

THE BALDWIN PART BOOKS

AND A CASE STUDY OF THE EIGHT SETTINGS OF THE

RESPOND

DUM TRANSISSET SABBATUM

By

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation considers the eight settings of the respond *Dum Transisset Sabbatum* from *The Baldwin Part Books*. The set of parts books is one of the major repositories of Latin Church Music in England from the Tudor Period, covering the years from Henry VIII to Elizabeth I.

It provides a brief context for the part books and some consideration of the work of John Baldwin, single copyist of this manuscript. Baldwin also had sole or part involvement with several other significant manuscripts of the period, which are discussed.

The dissertation goes on to review the settings in detail, concerning their characteristics, use of *cantus firmus*, motifs, imitation, methods of aiding cohesion, and setting of text. It concludes with a consideration of what makes ‘a good composition?’, an evaluation of the settings and a possible order of composition.

Two of the *unica*, settings by John Mundy and Strabridge, have been transcribed and a suggested tenor part has been created.

Dedication

This research is dedicated to all family and friends who, over the years, have learned to smile and nod

Acknowledgments

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Introduction

This dissertation aims to investigate the eight settings of the respond *Dum Transisset Sabbatum* copied by John Baldwin into the set of part-books now known as *The Baldwin Part Books*, Oxford ChCh 979-83 (hereafter BPB). The BPB provide a comparatively rare opportunity to examine in detail how a group of six composers set the same respond, with two of them setting it twice.

The BPB, John Baldwin the Scribe, and the respond, *Dum Transisset* will be placed in their respective contexts, and then through consideration of various aspects of the music, the settings will be discussed, compared, and conclusions drawn, evaluating the merits of each. Examination will include consideration of similarities, differences, common approaches, use of motifs, imitation, and text setting, but with the proviso that this is only within Baldwin. Space prevents placing them in the context of other works by the individual composers or in their wider contemporaneous context, apart from in general terms.

The first chapter provides a brief historical context for the books and a review of the life and work of John Baldwin. His work is considered in terms of the music he copied, but not his role as a member of St George's, Windsor, as a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, or as a composer. Too little is known of his life as a singer to make any assessment in relation to his roles, and consideration of his work as a composer is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

The second chapter provides an overview of the BPB and their contents. The third chapter considers the composers represented in them and their connections with each other. The fourth chapter looks at the respond, its place in the liturgy and its presence in the Part Books.

Chapter five considers *Dum Transisset* in terms of text and function, its prevalence in Europe, specific reference to Christian Hollander, and the appearance of *Dum Transisset* in English manuscripts.

Chapter six considers aspects of the settings in detail and chapter seven analyses the melodic and rhythmic connections within and between the settings. Chapter eight discusses voices in relation to text – including underlay and setting of specific words.

Chapters nine and ten focus on the two settings by Taverner and by Sheppard. It was not unusual for a composer to set the same text more than once – there are other examples within this collection – but here it will be profitable to compare the settings in different ways:

- Taverner settings with each other
- Sheppard settings with each other
- Taverner with Sheppard

Chapter eleven considers the process of transcription and completion of the settings by John Mundy and Strabridge. There are no concordant sources for these works and

therefore a proposed tenor line for each has been devised and inserted, enabling the music to be performed.

The final chapter presents a possible order of composition and draws out observations and conclusions relating to the perceived quality of the settings. They will be evaluated in relation to Daniel Leech-Wilkinson's contention that 'it should be possible to identify pieces which do nothing out of the ordinary, or which fail to do the ordinary in an interesting way, monotonously using and reusing a few hackneyed melodic shapes, rhythmic figures, and contrapuntal progressions.' It may thereby, by implication, be possible to form a judgment – albeit from a modern critical perspective – as to whether a composition is 'good', 'bad', or 'boring.' (Knighton and Fallows, OUP: p.7)

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Mundy

Sheppard I

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Strabridge

Tallis

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Mundy Completion

Strabridge Completion

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ABBREVIATIONS

AS – Antiphonale Sarisburiense

CR – Chapel Royal

DT – *Dum Transisset Sabbatum*

EECM – Early English Church Music TCM – Tudor Church Music

Abbreviations for the Eight Settings of *Dum Transisset*

Hol – Hollander, setting of *Dum Transisset Sabbatum*

PP – First part of Hollander setting: *Dum Transisset Sabbatum*

SecP – Second part of Hollander setting: *Et Valde Mane*

Mun – J. Mundy, setting of *Dum Transisset Sabbatum*

Tal – Tallis, setting of *Dum Transisset Sabbatum*

Shep1 – Sheppard, 1st setting of *Dum Transisset Sabbatum*

Shep2 – Sheppard, 2nd setting of *Dum Transisset Sabbatum*

Stra – Strabridge, setting of *Dum Transisset Sabbatum*

Tav1 – Taverner, 1st setting of *Dum Transisset Sabbatum*

Tav2 – Taverner, 2nd setting of *Dum Transisset Sabbatum*

CHAPTER ONE

THE BALDWIN PART BOOKS

This chapter considers briefly the post-reformation period in England and supplies such information as is known about Baldwin, the man and the copyist. It provides the context within which Baldwin compiled these manuscripts.

1.2 A short historical context

It is tempting to approach the historical context of the Baldwin Part Books (BPB) from a twenty-first-century mindset, trying to separate it into political, religious, sociological (including personal) and philosophical elements. However, insofar as it is ever possible to take full cognisance of a past situation, such a separation would have been inconceivable to the people of the day. For them, all four elements were inseparable from each other, interacting at all points.

Marshall (Marshall, 2003, p.38), maintains that the ‘early English Reformation acquired its distinctive character from the convergence of a spiritual reform movement with the dynastic and political requirements of the English crown’. Hence, there were already moves in Henry VIII’s reign to transform the Church to the doctrine of ‘justification by faith’ alone and dispense with monasteries, masses, indulgences, vows etc. Marshall notes that converts to this way of thinking were ‘often people of influence in positions of importance’ (p.38) and therefore that the reformation process may have progressed, notwithstanding the king’s dynastic problems. However, this view raises the question of how far such a movement would

have progressed if Henry had had the son he needed, comparatively early in his reign. Arguably, it might not have proceeded very far. Further, it should be noted that originally, Henry was strongly Catholic, and his treatise *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* earned him the title 'Defender of the Faith' from the Pope, Leo X. It opposed the early Protestant reformation and the stance of Luther.

Even though Henry VIII had broken with Rome in 1534, in reality, the establishment of the Anglican Church in terms of hearts and minds had probably not progressed very far by the time he died - although the outward riches of the Catholic Church had been appropriated and swelled his coffers. Duffy (Duffy, 1992), presents a convincing case for the continuing regard for Catholicism in England and the probable lack of significant roots for Protestantism throughout the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII, and that of Edward VI. More recently (Duffy, 2009, p.3), Duffy maintains that the 'most devastating impact [of Edward VI's] reign had probably been in music, since the heavy emphasis of reformed Protestantism on the intelligibility of the written word in worship left no place for Latin word-setting and elaborate polyphony.'

Whether or not this was altogether true in fact as well as law, MacCulloch (MacCulloch 1999, p.82) supports this view, and indicates that Edward's reign saw considerable reform in this regard, noting that the:

...specialist royal chapel community of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, was one of the first major communities to silence its organs: its organists were given other duties as early as 1550, and the instruments themselves may already have been destroyed by then.

There seems to have been outward compliance with the new requirements. However, when Mary restored Catholicism there was, evidently, still considerable support for it, although it may be noted that Mary retained some of the benefits of Protestantism. Catholicism was formally re-established but was now characterised by a 'strong emphasis' on Christ's Passion, and far less on sacraments and saints. (Duffy, 1992, p.542). Duffy and others comment on the readiness with which parish churches seem to have purchased the necessary new liturgical books to replace those that had been destroyed – or possibly brought their original copies out of hiding, having kept them in the hope that Catholicism would be reinstated at some point.

At Elizabeth I's accession in 1558, then, England was Catholic for all practical purposes. Duffy suggests that it probably took more than a decade to make significant changes to the Catholic convictions of the general population (Duffy, 2017, before note 17).

Bowers maintains that Elizabeth's initial aim was to restore Royal Supremacy and eliminate the use of Latin in the liturgy (Bowers, 1999, p.318). To achieve this, she intended to use the 1549, rather than the 1552, Prayer Book. Elizabeth was dependent on the support of Spain and perhaps believed that the Spanish would accept the restoration of 1549 Protestantism rather than that of 1552 (Bowers, 1999 p.321). The 1549 Prayer Book allowed some Catholic-style ceremonial, whereas the 1552 version removed it, most visibly in 'the stripping the altars' (Duffy, 1992), and replacing them with plain communion tables. The crucial difference was that the 1549 book allowed

adherence to the doctrine of transubstantiation whereas the 1552 denied it. However, this satisfied neither the Marian Catholics nor the Protestants, resulting in Elizabeth's concession to agreeing and authorizing a third Prayer Book, introduced on 24 June 1559 (Bowers, 1999, p.320).

Elizabeth I introduced a second Act of Supremacy in 1558, reinstating the first, and now styling herself the 'Supreme Governor.' She insisted on Protestant beliefs but still allowed much from the Catholic tradition to continue. Some Protestant traditions called for simplicity in the physical church and the 'priesthood of all believers' in church authority, but Elizabeth I retained church decoration and vestments, bishops and priests. Theologically, she may have inclined to the conservative evangelical but in practice, she was against the marriage of the clergy and certainly enjoyed elaborate ceremony more than Edward would have permitted (MacCulloch, 1999, p.186 and p.209). Some of her theologians supported her stance and tried to recover some of the 'Catholic character of the church' (MacCulloch, 1999, p.209).

The use of music in a liturgical context was becoming a difficulty in the church generally: it was not confined to those sections that supported Protestantism. Willis points out that the Council of Trent also sought to reform the use of music, noting that the 'florid polyphony of the later Middle Ages was no longer fulfilling a useful or defensible function in the eyes of a new generation of humanist-educated churchmen.' (Willis, 2010 p.45).

The greater emphasis on simplicity in the 1552 Prayer Book could have resulted in the disbandment of choirs, but here, Elizabeth intervened. She ordered that there be no changes to endowments that were specifically for the provision of the maintenance of choristers or establishment of choirs. The Elizabethan Injunctions ‘allowed for the “best sorte of melodye and musicke that maye be conuenientlye devised”. This could be interpreted widely, sanctioning congregational unaccompanied metrical psalms to polyphonic choral music and anything in between these extremes (Willis, 2010 p.57). Further, by the injunctions of 1559, specific provision was made for the choir to sing sections of the liturgy and extra items – which could allow the singing of anthems and thereby fostered the continuation of the professional choral tradition. The only proviso was that the words should be ‘audible and understandable’ (Bowers 1999, p.342), and ‘therefore (by implication), in the vernacular’ (Willis, 2010 p.57).

Willis notes that the Haddon Latin translation of the *Book of Common Prayer* was authorised for use in institutions where it was presumed the congregation would be fluent in Latin – that is, the Chapel Royal, College Chapels and a select few schools. (Willis, 2010, p.58). Given this, and with the proviso that the words set should be audible, there was no inherent restriction on Latin music being sung in those few places.

Catholics at this period faced a limited choice of actions (Kerman, 2000: p.275).

They could:

- convert to the new Anglican faith
- retain their Catholic practices unobtrusively or surreptitiously – especially if they possessed any political power
- work for a new restoration of Catholicism

William Byrd, for example – a lifelong and staunch Catholic – had Sir John Petre as his chief patron. Petre was an example of the second category: he was part of a privileged elite that had the resources to provide for private Catholic worship and had a house at a sufficient distance from London to avoid Elizabeth I's spies. Non-threatening Catholics, such as Byrd, were not harassed to any great extent, although even Byrd had to pay some non-attendance fines.

In the 1560s the situation began to change, after the rising of the northern earls (Northumberland and Westmoreland) 'revealed the strength of militant Catholic sentiments in parts of the north' (Marshall, 2003, p.193). Savage reprisals saw 600 Catholics hanged (around a tenth of the total number of insurgents), but Marshall also notes that the total number of Catholics executed in Elizabeth 1's reign was still far fewer than the number of Protestants executed in that of Mary 1, a point also made by Duffy (Duffy, 2009).

Some Catholics went into exile on the continent and began to return in the mid-1570s. Unfortunately, this resulted in Elizabeth being unable to ignore a potential Catholic

threat. In the 1580s, Elizabeth feared the Jesuit influences that were by then being brought to England by exiles returning from the continent – especially those who had been trained by William Allen at Douai. She began to enforce the recusancy laws and ‘hunted down and executed Jesuits with uncharacteristic savagery’ (Kerman, 2000: p.276). Even so, Marshall notes that penal legislation was intermittent and selective (Marshall, 2003, p.198), and that outward obedience and conformity were required. Catholics were punished ‘not for reasons of spiritual conscience, but for political disloyalty’ (Marshall, 2003, p.199). Elizabeth’s equivocal position was further demonstrated by her refusal to make reception of the Protestant Eucharist a legal requirement of such conformity – on three occasions she vetoed legislation that would have enforced this, giving Catholic freedom to consciences (Marshall, 2003, p.198).

Against this background, the BPB provide a fascinating testimony to the possible continuing use of the Catholic rite in an apparently ‘Anglican’ Protestant country. For at least some of the time under the Tudors, all Christian faiths and none seem to have been permitted or tolerated – and the official Anglican church was as diverse within as were the faiths without. Denominations flourished or declined, as long as all were tolerant of each other and did not act in any way that might be construed as treasonable. Refugees from other countries where this was not the case were able to seek safe-haven and employment, where they could, and did, prosper.

1.2 Baldwin the Man

Although there are several examples of Baldwin’s manuscripts, very little is known about John Baldwin the man. His name appears in various spellings: Baldwin,

Baldewynne, Baudwinne, etc. but the contexts suggest that the same man is indicated. The contemporary spelling of names was comparatively fluid, as can be confirmed by references to John Mundy in the table below.

Baldwin was certainly a 'singingman' at Windsor. Brennecke stated that by 1575 he was a Lay Clerk at St. George's (Brennecke, 1952: p.36). This information has been repeated ever since but is not verifiable.¹ However, 1575 is a reasonable date for Baldwin to have begun work at St. George's. It would have given him time to become familiar with the choir's repertory and to have had the opportunity to copy it. It is unlikely that Baldwin would have taken up such a post before he was about twenty years old. Unless Baldwin rose from the ranks of choirboys, he would have to have gained some experience as a tenor before being appointed to such an important institution as St. George's. This in turn would suggest that Baldwin must have been born no later than 1555. St George's was second only to the Chapel Royal in status and had one of the few choirs that might have rivalled that of the Chapel Royal. St George's provided several 'singingmen' for the Chapel Royal and might have been regarded as the penultimate destination for a musician who aspired to reach the top of his profession.

Archive rolls at St George's, Windsor Castle no longer exist before 1585, the first entry available for Baldwin. In her 1985 PhD Thesis, Hilary Gaskin found a similar lack of evidence and commented that the archive rolls at St. George's 'have been in

¹ The Archivist at Windsor Castle tried to confirm this but was unable to do so.

this state until well before 1952, the year in which Brennecke's article was published'
(Gaskin, Cambridge, 1985: p.5)

Biographical and other information is scarce and what is available is detailed in the
table below.

Table 1: Archival References to John Baldwin²

Much of the information in this table was supplied by the archivist at St George's Chapel, Windsor. The archivist read and copied the text from the original rolls and the information in the table was copied from her typescript. There is, therefore, no explanation for apparent arithmetical inconsistencies, either in the original rolls or from the archivist.

Year	Date	Document	Entry
1586	Oct 1586-Sept 1587	Treasurer's Rolls, Windsor Castle Archives (XV.59.13) – Baldwin singing at St George's Chapel, Windsor	A stipend of £110 was paid to the 11 serving clerks, namely Sundland, Needham, Newcombe, Woods, Rowe, Baldwyn, Randall, Carleton, Mundaye, Weste and Reve for the whole year. They were paid £10 each £22/2/0d was paid to the 11 clerks as an allowance or for obits (anniversaries of the dead) for the whole year. They each received £2/2/0d
1591	Oct 1591-Sept 1592	Treasurer's Rolls, Windsor Castle Archives (XV.59.15)	A stipend of £110 was paid to the 12 serving clerks, namely Needham, Wood, Baldwyn, Randall, Carleton, Mundaye, Weste, Reve,

² Information supplied by Archivist at St George's Chapel, Windsor, 6 Jan 2016

Year	Date	Document	Entry
			Churchman, Woodson, Ballachet and Langford for the whole year. They were paid £10 each £13/4/0d was paid to the 12 clerks as an allowance or for obits (anniversaries of the dead) for the whole year. They each received £2/2/0d £6/13/4d was paid to the clerks for reading the Epistle and for an allowance of £1/2/0 and a farthing (a quarter of a penny)
1592	22 Sept	Brennecke 1952	At Elvetham?
1592	24 Dec	R.M.24.d.2, No.109	Date attached to <i>Sermone Blando</i>
1592	Oct 1592-Sept 1593	Treasurer's Rolls, Windsor Castle Archives (XV.59.16)	A stipend of £110 was paid to the 12 serving clerks, namely Needeham, Wood, Baldwyn, Randall, Carleton, Mundy, Weste, Reve, Churchman, Woodson, Ballachet and Langford for the whole year. They were paid £10 each

Year	Date	Document	Entry
			£13/4/0d was paid to the 12 clerks as an allowance or for obits (anniversaries of the dead) for the whole year. They each received £2/2/0d £7/15/4 and one farthing was paid to the clerks for reading the epistle namely as a stipend of £6/13/4d and an allowance of £1/2/0d and one farthing
1593	Oct 1593-Sept 1594	Treasurer's Rolls, Windsor Castle Archives (XV.59.17)	A stipend of £110 was paid to the 12 serving clerks, namely Needeham, Woods, Baldwyn, Randall, Carleton, Mundy, Weste, Reve, Churchman, Woodson, Ballachet and Langford for the whole year. They were paid £10 each £12/2/0d was paid to the 12 clerks as an allowance or for obits (anniversaries of the dead) for the whole year. They each received £2/2/0d £7/15/4d and one farthing was paid to the clerks for reading the epistle namely as a stipend of

Year	Date	Document	Entry
			£6/13/4d and an allowance of £1/2/0d and one farthing
1593/4	3 Feb	Old Cheque Book (OCB) p.35	Baldwin was promised a place <i>next in ordynarye</i> in the Chapel Royal, to await a vacancy
1594	23 Mar	OCB p.36	Sworn in membership of the Chapel Royal, <i>gentleman in ordinarie (without pay)</i> , to await tenor vacancy
1594	16 May	Bond, Windsor Castle Archives Windsor Castle Archives (XV.59.17)	Baldwin signed a bond, email from Windsor archives as above: <i>As to the reference to the signed bond, I have located the bond (XV.59.17). It is a bond from Thomas Ford of Ilsington to the Dean and Canons of Windsor in £600 on the demise of the rectory and parsonage of Ipplepen. One of the witnesses is a John Baldwinne.</i>
1598	20 Aug	OCB p.5 Baldwin now a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal	Sworn in to a full place at the Chapel Royal, replacing Robert Tallentire, styled as <i>Jo. Baldwin...from Winsore</i>
1600/01	3 Mar	OCB p.38	First appearance as a signatory to a document at the Chapel Royal swearing in Artur Cocke (Arthur Cook)

Year	Date	Document	Entry
1601	23 Nov	OCB p.38	Signatory to a document at the Chapel Royal swearing in George Greene
1602	16 June	OCB p.39	Signatory to a document at the Chapel Royal swearing in Anthony Kirckbie Clarke
1603	19 May	OCB p.70	Signed agreement to terms and conditions of service to the King, James 1
1603	22 Dec	OCB p.39	Signatory to a document at the Chapel Royal swearing in Edmund Sheregowlde
1604	20 Aug	OCB.40	Signatory to a document at the Chapel relating to William Weste, who was not to be sworn in <i>until approved fitt</i>
1604	24 Oct	OCB p.40	Signatory to a document at the Chapel Royal swearing in Michael Vasco
1604	5 Dec	OCB p.62	33 members of the Chapel Royal had their salary increased by £10 p.a. along with four Officers of the Vestrie. (This was not as generous as it seems – the salary had been £30 p.a. for many years)
1606/07	6 Jan	OCB p.138	Last appearance as signatory to a document at the Chapel Royal, this time swearing in Henry Everseede as next <i>Groome of the Vestrie</i> and on the same day to that relating to John Groome, sworn in as a <i>yeoman extraordinaire</i>

Year	Date	Document	Entry
1615	28 Aug	OCB p.8	Death of John Baldwin

Whilst little may be known of Baldwin's life events, his employment at St. George's Chapel, and subsequently at the Chapel Royal, is sufficient to show that he was an extremely able musician. Rimbault (Rimbault, 1872: Introduction: p.1) notes that:

In England the Chapel Royal is the most ancient choir concerning which we have any authentic account. In olden times it was the fullest, best appointed, and the most remarkable for its excellence in the performance of the choral service.

More recent scholarship agrees: Bowers notes that in 1558 there were about 40 professional ecclesiastical choirs, 'of which the Chapel Royal was pre-eminent' (Bowers, 2000, p.342).

Admission to the Chapel Royal was by audition to ensure that a man's voice was suitable and that he could, presumably, read music: 'that the persons to be preferred should be first harde [heard] and approved for the sufficiency of voice and skill.' This was only the first test. At this stage, approval was given by the Sub-Dean and the 'major parte of the Company' – that is, the existing members of the Chapel Royal (Rimbault, 1872: p.70). This is demonstrated by the documents to which Baldwin was a signatory (see Table 1 above).

The person approved was then nominated by the Sub-Dean and company for approval by the Dean, the ultimate decision being in the Dean's gift (Rimbault, 1872: p.70). That was not the end of the process. Frequently, men were appointed initially without pay, pending a full-time vacancy – usually on the death of an existing member. In the meantime, they could be called on to sing for special events that required forces

greater than the normal approximately 32 members. Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal (as opposed to clerics) were paid a salary and received allowances when they were appointed as full members.

Although Baldwin was concerned primarily with the music for the chapel, he also had access to the equally competent musicians who were appointed to the court. For example, Baldwin seems to have had some involvement with the regular ‘progressions’³ of Elizabeth I and Brennecke (Brennecke, 1952: p.36) suggests that he might have composed the music for one of the songs heard on 22 September 1591, at the Elvetham estate of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. The song was *In the Merry Month of May*, with words by Nicholas Breton, in the anthology ‘England’s Helicon’ of 1600. Brennecke considers other possible composers and concludes that Baldwin has the most convincing claim and was probably present at Elvetham on the day. This music appears in the Commonplace Book, tending to support Brennecke’s suggestion that Baldwin was the composer.

1.3 Baldwin as Copyist

‘The surviving sources of English sacred music of the period c.1500-c.1640 are, almost without exception, both unreliable as to musical and textual detail and uninformative as to performing practice’ (Morehen, 1995: p.200). Thus says John Morehen – perhaps for dramatic effect. He was preceded in this by Morley in 1597, who said ‘but if you chance to find any such thing [i.e. a mistake] you may be bold to

³ A ‘progression’ was the movement of the court around the country, from one noble’s estate to that of another.

impute it to the copiers ... so that errors passing from hand-to-hand in written copies be easily augmented' (Morley 1597 and Dent, 1966: p.255). Whilst some scribes may justifiably have engendered Morehen's first indictment, thereby eliciting this generalization, the second would seem to be unfair: it is not reasonable to judge sixteenth-century practice from a twenty-first century cultural norm, which provides as much instruction and information as possible.

Baldwin may have been the 'exception that proves [= tests] the rule'. Bray comments on Baldwin's accuracy in relation to copying contemporary and earlier music. Whilst admitting that Baldwin made some mistakes, Bray comments that he appears to be more accurate than other Elizabethan scribes and that there 'is enough evidence to confirm our view that mistrust of such copyists should not be automatic' (Bray, 1975: p.59).

Without the work of John Baldwin, the copyist, the present knowledge of Tudor music – and especially Catholic sacred music – would be far more limited than it is. McCarthy notes that Baldwin is one of the 'great Elizabethan antiquarian sources' and part of the 'general Elizabethan fashion for preserving and reviving old art' (McCarthy, 2010, p.406). Whilst his name is attached specifically to Oxford ChCh 979-983 – for which he is rightly remembered and praised – Baldwin was also involved significantly or peripherally in the production of several other major sources of Tudor music, both sacred and secular. These will be discussed below.

The Forrest-Heyther Part Books GB-OB Mus.Sch.e.376-381

This collection comprises 18 Latin masses composers including Fayrfax, Sheppard, Taverner and Tye, and three anthems, one of which is by Byrd. The copying was partly completed by 1530 and finished somewhat later, probably during the reign of Mary I, when the Latin rite was restored. There is a reference to Tye's doctorate that might indicate that additional copying took place after 1545, the year that Tye's doctorate was conferred (Bergsagel, 1963: p.240).

Baldwin's copying in this collection is not extensive. The copyist of Masses numbers one to eleven is unknown, although that of Masses numbers twelve to eighteen was probably William Forrest, a priest, the second owner of the books, and later (according to Forrest), Chaplain to Mary I. However, John Milsom has found no corroborative evidence to support Forrest's assertion that he held this position (Milsom, 2010: p.5). Apparently, the books came into Baldwin's ownership on the death of William Forrest (d.1581).

Baldwin repaired the books and completed the last four masses of the Sextus book (Ms.381), signing at the end 'Laudes Deo, quod Johannes Baldwine'. Baldwin's 'superb, artistic handwriting' (Bergsagel, 1963: p.245) begins in the Sextus book, in the middle of the Agnus Dei of Taverner's Mass for six voices *O Michael*. Baldwin also copied three English anthems, presumably some time in or after 1581.

Bergsagel suggested that Baldwin's purpose in completing and preserving this music in post-Reformation England was practical as well as antiquarian. The use of Latin was still permitted at Windsor and Westminster, as well as at the chapels of Oxford and Cambridge (Bergsagel, 1963: p.248) but now in the translated Book of Common Prayer, Walter Haddons' *Liber Precum Publicarum* of 1560. The BPB provided a supply of suitable music. However, more recent scholarship (Milsom, in Morehen, 1995, p.167) inclines to the antiquarian and anthologizing roles of Baldwin, rather than to practical use in a chapel: the music books are 'the product of a hobby. Performance from them, if it took place at all, may have been secondary to the urge to collect, preserve and neatly transcribe'.

The Dow Part Books - Christ Church MSS 984-988

This collection comprises five part books compiled and copied by Robert Dow between 1581 and 1588. Mateer dates it 1581, due to this date appearing at the top of the title page (Mateer, 1986/7: p.6). Several of the works are also found in the BPB.

The first section of the books contains mainly motets, notably White's five-part Lamentations and many motets of penitence and suffering. Mateer suggests that these are 'thinly disguised metaphors for the bondage of the Catholic church in England' (Mateer, 1986/7: p.7). He notes that the compilation date is contemporaneous with the execution of Thomas Campion, a recusant priest, who was hung, drawn and quartered for treason. The second section comprises five anthems and some

instrumental and untexted music. The third section comprises 'In Nomines' and consort songs.

Again, Baldwin's involvement was not extensive. He copied two pieces into this collection: Robert Parsons's *O bone Jesu* and Nathaniel Giles's *Vestigea mea*. The script is unusual in that it is similar to that of *My Ladye Nevell's Booke* i.e. lozenge-shaped note-heads, rather than the more usual oval notation used in the BPB. Mateer comments on the great care needed from the scribe to copy in this way and that the lozenge-shaped scripts were 'obviously reserved for work done for eminent people' (Mateer, 1986/7: 4).

My Ladye Nevell's Booke – British Library Lbl MS Mus.1591

This is a collection of 42 keyboard (virginals) compositions by William Byrd and copied entirely by Baldwin. It was completed on 11 September, 1591, and signed as such on the final pages by Baldwin. Having compared this manuscript with others of the time, e.g. *Will Foster's Virginal Book* and the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, Alan Brown notes that it is the only manuscript for virginals to be devoted to the music of one composer and that it includes all of the important keyboard works composed by Byrd up to that time. Brown does not cite any further evidence for these comments. He also says that he has found it to be 'the most reliable source' for the majority of the pieces it contains and gives detailed comparisons with other sources as evidence (Brown, 1968: p.39). It confirms the generally-held opinion that, although Baldwin did make some mistakes, usually his copying was very accurate.

Although the original manuscript is too fragile now for general viewing, the facsimile edition reveals it to be a stunning example of Baldwin's skill as a copyist. As Brown says, 'The book is exceptional also for its calligraphy. Baldwin was a most careful and conscientious scribe', and, as E.H. Fellows remarked, 'no praise can be too high for the quality of his penmanship' (Brown, 1968/69: p.29). Neighbour comments on the excellence of the texts (Neighbour, 1978: p.21), and that this suggests that Baldwin must have worked from the autographs. The indications are that Byrd and Baldwin worked very closely together, Byrd probably supplying Baldwin with copies and generally overseeing the project.

It was thought that the collection was compiled and copied for Lady Rachel, wife of Sir Edward Nevell the younger, although this belief was based on reasonable surmise, rather than known facts. Three of the compositions are designated as being for 'Ladye Nevell'. More recently, John Harley has proposed that Lady Nevell was originally Elizabeth Bacon, subsequently Doyley, before she became the third wife of Sir Henry Neville of Billingbere, Berkshire. Sir Henry Neville was Edward's cousin, and MP for New Windsor in 1548-85 and 1593. In the former period, Baldwin was still serving at St. George's Windsor and so might easily have had contact with Sir Henry Neville. Brown considers it almost certain that composer, copyist and dedicatee were known to each other.

The Commonplace Book – LBI R.M.24.d.2

The Commonplace Book is not a commonplace book in the then accepted sense. In Baldwin's lifetime, commonplace books were fashionable and would have contained information, advice, extracts from literature, poems, even recipes – anything that the owner wished to conserve for reasons of personal interest, advancement, or general education.

A composer's commonplace book might include 'good' examples of worked cadences and examples of counterpoint. They would usually be short and included for instructive purposes and possible future use. Philomathes in Morley's 'Plaine and Easie Introduction' asks Morley to 'set down my lesson corrected after your manner' (Morley, 1952: p.157). Although there is no indication that this was written in a commonplace book, this might have been the case.

Peter Schubert cites Montano's *Arte de musica teorica et pratica* (1592) as effectively a commonplace book, with advice and exemplars for would-be composers (Schubert, 2010: p.162). James Haar quotes Zacconi's *Prattica di musica*, 1592: 'The young composer should arrange his commonplace book so that under each scored passage there are empty staves: thus, he can add thoughts of his own, or can vary those of the compositions before him ...' (Haar, 1998: p.6).

Baldwin's Commonplace Book, by contrast, appears to be a personal repository for conservation, both for Baldwin's personal interest and the education of other musicians. Bray considers that Baldwin is concerned to 'reveal the art of earlier composers' and is also interested in proportional and *musica ficta* puzzles, of which

there are several.

The works are often written out in full and the book includes Latin and English sacred music, some of it textless, and possibly intended for instrumental use. There is a mass, some mass sections, motets, English and European madrigals, some teaching exercises and canons. There are also 20 of Baldwin's own compositions.

Although known now as Baldwin's Commonplace Book, it is not evident who gave it this appellation. Baldwin copied all of the contents of this book and his name is written in it. Bray suggests that the book may have been a work-in-progress by c.1580 (Bray, 1975: p.59) on the evidence of watermarks and repertory. The watermarks are 'similar to BL MS Vitell C. VII', which is known to be of this period.

The standard of calligraphy is very good, although perhaps not as high as in the music that was either commissioned or might have been copied for liturgical use. There are endearing personal touches:

- a manicule, which indicates the start of the next system where there are two or more on a page
- instructions for some of the canons: 'I am true. Try me. But sing true or shame me.' The canons were to be sung or vocalized and were technical exercises for composition.

The Commonplace Book is notable for four reasons. It:

- is written in score notation for many of the compositions
- contains many complete compositions
- has 34 works in common with the BPB
- contains 13 works by Marenzio

Taking each of these points in turn, score notation was unusual at the time. It may be that Baldwin wanted to be aware of the way all of the parts related together – perhaps for teaching purposes. Complete works would have been comparatively rare in a commonplace book, and therefore conservation would be a more probable reason for writing them out in full. Some of the vocal music is textless. This might have been because the music was so familiar to him that Baldwin had no need of the text.

Alternatively, he may have intended it to be sung to solmization syllables, played on instruments, or used for general musical study. Warner suggests that Baldwin saw the compositions as having value as practice material and so copied them out. This would certainly be in the spirit of a commonplace book. Warner goes on to suggest that they were regarded as useful for improving a singer's sight-reading ability, although she notes that 'The difficulties they exemplify are markedly rhythmical and structural' and that they do not contain passages for developing vocal technique (Warner, 1921: pp.35-49).

The inclusion of the Marenzio madrigals is notable. There is one each from Books 1 and 2, and 11 from the book of four, five and six voices from 1588. Bray believes Baldwin was far ahead of his English contemporaries in his appreciation of Marenzio's work. He cites *Dolorosi Martir* (no. 6) as an example, and he suggests

that at least this part of the book was copied by 1591. *Dolorosi Martir* did not appear in the first book of *Musica Transalpina*, 1588 – an English publication – and therefore Baldwin must have worked from the ‘genuine 1588 [i.e. an Italian] edition’, because this collection was only printed once (Bray, 1974: p.146). Bray quotes Kerman as saying that ‘English taste at the time was a little conservative for it’ (Kerman, 1952: p.46). *Dolorosi Martir* was not published in England until *Musica Transalpina* Book 2 (1597).

The music in the Commonplace Book was composed over a long period of time. It includes compositions from Fayrfax (23 April, 1464, to 24 October, 1521), John Taverner (c.1490-1545), Robert Redford (c.1500-1547) and Thomas Tallis (c.1505-1585) to Ferrabosco the younger (1543-1588), Luca Marenzio (1553-1599) and John Mundy (1555-1630). Thus, the music spans the reigns of Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I. Baldwin was careful to include biographical and chronological detail in this collection: most of the works have an indication of their composer at the end. This care further supports the suggestion that Baldwin was concerned to educate musicians in the intrinsic value of the music, rather than only music of contemporaneous composers.

Bray deduces that some music from Byrd’s *Cantiones Sacrae* (1589) was copied from the printed version between 1589 and 1591. The Commonplace Book also includes works from the *Cantiones Sacrae* 1591 set in score form. The earliest date for copying would seem to be no earlier than 1586, based on the inclusion of music by Giles, with whom Baldwin may not have come into contact until that date, when Giles

moved to Windsor (Bray, 1974: p.148) Bray suggests that the BPB were largely complete by then and the Commonplace Book was started very soon afterwards. The latest that anything was copied seems to have been 1606: no.72 is dated to that year (Bray, 1974: p.148).

Nos.124-189 are in choir-book layout, perhaps because then they could be seen by several people at once. Bray suggests that this format shows that Baldwin ‘certainly intended’ them to be sung (Bray, 1974: p.150). He suggests that Baldwin collected the music ‘in order to increase its chances of passing down to later generations,’ and that, for the modern scholar, a significant part of its value is that it shows the type of music that interested an ‘Elizabethan musician’ (Bray, 1974: p.151).

1.4 Baldwin as seen through his poems

At both the beginning and the end of Baldwin’s Commonplace Book there are poems, presumably written by Baldwin, that give some indication of Baldwin the man and his stated purposes in copying the music for which he is renowned.

Note:

- line numbers have been added for ease of reference
- initial capitals are not on every line in the original

The poem at the beginning is as follows:

1. I doe be long of proper righte
2. And dutie owe him whom me boughte
3. And him to serve withe true intente
4. So longe as I be kept unrente
5. To do him ease and pleasure both
6. Him to offende I would be loth

7. I will be glad bothe nighte and daie
8. Him for to please who erre saie naie
9. For so I am in dutie bownde
10. And so I shall of him be fownde
11. My melodie and sweete accord
12. To him I shall alwaie afforde
13. And such sweet noyse I shall him make
14. And that shall be even for his sake
15. That all that heere such melodie
16. Shall greatlie like and love of mee
17. My love is not to anies paine
18. But to their prophett and there gaine
19. I bring no hurt to anie man
20. But do him pleasure what I can
21. Such is the nature of sweet musicke
22. That she would all please none dislike
23. And in me there is nothinge else
24. But such sweete ware dame music selse
25. My maisters name I will declare
26. Whose now I am and whom I serve
27. Behold heere now even with yowre eye
28. This now is hee which heare yow see

John Baldwine

This poem is slightly obscure in that the identity of the speaker in line 1 is unclear.

Line 4 might suggest that it is the book speaking – but lines 1-3 could be Baldwin speaking in relation to God – ‘whom me boughte’, that is, through Christ’s sacrifice.

In this case, ‘unrente’ might indicate that Baldwin would serve God whilst he was whole in body. The next few lines then confirm Baldwin’s acknowledgement of his ‘dutie’ and purpose, i.e. to serve God through his ‘melodie and sweete accorde.’ The purpose of the book is to benefit others – not to cause them difficulties – lines 17-20.

Lines 25-28 seem to indicate that ‘I’ might relate to the book again – that its use will serve Baldwin through pleasing those with whom it comes into contact.

The poem at the end is perhaps of greater significance because it gives some insight into Baldwin the man, his views, and his purposes in collecting the music in this book and, by extrapolation, in the other books that he compiled.

1. Reede, here, behold and see: all yt (= that) musicians bee
2. What is en closde, heere in: declare I will begine:
3. A store house of treasure: this booke maye be saiede
4. Of songes most excelente: and the beste that is made
5. Collected and chosen: out of the best autours:
6. Bothe stranger and englishe bourne: we be the best makers
7. And skilfulst in musicke: the science to sett forthe:
8. As herein you shall finde: if you will speake the truthe:
9. There is here no bade songe: but the best that can be hadd:
10. And the cheefest from all men: yea there is not one badd
11. And such sweet musicke: as dothe much delite yeelde:
12. Bothe unto men at home: and birds abroad in fiede:
13. The autours for to name: I maye not heere for gett
14. But will then now downe putt: and all in order sett:
15. I will begine with white, shepper, tye and tallis:
16. Parsons, gyles, mundie th'oulde: one of the queens pallis
17. Mundie yonge, th'oulde mans sonne: and like wyse others moe
18. There names would be to longe: therefore I let them goe:
19. Yet must I speake of moe: even of straingers also:
20. And first I must bringe in: alfonso ferabosco:
21. A strainger borne hee was: in italie as I heere:
22. Italians saie of him: in skill hee had no peere:
23. Luca merensio: with others manie moe
24. As philipp demonte, th'emperous man also
25. And orlando by name: and eeke trequillion (*spelling as in original*)
26. Cipriano rore: and also andreon:
27. All famous in there arte: there is of that no doute:
28. There workes no lesse declare: in evrie place aboute:
29. Yet let not straingers bragg: nor they these soe commende
30. For they maye now geve place: and sett them selves be hynde:
31. An englishe man, by name: willm birde for his skill:
32. Wc I should have sett first: for soe it was my will:
33. Whose greate skill and knowledg: doth excelle all at this tyme:
34. And farre to strange countries: abroad his skill dothe shyne:
35. Famus men be abroad: and skilfull in the arte:
36. I do confess the same: and will not from it starte:
37. But in ewropp is none: like to our englishe man:
38. We doth so far excede: as trulie I it scan:
39. As ye can not finde out: his equale in all thinges
40. Throwghe out the world so wide and so his fame now ringes:
41. With fingers and with penne: he hath not now his peere:
42. For in this world so wide: is none can him come neere:
43. The rarest man hee is: in musicks worthye art:

44. That now on earthe doth live: I speake it from my harte:
45. Or heere to forth hathe beene: or after him shall come:
46. None such I feare shall rise: that may be calde his sonne:
47. Famus man of skill and iudgement greate profounde:
48. Lette heaven and earth ringe out: thy worthye praise to sownde:
49. Nay lett thy skill its selfe: thy worthie fame recorde:
50. To all posteritie: thy due deserte afforde:
51. And lett them all which heere: of thy greate skill then saie:
52. Fare well fare well thou prince: of music now and aye:
53. Fare well I saie fare well: fare well and heere I end:
54. Fare well melodious bird: fare well sweet musicks frende:
55. All these things do I speke: not for rewarde or bribe:
56. Nor yet to flatter him: or sett him up in pride:
57. Nor for affeccion: or owght might move there towe:
58. But even the truth reporte: and that make known to yowe:
59. Loe heere I end farewell: commintinge all to god:
60. Who kepe us in his grace: and shilde us from his rodd.

Finis Jo baldwine

Perhaps Baldwin was a teacher as much as a singer – here, he commanded all musicians to ‘Reede’ (line1) indicating that he understood that in order to learn it is not enough only to hear – although undeniably this is another method. He expected that musicians would be literate – able to read music and thus benefit from what he had provided for them.

By looking at the contents of the book, musicians would gain an understanding both of those who were the best composers and learn the best music of those composers: *a store house of treasure* (line 3). Baldwin saw himself as an anthologist, and Milsom is of the opinion (presumably on the basis of the contents of the BPB themselves) that ‘by the 1570s there was a minor vogue for Dum transissets’ (Milsom, 2014, EECM no. 56, p.222). Baldwin held the view that the value of the music was both for the immediate and the long term. He knew that value was not restricted to contemporary music – his choice extended over many years and stretched back to the time of Henry

VII. By contrast, when Baldwin was copying music, both audiences and performers demanded music that was new, and often denigrated music that was perceived to be old (see Meconi, quoting Luscinius, 1994: p.162).

Baldwin considered he had the ability to judge which music was of value: *this book may be saide* (line 3), *of songes most excelente* (line 4), and also *there is here no bade song* (line 9). Time has proved him correct in that much of this music is still held in high regard 400 years later.

He had had the opportunity to become familiar with music from abroad as well as from England – *bothe stranger and englishe bourne* (line 6). Furthermore, he had had access to copies of music, probably printed, which enabled him to include many continental compositions in this book (see above, regarding Marenzio). However, Baldwin considered that English composers were superior to foreign – *we be the best makers* (line 6) – *And skilfulst in music* (line 7).

Bothe unto men at home: and birds abroade in fielde (line 12) indicates that Baldwin considered the music as being worth disseminating. This could mean throughout England and, also, abroad; it was not merely for local use. He believed that English music was worthy of taking its place on the continent, at least as much as it was worth importing continental music into England.

Lines 13-16 are curious in that Baldwin did not quite do as he said he would. The first composers in the Commonplace Book are Ferrabosco, Daman and Marenzio – all foreign composers. They were followed by Taverner, Golder, Byrd, Giles, and Tye. Baldwin recognized that England had a plethora of composers who were worthy of inclusion but that he did not have room for them all – *and like wyse others moe: There names would be to longe: therefore I let them goe* (lines 17/18).

Baldwin considered next that the importance of certain composers needed to be stressed (line 19). Presumably this was for the further education of his audience, both to apprise them of the names of the most significant composers, and of their works, which he included. Here, Baldwin is not partisan in his choices: Alfonso Ferrabosco (1543-1588), in his opinion, was of prime importance (line 20 – unless this is only because the name fits the necessary rhyme, of course). Although known to be Italian by birth, Ferrabosco worked in England at the court of Elizabeth I. By June 1592, Elizabeth had granted Ferrabosco an annuity of 100 marks (Libby, Jackman, 1980: Vol. 6, p.478). Ferrabosco was regarded as having ‘deep skill’ by Thomas Morley (Dent 1952: p.294), but apparently, he was not held in as high regard by his compatriots as he was by the English (Field, Grove Online: 2016).

Lines 23-6 list other continental composers although, apart from De Monte, none of these is included in the Commonplace Book. Bray (reasonably) suggests that *Trequillon* is Crequillon. *Andreon* might have referred to Andreas Pevernage or Andrea Antico da Montano, but was more probably Andrea Gabrieli. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* regards Pevernage as a ‘workmanlike composer’

(Cooremans, 1980: Vol.14 p.606), whilst Antico was, primarily, a publisher and rival to Petrucci. Although Antico did compose a few frottolas (Picker, 1980: Vol.1 p.468), they would have been unlikely to have warranted inclusion in Baldwin's list. Andrea Gabrieli's music was already well known and highly regarded in Baldwin's time, and therefore would have justified his inclusion. Another possibility is Adrian Willaert. Willaert was highly regarded in his lifetime and his name appears on lists of pre-eminent composers compiled by authors such as Bartoli (*Ragionamenti accademici*, 1567), and Zacconi (*Prattica di musica*, 1592) (Fromson, Grove Music Online, 2016, accessed 2/8/2016).

Lines 27/28 testify that the composers Baldwin mentions were known by their names and their works: *in evrie place aboute*. However, this information is probably given only to set in sharper relief the claims to fame of William Byrd (lines 30-32): no matter how famous or skillful they were, all other composers had to cede their place to Byrd, *and sett themselves be hynde* (line 30).

From line 31 to line 58 the poem becomes a panegyric to Byrd: *thy worthie fame recorde/To all posteritie* (lines 49/50) and ... *thou prince of music now and aye* (line 52). Baldwin exhorts Byrd to *fare well* repeatedly (lines 52-4). Here, Baldwin wished Byrd well for Byrd's future life – he was not saying goodbye in death, because Byrd lived until 4 July 1623, outliving Baldwin, and the poem was written by 1591. Baldwin went on to assert himself as disinterested: he is not praising Byrd for *rewarde, bribe* (line 55), to *flatter* or *sett him up in pride* (line 56), but only to state the truth of Byrd's greatness and make it known to the reader (line 58). He ends by

committing us all to God (line 59), who will *kepe us in his grace: and shilde us from his rodd* (line 60).

Baldwin's assessment was corroborated by Morley: '... those famous Englishmen who have been nothing inferior in art to any of the aforementioned, as Fayrfax, Taverner, Sheppard, Mundy, Whyte, Parsons, Mr Byrd and divers others ...' (Morley, 1597, as in Dent, 1966: p.255). It is probably fair to say that Baldwin's assessment of the quality of Byrd's music similarly has been corroborated by musicologists ever since – although they might not agree with Baldwin that Byrd was greater than '*all*' of the foreign masters.

Baldwin, then, compiled the Part Books at a time of significant political and religious upheaval, and when he could have been in danger, even of his life, for so doing. He is to be admired both for taking that risk, and for producing an almost unrivalled repository of Latin church music work, as well as a physical work of art. He was a highly accomplished professional performing musician, working directly for the monarch as a member of the most prestigious choir in the land.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BALDWIN PART BOOKS – OXFORD, CHRIST CHURCH, MS 979-983

Chapter Two considers the Part Books and their contents, providing a context for the eight settings of *Dum Transisset Sabbatum* (DT) and a justification for their appraisal in this dissertation.

The BPB comprise a collection of almost entirely Catholic sacred compositions, and spanning the reigns of monarchs from Henry VII to Elizabeth I. Mateer suggests that copying began in the late 1570s (Mateer, 1995, p.144), although Bray suggests that copying probably began c.1580 ‘while he [Baldwin] was still at Windsor and was completed by 1603’ (Bray, 1971: p.196/7). Milsom suggests ‘late 1570s’ for copying the DT settings (Milsom, 2014, EECM p.222). The consensus would indicate that they were copied at some point between c.1575-85. The BPB contain a diverse range of genres and are among the most important of the surviving sources of Tudor church music and Elizabethan motets, notwithstanding the missing Tenor part book. The 172 works include one mass, several ‘Lamentations of Jeremiah’, antiphons and responds.

Bray says that these manuscripts have always been assumed to have been copied by Baldwin and that, when compared with the hand of the copyist of the Commonplace Book, this is confirmed (Bray, 1971: p.179). Having seen both, I would agree. The calligraphy is clear and beautiful in these small books, as it is in the other manuscripts with which Baldwin was involved.

Bray deduces that the responds and hymns of Taverner, Tallis, Sheppard and Redford must have been composed during the final years of Henry VIII and the remainder either during Mary I's reign or after the accession of Elizabeth I, although it is possible that Catholic music might have been composed, albeit surreptitiously, during the reign of Edward VI. Page notes that during Mary's reign the 'remarkable integration of the texts, political and ideological themes, and the general style of this large-scale sacred music strongly suggest that they were determined at the highest levels of official power and influence', and they were realised by the very skilled musicians of the Chapel Royal and similar institutions (Page, 1997: p.18). That is to say, the decision to have such music composed was taken by people in authority, with the conscious knowledge of the effect it would have and the message it would convey. He goes on to comment that:

The devotion of these relatively young royal chaplains to the old Religion cannot be dismissed as mere adherence to traditional customs: few were active before the 1553 Act of Supremacy and most were educated during the years of Henry VIII's moderate reforms. Nonetheless, Mary quite clearly assembled a body of skilled and committed Catholic apologists and disputants, thereby continuing the intensely partisan pattern of the court religious establishment under Edward (Page, 1997: p.82).

Page suggests that Mary I was the first adult monarch of the Tudor reformation period to have an unequivocal religious policy. She was perhaps the only one. Henry VIII did not want the Pope to interfere in religious matters insofar as they impinged on his nuptial arrangements, but he (Henry VIII) was nevertheless comparatively indifferent about enforcing the ecclesiastical reforms that were necessarily attendant on his actions. Sometimes he encouraged reformers but at other times, he did not. Alliance with the reformers suited him when he wanted an annulment of his first marriage but he was also responsible for Tyndale's death – Tyndale being 'one of the geniuses' of

the English Reformation (MacCulloch originally 2009 but this edition 2010, p.625-626).

Edward VI began to make reforms but died before he was able to complete them. Those who effectively ruled on his behalf, and including Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, were moving towards a 'thoroughgoing destruction of the traditional devotional world' (MacCulloch, 2010 p.630). Later, Elizabeth I used Catholic form and ceremony to assuage the fears of foreign Catholic diplomats and initially adopted an approach of some tolerance to English Catholics, whilst balancing this against the demands of the Protestant reformers.

However, Mary I effectively used music to signify the change of regime: visitations and injunctions now required all parishes to acquire suitable liturgical books – antiphonals, graduals, psalters etc. It is probable that some were brought out of hiding but parish accounts also indicate that new books were purchased. Further 'as court liturgical servants, Mallet and the musicians of the Chapel propagated both the formal aspect of the Queen's religious devotions and the public representations of her piety and orthodoxy' (Page, 1997: p.89) and so 'the revived and expanded early Tudor festal polyphony was emblematic of restored Catholicism' (Page, 1997: p.125).

Of the BPB, Milsom maintains that they are 'the hoard of an antiquarian' and that Baldwin's 'profession as a singer is clearly unconnected with these books' (Milsom, 1995: p.166). His comments were made because by the time Baldwin copied the

music it would no longer have been in the church repertoire and Baldwin would not have been singing it in that context. Milsom also suggests that some of the music may never have been connected with the church, citing some of Byrd's motets in this regard (Milsom, 1995: p.166). He goes on to say that if performance from the books ever took part at all, this may have been a secondary consideration to the desire to 'collect, preserve and neatly transcribe' (Milsom, 1995: p.167). If that were the case, Baldwin could have presented them in score, as he did in the large-format Commonplace Book. By contrast, the BPB are exactly a suitable size to use in the chamber: they are compact and could easily be held in the hand for one-to-three people to share, suggesting that this could have been their purpose.

In common with the other books with which he was involved, Baldwin's part books include a range of musical genres but, in contrast to them, most of the composers represented in it are English. The music includes examples from the pre-Reformation and immediate Reformation periods, as well as music from the next generation – music composed during the middle of the sixteenth century and into the reign of Elizabeth I. Examples of the new generation include Robert Parsons (1535-1572) and William Mundy (1529-1591) but most notably William Byrd (c. 1540-1623) and John Mundy (1555-1630). Probably one of the latest compositions in the BPB is a canon by Byrd, dated 1600 (no.89a). Thomas Tallis (1505-1585) lived a long life, even by today's standards, and as such, his compositions encompass the whole period from Henry VIII to Elizabeth I. Judging by his setting of *Dum Transisset*, Tallis's knowledge of, and proficiency in, the latest styles of the day were not diminished by longevity.

Baldwin probably began copying the music when he was a lay clerk at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Records do not exist to confirm this and nothing is known of any prior employment. In 1581, John Mundy became a member of St. George's, Windsor, and Baldwin copied some of Mundy's music into the part books. It seems reasonable to suggest that Baldwin would have had contact with Mundy whilst they were both at Windsor, and Baldwin would have had easy access to Mundy's manuscripts. Lines 16/17 of the Commonplace Book poem testify to Baldwin's esteem of both Mundys: the father, William, and the son, John. The copying continued over some years and a few compositions may have been copied in the first years of the seventeenth century.

It seems that Baldwin compiled the books partly from sources that had been in use at the Chapel Royal, before he had become a member. Some of the music was copied from older sources – this is documented in the Commonplace Book. It is also known that Baldwin had access to the Eton Choir Book (Bray, 1971: p.192). The BPB went to Christ Church, Oxford, as part of Dean Aldrich's library bequest, but it is not known how Aldrich came to possess them (Bray, 1971: p.179). They have remained at Christ Church since then.

By the time the BPB were copied the music was, to an extent, outmoded. It was probably performed comparatively rarely and musical style was changing quickly. The (apparently) later compositions demonstrate the trend towards a more concise, syllabic style, based around quite strictly imitative points, but many of the compositions pre-date this by a considerable number of years, most notably those by

Taverner (c.1490-1545). Although the later music may not have been used in a liturgical context, conceivably it might have been performed as anthems in the Protestant rite.

The Tenor book is missing from the set but the remaining books are in excellent condition and show no sign of having been used for regular performance. This could indicate that they were created to be a repository of some of the best music of the preceding period. Simultaneously, they could have acted as reference copies from which workaday, disposable copies might have been made. Hector Sequera suggests that some of the surviving manuscripts by these scribes and collectors could have been kept only as shelf copies. Clients or friends could then copy music for themselves. He also suggests that scribes such as Dow, Sadler and Baldwin may have acted as 'hubs' for disseminating music (Smith and Taylor, 2013: p.218).

Of course, the books might quite simply have been compiled as a 'labour of love'. In this way, Baldwin could be sure that music he deemed worthy of preservation was copied carefully and kept safely, and thus could be passed on to future generations. This would have been in line with the sentiments expressed in his poem.

The books are small: 205mm x 150mm (approximately 10' x 6'), the same size as the Tallis/Byrd *Cantiones Sacrae*, with which they are bound. The *Cantiones Sacrae* is the Vautrollier printed edition of 1575, indicating that the BPB were not bound until after that date. The rest of the books are in Baldwin's hand. The name of each voice

part is stamped on the cover of its book, along with the initials IB, which is presumed to stand for Iohannes (John) Baldwin. The covers are late sixteenth century brown leather on board.

Example 2.1: Cover Picture, Superius.



There are five books with call numbers ChCh 979-983. The individual books are:
MS.979: Superius; 980: Discantus; 981: Contratenor; 982: Sexta Pars; and 983:
Bassus.

From 172 compositions, there are ten by non-English composers.

Table 2: Works in ChCh 979-983 by Non-English Composers

Number	Compose	Work
No.6	Van Wilder	<i>Aspice Domine</i>
No.28	Hollander	<i>Dum Transisset</i>
No. 39	Daman (see Table 6, below)	<i>Confitebor Tibi Domine</i>
No. 42	Ferrabosco	<i>De Lamentatione</i>
No. 52	Lassus (ascribed 'Dowglas' but known to be by Lassus)	<i>Ubi Est Abel?</i>
No.101	Ferrabosco	<i>Da pacem</i>
No.104	Daman	<i>Praedicabo laudes</i>
No.105	Daman	<i>Omnis caro gramen sit</i>
No.148	Gerarde	<i>Sive vigilem sive dormiam</i>
No.159	Daman	No words

The books also contain four compositions by Baldwin: No.161: *Pater noster*; No.162: *Redime me*; No.164: *Fancy*; and No.169: *Cuckow as I me walked*.

This collection only contains one mass and one magnificat: Baldwin seems to have been more concerned to preserve hymns (28) and motets (124). Similarly, he seems to have wanted to collect different settings of the same text. There are several interesting groups: the focus of this dissertation is on the eight settings of *Dum Transisset* but there are also three settings of *Confitebor tibi Domini* and seven settings or part-settings of the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*.

Two texts between numbers 127-134 also make interesting groups. Numbers 127, 128, 131 and 134, are settings of *Dominus qui habitabit* (Psalm 14) by Parsons, W. Mundy and White (two settings), respectively. Numbers 129 and 130 are settings of *Dominus non est exultatem* (Psalm 130) by White and W. Mundy respectively. The above are all psalm settings and are not ascribed to any specific liturgical use but they do represent the then preoccupation with penitential texts.

The BPB, then, are invaluable for providing an historical record of examples of responds and other genres from the earlier decades of the sixteenth century when Catholic polyphony was perhaps at its zenith in England, as well as works that are more contemporaneous with Baldwin himself. They provide a repository for several settings of the same text, chief of which is the collection of settings of *Dum Transisset*, offering the opportunity to consider them as a group.

CHAPTER THREE

THE COMPOSERS IN BALDWIN

Chapter Three considers the composers chosen by Baldwin and where they worked. Possible connections between the composers will be identified and I will thus indicate how Baldwin may have had access to the range of music contained within the BPB.

There is no way of determining the reasons for Baldwin's choice of which composers to include in the BPB. His choice is largely in line with the sentiments expressed in the second poem – that is, English composers are as good as any continental composers, if not better – and most of the composers in the BPB are also mentioned in this poem. Of the English composers mentioned in the second poem, only Giles is not represented in the BPB.

Taverner, Douglas, Fayrfax, Redford, Bevin, Daman, van Wilder, Gerard, and Hollander are not mentioned in the poem but they are represented in Baldwin. There are ten works by Taverner, one by Douglas, and one each by the English composers, Redford, Fayrfax, Aston and Bevin. The works of Aston and Bevin comprise two of the four secular works in Baldwin. There are five works by continental composers: two by Daman and one each by van Wilder, Gerard and Hollander. Daman was an Italian, brought to England by Thomas Sackville; van Wilder was from the Low Countries and one of several members of a family working at the court of Henry VIII; Gerard was from the Low Countries and is believed to have worked at Nonsuch for

Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel and his son-in-law, Lord Lumley; Hollander was also from the Low Countries but does not seem to have visited England.

If quantity is an indicator of regard, Taverner was regarded most highly by Baldwin. Having said that, the degree of regard is relative – the rest were at least included, whilst far greater numbers of composers were not. Music from other composers would almost certainly have been available to Baldwin, given that he worked in Royal establishments that would have had wide access to much printed and manuscript copies of music.

There are clear connections between the composers represented in the BPB. Baldwin himself was encountered first at St. George's, Windsor, and moved to the Chapel Royal in 1598. John Mundy was also at St George's, Windsor. Byrd, Fayrfax, Parsons, Sheppard and Tallis were all at the Chapel Royal. William Mundy served at St Paul's and then was appointed a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. Some of the composers served at prestigious London churches: originally, White was at Ely, then Chester and then served as Master of the Choristers at Westminster Abbey, whilst Redford was at St Paul's. Others were members of the English court. Daman was from Liège, brought to England by Lord Buckhurst, a notable patron of music. Daman became a member of Elizabeth's court from 1579, whilst Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder was a member by 1562. Van Wilder was one of Henry VIII's most favoured musicians and became head of secular music at court – 'Master of the King's Music'.

All of these institutions were comparatively close geographically, and all of the composers would almost certainly have been known to each other. Some would have worked alongside each other, possibly daily. At other times, members of the different institutions would amalgamate for special occasions. It is known that William Mundy, when parish clerk, augmented the Chapel of St Mary's at Hill with members of the Chapel Royal.

A few of the composers seem to have worked outside the capital but were, even so, at large and prestigious churches. Hugh Aston was at St Mary Newarke Hospital and College in Leicester and was invited by Bishop Longland to go to Wolsey's new Cardinal College in 1526. Aston must have been regarded highly in order to have been offered this position. He declined it and subsequently it was offered to, and accepted by, Taverner instead. Elway Bevin was organist and choirmaster at Wells, St Thomas Church, Salisbury and at Bristol Cathedral.

Of those who were not in ecclesiastical employ, Derek Gerard worked for the aristocratic house at Nonesuch Palace near Ewell, Surrey. Ewell would have been relatively accessible. According to Quickelberg, his contemporaneous biographer, Lassus spent some time at the English court with his travelling companion, Giulio Cesare Brancaccio (Forney, 1985/86: pp.33-60).

The network of professional musicians was evidently as close in Tudor England as it has been ever since. Working so closely with fellow members of churches and choirs, Baldwin had many opportunities to access the manuscripts he copied.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Respond

This chapter considers the respond: its function in the liturgy with brief historical context, and the place of *Dum Transisset* in the BPB.

4.1 Function

Dum Transisset (DT) is a respond. A respond was originally a formal response to a lesson at Matins (or to a short chapter in the other Offices) that was usually read from either the Old or New Testament or from a non-Biblical source, such as the lives of the saints. A respond was a chant and its text was also usually scriptural. Those sung at Matins had elaborate melismatic chants, whilst those sung at other hours, e.g. Compline, were generally simpler (Harper, 1991: p.313).

Matins comprised essentially three sections:

- Introduction
- Nocturns (one, two, or three)
- Conclusion

Each 'Nocturn' comprised:

- Psalmody
- Versicle and response
- The Lord's Prayer

- Absolution
- Blessing – Lesson 1 – Respond 1
 Blessing – Lesson 2 – Respond 2
 Blessing – Lesson 3 – Respond 3

DT is the third respond on Easter Day and therefore part of the ‘Office’ for that occasion. Usually, a respond has a consistent structure: solo incipit - choral refrain - solo verse - choral refrain. Polyphony alternated with plainchant, making clear that the function of polyphony was to embellish the ritual.

In devotional practices, as in many aspects in life, practices from one era frequently cease, disappear, and are later ‘rediscovered’ and resumed, albeit in a changed form. Congregational participation in worship is one such practice. In 375 Basil of Caesarea commended responsorial psalmody in a letter to the clergy of Neocaesarea (Attridge, 2004: p.177). Athanasius and Benedict similarly commended it (Hammerling, 2008: p.214). Later, in the late medieval chant tradition there is evidence of psalms being sung by a soloist with a congregational response refrain. By the ninth century, according to Amalarius of Metz, the congregation no longer sang, having ceded this role to a choir.⁴

The first polyphonic settings of responds date from at least the time of Leonin and Perotin (twelfth-century France) and these settings provided polyphony for the

⁴ Amalarius’ *Liber Officialis* of 823, quoted by Hiley, p.490

intonation of the respond and verse. The rest of the music was sung in plainchant, this pattern continuing until the sixteenth century – somewhat later in England than on the continent.

Walter Frye (d.1474), working on the continent, set the complete text of *Ave Regina* without a *cantus firmus* (Moroney/Caldwell, Grove online, Responsory, Section 4). This became a prototype for later continental composers – Ockeghem and Obrecht are cited as examples in Grove as above – effectively becoming a motet with an aBcB structure: intonation-respond-verse-*repetendum*. Moroney notes that ‘numerous examples of aBcB motets are found among the works of most major composers, notably Clemens non Papa. This structure is attractive musically due to the repetition of the B section, which aids cohesion for the listener by repeating familiar material. The cB element of the form is often identified as the *secunda pars* (Moroney and Caldwell, Grove Online, Responsory: Section 4, 3 May 2017). The most popular sets of responses were composed either for Christmas or for Tenebrae services in Holy Week – for which latter a complete set would comprise 27 responds. In Italy alone, there were nearly 100 Tenebrae sets composed between 1550 and 1650, including those by Ingegneri, Gesualdo and Victoria.

Stylistically, and until quite recently, it has been suggested that England was musically distinct from the continent during this period. Howard Mayer Brown gave two reasons (Brown, 1999: p.243).

- Franco-Flemish polyphony did not have the same impact on English music as it had on German and Italian. He notes that foreign musicians were active at the English court but were not members of the Chapel Royal. Therefore, although they might have influenced secular music, their influence on sacred music would not have been as great.
- Sacred music in England was not influenced significantly by secular music, whereas it was on the continent, for example using secular songs as a *cantus firmus*.

On the second point, Brown noted that surviving evidence to confirm this is slight. However, there is much surviving secular music in England, therefore it should be possible to determine whether or not this was the case.

More recent scholarship suggests that, far from being isolated, there was significant contact with the continent, and not only that generated by, or connected with, the court. Dumitrescu (Dumitrescu, 2007) points out that there were many contacts with the continent in trade, education of English nationals in foreign universities, and pilgrimage (pp.54-55). For example, he cites the wool trade, especially between East Anglia and the Low Countries. This would have resulted in much contact and therefore possible interaction/influence involving a variety of musicians, artists and other craftsmen. Further, at least 6% of London's male population was described as 'aliens' (p.51), and Dumitrescu cites MS YorkB 1 as displaying 'an affinity with continental habits' (p.52). As well as foreign influences coming into England, there is evidence of English 'long-term and short-term involvement with foreign cultures'

(p.53). This could relate both to trade and to the ‘various musicians who chose to work permanently or semi-permanently at continental centres’ (p.59).

Dumitrescu cites much evidence of the presence of many foreign musicians in the English court, who, he believes, ‘were brought into collaboration on repeated occasions’ with the Chapel Royal (p.112). However, he notes that ‘the changing character of the works by the composers who grew out of that choral tradition ...did not require the presence of foreign musicians in their ranks to learn important lessons from continental precedents’ (p.113). Dumitrescu may be referencing the fact that English composers had access to Continental manuscripts from which they could learn the new trends, rather than that they were developing their music in this manner without need or recourse to foreign influences.

By the time Taverner was composing, English style was still in the tradition of the Eton Choir Book – it was melismatic and with individual voice lines differentiated by rhythm and melody. Imitation was not yet used as a means of structural integration, whereas imitative points were being used quite consistently in motets and madrigals in Europe. In responds, the structure was necessarily provided by the CF. The sound was very consonant: dissonance was used sparingly, rarely for emotional effect, and confined mainly to cadences. On the continent, there was greater use of dissonance for expressive purposes, and use of ‘word-painting’ to emphasise the meaning of the text.

In late fifteenth-century England composers began to set responds polyphonically. Initially, interest focused on responds for the Office of the Dead and settings of responds became a significant genre of English music in the first half of the sixteenth century. The BPB and Gyffard Part Books reflect this importance. Bray (Bray, 1971: pp.185,187,189), categorises 37 of the 171 compositions in Baldwin as responds or respond-motets (21%) and 21 out of 94 in Gyffard may be identified similarly (22%).

In a respond, usually there are repeat signs to indicate where the choir should recommence singing after a section in plainsong. This was the case both in England and on the continent in the first three decades of the sixteenth century. Later, there was a trend to set the text straight through, therefore without plainsong interpolations. Such compositions are better described as respond-motets.

In addition to the above characteristics, a respond-motet:

- has no detached *incipit* – the text of the *incipit* will be incorporated into the body of the music and the plainsong for it may or may not be quoted at length
- has a second section that may be designated ‘secunda pars’ in the part books.

The DT settings by Tav2 and Hollander demonstrate some, or all, of the characteristics above and are therefore designated as respond-motets.

Several texts from the Sarum responsories were set frequently by several English composers: *Audivi vocem* (Byrd, Sheppard, Tallis, Taverner); *In pace* (Blitheman, Sheppard, Tallis, Taverner, Tye; *In manus tuas* (Baldwin, Morley, Parsons, Tallis, Sheppard); and *Dum transisset sabbatum* (Barber, Byrd, Johnson, Mundy, Roose, Sheppard, Strabridge, Tallis, Taverner. Moroney indicates that polyphonic responsories became a ‘major feature of English music in the first half of the sixteenth century.’ (Responsory, Grove Online, Section 4). The BPB would seem to confirm this popularity of setting responds, but not significantly of those cited, apart from *Dum Transisset*.

Benham believes that Taverner (c.1490-1545) was the first composer in England to set DT and to reverse the original format of the respond. That is, before Taverner, composers going back to the 13th century would set the intonation of the respond and the verse polyphonically. The response to the intonation and the *repetendum* following the verse were sung monophonically. Taverner set the intonation and the verse monophonically and reserved polyphony for the response and the *repetendum*. (Benham, 2003: p.258).

Tav1’s settings of DT demonstrate this pattern and established a template followed extensively by other composers, who used it to set texts other than DT. Because it is thought that most of Taverner’s music was composed whilst he was at Tattershall and then at Cardinal College, the settings of DT may be placed in the 1520s (Benham, 2003: p.45).

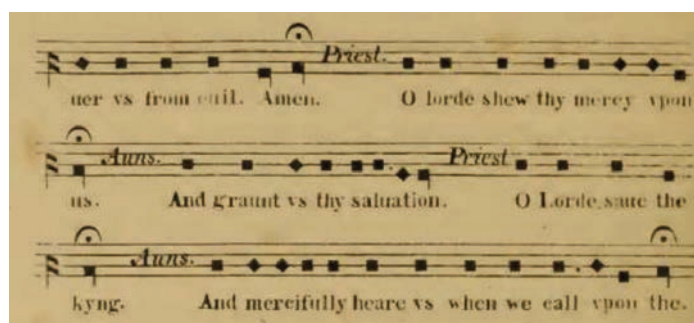
The writing of large-scale and polyphonic votive antiphons declined after Henry VIII's religious changes. Kerman suggests that *cantus firmus* settings were regarded as 'old-fashioned' by 1575 (Kerman, 1962: p.288). By the time the BPB were copied (c.1580 to very early in the seventeenth century), the respond in England was an anachronism, having been superseded by the further reformed Anglican rite. After the 1558 abolition of the Sarum Rite there was no liturgical place for the respond but it was still possible to use respond texts for respond-motets. The detached *incipit* disappeared and was incorporated into the text and the text was set polyphonically. The form became that of a self-contained respond-motet, having a structure similar to that of many continental motets (Doe, 1970: p.6).

Doe suggests that in part this might be due to the influence of Ferrabosco (Doe, 1970: p.6). Ferrabosco had joined the English court in 1562 and could have introduced continental ideas to the composers within the Chapel Royal, although it should be noted that he was not the only continental composer who might have done so. Ferrabosco was a musician in Elizabeth I's court, not a member of the Chapel Royal, but Butler suggests that the two spheres of court life overlapped at times. Inevitably, there would have been contact between court musicians and musicians working in the Chapel Royal (Butler, 2015: p.76). Butler cites the Elvetham entertainment as an occasion when Chapel Royal musicians were involved with 'secular' events. This familiarity between Chapel Royal and court might account for the presence of the four Ferrabosco compositions in the BPB. Of the other continental compositions in

Baldwin, van Wilder's *Aspice Domine* and Hollander's DT are classed by Bray as respond-motets.

Throughout the post-Reformation period in England and in the non-conformist areas of the continent, the congregational element of worship had now turned full-circle and was again regarded as important. On the non-conformist Continent, the congregation sang chorales; in England, the congregational participation was now part of the liturgy, in the *preces* of the Anglican rite, for example. The congregation sang metrical psalms and vocal responses during the liturgy, all of which were necessarily simple, as in Merbecke's *Book of Common Praier Noted* (Grafton, 1550, reprinted Novello, 1845: p.10):

Example 4.1 Matins response



If it were used at all, polyphony was now restricted to an anthem, sung by a choir.

This situation did not pertain for a long period of time. Mary I reinstated the Catholic rite with its priests, choirs and ceremony and little opportunity for vocal congregational participation. When Elizabeth I ascended the throne in 1558, some congregational singing may well have been reinstated, but there was no opportunity

for public singing of Catholic choral liturgical compositions, apart from in the royal chapels and a very few selected other churches. However, Catholic music could continue to be performed in private chapels, preferably at a distance from London and Elizabeth I's agents and spies.

The question arises as to why DT was chosen for polyphonic setting. There was no liturgical need to set it after 1558, and the text does not provide many opportunities for expressive composition, it being a straightforward narrative. However, the plainsong would be familiar and hearing a well-known melody in the context of church worship might at least be comforting in its familiarity and could also aid in teaching by its association with the appropriate scripture.

Jennifer Thomas reiterates and expands this point when she notes that frequent use of plainchant 'must have insinuated itself into a deep level of consciousness' (Thomas, 1999: p.248). She makes the point that the melodies would have been associated with their textual topics, thereby reinforcing teaching of the texts, and that the 'most familiar or beloved texts of the liturgy would have been similarly embedded in the memory.' Such associations would have died out slowly, rather than suddenly.

4.2 The Respond in Baldwin

The BPB comprise a significant repository of polyphonic settings of sixteenth-century English responds or respond motets, as may be seen from the table below.

Table 3: The Respond in ChCh 979-983

Respond Number	Title	Occasion	Composer
7	<i>(Laudem Dicite) Deo nostro 'for men'</i>	Vespers All SS	Sheppard
11	<i>Dum Transisset Sabbatum</i>	R3 Matins Easter Day	Strabridge
21	<i>Dum Transisset Sabbatum</i>	R3 Matins Easter Day	Tallis
22	<i>Dum Transisset Sabbatum</i>	R3 Matins Easter Day	Taverner
23	<i>Dum Transisset Sabbatum</i>	R3 Matins Easter Day	Taverner
24	<i>(Spiritus Sanctus) procedens</i>	R3 Matins Whit Sunday	Sheppard
25	<i>(Laudem Dicite) Deo nostro</i>	R1 Vespers All SS	Sheppard
75	<i>Videte Miraculum</i>	Matins Purification BVM	W Mundy
89	<i>(Liberate me) Domine de morte</i>	R9 Matins for the dead	Parsons
90	<i>(Iusti autem) in perpetuum vivunt</i>	R2 Vespers All Saints	Sheppard
91	<i>(Impetum) fecerunt unanimis</i>	Vesp St Stephen	Sheppard
93	<i>(Homo) quidam fecit</i>	R1 Ves Corpus Christi	Tallis
94	<i>(Non conturbetur) cor vestrum I</i>	Vespers Vig. Ascension	Sheppard
95	<i>(Christi Virgo) dilectissima</i>	R9 Matins Annunciation BVM	Sheppard
96	<i>(Non conturbetur) cor vestrum I</i>	Vespers Vig. Ascension	Sheppard
97	<i>(Regis Tharsis) et insulae</i>	R3 Matins Epiphany	Sheppard

Respond Number	Title	Occasion	Composer
98	<i>(Gaude... Maria) Virgo cunctas</i>	R & Pr2 Vesp Purification	Sheppard
99	<i>(Sint lumbi) vestri praecuncti</i>	R3 3 Noc Virgin or Martyr	Redford
106	<i>(Loquebantur vairiis linguis)</i>	R1 Vespers Whit Sunday	Tallis
111	<i>Dum Transisset Sabbatum I</i>	R3 Matins Easter Day	Sheppard
145	<i>(Spiritus Sanctus) procedens</i>	R3 Matins Whit Sunday	Sheppard No concordant source so additional setting
147	<i>Videte miraculum</i>	Matins Purification	Tallis
149	<i>(Filiae) Jerusalem venite</i>	Vespers of Martyr	Sheppard
150	<i>Dum Transisset Sabbatum II</i>	R3 Matins Easter Day	Sheppard
156	<i>Dum Transisset Sabbatum</i>	R3 Matins Easter Day (Gives RM in brackets)	J. Mundy
Respond Motet Number			
6	<i>Aspice Domine</i>		Van Wilder
12	<i>Audivi Vocem dicentem</i>	Revelation 14:13	Byrd
14	<i>Peccavi super numerum</i>		Byrd
18	<i>Omni tempore benedic Dominum</i>		Byrd
19	<i>Ne perdas cum impiis</i>		Byrd
28	<i>Dum Transisset Sabbatum</i>		Hollander
60	<i>Tribulationes civitatum</i>		Byrd

Respond Number	Title	Occasion	Composer
61	<i>Aspice Domine de sede</i>		Byrd
70	<i>Regis Tharsis</i>	Ps 121	Byrd
74	<i>Peccantem me quotidie</i>		Parsons
132	<i>Credo quod redemptor</i>		Parsons
142	<i>Descendit de caelis</i>		Byrd

There are 26 responds and 12 respond motets (38), comprising just over 21% of the total number of compositions in the BPB. Of these, eight are settings of DT, comprising approximately 21% of the 37 responds/respond-motets.

Baldwin seems to have been determined to demonstrate the importance of Byrd's and Sheppard's music. Of the 171 compositions, 32 are by Byrd (19%) and 40 are by Sheppard (23%). Of the 25 responds, 14 are by Sheppard (56% of the responds) and nine of the respond-motets are by Byrd (75% of the respond-motets). No other composer has a comparable number – even Tallis only has a total of 13 compositions, with four of them being responds (22% of the BPB).

DT appears seven times as a respond and once as a respond-motet. Apart from this, only *Laudem dicite* and *Spiritus Sanctus* are exemplified more than once in the responds and *Aspice Domine* in the respond-motets. *Regis tharsis* appears in both categories.

Throughout the Catholic years of the Tudor period, the respond was evidently a significant compositional form. It comprises a substantial part of the BPB and DT is the largest subset of responds within it.

CHAPTER FIVE

DUM TRANSISSET SABBATUM

This chapter looks at the respond *Dum transisset sabbatum* in terms of text, liturgical place and the extent to which it is represented in manuscripts on the continent.

Reference is made particularly to Christian Hollander and the chapter ends with a review of English sources.

5.1 Text, translation, liturgical place

The text is as follows:

1 Dum transisset Sabbatum, Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi et Salome emerunt aromata ut venientes ungerent Jesum. Alleluia.

2 Et valde mane una sabbatorum veniunt ad monumentum orto iam sole.

Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto

Translation:

1 And when the Sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, had bought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint him. Alleluia.

2 And very early in the morning the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre at the rising of the sun.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

This text forms the third respond on Easter day and was sung during the procession from the Sepulchre. The spelling of the text is consistent with the plainchant throughout all settings and part-books except for the final ‘e’ on ‘Magdalene’. The plainchant has ‘e’ and this is used in Mun, Shep1, Tav1, Tav2 and Tal. Shep2 uses ‘e’ apart from in ChCh 980, which seems to have an ‘a’. Hol and Stra use ‘a’. It is unlikely that any significant conclusions may be drawn from this variation.

Harper notes that ‘every day has its rank from principal feast to ordinary weekday’ and that the ranking determined how the music was conducted. ‘There were therefore aural as well as visual indicators of the importance of a particular day: there was a form of ‘sonic ceremonial’ (Harper, 2011, p.1). Easter Day was second only to Christmas Day in the ranking of the principal feast days of the Catholic Church, and therefore at least some of the music for its liturgy would be expected to be more elaborate than for lesser feast days. In particular, trebles would be used, whereas they were used far less on normal ‘workdays’. Harper (Harper, 2011: p.2), notes that:

It was in the fifteenth century that the musical potential of boys was exploited, and some places engaged lay musicians to train the boys and additionally to play the organ. Both the liturgical use of choral polyphony and of the organ increased, not only in cathedrals and monasteries but also in richer parish churches and household chapels – not least the Chapel Royal.

The use of trebles would give a brighter timbre that would have three effects.

- It would highlight the significance of the occasion because the different timbre was sonically unusual.
- It would emphasise the joyousness of the occasion.
- The high, pure voices of the young boys would be symbolic of angels singing – in liturgical dramas, boys were used frequently to represent angels and were dressed in appropriate costumes.

For Easter Day, the setting of DT necessarily would have been comparatively large-scale and polyphonic, an occasion when a church or chapel would wish to celebrate and impress – certainly in those establishments that could afford to mount polyphonic choral displays – and this is reflected in the settings under consideration.

Dum Transisset was also used each day in the week following Easter Sunday and on the five successive Sundays. This might explain why there are multiple settings of this text, in England and abroad.

In a conventional setting, the text would be separated into several clauses and set thus:

Table 4: Sections of text in *Dum Transisset Sabbatum*

Text	Treatment by the time of Baldwin
Prima pars	
<i>Dum transisset</i>	Plainsong incipit – 3 soloists
<i>Sabbatum</i>	All voices sing from this point to <i>Jesum</i> Often a new imitative point for each section of text
<i>Maria Magdalene</i>	Mainly melismatic
<i>et Maria Jacobi</i>	Melismatic/syllabic
<i>et Salome</i>	Melismatic/syllabic
<i>emerunt aromata</i>	All voices – cadence at <i>aromata</i> Melismatic/syllabic
<i>Ut venientes ungerent Jesum</i>	All voices – cadence at <i>Jesum</i> Melismatic/syllabic
<i>Alleluia</i>	All voices – final cadence Mainly melismatic
Secunda pars	
<i>Et valde mane una sabbatorum veniunt ad moumentum orto iam sole</i>	Plainsong – 3 soloists
Repeat: <i>Ut venientes</i> to end of <i>Alleluia</i>	
<i>Gloria Patri</i>	Plainsong – 3 soloists
Repeat: <i>Alleluia</i>	

In respond settings at this period the *incipit* often used only the first few syllables of the chant: in the case of DT, the words *Dum transisset*, hence four syllables. Pre-reformation responds invariably provided a complete break in the polyphony at the point of reprise but later, freer treatment of the text resulted in a continuous setting of the response, verse and reprise (*repetendum*), the result being a so-called ‘respond-motet’.

The choice of this text for liturgical use is interesting. At the time of Mark’s gospel, women were not regarded as important, yet the Bible mentions them by name. This:

- emphasises their importance to this part of the gospel narrative
- emphasises also, and perhaps more significantly, their importance and value as individuals
- demonstrates the outworking of the gospel of Christ, which accords equal importance to men and women.

All settings reflect this importance by their extensive treatment of the women’s names, and especially in the setting of *Maria Magdalene*. Mary Magdalene was a particularly significant person, being the first-named in the several lists of women connected with Christ’s ministry. She is mentioned specifically in relation to the last three major events of Christ’s life: the crucifixion, the discovery of the empty tomb, and being the first to see the risen Christ. Further, she is mentioned by name in all four gospels. It might be anticipated, then, that treatment of her name will be distinctive.

5.2 Dum Transisset in Europe

There are comparatively few known settings of DT in either England or Europe. This is quite surprising, given the significance of Easter Sunday and that settings of DT would be required then and subsequently. The table below lists extant settings by European composers and shows that there are only eighteen, and only one by a composer who is still regarded highly today. Even accepting that there was a far more frequent need for Masses and Magnificats it might have been thought, given its liturgical position, that the list of DT settings would be longer and the composers more illustrious.

Table 5: European Settings of *Dum Transisset Sabbatum*⁵

Names in **Bold** in the *Notes* column indicate the authors of articles on the composers taken from Grove online. The ‘Source’ column indicates how widespread (or not) the setting had become. The ‘Publisher’ column indicates that some settings were of such significance as to warrant publication. Much of the information in Grove seems to have been taken from *Die Musick in Geschichte und Gegenwart I* (MGG).

Composer	Dates	Nationality	Notes	Source	Publisher
Alart or Jacques Alardy	c.1515-after 1592	Franco-Flemish	Alart was a composer who might have written DT as well as a six-voice madrigal <i>Passa la nave mia</i> – DT has been ascribed to Alart, and to Alardino DT a 4 – A Motet DT printed in 1539 Lavern Wagner Jeffrey Dean , however, suggests that its composer might better be identified with Simon Alart, who died in the 1530s	Mottetti del frutto 4 vc Bk 1 1539 1549/10 1549/10a BudOS 22 Evangeliorum/I TrevBC 7 Motetti del frutto WrocS 2 WrocS 5	Gardano Gardano Scotto Berg & Neuber Scotto
Balthasar Resinarius	c.1485-1544	Bohemia	Studied under Heinrich Isaac as a boy, at the Chapel of Maximilian I	BudOS P3 DresSL G1 StuttL 33 RosU 49/1	Peuschel, Nikolaus Praetorius, Jacob

⁵ Sincere thanks and acknowledgments are due to Jennifer Thomas and her Online Motet Database, for the information on sources in this table.

Composer	Dates	Nationality	Notes	Source	Publisher
			Having become a Catholic priest he converted to Lutheranism and was later Bishop of Leipa, 1543 He produced 80 responsories for the entire church year Held in high esteem in his day Francis Higman in Pettegree (see below) mentions Resinarius as being an ‘eminent Protestant composer’ who nevertheless composed for the Catholic liturgy Victor H Mattfield Pettegree, 2000, Routledge		
Josquin Baston	Worked c.1542-1563	Netherlands?	Some of his earliest works were published by Phalèse and Susato Composer and singer at the court of Sigmund II, King of Poland	ZwiR 33/34 ColnU 57 RosU 71/3 Liber quintus ecclesiasticarum cantionum CopKB 1873 RegB 940-1 LeidGA 1439 DresSL Pirna VIII FlorD 4 BerlPS 40272 DresSL Grimma 56	Susato Wolfgang Küffer Blauwe, Anthonius de Weissenberger, Albert Masacone, Gianpiero

Composer	Dates	Nationality	Notes	Source	Publisher
			Albert Dunning	RegB 960-3 AachS 2 RokyA 22 WrocS 5	Figulus, Wolfgang Zollner, Erasmus Mangon, Johannes
Adrian Tubal	Fl.1553-1556	Probably Franco- Flemish	Thought to have lived in Antwerp No definitive information about him other than extant music in various publications e.g. by Plantin, Waelrant & De Laet Some twenty works survive, including 10 Latin motets, most published in anthologies ed. Hubert Waelrant and printed in collaboration with Jean Laet Must have been well regarded in his lifetime because his work appears alongside that of Verdelot, Arcadelt, Clemens, Crequillon, Lassus Music evidently came to England: Dobbins notes that five canzonettas for four voices are ascribed to Tubal in the Winchester Partbooks (<i>GB-WCc</i> 153), copied in the Low Countries (dated 1564–6). Frank Dobbins	KasL 91 Sacrarum cantionumBk 2 WrocS 2 WrocS 5	Heugel, Johann Waelrant & Laet
Johannes de Bacchius	d. before 1557	Possibly French	Became an alto in the Viennese Hofkapelle in March 1554	Thesauri musici 5 vc Bk 4 WrocS 2	Berg & Neuber

Composer	Dates	Nationality	Notes	Source	Publisher
			Typical polyphonic music of the time Full-voiced imitative style favoured in Vienna Victor Mattfield	WrocS 5	
Michael Tonsor	Pre-1546 d.after 1606	Possibly German	Probably actually Scherer – Tonsor is Latin version Organist at St Georg, Dinkelbuhl Composed only sacred music, mainly Latin motets Music is in a wide range of libraries, indicating it was sung by Catholics and Protestants in central and north Germany Horst Leuchtman	Tabulaturbuch auff Orgeln und Instrument RegB 786-837 WrocS 2 WrocS 5 RegB 871-74	Zollner, Erasmus? Zollner, Erasmus?
Johannes de Cleves	b.1528-9 d.1582	Netherlands?	Seems to have won international recognition by 1550s Highly respected in Imperial chapel Well represented in anthologies and a two-vol. set of his works was printed in Augsburg in 1559 Wrote both Protestant and Catholic music Albert Dunning	DresSL Grimma 54 WrocS 15 Tabulaturbuch auff Orgeln und Instrument MunBS 1536/III WrocS 9 WrocS 2 DresSL Pirna II WrocS 18	Weissenberger, Albert

Composer	Dates	Nationality	Notes	Source	Publisher
Knöfel	c.1525-30 d. after 1617	German composer	Lutheran Wrote a complete set of Proper chants for festivals of the church year Music listed on an inventory of Elbogen, 1593: Item des Johannes Kueffeli Nouwas melodies in 6 Theil (Prague, Nilgrin 1592) ‘Jacobus Handl, Johannes Knöfel and Franz Sale, more than any other composers who worked in Prague, personally saw to the distribution of their printed works across all of Bohemia and Moravia’ (Edwards below) Apart from some songs and a few hymns, all works are in Latin Uses Gregorian melodies as the basis of works in his <i>Cantus Choralis</i>, 1575. Lini Hubsch-Pfleger Scott Edwards: <i>Repertory Migration in the Czech Crown Lands, 1570–1630</i> (part of PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2012) There is additional information within this document regarding Knöfel. Edwards also notes the following: ‘The best biography on Knöfel’s years in Prague is Josef Šebesta, Johannes Knefelius a Literátské Bratrstvo u sv. Jindricha jako Centrum	WrocS 2 WrocS 5 RegB 871-74	Zollner, Erasmus?

Composer	Dates	Nationality	Notes	Source	Publisher
			Intelektuálu v Praze kolem Roku 1590, Documenta Pragensia 27 (2008), 585-597.		
Joannes Stephanides Peldrzimovinus			No entry in Grove online or MGG. Searches in RILM revealed no information The only other information is mentioned in DIAMM, relating to DT in the source indicated	HradKM 22	
Silvio Marazzi	Fl.1577-1598	Italian	A priest, and apparently resident in Parma in 1577, due to a dedication on his first book of Madrigals. Some motets have survived Iain Fenlon	Sacrae cantiones 5,6 v ... studio & opera Friderici Lindneri NurLA 222	
Gregor Lange	c.1540-1587	German	Ranked by contemporaries with Lassus 45 Latin motets, published 1580 and 1584 In an entry on Joachim Belitz in Grove, Martin Ruhnke notes that Lange was Kantor at Frankfurt in 1581 Bernhard Stockmann See also http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/Content/862/ bs02www.pdf which comments on both Lange and Knöfel, citing them as ‘important Silesian composers’ amongst other references.	WrocS 15	

Composer	Dates	Nationality	Notes	Source	Publisher
Joachim Belitz	c.1550-1592	German	Composer and Kantor at Stargard (Now in Poland) Known to have written nine sacred lieder, published posthumously Martin Ruhnke	WrocS 15	
Jean de Castro	c.1540-1545 d.1600	Flemish	Much published in his lifetime – Netherlands, France, Germany Italy, Switzerland, and up to 30 years after his death (very unusual) Seemed to favour 3-part writing One of the most frequently published composers of the 16th century Ignace Bossuyt Some further information appears in: Brooks, 1992: CUP <i>Early Music History</i>	WrocS 15	
Johannes Heugel	c.1500-10 d.before 31 Jan 1585	German	Thought to have been Kappellmeister for Phillip, Landgrave of Hesse c1531 – as well as being a trumpeter Quite prolific – around 500 compositions, sacred and secular, Catholic and Protestant Wilfred Brennecke	KasL 91	Heugel, Johann

Composer	Dates	Nationality	Notes	Source	Publisher
			Grove gives other references, none of which is in English See also Cramer Susanne Cramer has written a dissertation, Cramer, Bärenreiter, !994)		
Clemens non Papa	c.1510 d.1556	Flemish	Masses, motets and chansons One of the most prolific figures of the early 16 th century Clemens (like most of his contemporaries) followed the form of the plainsong responsory: he divided the music into two <i>partes</i> , exactly repeating the words and music of the end of the first section at the end of the second (the <i>repetendum</i>). Alejandro Enrique Planchart, Willem Elders	BrusC 27088 SaraP 34	Pallafoxius, Guillelmus
Michel Varotto	Before c.1550- c.1599	Italy	A cleric and first maestro di cappella at Novara Cathedral, 1564 Mariangela Donà	WrocS 2 WrocS 5	
Derrick Gerrarde	c.1540-80	Flemish	Active in England at Nonsuch, working for Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel/ John, Lord Lumley. His extensive sets of partbooks formed part of the celebrated Nonsuch library. His music appears to have had very limited circulation in English musical circles.	LonBLR A17-22 LonBLR A49-54	

Composer	Dates	Nationality	Notes	Source	Publisher
			Beyond the Nonsuch partbooks, only two other works by Gerarde are known, including the six-voice setting of <i>Sive Vigilem</i>, copied by John Baldwin (BPB, c1580) Approximately 170 compositions by Gerarde survive, scored for between four and ten voices. With the exception of the tentatively attributed instrumental pieces in Lbl Roy. App.74–6, all are vocal, the majority of them with Latin or French words. There are no masses or <i>Magnificat</i> settings, and few motet texts derive from the Roman Catholic liturgy. John Milsom See also Warren, Ohio, 1966)		

Table Five shows the known settings of this respond and there are six anonymous settings on the Online Motet Database in addition to those for which the composer is known. The information is supplemented from other sources where possible. Apart from the setting by Resinarius – which the motet-database gives as a respond, along with the English settings – the remaining continental settings are not designated as responds and therefore could be through-composed respond-motets. The majority of the composers were working after the middle of the century and therefore it is more probable that they were respond-motets.

Most of the settings were written by composers of whom little, and sometimes nothing, is known. Having said that, several of the settings appear in multiple sources and/or were published in widely circulated editions, at least on the continent. The works of the composers in the table were therefore considered to be worth printing, in commercial terms. However, of the continental settings, only Hollander's appears in Baldwin and only two of the settings appear in any other English source: Gerarde's setting appears twice, in London, GB-Lbl A17-22 and GB-Lbl A49-54. Hollander's setting appears in Baldwin, and, also in GB Lbl 30480-4 and GB Lbl 31390.⁶ It is difficult to know the extent to which any of the continental works would have been circulated in England, although it is possible that printed copies may have been brought here by private individuals. After his death, the works of Clemens non Papa, particularly the sacred music, received a wide distribution, especially in Germany, but also in France, Spain and even among recusant Catholic circles in England. Given the

⁶ Email from Mr Christopher Scobie, Rare Books and Manuscripts Dept, British Library, 4 May 2016

period in which Clemens was composing it might have been possible for Baldwin to have added this setting to his collection.

With the exception of Clemens non Papa, none of the continental composers, who might be regarded as ‘foremost’ in twenty-first century estimation, appears to have set this text. Again, it should be remembered that twenty-first century assessment of ‘foremost’ may not correspond with that of the sixteenth century. Some of the settings are by composers who seem to have been well known in their lifetime but are largely unknown to present scholarship. For some of them, there is little documentary evidence remaining of – or at least archivally confirmable as relating to – their lives, and little of their music has survived either. Alart is one such – and in his case, even the ascription of the setting to him is under question, as is indicated in Jeffrey Dean’s entry for Alart in *Grove Music Online*. The table shows how widely the music travelled across Europe, although little seems to have come to England.

Even if the composers were well-known and highly regarded in the sixteenth century – Resinarius and Gregor Lange, for example – this acclaim did not continue *post mortem* for any length of time and certainly not until the present day, although Resinarius may now be subject to some revival. Others were prolific composers but their music seems to have had a very limited circulation – Derek Gerard, for example. Gerard’s works are only found in the British Library Arundel manuscripts. Baston’s music appears in several sources but there is little knowledge of his life. Joannes Stephanides Peldrzimovinus does not even merit an entry in MGG or Grove online.

Conversely, notwithstanding the panoply of texts set by a composer such as Lassus, DT seems not to have been amongst them.

It is notable that, of the eighteen composers, fifteen are Franco-Flemish, Dutch, or German/East European and only three are Italian. This might suggest that Italian composers had abandoned the setting of responds, whilst composers in Northern Europe were still doing so. Alternatively, it might only indicate that Italian practices were different.

Another possible reason for the lack of Italian settings might be the simplest – in this case, the text. It is a straightforward narrative, offering little opportunity for imaginative melodic or chordal treatment, with the possible exception of ‘sweet’ and ‘rising of the sun’. As a result, it might have held limited appeal for European composers who, by the first quarter of the century, seem to have been much more aware of possibilities for word-painting than appears to have been the case in England. Further, there is no reason to ascribe the text any especial treatment in terms of its laudatory or other qualities – which might then have engendered an elaborate setting, as in the settings of Marian antiphons. By this period, European composers were more typically setting para-liturgical texts rather than responds for the liturgy. The para-liturgical texts often provided more interesting opportunities for demonstrating musical representation of the text – certainly more than was the case with *Dum Transisset*.

However, the text is part of the Easter Sunday liturgy. This might have encouraged a more elaborate setting than the text alone would have suggested – and settings might have been produced for monastic, as well as general, use.

5.3 Hollander

Although the setting by Hollander appears in Baldwin and arguably should be discussed within that context, for present purposes it will be considered in its European context.

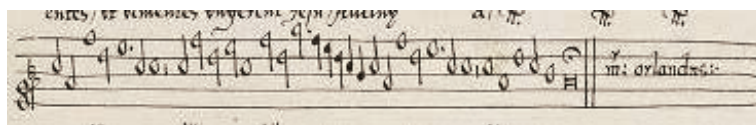
Hollander is a notable composer in the BPB for several reasons. He is:

- one of only six continental composers in Baldwin
- the only continental composer of DT in Baldwin
- the only composer of DT to have so many copies of this respond in so many manuscripts, throughout England and on the continent.

Possibly born in Dordrecht c.1510/15 Hollander was a composer from the northern Netherlands. His Christian name is questionable: there is a motet ascribed to a *Sebastian Hollander* that is elsewhere ascribed to Christian Hollander.

The DT setting in Baldwin is ascribed to a *Mr Orlandus* on the manuscript and it has been suggested that this might be Orlando di Lasso. Alternatively, Baldwin may simply have mis-heard or mis-spelt ‘Hollander.’

Example 5.1: Superius, end of Hollander, No. 28



Other sources ascribe this work consistently to Christian/ Sebastian Hollander. In the absence of further definitive information he will be styled as Christian. This person was known to have worked for Ferdinand I and later for the Archduke Ferdinand, the brother of Maximilian I. A person known as Christian Hollander was mentioned by Cosimo Bartoli in his book *Ragionamenti Accademici* (1567), cited by Haar (Haar, 1998: p.26). Haar suggests that Bartoli's knowledge was of Hollander's reputation, rather than of Hollander's music, but, even so, this shows that Hollander was known in Italy— several hundred miles away from his own locality. At a time when travelling was both difficult and dangerous, it is quite remarkable that Hollander's fame had spread so far. Presently, there is no evidence of Hollander having travelled to England, quite apart from having any connection with the Chapel Royal, St George's Windsor, or the English Court. It is quite possible, though, that Baldwin (and others) had access to sources of continental works.

Wagner notes that, in terms of Catholic music, Hollander wrote two masses and describes them as 'both occasional compositions of little distinction' (Wagner, Grove Online: Hollander). She comments further that his four motets (one for four voices and three for eight) are representative of their time. 'Their musical technique rests on treatment of a free *cantus firmus* and there is a good deal of paired imitation in a somewhat conservative style. The works are notable for superb craftsmanship rather

than for any individuality of expression.’ Wagner does not mention that Hollander set DT.

As well as an Online Motet Database, Jennifer Thomas has created a core repertory list (Thomas, 1991: Table 1, p.419). The list, which details motets that appear in at least twenty extant sources, includes fifty-four motets. Hollander’s DT ranks as number twenty. That is to say, this motet – which happens to be a through-composed respond-motet – ranks twentieth of the fifty-four most frequently reproduced compositions, either in manuscript or print. It might reasonably be suggested, therefore, that it was equally one of the most performed motets. Unless there were both people and purpose to perform it, copyists, and certainly printers, would not have spent time and money copying or printing it. It should be noted that this does not necessarily mean that DT was a text that was set by a large number of composers – as mentioned above, there are only some twenty-seven settings, a negligible number when set against myriad Masses and Magnificats.

As Thomas notes, ‘Printed anthologies, by their very nature, are likely to convey to us a repertoire of wide appeal since music printers intended to make a profit’ whereas she comments that manuscripts are ‘more likely to include works composed or copied for specific occasions, locales, religious customs or patron tastes’ (Thomas, 1999: p.49). Hollander’s DT appears in anthologies both by Susato and Phalèse, which makes its inclusion in Baldwin more surprising. Such anthologies could have been available in England – even if at a price, either through imports or through people travelling abroad and bringing them back. Other than a particularity of preference or

purpose, there would have been no reason for Baldwin to copy the Hollander setting by hand.

Thomas asks some interesting questions:

How was the value of the music measured?

Does widespread or frequent repetition of a work signify conferred value?

How were sources viewed during the period?

Does widespread or frequent circulation of any work imply anything about its value, the prestige of the composer or other aesthetic, economic, religious or cultural values?

The ‘widespread and frequent appearance’ of this setting is certainly notable. As she says, ‘we must assume that in a total repertory that contains so many unique works, any repetition is notable: frequent repetition is an indicator that a work has gained some kind of widespread familiarity, and acceptance’ (Thomas, 1991: p.398). One can only agree with this assumption, and suggest that it must also signify conferred value: why would printers publish music if it were not going to be valued by the proposed purchasers, who would have to pay a relatively large sum of money to procure it?

Later, she suggests that:

Ultimately, though the core repertoire may incorporate some aspects of functional music, the eventual coherence of this repertory seems to result from the efforts of musicians who commissioned, compiled and edited manuscripts and anthologies to bring together in central sources the repertory they most admired. It is difficult to explain its existence in any other way (Thomas, 1999: p.461).

Again, one can only agree, and wish that it were possible fully to answer the questions she raises.

Geographically, Hollander's DT exists in twenty-six sources as far apart as the (present-day) Czech Republic and Oxford, England, via Silesia, Zwickau and Chelmsford. It is highly probable that originally there were many more. It also seems a little surprising that this setting was included in Baldwin, given that Baldwin's main concern both in the Commonplace Book and the BPB was with English composers. However, it does show that Baldwin had access to music by foreign composers. There must have been other settings he could have chosen instead or in addition – that by Clemens non Papa, for example.

5.4 Dum Transisset in England

In English manuscripts, there are eleven settings of DT by English composers – or possibly Scottish, in the case of Roose – and two by foreign composers. Eight are in Baldwin: two each by Taverner (no.22 and no.23) and Sheppard (no.111 and no.150) and one each by Strabridge (no.11), Tallis (no.21), John Mundy (no.156) and one by Christian Hollander (no.28). There are three in Dow, GB-Och 984-988: Johnson, Roose, and also a four-voice version of Taverner's first setting. Barber, Johnson and Taverner are also in Gyffard GB-Lbl 17902-5 and the Roose setting is in OxBt.341-44, part of the Tenbury collection (Paston Part Books – Edward Paston was a Norfolk gentleman who collected an exceptionally large amount of music). The Gerard

setting has been discussed. Baldwin would have known of the Johnson version in Dow from his involvement with those books.

The number of settings in the BPB raises the question as to why there are so many. In the earlier years of the sixteenth century DT had a liturgical function, and so, to an extent, any one setting might have justified a place as an exemplar in any apparently retrospective collection of liturgical polyphony. It can only be surmised that Baldwin wished to collect as many settings of this respond as he could find. A similar question is raised if a somewhat wider view is considered: that is, beyond the BPB. Here again, it can be seen that there are three settings in both Gyffard and Dow, which is quite a large number of settings of one respond in one manuscript.

As Bray's table shows (Bray, 1971: pp,185-189), in the BPB only four respond texts are set more than once, and then, other than DT, only twice. In a slightly wider view, there are few instances of more than one setting of the same text in any genre, with a few exceptions. Reference has been made to these earlier (p.40), and it may also be noted that Baldwin gives five instances of two different settings of the same text by Sheppard, one of which is DT.

To conclude, it may be seen that there are comparatively few settings of this text anywhere. The BPB seems to contain many of them in a single source, with Eastern European sources supplying most of the rest. Interesting questions are raised by Baldwin's inclusion of the Hollander setting. It challenges present-day criteria

concerning 'quality' and 'value' as compared with sixteenth-century criteria of both musicians and the purchasing public. It also shows how far geographically a composition and the renown of a composer could be transmitted in days when travel was considerably more limited than it is today.

CHAPTER SIX

THE EIGHT SETTINGS OF *DUM TRANSISSET* IN BALDWIN

This chapter suggests a chronology for the settings and considers different musical aspects in general terms. It provides a background for more detailed discussion in subsequent chapters.

6.1 Introduction

The settings were composed over no more than seventy-five years and the English composers were from comparatively similar musical backgrounds. Hollander's background was comparable: at various times, he was employed at court or as a *Kapellmeister*. Therefore, the composers were members of, or associated with, leading choirs and had the freedom to compose music for professional singers of great competence. They had a similar musical heritage although they were composing at different periods and against different religious, political and social backgrounds. Although nothing is known of Strabridge, the fact that he composed a setting of DT at all, and that Baldwin includes it, indicates that he was musically literate and must have moved in circles that were similar to those of the other composers under consideration. Might he have been a member of one of the choirs in which Baldwin sang?

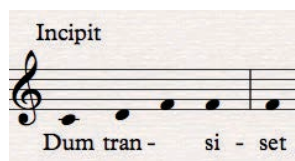
Several points should be borne in mind during the following discussion.

- Part Two of the dissertation should be available for cross-referencing the annotated scores
- The Taverner, Sheppard, Tallis and Hollander settings have been transcribed into modern notation by eminent musicologists for *Early English Church Music* (EECM) or Garland Publishing. Those of Strabridge and Mundy have been transcribed by the writer
- The transcriptions are at their original pitch
- Note names are in lower case and refer to names only, not pitch
- References to voices, bars and note values relate to the transcriptions used for this discussion and therefore vary from work to work. Benham, for example, transcribing for EECM in the 1980s has reduced the note values to a half or a quarter of the original, this being the practice at that time. More recently, original note values have been preferred and this is the case in the diplomatic transcriptions of Strabridge and Mundy
- It is acknowledged that bar numbers are anachronistic but they are used for ease of reference
- Bar numbers are in Arabic
- Points of interest are referenced to a bar number, and not to the specific beat within it
- There are references to chords as being e.g. 'A'. Such references are again acknowledged as anachronistic but are used for rapid identification on the score
- Some terms are abbreviated, eg *cantus firmus*: CF. A full list is provided immediately before the Introduction

- Voice names are abbreviated and referenced as follows:
 - o Tr – Treble
 - o Sup - Superius
 - o M – Mean
 - o D – Discantus
 - o CT – Counter Tenor
 - o SP – Sexta Pars
 - o T – Tenor

The first notes of the *incipit* are c-d-f-f-f

Example 6.1 *Incipit, Dum Transisset*



This motif is referenced as *Dum transisset* and is abbreviated to DT, as earlier.

For brevity, and usually, the settings will be referenced as follows:

Tav1 Hol

Tav2 Tal

Shep1 Mun

Shep2 Stra

The eight settings range in their date of composition from c.1526 to c.1600. The earliest settings are probably those of Taverner (1490-1545), who was the oldest of the six composers. Taverner's settings could have been written in the 1520s, or

possibly even slightly earlier, insofar as it is possible to judge from the style, and taking his birth date into account. However, see Chapter Ten for further discussion.

Benham suggests that Taverner's polyphonic setting of the choir sections was a new idea (Benham, 2003: p.213 and p.233). He does not substantiate this suggestion other than to comment that no composer 'is known' to have done this before Taverner.

Benham is also of the opinion that the Taverner settings are probably the earliest. However, other English settings perhaps did not survive. Given the large number of settings that are in Baldwin, this must be a strong possibility. Regarding other countries and concerning the table given earlier, only Resinarius and de Bacchius might possibly have set the text before Taverner. Even had they done so, they could only have preceded Taverner by a very few years.

Assuming that Sheppard (1515-1558) was probably no younger than c.25 years old when he composed them, his settings are probably the next in chronological order. They are unlikely to have been written before 1535 at the earliest and probably later, during Mary I's reign. Given that they lived and worked at the same time, Hollander's (1510-1589) setting could have been contemporaneous with those of Sheppard. Again, it is unlikely to have been written before 1535 and was more probably later than that date. The setting by Tallis (1505-1585) could have been produced at any time between c.1530 and somewhat pre-1575. There is no information regarding Strabridge. He was composing before the mid-1570s due to his work being in the BPB, and probably some time before that, because Baldwin was familiar with his music. A reasonable supposition would place the setting between

1540-1560. The latest setting is possibly that by John Mundy (1555-1630), who was certainly the youngest of the six composers. However, if his setting was a 'composition exercise' (Milsom, 2014, p.222) it could have been composed as early as the mid-1570s, and therefore possibly contemporaneously with the settings by Hollander and Tallis.

6.2 Designation

The settings appear to divide into six liturgical responds and (possibly) two respond-motets – but not necessarily chronologically, as might be expected. Tav1, Shep1 and Shep2 and Tal follow the conventional respond pattern. Tav2 might be called a respond-motet, although it does not have a written-out *secunda pars*. Hol is a respond-motet and does have a written-out *secunda pars*.

Bray considers that Mun is a respond-motet and certainly Mundy was writing later in the century, post-Reformation, when this might have been a possibility. By this time, the respond-motet had become more popular because there was no opportunity for the liturgical respond within the liturgy of the Anglican rite. However, Mun follows the traditional pattern for a respond and the manuscript has *signum congruentiae* that indicate the point to which the singers should return after the plainsong verse. Stra similarly has *signum congruentiae* before *ut venientes* although not at the *Alleluia*. However, there is a clear cadence at *ungerent Jesum* therefore it is obvious to which point the singers should return. Such signs were not used consistently at all times, nor in all voices.

Overall Comparison

Table 6: A comparison of the eight settings of *Dum Transisset Sabbatum* in ChCh 979-983

Composer/No in Baldwin	No of Voices	Concordant sources –See Appendix	Cantus Firmus – present/ absent/ position/any alterations	Structure Cantus Firmus versions require incipits and repeats	Tempus	Flats	Range	Length in bars
Taverner I 22	5	Yes	Tenor <i>At Maria Jacobi et</i> T uses C not D (Antiphonale Sarisburiense (AS) has D) <i>At Salome</i> T doubles usual note value on first of 2 x f	Standard presumed	Imperfectum	Bb Bb Eb in Counter tenor	F ₁ -f ²	69

Composer/No in Baldwin	No of Voices	Concordant sources –See Appendix	Cantus Firmus – present/ absent/ position/any alterations	Structure Cantus Firmus versions require incipits and repeats	Tempus	Flats	Range	Length in bars
			At <i>Jesum</i> 2 x f are amalgamated into one note 2 Es similarly at <i>Alleluia</i> Similarly 2 x f amalgamated at end of <i>Alleluia</i>					
Taverner II 23	5	Yes	Tenor	Standard presumed	Imperfectum	Bb	F ₁ -f ²	69

Composer/No in Baldwin	No of Voices	Concordant sources –See Appendix	Cantus Firmus – present/ absent/ position/any alterations	Structure Cantus Firmus versions require incipits and repeats	Tempus	Flats	Range	Length in bars
			Omits an F at <i>Sabbatum</i> Doubles value at <i>Salome</i> Conflates 2 notes near end of <i>Alleluia</i>					
Sheppard I 111	6	Yes	Tenor	Standard	Imperfectum	Bb	F ₁ -g ²	35
Sheppard II 150	6	Yes	Mean	Standard	Imperfectum	Bb	F ₁ -g ²	37
Tallis	5	Yes	Superius	Standard	Imperfectum	Bb	D ₁ -bfl ²	44

Composer/No in Baldwin	No of Voices	Concordant sources –See Appendix	Cantus Firmus – present/ absent/ position/any alterations	Structure Cantus Firmus versions require incipits and repeats	Tempus	Flats	Range	Length in bars
21			Amalgamates 2 x g¹ <i>Magdalene</i> Amalgamates 2 x d¹ at <i>et Salome</i> and doubles value at fi <i>Salome</i> Amalgamates 2 x e¹ at <i>Alleluia</i> Amalgamates 2x f¹ at <i>Alleluia</i> near end					
Strabridge	5	No	Discantus	Standard	Imperfectum	Bb	F ₁ -g ²	145

Composer/No in Baldwin	No of Voices	Concordant sources –See Appendix	Cantus Firmus – present/ absent/ position/any alterations	Structure Cantus Firmus versions require incipits and repeats	Tempus	Flats	Range	Length in bars
11								
Hollander 28	5	Yes	No CF in this music	Non- standard: text is through- composed	Imperfectum	Bb	Bfl ₁ -g ²	PP: 86 SP: 78
J Mundy 156	6	No	Discantus Extra C and D minims b.22	Standard	Imperfectum	Bb	F ₁ -fsh ²	150

As can be seen in the table, the settings are very similar: apart from Hol, differences are largely confined to slight variations in the CF, the number of voice parts and the voices ranges.

6.3 Concordant sources

Patterns of concordance divide the settings into two distinct groups: Taverner, Sheppard, Tallis, and Hollander on the one hand, and Strabridge and Mundy on the other, arguably reflecting the relative renown of the composers. All settings by composers in the first group appear in at least two sources and, in the case of Hollander, very many more. The Strabridge and Mundy settings are *unica* – and in the case of Strabridge, is the only composition presently known from this composer.

6.4 Length

All settings, apart from that by Hollander, are much the same length, the length being determined by the Cantus Firmus. There are slight variations, but only by a few bars. This also results in the settings adhering to similar proportions: *Sabbatum – aromata* is the longest section, *Ut venientes – Jesum* is approximately one third of the length of *Sabbatum-aromata*, and the *Alleluia* is approximately half the length of *Sabbatum-aromata*. Hol is much longer: the length is not determined by the presence of a Cantus Firmus.

6.5 Tempus

All settings are in *tempus imperfectum* – there is no use of triple time in any of the settings.

6.6 Flats

The use of Bb is indicated in all voices apart from Tav1, which also indicates Eb in the CT.

6.7 Mode and Pitch

All settings begin centred on F, moving to a different pitch centre for the cadences at *aromata* and *Jesum* and *Alleluia*. All settings move to being centred on D at *aromata* and all with a sharpened third, apart from Tav2. At *Jesum* the preferred centre is A, with Tav2, Shep1 and Shep2 using the normal chord, whilst Mun and Tal sharpen the third. Tav1 moves to E with sharpened third, and Stra to C ('major').

The cadences are very clearly defined and signify the end of a section. Hol, by contrast, has a cadence on C at *aromata* but this has the feeling of what would now be termed an Imperfect Cadence. The music does not stop and returns immediately to its centre of F, and reinforces the feeling of a later approach to tonality by finishing this section on F at *Jesum*. The *Alleluias* tend to be based around F although not firmly and all settings finish on a tonal centre different from that of the opening, except Hollander. Five finish with an A chord with sharpened third, two with E – and Hollander stays on F.

Much has been written in recent years concerning pitch, and the views expressed by Andrew Johnstone (Johnstone, 2003: p.522) make best sense of the specific evidence available. The evidence he assembles seems to point to a¹ as being c475Hz, which is very close to the present a¹ at 440Hz. It might be reasonable to transpose Tudor church music up by possibly a

semitone, but not significantly more. David Wulstan (Wulstan, RMA: 1966) argues that music from this period should be transposed possibly by as much as a minor third upwards. It would seem counter-intuitive deliberately to change the pitch upward by so large an amount, resulting in an uncomfortable tessitura, a lack of power and an increased probability of mis-tuning.

Although it is not possible to know conclusively the pitch of any period until the twentieth century, today's tuning of A = 440 would be suitable. If the pitch were significantly different in Baldwin's time it would probably have been pitched lower than today's A = 440, rather than higher. It would be undesirable to transcribe the Tal any higher than it is already, for the sake of those singing. If it had been sung at the written pitch using today's tuning standard, the boy trebles would have had to be very well trained, in order to maintain this pitch consistently. There is a view that suggests the Tal should be brought down in pitch, but this would take away from the ethereal 'angelic' sonic effect of the treble voices singing at the upper extreme of their range.

It is unlikely that voice ranges will have changed significantly over time. Although it might be suggested that people are now taller and healthier – and that therefore voices may have altered and possibly descended in pitch – a review of any choir will belie the argument that height has any bearing on voice pitch. Further, a composer would surely pitch his music such that it was well within a chorister's range and, in the days before amplification, thereby maximize the volume available – especially on public occasions when the intention was to impress and even to overwhelm.

6.8 Number of voices

All settings use five or six voices. English choral writing from this period seems to have favoured a full, sweet sound that is more readily achieved by five or six voices.

6.9 Range and tessitura

All settings use a minimum range of three octaves, F_1 to f . Shep1, Shep2 and Stra extend this at the upper end to g^2 . Mun may have written his setting for men only. Only Tallis exceeds this range, by a minor third, extending it upwards to B flat. The compass of each voice is similar, the CF being the narrowest at a minor seventh, and a twelfth being the widest.

There is no evident correlation between estimated composition date and voice-compass, i.e. a widening of the voice range in the later compositions. Tav1, an earlier composition, has an eleventh, Shep2 has a twelfth, and so do Stra and Mun, the possible later compositions. All settings differentiate the voices by placing each one a fourth or fifth below its adjacent voice/s.

There is only a small difference in the way that tessitura is used, and in this the settings divide into two groups. The first group comprises Taverner and Sheppard, and the second, the remaining four.

The second group, Hol, Tal, Stra and Mun, uses the middle range in the upper voices perhaps slightly more than the first, whilst the lower voices tend to use their middle and lower range,

but this is a tendency, rather than a very distinct difference in treatment. Mun has two almost equal voices in the bass range, which cross over each other on many occasions. For example, the Bassus Primus – in Baldwin's *Sextapars* book – enters as the lowest voice at b.9 but at b.29 their places are reversed.

The voices in Tal are all a fourth/ fifth higher than in the other settings and Tallis uses the extreme upper part of the range for the CF. The T is also of note in that it uses the mid-range at the beginning but migrates more to the upper end of the range towards the close. It should be noted that the pitch of the music has not been raised in this transcription for EECM – it is as given in Baldwin.

Hol is unique in the settings in that, although the Bass covers a ninth, it extends down only to Bb, whereas most of the other Bass settings descend a perfect fourth or more below this note. Hol restricts each voice to a maximum of a tenth, and that only in one voice: the remaining voices span a ninth or an octave. All voices sing in the centre of their range for much of the time, rarely venturing to their highest notes. This would confirm my suggestion that this setting would be an accessible work for amateurs. In the Stra setting, all parts sing comfortably within their ranges. The S, for example, only sings f¹ seven times, and the adjacent g only once.

6.10 Cantus Firmus – position and alterations

Only three of the settings – Tav1, Tav2 and Shep1 – place the CF in what might be regarded as the usual position, i.e. in the tenor voice. Chronologically, these are almost certainly the

earliest of the eight settings. Tallis and Mundy place the CF in the highest voice, whilst Strabridge and Shep2 place it in the M. Taverner, Tallis and Mundy make minor amendments to the CF – all other composers use the 1519 Salisbury version in its original form. Hollander does not use the CF as the basis of his setting, although he uses fragments from it. Use of the cantus firmus will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Seven.

6.11 Motifs

All settings use several distinct motifs, usually allied with successive portions of text and frequently treated as points of imitation, although not necessarily by all parts on each occasion. Motifs used in later parts of settings sometimes reference those heard earlier, in rhythm, melody, initial intervals, or overall shape. Motifs are discussed at greater length in Chapter Eight.

6.12 Texture

The treatment of texture perhaps shows the greatest contrast between the settings. Again, they fall into two distinct groups: Taverner and Sheppard in one group, and the remaining four in the other. Overall, Taverner and Sheppard are characterized by polyphonic lines that are independent rhythmically and melodically, with little use of homophony. Often, in the second group, there is little rhythmic difference between the voices and therefore the overall effect is homophonic even though the melodic lines are, strictly speaking, independent.

It is not possible to form a completely accurate assessment of either Mun or Stra, due to the missing tenor book. Judging from the rest of the music – where all five voices sing together frequently – it is quite probable that in Mun all six would have sung together for at least some of the time. Although the first section uses several imitative points, much of the writing sounds homophonic, as described above. Stra is similar: much of the texture is homophonic, with many places where the movement is in semibreves with perhaps one part having more variety, e.g. see b.86f, *Ut venientes*.

Haar (Haar, 1998: p.13) notes that in other genres (the Parisian chanson and settings of psalms and Lamentations) and on the continent, there was a new emphasis on chordal writing. This is evident in some of the music under consideration, most notably in the setting by Hollander, e.g. at *ut venientes*, b.61f. Haar comments that the chordal emphasis was present more obviously in the later sixteenth century than it had been earlier, but Hollander died in 1589 and Baldwin had completed most of his copying by c.1581. Hollander must have composed DT before 1555, the date of the Susato ‘Liber Decimus’ – one of the many sources in which it is present – and it may have been reproduced in other editions or manuscripts before this. Realistically, it must have been composed some years before 1555. By this time, it had become known widely, and used sufficiently, to make it worthwhile for printers to include it in their publications. Perhaps, then, Hollander was one of the composers at the forefront of this development.

Although Hol, like Shep and Tav, has many bars in which fewer than the full five voices are singing, the overall effect is homophonic because, again, the rhythm is much the same in all parts most of the time. For example, at b.23, there is a considerable amount of imitation at *et*

Maria in all parts, but because they are all singing crotchets there is little differentiation between the points.

Tal has a much more varied texture than the Mun, Stra or Hollander: there are rests for at least one voice in most bars, and there are rapid imitations and independent rhythms between the voices. The final *Alleluia* is homophonic in overall effect because there is much similar rhythmic movement.

6.13 Rhythm and Melody

The settings fall into two groups in this regard – Taverner and Sheppard forming one group and the remaining composers the other. The Taverner and Sheppard settings are characterised by very independent lines, as described above, and make frequent use of syncopation.

The settings in the second group tend to keep similar, steady rhythms throughout, and use syncopation sparingly – mainly towards the cadences.

6.14 Cadences

The three main cadence points have been discussed in 6.7, Mode and Pitch. This section will look at the cadence treatment in more details.

At *aromata* six of the settings cadence on a ‘D’ chord: Tav1, Tav2, Shep1, Shep2, Stra, Mun and Tal. Apart from Shep1, all of them precede the D chord with a suspension in one of the parts, but any dissonance is not harsh, e.g. Shep2, b.20, where C² has a ‘d’ against an ‘a’ in the B, and Tr has a ‘c’ against the C2 ‘d’.

Example 6.2: Shep2 b.20

The image shows a musical score for six parts: Tr (Tenor), M (Mezzo), C¹ (Canto 1), C² (Canto 2), T (Tenor), and B (Bass). The score is for measure 20. Red arrows point to specific notes: one in the Tr staff (a half note), one in the C² staff (a half note), and one in the T staff (a half note). The lyrics are written below the staves.

Hol also ends on a ‘major’ chord, but on C, with no suspension and the music continues with no break.

At *Jesum* the cadences are much more varied, for example Mun has a suspension at b.114, and Tal has neither suspension nor syncopation. Stra cadences on ‘C major’, with a suspension at b.109/110 and Hol cadences on ‘F’, with a rare moment of genuine homophony. Tav2 and Shep2 cadence on ‘A’, with the possibility of an added but unnotated C# and with syncopation in Shep 2, Tr and T at bs. 25-26.

The cadences at *Alleluia* also display a variety of treatments. Shep2 and Tal both cadence on ‘E’ and use syncopation rather than suspensions. Shep2 is particularly full in sound because the M is *divisi* – the only occurrence of this in any of the settings. Hol ends on ‘F’ with a suspension in CT at bs.81-83, and in S at bs. 83-85.

In all of the settings, the final cadence of the *Alleluia* uses syncopation or suspension, creating a degree of tension and resolution. Four settings also use the DT motif. In Tav1, and Tav2, it is very audible because it is placed in the Tr, and it creates a symmetrical effect in that it references the opening of the CF. Str and Tal place it in inner voices but it is noticeable because both use it to lead to the sharp third of the final chord.

Example 6.3: Tav1 b.68-69

The image shows a musical score for five voices: Tr (Tenor), M (Mediant), C (Cantor), T (Tenor), and B (Bass). The lyrics are 'ya, al - le - lu - ya.' Red arrows point to specific notes in the Tr and T staves, highlighting the DT motif. The Tr staff has a red arrow pointing to a note on the second line of the staff, and the T staff has a red arrow pointing to a note on the second line of the staff.

Example 6.4: Tal b.74

(b)
73

I
II
III
IV
V

a.
a. Al- le- luy-
le- luy- a, Al- le- luy- a. Al- le- luy- a.
Al- le- luy- a, Al- le- luy- a, Al- le-
le- luy- a, Al- le- luy- a, Al- le- luy- a.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONNECTIONS

On hearing the music under consideration, it may seem to be full of independent melodic lines with waves of sound that rise and fall, having little obvious connection with one another. Closer inspection reveals that many more intricate relationships exist. This chapter will explore the connections, in order to reveal their extent and success in achieving cohesive compositions. It will include discussion of the different motifs and imitation, the use of fragments of the plainsong other than the DT motif, and significant intervals. Collectively, such connections aid cohesion within each setting and thus contribute to the overall integrity of construction.

7.1 Motifs and Imitation

In Chapter Seven, a ‘motif’ will mean a short group of notes, and, often, allied rhythm, either or both being significant in audible terms. Motifs may be as short as four notes or as long as four bars. They are not necessarily used in strict imitation, nor in full, in any given part. They do not necessarily continue for a long time. Each different melodic idea usually occurs at a change of text – see Chapter Five, Table 4, p.63. Therefore, whilst the liturgy defines the macro-structure, the motifs define the micro-structure.

Whilst some motifs are used at the beginnings of sections for imitative purposes, others feature periodically and serve as connecting points or reminders. The DT motif is an example: although it is not often used as a point of imitation, it occurs at various points in

several of the settings, reminding the listener of the plainsong and connecting one section of the music with another.

Julian Grimshaw observes that composers from this period ‘had at their disposal a large stock of melodic formulae that could be brought into use in passages of imitation or *fuga* as it was then known’ (Grimshaw, 2007, London, pp.61). Grimshaw notes that such motifs are simple in design and often ‘based on stepwise movement or describe a triad.’ He comments that stepwise movement is an easy way to construct a *fuga* passage because ‘all voices will be moving in similar motion.’

These characteristics are very evident in the music under consideration. Shep1 opens with a stepwise descent, as does Stra, but the execution is very different. Shep1 interests the listener by varying the rhythm for each voice and overlaps some voice entries, thus creating a mixture of parallel writing, and imitation at a distance. Stra keeps the rhythm much the same and the imitation often does not overlap. The distance between each entry varies: one voice may enter two bars after the initial statement but the next may be three or four bars later. This results in minimal overlaps and therefore rather less of a sense of cohesion. Tav2 has quite close imitation between bs.25 and 31, where the distance varies between two beats and a bar. This idea references and inverts a motif first heard in the CT at b.3. A stepwise and dotted descent is ‘common currency’, but here the imitation is pervasive and therefore cohesive.

Grimshaw has also observed the ubiquity of a combination of a second and a third – or the reverse – which he describes as a ‘peak-note subject’ (Grimshaw, 2007, p.73), the highest

note being a fourth above the first note. This gives various possibilities for *fuga* treatment, as he demonstrates. The imitation can often begin at a variety of distances, from one note away to three or four, the parts interlocking in different ways accordingly. The settings under consideration do not exemplify this to a great extent, but it can be seen in Shep1, bs.9-13, where a crotchet is added to the beginning of the DT motif, the whole motif being used in all voices in rapid succession. Hol uses this motif as part of a longer imitative point between bs.1 and 11.

More frequently in these settings, a motif will often encompass a fourth, rather than producing a peak-note subject specifically, as here, in Tav2 at bs.41-6.

Example 7.1: Tav2 bs.41-46

The opening bars of both Tav2 and Shep2 use the interval of a fourth:

Example 7.2: Tav2 bs.1-3

Example 7.3: Shep2 bs.1-2

[illegible]

Tal varies the peak-note motif by starting it half way through. There is a rising second, which then returns and descends a third, encompassing a fourth in all.

Example 7.4: Tal, D b.1

DISCANTUS (II)

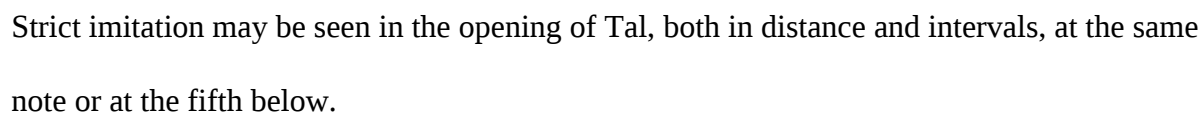
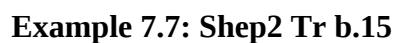
Sab-ba-thum.

Mundy makes considerable use of imitative figures: the motif in BP at b.17-19 is used extensively and initially at strict one-bar intervals. The first leap is amended to suit the context but the rhythm and motif is consistent to the point of saturation in that it continues until b.41. Whilst undeniably cohesive, however, it lacks sufficient variety to maintain interest.

Example: 7.5 Mundy, BP bs.17-19

B. 

Example 7.6: Shep2, Tr b.3



Example 7.8: Tal, bs.1-6

In Stra, the first three entries from b.42 are similarly exact both in distance and rhythm:

Example 7.9: Stra, bs 42-48

45

na Ma - ri - a Mag - da - le - na et

et ma - ri - a

a Mag - da - le - na et Ma - ri -

na Ma - ri - a Ja

et Ma -

ma - ri - a ja

Haar (Haar, IRAMDA, 1994, p.11) comments on the changes in Europe between 1520 and 1550, noting that the texture of the music became more dense, due to the increased frequency of imitation and this being more closely spaced. From the evidence in these settings, English composers had begun to follow this trend, even if they had not developed it to the extent of their continental counterparts. Shep2 demonstrates this, at the beginning of the setting, where the imitative points enter very swiftly. Stra demonstrates this at *ut venientes*, b.86f, where the voices enter rapidly, one bar apart, and then similarly at b.96f, although this time with a two-bar distance between CT and B. Some of the intervals may be altered to accommodate the surrounding and changing context but the aural connection will be made. For example, Shep2 at b.13 varies the first leap between a fourth and a fifth.

Over the years covered by the compositions, there seems to be an increasing tendency to use imitation as a significant means of maintaining cohesion. The earlier settings frequently use imitation at the introduction of a new section of text but after the initial statement the parts continue independently and with little connecting material, e.g. Shep1, bs.9f. All parts enter with an imitative point for *et Maria Jacobi* but are much more independent in the following two bars:

Example 7.10: Shep1, b.9-14

The image displays a musical score for six voices: Tenor (Tr), Male (M), Alto (A), Contralto (C), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The score is in 5/4 time and features a key signature of one flat. A red arrow points from the Alto staff (A) to the Contralto staff (C), indicating an imitative point. The lyrics 'et Maria Jacobi' are written under the Contralto staff. The score shows the first two bars of the setting, with the voices entering in a staggered fashion.

10

Tr. et Ma-ri-a Ja-co - bi et Sa-lo -

M. ne et Ma-ri-a Ja-

A. et Ma-ri-a Ja-co - bi et Sa-lo - me, Ma-

C. -bi et Sa-lo - me, et Ma-ri-a Ja-co - bi et

T. -ri - a Ja -

B. -ri - a Ja-co - bi et Sa-lo - me e-me -

Tr. me, et Sa-lo -

M. -co - bi et Sa - lo - me e - me - runt

A. et a Ja-co - bi et Sa - lo -

C. Sa - lo - me e - me - runt a -

T. -co - bi et Sa - lo - me

B. runt a - ro - ma -

There is a rhythmic connection between C and M for the setting of *emerunt*, bs13-14 but nothing more until the voices enter with the next point at *aromata*. The *Alleluia* is another example of relatively few connections. Tal, by contrast, brings in the imitative points in quick succession. In this example, *Maria Magdalene* begins as soon as the voices have finished *sabbatum* and anticipate the CF:

Example 7.11: Tal bs.10-13

(b)
10

I thum Ma- ri-

II ba- thum Ma- ri- a Mag- da- le- ne,

III ha-thum Ma- ri- a Mag- da- le-

IV ba- thum Ma- ri- a Mag- da- le-

V Ma- ri- a

Rifkin (Rifkin, Brepols 2012: p.27) gives a list of characteristics of the French court motet in the first decade of the sixteenth century. Such motets:

- usually have a series of clauses initiated in each instance by a matching pair of duos
- often close on a full-voice cadence
- often overlap the cadence with the beginning of the next clause
- feature duos –often S/A and T/B
- are imitative – and now at the fourth and fifth
- often have expansive opening duos
- have later duos that are shorter and more homophonic
- have brief passages for all voices
- have some use of short motifs in all voices for imitative purposes

Although it has been said that English composers adopted such characteristics later than composers on the continent, some of the above are present in the settings by Taverner and Sheppard. Taverner would have started composing certainly by the 1520s, and therefore perhaps in reality England was not very far behind continental developments.

7. 2 Use of the DT motif

In all musical analysis, the analyst tries to identify audible connections and/or musically meaningful gestures. The DT motif appears in all of the settings and contributes to the overall cohesion. This motif is typical of the peak-note motif as identified by Grimshaw and therefore it could be argued that its occurrence in these settings is neither unusual nor surprising. Whilst this is, no doubt, true, there are occasions when the placement of this motif seems to be deliberate, rather than arising incidentally out of the compositional process.

The use of this motif in Taverner's and Sheppard's settings is discussed in Chapter 9. Suffice it to say here that whilst Taverner seems to use the DT motif deliberately, the infrequent appearances in Shep1 have much more the feel of being a compositional by-product. Shep2 uses it in b.2, and, as in Tav1, it is sufficiently close to the *incipit*, and at the extreme of the treble's range, to raise the possibility of its being a deliberate reference – especially when this is repeated in the same voice, at b.4.

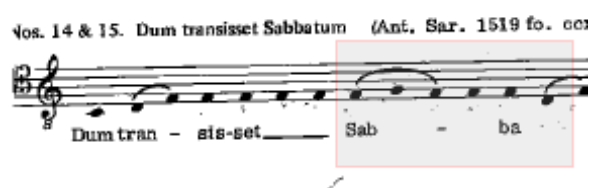
Hollander also uses the DT motif early on and in all voices: bs.3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 20 and 21. The text here is usually *Maria*. As with Taverner, the end is connected with the beginning, the motif being used again in the *Alleluia* at bs. 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, and 70. Most of these statements begin on c, as in the *incipit*, which strengthens both the connection and the sense of cohesion. It is also used in the SecP, in much the same way, at b.33f, *orto iam [sole]* and in the reprise of the *Alleluia*.

Strabridge, Mundy and Tallis make comparatively rare use of this motif, although it forms part of the initial statements in Mundy – B, bs.5-6 and SP, bs.7-8 and bs.12-13. Use in Strabridge is limited to the *Alleluia*: bs.115-116, bs.123-124, bs.131-132 and bs.135-136. The last four occurrences might be deliberate – the final occurrence at the end of the *Alleluia*, bs.142-143, is used in a way that references Tav1 and Tallis. Tallis uses the motif three times. The first occasion is probably insignificant, but the other two are more noticeable: in the D at b.67 – *Alleluia* – and at bs.74-75, where effectively the D is leading to the cadence and the sharpened third of the final chord.

7.3 Other Fragments of the Cantus Firmus

One of the most striking uses of a CF fragment occurs in both Hol and Tal, using the notes immediately after the incipit, here shaded in grey:

Example 7.12: Plainsong, opening



Both Hol and Tal use this melodic shape for their first motifs, initially a fifth above, and then in strict imitation either from c or f. In both examples, the text corresponds with that of the CF, thereby emphasising its use and connection. In Tal, the first statement begins on c in the D but is stated from f (as in the plainsong) in CT immediately afterwards. It is heard in all parts before the CF enters high in the Treble's range and the connection between the preceding material and the CF would be very clear.

Example 7.13: Hol bs.1-10

Superior

Contratenor

The image shows two staves of music. The top staff is labeled "Superior" and the bottom staff is labeled "Contratenor". Both staves are in treble clef. The Superior staff begins with a half note on C4, followed by a half note on D4, and then a half note on E4. These three notes are shaded in grey. The text below the Superior staff reads "Dum tran- sis- set sub- ba- tum Ma- ri- a Mag- da-". The Contratenor staff begins with a half note on C4, followed by a half note on D4, and then a half note on E4. These three notes are shaded in grey. The text below the Contratenor staff reads "Dum tran- sis- set sub- ba- tum Ma-".

10

le- na Ma- ri- a Ma-

ri- a Mag- da- le- na Ma- ri- a Mag-

Dum tran- sis- set sab- ba- tum Ma- ri- a Mag-

Dum tran- sis- set sab- ba- tum

Example 7.14: Tal bs. 1-9

Example 7.14: Tal bs. 1-9. The score is for five voices: SUPERIUS (I), DISCANTUS (II), CONTRA TENOR (III), TENOR (IV), and BASSUS (V). It shows the first nine bars of a piece. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are 'Sab- ba-thum, Sab- ba-thum, Sab- ba-thum, Sab- ba-thum, Sab- ba-thum, Sab- ba-thum, Sab- ba-thum, Sab- ba-thum, Sab- ba-thum'. The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, key signatures, time signatures, and lyrics.

Hol continues this motif until b.19 and then goes on to develop the three repeated fs and minor third descent for *et Maria Jacobi*, in all parts between bs.22 and 30.

The motif at b.48 uses the three repeated notes but now ascends by a second or a fourth, rather than the descent of a third.

Example 7.15: Hol QP, b.48

Example 7.15: Hol QP, b.48. The score shows a single staff with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a time signature of common time (C). The lyrics are 'Sab- ba-thum, Sab- ba-thum, Sab- ba-thum, Sab- ba-thum, Sab- ba-thum, Sab- ba-thum, Sab- ba-thum, Sab- ba-thum, Sab- ba-thum'. A red arrow points to the first note of the motif, which is a B-flat.

A connection would be made, however, given the note repetition and the similar rhythm.

This motif is used extensively between bs.48 and 63. The four notes are always retained and

then the melodies diverge. The text here does not correspond with the CF but perhaps links *Maria Jacobi* with the opening text, emphasising her presence on this (momentous) occasion. The close imitation at two beats further aids the cohesion in this section.

Example 7.16: Hol bs.22-30

et Ma- ri- a et Ma- ri- a Ia- co-

da- le- na et Ma- ri- a Ia- co- bi et

Mag- cla- le- na et Ma- ri- a Ia- co- bi

Mag- da- le- na et Ma- ri- a Ia- co- bi

da- le- na et Ma- ri- a Ia- co- bi

bi et Ma- ri- a Ia- co- bi et

Ma- ri- a et Ma- ri- a et Ma- ri- a Ia- co-

et Ma- ri- a Ia- co- bi et Sa- lo- me

et Ma- ri- a et Sa- lo- me e- me- runt a-

et Ma- ri- a Ia- co- bi et

As in Hol, Tal uses patterns of three repeated notes extensively – here, in the *Alleluia*, and usually followed by a descending fourth, see b.58 to the end.

Example 7.17: Tal b.63-67

Tav1 creates a motif beginning at b.9 that uses the same pattern as at *ut ve*:

Example 7.18: Plainsong, *Dum Transisset*

Example 7.19: Tav1, C b.9

This motif is used by all parts until b.19. The text here does not correspond with that of the CF, but a melodic connection could be made when the CF enters subsequently at *ut venientes*.

Example 7.20: Tav1, bs.9-19

Tr
M
C
T
B

Mag - da - le - ne, Mag - da - le - ne, et Ma - ri - a

There is a direct connection in this setting between the CF and the voices at *et Maria Jacobi*.

Example 7.21: Plainsong, *et Maria* [Jacobi]

a Ma - gda - le - ne et Ma - ri - a

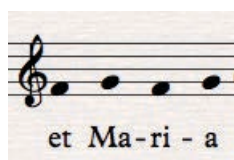
The three and four note descents (shaded in grey) are used for the imitative 'trio' between bs.20-23:

Example 7.22: Tav1, bs.20-23



Tav2 also allies this text with the CF, but to a different section. The Tr has a four-note 'rocking' motif (c-d-c-d-) at b.17:

Example 7.23: Plainsong, *Dum Transisset*



Example 7.24: Tav2, Tr b.17-19



This motif is heard in the:

- CF at one semibreve distance
- M at b.18, inverted
- Original in B, b.19
- C at b.21
- M at b.55

Tav1 uses the CF again at *et Salome*, albeit briefly. The upward leap of a minor third and descent of a step is used for the same text, with the leap expanded in some parts. This edition

deviates slightly from the AS plainsong as found in Vol 2, in the use of a c at b.26, but the upward minor third is still present.

Example 7.25: Plainsong



Example 7.26: Tav1: bs 25-27

25

Tr Ja - co - bi et Sa - lo - me

M - - - a Ja - co - bi et Sa - lo - me

C - a Ja - co - bi et Sa - lo - me

T Ja - - - co - bi et Sa - lo -

B - co - bi et Sa - lo - me

Tav2 uses the same minor third leap initially and then expands it to a fourth or fifth:

Example 7.27: Tav2 bs.25-31

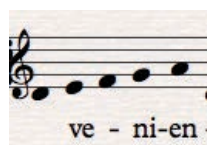
The musical score for Example 7.27, Tav2 bs.25-31, shows five voices: Tr (Tenor), M (Mezzo), C (Contralto), T (Tenor), and B (Bass). The music is in a minor key and features a stepwise ascent of three or four notes in each part, highlighted by red arrows. The lyrics are: Tr: e - me - runt a - ro - ma - ; M: Sa - lo - me, et Sa - lo - me; C: me, et Sa - lo - ; T: e - me - ; B: et Sa - lo - me.

A stepwise ascent of three or four notes is ubiquitous in a CF, but there is a case for noting it in Tav2 at b.41f, *ut venientes*. All parts use this idea between bs. 41 and 49, and for the corresponding text.

Sheppard, Mundy and Strabridge do not seem to make such direct connection with, or use of, the CF. For these composers, cohesion is maintained through imitation and connections between the motifs, whereas Taverner, Tallis and Hollander use the CF in addition to those devices. At some points, the use arguably may be coincidental, but at others it seems much more deliberate. Only the DT motif is used by all composers. Hollander uses it twenty-one times: it is very audible in its imitative use. By contrast, Tav1 and Tal only use it four times. Whilst it could have been used as a significant motif for imitative purposes, there is no correlation between approximate date of composition and its use: Mundy, writing at a time when imitative points were a significant constructional device, only uses DT eight times.

All of the settings have a recurring pattern comprising a fairly quick five-note ascent or descent. This recalls the CF at *ut venientes*:

Example 7.28: Plainsong, *Dum Transisset*



This suggestion might also be rejected on the grounds of common currency, it being so at all periods. The suggestion might be rejected, but the pattern is undeniably noticeable. Aurally, it is obvious to listeners, especially when it involves the shortest notes in the composition, and, again, such repetitions all contribute to the cohesion of the settings. Sheppard, Tallis and Mundy use it more extensively than the remaining composers.

Shep1 and Shep2, use this motif on every page. In Shep1, either an ascent or descent through five notes occurs twenty-one times, making it a significant motif. For examples see M at bs.1-2, where it occurs twice:

Example 7.29: Shep1, M bs.1-2



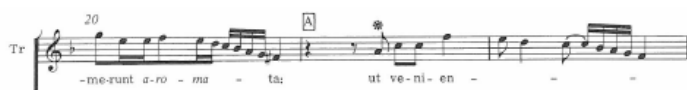
It occurs also in Tr at b.3, where it is inverted.

Example 7.30: Shep1, Tr b.3



Often the motif is in semiquavers but there are several variants. In Shep2, it occurs fifteen times, first appearing in T at b.2, and is evident in all parts during the composition, e.g.

Example 7.31: Shep2, Tr b.20-22



As in Shep1, there are similar rhythmic variants.

Example 7.32: Shep2, B b.6



Mun rarely uses this motif in the main body of the text, although there is an occurrence at b.14.

Example 7.33: Mun, T, b.14

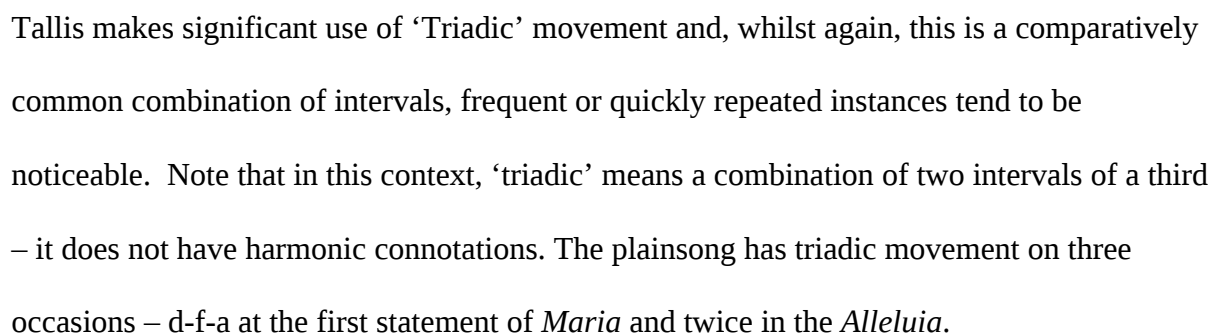


However, subsequently b.14 is reprised and used extensively during the *Alleluia*, occurring seventeen times. In this context, it is usually preceded by a two-note ascent.

Example 7.34: Mun, A b.118



Example 7.35: Mun, B b.118



Ma-ri - a

Example 7.37: Tal, bs. 31-36

(b)
 31
 I Sä lo-me c-me-
 II mr. el Sä lo-me c-me- runt a-ro- ma-ta.
 III me c-me- runt a-ro- ma-ta, o-ro- ma-
 IV 32 me, el Sä lo-me c-me- runt. c-me- runt a-
 V me, el Sä lo-me c-me- runt a-ro- ma-ta, c-me- runt a-ro- ma-ta, a-

Tallis links the next section by using the upward triad in the CT immediately after the cadence.

Example 7.38: Tal, CT bs.45-46



In total, there are twelve occurrences between bs.16-25, integrating this section.

It may be seen from the above that the CF is used to a significant degree in all of the settings. Some uses may be ‘common currency’ and arguably arise as an inevitable part of the compositional process. However, this does not alter the fact that they are derivable from the CF and undeniably contribute to the overall cohesion of the settings, whether or not this is by design on the composer’s part.

7.4 Significant intervals

Inevitably, all composers will use some intervals frequently, such as upward 4ths, downward fifths or their inversions. As with the suggestions above, it could be argued that the appearance of a perfect fourth, fifth, or octave is of no great significance. However, more importance might be ascribed to such intervals when they are used in quick succession, in certain rhythmic formations, or in relation to particular motifs and/or texts. There are occasions in some of these settings when one interval either seems to be more common than might be expected, or occurs more than once within a very short time and, as such, would be noticeable and an audible connection made.

Several settings demonstrate a particular interval allied with a portion of the text. Shep1 uses an upward fifth six times for syllables from *Maria Magdalene*, and especially *-de-le-* between bs.53-57, and four of them occur from c-g, such repetition being very noticeable. Tal also uses a rising fifth from f-c for the same text – or alternatively its inversion, c-f.

Five of the settings distinguish *et Maria Jacobi* with a descending fifth. Shep1 has four descending 5ths between bs.11-12 – two are e-a and two are c-f: the common interval and repetition of notes within two bars creates a very audible connection. Tav1, Tav2, Stra and Mun use a rising interval to link *Maria Jacobi* and *Salome* – perhaps in their slightly lesser importance compared with that of *Maria Magdalene*.

Rising intervals are allied with *emerunt* in three settings. Tav1 uses a fifth three times in three bars, at bs.29, 31, and 33, and Hol most notably uses a rising fourth nine times between bs.32-41. A rising interval is used extensively for *aromata*: a fourth in Tav1, b.35f, and see also Shep1, using a fourth or a fifth between bs.14-20. Many of these are c-g or d-g, so, again, the repeated g would be very noticeable. Over the seven bars, an upward leap combined with the dotted rhythm occurs fifteen times. Mun also makes use of a rising fifth at *aromata*, b.66f. The fifths here are admittedly in the B where they would occur more predictably, but they are treated almost antiphonally between the two bass voices, and thereby acquire a greater aural significance. In these settings, the rising interval might be regarded as a form of word-painting, in that aromas ‘rise’.

There is no consistent use of any single interval amongst the settings in the *Alleluia* apart from in Tal. Here, three repeated notes and a descent of a fourth or a fifth appear twenty-nine times, and the three repeated notes with the descent of a second or third, six times – see example 7.16, above. The section is cohesive musically and certainly emphasises the text.

This section is also an example of *fuga* with close overlaps, some parallel writing and short sequences. It gives a breathless quality to the writing: there is a very significant forward impetus to the music, building up the tension and driving towards the release at the final cadence.

7.5 Connections between motifs

Several settings connect their melodic ideas by referencing motifs heard earlier. The second main section in Tav1 uses two ideas that were heard previously in the first, at b.41. The B recalls its idea from bs.1-2, whilst the remaining parts use the step-wise descent first heard in Tr at b.3/4. See B, b.42, and, also, Tr, M and C.

Example 7.39: Tav1, b.42



The B has this motif in longer note values at bs.46-50.

Stra opens with a motif that descends through four notes and immediately reverses this. The rising motif becomes the basis of a subsequent motif.

Example 7.40: Stra, S b.1



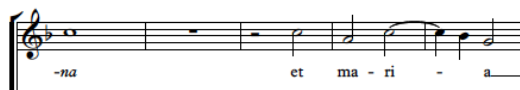
It appears in earnest at b.20, CT slightly modified but in the rhythm above in other parts.

Example 7.41: Stra, S b.21-23



A motif is introduced at b.42 in S that appears in a modified form at b.86 initially in S.

Example 7.42: Stra, S b.42



Example 7.43: Stra S b.86



Mun connects *et Maria* at b.40f rhythmically with *ungerent* at b.94f, and with a descent and rise, although the intervals are different:

Example 7.44: Mun, B b.40



B.
 ve - ni - - tes un - ge - rent -

It may also be seen that there are more internal connections than those provided by imitation. Whilst there is no consistent approach between composers to any specific section of the text, individually the composers tend to be consistent within the sections. Using the same interval from different starting notes for example has a cohesive effect. The five-note pattern appears too often merely to be passed off as ‘common currency’: rather, its use appears deliberate and provides connections. Voices echo each other, and although this may last for only a few notes, the immediate repetition will be audible, especially when the note of entry is the same. Cohesion is aided further by similarities or direct repetition between the motifs from different sections.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

TEXT AND VOICES

In this chapter, the discussion of text is concerned with the extent to which the:

- underlay and notation correspond
- music follows the stress-patterns of the words
- distinction between melismatic and syllabic setting is significant and contributes (or otherwise) to comprehension of the text
- music reflects the sentiments or mood of the text
- music reflects the structure of the text.

Most of the editions used for Volume Two are very close to Baldwin – the Taverner and Sheppard EECM settings are almost diplomatic transcriptions and therefore with few and minor exceptions the underlay follows that of Baldwin. The Strabridge and Mundy settings are diplomatic transcriptions. The EECM lower Tallis setting is closest to Baldwin – any variants are minor. By contrast, the Hollander setting for Garland has considerably more variations from Baldwin, with different text assigned in some places, as well as the placement of individual syllables. However, this might be due to the plethora of concordant sources, making the editorial task more complex.

Underlay has been the cause of some debate and has been discussed by David Mateer, amongst others (Morehen, 1995: ps.143-160). His suggestion that Baldwin entered the text first and copied the music afterwards is a novel idea but seems counter-intuitive. Had Baldwin copied the text first, it is probable that he would have written it in full. Baldwin makes some use of contractions and *ij*: whilst possibly this might have been to save space, it

was more probably to hasten the laborious copying process. He would not have known how much space to leave between them had he written the text first. The fact that at times Baldwin wrote some of the text in the margin, or extended the stave into it, will not surprise anyone who has ever copied out music and text by hand and has slightly underestimated the amount of space needed for either.

On the general topic of underlay, Honey Meconi suggests that either there might have been ‘considerable leeway in what was acceptable’ or that there were ‘differing practices in different parts of Europe’ (Meconi, Knighton and Fallows: 1997, p.286). She suggests that the precise position of the text was not a matter of significant concern at the time because the:

- composers appear not to have been very concerned about where the words were placed
- singers were well-enough versed in the style to know where to place the relevant syllables
- ‘music has its own power: it is not necessarily dependent on text to move the emotions’ (Meconi, in Knighton and Fallows: 1997, p.287)
- underlay could have varied at each performance i.e. there is no one ‘correct’ solution to the problem as conceived and perceived by the 21st-century editor or performer.

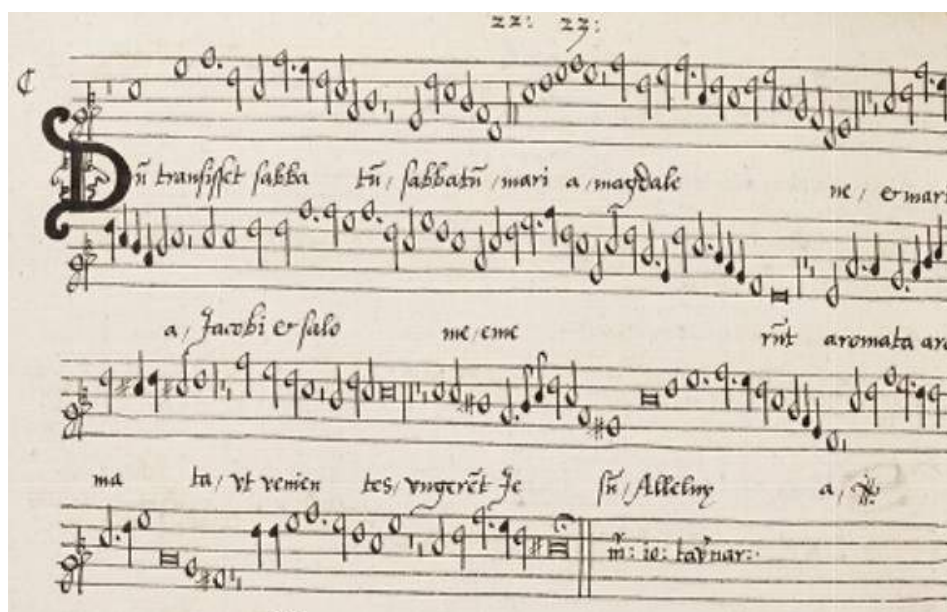
Any, or all, of these points might be true, but, in Baldwin, much of the underlay appears to be placed carefully. Both Baldwin and Dow show that the text is generally aligned with the melody to which it belongs. The examples below show that syllables are split across melodies, rather than appearing as whole words with no indication of where specific syllables

should be sung. There was sufficient room for the scribe to place each syllable wherever he wished. Although the manuscripts are not identical, the differences are slight. Without having the original manuscripts, some placement variation might be expected: the sources might be different or the scribe may have decided himself to change the underlay at times. There is little evidence of scribal carelessness, as may be seen in the immaculate images below.

Example 8.1: Tav1: Treble, Dow DIAMM Image no 60

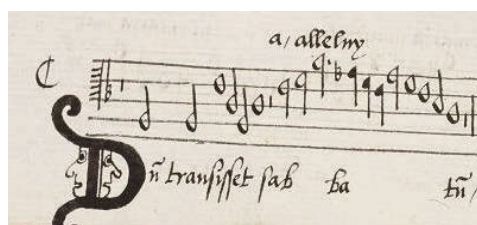


Example 8.2: Tav1: Treble, Baldwin DIAMM Image no 34



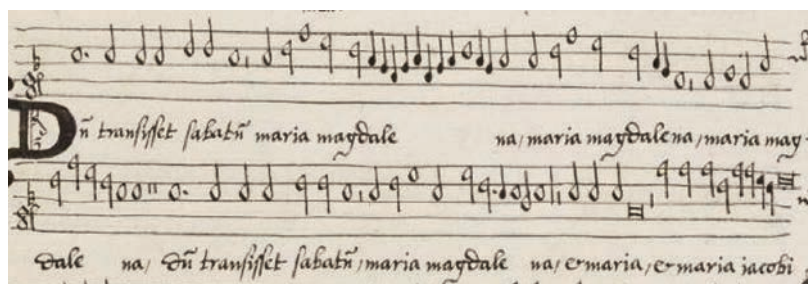
The underlay does not seem to be left to the discretion of the singers. There is ample room either to write *sab-ba* together as is often the case – or to separate it, as here, where it is quite clear that *sab-ba* is not sung to adjacent notes.

Example 8.3: Tav1, Altus, opening



Baldwin's concern with underlay may also be seen in No.28, Hollander.

Example 8.4: Hol, Altus



Baldwin shows great care in writing out the text repeatedly, presumably to ensure that the text was aligned correctly with the melody. Were he copying in line with Meconi's suggestions, he could have used *ijs*. He uses *ijs* for the *alleluia*, where the syllabification is predictable, but then reverts to full text for *Et Valde mane*.

In relation to the music following the stress-pattern of the words, the Taverner and Sheppard settings are in an earlier, more melismatic, tradition. It might have been thought that following the word-patterns was of less concern earlier in the century than was the case during the later years. Philip Weller (Schmidt-Beste, 2012: p.259), considers the motet as exemplified by Obrecht, but some of his observations are equally applicable to English music. For example, he notes that: 'One important – and peculiarly musical – sense of articulation concerns the audibility and the rhythmic enunciation of the words'. There is evidence of a concern to follow word-rhythms in all of the settings under discussion – to a greater extent in the settings of some of the composers, but it is still evident in those remaining.

It is not possible to know precisely how Latin words were pronounced over 450 years ago. Volume Two contains a document from Alison Wray that gives some indications.⁷ Wray notes that composers trained in the low Countries or France 'might well apply Italian stress'. However, she goes on to say that 'the answer' to the question of where the stresses are likely to fall, 'is likely to come from the musical setting.' That having been said, there is

⁷ Personal note from Alison Wray, Research Professor, Language and Communication, Cardiff University, 3 August, 2016

considerable consistency across the settings in setting *Sabbatum* with a melisma on the second syllable, which might indicate a long, open vowel for it. Below is a typical example.

Example 8.5: , M, bs.1-4



Aromata is also set by most of the composers in a way that suggests the second and final syllables were stressed. This example is typical.

Example 8.6: Mun B, bs.66-69



However, composers sometimes like to surprise – perhaps to maintain the listeners’ (and each other’s?) attention. Tal changes the stress by setting *Sab* to a short melisma and using the shortest note in the phrase for *ba*:

Example 8.7: Tal, D b.1



Hol opens with the words of the *incipit* and sets the opening words quite strangely in that he does not follow the anticipated stress patterns. Weak syllables fall on ‘strong beats’ and are given longer note values than might be expected, throwing the accents awry. For example, *Dum* is given the longest note in the phrase, on a strong beat, whereas in other settings even in the incipit there is a feeling that *Dum* is an anacrusis, with the stress falling on *trans* and *set*.

Example 8.8: Hol, S b.1



For *Alleluia*, most of the composers follow the word rhythm and either set all four syllables to single notes (Hol) or treat *lu* melismatically. Tal, however, sets it syllabically, most of the time, but throws the stress on to the final syllable, even when there are short melismas on *lu*.

Example 8.9: Tal.bs.63-67

Sheppard tends to follow the word-rhythms more closely than Taverner: for example, at *Maria* [Magdalene]:

Example 8.10: Shep1, A bs.3-4

Example 8.11: Tav1, CT bs. 9-12



For some words there is no consistency of treatment – and perhaps therefore there was no consistency in pronunciation. Sheppard gives *Jacobi* a short note followed by a longer note, on the beat, thereby emphasising the second syllable, whereas Tav2 and Mundy frequently emphasise the first syllable. Hollander has all syllables stressed at different times – see bs.25-31.

Considering next the use of melismatic, as opposed to syllabic, setting, there is some unanimity, at least in some parts of the text. All of the composers, apart from Hollander, treat the opening words melismatically: *Sabbatum* and *Maria Magdalene*. Gersh terms this as deitic emphasis (Gersh, 2006, p.44) – that is, attention is drawn to person, time or place by an elaborate setting, in this case, time and person. The words here would be suitable for this treatment because they were well-known – there was no need to keep the melodic or rhythms simple to aid audibility. Hollander, by contrast, sets the *incipit* syllabically, goes on to treat *Maria Magdalene* melismatically, in the same way as the other composers, and then repeats the opening. All settings treat the narrative sections more syllabically.

The quantity of melisma varies, and here the settings divide into those that use long melismas and those that are, overall, more syllabic and therefore feature melismas that tend to be short and decorative, rather than a stylistic characteristic. Taverner and Sheppard use melisma throughout their settings, although less so in the narrative sections. The Sheppard settings are more syllabic and with more repetitions than those of Taverner. Mun, Stra, and Tal are

largely syllabic, with occasional decorative melismas and certainly a typical use of melisma for the first section. Hol is syllabic throughout, with melisma being relatively occasional and decorative, rather than defining his style.

Audibility of the text may not have been an overriding concern in earlier settings of this text, which would have been very familiar to those listening. However, by the time Mundy, Strabridge and Hollander were writing, audibility was much more of a consideration; indeed, it was a requirement. Tallis was active for such a long time that he would have been aware of such a trend – and then requirement – when it first appeared, and the highly syllabic style of this setting might indicate that it was at least contemporaneous with that of Hollander. The settings of Mundy, Strabridge, Hollander and Tallis are less complex rhythmically than those of Taverner and Sheppard. This ensures greater audibility of the text, although, in Mun, the lack of variety does not aid the listener's focus. The same rhythm is used many times between bars 40 and 90 for *et Maria Jacobi*, *et Salome* and *aromata*. The only difference is that *et Salome* and *aromata* have an initial rising interval.

In some places, reduction of the number of voices and/or momentary use of homophony further aids audibility. Varying the number of voices singing has at least three results:

- reducing the number of voices may give greater audibility because there are fewer melodies for the listener to assimilate
- the change in texture would cause listeners to refocus their attention
- the volume would be reduced, which often leads to listeners increasing their concentration, in order to hear.

Tav1, at b.53, reduces the number of voices to three, one of which is the CF, making the contrast at this point even greater. The contrast is also emphasised by the change in timbre, in that the two remaining voices are those highest in pitch.

Example 8.12: Tav1 bs.50-53

Shep2 at b.21 exemplifies both points.

Example 8.13: Shep2, bs.21-2

Sections of homophony aid audibility for two reasons:

- all voices are singing the same text therefore the listener is not distracted by melodic layering
- the contrast in texture refocuses attention.

Audibility is also aided by using small sections of ‘duet’ writing, as in this example from

Tav1:

Example 8.14: Tav1, bs.50-54

50

Tr un - ge - rent Je - - - - - sum.

M - rent Je - - - - - sum.

C - sum.

T Je - - - - - sum.

B - - - - - sum.

Tav2, Shep1, and Stra do not make any noticeable reductions in the number of voices or use homophony – all of the melodic lines are present for much of the time, the only reduction taking place, predictably, at the beginning of a new imitative point. The new text is necessarily more audible because only one voice is singing, and the repetition by successive voices serves to emphasise the words concerned.

Stephen Rice comments that Tallis has three methods of accentuation, which draws attention to a particular word or phrase (Schmidt-Beste, 2012: p.143) although such strategies were not restricted to Tallis:

- pitch – accentuation either by height or an upward leap
- position – on- or off-beat location – relating to word stress, not the beat in the bar
- duration

All of these points are exemplified in Tallis' *Dum Transisset – Maria Magdalene* has an upward leap and *Et Salome* is syncopated. *Sabbatum* is accentuated by using longer note values than at any other point in the setting, apart from cadences.

Tallis perhaps draws more attention to *Salome* than any of the other settings. He ceases independent melodic movement and (discounting the CF) has only three voices singing – again, this is possibly emblematic. Tallis syncopates *et Salome* and stresses the second syllable of *Salome*.

Example 8.15: Tal, bs.25-30

The image shows a musical score for five voices (I, II, III, IV, V) in a setting by Tallis. The lyrics are in Latin. A red arrow points to the word 'et' in the first staff, highlighting a syncopation. The lyrics for each staff are: I: la- co- bi et; II: la- co- bi. et Ma- ri- a la- co- bi et Sa- lo- me, et Sa- lo- me; III: et a la- co- bi. la- co- bi et Sa- lo- me, et Sa- lo- me; IV: a la- co- bi et Sa- lo- me, et Sa- lo- me; V: et Ma- ri- a la- co- bi et Sa- lo- me.

This would have two results:

- The syncopation that occurs on *et* (and) is unexpected. A word such as 'et' is not usually syncopated because it does not normally require, or attract, especial significance. Whilst Tallis may not have thought of syncopation in modern terms, this would have been the effect. The result was that the momentum was arrested. This would have surprised the listeners – and still does – making them pay attention.

- Attention was drawn to the name – and therefore by association the person – of Salome, although there seems to be no particular reason for this, other than that she is one of the named women.

The *et Salome* rhythm (or a slightly modified version) is taken up independently by all voices – and is especially notable in the T line at bs.31-32. It rises a fifth, followed by a triad, and reaches top A, a ninth away from its starting note and at the extreme of the T's range. This is an example of accentuation by rising intervals and height, and has a predictably dramatic effect.

Example 8.16: Tal, T, bs.31-32



In the *Alleluia*, the stress falls unusually on the final, rather than the penultimate, syllable. The accentuation of this word is intensified by the rapid repetition in all parts and use of sequence, thus driving the music forward.

Morley advised his students to ‘dispose your music according to the nature of the words’, and went on to develop this principle (Morley, 1952: p.290). Tallis applies it at *ut venientes*, b.24, for example. There are three voices, representing the three women – D, CT and T– singing closely together in pitch and homophonically, as if symbolizing their single purpose. The CF is also present but, as throughout, it floats above what is happening, perhaps representing the Holy Spirit.

Using the techniques suggested by Rice, other settings with a rising interval include Mundy and both settings by Taverner, also for *et Salome*. Strabridge, like Tallis (deliberately referencing Tallis?), accentuates *et Salome* by syncopating *et*. Mundy emphasizes *ungerent* with a syncopated rhythm but lowers the pitch, and thus is more reflective of the mood.

In all settings, *Alleluia* is set in a somewhat more exuberant way than anything that has gone before. In Morley's terms, this could indicate the mood of the women – relief and thanksgiving that all was not lost. Equally, of course, an *Alleluia* is always a song of praise to God, so this is not so surprising. Mun is not as exuberant as some of the settings, but the rhythm at this point is slightly livelier than earlier in the work. There are at least two 'duets', moving a third apart: bs.117-119 D and CT, and then b.120-122, SP and B. This is a quicker-moving motif than anything that has been seen before. Voices that do not have this motif sing mainly semibreves and minims, which acts as a foil to the crotchet movement.

Turning now to the use of word-painting, there is little opportunity for this in relation to specific words in the text. The older composers may not have thought in this way at all, although Edwards notes that the 'importance of appropriate music for text was expounded very early, by Gaffurius in *Practica Musice* (Milan 1496)' (Schmidt-Beste, 2012: p.117). By the time of the later composers, word-painting – as well as reflecting the rhythm of the words – was a more significant consideration.

The composers seem to have been concerned to reflect the mood of the text, even if not aurally describing individual words. Apart from Hollander, all begin with longer note-values

and therefore create an initial reflective mood, and the music has a generally slower pace.

Admittedly, this was a typical way for music from this period to begin, but, in this case, it was apposite, reflecting the probably despondent mood of the three women, as they walked to the tomb. Rhythms become somewhat livelier in all settings from *et Maria Jacobi* and the settings culminate in comparatively exuberant *Alleluia* sections. Hol is unusual in being comparatively brisk from the beginning.

The final consideration concerns structuring the text and the settings have the same approach.

All settings use a different – if at times similar – motif for each new phrase. In some settings, this is less noticeable than in others because the new motif overlaps with the previous section.

For example, in Shep1 a new motif appears in A at b.3 for *Maria Magdalene* whilst other parts continue with *Sabbatum*.

Example 8.17: Shep1, bs.3-5

The musical score for Example 8.17: Shep1, bs.3-5, shows six voices (T, M, A, C, T, B) in G major. The lyrics are: 'tum, Ma - ri - a', 'tum, sab - ba - tum Ma - ri - a Ma gda - le', 'tum, Ma - ri - a Ma gda - le', 'tum, sab - ba - tum, sab - ba - tum', 'tum, Ma - ri - a', and 'tum Ma - ri - a Ma gda - le'. A red arrow points to the beginning of the new motif for the Alto part at measure 3, which is 'tum, Ma - ri - a Ma gda - le'.

The C at b.9 begins a new motif for *et Maria Jacobi*, although the Tr, M and A are still singing *Maria Magdalene*. The other settings operate similarly, apart from Tal, which has a cadence at b.10 for all voices and then brings in the second motif, closely followed by the other two voices.

Example 8.18: Tal, b.10

Overall, it is evident that all of the composers were concerned to reflect the importance of the text and achieved this in a variety of ways. They all followed the rhythmic patterns of the words some, or all, of the time, even if the particular syllables they chose to stress were not those that present-day listeners might have anticipated. Wray notes that understanding of stress patterns could depend on whether or not the composers were ‘well-versed in the English Latin tradition’, had travelled or trained on the Continent, had studied Erasmus’ reconstruction of classical Latin or had none of these experiences and ‘would superimpose English stress patterns’. As she notes further, it is important ‘not to assume that all settings of the text will have the stresses in the same place’ – as evidenced in these settings – and, that in the end, musicians should deduce pronunciation from the stress, rather than the other way around. These settings have a sufficient number of varying – but equally acceptable – stress patterns, that any attempt to deduce pronunciation from the stress is unlikely to be conclusive.

The composers use melismatic and syllabic setting of text to distinguish certain words, tending to treat the opening text melodically – some more than others – and using syllabic

setting for the narrative (*emerunt* to *Jesum*). Almost all of the settings reflect the sentiments and mood of the text, the opening being slower and more reflective, the pace increasing in the middle section and then more especially in the *Alleluia*.

CHAPTER NINE

COMPARISONS: I

TAVERNER

This chapter will examine the two settings by Taverner, seeking to identify the similarities and differences between them. Different compositional aspects will be considered and compared, including Benham's questioning of the authorship of Tav2 (Benham 2008, p.238), and the settings will be evaluated.

Benham suggests that both settings could have been composed whilst Taverner was employed at Cardinal College, from 1526-1550 (Benham, 1977, p.135). This is a reasonable supposition: Taverner would certainly have had a liturgical opportunity to compose the settings and the resources to perform them. However, two questions are raised. First, and assuming Tav1 was written before Tav2, why was it necessary to write a second setting? Second, why was there no provision in Tav2 for the repeats required for current liturgical use?

Neither question may be answered with certainty. One possible answer to the first question is that there would have been no liturgical need for a second setting – Tav1 is a straightforward respond and would presumably have been sufficient. Regarding the second, were Tav2 written whilst Taverner was at Cardinal College, a respond format might have been expected.

Tav2, as it appears in Baldwin, is better styled a respond-motet, and therefore its purpose must have been different from liturgical use as Respond three on Easter Day.

John Harper (Harper, 2016)⁸ suggests that Tav2 could have been used in another context as a free-standing motet. A possible use, therefore, might have been as part of a liturgical drama – possibly the *visitatio sepulchri* procession. This enacted the three Marys going to the tomb and the text would have underscored and emphasised the action.

Another possibility is that Tav2 was written later by someone else, either as a pastiche or as an homage to Taverner. It could have been designed as a motet for domestic, rather than liturgical, use, but the high level of musicianship required might not support this suggestion. Para-liturgical use seems more probable.

The overall structure of both settings is defined by the cantus firmus, which in this edition maintains minim note values. There is a one bar difference in length. Tav 1 has suitable cadences to allow for the interpolation of the plainsong. However, Tav2 does not, and the voices overlap between sections. In this example, two of the parts complete *Jesum*, whilst the other three continue this or begin the *Alleluia*:

⁸ E-mail, August 2016

Example 9.1: Tav2, b.53-56

55

Tr
- sum. Al - le - lu - ya,

M
- sum.

C
- sum. Al - le - lu -

T
Al - le - lu

B
- - - - sum.

Both settings use five voices, including Trebles, and each places the CF in the Tenor voice. The same clefs are used, apart from in the Tenor, the latter being gleaned from concordant sources. There is no obvious reason for the different clefs, given that the CF is the same. The total voice range is identical, although individual voices vary slightly. In Tav2, the Tr and M are a tone wider, and the B is a semitone wider. The voices in both are effectively separated into their respective ranges, a fourth or fifth apart, and conform to their authentic and plagal modal octaves.

Both settings appear to indicate a concern to reflect the mood, sense or importance of the words. Melisma, for example, is used for significant words, although it is perhaps shorter and less complex than in music from earlier Tudor times. *Sabbatum* is treated melismatically and at length, emphasizing the significance and importance of Easter Sunday for the listeners. *Sabbatum* and *Maria Magdalene* use all voices, giving a full, rich timbre. Both settings allocate as many bars to *Maria Magdalene* as to the combined setting of *et Maria Jacobi et*

Salome. This corresponds with the proportion of notes given in the plainchant and might, therefore, indicate that Marys Jacobi and Salome are regarded as slightly less important.

Both settings treat *et Salome* melodically. Tav1 is slightly shorter, uses fewer dotted notes and is much simpler than Tav2, but frequent syncopations drive the music forward. Tav2 is somewhat livelier, and in all parts the note rhythms complement those of the words by using dotted notes – carefully placed in the underlay in Baldwin and Dow – and use shorter note values.

Example 9.2: Tav2, CT bs. 25-27



In both settings, other words chosen for melismatic treatment include *aromata* (spices), *Jesum* (Jesus), and *Alleluia*. Initially, the word *aromata* does not seem to be a particularly obvious word for this treatment. However, Christopher Page (Page 1996, p.17) quotes Tinctoris on the use of sound to ‘invoke the sense of smell to denote something perceived by the sense of hearing.’ Perhaps this is one such occasion. The melismatic treatment of *aromata* draws attention to the word and thus the purpose of the visit to the tomb. The sweetness of the music parallels the sweet-smelling spices that the women were taking to anoint Christ’s body.

Further, in Tav1, the repeated slight rise and fall of the melodic lines at b.38 is coupled with a progressive rise in pitch from B to Tr. This could be a deliberate aural representation of the rise of the smell of spices. On another level, it might represent the rising aroma of the full and

sufficient sacrifice of Jesus, the Paschal Lamb. Tav2 uses ‘sweet-sounding’ parallel sixths between the CF and CT at *aromata* at b.27. The rise and fall in melodic lines and imitation in Tav2 at b.35f is comparable with Tav1, also at b.35.

Melismatic treatment for emphasizing *Jesum* is easily comprehended, as well as leading into the cadence for the end of this section, a typical use of melisma. *Alleluia* is usually treated elaborately – although not always melodically – in almost all sacred music.

The *Alleluia* is predictably more joyful, being a song of praise. In Tav1, perhaps it indicates the future joy of the women at Christ’s resurrection. This is achieved by syncopations, dotted rhythms and by the Tr and CT repeatedly rising to the highest note in their respective ranges. The stepwise descent that follows allows the successive voices prominence, with resulting repeated waves of sound.

By contrast, the *Alleluia* of Tav2 is rather more restrained, due to the voices singing mainly in their middle or lower registers, with steadier rhythms and less use of syncopation. Consequently, it sounds less obviously joyous.

The three women are differentiated within and between the settings by musical means. *Maria Magdalene* receives extensive melismatic treatment and then Tav1 introduces *et Maria Jacobi* by using the DT motif. Whilst accepting this is ‘common currency’, parallel use by B and M, then swift imitation by C, M and Tr, may reference the opening *incipit* and suggest that such use is deliberate. Certainly, it allies this motif with the person and therefore

individualises her. Further, the repeated and close use of any motif aids overall musical cohesion.

Example 9.3: Tav1, bs.19-22

The musical score for Example 9.3, Tav1, bs.19-22, is presented in two systems. The first system covers measures 19 to 22, and the second system covers measures 23 to 26. The score is for five parts: Tr (Trumpet), M (Maracas), C (Cello), T (Tenor), and B (Bass). The lyrics are: 'Mag - da - le - ne et Ma - ri - a'. Red arrows point to specific notes: one in the M staff at measure 20, and another in the C staff at measure 21. The score shows a melisma on 'Ma - ri' in measures 21 and 22.

The subsequent melisma and imitative trio further distinguish *Maria Jacobi*. The use of the upper voices in their upper registers might reflect the fact that all of the leading characters are female. The descending melodic line recalls the rhythm and melody of b.3 Tr, again aiding the cohesion of the music. The CT also has a sequence – unusual in these two Taverner settings, although he uses sequences in other works, e.g. the *Western Wind* Mass; it is an

indication of the way composers were beginning to develop their melodic material and differentiates this *Maria* from the other two.

Tav2 distinguishes the first two *Marias* by using the lowest notes in all voices for *Jacobi*. *Maria Magdalene* was set towards the upper register in both Tr and CT. Tav2 uses a rather static fragment of the CF, as cited earlier.

Different moods are evident in the two settings. Both start in a rather solemn way, with mainly long, slow notes. Whilst quite usual for the period, this is apposite for the text. The mood lightens as the three women are introduced, with shorter note values and more complex rhythms. This could be regarded as an example of ‘enargeia’: putting the situation before our eyes (Gersh, 2006, p.307). At *ut venientes* there is a marked change – the rhythm reverts to steady minims and crotchets, reflecting the women walking to the tomb – perhaps with little enthusiasm.

In setting *emerunt*, Tav1 uses the lowest note in all pitch ranges between bs.33-35. This might be a connection with the tomb and hence the depths of death (hell?) especially when allied with the general downward trajectory of all melodic lines. The mood changes again for the *Alleluia*.

Pace is allied with mood. There are slight differences in pace, not always at the same point in the text. In Tav1, at *et Maria Jacobi* there is a slight quickening of the pace due to shorter

note values and occasional use of dotted notes. Tav2, by contrast, uses mainly minims at this point, thereby decreasing the pace.

Example 9.4: Tav2, bs. 21-24

The image shows a musical score for five voices: Treble (Tr), Alto (M), Contralto (C), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The lyrics are: Tr: 'bi, Ja - co -'; M: 'Ja - co - bi, et Ma - ri - a Ja - co -'; C: 'ne et Ma - ri - a Ja - co - bi'; T: 'Ja - co -'; B: 'a Ja - co - bi et'. The score is written in a single system with five staves. The Treble staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The Alto, Contralto, and Tenor staves have a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The Bass staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are written below the staves, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes.

The pace at *et Salome* in Tav1 is slower than in Tav2: the latter increases the pace dramatically with eleven bars of lively imitation from b.25, using dotted notes and running quavers to create a lively interlude. Tav1 uses a similar technique at b.35, *aromata*, whereas Tav2 is comparatively rhythmically steady at this point. There is no significant correlation between the two works in the setting of these sections of the text.

Texture is similar in both settings. Benham notes that ‘The contrast between full and reduced texture largely went out of use as the second quarter of the sixteenth century drew on, in favour of full writing’ and cites the settings of *Dum Transisset* as examples. One can only agree. All parts sing for most of the time in both settings, although at any one point one voice may be silent for a period ranging from half a beat to four bars. There are only occasional bars in which there are fewer than four voices. The texture varies continuously, although not

necessarily dramatically, and the timbre changes constantly as voices enter and leave, both serving to maintain the listener's attention.

Duet or trio writing is comparatively rare. In Tav1, bs.19-24 have been cited above. There is a further short duet at bs.50-53 between Tr and M, but it is accompanied initially by the lower parts. The CT and B leave the texture at b.51, throwing the Tr and M into much sharper relief, with only the CF supporting them. Three voices, emblematic of the three women, perhaps:

Example 9.5: Tav1, bs.50-53

50

Tr un - ge - rent Je - sum.

M - rent Je - sum.

C - sum.

T Je - sum.

B - sum.

Tav2 has fewer reduced texture bars than Tav1. The first significant occasion is a duet at bs.41-43 between M and B, *ut venientes*, although they are supported by the CF. The change in timbre from full to essentially two voices would be quite dramatic for the listeners, perhaps refocussing their attention on the narrative.

Example 9.6: Tav2, bs.41-44

Musical score for Example 9.6, Tav2, bs.41-44. The score is for four voices: M (Male), C (Cantor), T (Tenor), and B (Bass). The lyrics are: M: tes un - ge - rent, un - ge; C: ut ve - ni; T: ve - ni - en; B: ut ve - ni - en.

Homophonic writing is also confined to a few bars in both settings, but is used to significant effect. Tav1 opens in a grand manner as befits the occasion, with a call-to-attention. This is achieved by two bars of slow-moving chords, and a bright sound with all voices singing in the middle or top of their range

Example 9.7: Tav1, bs.1-3

Musical score for Example 9.7, Tav1, bs.1-3. The score is for five voices: TREBLE, MEAN, COUNTER-TENOR, TENOR, and BASS. The lyrics are: TREBLE: sub - ba; MEAN: (no lyrics); COUNTER-TENOR: sub - ba - tam, sub - ba; TENOR: sub - ba; BASS: sub - ba.

The only other example of genuine homophony occurs at the beginning of the *Alleluia*. This begins in a similar way to the opening, equally arrestingly, and the reference aids the overall cohesion. It uses similar notes in the Tr, describing the same interval of a fourth, and uses comparable pitches in the remaining voices. The change of section is further emphasised by a different modal centre, which is now on a, rather than the original f. This might be regarded

as a deictic use of modal change: Gersh describes deixis in music as a means of ‘pointing’ words such as imperatives. Here, the text has been concerned with the narrative of the events. At this point, there is a change: the command is to ‘Praise’ (*Alleluia*). The change from narrative to praise is ‘pointed’ by the change in modal centre. (Gersh, 2006, p.307, *deixis*).

Example 9.8: Tav1, bs.54-56

The musical score for Example 9.8 shows five vocal parts: Tr (Treble), M (Mezzo), C (Contralto), T (Tenor), and B (Bass). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are "Al - le - lu - ya,". The Tr part begins with a boxed 'B' above the first note and a '55' above the second measure. The M part has a slur over the first two notes. The C, T, and B parts follow a similar melodic pattern with some variations in note values and rests.

Tav2 opens with some restraint. Whereas Tav1 commands the listener to pay attention to the story about to unfold and the joyousness of the day, Tav2 perhaps reflects the uncertainty and sombre mood of the women. It begins with a single sound from the CF, and each part enters successively and in strict imitation over the first three bars. There is only one instance of a significant episode of homophonic writing, which occurs at bs.16-19, as mentioned previously.

Perhaps because women are so significant in this narrative, attention is focussed on the upper three voices, which play almost equal roles in the polyphonic texture. The bass has a lesser role, melodically, but is part of the contrapuntal writing periodically. Taverner perhaps shows

an awareness of continental developments and in his use of imitation anticipates the motets that would appear in English compositions later in the century. Here, the B in Tav1 begins a new motif:

Example 9.9: Tav1, B, bs.35-6



Here, in Tav2, the melodic line is as complex as in the CT above, if only for two bars.

Example 9.10: Tav2, bs. 25-28



The part-writing is generally similar in both settings. Much of it is stepwise, with few leaps and little angularity. Tav2 is perhaps rather more angular, as here:

Example 9.11: Tav2, M, bs.8-10



Leaps of a third or fourth are common but fifths and octaves are much rarer, except in the B, in order to create a suitable line against the CF. Octaves tend to occur after a rest and therefore may draw attention to the next event – often a change of text, as here in Tav1.

Example 9.12: Tav1, B bs. 24-25



The following Tav2 example continues with the same text but the crotchet rest and octave leap would serve to emphasize the word, especially because it is the only entry on that beat.

Example 9.13: Tav2, B bs. 6-7



As stated in Chapter 7.1, p.112, the use of motifs is connected inextricably with the overall structure of the music and these settings are no exception. There is considerable use of imitation, which contributes to the overall cohesion of the music. For example, the motif in Tav1 CT at b.9 is used extensively between bs.12-18, in most voice parts.

Example 9.14: Tav1, CT, b.9



Example 9.15: Tav1, bs.12-18

Some motifs reference melodic fragments heard earlier – e.g. Tav2 uses an ascent through four notes at *ut venientes*, bs.41-49. This first appeared in CT at b.8 and then in M at b.15. Again, an ascent through four notes is common currency, but when it is heard five times in eight bars and frequently at the upper end of the voice ranges, the repetition and pitch generates connections in the minds of the listeners, contributing to the overall coherence. This example is also notable because it is one of the few occasions in which the CF is allied closely with the surrounding melodic material – T, bs.47-48.

Example 9.16: Tav2, T, bs.47-48

The image displays two systems of a musical score for five parts: Tr (Tenor), M (Mediant), C (Contratenor), T (Tenor), and B (Bass). The first system covers measures 47-48, and the second system covers measures 49-50. The lyrics are in Latin. Red arrows highlight specific notes in the M, C, and T parts across both systems.

System 1 (Measures 47-48):

- Tr:** Rests in measures 47 and 48.
- M:** "tes un - ge - rent, un - ge". A red arrow points to the note 'ge' in measure 48.
- C:** Rests in measures 47 and 48. A red arrow points to the note 'ut' in measure 48.
- T:** "ve - ni - en". A red arrow points to the note 'ni' in measure 47.
- B:** "ut ve - ni - en".

System 2 (Measures 49-50):

- Tr:** Measure 49 starts with a 45-measure rest, then "ut ve - ni - en - tes". A red arrow points to the note 'ut' in measure 49.
- M:** "rent, un - ge". A red arrow points to the note 'un' in measure 50.
- C:** "en - tes, ut ve - ni". A red arrow points to the note 'ut' in measure 50.
- T:** "tes un - ge - rent".
- B:** "tes un - ge - rent Je".

The use of the DT motif in Tav1, CT and T at bs.57-58 connects this section with the opening of the plainsong and bs.20-26. The placement seems deliberate: it is at the extremes of the registers and is used imitatively. The final bars (B, b.67 and Tr b.68) also use this motif, with the Tr at the upper limit of its range, leading directly to the final cadence.

Example 9.17: Tav1, bs.66-69

The image shows a musical score for five voices: Tr (Tenor), M (Mediant), C (Cantor), T (Tenor), and B (Bass). The lyrics are "ya, al - le - lu ya." The score is for measures 66-69. Red arrows point to specific notes in the Tr and B staves.

There is some use of this motif in Tav2, which might reference the plainsong incipit, but is more probably a reference to Tav1: CT, b.64 and imitated by Tr.at b.66. The latter seems to be a direct quotation from the final bars of Tav1.

Neither setting uses either dissonance or harmonic shifts to heighten the emotional aspects of the text. Dissonance is confined to suspensions at cadences, where it increases the tension and thereby drives the music forward to its subsequent release in the final chord.

In conclusion, there seem to be more similarities than significant differences between these two settings, not least in the final bars. Differences are slight but result in an assessment that Tav1 seems to be the better-crafted of the two settings.

- The melodic lines in Tav1 are more coherent, typically descending after an ascent, using only small leaps, and having an overall sense of direction.
- Tav2 has a tendency for some of the lines to be rather angular and therefore individually they are less coherent.
- The pervasive use of imitation in Tav1 draws the music together more convincingly than in Tav2.
- The setting of text in Tav1 is more sympathetic to the rhythm of the words than in Tav2.
- Interest is lost in Tav2, periodically. From *et Maria Jacobi* to *Jesum* the music is rhythmically uneventful, comprising mainly crotchets and minims. The texture is largely full and unvaried, apart from a short passage at *ut venientes*, where it reduces to two and three voices, before returning to five.

Overall, there are some differences in the skill of execution but comparatively few in approach. The similarities are such that they could have been composed by the same person – unevenness in execution does not preclude common authorship. Benham considered Tav2 to be ‘less graceful, spontaneous and rhythmically alive’ than Tav1 (Benham, 2003, p.238). One can only agree.

CHAPTER TEN

COMPARISONS: II

SHEPPARD

The two settings by Sheppard (c.1515-58, Chadd, Grove online,) were probably written some years after those of Taverner. It is unlikely that they were composed before c.1540, and Bowers (in Morehen, 1995, p.42) comments: "...much of which [the surviving six-part music] appears to date from the reign of Mary 1." Therefore, they might reasonably be dated between 1553 and 1558 and would have been composed for the then-restored Latin rite, and normal liturgical use.

The structure is standard for a respond: it is dictated by the CF, with cadences for all voices at *aromata* and *Jesum*, allowing for plainsong interpolation. The CF is in the Tenor in Shep1 and the Mean in Shep2. There are slight differences between the transcriptions by Benham for EECM but essentially the CF follows the Use of Salisbury.

Both settings have six voices, which was perhaps more characteristic of music from earlier in the century than at the time these settings were produced. By the mid-sixteenth century there was a general move to composing four-voice music, certainly on the continent, and this was becoming more usual in England. Sheppard, however, continued to compose larger scale polyphony, with only four works for the Proper of the Office having four voices, and the

others having between five and eight. As with the Taverner settings, the use of trebles indicates the significance of the occasion.

Clefs are standard and the voice ranges are very similar to those of Taverner. There is a widening beyond the respective modal octaves overall. The Tr is only slightly wider than the modal octave, covering a ninth, in both settings. Apart from the CF, all voices have ranges considerably wider than an octave, exceeding it by between a third and a fifth.⁹ They have similar ranges, varying by only a semitone or a tone. Davitt Moroney (1980, p.6) notes that early Tudor music is characterised by its ‘rich sonority’ and that British [sic] composers ‘favoured the sound of treble voices and, also, that of low basses.’ Both characteristics may be seen in the settings of both Taverner and Sheppard.

Sheppard sets the text similarly in both settings and similarly to the other settings in Baldwin. The first section is mainly melismatic and the same words as in Taverner’s settings are treated in this way. Shep1 uses a stepwise descent for the initial statement of *Sabbatum*: common currency and a melodic idea that will be used subsequently. This is an example of a standard opening but made more interesting because most of the voices have a different rhythm. The aural connection is obvious.

⁹ Note that in the EECM edition the lowest note in the B for both settings is f. In fact, the lowest note for Shep2 is e, making the overall range of Shep2 a semitone wider than that of Shep1.

Example 10.1: Shep1, bs 1-3

Musical score for Example 10.1, Shep1, bs 1-3. The score is for six voices: TREBLE, MEAN, ALTO, COUNTER-TENOR, TENOR, and BASS. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics "sab - ba" are written under the MEAN, ALTO, COUNTER-TENOR, and BASS staves. The MEAN and ALTO staves have a "y" symbol below them. The TENOR staff has a "y" symbol below it. The BASS staff has a "y" symbol below it.

Musical score for Example 10.1, Shep1, bs 1-3. The score is for six voices: T, M, A, C, T, and B. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics "tum, sab" are written under the M staff. The lyrics "-tum Ma-ri - a" are written under the A staff. The lyrics "tum," are written under the B staff. The T, C, and T staves have a "y" symbol below them.

Possibly, Shep2 references Tav2 in the opening rising fourth and close, strict imitation.

However, equally, it could be argued that this opening is merely one of the “large stock of melodic formulae” (Grimshaw, 2007, p.61).

Example 10.2: Shep2, bs.1-2

Musical score for Example 10.2: Shep2, bs.1-2. The score is for six voices: TREBLE, MEAN, COUNTER-TENOR 1, COUNTER-TENOR 2, TENOR, and BASS. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are 'sab - ba - tum, sab - sab - sab -'. The TREBLE part has a melisma on 'sab' in the first measure. The MEAN part has a melisma on 'ba' in the first measure. The COUNTER-TENOR 1 part has a melisma on 'sab' in the first measure. The COUNTER-TENOR 2 part has a melisma on 'sab' in the first measure. The TENOR part has a melisma on 'sab' in the first measure. The BASS part has a melisma on 'sab' in the first measure.

Whichever suggestion is preferred, the point of imitation is not extended significantly beyond the initial statement. Thereafter, the voices move independently, the only other motif of note (or not) being the DT motif at bs.2 and 4 – incidentally in parallel with the CF and resulting effectively in octaves. A similar fleeting reference is also made in Shep1, Tr bs.3-4, where it works in contrary motion with the CF. Again, this is not unusual– but occurring in both settings, so soon after the *incipit*, in the treble and in its upper range, the reiteration of the motif could serve to focus the attention of the listener on the narrative.

Unlike the Taverner settings, neither of those by Sheppard sets *Maria* [*Magdalene*] to a melisma. Both set it syllabically, with careful attention to the rhythm of the word and its stress pattern – the rhythm corresponds to that of Tav1, at *aromata*. There is a rising interval between the first two syllables in both settings, followed by an immediate descent, which last recalls Tav2. In common with the Taverner settings, they stress her importance by spending twice as long on her name as on those of *Jacobi* and *Salome*.

Example 10.3: Shep2, Tr.bs.3-4



Sheppard also distinguishes musically between the three women. In Shep1, attention is drawn to the new name and person – *et Maria Jacobi* – by setting *et* to a syncopated crotchet (arrowed), which emphasises a syllable that would normally take only a short note. Here, it begins a new imitative point, which again incorporates the DT motif. Whilst common currency might be argued, the surrounding texture is relatively calm. Tr and M each have a descending melody and A has a minim; thus, the CT is in sharp relief and is the most prominent voice.

The connection with the incipit might have been noticed by the listeners because each voice follows at a distance of two beats, from the same note, and the imitation is almost exact, in four of the five voices. The urgent repetition of *et* seems designed to ensure that *Maria Jacobi* should not be forgotten. As if to underscore this further, the CT has another syncopation and a singularly angular line to reach its highest note at b.11. This is followed by a final repetition of the previous idea, at last in the M. The Tr at b.13 is very similar to the CT at b.11, but now connecting the two women in their purpose because the text at b.13 is *et Salome*.

Example 10.4: Shep1, bs 8-12

Shep2 differentiates *Maria Jacobi* from *Maria Magdelene* by setting *Maria Jacobi* in at least six different ways within four bars (bs.8-11). Sometimes it is on the beat, and at others, it is syncopated. It is set syllabically but without as much attention to the word rhythms as in Shep1. The second syllable is often stressed by being set to a longer note but on other occasions, the final syllable occurs somewhat strangely on a strong beat.

At *aromata*, Shep1 seems to recall Tav1, with a similar upward leap and the same rhythm.

Example 10.5: Shep1, B, b.14

The dotted rhythm complements the word stress closely, although the melisma on *ma* beginning with a semiquaver, rather than more usually, in other settings, on *ro*, is somewhat uneasy. There is an initial upward leap in all voices – often of a fifth, f-c or c-g – and the music builds up to the cadence by stating this pattern fifteen times in seven bars.

As in Tav1, *aromata* begins in the B and rises up through the voices, as if incense and/or the sacrificial ‘burnt offering’ of Christ. The last iteration provides the climax by the Tr, which starts from the highest note for this motif, reaching the highest notes in the overall range and finishing on a high f sharp. This is a sharpened third and the modal centre has moved to D. The overall tessitura is high, the CF now providing the lowest pitch on D, in the absence of the B – perhaps to emphasise the higher tessitura and thereby the significant role played by the women on this occasion.

An ascent or descent through five notes in short values – semiquavers – was first seen at b.2. Here, it is used to heighten the climax by parallel use between the two parts at b.15 – perhaps to signify the diffusing ‘aroma’ of the spices or the sacrifice, as above. Contrary motion and imitation at b.18 provide melodic variety. There are some short melismas on *emerunt* – there might be a connection between carrying the spices and carrying the syllable, but maybe that is too fanciful.

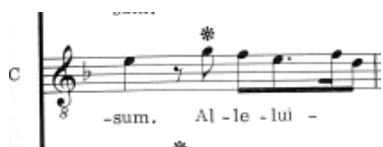
Shep2 operates similarly. The overall phrase is set syllabically with a similar rhythm for *aromata* but here, the short melismas are only on this word, and as in Shep1, *ma* is set to a semiquaver. Again, there is a repeated pattern with an initial upward fourth or fifth,

depending on the context, and building to the cadence also similarly, the pattern occurring twelve times within eight bars. The section also finishes on a D chord with a sharpened third, but this is an octave lower in the Tr and the sonority is fuller and more rounded because all six voices are singing.

Melismas for *Jesum* and *Alleluia* are short and the treatment of *Alleluia* is quite different.

Shep1 recalls the opening descent, which was also seen at *ut venientes*. This connection aids the overall cohesion, along with many repetitions of a motif first seen at b.27 in CT.

Example 10.6: Shep1, CT, b.27



Example 10.7: Shep1, bs.27-29

This level of imitation continues throughout the *Alleluia*, with statements usually starting on g. The iterations of the descent from the highest note in each voice's range, much use of dotted notes and constant waves of sound emphasise the joyousness – it is exuberant.

The Shep2 *Alleluia* is more restrained because the voices sing mainly in their middle ranges and the rhythm is less complex. The rhythmic connections are not as dramatic as in Shep1, but there is a repeated quaver motif, first seen at b.8. It is used here, with variations.

Example 10.8: Shep2, Tr, b.8



Example 10.9: Shep2, bs.29-34

The musical score is for a six-part setting (Tr, M, C1, C2, T, B) in G major. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system covers measures 29-34, and the second system covers measures 35-40. The lyrics are 'al-le-lui-a, al-le-lui-a, al-le-lui-a, al-le-lui-a, al-le-lui-a, al-le-lui-a'. Red arrows point to specific notes in the B part (bass) in measures 30, 35, 36, 37, and 38, highlighting the final cadence on E in measure 38.

The final cadence has the modal centre now on E. It is full, rich and satisfying, the B singing e, the lowest note in its range, combined with the sweetness of the g sharp in the A.

Whilst some music relies on changes in pace to create variety, this cannot be said of these settings. There is little difference between them, both overall and within the sections. Both settings use a full range of note-values in almost every bar and the pace is maintained by frequent use of dotted rhythms and runs of semiquavers. This gives a somewhat relentless feeling to the music.

Ut venientes provides a momentary respite in both settings – the rhythm is comparatively steady for two bars, apart from an occasional dotted note. This section is also characterised by wide leaps in Shep1 – octaves at bs, 21-22 in A, B and CT, and frequent fifths, both ascending and descending. They occur at *ungerent* and draw attention to this word by being placed on an off-beat, using a dotted rhythm to emphasise the syncopation and starting on the highest pitch in the phrase. The melodic line recalls the opening stepwise descent, aiding overall cohesion. Shep2 is less dramatic, but does use some smaller leaps.

The texture is full, polyphonic and complex in both settings. There is almost no homophony: Shep1 has none, apart from at cadences. The opening of Shep2 recalls Tav1, and later has six homophonic beats at b.27. These begin with a syncopation: this is such a dramatic change that the listeners would have been forced to refocus their attention.

Example 10.10: Shep2, bs.27-28 (shaded)

There are other Sheppard responds in which there is more extensive homophonic treatment – for example, *In Pace*, bs.6-8 and bs.39-42. Admittedly, *In pace* is a respond for Compline, where a more reflective mood might be required, and therefore less rhythmic complexity.

However, homophony was a characteristic of Sheppard's compositional style and therefore could have been incorporated into any of his compositions, in order to provide a change of texture and/or mood, raising the question as to why there is not more variety in his *Dum Transisset* settings.

The part-writing is highly independent and yet integrally connected by the imitative points. In both settings, each voice is rhythmically almost totally separate. There are occasional bars in Shep1 in which there is parallel movement between two parts but these are rare and brief: b.7 between M and C, and b.26 between Tr and M. There are no similar bars in Shep2.

Again, there are plenty of examples of parallel movement in other responds – *In manus tuas*, for example, bs.7, 22, 27, 32-33, 36. These recall the chains of 'first inversion' chords that characterise much continental music. The style of the DT responds is much more reminiscent of the Eton Choirbook than of contemporaneous music by other English composers, or compared with composers working on the continent. Sheppard must, then, have chosen this style deliberately for this respond. Perhaps his intention was to recall the elaborate polyphony of the Eton Choirbook, to reassure congregations that the new Queen had restored order in the land and the Catholic Rite in the church.

As in Taverner, both settings are based on a series of motifs that are used as points of imitation, although this is not always exact and rarely continues for many beats. For example, in both settings, the voices enter initially in succession at strict two-beat intervals. This

Example 10.11: Shep2, bs.3-7

Ma - ri - a Ma - ga - le - ne

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Example 10.12: Shep1, bs.15-17

New sections of text introduce new motifs but at times they are connected, often by rhythm. Rhythmic similarity aids overall cohesion. For example, in Shep1, the rhythm of *Maria Magdalene*, B, bs.4-5 is the same as at *aromata*, b.14. Shep2, Tr b.3 begins the rhythm that is used in B from b.14, for the same sections of text as Shep1. In Shep1, the section on *ut venientes* at b.20ff recalls the stepwise descent from the opening. In Shep2, b.14f the upward fourth in most voices at *emerunt* recalls the upward fourth from the beginning. This is made more obvious because in most voices this new portion of text is preceded by a rest.

In conclusion, as with the Taverner settings, there are many similarities. The overall disposition of text is very similar in terms of the number of bars allocated to each portion of text. The treatment of individual words – for example, melismas, rhythmic treatment – the importance accorded to particular words, and the musical differentiation of the women, are also points of similarity.

Stylistically, both settings are rhythmically complex and melodically independent. There are several imitative points that demonstrate Sheppard's skill in creating strict imitation against a CF, even though the points do not continue extensively before the part-writing diverges.

Both settings maintain a comparatively constant pace, with few changes in texture and little respite apart from at cadential points.

As with the Taverner settings, there are few significant differences. Perhaps Shep1 is constructed a little more tightly in terms of the quantity of close imitation. Perhaps Shep2 is slightly more angular in some of the part-writing, but instances are isolated.

Is there any case for suggesting an homage to Taverner in these settings? Possibly, but if so, only tentatively. The opening of Shep2 recalls that of Tav2, with the upward fourth and gradual introduction of the voices – more common currency admittedly, but sufficiently similar to be noticeable. The setting of *aromata* in Shep1 follows the same shape and pattern as that of Tav1. Whilst the rhythm may be complementary and predictable, it was not obligatory, and neither was the upward leap on the first syllable, both of which characterise these settings.

Evaluating them against Leech-Wilkinson's criteria, they must be regarded as successful.

Some sections are connected with others by rhythms and melodies that are similar enough to

make an aural connection, but subtly different, such that the listener would not find the degree of consistency tedious.

Individual sections are well integrated by close imitation, where again, the rhythm and melody may be 'flexed' to suit the context but the changes also maintain the listener's interest, even where the stress aspect of the text-setting occasionally might be surprising.

The use of trebles adds greatly to the range of timbre available, which changes constantly – rather confirming Moroney's view that composers in this period 'relied heavily on sonority for variety in their music' (Moroney, 1980, p.6).

Again, as in the Taverner settings, neither setting makes significant use of dissonance. There are occasional false relations and suspensions at cadences, but dissonance is not part of the textual interpretation.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

COMPARISONS: III

11.1 Taverner and Sheppard

The next comparison is between the settings by Taverner and those by Sheppard, where there are many similarities. The section lengths are in the same proportion. Taking into account the differences in transcription, Tav1 begins *Maria Magdalene* at the same point as both Sheppard settings. Similarly, *et Maria Jacobi* and *emerunt* are at almost comparable points. The vocal ranges are almost the same. Shep2 is very slightly wider: the Tr extends the range upward by one note to g¹ and the bass downward by one note to E. This is contrary to the information on the prefatory stave, which gives F. Neither of these pitches is unusually high nor low for music of this period.

Both composers show similarities in the way they treat the text: there is an appreciation of word-rhythm and, frequently, the melodic line reflects this, but not necessarily always. Both composers use melismas on predictable words such as *Sabbatum*, *Jesum*, and *Alleluia* and both also draw attention to particular words by embellishing them with melismas. Both composers are sensitive to the mood of the text, to some extent. Initially, the mood reflects the sombre circumstances and then the second section is slightly quicker in pace, as befits the straightforward narrative. Both have a livelier *Alleluia*.

Perhaps the most noticeable difference between the two settings is in the rhythmic complexity. Chronologically, it might have been anticipated that the composer writing more

Example 11.1: Shep2, bs.17-19

Tr
e - me - runt a - ro - ma-ta, a - ro - ma - ta, e -

M
- runt a - ro - ma -

C¹
- runt a - ro - ma - ta, e-me - runt a - ro - ma -

C²
et Sa - lo-me, et Sa - lo-me, et Sa - lo-me, et Sa - lo-me,

T
- ta, e - me - runt a - ro - ma - ta, e - me - runt a - ro - ma-ta,

B
e-me - runt a - ro - ma - ta, e - me - runt a -

Although the setting by Hollander is a respond-motet, for present purposes the PP may be considered separately from the SecP: the text is the same as that of the respond settings proper, even though there are no interpolated plainsong sections. Considering all settings, there some similarities: the section proportions are the same and the overall voice ranges are

almost the same, although that of Hollander is narrower, because the bass does not descend below Bb.

In terms of differences, the pace of Tav1, Tav2, Shep1, and Shep2 is more similar to Stra and Mun. All of these settings begin rather more slowly, and increase the pace slightly, at *et Maria Jacobi*. Hol and Tal, by contrast, maintain a similar pace at the beginning as compared with the second section. The *Alleluia* is more lively in all settings but that was normal then, as now.

The approach to word setting is slightly different. Tav1, Tav2, Shep1, Shep2, Tal and Hol follow word-rhythms some of the time but not always consistently, and on occasion throw accents onto unexpected syllables. Mun and Stra, by contrast, follow the word-rhythms more consistently.

The main difference between the settings is that of note-values and resulting complexity, or lack of it. Tav1, Tav2, Shep1, Shep2 and Tal have a greater variety of note-values and are melodically and rhythmically much more complex, Shep1 and Shep2 being more complex than Tav1, Tav2 and Tal. Hol, Mun and Stra use a very restricted selection of note-values: semibreves, minims and crotchets, with a very occasional dotted rhythm or pair of quavers. This results in melodic lines that are more simple and the texture sounds more homophonic, even if the individual voice lines are, in reality, melodies in their own right – as opposed to harmonic ‘fillers’, which would become the case in a later period of time.

11.3 Hollander: Prima Pars and Secunda Pars

In terms of other comparisons, it would be interesting to compare the DT settings with other respond settings in Baldwin. It would also be interesting to compare Hol with other respond-motets in Baldwin. However, such comparisons are beyond the scope of this dissertation and therefore the final comparison in this chapter will consider only the first and second parts of Hol.

The PP has already been considered in relation to the remaining settings, with which it shares its text. The SecP takes the plainsong text that in the remaining settings is interpolated, and sets it polyphonically. There are few significant differences in the compositional approach taken by Hollander in this section, compared with the first.

The text is:

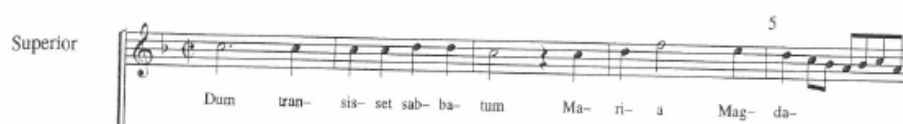
Et valde mane una sabbatorum veniunt ad monumentum orto iam sole

And very early in the morning the first day of the week, they came to the sepulchre at the rising of the sun.

The music is built on imitative points that are very similar to those of the PP both in rhythmic and melodic character. The rhythms are usually steady and, as in PP, built from semibreves, dotted minims and crotchets, with perhaps a little more use of quavers, especially between bs.11-21. There is some syncopation, mainly on the syllable *sab*, see Example (9.15) below.

Two motifs are introduced in the first four bars. The first point is a compressed variant of the first motif in the PP, but whereas the PP incorporates the DT motif, the SecP is only half the length and descends a third. It continues with a melisma, as does the PP.

Example 11.2: Hol, PP, 1st motif S, bs.1-4



Example 11.3 Hol, SecP, 1st motif S, bs.1-2



The motif at Example 11.3 above, could be considered as an inversion of a peak-note subject and it appears four times in quick succession in the first seven bars.

The second motif follows the first immediately. The descending third from SecP b.2 (above) first appeared in the PP at bs.22-3.

Example 11.4: Hol, PP, S b.22-23



The voice parts are introduced in rapid succession: S then CT 1.5 bars later, QP three bars after this, T three bars after QP and B 1.5 after T, the minor third being a significant interval.

Example 11.5: Hol, SecP, 1st motif S, bs. 3-5



The motif at b.22 is a synthesis of the first two, using a rise of a step and the descent of a third:

Example 11.6: Hol, SecP, S.22-23



Perhaps Hol interprets the text as suggesting that the women would be hurrying. The S begins the new motif, off the beat, and it is followed only a beat later, and on the beat, by ST and QP. This is repeated by T and B at b.25. This accent displacement drives the music forward and continues until b.33. It might be regarded as an example of Hollander's skill and craftsmanship.

The DT motif was originally seen in the PP, S, b.3

Example 11.7: Hol, SecP, T bs.33-35



It is used extensively and in all parts between bs.33-41. Each entry is a fourth apart, beginning with d in T at b.33, then g (S) g (B) c (CT) c (QP and B) and finally f (T). This set of entries concludes with a final statement in S at b.38, from c: the first note of the CF. This

is from c^1 , in the S and therefore the most noticeable pitch and voice in the texture. It is difficult to imagine this use of DT-O as being anything other than deliberate.

This section is slightly different in character from the PP and the remainder of the SecP. There is more use of dotted rhythms, which adds a greater degree of liveliness, and there is more use of silence in the parts. This creates changes in texture. For example, see bs.22-30, where CT and QP sing at bs.22-24 and are imitated by T and B at bs.25-27. This is repeated at bs.28-30 but here, CT is paired with T. The section ends with B followed by QP after 3 beats and S after two – a total of three parts, possibly emblematic again.

Melodically, the SecP is much the same as the PP. There are no difficult lines – everything proceeds by step or small leap, the latter rarely greater than a fourth and then only a fifth. The widest leap is a 6th in the B at b.11-12, d-b, but this is between two portions of text and the b follows a crotchet rest. The B also has an octave leap at bs.36-37, but again, this is after a rest, and the QP has an octave at b.25.

In similarity with the PP, the setting of text does not always follow the stress-patterns of the words – see b.1 above, for example, where *de* and *ne* are on strong beats. Other composers might have set this with the stress on *val* and *ma*. Word rhythms are observed on occasion: see *sabbatorum* at b.9-10.

Example 11.8: Hol, SecP, S bs.9-10



This also draws attention to the word, in that it is syncopated. This word is emphasised further in the following bars in a manner similar to the PP, that is, melodically, and in most parts between bs.11-21.

Example 11.9: Hol, SecP, QP, bs.16-19



Use of melisma is not extensive – apart from, as noted above, it appears in some parts at *ad monumentum*.

Example 11.10: Hol, SecP, B bs.31-4



The use of the five-note descending pattern has been discussed.

The only significant cadence in this section occurs at b.21-22. In other contexts, it would be described as a perfect cadence in F major, with a suspension in the QP and syncopation in the CT. There is an ‘interrupted’ cadence at b.15.

At b.40 the T leads into a reprise of *ut venientes* which, from b.41-78 is the same as the PP, other than the T singing the QP part and the QP singing the T part.

It may be seen that there is little difference of approach between the two sections of the Hollander setting. Overall, the SecP is slightly more lively, there being a greater use of dotted rhythms and quavers, especially the five-note descending pattern (p.249), but melodically it is much the same, as is the treatment of cadential points.

CHAPTER TWELVE

TRANSCRIPTIONS AND COMPLETIONS

12.1 Transcriptions

To my knowledge, there are no scholarly editions containing the settings by Strabridge and Mundy. Consequently, the author has transcribed these settings from the DIAMM digitised part books. The transcriptions may be found in Volume 2.

11.2 Critical Commentary

The transcriptions are diplomatic, therefore:

- original note values have been maintained
- apparent ‘errors’ by Baldwin are usually retained.

Detail is provided below and most comments are also indicated in boxes on the score.

Note that:

- practice at the time of Baldwin was to use sharps or naturals to cancel a flat given at the beginning of the clef, without any consistency as to which was used
- sharps were usually applied to the adjacent note by or that very close to it
- sharps apply only to the note and at the pitch concerned, not the note’s octaves or further repetitions, apart from perhaps at cadences
- the table below refers to ‘Baldwin’ as indicating the physical manuscript. There is no means of ascribing anomalies either to the composer or the copyist

AS – The Antiphonale Sarisburiense 1519 version of plainsong, with which both settings accord very closely. By the early 16th century the Sarum Rite was in use widely and in 1519 a printed version was published that had a scholarly pedigree, textual integrity, was reliable and as important, was reasonably priced (Williamson, 2912, Blackwell before Fig 4). It is probable that the composers in Baldwin would have had access to this version.

Table 7: Mundy – critical commentary

Bar Number	Voice	Commentary
13	Discantus	Baldwin gives a sharp here to indicate b natural – <i>Sibelius</i> defaults to a natural sign. This has been retained – a sharp would give an incorrect wrong pitch
16	Discantus	Baldwin inserts a flat sign
21	Superius	Baldwin departs from AS – there are two black crotchets on the score which are minims C and D, rather than F semibreve as in AS. The AS's F would have duplicated the F in the Altus and given unisons against the Sextapars. The C as given is unsatisfactory against the Bassus but is retained because the transcription is diplomatic, rather than for performance
22	Superius	AS is resumed
42	Discantus	As b.13 above
44	Discantus	Baldwin has flat sign

49	Discantus	As b.13 above
56	Discantus	There are two semibreves (D-C) at this point in Baldwin and AS that do not fit with the surrounding parts and therefore have been omitted so that the succeeding bars work musically
57	Discantus	Baldwin resumes AS
84	Sextapars	Sharp is given but is inappropriate. More probably, it is intended to affect C, at b.85
84	Sextapars	Sharp added here
116	Sextapars	No natural given but context suggests it should have been
146	Discantus	Baldwin gives C sharp but this is highly unlikely in this context and therefore has been omitted

Table 8: Strabridge – critical commentary

Bar Number	Voice	Commentary
39	Superius	Baldwin gives a sharp here to indicate b natural – <i>Sibelius</i> defaults to a natural sign
49	Superius	As b.39 above
58	Contra tenor	As b.39 above
64	Superius	As b.39 above
73	Bassus	As b.39 above
77	Superius	As b.39 above

81	Superius	As b.39 above
82	Superius	Sib automatically inserts flat
110	Superius	As b.39 above
114	Superius	As b.39 above
125	Superius	As b.39 above
134	Bassus	Flat is above dotted semibreve F, earlier but this is quite usual for the time

12.3 Completions

The completions may be found in Volume 2.

The Strabridge and Mundy settings are unique to the BPB, and the setting by Strabridge is the only composition that can be ascribed to him definitively. There are, therefore, no concordant sources from which to complete the missing tenor line. By contrast, had there been no concordant sources, Tav1, Tav2 and Shep1 could have been completed comparatively easily by inserting a version of the CF in the tenor line. Such is not the case here, because the Cantus Firmus appears in voices other than the tenor.

The *Tudor Part Books Project*, led by Dr. Magnus Williamson, provided three training sessions that enabled interested students and others the opportunity to learn how to approach the completion of missing parts. Following attendance at the three sessions, a tenor line has been created for each of these compositions. They are not definitive but it is hoped that they:

- maintain the style of the period
- maintain such of the composer's style as is evident from the single examples of their work in Baldwin

- provide an adequate version for performance.

The process of composition was first to identify probable points of imitation. The same starting note as in an adjacent part was attempted initially, following the example set by the composer. Where the surrounding polyphony did not accommodate the imitative point exactly, an alternative starting note was identified, frequently a fifth away from the initial statement. On occasion, an imitative point might be ‘flexed’ (Milsom, 2005, pp.294-345). ‘Flexing’ alters the imitative point slightly, by altering one or more intervals, but usually maintains the rhythm, most of the original melody and certainly its outline.

The melodic lines of the surrounding parts were maintained for as many bars as possible, but then free composition was necessary. In this circumstance, notes were selected that either completed missing harmony notes or doubled the first or fifth notes of the chord, whilst maintaining an appropriate melodic line. In both settings, melodic movement tended to be restricted to small intervals – often step-wise and rarely more than a fifth. Melismatic or syllabic writing for specific syllables was noted and incorporated.

Tempo, dynamics and articulation are not appropriate in this edition.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

CONCLUSIONS

The focus of this dissertation has been to consider how six composers set the same text, the extent to which the settings are successful, and to establish an order of composition from a manuscript that has few dates and is a collection of exemplars from a wide time-frame. It should be noted again that the settings were considered only in relation to each other in Baldwin, and not contextualised within the wider works of the composers concerned. Neither was the question of mode considered any more than tangentially, it being a contentious area (still), with no consensus on the extent to which the notion of mode can be meaningful in a polyphonic composition of the period. In addition, the transcription and creation of a Tenor voice part for the settings by Mundy and Strabridge in Volume Two has provided an opportunity for complete performances of these works.

Internal cohesion has been demonstrated in the structural deployment of successive musical motifs, the increasing importance of imitation in the overall texture, and the repetition of melodic fragments, some of which are derived from the CF. There is evidence of a change in approach: from using short melodies as imitative points that are not developed significantly, to using the same ideas repeatedly, sometimes in several sections – albeit with slight modifications to suit the context. However, it has also been seen that, whilst this aids the overall cohesion, it can, if pursued unvaryingly, become tedious.

The similarities and differences in the approach to setting the text have been considered in terms of rhythmic patterning and reflection of mood. All of the composers show an awareness of both aspects, although some exhibit more variety than others.

The function of the CF can be seen to vary between the settings. Discounting Hollander, because he does not use the CF as a foundational melodic line, there are three groups. The first group, comprising Tav1, Tav2 and Shep1, uses the CF as the foundation and builds the settings around it. The CF is placed in the Tenor, where it is perhaps less audible or noticeable because it is embedded within a complex texture. The CF begins at t b.1, further emphasising its function as the music's foundation. Shep2 forms the second 'group', in that it falls between the first group and the third, discussed below. It belongs with the first group in that the CF begins at b.1, but with the third, in that the CF is rather higher in pitch. It is placed in the M. and is therefore more audible.

Tal, Stra, and Mun form the third group. They all delay the entrance of the CF, which might draw attention to its significance and, arguably, might change its perceived role from foundational to that of being an integrated melodic line in the overall texture. Tal and Mun both place the CF in the highest pitch position. However, in Mun it may not have been heard particularly clearly over the other voices because the tessitura is quite low and several of the other melodic lines rise above it in pitch – it is one more voice in the texture. Tallis moves the CF placement a stage further and demonstrates Zacconi's 'skill in arrangement of tonal materials' by placing the CF at the upper extreme of the Superius' register. Coupled with its delayed entry, the CFs function becomes dramatic rather than foundational: it floats ethereally and calmly over the remaining voices, in marked contrast to the forward energy of the other voices.

Looking now at how elements of the CF are used, there is some similarity between the settings (see Table 6). The strategic use of the DT motif is of note. Both Tav1 and Tav2 use it in the final bars, in the highest voice and from c, as in the *incipit*, creating an aural symmetry. Stra and Tal also use it in the final bars, albeit transposed. Such occurrences could be a deliberate reference back to the CF, reminding the listener of the plainsong and aiding the cohesion of the music.

Several of the settings also use the DT motif multiple times within a few bars. Shep1 uses it, also starting on c, at bs.4, 6, 9 and 11, and Shep2 at bs.2 and 4, and then at bs.29 and 31. Hol uses it starting on c, at bs.3, 7, 8 and 9, and transposed in other parts. Hol also uses it, from c, at bs.65, 66, 68, 69 and 70, and transposed in other parts. In all of the above examples, the DT motif occurs at a similar point in the text – initially connected with *sabbatum* or *Maria*, and then later in the *Alleluia*. Its use in this way would seem to be deliberate.

Stylistically, the settings fall into two groups – Tav1, Tav2, Shep1 and Shep2 remain in the Eton Choirbook tradition, whilst Tal, Mun, Stra and especially Hol, demonstrate a move towards a simpler and more homophonic style, with greater use of imitative points.

There is evidence that developments on the Continent were known in England, and their influence may be seen, both in stylistic terms and by the fact that Baldwin includes continental composers in the BPB. This latter gave fellow musicians the opportunity to experience continental music somewhat before *Musica Transalpina* was published. Further, Baldwin includes Hollander's DT respond-motet setting in his collection, pointing the way to a new treatment of the respond and showing that he was aware of continental trends.

At this point, it is appropriate to re-state Daniel Leech-Wilkinson's quotation from the Introduction and to consider the overall success or otherwise of these settings. Leech-Wilkinson (Knighton and Fallows, OUP: p.7) suggests that 'it should be possible to identify pieces which do nothing out of the ordinary, or which fail to do the ordinary in an interesting way, monotonously using and reusing a few hackneyed melodic shapes, rhythmic figures, and contrapuntal progressions' and therefore, by implication, it should be possible to form a judgment regarding whether or not a composition is 'good', 'bad', or 'boring.' He suggests that a good composition is one that:

- engages the mind of the listener until it is over
- is fundamentally consistent within itself although interestingly unpredictable in matters of detail
- has well-shaped melodic lines
- subjects the resultant phrase shapes to the underlying patterns of metre.

In commenting on this it should, of course, continually be borne in mind, in relation to the first point, that the twenty-first century listener inevitably brings a different perspective to this music from those either of the sixteenth-century composer or the sixteenth-century listener. The disinterested sixteenth-century listener may, in any case, have been of little significance to the contemporaneous composer of liturgical music. However, as Butler and others have pointed out, there were occasions when the commissioning monarch would surely have required that his or her invited listeners be overwhelmed by the splendour of the music. On such occasions, the composer's given brief may have included this requirement, implicitly if not indeed explicitly. This is less likely to have been the case for these settings:

they were composed for the regular liturgy of Easter Day, its importance in the church calendar notwithstanding.

As far as it is possible to know, the sixteenth-century composer regarded himself as a craftsman. He would have expected, and would have been expected, to complete to the best of his ability the task for which he received payment and, often, bed and board. He would not have been expected to produce music that was anything other than ‘decorous’, that is, the music had to be appropriate to the occasion. Having said that, the composer was also writing music for colleagues who were professional musicians. As such, it is reasonable to surmise that a composer would have wanted to provide music that his colleagues would find agreeable to sing – and probably also wished to impress them with his skills. The Taverner, Sheppard, and Tallis settings would surely have fulfilled all of these requirements.

Little is known regarding a church congregation’s attitude to the music they heard. However, it is certainly possible that they might have attended church services with much the same interest as when attending any other type of musical performance. That is, the religious purpose may, or may not, have been their prime focus. Jeffrey Dean cites a quotation from Felix Fabri, a Dominican friar from Ulm, who said of the Dominican church of SS Paulo and Giovanni in Venice as early as 1483, that: ‘...young people and ladies flock there not so much for divine service but in order to hear melodies and discantors’.¹⁰

¹⁰ Jeffrey Dean, in *Early Music* Vol 26, No.3 (Aug 1998), pp. 537-539. Jeffrey Dean was replying to criticism from Honey Meconi re *Listening to Sacred Polyphony* (previously in *Early Music*, xxv/4, Nov 1997, pp.611-636) and quoting from an article supplied subsequently to him by Bonnie Blackburn: *Petrucchi’s Venetian Editor: Petrus Castellanus and his musical Garden*. (MD 995: at pp.153-155).

Evaluation of a composition's quality is not only a matter for consideration in the present and recent past. As early as 1592, Lodovico Zacconi considered the criteria against which music might be appraised and evaluated. James Haar recounts Zacconi's list (Zacconi, Venice, 1592 and 1622, quoted in Haar, 1998: p.19):

- inventiveness
- artifice
- melodic grace
- contrapuntal skill
- ability to weave a good musical texture
- skill in arrangement of tonal materials
- the power to please¹¹

Haar goes on to note that, unfortunately, Zacconi does not define his criteria but, nevertheless, several of the statements are sufficiently self-explanatory that they make a clear starting point – so perhaps permission is granted from a contemporaneous source to attempt an evaluation of the music under consideration.

How, then, do the eight settings of *Dum Transisset Sabbatum* fare in relation to Leech-Wilkinson and/or Zacconi? In the discussions so far, it will have been evident that, as a group, Tav1, Tav2, Shep1, Shep2 and Tal fulfil all four of Leech-Wilkinson's criteria, as well as those of Zacconi. They show ample evidence of ideas being stated, modified and yet referencing the original sufficiently to make audible connections and maintain the attention

¹¹ *E però volendo io ragionar de I varij stile, modi, e maniere di diverse compositioni dico: che las Musica armoniale si distingue in sette particolar dispositione: cioè, ion arte, modulatione, diletto, tessitura, contraponto, inventione, e buona dispositione.* (Haar, Princeton: 1998, p.14, Note 6).

of the listener. The melodic lines are interesting and varied, engaging both listener and performer. There is a wide variety of rhythms. Vocal interplay is extensive and carries the momentum forward. The music is well-constructed, internal relationships range from the subtle to the obvious, and there is some use of the CF. The textures change constantly, with parts entering and leaving and varied combinations of voices, thereby providing further interest for the participants and listeners.

The remaining settings – Stra, Mun and Hol – are less convincing. In terms of the criteria detailed above, the melodies are not particularly inventive or gracious but rather are repetitive and lack both rhythmic and melodic interest. Whilst ‘fundamentally consistent’, these settings are not ‘interestingly unpredictable’. Admittedly, Stra and Mun ‘subject the resultant phrase shapes to the underlying patterns of metre’. Unfortunately, the patterns of metre are nearly all the same and therefore do not demonstrate an ‘ability to weave a good musical texture.’ The overall effect is stolid.

Stra, for example, does not ‘do the ordinary’ in an interesting way. The melodic ideas are:

- not particularly imaginative
- rarely developed beyond their initial statement
- repeated to the extent that they become dull
- too similar between motifs.

Similarities between motifs may certainly aid cohesion but too many of them demonstrate a lack of imagination.

The Mundy setting is similar to that of Strabridge, in that rhythmic and melodic variety is lacking, and at times he repeats the same rhythmic patterns for different verbal phrases, even if the melody is modified – e.g. at *et Salome* and *aromata*. Mateer suggests that this setting could have been a student exercise in composition: it was based on a plainsong, which would have been both unusual and unnecessary at the time, but nevertheless would have been a good discipline for developing compositional skills (Mateer, 1995 p.48, footnote no.209). John Harper (and no doubt others), asks why Mundy respects ‘the ritual divisions, and might this really be a texted version of a piece intended for instrumental ensemble (rather than just a pedagogical exercise)?’ (Harper, 2016).¹² This is possible, but then one would proceed to ask why Baldwin wrote in the text. There would have been no reason to do this if it were not going to be sung.

Hollander’s setting is also somewhat lacking in its general appeal. Although well-constructed in terms of imitative points, again, the rhythms are too similar. The result is a homophonic texture in which different parts of the text overlap and it is probable that the text would have been inaudible. Interest is not maintained throughout this very long setting – and that is before considering the additional SecP. The SecP has not been discussed extensively in this dissertation because the text is not comparable and it is very similar in compositional terms to the PP. Further, the whole of the Hollander setting remains firmly based in its original mode, based around F. The other settings move away from F to a wide variety of other tonal centres, at *aromata*, *Jesum*, and for the final cadence. This is harmonically effective and maintains interest for the listener.

¹² John Harper, personal note, 9 August, 2016

Hollander has no significant cadence at *aromata*, barely pausing before firmly restating the F tonality at *ut venientes*, and remaining there until the end of the *Alleluia*, which is also on F. There is no difference in the SecP. The net result, in modern terms, is a succession of F and C chords, with an occasional flat 7th; in aggregate, harmonically rather dull. Perhaps in performance Hol could be more exciting than it appears: although it does not use *cori spezzati* in a Gabrielian way, the rapid imitative points might be effective if sung by a choir in which the voices were located in different areas, rather than grouped together – and if the music were sung at a fairly quick pace.

Perhaps this is the moment to revisit Strabridge's setting and to consider aspects that are significant, which may indicate why Baldwin included it in the Partbooks. Magnus Williamson has suggested that Strabridge was 'more innovative than fluent' in this composition (personal note, 6 May, 2016). There are at least five reasons for him to hold this view.

Strabridge:

- brings in points of imitation on different degrees of the scale, rather than only on the initial note or a fourth/ fifth away from it – e.g. b.19f, *Maria Magdalene*, where the second idea enters successively on g, f, d, and c
- uses extended imitative points quite strictly – e.g. *emerunt*, b.68f – probably at a time when other composers tended to use them for the initial introduction of a new point but little thereafter
- progresses the imitation through all of the parts most of the time – e.g. *et Maria*

Jacobi b.42f

- delays bringing in the CF until b.7
- assigns the CF to the Discantus, rather than the more conventional Tenor.

Given that Strabridge must have been working quite a few years before the 1570s, Williamson's suggestion is fair. At this period, other composers in England were not working in these ways consistently, although some composers on the Continent were. Regarding the fourth point, for example, although Mundy and Tallis both delay the CF entry, this might have been an innovation by Strabridge.

Mun could be grouped with Stra in this respect: Mun, similarly, brings in motifs on a variety of different notes – for example, see b.94f, *ungerent*. Whilst there are several instances beginning on f, Mun also uses d, g, e and b flat. The motifs are also treated in quite strict imitation: an occasional interval might be modified to fit the context, but overall lines are maintained throughout the parts.

Tal might be placed partly in this group – that is, in terms of motifs entering on different notes. Although the opening two motifs consistently use c and f, after this:

- his use of motifs is less strict through all parts
- connections are rhythmic and/or partial
- he uses a variety of starting notes.

Regarding the third bullet immediately above, see b.17-21, *aromata*, for example. Here, the

rhythmic pattern of *aromata* is maintained, but the repeated notes ascribed to these syllables are preceded by a variety of intervals. The notes used for *aromata* are c, a, b flat, f, and g. Similarly, at *Alleluia*, the notes used include all notes of the mode: f (b.34), g (b.36), a (b.33), bfl. (b.41) c (b.33) d (b.35), and e (b.42).

By comparison, the settings by Sheppard, for example, are integrated less closely thematically, and motifs usually begin on the same note or on notes a fourth/fifth apart, e.g. Shep1, bs.15-20: c or g on *-ro-* of *aromata*, and Shep2, bs 15-20: d or a, on *-me-* of *emerunt*. Tav1 and Tav2 are similar. Hollander tends to use more predictable notes on which to bring in new ideas—many of them enter on f and c (bs.1-14, 22-28, 32-44).

Perhaps it is now possible to establish a putative order of composition for these settings, although with no precision regarding date. Tav1 and Tav2 are almost certainly the first, composed in the 1530s, as Benham suggests. Although Tav1 seems to be regarded as written first – perhaps because it appears first in manuscripts – is there any reason why Tav2 should not have been written first? Tav1 could then be regarded as the work of a more mature, assured composer, who was building on his experience. Hol could, on stylistic grounds, follow Taverner, perhaps especially bearing in mind that he was working in Europe and therefore might have used more innovative techniques before his English counterparts. On the basis of Williamson's suggestion that Strabridge's setting is innovative, Stra might follow that of Hollander. Shep1 and Shep2, although stylistically more closely comparable with Tav1 and Tav2, are unlikely to have been composed before c1540 and therefore might follow the setting of Strabridge.

Tallis is difficult to place. He:

- was composing at the same time as all of the other composers
- could have been familiar with any, or all, of their works
- could have accessed any works that were imported from Europe and thus have absorbed continental influences at an early stage.

Tallis could have composed this setting as early as c1530 but, on chronological grounds, perhaps it would better be placed after Shep2. Stylistically, it is more similar to Hollander than to Sheppard – but it is acknowledged that this is to argue solely on the basis of single compositions. This is unwise, because other compositions by the same composer, for many and varied liturgical and other purposes, are frequently in a different style. Sheppard's *In Manus Tuas* is an example of a work in a very homophonic style – and very different from the same composer's setting of *Dum Transisset*.

Mun was almost certainly the last setting to be composed. Mundy was not born until 1555 and therefore would have been unlikely to have composed this setting much before 1575. It must therefore post-date Taverner and Sheppard and possibly also Strabridge. The eventual chronological order might therefore be: Tav2, Tav1, Hol, Stra, Shep1, Shep2, Tal, Mun, although it is not possible to ascertain on stylistic grounds which Taverner, or which Sheppard, setting, came first.

The settings under review might all be regarded as successful within themselves but some are more arresting than others. Those by composers still regarded highly today confirm why that

regard is high and why it has been maintained, certainly throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

There are occasions when works by anonymous composers or comparatively unknown composers, or *unica* from known or unknown composers prove to be previously unknown treasures. Such is perhaps not the case here. The settings by Strabridge, John Mundy and Hollander might be regarded as worthy, at best, notwithstanding the Hollander's widespread dissemination and therefore evident popularity. In considering the latter, in particular, one is reminded again that the twenty-first century musicologist cannot know the mind of a sixteenth-century anthologist, but we can perhaps nevertheless comfort ourselves in the knowledge that the qualities that saw the likes of Tallis and Taverner rise to eminence have transcended the centuries, to be appreciated in a world they could not have imagined.

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