variants, some of which (such as that in bar 123) are apparently ornaments to the basic musical text. Given the close affinity of East Anglian sources generally, this makes a Norfolk provenance for *T807* appear unlikely. Such a conclusion is supported by its copy of *Salve intemerata*. In this piece, *T811* appears consistently low down the table of shared variants (see figure 6h, above) and shows no particular relationship to any of the other extant sources. Furthermore, the *T811* copy of White's *Manus tuae*, also found in *Sadler*, *Dow* and *T1464* (voice V is lost from *Baldwin*), shows more affinity with *Dow* than with *Sadler* or *T1464*. In the bassus part *T807* shares a pitch variant with *Dow* (*m A* at the beginning of the phrase 'in iniquitatem'; the other sources have *m F*) and both sources, curiously, have the word 'rest' written beneath the long rests following the phrase 'fecerunt in me'. This is very unlikely to be coincidental and must derive from a shared exemplar. The copy in *Dow* contains many unique rhythmic variants and *T811* has two, but these do not preclude a close filial relationship between the sources.

6.3.3. *Carver*

As might be expected from the relative geographical isolation of the sources, textual analysis reveals significant differences between *Carver* and the extant English sources of both the Fayrfax antiphons it contains, *Ave Dei patris* and *Aeternae laudis*. *Carver* appears consistently low down in the SI tables. More specifically, the *Carver* copy of *Ave Dei patris* contains many rhythmic variants which alter the entire polyphonic fabric of the piece, some of which are certainly errors, although the musical text as it stands in the source is performable. One variant in particular, a rhythmic variant in bars 182-5, is probably authentic on stylistic grounds, although it is found in no English sources.⁵⁶ Textual errors in *Aeternae laudis* are less substantive, but it is clear from the many unique variants in *Carver* compared to the piece's English sources that *Carver* represents a branch of transmission which is otherwise lost. The most significant of these are two rhythmic variants—a missing breve in the contratenor in bar 107, and an incident of haplography in the triplex in bars 102-3 of Warren's

⁵⁶ See chapter 2, p. 76-7.

CMM edition—which taken together are performable but differ from the English transmission tradition.

These differences from and similarities to the English tradition are easy to explain if, as I argued in chapter 1, both *Ave Dei patris* and *Aeternae laudis* travelled to Scotland in the retinue of Margaret Tudor. The errors in the verbal text of both pieces suggest a similar route of transmission, probably even an identical exemplar. If both pieces were indeed copied into the choirbook in the early 1510s, at least seven years after they first arrived in Scotland, this is likely to have been motivated by a desire either to make a more permanent copy of the antiphons than that which already existed, to assimilate isolated copies into the main body of the Stirling repertoire, or to replace worn-out copies. While it is impossible now to ascertain which of these options is more likely, the most probable situation in all three cases is that the antiphons travelled to Scotland in the form of single partleaves or rolls, a format for copying polyphony which is known to have been used from at least the fourteenth century.⁵⁷ If this was the case, the parts must have been copied from a very early English exemplar. The striking variants and errors in *Carver*, particularly those in the verbal text, might then have resulted from misreading of the old and perhaps worn or fragile partleaves.

Carver provides an intriguing example of a source very close to the archetype, which is nevertheless a poor witness due either to practical problems with its exemplars, or naïve misunderstanding on the part of the copyist. However, as the sole representative of a branch of transmission which left the main family of sources very soon after the original compositions were created, comparison with copies in *Carver* can shed light on other, English sources. For example, the rhythmic variant in bars 182-5 of *Ave Dei patris*, which is found in all English copies of the piece, shows that all extant English sources share an ancestor besides the archetype. The error perhaps originated as a deliberate attempt to create a fuller texture at that point. Moreover, the identification of *Carver* as an outlying source is useful for the editor. It means that any variants shared between one or more English sources and *Carver*, but not with all English sources, are likely to have originated with the archetype and have a high degree of authority.

⁵⁷ Nick Sandon, 'Fragments of Medieval Polyphony at Canterbury Cathedral', *MD*, 30 (1976), 42-6; Peter M. Lefferts and Margaret Bent, 'New Sources of English Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Polyphony', *EMH*, 2 (1982), 334; Roger Bowers and Andrew Wathey, 'New Sources of English Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Polyphony', *EMH*, 4 (1984), 301; Williamson, 'Liturgical Polyphony in the Pre-Reformation English Parish Church', 26.

6.4. Reconstructing the narrative of transmission

The information above allows us to reconstruct the circulation of Johnson's *Ave Dei patris*, whose route of transmission is much the clearest of the four settings that survive in more than one source. From this, we can extrapolate the transmission narratives of the other settings, and draw some conclusions about the way Elizabethan copyists acquired pre-Reformation music.

Sometime before 1559, most likely during the 1520s, *G2* was copied. It contained Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris* and Taverner's *Gaude plurimum* and *Ave Dei patris*, and was closely related to a separate source of *Mater Christi sanctissima* and *Salve intemerata*. These pieces circulated as a unit around south-east England. Later, probably during the reign of Mary I and almost certainly before 1559, Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* was added to a copy of *G2*, perhaps because of its textual links with pieces already in the source. This probably happened in East Anglia, which would explain Baldwin's lack of knowledge of it. At the same time Tallis's *Salve intemerata* also seems to have been added to the source in a more permanent form, coinciding with its revival in popularity under Mary I (see ch. 3, pp. 135-7.) This copy of *G2*, here called *G2^a*, then circulated independently in the East of England. The third pre-Reformation exemplar of Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* probably originated either in the reign of Mary I or was closely derived from a 1550s source, and contained mid-century antiphons: *Ave Dei patris*, Tye's *Peccavimus*, and *Gaude virgo Christiphera*. This, *M*, is the source or the ancestor of the source used as an exemplar by the copyist of *T807-11*.

After 1559, these three pre-Reformation sources remained accessible. A copy of *G2*, which might by this time have been very old, was copied by John Baldwin in the late 1570s or 1580s; we do not know exactly where. Baldwin was certainly not aware of *G2^a*. By about 1565 *G2^a* was circulating in at least two versions, one of which was copied by John Sadler in Northamptonshire and the other by the unknown copyists of *T1464* in Norwich. As well as picking up Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* and *Salve intemerata* it had also become closely associated with Clemens's *Job tonso capite*. The original pre-1559 *G2^a* could have been lost or destroyed around this time. *M*, or a copy made from it, survived into the 1610s and was copied into *T807*. In addition to these three old sources, a version of Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* also circulated independently. It was copied into a source that also contained Tallis's *Ave Dei patris*, *Ave rosa sine spinis*, and Taverner's *Sospitati dedit aegros*, almost certainly after 1559: the mixing of antiphon and proper settings in a single source is unlikely to have taken place before this. It was then circulated among the Paston scribes in various slightly different copies, the more archaic of which were copied by the scribe of *Z6* and *T342*, and the more edited versions by the other scribes of the household.

Overall, the sources of Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* transmit a very stable text. The Paston sources contain some unique rhythmic variants, sometimes apparently as a result of adapting the music into extracts. There are some variants between *Sadler* and *T1486/Wilmott*, notably in the tenor part of bars 215-20, which seem to represent emendations by the scribe: both *Wilmott* and *Sadler* share a pitch error in bar 211 as well as an identical provenance, so it seems most likely that the two sources were copied from the same exemplar. The stability of the text overall extends even to some quite serious pitch errors shared between all or almost all the sources. Except for *T807*, the tenor part of bar 190 has a low F in place of G, creating a dissonance with both of the other sounding parts. There is a more complicated problem in bar 260, where all sources of the contratenor part have a C in place of a B, clashing again with all the other parts. *T807* compounds this with a C in place of a B in the bassus. It is likely that the triplex part of *T807*, which no longer survives, was also amended at this point to an E flat in order to complete a C minor chord. These two bars reveal that the exemplars of the Paston sources and of the *Sadler* sources were related, which is unsurprising given the many similarities between them in other pieces. It is even possible that the Paston sources could be ultimately derived from *G2^a*. Along with the many rhythmic and pitch variants in *T807*, several of which have the appearance of ornaments to the main text, they also show that this source was all but unrelated to all the others that survive. The emendations in bar 260 of *T807* were probably attempts to correct pitch errors which appeared very early in the piece's transmission.

A few things are striking about this narrative of transmission. The first is that there were several versions of *G2* in circulation: Baldwin may not have had the original, and his copy was very different to the *G2^a* source used by *Sadler*, which in turn was different to that used in *T1464*. The second is that John Baldwin could not have had a direct hand in circulating *Ave Dei patris* settings. The last finding is the very small number of pre-Reformation sources of Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* which apparently survived into the reign of Elizabeth I: namely, Baldwin's copy of *G2*, the original *G2^a*, and *M*. This is absolutely consistent with what we know of the biblioclasm early in Elizabeth's reign which was noted by Forrest and discussed in the previous chapter. Furthermore, one of them—the original *G2^a*—could easily have been destroyed by about 1570, by which time its contents had been transferred into Elizabethan manuscripts. The same fate probably befell *F*, the Fayrfax source owned by the copyists of *T1464*. The survival of the *G2^a* antiphons for just long enough to be copied but no longer need not be surprising, as we know that orders to destroy surviving liturgical and polyphonic music books were still being issued into the 1570s.

It may also be possible to explain the survival of the copy of *G2* owned by Baldwin into the 1580s. We know that Baldwin had access to a large quantity of pre-Reformation music of different kinds, of which the Office cycle by Tallis and Sheppard was only one part. Thanks to William Forrest and *FH* he also had direct access to pre-Reformation sources saved from destruction. We do not know exactly what Baldwin's copy of *G2* contained beyond the four antiphons also found in *G2^a*. If a copy of *G2* came to Baldwin in Forrest's collection after the latter's death in the early 1580s, then it could have contained not only *Salve intemerata*, the two *Ave Dei patris* settings and *Gaude plurimum*, but also the Taverner pieces that come after it in *Baldwin: Mater Christi sanctissima*, and *Christe Jesu pastor bone*, which Forrest might have acquired during his time at Osney. The textual edit of *Christe Jesu pastor bone*, 'Elizabetham... reginam' for 'regem... Henricum', which is found only in *Baldwin*, may then have been his or Baldwin's own addition. The circumstantial evidence of the similarities between Baldwin's and Forrest's copying, discussed in chapter 4, makes such a route of transmission more likely. If Baldwin got the majority of his music, including the Office cycle source, not from Windsor or the Chapel Royal but from private collectors, this would explain not only his use of *G2* and *FH*, both very early sources, but also the striking lack of certain composers we would expect to find in his collection if it came from Windsor: Johnson (with the exception of the well-transmitted *Domine in virtute*), Merbecke, and Fayrfax. This is despite the fact that Fayrfax's *Lauda vivi* is known to have been performed at Windsor in the late 1530s, and both Johnson and Merbecke presumably composed there in the 1550s. The majority of Baldwin's copies of Johnson and Fayrfax are found in *24d2*; this collection was begun in the late 1580s at a time for which there is documentary evidence of his presence at Windsor.

The transmission of Tallis's setting also appears to have been straightforward. It survives only in copies by Sadler and the Paston scribes, and all the copies are closely related textually, although it is unlikely that Sadler's exemplar was exactly the same as that of the Paston scribes since he did not copy its usual companion pieces, the Magnificat *O bone Jesu* and *Sospitati dedit aegros*. The scribe of *Z6* and *T341-4*, moreover, knew at least two exemplars of the piece: one in extracts, which included an interpolation also present in *RCM*, and one complete without the additional passage. Because there are no earlier sources of the piece, and given that it bears no obvious connection to *G2* beyond the fact that it circulated with Johnson's setting, we cannot reconstruct its pre-Reformation transmission, or how it survived into the Elizabethan period. It is just possible that along with other Tallis pieces surviving only in Paston sources, *Euge caeli porta* and the Mass *Puer natus est*, copies of *Ave*

Dei patris passed into private hands during the Dissolution of Waltham Abbey or Dover Priory.⁵⁸ A much more likely locus of the piece's transmission is John Sadler, especially given his close relationship to the Paston sources in other pieces such as Johnson's *Ave Dei patris* and the White pieces discussed earlier. His work at Fotheringhay from 1548 onwards would have given him access to the college's music collection, and it is entirely reasonable that he would have copied some of it.

The textual and repertorial connections between Sadler's partbooks and East Anglian sources are intriguing given the geographical distance between Fotheringhay, Oundle and Sudborough, and Norwich, the probable origin of both *T1464* and *Z6*. One possible transmission route is Cambridge, where Sadler lived until 1548; a singing man from Ely Cathedral, possibly identifiable with Christopher Tye, visited Fotheringhay College in that year.⁵⁹ However, this still leaves some sixty miles uncovered. As a schoolmaster with particular expertise in music Sadler must have influenced many young men who became keen musicians themselves. But while ever the scribes of *T1464* and *Z6* remain unidentified, it is impossible to say with any certainty how his collections became so intimately linked with theirs.

The story of *G2* goes some way towards explaining the transmission of Fayrfax's and Taverner's settings, as well as Johnson's. I have already argued that the copyists of *T1464* had access to an independent source of Fayrfax's antiphons, from which they copied Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris*, and that this was textually very close to copies already in East Anglia, such as that in *UJ*. I have also noted that the copyist of *UJ* probably used an exemplar which ultimately derived from *G2*, which explains the textual similarities between *UJ* and the East Anglian sources which used *G2^a*. Therefore all the Elizabethan sources of Fayrfax and Taverner's *Ave Dei patris* settings are either East Anglian, derive from *G2*, or both. Only the other Henrician sources remain to be explained.

⁵⁸ It has been speculated that Sir William Petre, father of John Petre, installed the Waltham Abbey organ at Ingatestone following the Abbey's dissolution in 1540. If this is the case, he may also have acquired music books at the same time, which would explain the presence of *Ave Dei patris* in the East Anglian musical circuit. But unfortunately there is no evidence that Petre received any of the proceeds from the dissolution of Waltham Abbey, most of which were granted to Anthony Denny. Price, *Patrons and Musicians*, 63; F. G. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary: Sir William Petre at Court and at Home* (Cambridge: Longmans, 1961), 212; TNA E315/213, f. 53^v; *SPO*, document number MC4302701519.

⁵⁹ David Skinner, 'Music and the Reformation in the Collegiate Church of St Mary and All Saints, Fotheringhay', in Clive Burgess and Martin Heale (eds), *The Late Medieval English College and its Context* (York: York Medieval Press, 2008), 261.

In its copy of Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris* the orphan partbook *H1709* shows no clear allegiance to any other sources, appearing consistently low down the SI table and sharing variants relatively equally with *Sadler*, *Baldwin* and *Ph*. Like *UJ* it is an early source, and there is no evidence of East Anglian provenance or any influence from *G2*, so its lack of affinity with other sources is unsurprising. In her stemma diagram of Tallis's *Salve intemerata* Penelope Rapson positions *H1709* in isolation from other sources and branching directly from the archetype.⁶⁰ The position of *H1709* in the stemma, however, is clarified by analysis of *Ph*, another source which is difficult to place since it contains many unique variants of pitch and rhythm. Like *H1709*, *Ph* also has many shared variants in common with several different sources in its copy of Fayrfax's setting, especially with *UJ* (as figure 6e suggests), though it is not East Anglian nor is it derived from *G2*, and it does not carry the shibboleths which normally define these groupings. It has a shared rhythmic variant in the medius with *Carver* at bar 282, which is absent from *H1709*, and the underlay in the bassus around b. 300 is almost identical in the two sources. The *Ph* copy of Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris* has many cosmetic variants in common with East Anglian sources, notably in the ligatures at bar 159 and bar 222, which it shares with *Sadler*, *Z6*, *T1464* and *UJ*. However, these variants probably originate close to the archetype. They are not in *Baldwin*, but *Baldwin* seems often to have broken ligatures in his copying process: where sources conflict over whether ligatures are present, *Baldwin* generally does not have them (see figure 6r). The presence or absence of ligatures in *Baldwin* is thus not a reliable indicator of source relationships.⁶¹

Figure 6r. Presence of ligatures in voice V of Fayrfax, *Ave Dei patris*

Source	Ligatures present	Ligatures absent
<i>Baldwin</i>	1	17
<i>Carver</i>	3	15
<i>Z6</i>	7	11
<i>Sadler</i>	11	7
<i>Ph</i>	12	6
<i>UJ</i>	13	5
<i>T1464</i>	13	5

⁶⁰ Rapson, 'A Technique for Identifying Textual Errors', 242.

⁶¹ David Fallows has commented *à propos* of the fifteenth-century French song repertoire that while 'the placing of ligatures can sometimes follow stemmatic lines: by and large people tend to copy what they see in front of them', nevertheless 'the writing of ligatures... is a purely scribal whim, just an alternative way of writing notes.' (Fallows, 'A Word about Ligatures', *EM*, 41 [2013], 104-107 at 107). Similarly, it could be argued that except as a way of clarifying text underlay the use of ligatures in sixteenth-century English polyphony is purely cosmetic and a matter of scribal choice: a large number of shared ligatures, however, can be a powerful indicator of filial relationships.

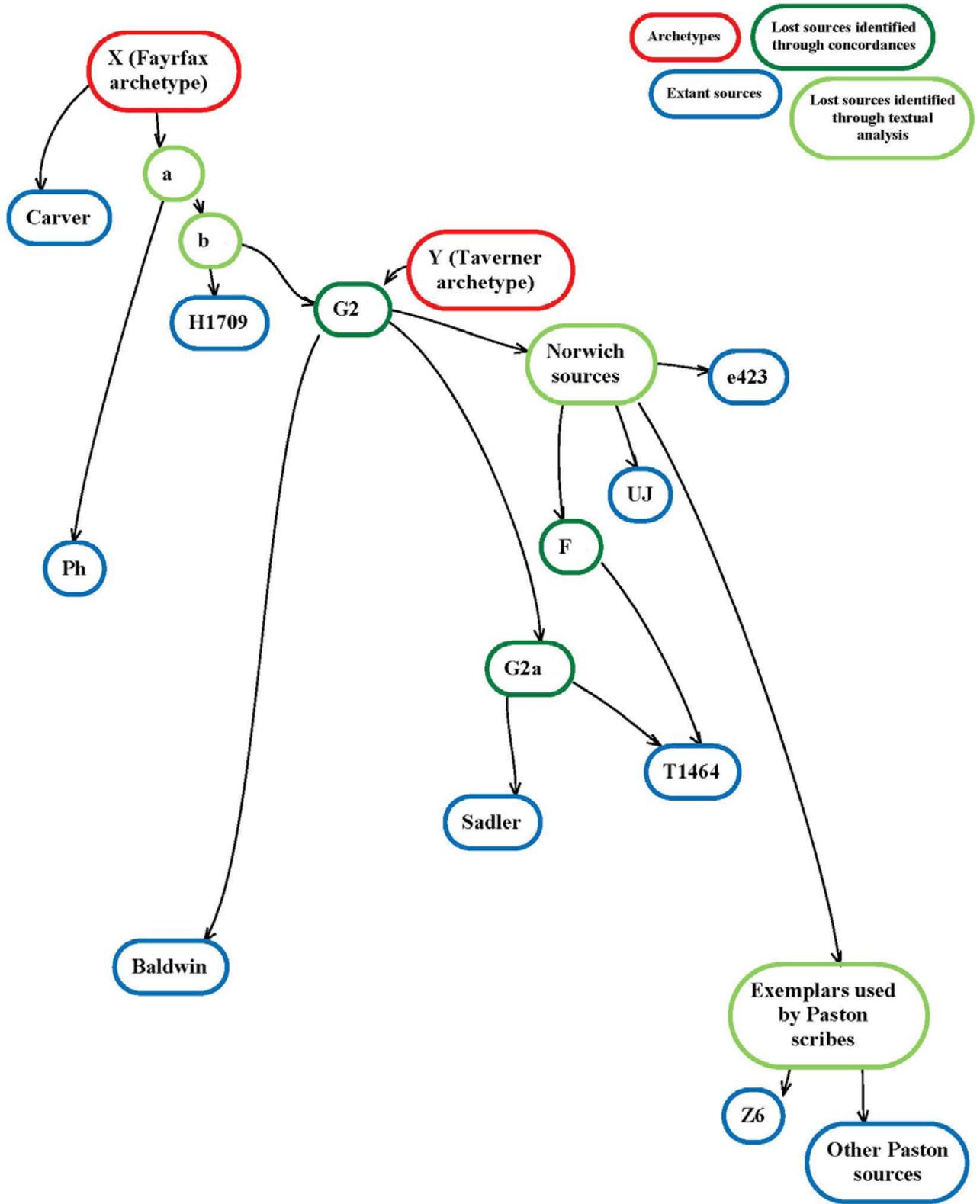
One solution to the position of *Ph* in relation to other sources is given in Rapson's stemma of *Salve intemerata*, which positions *Ph* branching off from an intermediate stage in between the archetype and the Norwich sources. This makes some sense given the extant textual states of Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris*. This solution, however, does not rationalise the shared variant between *Ph* and *Carver*. A better solution for Fayrfax's *Ave Dei patris* is to show *Ph* branching directly from an English source copied from the archetype. A complete possible stemma is shown in figure 6s.

6.5. Conclusions

The close kinship between the surviving Elizabethan *Ave Dei patris* sources shows that they all derive from a very small number of pre-Reformation exemplars. With the number of sources that survive, and the relative geographical distance between their locations of copying (over eighty miles between Fotheringhay and Norwich, for example), it might be expected that they would be textually very divergent. This is clearly not the case. In all cases, each of the Elizabethan *Ave Dei patris* copies derives from, at most, three pre-Reformation sources, and all extant copies of all of the settings derive from a total of four; of these, barely any—the *G2* source used by *Baldwin*, and perhaps *M*—are likely to have survived beyond about 1570. This realisation leads to some striking conclusions. Firstly, the social circle copying pre-Reformation music in the Elizabethan period must have been small, with few degrees of separation between each copyist. Some deliberate sharing of sources between the copyists of extant manuscripts must have taken place for geographically and chronologically disparate sources (*Sadler* and the Paston sources, for example) to be as textually similar as they are. This narrow social circle of copyists is broadly consistent with the tight network of manuscript relationships posited by Hofman, notwithstanding the modifications to her arguments which I have already suggested.

The second conclusion is based partly on the textual interconnectedness of surviving copies, and also on the relatively small number of pieces copied again and again (*Baldwin*'s Office cycle apart), especially by Paston scribes, and the number of pieces in extant Henrician manuscripts which do not appear in Elizabethan copies. These facts suggest that Elizabethan copyists had access to comparatively few pieces from pre-Reformation England, certainly fewer than we do today. Indeed, with the possible exception of *Baldwin*, there is no evidence that the copyists discussed here could have been aware of more music than they copied themselves, a picture consistent with the writings about music by Morley, Meres, Whythorne

Figure 6s. ‘Quasi-stemma’ showing the transmission of Fayrfax and Taverner’s *Ave Dei patris* settings



and Peacham discussed in the previous chapter.⁶² This must be primarily due to the loss of manuscripts during the religious upheavals of Tudor England: the lack of Fayrfax in *Baldwin*, for example, cannot be a reflection on either Baldwin's musical taste or the quality of Fayrfax's music, because Baldwin copied similar music elsewhere. Elizabethan scribes may also have had difficulty with the systems of notation used in Henrician sources, such as the black full notation found in *Eton*, *Lambeth* and *Caius*. This would explain why, for example, the music of Browne and Davy is not found in Elizabethan sources, and why Baldwin copied only Wylkynson's *Credo* into *24d2* and no other *Eton* pieces. The simplest solution to the latter problem is that either Baldwin, or the copyist of his exemplar if it was not the choirbook itself, could not decipher the arcane notation of the rest of *Eton*.

The small number of pre-Reformation sources used by Elizabethan copyists, and the correspondingly small number of pieces they could access, suggest a narrative of catastrophic loss. Clive Burgess and Andrew Wathey have suggested that, given the evidence that some choirbooks were not broken up until the seventeenth century, the destruction of polyphonic music books may only have become decisive 'in the 1580s, after the execution of Mary Queen of Scots and the defeat of the Armada'.⁶³ But the surviving choirbook fragments used as evidence by Burgess and Wathey cannot be taken as representative of general trends: their very survival makes them exceptional. Rather, according to the above analysis and the injunctions against liturgical books discussed in the previous chapter, there is no evidence of Henrician and Marian manuscripts surviving in significant numbers beyond the early 1570s and indeed there seems to have been a decisive effort to destroy them around this time. The turning point may not have been the double demise of Mary Queen of Scots and the Armada, but a decade and a half earlier, in the wake of the Northern Rebellion and *Regnans in excelsis*. William Forrest's comment, discussed in chapter 4, that by 1572 the majority of Taverner's works had been lost adds some weight to this hypothesis. Jonathan Willis has also commented

⁶² This point is also consistent with what is known of other pre-print musical cultures. As Rob Wegman has argued, in late fifteenth-century Europe music as a rule did not travel beyond its immediate area of origin, as music could easily be supplied locally, and therefore 'the average musician in this period knew far fewer settings [i.e. of the Mass Ordinary] than we do today'. The situation Wegman describes arose under very different circumstances to those of Elizabethan England, but there are useful parallels to be drawn: he refers to a situation where, as here, the music being copied and transmitted carried no economic value. Wegman, 'Publication Before Printing: How Did Flemish Polyphony Travel in Manuscript Culture?' in Hanno Wijsman (ed.), *Books in Transition at the Time of Philip the Fair: Manuscripts and Printed Books in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century Low Countries* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010), 165-180, at 171.

⁶³ Clive Burgess and Andrew Wathey, 'Mapping the Soundscape: Church Music in English Towns, 1450-1550', *EMH*, 19 (2000), 40-42 at 42.

on the subtle shift in the musical practice of English churches that took place in the aftermath of the events around 1570, which suggests a renewed effort to Protestantise the parishes.⁶⁴

Along with the attitudes to musical quality discernible in the sixteenth-century ‘canons’ described in the previous chapter, the likelihood that Elizabethan copyists could access only relatively little music leads to the conclusion that their collecting practices may not in fact have been particularly selective. While the intellectual climate of the time encouraged the copying of pre-Reformation music in general, and may have led to particular copying practices such as the inclusion of attributions, the actual choice of music seems to have been dictated by other concerns. Not only were copyists limited to what had survived and what they could access through local institutions or acquaintances, they must also have been restricted by what notation they could understand. Ultimately, we must end with the prosaic but inescapable conclusion that Elizabethan copyists chose their music less for any inherent characteristics it possessed, than because it had happened to survive the Reformation and was in a still-comprehensible form.

⁶⁴ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 111-3.

Conclusions

This thesis has sought to shed light on the transformation effected on pre-Reformation, Latin-texted polyphony by those who appreciated and preserved it in manuscript after 1559. I began by asking whether and how the semiotic significance of pre-Reformation polyphony, and the Marian antiphon in particular, changed along with its primary function as it migrated from church to chamber in the aftermath of the Elizabethan Settlement. My answer to this question has focussed on three main issues: the impact of changing religious legislation in the mid-sixteenth century on people's conceptualisation of the Catholic past and its related worship and musical practices; the transmission of pre-Reformation music after 1559, how widespread it was and what routes it took, and what this can tell us about Elizabethan attitudes to Henrician and Marian-era musical sources; and finally the meanings, significations and significances held by pre-Reformation music in Elizabethan England. Where necessary these issues were explored using the *Ave Dei patris filia* corpus of compositions as a case-study: this set of pieces and their sources provide ample evidence of attitudes towards pre-Reformation Marian antiphons by both composers and copyists throughout the sixteenth century.

The main contribution of my study of mid-sixteenth-century religion in chapter 3 has been to marry the most recent studies of religious change under Henry VIII, Mary I and Elizabeth I with current narratives of changes in musical practice, particularly regarding Marian devotion. While findings from musicology—often ignored in other historical disciplines—have helped shed light on the religious practice of the 1540s and 1550s, studies of musical practice under Elizabeth have not kept pace with recent findings concerning the resilience and long survival of pre-Reformation culture after 1559, a problem that has led to the pervasive and persistent assumption that the remnants of medieval Catholicism were all but universally reviled. Much remains to be done on the nature of public and private devotion to the Virgin under Mary Tudor and in the last decade of the reign of Henry VIII, but it is absolutely clear from the findings presented in this thesis that both periods were more conservative and more effusive in their Marian devotion than is currently recognised by social and religious historians. This is partly evidenced in the continuation of the *Ave Dei patris* compositional tradition into at least the 1540s, in the work of Robert Johnson. Consequently, the memory of the polyphonic votive antiphon would have been much more vivid to Elizabethan collectors than has perhaps been imagined: rather than being the property of a

narrowly-defined religious group—Catholic recusants—both public and private devotion to the Virgin was well within living memory and the personal experience of many Elizabethans for at least the first two decades of the new reign. However, by 1558 the votive antiphon also carried political associations unknown in the 1520s, the negotiations of which by Elizabethan collectors were the subject of the last two chapters of this thesis.

My investigation of musical transmission has amplified May Hofman's conclusion that Latin-texted music in Elizabethan England was the preserve of a small intellectual elite, focussed on London and Norwich. I have, however, nuanced many of her hypotheses concerning relationships between individual manuscripts, and in particular I have problematised her conclusions concerning the primacy of John Baldwin. The close relationships which I have demonstrated between extant manuscripts, and particularly between quite geographically disparate sources (such as *Sadler* and *T1464*), suggest that relatively few pre-Reformation manuscripts were still in circulation by the 1570s, most probably thanks to a widespread and successful programme of biblioclasm in the first two decades of Elizabeth I's reign.

Focusing on one small corpus of four compositions—the *Ave Dei patris filia* settings by Fayrfax, Taverner, Tallis and Johnson—and closely related pieces has allowed for a more detailed and richly contextualised study of manuscript relationships than would have been possible had I attempted to cover a larger repertoire. However, it also means that in my discussions of manuscript transmission I have had to form generalisations which future studies on a larger scale may be able to nuance. I have barely touched on Latin psalm settings, for example, and not at all on polyphonic Masses; polyphony from the European mainland has been similarly excluded, as has music demonstrably composed after 1559. One particularly howling omission, which lies well outside the scope of this thesis but which would undoubtedly shed light on the conclusions posited here, is the manuscript transmission of Byrd's music in the 'Norwich' group of sources: *Sadler*, *e423*, *Z6*, and the other Paston sources. Such expansion of the methodologies used in this thesis to a larger repertoire would be facilitated by the use of digital editing techniques such as those discussed in chapter 6.

In my investigations of musical meaning in the sixteenth century, my interdisciplinary approach has allowed me to demonstrate just how profoundly Elizabethan music collections were influenced by the intellectual currents of their time. By interrogating the widespread modern use of the word 'antiquarian' to describe Elizabethan music collections, I have shown that the ways in which the copyists Robert Dow, John Baldwin and John Sadler

conceptualised the music of their past—as evidenced in the paratext of their collections—belong to the same intellectual world as contemporary historical and antiquarian writings by John Weever and William Camden, and shared their aims of using historical artefacts in order to create a narrative of English and British artistic and political achievement. To music copyists in the second half of the sixteenth century, musical works could serve as ‘monuments’ to memorialise their composers in the same way that funerary effigies could commemorate the deceased, drawing attention to their good character, career success, and particularly to their nationality. By commemorating the talent of English composers in their collections, copyists thus contributed to a strong sense of national identity built upon the achievements of past worthies. In demonstrating just one way in which pre-Reformation music could be negotiated in Elizabethan Protestant thought—and appropriated for its proto-nationalist ends—these findings offer solid justification for abandoning the historiographical fallacy that is the ‘recusant source’.

Chapter 5 of this thesis has also shed light on changing notions of authorship and musical quality in the sixteenth century, and their impact on the survival of pre-Reformation music decades after its first production, and has revealed some strikingly modern attitudes: composition valued as a talent independent of the liturgical singing for which a composer was employed; special value placed on the scholarly, unpublished musician; and the notion that the age of a piece of music could act in its favour as an aesthetic criterion. The resulting parallels between the reception histories of Fayrfax and Josquin during the sixteenth century, in particular the ways in which both composers retained their position as the archetypal musician decades after their deaths, are irresistible and it is particularly striking that Fayrfax achieved this status without Josquin’s advantage of appearing in print. Along with the analytical findings of chapter 2, which was concerned with practices of musical borrowing and patterns of reception and influence in the *Ave Dei patris filia* corpus, these parallels suggest that the historiographies of late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth-century British and mainland European musics are still not sufficiently integrated: a fact to be borne in mind as the quincentenary of both Josquin’s and Fayrfax’s deaths approaches. Recent studies by Theodor Dumitrescu and others notwithstanding, it seems that too much emphasis is still placed on the undoubted stylistic differences between mainland and insular musics and too little on their very similar intellectual backgrounds.

In the process of writing this thesis several unexpected threads, unifying otherwise quite disparate sections of narrative, emerged. These have led me to draw some provisional (and necessarily speculative) hypotheses which might repay closer investigation.

The first thread to be considered concerns the historical status of the votive antiphon, first discussed in chapter 1. The relationship between votive antiphon texts and the musical style that we now associate so strongly with them is by no means clear. Evidence is slowly accruing for a variety of coexisting compositional styles in early Tudor England that to a certain extent were interchangeable, but there is as yet very little evidence that lengthy votive antiphon texts were ever set by English composers in any register other than the familiar, five- or six-part, ‘florid’ (though this word does no justice to the subtlety of Taverner’s or Fayrfax’s settings) manner that we are used to. Establishing the nature of the link between genre and style in Henrician England would shed light on the propagandistic use of the votive antiphon register—in both text and music—under Mary I, as discussed in chapter 3. I suspect that the style we now associate with votive antiphons was the loftiest of a wide range of registers available to composers in Henrician England, which has survived in disproportionate quantities thanks to its prestige and its consequent value to those who preserved music manuscripts in the first decades of Elizabeth’s reign. Elaborate votive antiphons may have provided some of the best available evidence for English composers’ talent and were thus the most useful to collectors.

The second common thread concerns the personalities behind Elizabethan musical transmission. The possibility that William Forrest might have been a pivotal figure in the mid-century transformation of pre-Reformation music led me to undertake two unexpectedly productive research trips close to my final writing-up phase, and resulted directly in chapter 4. Serendipitous archival discoveries made at Oxford and Kew have allowed me to shed light on all stages of Forrest’s career, resulting in a biography unprecedented in its thoroughness, but they have also thrown up a variety of questions that I hope to investigate further in the near future. Lack of time alone has prevented a more thorough assessment of Forrest’s poetry, for example, especially that in Harley 1703 which could allow a more complete study of his personal religion, and of his scribal procedure in *FH*. But more importantly, a more complete study of Forrest’s career and output might shed light on other areas covered in this thesis, particularly on musical transmission. Chapter 6 has turned out rather drier and less personal than I would ideally have liked, because it has proved impossible—at least at present—to discern exactly *how* (rather than when, or where) music travelled around the country either before or after the Reformation. I have hinted in chapter 4 that Forrest, who clearly enjoyed a wide and illustrious circle of acquaintance, might have been directly involved in passing music to John Baldwin. Similar questions ought also to be asked about John Sadler. Towards the end of my project it has been discovered that *Sadler*, the partbooks formerly believed to be

entirely in his hand, are in fact the work of at least four rather incompetent scribes: not enough is yet known of these scribes and their habits to conclude that they were connected with Sadler's grammar school at Fotheringhay, but the possibility is extremely tempting. Just as the scribe of *e423* perhaps brought music back to Essex after completing his schooling in the Chapel Royal (as David Mateer has argued),¹ Sadler may have passed music on to his own pupils, which would explain the unexpected textual similarities between his copies and the geographically far-removed copies in *Z6*, the other Paston sources, and *T1464*.

Last to be considered is the Northern Rebellion of 1569. The rebellion and its aftermath, in particular the discourses that surrounded it in the form of rumour and myth-making and its characterisation by writers of all religious persuasions as an essentially confessional conflict, have been studied by K. J. Kesselring.² Kesselring has argued that English Protestants after 1569 used the rebellion as a tool to demonstrate the Elizabethan regime's strength, and that it later proved a turning point in fixing England's character as a Protestant nation. It was only after the rebellion, for example, that the celebration of Accession Day (on 17 November) became widespread throughout the realm.³ Both the stemmatic analysis in chapter 6 and the early Elizabethan texts discussed in chapter 5 suggest that a shift in attitudes to pre-Reformation music also took place in the immediate wake of 1569. There is evidence for a thorough purging of pre-Reformation service books and prick-song books in the early 1570s, for example, perhaps in fear of a second rebellion, and it seems likely that far less music was available after the rebellion than before it. Seeing 1569 as a turning point is compelling in light of the associations that the votive antiphon in particular carried at the end of Mary I's reign and the apparently effortless way in which these were negotiated by the late 1570s. The proto-nationalist discourse surrounding Latin-texted music in mid- and late-Elizabethan collections seems to have been a post-Northern Rebellion phenomenon; just as the rebellion was appropriated by English Protestants in order to construct a narrative of their faith's triumph and their nation's political resilience, so was the music of late-medieval Catholicism appropriated by the same group as evidence of England's artistic prowess on a European stage. Ironically, the failure of the rebellion, which saw English Catholicism retreat from the public eye and become increasingly characterised as

¹ Mateer, 'William Byrd, John Petre and... e. 423', 34.

² K. J. Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion of 1569: Faith, Politics, and Protest in Elizabethan England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), ch. 5; Kesselring, "'A Cold Pye for the Papistes': Constructing and Containing the Northern Rising of 1569', *Journal of British Studies*, 43 (2004), 417-443.

³ Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion*, 164-70.

foreign or ‘other’—less immediately threatening and more easily pigeonholed or semantically contained—might in some circles have opened the floodgates for freer and more various interpretations of its music. This is most vividly illustrated in the manuscript *TI464*, which as discussed in Appendix C2 underwent a dramatic change of purpose soon after it was first copied, probably in the 1570s.

The easy association in recent decades between Elizabethan music collections and clandestine Catholicism and religious rebellion has had undoubted political advantages. Since the sixteenth century Catholicism has been seen, by many northern European Protestants at least, as effeminate and effeminising, with a quasi-mother-goddess, the Virgin Mary, at its heart. Its association with elaborate embodied ritual and aural and visual luxury, and with privacy—especially the clandestine services of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—ensure that it has frequently represented the universal Other in British culture, the feminine and the foreign and the secretive and the queer. To characterise the Elizabethan collecting culture as Catholic is today extremely appealing because it reclaims the famous cultural products of Tudor England, Albion triumphant, as the true possession of the oppressed. By listening to this music, we are told, we can hear the voice of a silent minority.

By contrast, my conclusions here have less immediate appeal. In this thesis I have argued that far from being the product of a clandestine, Catholic subculture, the manuscripts in which most pre-Reformation music survives belonged to a small subset of the Protestant mainstream, and indeed were partly intended to commemorate the composers of the past as ‘great men’, patriots, and loyal servants of the English crown. As I mentioned at the start of this thesis, any research project as fundamentally concerned with historical confessional identities as this inevitably poses questions concerning the subject position of its author and her cultural background, and it may appear from the foregoing chapters that I have attempted to reclaim pre-Reformation music and its manuscripts for the privileged few, or even specifically for a branch of evangelical Protestantism different from, but nevertheless related to, my own. But this was far from my intention: as a twenty-first century writer living in a postcolonial era I find it impossible to sympathise fully with the Elizabethan Protestant establishment. Rather, I suggest that such uncomfortable realities as those argued in this thesis should be read neither as a reflection of their author’s politics, or as an indictment of the past, but as a call to change our present. Recognising the ways that pre-Reformation musical culture was manipulated and shaped for the proto-nationalist ends of Elizabethan Protestants

affords the student of early music a rare opportunity to participate in today's efforts to decolonise history, especially in the 70th anniversary of Indian independence and the horrors of Partition. At least within the academy and among the political left, and in the popular historical press, there is today an increasing tendency as much to recognise, admit to and discuss the atrocities committed in the name of the British Empire, as to draw attention to the achievements of those from outside the privileged dominant culture. The evident jingoism of the copyists discussed in this thesis—especially of Robert Dow, with his talk not only of nationality but of bloodlines and race—needs similarly to be recognised and discussed if we are to learn from it, however acceptable and 'normal' it may have been among their contemporaries. Attitudes such as theirs are still very much in evidence. The notion that Britain stands alone, distinct from and amply able to compete with the European mainland thanks in part to its long history, remains widespread and has grown increasingly influential. Similarly, the semantic equation of Britain and England discussed in chapter 5 is still noticeable in modern political language, often to justify exactly this distinctiveness: how many times recently have we heard 'the British people' when in fact 'the English people' was meant? I did not set out in writing this thesis to shed light on the origins of some of the most problematic ideologies we face today, but if I have achieved this—even accidentally—the process has been well worthwhile.

