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THE VERNACULAR CHURCH MUSIC OF WILLIAM BYRD:
A REAPPRAISAL OF CHRONOLOGY, AUTHENTICITY AND CONTEXT

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy

April 2014

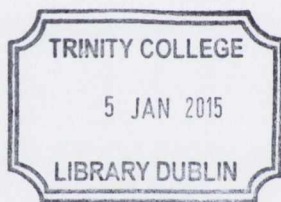
by

Andrew Johnstone

(University of Dublin)

Complete in Two Volumes

Volume 2



Thesis 10850.2

Ex. 1:1. Merbecke's Preces, and outer voices of polyphonic settings by Tallis and Byrd

(a) Merbecke, Preces

O Lord, open thou our lips.
 And our mouth shall show forth thy praise.
 O Lord, make haste to help us.
 and to the Holy Ghost:

(b) Tallis, Second Preces (a4)

O Lord, make speed to save us.

(c) Tallis, First Preces (a4-5)

O Lord, make speed to save us.

(d) Byrd, Second Preces (a4)

O Lord, make speed to save us.

(e) Byrd, First Preces (a5-6)

O Lord, make speed to save us.

(f) Byrd, Second Preces (a5)

O Lord, make speed to save us.

(g) Byrd, Third Preces (a5)

O Lord, make speed to save us.

(continued on next page)

Ex. 1:1 continued

(a) Merbecke, Preces
as it was in the beginning [and] is now;
and ever shall be,
world without end. Amen.
Praise ye the Lord.

(b) Tallis, Second Preces (a4)

(c) Tallis, First Preces (a4-5)

(d) Byrd, Second Preces (a4)

(e) Byrd, First Preces (a5-6)

(f) Byrd, Second Preces (a5)

(g) Byrd, Third Preces (a5)

Ex. 1:2. Byrd, Ps. 47, beginning of doxology with Sarum psalm-tone 8/i
in the lower Ct part

M
Ct
Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther and to the Son, and to the Ho - ly Ghost;

Ct
T
B

Ex. 1:3. Tone 8/i (transposed down a 4th) and Byrd, Ps. 54, v. 1

Save me, O God, for thy Name's sake: and a - venge me in thy strength.

Ex. 1:4. Byrd, Ps. 114:1-6: vv. 2 and 5 compared

2. Ju - dah was his san - ctu - a - ry: and Is - ra - el his do - mi - ni - on.

5. What ail - eth thee, O thou sea, that thou fled - dest: and thou Jor - dan that thou wast dri - ven back?

Ex. 1:5. Byrd, Ps. 55:1-7,17, v. 1: versions a4 and a5 compared

Hear my pray - er, O God: and hide not thy - self from my pe - ti - ti - on.

Hear my pray - er, O God: and hide not thy - self from my pe - ti - ti - on.

Ex. 1:6. Tones for the Sarum and Cranmerian litanies

(a) Tones for portions of the Sarum litany having equivalent portions in the English litany

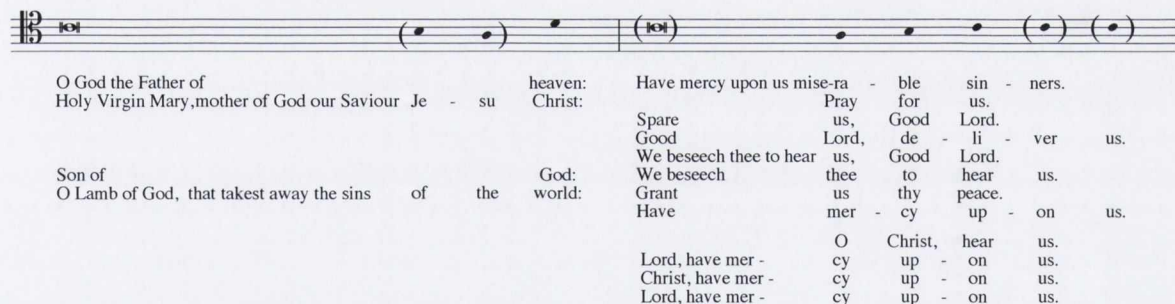


[versicles] Mi - se - re - re no - bis. Par - ce no - bis Do - mi - ne. Te ro - ga - mus au - di nos.
 O - ra pro no - bis. Li - be - ra nos Do - mi - ne.

Ag - nus De____ i, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, ex - au - di nos Do - mi - ne.
 par - ce no - bis Do - mi - ne.
 mi - se - re - re no - bis.

Ky - rie e - lei - son. Ky - rie e - lei - son.

(b) The tone for Cranmer's printed English Litany, 1544



<p>O God the Father of Holy Virgin Mary, mother of God our Saviour Son of O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the</p>	<p>Je - su heaven: Christ: God: world:</p>	<p>Have mercy upon us mise-ra - ble sin - ners. Pray for us. Spare Good Lord, de - li - ver us. Good Lord, de - li - ver us. We beseech thee to hear us, Good Lord. We beseech thee to hear us, Good Lord. Grant us thy hear us. Have mer - cy peace. up - on us. O Christ, hear us. Lord, have mer - cy up - on us. Christ, have mer - cy up - on us. Lord, have mer - cy up - on us.</p>
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Ex. 1:7. Four-part litanies compared

(a) Byrd, *Laetania* (1605x4/16)

Pa - ter de coe - lis De - us mi - se - re - re no - bis, O - ra pro no - bis, Par - ce no - bis Do - mi - ne.

(b) Byrd, *Litany* (*Ob* MS Tenbury 1382; *Cq* G.4.17)

O God, the Fa - ther of heav'n, Spare us, good Lord. We be - seech thee to hear us, good Lord.

(c) [Thomas?] Tomkins, *Common Litany* (*Cp*)

Spare us, good Lord. Ky - ri - e e - lei - son. Chri - ste e - lei - son. Ag - nus De - i, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, par - ce no - bis Do - mi - ne. O Lamb of God, that tak'st a - way the sins of the world, have mer - cy up - on us. Christ, have mer - cy up - on us. Lord, have mer - cy up - on us.

Ex. 1:8. *TD* and *Bs* attrib. Byrd in *Cp* MSS 34, 38 and 39 (B and T parts conjectural)(a) *TD*, opening

We praise thee, O God: we know - ledge thee to be the Lord.

All the earth doth wor - ship thee: the Fa - ther ev - er - last - ing.

(b) *TD*, probable 6-5 resolution at end of section (Mc)

of the ma - je - sty of thy glo - ry, of thy glo - ry.

[6 5?]

(c) *Bs*, probable 6-5 resolution at end of doxology (Ctd)

A - men. A - men.

[6 5?]

(d) *TD*, example of quasi canonic *fuga*

The glo - ri - ous com - pa - ny of the A - po - stles praise thee:

(e) *Bs*, example of cumulative-7th subject

That we be - ing de - liv - er - ed

That we be - ing de - liv - er - ed

(f) *TD*, example of tone-higher transposition

let me ne - ver be con - found - ed, let me ne - ver be con - found - ed,

Ex. 1:9. 'Fourth-kind' faburden in early short services

(a) Causton, Service for Children, *M*, opening

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord: and my sp'rit re - joic - eth in God

(b) Tallis, *Cr*, bars 5–8

And of all things vis - i - ble and in - vis - i - ble.

(c) Richard Farrant, *M*, opening

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord:

(d) Byrd, *M*, bars 18–25

For he that is might - y hath mag - ni - fied me; and ho - ly is his Name.

Fig. 1:1. Varied scorings from the *Cr* of Byrd's Short Service

Mc Md
Ctc Ctd
- Td
-

(a) bars 27–31

-
Ctd
Tc Td
Bcd

(b) bars 31–3

Mc Md
Ctc Ctd
Tc -

(c) bars 33–6

Mc Md
Ctc Ctd
-
-

(d) bars 52–4, 72–4

-
Ctc Ctd
Tcd
Bcd

(e) bars 54–6

Fig. 1:2. *Tautophrasis* in the short services of Tallis and Byrd compared (V, TD and Bs)

		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
		v.1												
		Doxology												
(a) Venite														
Tallis	d		B¹	C¹	D¹	E¹	F¹	H¹	I¹	J¹	K¹			
	cd	A						G						L
	c		B²	C²	D²	E²	F²	H²	I²	J²	K²			
Byrd														
d		B¹		C¹	D¹	E¹	F¹	H¹	I²	J¹	K¹			
cd	A							G						L
c		B²	C²	D²	E²	F²	H²	H²	I³	J²	K²			
(b) Te Deum														
Tallis	d		C¹C²	E¹	E¹	F¹		G¹		H¹		K¹		L
	cd	A									H²		K²	
	c		B¹B²	D	E²	F²			G²					
Byrd														
d		B¹	C²	D	E²	F²			H¹		J¹	K¹		L
cd	A									I				K²
c		B²	C¹	E¹	F¹			G	H²		J²			

(continued on next page)

Ex. 1:10. Sequence technique in the short services of Tallis and Byrd

(a) Tallis, *GI*, bars 27–30

Thou that sit - test at the right hand of God the Fa - ther,

(b) Tallis, *GI*, bars 20–23

That tak'st a - way the sins of the world, have mer - cy up - on us.

(c) Byrd, *V*, bars 80–87

As it was in the be - gin - ning, is now, and e - ver shall be, world with - out end. A - men.

(d) Byrd, *M*, bars 1–8

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord: and my sp'rit re - joic - eth in God my Sa - vi - our.

Fig. 1:3. Phrase-structure in the Three Minims Service
(terminal chords are shown in the right-hand column)

(a) Magnificat

A	cd	1. My soul doth magnify the Lord: and my sp'rit rejoiceth in God my Saviour.	G C
B¹	d	2. For he hath regarded: the	C
B²	d	lowliness of his hand[maiden].	C
B³	c	3. For behold from henceforth: all	C
B⁴	c	gene[rations] shall call me [blessed].	C
C	d	4. For he that is mighty	E
D	c	hath magnified me:	E
E¹	d	and holy is his Name,	G
E²	c	and holy is his Name.	G
F	cd	5. And his mercy is on them that fear him: throughout all generations. 6. He hath shewed strength with his arm:	D A
G¹	cd	he hath scatter-ed the proud	A
G²	cd	[in the] imaginati-ons (of their hearts).	D
H	cd	7. He hath put down the mighty from their seat:	G
I	cd	and hath exalted the humble and meek. [canon at lower 5th, M+Ct1, 1 minim]	G
J	cd	8. He hath filled the hungry with good things: and the rich he hath sent empty away, and the rich he hath sent empty away. [canon at lower 8ve, M+T, 3 minims]	G C
K	cd	9. ¶ He rememb'ring his mercy: hath holpen his servant Israel.	A
L¹	d	10. As he promised	C
L²	c	to our [father A]braham:	C
M¹	d	and [to his] seed	C
M²	c	for ever.	C
N¹	cd	<u>Glory be</u> to the [Father],	D
N²	cd	<u>and</u> to the Son,	D
O	cd	and to the Holy Ghost;	G
P	cd	as it was in the beginning, and is now,	F G
Q¹	cd	and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.	C
Q²	cd	And ever shall be, world without end. Amen. [canon at lower 5th, M+Ct2, 3 minims]	C
R	cd	Amen.	C

(continued on next page)

Fig. 1:3 continued

(b) Nunc dimitts

A	cd	1. Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace: according to thy word.	C C
B¹	c	2. For mine <u>eyes have seen</u> :	C
B²	d	thy <u>salvation</u> .	G
C¹	c	3. Which thou hast prepar-ed:	A
C²	d	[before] the face of (all) people.	A
D¹	c	4. To be a light	F
D²	d	to ligh[ten the] [gentiles]:	F
E¹	c	and to be the <u>glory</u>	D
E²	d	of thy people <u>Israel</u> .	G
F¹	cd	[Glory be] to the [Father],	G
F²	cd	and to the Son,	G
G	cd	and to the Holy Ghost;	D
H¹	cd	as it was in the <u>beginning, and is now</u> :	D
H²	cd	[and e]ver shall be, world without <u>end. Amen</u> .	G
I	cd	And ever shall be world without end. Amen. Amen.	C C

Ex. 1:11. Rhythmic ambiguity in the Three Minims Service

(a) *ND*, bars 15–16

As it was in the be - gin - ning ...

The musical notation shows a bass clef with a whole rest in the first bar. In the second bar, there are three minims (half notes) with stems pointing up. Brackets above the notes group them as follows: the first two minims are grouped together, the second and third minims are grouped together, and the third minim is also grouped with the first two. This illustrates rhythmic ambiguity in the phrasing.

(b) *ND*, bars 17–19

and e - ver shall be world with - out end. A - men.

The musical notation shows a bass clef with three minims in the first bar, followed by a whole note in the second bar. Brackets above the notes group them as follows: the first two minims are grouped together, the second and third minims are grouped together, and the third minim is also grouped with the first two. This illustrates rhythmic ambiguity in the phrasing.

Ex. 1:12. Part-writing in the Three Minims Service (*M*, bars 44–6)

and to the Son, and to the Ho - ly Ghost;

The musical notation shows a multi-staff score with five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The other four staves are instrumental parts. The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals, illustrating part-writing techniques.

Table 2:1. Pre-Restoration musical sources of full anthems with conflicting attributions

	<i>Attribution</i>	<i>Sources</i>	<i>Date copied</i>
HowLSME	anon. (33)	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 22597 <i>Och</i> MSS Mus. 985–8 <i>CAh</i> MS Mus. 30 (1–4) <i>Lbl</i> Add. MSS 17792–6 <i>NYp</i> MSS Drexel 4180, 4182–4 <i>DRc</i> MSS C4, 6–7, 9–11, 15–16 <i>Oj</i> MS 180 <i>Cp</i> MSS 35, 42 <i>Och</i> MSS Mus. 1221–4	late 1570s?–1580s c.1581–8 c.1600 c.1620–30 c.1620–30 1628–30 c.1635 c.1635–40 c.1643–4
	Byrd (10)	<i>Och</i> MSS Mus. 984 <i>Ob</i> MS Tenbury 1382 <i>Och</i> MS Mus. 1001 <i>NYp</i> MSS Drexel 4181 <i>DRc</i> MS C5 <i>NYp</i> MS Drexel 5469 <i>Cp</i> MS 44 <i>DRc</i> MS A1 <i>Y</i> MS M29(S) <i>Och</i> MS Mus. 1220	c.1581–8 1617 c.1620 c.1620–30 1628–30 c.1627–30 c.1635–40 1638–9 c.1640 c.1643–4
	'Mr Tallis' (2)	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 29247 <i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31992	c.1600 c.1600
SaveMOG	anon. (23)	McGhie MS + <i>Ob</i> MS Tenbury 389 <i>Och</i> MSS Mus. 56–60 <i>Och</i> MS Mus. 1001 <i>DRc</i> MSS C4–6, 10–11, 15–16 <i>NYp</i> MS Drexel 5469 <i>Oj</i> MS 180 <i>Cpc</i> MSS 6.1–3, 6.5–6 <i>Ob</i> MS Mus. d. 162	added c.1610? c.1620 c.1620 c.1625–30 c.1627–30 c.1635 c.1638–40 mid C.17th
	Byrd (6)	<i>DRc</i> MS C7[ii] <i>DRc</i> MS A6 <i>Cpc</i> MSS 6.4 <i>Cq</i> G.4.17 <i>Y</i> MS M29(S) 'Hellwis-Gell' MS	c.1625–30 1638–9 c.1638–40 1636 c.1640 mid C.17th
	Mr Coste' (5)	<i>Lbl</i> Add. MSS 29372–6	1616
OutOTD	anon. (7)	<i>NYp</i> MSS Drexel 4180, 4182–5 <i>Oj</i> MS 180 'Hellwis-Gell' MS	c.1620–30 c.1635 mid C.17th
	Byrd (1)	<i>NYp</i> MS Drexel 4181	c.1620–30
	Or[lando] Gib[bons]*	<i>Och</i> MS Mus. 1001	c.1620

* The attribution is in the index only, and is in a later hand

Table 2.2. Verbal text variants from the Great Bible Psalter

<i>Variant</i>	<i>Great Bible</i>	<i>Anthems</i>
i	'Up Lord'	AriseOL 'Arise, O Lord'
ii	'How long shall mine enemy'	HowLSME 'How long shall mine enemies'
iii	'Lest mine enemy say'	'Lest mine enemies say'
iv	'will rejoice at it'	'will be glad and rejoice at it'
v	'for there is mercy with thee'	OutOTD 'but with thee there is mercy'
vi	'avenge me'	SaveMOG 'avenge thou my cause'
vii	'Hear my prayer, O God'	'Hear my prayer, O Lord'
viii	'hearken unto'*	'hearken to'

* Reproduced correctly in *Cpc* MSS 6.1–6

Fig 2.1. The Order for the Royal Maundy

Exhortation
 Confession
 Proper psalm, Ps. 41
 Lesson, John 12:1-18
Pedilavium
 Anthem, 'Hide not thou thy face from us, O Lord'
 Distribution of footwear
 Anthem, 'Prevent us, O Lord'
 Distribution of clothes
 Anthem, 'Call to remembrance'
 Distribution of purses
 Anthem, 'O praise the Lord, all ye heathen'
 Distribution of fish and bread
 Gospel, Matthew 25:14–end
 Anthem, 'O Lord, make thy servant'
 Prayers

Table 2:3 Versions and rewordings of Ps.21:1-7

<i>Great Bible</i>	<i>As set by Byrd</i>	<i>Thomas Bentley (1582)</i>	<i>Thanksgiving Service (1586)</i>
1. The king shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord: exceeding glad shall he be of thy salvation.	O Lord, make thy servant Elizabeth our Queen to rejoice in thy strength.	O Lord, protect her Majesty, and hear us when we call upon thee, that in thy strength she may rejoice, and mightily triumph in thy salvation.	We rejoice in thy strength, O Lord: exceeding glad are we of thy salvation.
2. Thou hast given him his heart's desire: and hast not denied him the request of his lips.	Give her her heart's desire, and deny not the request of her lips;	Grant her the desire of her heart, and deny not the petitions of her lips.	Thou hast given us our hearts' desire: and hast not denied the request of our lips.
3. For thou shalt prevent him with the blessings of goodness: and shalt set a crown of pure gold upon his head.	but prevent her with thine everlasting blessing,	For thou hast prevented her with notable blessings, and put a crown of pure gold upon her head.	Thou hast prevented us with the blessing of goodness:
4. He asked life of thee, and thou gavest him a long life: even for ever and ever.	and give her a long life, ev'n for ever and ever. Amen.	She hath asked life of thee, and thou wilt give her a long life.	
5. His honour is great in thy salvation: glory and great worship shalt thou lay upon him.		Great is her glory in thy salvation, honour and fame hast thou put upon her.	
6. For thou shalt give him everlasting felicity: and make him glad with the joy of thy countenance.		Thou hast ordained her for exceeding blessedness, and dost comfort her heart with thy cheerful countenance.	and hast made us glad with the joy of thy countenance.
7. And why? because the king putteth his trust in the Lord: and in the mercy of the most highest he shall not miscarry.		And why? Because she delighteth in Christ; and doubteth not of thine everlasting mercy.	

Ex. 2:1. The imperfect large from OLordMTS



Illus. 2.1. Miniature attributed to Levina Teerlinc depicting one of Elizabeth I's Maundy ceremonies, *c.*1560. The queen is on the left; her train-bearer has been identified as Blanche Parry, her principal lady in waiting. The gentlemen and children of the Chapel Royal choir are clearly visible in the background. From the collection of Lord Beauchamp of Madresfield Court, Malvern.

Ex. 2:2. *Tautophrasis* and the *auxesis* figure in PreventUOL

(a) bars 1–6

Pre - vent us, O Lord, in all our do - ings,

(b) bars 19–25

That in all our works be - gun, con - ti - nu - ed, and end - ed in thee,

Ex. 2:3. Chordal openings compared

(a) Byrd, motet 'Emendemus in melius' (1575 no. 4), bars 1–4 (original notated a 4th higher)

(b) Byrd, full anthem 'O God, whom our offences', bars 1–7

(c) Idem, bars 7–12

Ex. 2:4. Anthems by Parsons and Byrd compared

(a) 'Deliver me from mine enemies'

(b) O Lord MTS

Ex. 2:5. Points by Tallis and Byrd compared

(a) Tallis, 'Blessed are those that be undefiled', bars 25–34

Tr M Tr M Ct T B

walk in his ways

for they that do no wickedness

(b) Byrd, 'O Lord, make thy servant', bars 8–19 (double point combining Tallis's subject and his singular Tr phrase)

M Ct1 T1 B T1+2 B

give her her heart's desire

and deny not...

M Ct2 T1 B

(c) possible stretti at distances of two or four notes (the boxed ones only were used by Tallis and Byrd)

Ex. 2:6. The second point from OLordMTS

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18

(a) 1-3, 4-5
(b) 5-6, 9-10, 11-12
(c) 7-9, 16-18
(d) 16-17
(e) 7-8, 12-13
(f) 15-16
(g) 8-9, 17-18
(h) 13-14
(i) 15-17

Table 2:4. The structure of PreventUOL

<i>Bars</i>	<i>Length</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Texture</i>
1-5 / 5-9	17 16	Prevent us O Lord in all our doings / with thy most gracious favour	homophony / <i>anaphora</i>
9-19	41	and further us with thy continual help,	point
19-24	21	¶ that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in thee,	homophony
24-32	30	we may glorify thy holy Name,	point
32-4 / 34-7	10 / 12	and finally by thy mercy / obtain everlasting life,	homophony / <i>anaphora</i>
37-43	29	through Jesus Christ our Lord. / Amen.	canon / plagal close

Ex. 2:7. Evolving subject from AriseOL

(a) initial entry of subject (bars 18-20) and subsequent flexions

and for - get - test our mi - se - ry

+5 +5 +2 +2 +3 -2 +3
+2 +4 -3 -3
-2 +2 -4 -5

} flexions in all subsequent entries

(b) final entry of subject (bars 18-20)

+3
-3

} flexions in the three preceding entries

Ex. 2:8. Hidden embryonic *fuga* and the *auxesis* figure in AriseOL

a - wake, and be not ab - sent from us for ev - er.

+2

Ex. 2:9. Evolving subject from OutOTD

(a) M1

and with him is plen-te-ous re-demp - ti - on

(b) Ct2

(c) Ct1

(d) T

(e) B

(f) M2

Table 3:1. Organ parts to verse compositions and adapted consort anthems by Byrd

	<i>Includes obbligato above vocal part?</i>	<i>Doubles vocal part(s)?</i>	<i>Additional inner notes</i>
AnET			
791	no	yes	patchy: an extra one, two or three strands assimilated from viol parts
AlackWILB ^a			
1001	yes =	yes	none, except in final solo passage ≠
791	yes =	no	none, except in final solo passage ≠
BeholdOGTS			
A5	yes	partly	sporadic
ChristR			
5469	no	yes	copious
791	abortive ^b	yes	sporadic
A5	no	mostly	hardly any
HaveMUMOG			
791 ^c = A1	no ^d	yes	1st viol part, plus ad lib tenor part
HearMPOL			
1001	no	yes	few ≠
6	no	yes	many ≠
791	no ^e	yes	sporadic ≠
OLordRMN			
5469	no	yes	none
ThouGTG			
1001	yes (partly=)	no	no
5469 (inc.)*	no	yes	no
6	no	yes	yes ≠
791	yes (partly=)	yes	yes ≠
4 (inc.)*	yes ≠	cues only	sporadic ≠
Ps. 100			
lost	—	—	—
Ps. 119:33–8			
6	no	yes	initially many, but these fizzle out
<i>M and ND</i>			
791	yes =	yes	yes ≠
4 ^f	yes ≠	yes ≠	yes ≠
117	yes =	yes	yes ≠

Table 3:1 continued

Wherever multiple accompaniments exist for an individual composition, their bass lines are essentially the same unless otherwise stated. Uppermost obbligatos and inner parts differing from those found in other sources of the same organ part are marked '≠'.

Sources

1001	<i>Och</i> MS Mus. 1001, copied by 1622(?)
5469	<i>NYp</i> MS Drexel 5469, copied c.1627–30 by Henry Loosemore
6	<i>Och</i> MS Mus. 6, copied c.1633
791	<i>Ob</i> MS Tenbury 791, copied c.1635 by Adrian Batten
A1	<i>DRc</i> MSS A1, the item by Byrd copied c.1638 by Henry Palmer
A5	<i>DRc</i> MSS A5, the items by Byrd copied c.1638 by Henry Palmer
4	<i>Cu</i> MS Ely Music 4, copied c.1663 by John Ferrabosco
117	<i>Cfm</i> MS 117, score-book copied by William Isaack between 1677 and c.1684

(A late C17th organ-book from Gloucester Cathedral (SECM no. 109) containing *ChristR* and *HearMPOL* could not be consulted.)

Notes

- * Not collated for BE 11.
- a Each source transmits a somewhat different accompaniment for the final solo passage (bars 99–105), although their bass lines agree for all except three minims (bar 104).
- b In the opening duet passage, material from the first and second viol parts is combined, an 8ve higher, to form an obbligato line above the vocal parts.
- c Another entry of this anthem in 791 (f. 284r–v) is incomplete and crossed out.
- d In the final solo passage, material from the first and second viol parts is combined, an 8ve higher, to form an obbligato line above the vocal part.
- e An instrumental descant is perhaps briefly intimated by three directs at bars 19–20
- f The accompaniment in 4 is substantively different from the other two, to the extent of having an entirely different bass line.

Ex. 3:1. Openings of verse compositions by Richard Farrant and William Mundy, with organ parts as copied by Batten

(a) Richard Farrant, 'When as we sat in Babylon'

Musical score for Richard Farrant's 'When as we sat in Babylon'. It features three staves: a vocal line (soprano), an organ line (treble clef), and a bass line (bass clef). The lyrics are: 'When as we sat in Ba - by - lon, The ri - vers round a - bout, And in'. The organ part provides a harmonic accompaniment with various chords and melodic lines. The bass line is mostly octaves and simple harmonic support.

(b) William Mundy, 'The secret sins'

Musical score for William Mundy's 'The secret sins'. It features three staves: a vocal line (soprano), an organ line (treble clef), and a bass line (bass clef). The lyrics are: 'The se - cret sins that hid - den lie'. The organ part is more active than in the first example, with a prominent melodic line in the right hand. The bass line includes some chromatic movement.

(c) William Mundy, 'Ah, helpless wretch'

Musical score for William Mundy's 'Ah, helpless wretch'. It features three staves: a vocal line (soprano), an organ line (treble clef), and a bass line (bass clef). The lyrics are: 'Ah, help - less wretch, what shall I do,'. The organ part features a very active and expressive melodic line in the right hand, with frequent chromaticism and dynamic markings. The bass line is more rhythmic and provides a steady accompaniment.

Ex. 3:2. Openings of verse compositions by Morley, with organ parts as copied by Batten

(a) Ps. 119: 169-176

Let my com - plaint
be - fore thee, O Lord,
come

The musical score for (a) consists of two systems of staves. The top system has a vocal line and an organ line. The vocal line begins with the lyrics "Let my com - plaint be - fore thee, O Lord," and continues with "come". The organ line provides accompaniment with various chordal textures and melodic fragments. The bottom system continues the vocal and organ parts, with the organ line featuring a prominent sixteenth-note pattern.

(b) 'Out of the deep'

Out of the deep have I call - ed to thee, O Lord:

The musical score for (b) consists of two systems of staves. The top system has a vocal line and an organ line. The vocal line begins with the lyrics "Out of the deep have I call - ed to thee, O Lord:". The organ line provides accompaniment, featuring a prominent sixteenth-note pattern in the lower register.

(c) 'O Jesu meek'

O Je - su meek,
O Je - su sweet,
Je - su Sa - viour mine,

The musical score for (c) consists of two systems of staves. The top system has a vocal line and an organ line. The vocal line begins with the lyrics "O Je - su meek," and continues with "O Je - su sweet," and "Je - su Sa - viour mine,". The organ line provides accompaniment, featuring a prominent sixteenth-note pattern in the lower register.

Ex. 3:3. Openings of verse compositions by Giles, Bull and Weelkes, with organ parts as copied by Batten

(a) Giles, 'O Lord, turn not away thy face'

O Lord, turn not a - way thy face from him that lieth pros - trate,

This musical score is for the opening of Giles' 'O Lord, turn not away thy face'. It features three staves: a soprano line with a treble clef, an alto line with a C-clef, and a bass line with a bass clef. The music is in a common time signature. The lyrics are: 'O Lord, turn not a - way thy face from him that lieth pros - trate,'. The organ part is indicated by a 'p' (piano) marking.

(b) Bull, 'Deliver me, O God'

De - li - ver me, O God, De - li - ver me, O God,

This musical score is for the opening of Bull's 'Deliver me, O God'. It features three staves: a soprano line with a treble clef, an alto line with a C-clef, and a bass line with a bass clef. The music is in a common time signature. The lyrics are: 'De - li - ver me, O God, De - li - ver me, O God,'. The organ part is indicated by a 'p' (piano) marking.

(c) Weelkes, 'Give ear, O Lord'

Give ear, O Lord, to hear a sin - ner's care - ful cry:

This musical score is for the opening of Weelkes' 'Give ear, O Lord'. It features three staves: a soprano line with a treble clef, an alto line with a C-clef, and a bass line with a bass clef. The music is in a common time signature. The lyrics are: 'Give ear, O Lord, to hear a sin - ner's care - ful cry:'. The organ part is indicated by a 'p' (piano) marking.

Ex. 3:4. Opening of Richard Farrant, 'When as we sat in Babylon', as copied by the Chirk scribe

When as we sat in Ba - by - lon, The ri - vers round a - bout, And in

Ex. 3:5. Opening of Morley, 'Out of the deep', with organ part as copied by the Chirk scribe

Out of the deep have I cal - led to thee, O Lord

Ex. 3:6. Opening of Morley, 'How long wilt thou forget me', with fugal introduction

How long wilt thou for - get me,

Ex. 3:7. Melisma from the Sarum chant 'Alleluia: Christus resurgens'
and its treatment in ChristR

(a)

(b)

(c) S2

(d) S1 Christ ris - ing,

(e) S2 Christ ris - ing,

(f) S1 Christ ris - ing a - gain from the dead,

Christ ris - ing a - gain from the dead,

Ex. 3:8. Entry schemes in the versions a5 and a6 of the final chorus of ChristR

The musical score is organized into two systems, a6 and a5, each with three staves. The a6 system (measures 2-8) features a vocal line with notes and rests, a piano accompaniment with chords and arpeggios, and a bass line with notes and rests. Labels 'SI', 'S2', 'M', 'Ct', and 'T' are placed above the vocal line. The a5 system (measures 9-17) follows a similar structure, with labels 'S1', 'S', 'M', 'Ct', and 'T' above the vocal line. A '+8ve' label is positioned between the two systems. The bottom staff of the a5 system is labeled 'a5/a6 B' and includes measure numbers 9 through 17. The score concludes with a final measure labeled 'a5'.

Ex. 3:9. Versions of the accompaniment to HaveMUMOG compared

The image shows a musical score for the piece 'HaveMUMOG'. It is divided into two main sections: 'Viol parts (Byrd, 1611)' and 'Organ part (DRc MS A1)'. The top section features a vocal line with lyrics: 'wipe a - way, wipe a - way mine of - fen - (ces,)'. Below the vocal line are two staves for the viol parts, with a large '8' indicating a measure rest. The bottom section shows the organ part, consisting of two staves. A 'NB' (Nota Bene) annotation is placed above the organ part in the second measure. The score is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C).

Viol parts (Byrd, 1611)

Organ part (*DRc MS A1*)

NB

wipe a - way, wipe a - way mine of - fen - (ces,)

Ex. 3:10. Decorative motivicity in OLordRMN

(a) bars 63–7

for my bones are vex-ed, heal me, for my bones are vex-ed, are vex-ed, are vex-ed, are vex-ed, are vex-ed.

(b) bars 83–90

Turn thee, O Lord, turn thee, O Lord, and de-liv-er my soul.

Lord, and de-liv-er my soul, de-liv-er my soul.

Ex. 3:11. Rhythms for the tune of 'Alack, when I look back'

(a) As set by Byrd

A - lack, when I look back up - on my youth that's _____ past, And deep - ly pon - der youth's of - fence, and youth's re - ward at last; With...

(b) Hummis, 1583

A - lack, when I look back up - on my youth that's past, And deep - ly pon - der youth's of - fence, And youth's re - ward at last; With...

Illus. 3:1. 'Alack, when I look back', from the 1585 edn of SS

64
A Lamentation
the follics and wantites of
our youth.

65
of youth's follics.

for to die. Bur yet if euer sinfull
man, might met-cie moote to ruth,
Good Lord with mercie doo forgieue,
the follics of my youth.

In youth I range the fields
where vices all did grow,
In youth alas I wanted grace,
In youth what I thought sweets,
most bitter now I find:
Thus hane the follics of my youth,
Yet as the eagle cats hir bill,
whereby hir age renu ti:
So Lord with mercie doo forgieue,
the follics of my youth: Amen.

ponder youths offense, & youths re-
ward at last: With sighes and iobs
I faie; o God I not denie, my youth
with follic hath deferd, with follic
for

A

Ex. 3:12. AlackWILB, third chorus
Inner vocal parts from DRc MSS; full-size notes in the organ part of ex. 3:12 are found in both MS Mus. 1001 and MS Tenbury 791, small notes are found in MS Mus. 1001 only.

Good Lord, with mer - cy do for - give the fol - lies of my youth, the fol - lies of my youth.

Good Lord, with mer - cy do for - give the fol - lies of, the fol - lies of my youth, the fol - lies of my youth.

Good Lord, with mer - cy do for - give the fol - lies of my youth, the fol - lies of my youth, of my youth.

Good Lord, with mer - cy do for - give the fol - lies of my youth, the fol - lies of my youth.

Good Lord, with mer - cy do for - give the fol - lies of my youth, the fol - lies of my youth.

Good Lord, with mer - cy do for - give the fol - lies of my youth, the fol - lies of my youth.

Ob MS Tenbury 791 only:

Ex. 3:13. Weelkes, 'Give ear, O Lord', first chorus

Musical score for the first chorus of 'Give ear, O Lord' by Thomas Weelkes. The score consists of five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "Mer - cy, good___ Lord, mer - cy, mer - cy, good Lord, mer - cy, mer - cy, mer - cy, mer - cy, mer - cy, mer - cy, mer - cy, mer - cy, mer - cy." The lower four staves provide a harmonic accompaniment for the vocal line. The score includes clefs, key signatures, and various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamics.

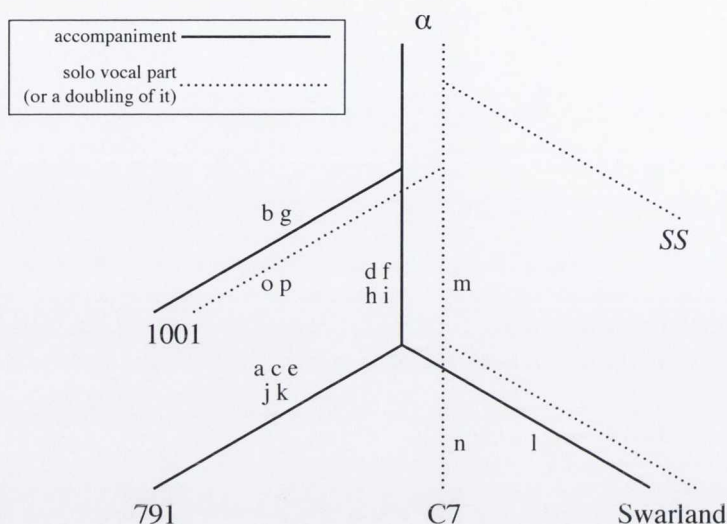
Ex. 3:14. Choruses from the fragmentary Oxford setting of 'Alack, when I look back',
with *cantus firmi* inferred from the tune printed by Hunnis (see illus. 3:1)

(a) 'And youth's reward at last' (c. f. in lost M)

(b) 'With folly for to die' (c. f. in T)

(c) 'Good Lord, with mercy ...' (c. f. in lost Ct)

Fig. 3:1. Stemma showing conjectured relationships between the sources of the 'Alack' tune and its accompaniment



Conjectural copy:

α Byrd's verse anthem

Sources:

SS William Hunnis, *Seuen sobs* (STC 13975 et seq., sigs G8v–G9r)
 1001 *Och MS Mus.* 1001 (organ-book), ff. 65v–57r (unattrib.)
 791 *Ob MS Tenbury* 791 (Adrian Batten's organ-book), ff. 72v–73r ('Mr. Birde')
 C7 *DRc MS C7* (Ct1c part-book), pp. 253–4 (unattrib.)
 Swarland *Lbl Add. MS 15117* (Thomas Swarland's lute-book, c.1616), f. 6v (unattrib.)

Variants:

Readings are identified by bar numbers (BE 11/11b) and symbol numbers (notes and rests, but not notes tied from the preceding bar) separated by a point; e.g. 17.3 = the third note of bar 17. All variants listed apply also to the anthem's second strophe, which is indicated in the organ-books by a verbal repeat direction. Variants in SS, the chorus passages and the anthem's final verse passage (the solo vocal part of which is lost) are not reported here; nor are embellishments, octave transpositions and reiterated notes peculiar to the lute-song accompaniment. The *lectio brevior* (*l. b.*) is reported whenever the alternative reading is adopted in BE 11. Variants not reported in BE 11 are marked *.

ACCOMPANIMENT — UPPERMOST PART

- a 9.2–10.1 semibreve + minim (791)
 b 13.1 not flatted (1001)
 c 17.3 dotted minim + two descending quavers (791)
 d 19.2–3 semibreve + minim, 19.3 sharpened (791, Swarland) *l. b.* minim + semibreve, 19.3 not sharpened (1001)
 e 23.3 et seq. arabesque (791)
 f 26.1–2 minim + stepwise crotchet (791, Swarland) *l. b.* dotted minim, no stepwise crotchet (1001)
 g 33.2 not flatted (1001)*
 h 38.2 sharpened (791, Swarland) *l. b.* not sharpened (1001)
 i 40.3–4 dotted minim + stepwise crotchet (791, Swarland) *l. b.* semibreve, no stepwise crotchet (1001)

ACCOMPANIMENT — LOWERMOST PART

- j 5.2 not sharpened (791)
 k 10.2 sharpened (791) *l. b.* not sharpened (1001)

ACCOMPANIMENT

- l 19.1 Adjustment to harmonic rhythm (Swarland; cf. BE 11/11a, 16.1)

SOLO VOCAL PART

- m 7.2 et seq. four-note melisma (Swarland, Durham) *l. b.* two-note melisma (1001)
 n 17.3–18.1 minim + minim rest (Durham)
 o 31.2–3 dotted minim + crotchet (1001)*
 p 33.2 not flatted (1001)*

Ex. 3:15. Intabulations from the Swarland lute-book

(a) 'Alack, when I look back' (f. 6v)



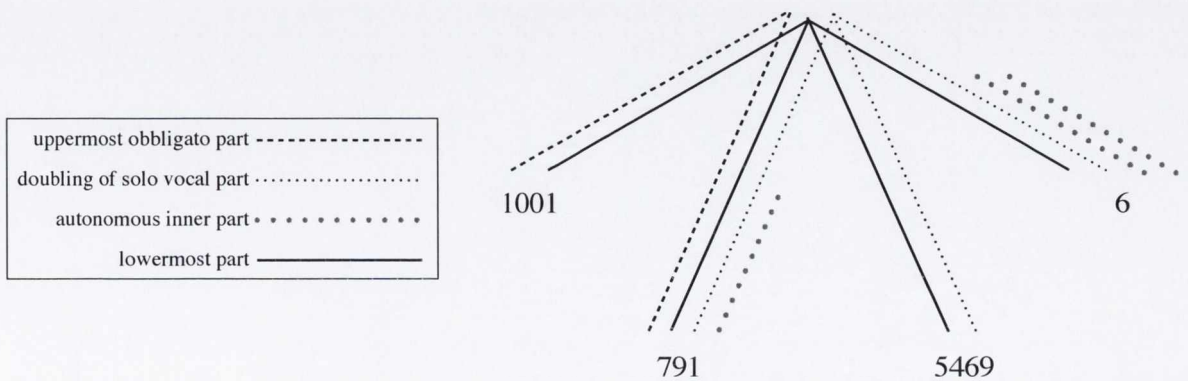
(b) 'O God, but God, how dare I' (f. 19v)



Ex. 3:16. Opening of AlackWILB, with organ part as copied by Batten



Fig. 3:2. Stemma showing the interrelationship of pre-Restoration organ parts for ThouGTG



Ex. 3:17. ThouGTG, adaptation of a solo passage into a duet

Two M parts (from Barnard's printed Md book and *Lcm* MS 1048), apparently derived from an original solo M part and from the presumed original organ part.

Conjectured original M part.

Organ part
(from *Och* MS Mus. 1001)

The musical score consists of two systems of staves. The top system features two vocal parts (M) and an organ part. The first vocal part (left) has lyrics: "O God, O Christ, O Ho - ly Ghost, give ear and grant the same." The second vocal part (right) has lyrics: "O Christ, O Ho - ly Ghost, give ear and grant the same." The organ part is on the right. The bottom system features a conjectured original M part (left) and an organ part (right). The lyrics are: "O God, O Christ, O Ho - ly Ghost, give ear and grant the same." The organ part is on the right.

Ex. 3:18. Tunes of ThouGTG and Giles, 'O Lord, my God, in all distress' compared

Thou God that guid'st both heav'n and earth,
 O Lord, my God, in all di-stress, my trust is whole in thee;
 in whom we all de-pend,
 pre-serve me from those dead-ly foes that rise, that rise and trou-ble me,
 Pre-serve our queen in per-fect health,
 As thou art just, de-fend me, Lord, and rid me from all fear;
 and her from harms de-fend.
 send me thy help, and do my sute and hum-ble pray-er hear.

Ex. 3:19. Giles, First Service, *TD* (cf. ex. 3:17)

Verse Md
 O Lord, O Lord,
 Verse Mc
 O Lord,
 Verse Ct1c
 O Lord,

Ex. 3:20. Two accompaniments for the principal strophe of ThouGTG compared

Cu MS Ely 4

Och MS Mus. 1001

Thou God that guid'st both heav'n and earth in whom we all de - pend,

Pre - serve our queen in per - fect health, and her from harms de - fend.

Ex. 4:1. The orphaned B part of Ps. 100, from Byrd's First Preces and Psalms

For a man alone

A

[2.] Be ye sure that the Lord he is God: it is he that hath made us and not we our selves; we are his peo ple and the sheep of his pas - ture, we are his peo ple and the sheep of his pas - ture. [sic]

B

C

[4.] For the Lord is gra - ci - ous; his mer - cy is e - ver - last - ing: and his truth en - du - reth from ge - ne - ra - ti - on to ge - ne - ra - ti - on.

[3]
[1]

D

As it was in the be - gin - ning, and is now, and e - ver shall be, world with - out end, and e - ver shall be, world with - out end. A - men.

E F

*Sources*40 *Ob* MS Mus. e. 40, f. 16v (copy text)764 *Llp* MS 764, f. 11v*Variants*A *d* (764)B *AA*, two crotchets, both 'corrected' with flat signs (764)

C rest omitted (40)

D dot omitted (764); dotted minim, stem cancelled (40)

E *B* (764)F *G + d* (764)

Ex. 4:2. Variant organ parts for Tomkins's so-called Sixth Service compared

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the

(a) Batten

(b) Durham

Detailed description: This system contains the first four measures of the piece. It features a vocal line at the top with lyrics. Below it are two organ parts: (a) Batten and (b) Durham. The Batten part is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The Durham part is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a common time signature. The organ parts consist of treble and bass staves.

Lord

and my sp'rit re - joic - eth in God my Sa - vi - our.

Detailed description: This system contains the next four measures of the piece. It features a vocal line with lyrics. Below it are two organ parts. The organ parts consist of treble and bass staves. The key signature changes to one flat (Bb) in the second measure of this system.

Ex. 4:3. Conjectural and primary organ parts for Ps. 119:33-8

(a) Conjectural

Teach me, O Lord, the way

(b) Chirk

of thy sta-tutes: and I shall keep it un-to the end.

Ex. 4:4. Organ part to Farrant, Verse Service, opening of *M*

Verse

[My soul doth mag-ni-fy the Lord:

and my sp'rit hath re-joiced in God my Sa-vi-our, my Sa-vi-our.]

Ex. 4:5 Variant organ parts to Byrd's Verse Service compared

My soul doth magnify the Lord:

(a) Batten

(b) Ferrabosco

(c) Isaack

(d) Walond

(e) Bicinium deduced from (a) and (c) above

6 # 6 # 3 5

[sic]

Ex. 4:6. Openings of two settings of the *M* by Thomas Tomkins

(a) The Fourth Service

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord:

The musical score for 'The Fourth Service' consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line in G-clef with a common time signature. The lyrics 'My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord:' are written below the notes. The middle staff is the right-hand piano accompaniment in G-clef, and the bottom staff is the left-hand piano accompaniment in C-clef. The music features a mix of quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, with some rests and a final cadence.

(b) The Fifth Service

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord:

The musical score for 'The Fifth Service' consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line in C-clef with a common time signature. The lyrics 'My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord:' are written below the notes. The middle staff is the right-hand piano accompaniment in G-clef, and the bottom staff is the left-hand piano accompaniment in C-clef. The music features a mix of quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, with some rests and a final cadence.

Fig. 4:1. Phrase-structure in the Verse Service
(terminal chords are shown in the right-hand column)

(a) Magnificat

A	VERSE 1. My soul doth magnify the Lord:	D
B	CHORUS * and my sp'rit rejoiceth in God my Saviour.	G
C¹	2. * For he hath regarded:	
C²	[the low]liness of [his hand][maiden].	D
+3 C³	3. * For behold from henceforth:	
C⁴	all generations	F
+2 C⁵	† shall call me blessed.	G
D¹	4. <u>For</u> he that is migh(ty)	
D²	<u>hath</u> magnified me † :	C
E	and holy is his Name.	F
F¹	5. * And his mercy †	
F²	is on them that (fear him)	
G	throughout all generations.	D
H	6. He hath shewed strength with his arm:	A
I¹	† he hath scatt' red the proud	D
+3 I²	(in) [the ima]gi[nati-on] of their hearts,	F
+2 I³	(in) [the ima]ginati-on of <u>their hearts</u> .	G
J	VERSE 7. ¶ He hath put down the mighty from their seat: and hath exalted the humble and meek.	D
K	CHORUS 8. He hath filled the hungry with good things:	F
L¹	and the rich <u>he</u>	
L²	hath sent empty <u>away</u> .	C
-3 L³	9. He rememb'ring <u>his</u>	
L⁴	mer[cy: hath] holpen <u>his</u>	
L⁵	servant <u>Israel</u> .	A
M	VERSE 10. As he promised to our father Abraham: and his seed for ever.	C
N	CHORUS Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; as it was in the beginning, and is now,	C D D
O¹	and ever shall be,	B-flat
+2 O²	and ever shall be,	C
+2 O³	and ever shall be,	D
P	world without end. Amen.	G G

(continued on next page)

Fig. 4:1 continued

(b) Nunc dimittis

A	VERSE 1. Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace:	D
B	CHORUS * according to thy word.	D
C¹	2. For mine eyes have seen:	
C²	thy salvation.	D
D¹	3. † Which thou hast prepar-ed:	
D²	(be)fore the face [of all] people,	C
E	of all people.	F
F	VERSE 4. * To be a light to lighten the gentiles:	D
G¹	* and to be the glory	
G²	of thy people [Isra]el..	G
H¹	CHORUS Glory be to the	
H²	Father, and to the	G
H³	Son ...	
I	and to the Holy Ghost;	B-flat
J	as it was in the beginning, and is now;	D
K³	and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.	G
-5 K³	And ever shall be, world without end. Amen.	G

Ex. 5:1. The three forms of melodic curve in The Great Service, as instantiated in the V

Phrases based on the $b'-c''-b'$ form of the curve

O come, let us sing unto the Lord

and the strength of the hills is his also

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son

as it was in the beginning

and show ourselves glad in him with psalms

Phrases based on the $a'-c''-b'$ form of the curve

For the Lord is a great God

For he is the Lord our God

Today, if ye will hear his voice

and as in the day of temptation

O come, let us worship...

Let us come before his presence...

...with this generation, and said

Phrases based on the $b'-c''-a'$ form of the curve

and a great King above all Gods

and the sheep of his hand

Unto whom I swear in my wrath

that they should not enter...

it is a people that do err...

Ex. 5:2. Opening and closing sonorities of the movements of The Great Service and the late full anthems

V TD Bs Ks Cr M ND ExaltTOG OGodTP SingJ

Ex. 5:3. Common material in The Great Service (*M*, bars 1–4) and SingJ (bars 10-12, Ct2 omitted)

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord,

Sing loud, sing loud,

Ex. 5:4. The three forms of melodic curve in the late full anthems

Phrases based on the $b'-c''-b'$ form of the curve

above the heav'ns, above the heav'ns

and harp

for thy mercy is great, is great

the proud are risen against me

sing loud unto the God of Jacob

and bring forth the timbrel

and a law of the God of Jacob

Phrases based on the $a'-c''-b'$ form of the curve

awake, awake viol

and have not set thee before them

art full of kindness and truth

unto God our strength

for Israel

Phrases based on the $b'-c''-a'$ form of the curve

and let thy glory be upon the earth

and I will sing unto God

among the nations

of violent men have sought my soul

art a pitiful God

and bring forth the timbrel

Table 5:1. Contents of YMSS M13/1–5(S)

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Key</i>	<i>Movements</i>	<i>YMSS M13/</i>				
				1	2	3	4	5
				Md	Ct1d	Bc	Td	Bd
Robert Parsons William Mundy	[2nd]	D sol re	<i>V, TD, Bs, Ks, Cr</i> <i>M, ND</i>	•	•	•	•	•
Robert Parsons	[1st]	F fa ut	<i>V, TD, Bs, Ks,^a Cr, M, ND</i>	•	•	•	•	•
William Mundy	[1st]	D sol re flat	<i>V, TD, Bs, Ks, Cr, M, ND</i>	•	•	•	•	•
John Sheppard	[2nd]	F fa ut	<i>V, TD, Bs, Cr, M, ND</i>	•	•		•	•
John Sheppard	[1st]	C fa ut	<i>V, TD, Bs, Cr,^b M, ND</i>	•	•		•	•
Thomas Morley	[1st] [2nd]	D sol re G sol re ut	<i>V, TD, Bs, Cr</i> <i>M, ND</i>	•	•		•	•
William Byrd	[Great]	C fa ut	<i>V, TD</i>	•			•	• ^c

a In MSS M13/2 and M13/4, the *Ks* are marginal additions in a later hand.

b The Apostles' Creed.

c *TD* imperfect, bars 1–169 only.

Illus. 5:1. Copies of the Md part of The Great Service compared (TD, bars 183-8, 183-91)

mezzie vpon vs: O lozd in the hauey f tust

This image shows a single staff of musical notation in a medieval style. The notes are square and black, with stems pointing upwards. The text 'mezzie vpon vs: O lozd in the hauey f tust' is written in a Gothic script below the staff. The notation is clear and well-defined.

(a) YMS MI3/1, p. 105

mezzie vpon vs: O lozd in the hauey f tust = = = ed: Let mee nener

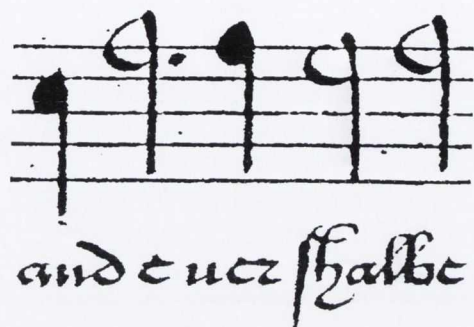
This image shows a single staff of musical notation, similar to the one above. The notes are square and black, with stems pointing upwards. The text 'mezzie vpon vs: O lozd in the hauey f tust = = = ed: Let mee nener' is written in a Gothic script below the staff. The notation is less clear than in (a), with some ink bleed-through and a grainy texture.

(b) DRc MS E4, p. 86

Illus. 5:2. Todd's cursive script
in combination with diamond and round noteheads

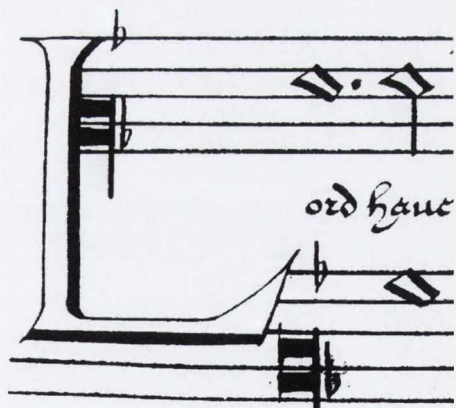


(a) YMS M13/3, p. 49



(b) DRc MS C18, p. 72

Illus. 5:3. Todd's outline majuscules



YMS M13/1, p. 32



DRc MS E4, p. 112

Table 5.2. Portions of The Great Service and adjoining entries
in John Baldwin's Commonplace Book *Lbl* MS R.M. 24.d.2

<i>excerpt</i>	<i>folio and system*</i>	<i>movement and verse</i>	<i>bars</i>	<i>voice parts</i>	<i>text incipit</i>
1	82v lower 83r upper 83r lower 83v upper	<i>TD</i> :29	185–214	5	in thee, O Lord' [<i>sic, recte</i> 'O Lord, in thee'] (titled 'long service' in a later hand)
2a	83v upper	<i>Bs</i> :4	37–49	5	'that we should', 'a canon'
3	84r upper 83v lower+	<i>TD</i> :10–14	49–84	5–6 [<i>recte</i> 5–8]	'the holy Church' (Tc and Mc missing)
4	84r lower+ 84v upper 85r upper	<i>Bs</i> :7–8	71–113	6	'that we being'
	85r upper 85v upper			6	Sheppard's setting of 'that we being'
	84v lower+ 85r lower+ 85v lower+			5	Baldwin's own 'In nomine', dated 1606
5	86r upper 86r lower	<i>Bs</i> :9	113–40	4	'and thou, child'
2b	86r lower	<i>Bs</i> :4	37–49	5	'that we should' (another version, with Ct parts exchanged)

* Systems are listed in the order in which the music is distributed among them; lower systems marked + have an additional staff inserted in the lower margin.

Ex. 5:5. Free *fuga* within homophony

a - wake, my tounge

Ex. 5:6. Examples of the *apocope* figure compared

(a) Lassus, motet 'Legem pone mihi', bars 1–8

Le - gem po - ne mi - hi, Do - mi - ne, le - gem po - ne

Le - gem po - ne mi - hi, Do - mi - ne,

Le - gem po - ne mi - hi, Do - mi - ne,

Le - gem po - ne mi - hi,

Le - gem po - ne mi - hi,

(b) Byrd, The Great Service, V, bars 15–19

and shew our - selves glad in him with Psalms.

and shew our - selves glad in him with Psalms, in him with Psalms.

and shew our - selves glad in him with Psalms.

and shew our - selves glad in him with Psalms, with Psalms.

and shew our - selves glad in him with Psalms.

Ex. 5:7. Examples of 'rhetorical' *fuga*

(a)

which have been since the world be - gan,

which have been since the world be - gan,

(b)

and to guide our feet in - to the way of peace,

and to guide our feet in - to the way of peace,

(c)

all ge - ne - ra - ti - ons

all ge - ne - ra - ti - ons

Ex. 5:8. The ten entries of 'He hath scattered the proud', exposed view

The musical score is presented in an 'exposed view' format, showing ten numbered entries (1 through 10) across six staves. The staves are labeled as follows from top to bottom: Mid (Middle C), Mc 1 (Mezzo-soprano 1), Ctld (Cello), Ct1c (Cello), Bd (Bass), and Bc (Bass). Each entry is represented by a horizontal line with a number (1-10) indicating its position. The musical notation includes notes, rests, and bar lines, with some notes marked with a fermata. The score is organized into two systems of five entries each, with vertical lines connecting the staves to show the alignment of notes across the different parts.

Ex. 5:9. Selected entries of 'He hath scattered the proud', grouped view

The musical score is organized into two main sections: Group A and Group B. At the top, there are staves for Mc, Ct1d, and Bd. Group A includes entries 3, 5, and 6, with fingerings like '+2nd' and '-5th'. Group B includes entries 7, 8, and 9, with fingerings like '+3rd' and '-4th'. Entry 10 is also present. At the bottom, there are staves for Md, Ct1c, and Bc, followed by a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The score uses various musical notations including notes, rests, and articulation marks.

Ex. 5:11. Harmonically oriented double *fuga*, grouped view

The musical score is organized into six vertical sections, each corresponding to a specific group of staves:

- Section 1:** Mcd (Melody) and Tcd (Tenor) staves. Melody starts with a note marked 'x', Tenor with 'y'.
- Section 2:** Ct1cd (Counter Tenor 1) and Bcd (Bass) staves. Melody starts with 'x', Bass with 'y'.
- Section 3:** Mcd and Ct2cd (Counter Tenor 2) staves. Melody starts with 'x', Counter Tenor 2 with 'y¹' and three accents (^).
- Section 4:** Ct1cd, Td (Tenor), and Bcd staves. Counter Tenor 1 has 'y³' and four accents (^), Tenor has 'y²' and one accent (^), Bass has 'x¹' and one accent (^).
- Section 5:** Mcd, Ct2c (Counter Tenor 2), and Tc (Tenor) staves. Melody has 'y', Counter Tenor 2 has 'y³' and two accents (^), Tenor has 'x²' and one accent (^).
- Section 6:** Mcd, Ct2d (Counter Tenor 2), and Bcd staves. Melody has 'y⁴' and two accents (^), Counter Tenor 2 has 'x' and one accent (^), Bass has 'y'.

At the bottom, a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) shows the harmonic accompaniment, divided into sections labeled X, X¹, X..., Y, Y, and Z... with vertical lines connecting these sections to the corresponding staves above.

Fig. 5:1. Long services prior to Byrd: basic scorings

Mcd Ctd Tcd Bed	Mcd Ctc Ctd Tcd Bed	Mcd Ct1c Ct2d Ct2c Ct2d Tcd Bed
(a) Sheppard, First Service	(b) Sheppard, Second Service; Mundy, First Service; Parsons, First Service	(c) Parsons/Mundy, Excellent Service

Fig. 5:2. Sheppard, Second Service: selective scorings

Mc Md	Mc Md	Mc Md
- Ctd	Ctc -	Ctc Ctd
- -	Tc -	- -
Bc Bd	Bc Bd	- -

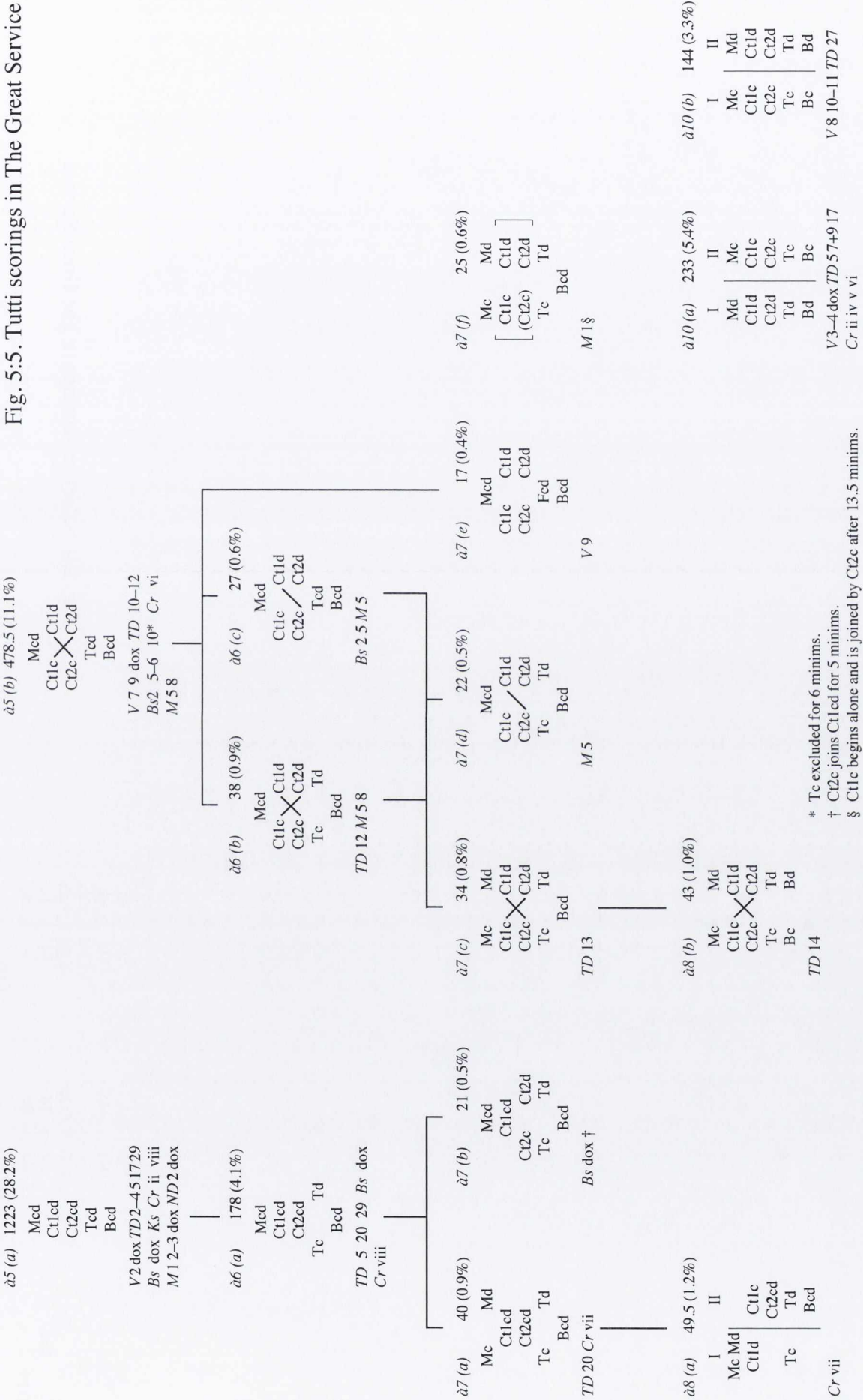
Fig. 5:3. Parsons, First Service: scoring of the V

<p> Mcd Ctc Ctd Tcd Bcd vv. 1-2 </p>	<p> - Md Ctc - - Td Bc Bd v. 3a </p>	<p> Mc - - Ctd Tc - Bc Bd v. 3b </p>
<p> Mcd Ctc Ctd Tcd Bcd v. 4 </p>	<p> Mc - Ctc - Tc - Bc - v. 5a </p>	<p> - Md - Ctd - Td Bc Bd v. 5b </p>
<p> Mcd Ctc Ctd Tcd Bcd v. 6 </p>	<p> Mc Md Ctc Ctd Tcd Bc Bd v. 7 </p>	<p> - Md - Ctd - Td Bc Bd v. 8 </p>
<p> Mc - Ctc - Tc - Bc - v. 9a </p>	<p> Mcd Ctc Ctd Tcd Bcd v. 9b </p>	<p> - Md - Ctd - Td - Bd v. 10a </p>
<p> Mc Md - Ctd - Td Bc Bd v. 10b </p>	<p> Mc - Ctc - Tc - Bc - v. 11 </p>	<p> Mcd Ctc Ctd Tcd Bcd Doxology i </p>
<p> Mc Md Ctc Ctd Tc Td Bc Bd Doxology ii </p>	<p> Mc Md Ctc Ctd Tcd Bc Bd Doxology iii </p>	<p> Mcd Ctc Ctd Tcd Bcd Doxology iv </p>

Fig. 5:4. Parsons, First Service: selective scorings

<p> Mc - Ctc - Tc - Bc Bd (a) </p>	<p> Mc Md - - Tc Td - - (b) </p>	<p> - - Ctc Ctd - - Bc Bd (c) </p>
<p> Mc Md Ctc Ctd - - - - (d) </p>	<p> Mc Md Ctc Ctd - - Bc Bd (e) </p>	

Fig. 5:5. Tutti scorings in The Great Service



* Tc excluded for 6 minimis.
 † Ct2c joins Ct1cd for 5 minimis.
 § Ct1c begins alone and is joined by Ct2c after 13.5 minimis.

$\delta 3$	8 (0.2%)	$\delta 4 (a)$	116 (2.7%)	$\delta 4 (c)$	82 (1.9%)	$\delta 4 (d)$	34 (0.8%)	$\delta 4 (e)$	24 (0.6%)	$\delta 4 (f)$	14 (0.3%)
M1	Mc Md Ct1c - - - - -	Mc Md Ct1c - Ct2c Tc - -	Mc Md Ct1c Ct1d Ct2d Tc - -	Mc Md Ct1c Ct1d - - - -	Mc Md Ct1d Ct2c - - -	Mc Md Ct1d Ct2c - - -	Mc Md Ct1d Ct2c - - -	- Ct1c - - - - -	- - Ct2d Td Bd -	Mc - - Tc - -	Md - - Tc - -
	B_s 1 Cr i M 1 ND 1	B_s 9	V 1 TD 18	TD 21	TD 22	TD 1	TD 1				
$\delta 5 (c)$	193 (4.5%)	$\delta 5 (d)$	149 (3.4%)	$\delta 5 (e)$	84 (2.0%)	$\delta 5 (f)$	69 (1.6%)	$\delta 5 (g)$	56 (1.3%)	$\delta 5 (h)$	27 (0.6%)
M4	Mc Md Ct1d Ct2d Td Bd -	Mc Md Ct1c Ct2c Tc Bc -	Mc Md - - - - -	Mc Md Ct1d Ct2d Td - -	Mc Md Ct1c Ct2d - - -	Mc Md Ct1c Ct2d - - -	Mc Md Ct1c Ct2d - - -	Mc Md Ct1c Ct2d Tcd Bcd -	- Ct1c Ct2c Ct2d - -	- Ct1d Ct2d - - -	- Ct1d Ct2d - - -
	TD 17 24 26 B_s 4 11	TD 23 25 B_s 3 12	TD 15 M 9	M 10	ND 3	Cr iii					
$\delta 6 (d)$	170 (3.9%)	$\delta 6 (e)$	109 (2.5%)	$\delta 6 (f)$	101 (2.3%)	$\delta 6 (g)$	98 (2.3%)	$\delta 6 (h)$	50 (1.2%)	$\delta 6 (i)$	44 (1.0%)
B_s 7-8	Mc Md Ct1c - - Td Bd -	Mc Md Ct1c Ct1d - - Bd -	Mc Md Ct1d Ct2d Tc Bc Bd -	Mc Md Ct1c Ct1d Ct2d Tc Bd -	Mc Md Ct1d Ct2c Tc - Bd -	Mc Md Ct1d Ct2d Tc Bc -	Mc Md Ct1d Ct2d Tc Bc -	Mc Md Ct1d Ct2d Tc Bc -	- Ct1d Ct2d Td - -	Mc Md Ct1d - - Tc Bc -	Md Ct1d - Td - -
	M 6	M 6	ND 4	V 5-6	TD 16	TD 6					
$\delta 7 (g)$	21 (0.5%)	$\delta 8 (c)$	79 (1.8%)	$\delta 9$	44 (1.0%)						
TD 27	Mc Md Ct1c Ct2c Tc Bcd -	I II Mc Ct1c Ct2d Tc Bd Bc -	I II Mc Ct1c Ct2d Td Tc Bc -	I II Mc Ct1c Ct2d Td Tc Bc -	- - - - - - -	- - - - - - -	- - - - - - -	- - - - - - -	- - - - - - -	I II - - Ct2d Td Bd Bc -	- - Ct2c Tc Bc -
	M 7	Cr iv	Cr iv								

Fig. 5:6. Selective scorings in The Great Service

Fig. 5:7. Scorings of the *Bs*, vv. 7–8

Mc	Md	Mc	Md	Mc	Md	[Mc]	Md	Mc	Md
Ctc	–	Ctc	Ctd	Ctc	Ctd	–	Ct1d	Ct1c	–
Tc	–	–	–	–	–	[–]	[Ct2d]	–	–
Bc	Bd	–	Bd	–	–	–	Td	–	Td
						–	–	Bc	Bd
(a) Sheppard, Second Service		(b) Mundy, First Service		(c) Parsons, First Service		(d) Parsons, Excellent Service		(e) Byrd, Great Service	

Ex. 5:12. Directional word-setting

(a)

came down from heav'n

(b)

came down from heav'n, _____

came down from heav'n, came down from _____ heav'n,

came down from heav'n, came down from heav'n,

came down from heav'n, _____

came down from heav'n, came down from heav'n, came down from heav'n,

came down from heav'n, came down from heav'n,

(c)

Heav'n and earth

Heav'n and earth

Heav'n _____ and earth

Heav'n _____ and earth

Heav'n _____ and earth

Ex. 5:13. Perpetual canon further realized

e - ver world with - out end.

e - ver world with - out end.

e - ver world with - out end.

e - ver world with - out end.

e - ver world with - out end.

e - ver world with - out end.

Ex. 5:14. Quasi-canon five-in-one

Be - ing of one sub - stance

Be - ing of one sub - stance

Be - ing of one sub - stance

Be - ing of one sub - stance

Be - ing of one sub - stance

APPENDIX ONE

OVERVIEW OF PRE-RESTORATION MUSICAL SOURCES

Table A1 continued

Key to column headings and table entries

1. First Preces and Psalms
 - (a) Preces
 - (b) Ps. 47
 - (c) Ps. 100
 - (d) Ps. 54
2. Second Preces and Psalms
 - (a) Preces a4
 - (b) Ps. 114:1–6 a4
 - (c) Ps. 55:1–7,17 a4
 - (d) Ps. 119:33–8 (Durham/Peterhouse version)
 - (e) Preces a4 (a second set of parts)
 - (f) Ps. 24: 7–8,10 (= ‘Attollite portas’, 1575/ 11)
 - (g) Preces a5
 - (h) Ps. 114:1–6 a5
 - (i) 55:1–7,17 a5
 - (j) Ps. 119:33–8 (Barnard version)
3. ‘Third’ Preces and Responses
 - (a) Preces
 - (b) Responses
4. Litany a5
5. Short Service
 - (a) *V*
 - (b) *TD*
 - (c) *Bs*
 - (d) *Ks*
 - (e) *Cr*
 - (f) *M*
 - (g) *ND*
6. Verse Service: (*M* and *ND*)
7. Three Minims Service: (*M* and *ND*)
8. The Great Service
 - (a) *V*
 - (b) *TD*
 - (c) *Bs*
 - (d) *Ks*
 - (e) *Cr*
 - (f) *M*
 - (g) *ND*

Notes

- a Present in MSS M13/1, M13/4 and M13/5 only; 8b breaks off at bar 169 in 13/5.
- b Post-Restoration layer includes d and e.
- c One incomplete set of parts dispersed between the two Peterhouse sets.
- d Two entries are present of b and c (MSS 36 and 45), and of f and g (all MSS except 43); d and e appear in all MSS of the ‘Latter Set’, but were entered separately from the other movements.
- e A second, incomplete set of parts, dispersed between the two *Cp* sets (MSS 34–5, 38, 42, 47 and 49).
- f Imperfect: 3c present only from the last note of bar 60.
- g Appearing as the *Ks* of Giles’s First Service, without attribution to Byrd.
- h Excerpts only.

Table A2 continued

<i>Ob</i> MS Tenbury 389 + McGhie MS (1580s)	•	•									•								
<i>Ob</i> MSS Tenbury 341–4 (P)	•	•																	
<i>Ob</i> MSS Tenbury 1469–71 (P)		•																	
<i>Lbl</i> MSS Egerton 2009, 20011–12 (P)	•	•																	
<i>Lcm</i> MS 2041 (P) (M)	•	•																	
<i>CAh</i> MS Mus. 30 (1–4) (P)				•															
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 29247 (PL)	•	•		• ⁿ															
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 31992 (PL)	•	•		• ^o	•														
<i>Lcm</i> MS 2089 (PL)	•	•																	
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MSS 37402–6 (c.1600) (untexted)	•																		
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MSS 29372–6 (Myriell <i>TR</i> , 1616)										•	• ^p	•							
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 15117 (c.1600–1615)													• ^q						
<i>NYp</i> MSS Drexel 4180–85† (Merro 1)				•	•	•	•	•	•			•							
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MSS 17792–6 (Merro 2)				•	•							•							
<i>Och</i> MSS Mus. 56–60 (c.1620)											•								
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MSS 29366–8 (c.1620s)												•							
<i>Ob</i> MSS Mus. f. 20–24 (c.1630–33)												•							
<i>Ob</i> MSS Mus. Sch. d. 212–16 (see also e. 381)												•							
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>p</i>			

Key to column headings

<i>a</i> AriseOL	<i>e</i> OGodTP	<i>i</i> PreventUOL	<i>m</i> BeholdOGTS
<i>b</i> HelpUOG	<i>f</i> OGodWOO	<i>j</i> SaveMOG	<i>n</i> HearMPOL
<i>c</i> ExaltTOG	<i>g</i> OLordMTS	<i>k</i> SingJ	<i>o</i> OLordRMN
<i>d</i> HowLSME	<i>h</i> OutOTD	<i>l</i> AlackWILB	<i>p</i> ThouGTG

Notes

- a Attributed to Giles.
- b Two voice parts only: Bc (MS 36, belonging to the set of parts in the ‘Former Set’, and Md (MS 44, with a text different from that of the other voice parts).
- c Without attribution.
- d Without attribution; the source is incorrectly given as *Oj* MS 180 in BE 11, pp. 202, 212.
- e Hunnis’s setting, unattributed.
- f Hunnis’s setting, here attributed to him.
- g Without attribution.
- h Incomplete, unattributed; misidentified in SECM, and not noticed in BE 11.
- i Attributed (in index) to Gibbons.
- j Bass part only added in a post-Restoration hand; not collated for BE 11.
- k B only.
- l Includes also the *unica* BeholdOGWT, LetUBG and SingYTOG.
- m In a separate section of this MS, owing to alphabetical order.
- n Attributed to Tallis.
- o Attributed to Tallis.
- p Attributed to Coste.
- q Lute-song version.
- r This set also attributes to Byrd ‘Christ rising’ a5 (elsewhere attrib. Tallis) and ‘Let God arise’ (elsewhere attrib. Thomas Ford) and ‘Out of the deep’ a5: see § 2.1.
- * In *Ob* MS Mus. d. 162 and *Ob* MS Tenbury 1382 this anthem appears with the text ‘Now Israel may say’: see § 3.5.3.
- † Barnard MSS and print: ‘Hear my prayer, O God’.

Table A3. Pre-Restoration institutional sources of Byrd's printed songs and anthems

	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>
INSTITUTIONAL PART-BOOKS							
<i>DRc</i> MSS C4–6, 7 (ii), 9, 10 (gen. anths)						P	• ^a
<i>DRc</i> MSS C2, 3, 7 (i), 14 (fest. anths)						P	
<i>Y</i> MS M29(S) (composite, Bd)		•				P	•
<i>Cpc</i> MSS 6.1–6						MS	
<i>Och</i> MSS Mus. 1220–24 [first layer]						MS	
<i>NYp</i> MSS Mus. Res. *MNZ (Chirk)	•					P ^b	
<i>Llp</i> MS 764 (Bc) + <i>Ob</i> , MS Mus e. 40 (Bc)						MS	•
<i>Oj</i> MS 180 (Bd)						MS	
<i>Oj</i> MS 181 (Bd)							•
<i>Ob</i> MS Mus. d. 162 (Bd)				•		P	
<i>Ob</i> MS Tenbury 1382 (Tc)	•					P	
<i>SHR</i> LB/15/1/229 (B) c.1625–40							•
Hellwis-Gell MS (Ctd)						MS	
ORGAN BOOKS							
<i>DRc</i> MS A1							• ^c
<i>DRc</i> MS A5						P	
<i>NYp</i> MS Drexel 5469						P	
<i>Ob</i> MS Tenbury 791					•	MS	••
BARNARD							
<i>Lcm</i> MSS 1045–51						P	
<i>First Book</i>						P	
WORD-BOOKS							
<i>Ob</i> MS Rawl. Poet. 23						•	
<i>Lbl</i> MS Harley 4142			•			•	

Key to column headings

	1588
<i>a</i>	1. O God, give ear and do apply
<i>b</i>	8. Blessed is he that fears the Lord
<i>c</i>	10. Even from the depth
	1589i
<i>d</i>	22. O Lord, my God, let flesh and blood
<i>e</i>	40. An earthly tree
<i>f</i>	46–7. Christ rising again
	1611
<i>g</i>	25. Have mercy upon me, O God

Notes

- a MS C10 only; misattributed to Gibbons.
- b Consort version, with textless parts to the verses incorporated in the part-books.
- c Misattributed to Gibbons.

Table A4. Pre-Restoration sources of *contrafacta* of Byrd's motets
(see overleaf for key to column headings)

	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>
PRINTED BOOK												
<i>SM</i> shelfmark 51736 (1575, S volume only)	• ^a											
INSTITUTIONAL PART-BOOKS												
<i>DRc</i> MSS C4–6, 7 (ii), 9, 10				•		•						
<i>DRc</i> MS C11 (composite, Td)				•								
<i>DRc</i> MS C16 (composite, Bd)				•								
<i>Y</i> MS M29(S) (composite, Bd)		•		•		•			•			
<i>DRc</i> MSS E4–11		•										
<i>DRc</i> MS C13 (composite, Td)		•										
<i>DRc</i> MS E11a (composite, Ct1c)		•										
<i>Cp</i> MSS 33–4, 38–9, 47–9 ('Former Set')		•		•	•							
<i>Cp</i> MSS 35–7, 42–5 ('Latter Set')										• ^b		
<i>NYp</i> MSS Mus. Res. *MNZ (Chirk)							•					
<i>Oj</i> MS 181 (Bd)							•					
<i>GL</i> MS 93 (Bd)							•					
<i>Ob</i> MS Mus. d. 162 (Bd)							•					
<i>Ob</i> MS Tenbury 1382 (Tc)	•		•				•	•		• ^c		
<i>Cq</i> G.4.17 (Td)					•							
Hellwis-Gell MS (Ctd)							•					
ORGAN BOOKS												
<i>DRc</i> MS A1				•								
<i>Cp</i> MS 46				•								
<i>NYp</i> MS Drexel 5469							•					
BARNARD												
<i>Lcm</i> MSS 1045–51							•					
<i>First Book</i>							•					
WORD-BOOKS												
<i>Ob</i> MS Rawl. Poet. 23							•					
<i>Lbl</i> MS Harley 4142						•						
DOMESTIC SOURCES												
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 18937											•	
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MSS 17786–91			• ^d									
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 29427							•					
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MSS 29372–6							•					
<i>NYp</i> MSS Drexel 4180–84							•					•
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MSS 17792–6							•					
<i>Ob</i> MS Mus. f. 20–24										•		

Table A4 continued

Key to column headings

	1575	
<i>a</i>	11. Attollite portas	Let us arise from sin
<i>b</i>	11. Attollite portas	Lift up your heads
<i>c</i>	17. Laudate pueri	Behold now, praise the Lord
<i>d</i>	18. Memento homo	O Lord, give ear to the prayers
	1589ii	
<i>e</i>	20+21. Ne irascaris Domine+Civitas sancti tui	Behold, I bring you+And there was with the angel
<i>f</i>	20+21. Ne irascaris Domine+Civitas sancti tui	Let not thy wrath+Thy holy city
<i>g</i>	20+21. Ne irascaris Domine+Civitas sancti tui	O Lord, turn thy wrath+Bow thine ear
<i>h</i>	26. Nos enim pro peccatis	Let not our prayers be rejected
	1591	
<i>i</i>	8. Tribulatio proxima est	Blessed art thou, O Lord our God
<i>j</i>	19. Exsurge quare obdormis Domine	Arise, O Lord (ii)
	1605ii	
<i>k</i>	5. Ave verum corpus	O Lord God of Israel, hear us
	1607	
<i>l</i>	26+29 Alleluia, ascendit+Psallite Domino	All ye people, clap your hands

Notes

- a* English text added by hand in the lower margin.
- b* Misattributed to Tallis.
- c* Omitted from SECM.
- d* This entry is untexted, but clearly corresponds to the contrafactum rather than the motet.

APPENDIX TWO

THE TEXT OF 'ALACK, WHEN I LOOK BACK'

(a) The poem apparently as set by Byrd
(spelling modernized; portions of text repeated by chorus are shown in italics)

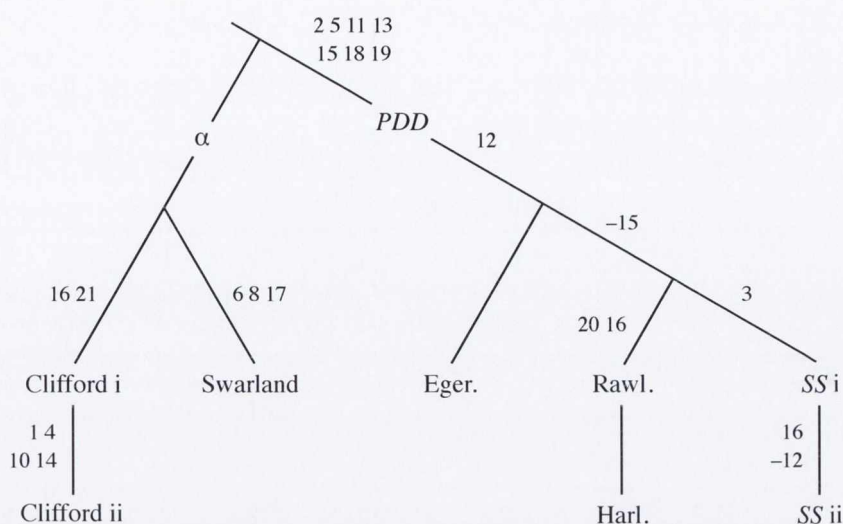
[Verse, Ct1d]	Alack when I look back upon my youth that's [1] past, And deeply ponder youth's offence, <i>and youth's reward at last;</i>	
Verse, Ct1c	With <u>tears and sighs</u> ^{2 3} I say, O God I [4] not deny, My youth <u>through</u> ⁵ <u>folly</u> ⁶ <u>hath</u> ⁷ deserved <i>with folly</i> ⁸ <i>for to die.</i>	
[Verse, Ct1d]	But yet if ever sinful man might mercy move to ruth, <i>Good Lord with mercy do forgive the follies</i> ⁹ <i>of my youth.</i>	5
Verse, Ct1c	In youth I <u>rang</u> 'd ¹⁰ the <u>field</u> ¹¹ where vices all did grow, In youth <u>alas</u> ¹² I wanted grace <i>such vice to overthrow,</i>	
[Verse, Ct1d]	In youth what <u>seem-ed</u> ¹³ [14] sweet, most bitter now I ¹⁵ find, Thus <u>hath the follies</u> ^{16 17} of my youth <u>in</u> ¹⁸ <i>folly kept me blind.</i>	10
Verse, Ct1c	<u>But</u> ¹⁹ as the eagle casts her bill, whereby her age renew'th, <u>So</u> ^{20 21 22} <i>Lord with mercy do forgive the follies of my youth.</i>	

[Musical sources indicate further repetitions of lines 23–4, first by Ct1d, then once more by chorus]

- 1 'gone and' added (Clifford ii)
- 2 'sighs and tears' (*PDD*, Eger., Rawl.+ Harl.)
- 3 'sighs and sobs' (*SS* i+ii)
- 4 'do it' added (Clifford ii)
- 5 'with' (*PDD*, *SS* i+ii, Eger., Rawl.+ Harl.)
- 6 'follies' (Swarland)
- 7 'have' (Durham)
- 8 'follies' (Swarland)
- 9 'folly' (1382)
- 10 'ran-ged then' (Clifford ii)
- 11 'fields' (*PDD*, *SS* i+ii, Eger., Rawl.+ Harl.)
- 12 'alas' omitted (*SS* i, Eger., Rawl.+ Harl.)
- 13 'I thought' (*PDD*, *SS* i+ii, Eger., Rawl.+ Harl.)
- 14 'very' added (Clifford ii)
- 15 'do' (*PDD*, Eger.)
- 16 'have the follies' (*SS* ii,* Rawl.+Harl., Clifford i+ii)
- 17 'hath the folly' (Swarland)
- 18 'with' (*PDD*, *SS* i+ii, Eger., Rawl.+ Harl., Barnard [1051 only], 764, e. 40 and 180)
- 19 'yet' (*PDD*, *SS* i+ii, Eger., Rawl.+ Harl.)
- 20 'O' (Rawl.+Harl.)
- 21 'Good' in both chorus repetitions (Barnard, 764, e. 40 and 180;
inferable from Clifford i+ii)
- 22 'Good' in first chorus repetition only (Durham)

* Misprinted as 'hane' (the 'u' for 'haue' being inverted), corrected in 1587 edn (STC 13976)

(b) Stemma showing deduced relationships between sources that transmit the complete text (variants 7, 9 and 22, being confined to vocal sources that transmit the text incompletely, are not shown)



Conjectural copy:

α The poem apparently as set by Byrd, reconstructed above

Sources transmitting the complete text:

- PDD* Richard Edwards, *The paradise of daynty deuises*, edns of 1577 (lost, transcript in *Ob* MS Douce e. 16, ff. 88r and 89r) and 1578 (STC 7517, f. 36r-v)
- SS i* William Hunnis, *Seuen sobs*, edn of 1583 (STC 13975, sigs G8v-G9r)
- SS ii* ———, edn of 1585 (STC 13975.5, sigs G8v-G9r) and later edns (STC 13976 et seq.)
- Eger.* *Lbl* MS Egerton 2403, f. 35 (Thomas Wenman's MS, dated 1601)
- Swarland* *Lbl* Add. MS 15117 (Thomas Swarland's lute-book, c.1616), f. 6v (unattrib.)
- Rawl.* *Ob* MS Rawl. Poet. 23 (Chapel Royal word-book, 1634-5), p. 114 ('W. Bird')
- Harl.* *Lbl* MS Harley 6346 (post-Restoration Chapel Royal word-book), f. 27v = p. 138 ('W. Bird')
- Clifford i* *The Divine Services and Anthems*, ed. James Clifford, 1st edn (London: William Godbid, 1663), pp. 216-17 ('Mr Bird')
- Clifford ii* ———, 2nd, expanded edn (London: William Godbid, 1664), pp. 142-3 ('Mr Bird')

Vocal source transmitting lines 3-4, 7-8 and 11-12:

Durham *DRc* MS C7, pp. 253-4 (unattrib.)

Vocal sources transmitting only lines and half-lines repeated by chorus:

- 1382 *Ob* MS Tenbury 1382, f. 17r-v ('Mr Hunnes')
- *Ob* MS Mus. d. 162, pp. 24-5 (unattrib., no variants from α)
- Barnard *Lcm* MS 1048, f. 6v ('Bird'), MS 1051, f. 15v (unattrib.)
- Durham *DRc* MSS C4, p. 49 ('Mr Bird'), C5, p. 47 ('Bird' in later hand), C9, p. 27 (unattrib.), C10, p. 35 (unattrib., second half of line 8 and its music omitted)
- 764 *Llp* MS 764 (unattrib.)
- e. 40 *Ob* MS Mus. e. 40 (unattrib.)
- 180 *Oj* MS 180 (Chapel Royal B part-book), f. 58r (unattrib.)

Notes:

1. The position of the group of variants 2, 5, 11, 13, 15, 18 and 19 is based on the conclusion that they are best explained as Hunnis's own pre-press revisions. Hunnis made precisely similar revisions to other poems of his in the 1577 edn of *PDD* (see pp. 207-8 above).
2. The *PDD* version of 'Alack' is as good as identical in the edns of 1577 and 1578 (the former known from Herbert's careful transcription in *Ob* MS Douce e. 16), and although trivial variants did creep into certain later edns of *PDD* they are in no wise related to the musical sources and are not reported here. For a list of those variants see *The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576-1606)*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927), 171.
3. Consistently in *PDD*, each stanza is laid out as above, in six long lines, but to fit the smaller pages of *SS* these were broken up into twelve short lines, the even-numbered ones now being indented (see illus. 3:1). *Eger.* (the poem's only known Elizabethan MS source) and *Rawl.*+*Harl.* (both identical as regards 'Alack') adopt the twelve-line format, suggesting descent from *SS*. The *Eger.* readings, however, are closer to those of *PDD*, and would be hard to explain were it not well documented that Henry Denham issued *SS* 'diverse

times' between November 1581 and December 1585 (*SS* i alone survives from that period). Thus, an early edn may be postulated which retained the *PDD* readings whilst adopting the *SS* format, introduced variant 12, and served as the Egerton exemplar. *Rawl.+Harl.* thus appear to reflect an intermediate state of the poem dating from between that early edn and *SS* i. In contrast to Clifford i+ii, they contain neither performance indications nor the concluding 'Amen', and therefore do not appear to derive from a set of vocal parts. It therefore seems likely that their version of the poem descends from another lost pre-1583 edn of *SS*.

4. For semantic reasons, variant 15 ('do') could not have been introduced independently of variant 13 ('I thought'). Its absence from *SS* can only be explained as a change of mind on Hunnis's part, given that *SS* is known to be of later date than *PDD*. Line 9 thus appears to have passed through the following three stages:

α	In youth what seem-ed sweet, most bitter now I find
<i>PDD</i>	In youth what I thought sweet, most bitter now do find
<i>SS</i>	In youth what I thought sweet, most bitter now I find

5. The solecism 'hath the follies' (line 10) seems not to have troubled Hunnis until the 1585 edn of *SS*—indeed, it lingered on uncorrected in every subsequent edn of *PDD*. There were, of course, two equally acceptable ways a conscientious scribe or editor could amend this grammatical slip, meaning that at some point the choice could be made between 'have the follies' (variant 16) and 'hath the folly' (variant 17). The former option was chosen at three independent points (*SS* ii, *Rawl.+Harl.* and Clifford i+ii), the latter only once (Swarland).

6. The four variants unique to Clifford ii (1, 4, 10 and 14) may safely be disregarded, since they probably represent nothing more than an editorial measure to put the whole of Hunnis's poem into Sternhold's metre—presumably to allow it also to be sung (or imagined by the reader) to a common-metre psalm tune.