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# THE DOW PARTBOOKS

## Introduction

by

John Milsom

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# The Dow Partbooks: an introduction

John Milsom

There are many reasons why Robert Dow's partbooks<sup>1</sup> make such an admirable subject for facsimile reproduction. First, they are among the very few Tudor partbook sets to survive complete and fully intact; and they are also legible from beginning to end. Second, Robert Dow is a traceable individual, and much can be surmised about the circumstances under which he copied these exquisite partbooks. The relationship between the man and his manuscript is therefore reciprocal, each shedding light on the other. Third, the scope of musical coverage within the books is broad. Dow gathered together music for singers and instrumentalists, variously religious or secular, and his anthology includes a few pieces that survive nowhere else. The result is a fine panorama of mid-Elizabethan polyphony suitable for voices and viols. Fourth, Dow was a meticulous copyist, a point that emerges not so much from the surface appearance of his partbooks, but rather from critical appraisal of his readings. Although by and large his copies seem accurate, and are sometimes the best we have for individual pieces, nonetheless Dow was not a passive transcriber. Often he adjusted the musical texts as he copied them, imposing his views about how words and music should be fused together. His readings therefore possess intelligent individuality, of a kind rarely met in Tudor music manuscripts, and this facsimile allows us to ponder and savour his preferences, even when these do not necessarily transmit the composers' original intentions. Finally, Dow always wanted his partbooks to give visual pleasure to their users, and their pages were designed to convey much more than mere instructions for musicians. The harmonious layout on the page, the black notation on red staves, the fine calligraphy, the verbal annotations: all these elements matter as much as the musical texts themselves, and the partbooks have long been admired even

<sup>1</sup> Call-number: Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 984–8. This is the correct way of citing the books; the music collection at Christ Church comprises manuscripts and printed items intermixed on the same shelves, and the numbers '984–8' indicate their position within that single sequence.

by those who have no particular interest in music. In the past they have often been displayed under glass in exhibitions. This full colour facsimile now allows readers to turn Dow's pages for themselves.

The completeness of the partbooks is something to be celebrated, since it is a comparatively rare phenomenon. From roughly the 1520s onwards, Tudor music copyists and printers turned increasingly to partbook format (in which each performer reads from a separate volume) in place of the former standard format of choir-book layout (in which musical works are written into single volumes, each performer reading from a different place on the double-page spread of an opened book).<sup>2</sup> Partbook format has some obvious advantages; for instance, its smaller notation makes economical use of valuable paper, and it allows the musicians to sit apart from one another—useful for establishing eye-contact, and an important consideration when viols are in play, or when physical separation is desirable in the mixed company of women, children and men. The main disadvantage of partbooks, of course, is that a multi-volume set is vulnerable to loss: if one partbook from the set suffers catastrophic damage or goes astray, then the set is rendered all but useless.<sup>3</sup> Today the vast majority of Tudor manuscript partbook sets are incomplete. Some of them now lack a single partbook, while others are represented by only one or two volumes from sets originally of four, five or six. Had more of these sets survived intact, the question of which to reproduce in facsimile would have been more pressing, but the sad fact is that today Dow's set faces little competition. Perhaps some day we will have a facsimile of the so-called Gyffard Partbooks (London, British Library, Add. MSS 17802–5), which are complete

- <sup>2</sup> A third available format is tablebook layout, in which the different voice-parts are written into a single volume, but facing different directions—the tenor to the north, the bass to the west, and so on. A few Elizabethan manuscripts adopt this format, but it came into its own only around 1600, for the publication of lute-accompanied songs and partsongs by John Dowland, Thomas Campion and their contemporaries.
- <sup>3</sup> The phrase 'all but useless' is tempered by the view of one sixteenth-century musician who, faced with an incomplete piece of polyphony, nonetheless copied and evidently cherished it. Four voice-parts from Clemens non Papa's five-voice motet 'Qui consolabatur' were added to a set of manuscript partbooks copied by Thomas Wode, vicar of St Andrews (Fife, Scotland), one of them with the following upbeat remark: 'v pairtis bot I never had the fyft part, bot it is ryght weill with iiii' (London, British Library, Add. MS 33933, f. 74v). Individual partbooks from Wode's two known sets, both of which are written in multicoloured inks and richly decorated with coloured images, are now held by four different libraries; digital images of them all have been assembled for the Wode Psalter Project hosted by the School of Divinity at the University of Edinburgh, and can be accessed via a password-protected website.



and which contain four-voice sacred music from the central decades of the sixteenth century. But otherwise there are few contenders.

It is worth spending a moment contemplating two of them, if only to clarify the reasons why Dow so clearly emerges as the leader of the pack. John Sadler's partbooks (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus. e. 1–5) would certainly have vied for our attention in the 1580s, when they were created. Although their contents are less miscellaneous and extensive than Dow's, and the calligraphy inferior, nonetheless they are visually striking books, full of pictorial content and verbal annotations that attract the eye and stimulate discussion.<sup>4</sup> Alas, Sadler (or his supplier) failed to calculate correctly the chemical content of his ink, which was excessively acidic. Today Sadler's books are in a sorry state, the ink having corroded the paper, and many of their pages are brittle and all but illegible. Robert Dow, in contrast, mixed or chose his ink to perfection; in his books there has been no bleeding or corrosion, and show-through from one side of a leaf to the other rarely has an impact on legibility. There may be a reason why Sadler rather than Dow should have made this error of judgement: as far as we know, Sadler was a self-taught scribe, whereas Dow had both studied and taught penmanship, and presumably understood the craft of good book production. His training had implications for posterity: today we can still handle and sing from Dow's partbooks, whereas Sadler's are fragile, hard to read, and effectively withdrawn from public use.

As for the so-called Hamond Partbooks (named after a seventeenth-century owner; London, British Library, Add. MSS 30480–4), they contrast with Dow's for entirely different reasons. This set was compiled over the course of three or more decades by at least five different copyists. Moreover the function of these books evidently changed: they open with four-voice church polyphony, but then settle into a domestic repertory of five-voice music that required a fifth partbook of contrasting appearance to be added to the existing set.<sup>5</sup> Nothing is known about the men (and conceivably also the women and children) who copied pieces into these partbooks, so the precise historical context here

<sup>4</sup> The fullest study of Sadler's partbooks is David Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1–5', *Music & Letters*, 60 (1979), 281–95; this includes an inventory of the set's contents. See also John Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', in John Morehen (ed.), *English Choral Practice 1400–1650* (Cambridge, 1995), 161–79 (at pp. 164–5), and (for a second partbook set copied by Sadler, now incomplete) Judith Blezzard, 'Monsters and Messages: the Wilmott and Braikenridge Manuscripts of Latin Church Music, 1591', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 75 (1995), 311–38.

<sup>5</sup> For further information about these partbooks, see Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', pp. 169–70, and the bibliography cited there. No convenient inventory of this set's contents has ever been published.

remains a mystery. And the contents have been written casually, without concern for visual elegance; most readers today would find it hard to decipher the text-underlay—even where it exists; the later copyists did not always supply words for the vocal music. Thus the Hamond Partbooks, though intact, are often inscrutable and no longer ideally suited to the would-be performer. Placed beside them, Dow's partbooks seem a model of clarity and transparency on every count.

### Robert Dow

Thanks to the researches of Philip Brett, Warwick Edwards and especially David Mateer, we now know a great deal about Robert Dow and his partbooks;<sup>6</sup> but it is important to separate the facts from speculations, since the latter have sometimes been confused with the former. Dow was born in 1553, the eldest son of Robert Dow (or Dowe; c.1523–1612), a London merchant resident in the parish of St Clement Eastcheap. Robert Dow Sr was a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company, with trading interests in Russia and Spain and experience in customs administration, and there is a good chance that Robert Dow Jr attended Merchant Taylors' School. If so, then his schoolfellows would have included Giles Tomson (1553–1612), a figure of relevance not only because his career in the 1570s and 80s so closely paralleled Dow's, but also because Tomson evidently acquired the Dow Partbooks after Dow's death.<sup>7</sup> Both men then went on to university at Oxford, though to different colleges: Dow to Corpus Christi (admitted BA in 1574) and Tomson to University College (BA 1575). Both subsequently became fellows of All Souls College; Dow became a probationary fellow in 1575, Tomson was elected in 1580. Dow proceeded BCL in April 1582, and he then served as bursar of laws to the college in the years 1585–7. Dow would therefore have had rooms in All Souls, although the college was not necessarily his sole or even his principal place of residence, and indeed we know that in the mid 1580s he was often absent from Oxford, travelling perhaps as far afield as

<sup>6</sup> See especially David Mateer, 'Oxford, Christ Church Music MSS 984–8: an Index and Commentary', [*Royal Musical Association*] *Research Chronicle*, 20 (1986–7), 1–18, which cites earlier researches by Brett and Edwards; also the entries for 'Dow, Robert (1553–1588)' by David Mateer and 'Dowe, Robert (c.1523–1612)' by Ian W. Archer, both in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online edition, accessed January 2010; hereafter *ODNB online*).

<sup>7</sup> For Tomson's biography, see Kenneth Fincham, 'Tomson, Giles (1553–1612)', *ODNB online*; for Tomson's links with Dow, see Mateer, 'Oxford, Christ Church Music MSS 984–8', pp. 4–5.

Poland. While it is often stated that the Dow Partbooks were copied in Oxford and used at All Souls, there is in fact no firm proof of this; and the musical repertory of the partbooks derives more obviously from London circles. Possibly, then, Dow compiled the books partly in London, perhaps latterly in the parish of St Botolph, Aldgate, where his father and family lived from 1584 onwards. Copying of the books began in or around the year 1581, and they were apparently still being expanded when Dow died in 1588, aged 35.

It is now certain that the partbooks were copied by Dow himself, rather than by someone else on his behalf. Other documents written by him have been located, and the handwriting matches. Moreover Dow taught penmanship around the time of his election to All Souls, so it is natural that he should have applied this skill to his own partbooks, which are clearly the product of a hand trained in calligraphy.<sup>8</sup> The second page of each partbook affirms the name of the scribe—‘Sum Roberti Dowi’—though without any mention of Oxford or All Souls. The same pages also ask users of the books to bring only clean hands to these precious volumes, a request expressed in Latin verse of the kind that Dow is known to have been able to compose for himself. In all these respects, the partbooks reinforce the image of Robert Dow that emerges from other sources: he was a well educated man with a taste for fine books and elegant Latin. The same pages also bear the words ‘Vinum et Musica Lætificant Corda’ (wine and music rejoice the heart), an expression that recurs within the music pages of the partbooks, embedded among the motets.<sup>9</sup> It is tempting to link this phrase with convivial music-making at All Souls, and indeed it is likely that the partbooks were so used. But Dow may have carried them with him as he travelled, and their musical fare may also have been partnered with the taste of London wine.

Nothing is known about Dow’s musical training, accomplishments or contacts, beyond what can be deduced from the partbooks themselves. If he was once a boy chorister, then no trace of this has yet come to light, and we can only guess where and when Dow was taught to sing, read and write music notation, and presumably play the viol. Nor is anything known about his contacts with the world of professional musicians, or the composers whose works feature in his partbooks. Some closeness to William Byrd is implied by the fact that Dow copied so much of Byrd’s music before it appeared in print; but his precise sources remain unclear. One possible intermediary could

<sup>8</sup> For further details about other documents written by Dow, and about his activities as a teacher of penmanship in Oxford, see Mateer, ‘Oxford, Christ Church Music MSS 984–8’, pp. 16 (endnote 4) and 2.

<sup>9</sup> Dow’s annotations are transcribed and translated on pp. 29–38 below, superseding the readings of Morrison Comegys Boyd, *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism* (Philadelphia, 2/second printing with corrections, 1967), *passim* and Appendix F, pp. 312–17.

have been Richard Mulcaster, headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School from 1561 to 1586.<sup>10</sup> Mulcaster wrote commendatory verses for inclusion in *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur*, the celebrated collection of motets composed jointly by Byrd and Thomas Tallis published by Thomas Vautrollier in London in 1575, so he presumably knew one or both of those composers. But after 1575 there is no direct evidence of connections between Byrd and Mulcaster, and in any case Dow may not have attended Merchant Taylors' School, so this line of enquiry remains speculative. Some of the music copied by Dow is unique to his partbooks, and these rarities may hint at the precise musical circles in which Dow moved; but if so, they await identification. Beyond the partbooks themselves, the only tangible trace of Dow's interest in music comes from an inventory of his possessions made after his death. It includes 'his songe bookes', valued at six shillings and eight pence.<sup>11</sup> Whether this refers to his manuscript partbooks or to other music is unknown.

### The partbooks

Dow began the task of compiling the partbooks by acquiring a substantial batch of paper that had previously been printed with red staves, ready for music copying. For this, his source can only have been a stationer licenced by Thomas Tallis and William Byrd. In 1575, letters patent granted by Queen Elizabeth I to Tallis and Byrd gave the two men exclusive rights to 'rule and cause to be ruled by impression any paper to serve for printing or pricking [copying] of any songe or songes ... or any bookes or quieres of such ruled paper imprinted'.<sup>12</sup> We know that Tallis and Byrd made some profit from the sale of this musical stationery, and examples of it have been found in various Elizabethan partbooks, including two sets where substantial blocks of 'ruled paper imprinted' are bound together with partbooks from the 1575 *Cantiones ... sacrae*.<sup>13</sup> In only the Dow Partbooks, however, are the staves red; all the others have black staves. It is unknown whether Dow purchased a variant that has otherwise vanished without trace, or

<sup>10</sup> Mateer, 'Oxford, Christ Church Music MSS 984–8', p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.

<sup>12</sup> Iain Fenlon and John Milsom, "'Ruled Paper Imprinted": Music Paper and Patents in Sixteenth-Century England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37 (1984), 139–63 (at pp. 139–41 and 147–8).

<sup>13</sup> A letter to Sir Robert Cecil from Christopher Barker, Upper Warden of the Stationers' Company, claims that by 1582 the printed music paper had become 'somewhat beneficiall' to Tallis and Byrd; but they lost money from publication of the

whether he commissioned the printing of these red-stave sheets for his own particular use. Whatever the truth, his choice of colour marks Dow as a discerning bibliophile: black notation on red staves makes a fine effect, and it is very rare in Tudor music manuscripts.<sup>14</sup> The staves themselves were printed on large sheets in landscape (oblong) format, both sides of which were stamped with four blocks each of five staves. The sheets were then folded once along their horizontal (long) axis and once along their vertical (short) axis, giving rise to a booklet (gathering) of four leaves (folios), and therefore of eight pages each with its own block of five staves. Dow seems to have bought exactly five quires of these printed sheets, one for each partbook. An English quire contains 24 sheets; folded, this creates 96 leaves (192 pages). In their current state, two of the Dow Partbooks (Mus. 986 and 987) retain precisely this structure, while the other three depart from it only in the sense that one or more leaf or gathering has been removed.<sup>15</sup>

Dow's initial aim was to compile an anthology divided into three repertorial layers, the first containing motets, the second consort music, and the third consort songs. This structure is most clearly defined by the Bassus partbook (Mus. 988), in which Dow's changing preferences for different styles of bass clef reveal not only the original layers, but also the broad chronology of subsequent copying.<sup>16</sup> Evidently Dow planned from the start that the layer of motets would begin the set: he reserved the opening two pages of each partbook for prefatory material, and he allocated numbers to the motets, in a sequence that was clearly meant to continue into the later layers when all

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*Cantiones ... sacrae*; see Fenlon and Milsom, op. cit., pp. 140–1. The partbook sets in which printed music paper is bound with the *Cantiones ... sacrae* are (a) Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 979–83 (five partbooks from a set originally of six, copied by John Baldwin), and (b) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tenbury MS 389, and the 'James' or 'McGhie' manuscript, in private ownership (two partbooks from a set originally of six; copyist unidentified). The Tenbury manuscript has been separated from the Discantus partbook of the *Cantiones ... sacrae*, which is now in the Newberry Library in Chicago; see John Milsom, 'Tallis, Byrd and the "Incorrected Copy": Some Cautionary Notes for Editors of Early Music Printed from Movable Type', *Music & Letters*, 77 (1996), 348–67 (at p. 367).

<sup>14</sup> Black on red was, however, standard in sixteenth-century English printed liturgical books, of both the Catholic and Protestant rites. See for instance John Merbecke's *The booke of common praier noted* (London, 1550), and the various hymnals and processions published during the reign of Mary (1553–8).

<sup>15</sup> For a collation of the Dow Partbooks, see pp. 51–58 below; also the Index in David Mateer, 'Oxford, Christ Church Music MSS 984–8', pp. 11–15.

<sup>16</sup> The following analysis draws on and develops that of Mateer, 'Oxford, Christ Church Music MSS 984–8', p. 6. Dow's evolving use of G clefs in Mus. 984 also lends itself to study.

the intervening pages had been filled.<sup>17</sup> Possibly as many as 18 gatherings were reserved for this motet layer; and throughout it, Dow has notated his bass parts using an F clef with a distinctive backwards-curved tail. The same clef-shape also occurs at the start of the second layer (instrumental music, beginning with the *In nomine* by Robert Parsons; Mus. 988, facsimile p. 133) and of the third layer (sacred and secular consort songs, beginning with the anonymous 'Come, Holy Ghost'; p. 161). These two layers occupy a total of only six gatherings, allowing far less room for expansion. In the third layer, Dow made one of his rare miscalculations: he ought to have allocated more leaves to the Superius partbook (Mus. 984) than to the other four volumes, since the topmost voice is often the 'singing part', and necessarily occupies more space on account of the text-underlay. For this reason, the Superius partbook reached capacity at Byrd's 'Though Amaryllis dance in green', whereas the other four partbooks still had (and have) unused pages available for additional music. Possibly Dow intended to fill them with catches and small-scale music, but if so he never got beyond the point of inserting a very few such pieces.

In total, Dow copied the following works using his 'curled' F clef: all the layer 1 motets; the first eight *In nomines* in layer 2; and all the layer 3 consort songs. Thereafter he began a process of infilling, apparently in two stages if the evidence of clef-formation is to be trusted. During the first stage he adopted a variant of the 'curled' F clef, but this time with a tail that descends vertically. We first meet it at Robert White's 'Lord who shall dwell', the opening piece in a sub-layer of English full anthems that Dow created near the end of the motet layer, beginning at the fifteenth gathering of each partbook; see Mus. 988, facsimile p. 101. There is no logical reason why a slightly variant clef-form should have been adopted for English-texted sacred music, so it seems almost certain that these anthems were added only after the corpus of motets had been entered. Using the same 'straight' F clef, Dow gradually filled in spaces at the rear of the partbooks, inserting further consort songs, instrumental music and untexted repertory. Nonetheless he continued to leave room after the existing motets, as if expecting that more might be added to their number. He then began what seems to have been a final stage of copying, in which a third form of bass clef, now resembling the modern shape, comes into play; see for instance Mus. 988, facsimile p. 109 ff. The situation is complicated by the fact that all the pieces using this third clef-form are songs by William Byrd, raising the possibility that Dow made some mental link between clef and composer. However, there is an exception in Dow's copy of Byrd's 'Care for thy soul', which uses the 'straight' F clef (Mus. 988, facsimile p. 122); and the

<sup>17</sup> It seems likely that Dow numbered the motets as he copied them, since the ink colour of the numbers always matches the ink colour of the copies themselves.

location of this piece may hint that the process of infilling was actually more complicated than it first appears. For instance, Dow could have worked backwards from the layer of *In nomine*, gradually adding the block of eleven pieces that now precede Parsons's *In nomine*, all of which use the 'straight' F clef (Mus. 988, facsimile pp. 132–22).<sup>18</sup> If so, then 'Care for thy soul' was the last of these eleven pieces to be copied—even if it is now the first to be met when the contents are read from beginning to end. The songs by Byrd using the 'modern' F clef would then have been added in the remaining blank spaces. If this analysis is correct, then songs by Byrd are the last compositions Dow copied into the partbooks before his death. Presumably his long-term plan was to conjoin all the layers and extend the numbering system beyond the motets, but this was never achieved, and the pieces after the motets were not numbered by Dow himself. This in turn may explain why he never compiled an index or contents list.

There are two reasons for suspecting that Dow had his partbooks bound while still in the process of adding new pieces. First, the complex infilling at the rear of the books hints that the order of the leaves was by this stage fixed; had the books still been unbound, Dow could simply have moved unused gatherings from one place to another, whereas the presence of bindings would have denied him that option. Second, loose gatherings are vulnerable to damage; only when protected by a binding could the textblocks be safely handled by performers—and it is hard to imagine Dow copying this quantity of music without actually singing and playing some or all of it. The possibility of temporary bindings should, however, be seriously considered. Certainly the present bindings cannot have been added until the very end of Dow's life, a point proved by the fact that the binder has trimmed away small portions of Dow's calligraphic flourishes at the foot of the page—a situation that arises throughout the textblocks, including songs by Byrd copied using the 'modern' bass clef. Today the Dow Partbooks possess simple but handsome bindings of mid brown leather over pasteboards, of a kind often applied to English books both in and after Dow's lifetime. Could these permanent bindings have replaced temporary ones when Dow was still alive?

To address that question, the bindings need to be described in some detail, since not everything about them will be apparent even from high-quality photographs. The upper and lower covers of the books have been gold-tooled with rectangular frames of fillets enclosing centre-pieces flanked by the initials 'G T'. The edges of the covers

<sup>18</sup> Eight of these eleven pieces, including the works by Lassus, Maillard and Van Wilder and the Brownings by Byrd and Woodcock, were also included in London, British Library, Add. MS 31390, a tablebook associated with Clement Woodcock and copied in the mid-1570s. Perhaps Dow was able to draw all these pieces from a single source. For a brief discussion of Add. MS 31390 and references to further bibliography, see Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', p. 171.

and the margins of the inside covers have also been gold-tooled with fillets; and the spines bear pairs of gilt fillets across the bands, with letters stamped at the heads of the spines to allow the books to be distinguished from one another: S[uperius], M[edius], C[ontratenor], T[enor] and B[assus]. The edges of the textblock are gilded; and ribbons have been stabbed through the covers, allowing each book to be tied in four places: at the upper edge, the lower edge, and twice at the fore-edge. (The ribbons themselves have long since come away, and their original colour cannot be gauged from the stubs that remain.) Something about the chronology of binding may be implied by the ‘T’ stamped on the spine of the Tenor partbook: although now partly concealed under a nineteenth-century paper slip bearing the printed number ‘987’, this ‘T’ seems not to be quite identical to the ‘T’ of the initials ‘G T’ stamped on the covers. Possibly, then, the ‘G T’ initials were added only after the books had passed into the ownership of Giles Tomson. Otherwise, the most telling element of the binding is the centre-piece used to stamp the upper and lower covers. This specific centre-piece stamp appears not to have been used by Oxford bookbinders,<sup>19</sup> but it has been located in music-books bound elsewhere, apparently close to the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>20</sup> Possibly, then, the Dow Partbooks were bound at a workshop that specialized in music binding. However, the brass tools used to stamp centre-pieces were extremely durable, and they could have migrated from bindery to bindery over the course of several decades. For these reasons, we may never know whether or not Robert Dow would have recognized his own partbooks had he been handed them in their current bound state.

Taking all the evidence together, the following chronology emerges for the making of the Dow Partbooks. The sheets themselves could have been acquired any time after 1575, the year in which Tallis and Byrd were granted their monopoly for the sale of ‘ruled paper imprinted’. Dow himself wrote the date ‘1581’ on the second page of each partbook, and it is possible that this marks the date at which copying began. However, Dow himself does not

<sup>19</sup> The Dow centre-piece is not featured in David Pearson, *Oxford Bookbinding 1500–1640* (Oxford, 2000). See also *idem*, ‘English Centre-Piece Bookbindings 1560–1640’, in Mirjam M. Foot (ed.), *Eloquent Witnesses: Bookbindings and Their History* (London, 2004), 107–126.

<sup>20</sup> See the bindings of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Tenbury 349–53 and 354–8, two partbook sets associated with Edward Paston; the covers of both sets incorporate the centre-piece also used for the binding of the Dow Partbooks, although in most other respects the covers of the Paston sets differ markedly from those of Dow. This connection was first noticed by Philip Brett in ‘Edward Paston (1550–1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and his Music Collection’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 4 (1964), 51–69 (at p. 60, footnote 1).



say this, and it is equally possible that some of the music had been copied before Dow added the dated prefatory pages. Thereafter the exact dates of copying can rarely be established, since Dow seems never to have drawn from printed editions that were fresh from the press at the time of copying, and he included few compositions that can be dated precisely. In the Bassus partbook, Dow records the date of Tallis's death (23 November 1585) under his copy of 'Salvator mundi [II]' (Mus. 988, facsimile p. 80), but this should not necessarily be equated with the date of copying itself, since some of Dow's verbal annotations seem to have been added at a later stage—a point proved by the fact that the annotations do not always exactly match the ink colour of the contents they accompany.<sup>21</sup> In fact, the only pieces that can be dated with any degree of precision are Byrd's two laments for Sir Philip Sidney (died 1586), 'O that most rare breast' and 'Come to me, grief, for ever'. The bass parts for these two songs employ the 'modern' style of bass clef, and they therefore support the theory that the 'modern' form is chronologically the latest of Dow's three clef styles, used perhaps in the two or three years immediately preceding his death in 1588. But it is far less easy to assign dates to the earlier layers.

### Dow's copies

A few remarks are needed about Dow's penmanship, since this so profoundly affects the appearance of his partbooks. The first impression is of extreme consistency, and this is reinforced by close scrutiny of the details. At the beginning, Dow must have settled on notational policies that he could then apply consistently, and he does so with such rigour that it is hard to find him deviating from them. The point is neatly illustrated by two adjacent pages of the Bassus partbook (Mus. 988, facsimile pp. 140–1). Here Dow first copied the end of Tye's *In nomine* using the 'curled' F clef, then subsequently added Woodcock's *In nomine* using the 'straight' F clef. Two different copying stints are represented here, separated in time by perhaps months or even years, yet Dow's policies with regard to stem direction and stem length remain identical. Notes copied on the central stave-line or on the space directly above it may have either ascending or descending stems, depending on context, but otherwise all stem-directions are fixed. If a note-head occurs on a stave-line, then its stem will end in a space between stave-lines. Conversely, stems that rise or fall from

<sup>21</sup> For some very obvious examples of changes in ink colour, see Mus. 988, facsimile pp. 2, 21, 49 and 120. In general, however, Dow seems to have had access to ink of a consistently black hue, and it is therefore hard to be sure about additions made to the pages at later dates.

**A**ndivi vo cē/ro cē/ro cē/de celo dicen tē/de celo  
dicen tē/dicentē/de celo dicen tē/beati mor tui/mortui/mor-  
tui/ qui in dno morimtur / morimtur/ qui in dno morim tur  
qui in dno morimtur / morim tur / qui in dno morimtur / morimtur / morimtur

m: w: lude: organ: te: of: the: queens: chappell: .  
morimtur:

notes in spaces will end by touching a stave-line. Stems are drawn freehand, but always in neat verticals as if guided by an imaginary grid. Erasures are hardly ever to be found; Dow made very few mistakes, and each stroke of the pen has been made with deliberation and according to self-imposed rules. Viewed in this light, the relationship between the man and his highly disciplined manuscript does indeed become reciprocal: each sheds light on the other. We might therefore ask what personal issues could possibly explain the inconsistencies that do occur within the partbooks. For instance, why is Dow's copy of Woodcock's *In nomine* so much more compressed than his copy of Tye's setting, even though ample space existed for it? Why has the elegant 'curled' clef given way to the sterner 'straight' variant? A psychologist of handwriting might have interesting things to say about Dow's evolving preferences.

In copies of instrumental parts such as these ones, Dow tends towards equal spacing of his note-heads; but in vocal parts the spacing is far less even, a situation most likely to have arisen if the text-underlay was written first, and the music notation then aligned with the relevant syllables. Throughout the partbooks, and especially during the earlier phases of copying, Dow's italic calligraphy for the verbal texts is always generously large, elegantly spaced rather than cramped, and largely free of contractions (other than the ampersand '&' for 'and'). For this reason the text-underlay occupies more space than it need have done, and this may have encouraged Dow to adopt his characteristic lozenge-shaped note-heads, which are also larger than is strictly necessary. The result is delightful to the eye and very easy to read, but this does not necessarily make it the best music-copying of its age—a point that emerges when Dow's work is placed side by side with another man's copy of the same music.

Plate 1 shows the *Discantus* part of William Byrd's 'Audivi vocem' as copied by John Baldwin, also in the 1580s; and it should be compared with Dow's copy of the same voice part (Mus. 985, facsimile pp. 67–8). Baldwin was a lay clerk at St George's Chapel, Windsor, and a professional music-copyist. His scribal habits change according to the task in hand: they can be formal (as in his exquisite copy of William Byrd's keyboard music in the manuscript known as 'My Ladye Nevells Booke'; now British Library, MS Mus. 1591), or they can relax into informality in copies that Baldwin made for his own use, as in Plate 1 (from the partbook set Christ Church, Mus. 979–83; here Mus. 980, item 12). Like Dow's set, Baldwin's partbooks were copied on printed paper produced under the Tallis-Byrd monopoly, so their staves are identical in size to Dow's, though printed in black rather than red. Baldwin's copy of 'Audivi vocem' is considerably more compact than Dow's; it occupies slightly more than four staves, whereas Dow's more generously spaced copy requires six staves. Baldwin's text-underlay is tighter, with more use

facing page, Plate 1: John Baldwin's partbooks, *Discantus* book. William Byrd's 'Audivi vocem'

of contractions; his note-heads are slender and teardrop-shaped; his stem-lengths are irregular, and the stems themselves lean slightly to the left. Clearly this copy has been made relatively quickly, yet its fluency, economy, accuracy and musicality appeal directly to the singer's eye, and arguably it makes a more satisfying representation of the piece than does Dow's more formal and fastidious copy. In fact, had Baldwin's partbooks survived intact, they would certainly have vied with Dow's for facsimile reproduction, not only on grounds of their welcoming legibility but also because they contain so many important Tudor compositions that today survive uniquely in these copies. Sadly, the Tenor partbook of Baldwin's set was lost at least three centuries ago, and a facsimile seems unlikely, at least until such time as a 'virtual Tenor' has been created to make good the loss.<sup>22</sup>

Close examination of 'Audiui vocem' as copied by Baldwin and Dow reveals small but telling details in their readings. From this motet alone it would be impossible to understand the reasons why they diverge, but closer study of their respective copying habits begins to supply some answers. In this motet, Baldwin appears to have copied words and music in a single stint, moving up and down between notation and text-underlay; this is implied by the fact that the words become increasingly compressed as the motet proceeds, yet they align well with the note-heads, which themselves are by no means equally spaced.<sup>23</sup> Reading Baldwin's copy, we can almost hear the texted musical phrases that he stored in his mind as he transcribed the piece. Dow, conversely, wrote the words before the music, then aligned the note-heads with the syllables as best he could. Sometimes he added V-shaped slurs to clarify his intentions; see for instance the lowest stave of Mus. 985 facsimile p. 67, notes 4–5 (reproduced opposite), where a slur between two notes links them both to the syllable 'mor-' of 'moriuntur'. Occasionally this words-before-music copying policy results in imprecision, as at the centre of the fourth stave of p. 67, where the syllables of 'mortui' clearly do not sit under the correct notes, but nonetheless Dow usually calculated the word-spacing very carefully, and significant mishaps rarely occur. With the words in place, Dow was then able to add the music in a manner that shows his declamatory

<sup>22</sup> For a description and inventory of Baldwin's partbooks, see the *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*, compiled by John Milsom and accessible online. For biographical information about Baldwin, see David Mateer, 'Baldwin, John (d. 1615)', in *ODNB online*.

<sup>23</sup> Baldwin may have adopted different copying strategies according to the task in hand. Thus when copying older repertory such as the music of Taverner, he may sometimes or even often have copied the words before the music; see David Mateer, 'John Baldwin and Changing Concepts of Text Underlay', in John Morehen (ed.), *English Choral Practice 1400–1650* (Cambridge, 1995), 143–60; but when copying newer works by Byrd, his practice need not have been the same.

preferences. The process can be seen very clearly at the end of ‘Audiui vocem’, where his marriage of music to the word ‘moriuntur’ is out of line with all other copies of this widely circulated motet. Whereas Baldwin and other copyists move quickly through the syllables ‘mori-’ in order that the melisma can fall on the penultimate syllable ‘-un-’, Dow made careful adjustments to ensure that the unstressed syllable ‘-ri-’ is not given undue weight; he added slurs, and split semibreves into two notes, to achieve that result. This editorial process could easily have taken place while Dow was copying the music; there is no reason to presume absolute reliance on a written exemplar. Today, Dow’s solution appeals to singers on the grounds that its accentuation seems correct by modern standards. Nonetheless its divergence from all other sources implies that it is not what Byrd himself wrote or intended.<sup>24</sup>

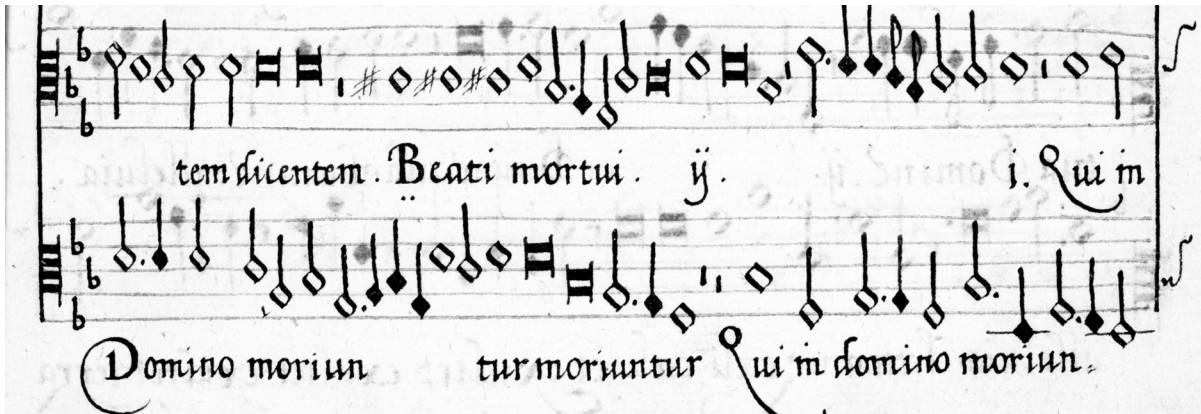
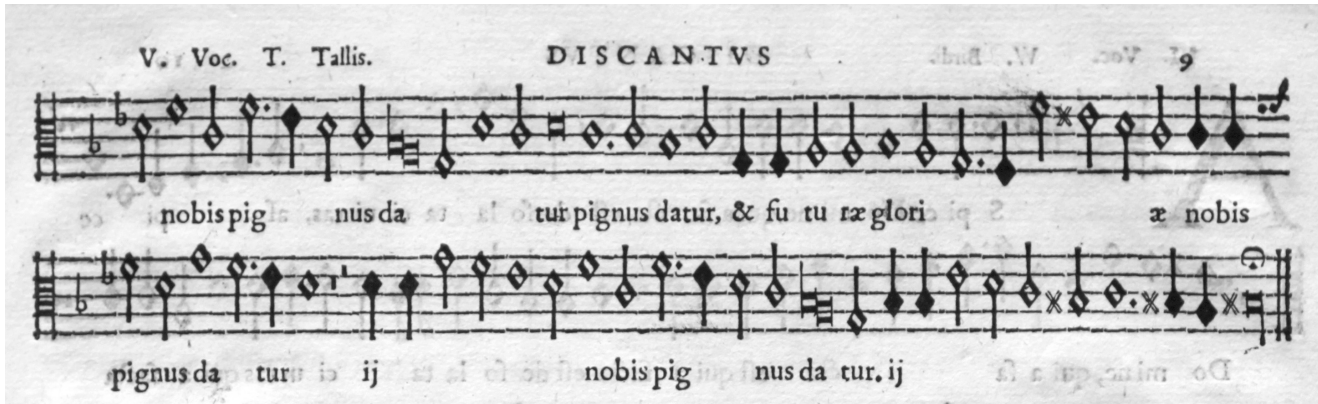


Plate 2: Facsimile page 67 of Mus. 985, fourth and fifth staves

<sup>24</sup> For a full discussion of the apparent interventions made by Dow when copying this motet, see William Byrd, *Latin Motets II*, ed. Warwick Edwards (The Byrd Edition, 9; London, 2000), pp. xi and 195–6 (textual commentary to no. 17). Baldwin’s copy of ‘Audiui vocem’ may be preferable to Dow’s, but elsewhere in his partbooks there are clear signs that Baldwin, like Dow, adjusted text-underlay in order to express his own preferences. For a sensitive analysis of this, see Mateer, ‘John Baldwin and Changing Concepts of Text Underlay’.

V. Voc. T. Tallis. DISCANTVS

O fa crū cō ui ui um cō ui um, ihij o fa crū cō ui ui  
 um, cō ui ui um i in quo Christ⁹ su am i mitur, re co li tur memo  
 ri a pas si o nis e ius re co li tur memo ri a pas si o  
 nis e ius, mēs in ple tur gra ti a, ij  
 gra ti a, & fu tu ræ glo ri æ nobis pign⁹ da tur, ij



Plates 3–4: Discantus partbook, *Cantiones ... sacrae* (1575). Tallis's 'O sacrum convivium'

Dow's editorial policies can perhaps best be watched in his copies of four motets by Thomas Tallis, all of which seem to derive from the printed *Cantiones ... sacrae* of 1575. One of them, 'O sacrum convivium', is a work with a complex history: it exists in a variety of states and forms, some of which arise from adaptations and revisions made by Tallis himself.<sup>25</sup> Dow's copy, however, very closely resembles the version published by Tallis in the *Cantiones*, and it is likely that the print served as his copy-source. Plates 3–4 show the Discantus voice as published in 1575.<sup>26</sup> As is usual in the *Cantiones*, the reading is extremely accurate, and explicit about details of text-placement; there is a small typographical error in the first stave (the second statement of the word 'convivium' lacks one of its middle syllables), but otherwise everything here is viable, and we know for a fact that the books were

<sup>25</sup> The complex history of 'O sacrum convivium' is discussed in John Milsom, 'A Tallis Fantasia', *The Musical Times*, 126 (1985), 658–62; Martin Ham, 'Tallis Fantasia' (Letter to the Editor), *The Musical Times*, 127 (1986), 74; and John Milsom, 'Tallis's First and Second Thoughts', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 113 (1988), 203–22.

<sup>26</sup> The images in Plates 3–4 are taken from Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 965, tract 1.

carefully proof-read in order to convey the composers' intentions as precisely as possible.<sup>27</sup> Dow transferred much of this reading to his own copy of the same voice-part; see Mus. 985, facsimile pp. 84–5 (motet no. 42). Nevertheless, there are some telling differences.

At the end of his first stave, Dow has copied a phrase of music that lacks specific text-underlay in the 1575 print. Tallis himself had allowed this phrase to bear a text-repetition sign ('ij'), but it is perfectly clear that the seven syllables of 'O sa-crum con-vi-vi-um' should be sung to the seven-note phrase. Dow's copy, however, converts the third note from a minim into two crotchets, in order to achieve what he reckoned a superior fit of words to music. In Dow's third stave, at the second appearance of the word 'memoria', the two middle syllables of the word are set as a dotted minim and crotchet; the 1575 print has two minims. Time and again in his copies of Tallis's motets, Dow makes this adjustment, showing that he preferred a longer note for a stressed syllable and a shorter note for an unstressed one. At the end of Dow's stave 5, the word 'gloriae' is underlaid with a melisma on the syllable 'glo-'; but in 1575 the melisma is on '-ri-'. Evidently Dow felt that a melisma should be matched with a stressed syllable, whereas Tallis specifies a quirkier (and characteristically Tudor) text-placement in which the melisma falls on the penultimate syllable.

Tiny as these interventions are, they tell us much about Robert Dow. Other sources show him to have been a proficient Latinist, classically trained and able to write elegant Latin verse. Having proceeded BCL, he must have had the logical mind of a lawyer, trained to make judgements. Clearly he was a fastidious scribe who cared to have things done consistently and correctly. Small wonder, then, that Dow should sometimes have intervened with the music he copied, refining it into the form he wanted it to take, even where the composer evidently thought otherwise. He shows what a university-educated enthusiast might do to music composed by mere church musicians. Dow's 'improvements' of Tallis's readings may strike us as just and right, since they agree with modern preferences, but nevertheless we should be aware that he offers us only a view, not true authority, and he is not a guide we will necessarily want to follow. His readings of Tallis are easy to suppress, since we have sources that are nearer to Tallis himself, and the same is often true of Dow's copies of music by William Byrd. But the situation changes when the Dow Partbooks are a work's principal or even sole surviving source, and in those cases the modern editor will need to judge what might have been changed by Dow, and imagine what the composer himself might originally have

<sup>27</sup> The extreme care taken in typesetting the 1575 *Cantiones ... sacrae* is studied in Milsom, 'Tallis, Byrd and the "Incorrected Copy"'.



written. Perhaps in the future, aided by publication of this facsimile, we will see more editions of pieces that have been gently but firmly de-Dowed.<sup>28</sup>

### Oxford, Recusancy, and the Dow Partbooks

Two final aspects of Dow's copies need to be explored: their connection with Oxford, and their relationship to Robert Dow's personal religious views. As far as Oxford is concerned, few direct links can be made between city and partbooks. None of the composers principally represented—Robert White, Thomas Tallis, Robert Parsons and William Byrd—had any known affiliation with the colleges and university of Oxford, or with the city's cathedral or churches. Dow included no music by composers who received the Oxford degree of BMus during the years when the partbooks were being compiled: Nathaniel Giles in 1585, John Bull and John Mundy in 1586, and Thomas Morley in 1588. Some of the consort songs copied by Dow could have been used in choir-boy plays staged in Oxford, but none of them sets a text known to have been written by an Oxford-based author—and this despite the fact that Dow personally knew the poet-playwright William Gager (1555–1622), whose career at Christ Church so closely parallels Dow's own, and who both copied and published some of Dow's Latin verses.<sup>29</sup> Authoritative copies of music by Byrd were available to Dow, but his precise sources for these can only be guessed.<sup>30</sup> One possible conduit could have been the philosopher and physician John Case

<sup>28</sup> No comprehensive study of Dow's editorial habits has yet been attempted, but they are often mentioned in the critical notes to modern editions. In particular the many editions prepared by Philip Brett frequently comment on Dow's distinctive practices; see for instance his edition of Byrd's 'Lord in thy wrath' in *Madrigals, Songs and Canons* (The Byrd Edition, 16; London, 1976), p. 190 (textual commentary to no. 10). According to David Mateer, Dow 'perhaps more than any Elizabethan scribe sought to "improve" the word-setting of composers by lengthening or shortening rhythmic values, dividing notes and applying slurs': John Baldwin and Changing Concepts of Text Underlay', p. 155.

<sup>29</sup> See J. W. Binns, 'Gager, William (1555–1622)', in *ODNB online*; and Mateer, 'Oxford, Christ Church Music MSS 984–8', pp. 2–3 (on Dow's links with Gager).

<sup>30</sup> Some of Dow's late copies of songs by Byrd closely resemble the readings published by Byrd himself in *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* (London, 1588) and *Songs of Sundrie Natures* (London, 1589); but since Dow was dead before publication of the latter, and possibly even before the appearance of the former, it seems likely that he derived all these copies from pre-publication manuscripts.

(1540–41?–1600), fellow of St John’s College, Oxford, from 1568, and a former chorister at New College and Christ Church. Although Byrd receives no specific mention in Case’s music treatise *Apologia musices* (Oxford, 1588), nonetheless Byrd and the poet Thomas Watson paid tribute to Case a year later, in their song ‘Let others praise what seems them best’, published as a set of six single-sheet voice-parts under the heading ‘A gratification unto Master John Case, for his learned booke, lately made in the praise of Musicke’.<sup>31</sup> Possibly Case had connections with Byrd that are now undocumented; possibly other Oxford men knew Byrd; or possibly Dow had no need for Oxford intermediaries, if he could source his Byrd copies in London. Probably we will never know the truth. What can be stated with little risk of contradiction, however, is that the Dow Partbooks tell us little about musical life in Elizabethan Oxford, beyond the fact that it mirrored the tastes of London itself, at least in the circle of Robert Dow.<sup>32</sup>

Whether or not the partbooks reveal anything about Dow’s religious outlook remains an open question. Certainly he copied a few pieces that are known or thought to be linked to prominent events such as the execution of Edmund

<sup>31</sup> The song is discussed and edited in Byrd, *Madrigals, Songs and Canons*, ed. Brett, no. 2. For further information about the 1589 printed song-sheets, see Jeremy L. Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford and New York, 2003), pp. 56, 75 and 154. It is now generally agreed that Case did not write the anonymous treatise *The Praise of Musicke*, published in Oxford in 1586. If Watson and Byrd mistakenly believed this latter book to be Case’s work, as the title of their song and Watson’s verse imply, they can hardly have been intimately connected with Case himself. For an overview of this issue, see John Caldwell, ‘Music in the Faculty of Arts’, in James McConica (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford, III: The Collegiate University* (Oxford, 1986), 202–12 (at pp. 211–12).

<sup>32</sup> One motet copied by Dow that may emanate from Oxford is ‘Christus resurgens’ (motet no. 29), a work of limited skill that Dow attributes to an unidentified ‘Mr Tayler’ (Mus. 984) or ‘Tailer’ (Mus. 985). The only other source of this work is a curious little Bassus partbook now in the Henry E. Huntington Library (San Marino, California; MS HM 461), which contains a mere ten compositions, five of which are by composers who received Oxford music degrees: John Mundy (BMus 1586; here represented by two motets), Richard Nicholson (BMus 1596; here represented by ‘Cantate Domino’, which may have been his exercise for that degree), and Thomas Weelkes (BMus 1602; represented by the elegy ‘Cease now delight’ for Thomas, Lord Burgh, who died in 1597, and the anthem ‘Alleluia. I heard a voice’). The fact that ‘Christus resurgens’ was included (without attribution) in this partbook as well as in Dow’s set could hint that the piece has its origins in Oxford. Conversely, it might be the work of John Tailer (d. after 1569), master of the singing boys at Westminster School in the 1560s and later instructor of the choristers at Salisbury Cathedral.

Campion in December 1581; and Dow's library contained some books that deal expressly with Catholic and Jesuit issues; but the extent to which these indicate recusant sympathies is less easy to assess.<sup>33</sup> As far as Dow's library is concerned, the issue might be considered in the light of William Byrd, who is now thought to have been a Catholic convert.<sup>34</sup> Parts of Byrd's library have recently been identified by Kerry McCarthy and John Harley, and the contents largely reflect Protestant opinion. They therefore demonstrate a point that in any case might seem both logical and universally true: that ownership of a book does not necessarily signal agreement with the views it expresses.<sup>35</sup> Religious debate was rife in England in the 1580s, and the books in Dow's library might simply reflect his interest in current affairs, rather than affiliation with any camp. If Dow is to be revealed as a recusant, then we await proper documentation of this.<sup>36</sup>

As for his copies of Byrd's 'political' pieces, they are not quite what might be expected of someone with recusant sympathies. Dow's copy of the song 'Why do I use my paper, ink and pen' gives only the opening stanza; the remainder of Henry Walpole's poem, which goes on to pay tribute to Campion, is missing. Moreover Dow seems to have added this piece to his collection only at a very late stage, if the evidence of the 'modern' bass clef is to be trusted; see Mus. 988, facsimile p. 117. As for 'Deus venerunt gentes', a motet thought to have been written in response to Campion's execution, Dow's copy of it is inexplicably divided into three segments: the first two *partes* are copied as motet no. 39, the third as no. 44 and the fourth as no. 47.<sup>37</sup> Dow might easily have annotated one or

<sup>33</sup> Dow's possible recusant sympathies are explored in Mateer, 'Oxford, Christ Church Music MSS 984–8', pp. 6–7, and mentioned in *idem*, 'Dow, Robert (1553–1558)', in *ODNB online*.

<sup>34</sup> Byrd's religious affiliations have come under close scrutiny in recent years. For a summary of the issues and some important new interpretations, see Oliver Neighbour, 'Music Manuscripts of George Iliffe from Stanford Hall, Leicestershire, Including a New Ascription to Byrd', *Music & Letters*, 88 (2007), 420–35 (at pp. 428–35).

<sup>35</sup> Kerry McCarthy and John Harley, 'From the Library of William Byrd', *The Musical Times*, 150 (2009), 17–30.

<sup>36</sup> For what it is worth, Dow's father was not a Catholic, and if anything he inclined toward puritan views; see Ian W. Archer, 'Dowe, Robert (c.1523–1612)', in *ODNB online*.

<sup>37</sup> Only after copying all four *partes* did Dow recognize that they constitute a single work; he then added annotations in all five partbooks drawing attention to this. The annotations, placed in the margin before the fourth part ('Facti sumus opprobrium'; motet no. 47), are clearly an afterthought. For a discussion of the motet's relevance to English political events in the wake of Campion's execution, see especially Craig Monson, 'Byrd, the Catholics, and the Motet: The Hearing Reopened', in Dolores Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York, 1997), 348–74.

more of these segments to signal their connection to *Campion's* death, but he did not; and this is in line with the partbooks as a whole. None of Dow's annotations openly expresses a Catholic point of view. Bearing in mind the year in which *Campion* was executed, it could be relevant that Dow added the date '1581' to his partbooks, and chose to open them with Robert White's Lamentations. But there is no pressing reason why the various Elizabethan settings of the Lamentations should be heard as expressions of Catholic allegiance or sympathy. Their texts are biblical, and they were written at a time when Tudor composers were forging a newly expressive musical language, perhaps through exposure to foreign models in general and the Lamentations settings of Alfonso Ferrabosco (i) in particular. From at least the 1530s onwards, English composers regularly emulated or competed with one another by writing directly comparable works; famous examples of this are the 'Western Wind' Masses, the various settings of 'Dum transisset sabbatum', 'Miserere', 'Christe qui lux es' and especially the *In nomine*. All of these provide a context for the Elizabethan Lamentations settings, and it would be hasty to conclude that their composers—Thomas Tallis, Robert White and Osbert Parsley among them—necessarily expressed Catholic sympathies when they set these texts to music. Dow's copies of White's setting close with annotations that comment on the work's affective properties, not its latent politico-religious significance. Translated from the Latin, they read as follows: 'Not so sad do the words of the weeping prophet [Jeremiah] sound as the music of my author sounds' (Mus. 986 and 987, facsimile p. 8), and more obscurely 'Ateas the Scythian preferred to hear the neighing of his horse to the playing of the outstanding musician Ismenias; the voice of a horse, not a human being' (Mus. 985, facsimile p. 8). The fact that Dow gave White pride of place in his partbooks—eight pieces by him open the set—could just as easily point to some undocumented link between the composer and Dow or his family. Thereafter his favoured composer quickly became the obvious and universal one; and by placing such emphasis on William Byrd, Dow merely falls into line with all English music collectors of the 1580s, whether Catholic or Protestant.

### Later Owners of the Partbooks

Whatever Dow's religious views may have been, his partbooks subsequently passed through the hands of two people who must have cherished them principally for their visual beauty and choice selection of contents. David Mateer has proposed Giles Tomson as the 'G T' of the covers, and this identification makes total sense, not only because of the All Souls connection, but also because in 1603 Tomson was appointed dean of Windsor.

In the choir of St George's Chapel, Dean Tomson would have encountered John Baldwin, one of two copyists who added extra music to some of the unused pages in the Dow Partbooks. It is just within the bounds of possibility that the partbooks passed first to Baldwin, then to Tomson, but the exact chronology barely matters. Baldwin inserted two further pieces after Dow's layer of motets, one by a deceased Chapel Royal composer ('O bone Jesu' by Robert Parsons; motet no. 53), the other by a living Windsor colleague (Nathaniel Giles's 'Vestigia mea'; no. 54). For these copies he used his finest lozenge-shaped notation rather than his informal hand (as illustrated in Plate 1), and on that count his contribution to the manuscript equals or even surpasses Dow's own work.<sup>38</sup> But as a calligrapher Baldwin lacked Dow's training in pure italic script, and Dow definitely has the upper hand when it comes to the presentation of text-underlay in the motets. Both of these men outshine a third (and still unidentified) copyist who at some point added two more pieces to the partbooks, Brewster's four-part *In nomine* (here with an added fifth voice), and an anonymous setting of 'O God, wherefore art thou absent' that apparently survives nowhere else. This completes the tally, and a few pages in each book remain unfilled to this day.

How the Dow Partbooks passed from Windsor to the library of Christ Church, Oxford, is unclear. Tomson bequeathed his 'songe books' to his servant Gregory Baker, who in turn left them to his son Giles (d. 1661);<sup>39</sup> but it is not known how or when they passed to their next identifiable owner, Henry Aldrich (1648–1710). Aldrich came up to Christ Church in 1662, and gradually rose through the ranks to become dean of the college (and of Christ Church Cathedral) in 1689. During his lifetime Aldrich amassed an extraordinary music collection, unsurpassed in Britain for its size, historical depth and breadth of coverage; and at his death he bequeathed it to his college for safekeeping, since it contained 'things of value in themselves and to be found in very few Libraries'. But he also stipulated that his personal papers should be destroyed after his death, and for that reason little is known

<sup>38</sup> Presumably Baldwin made formal copies of music for use at St George's Chapel, Windsor, and perhaps for other institutional choirs, but none of these survive. His formal hand appears in the replacement pages he copied for one of the Forrest-Heather partbooks; see *Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS. Mus. Sch. e. 376–381: the Forrest-Heather Partbooks*, facsimile with an introduction by John Milsom, Renaissance Music in Facsimile, 15 (New York & London, 1986), Sexta pars, ff. 43–55. As is the case with the Dow Partbooks, it is unclear whether Baldwin undertook this work for someone else, or actually owned the Forrest-Heather partbooks at the time.

<sup>39</sup> Mateer, 'Oxford, Christ Church Music MSS 984–8', pp. 4–5.

about his methods of acquisition.<sup>40</sup> Some of his music must have been bought, but some was clearly given to him by friends, colleagues and grateful students. Through one of these means, Aldrich acquired not only the Dow Partbooks but also John Baldwin's partbooks, which are of very similar size and appearance, complementary in contents, and of course also of Windsor provenance. Since at least the early eighteenth century these two partbook sets have been shelved side by side in Christ Church Library. Aldrich himself seems to have paid little attention to either set of books; although his interest in the motets of Tallis and Byrd was keen, he could study these from printed editions (which he also possessed), and in any case Dow's partbooks lacked an index, and Baldwin's set lacked a partbook. Aldrich may therefore have viewed them as curiosities rather than useful sources.<sup>41</sup>

The Dow Partbooks may not have attracted much interest during their first century at Christ Church, but in the late 1770s they caught the eye of a distinguished visitor who paid particular attention to them. Dr Charles Burney, while researching his *General History of Music*, worked intensively with the music collection at Christ Church, on the grounds that 'for masses, motets, madrigals, and anthems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the collection is the most complete of any that I have had an opportunity of consulting'.<sup>42</sup> Astonishingly, he was allowed to transfer some of the collection to his home in St Martin's Street, London; and it was there that the Dow Partbooks lived for eight years, while Burney transcribed and evaluated their

<sup>40</sup> Aldrich seems never to have compiled a list of his own music. The earliest cataloguers of his bequest, working around 1717, were clearly overwhelmed by the enormity and complexity of the task that faced them, and their summary list gives up before it reaches the Dow Partbooks. Evidently the books formed part of the 'Large Collection of Music in 262 Vol: beside loose papers' that the cataloguers found sitting on shelves M–Q; see 'A Catalogue of y<sup>e</sup> Books Contain'd in y<sup>e</sup> Archives': Christ Church, Library Records 15, f. 13r. The earliest shelf-list to describe the complete bequest is a manuscript 'Catalogue of Music in Dr Aldrich's Collection at Christ Church College Oxon', compiled in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. This refers to the Dow Partbooks as 'Latin Psalms ... By Tallis &c. MS. 5 voc. 1581', located at shelfmark N.2.4; Christ Church, Library Records 12(3), f. 13r. Further information about the formation and evolution of the collection is available from the *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*, compiled by John Milsom and accessible online.

<sup>41</sup> A few pages of the Dow Partbooks have been neatly annotated by Aldrich, proving that he did at least examine them. See for instance Mus. 988, facsimile pp. 78–9 (motets 42–3), where Aldrich has written 'Printed' in the margins, referring to the availability of these two Tallis motets in the 1575 *Cantiones ... sacrae*, copies of which he also owned.

<sup>42</sup> Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, vol. 3 (London, 1789), p. 602.

contents.<sup>43</sup> The results can be seen in the run of score-books that Burney compiled during this period.<sup>44</sup> One of them (now British Library, Add. MS 11586) includes motets by Tallis, Taverner, Johnson, Parsons and Sheppard, and In nomines and textless works by Parsons, Tye, Van Wilder, Bull and White, all of them transferred from Dow's manuscript. The other score-book (British Library, Add. MS 11581) includes only Robert White's anthem 'Lord, who shall dwell'; but this piece had the distinction of being published complete in volume 3 of Burney's *History*, with the comment 'Scored from single parts / transcribed 1581 without Bars'.<sup>45</sup> In his chapters on Tudor music Burney refers several times to the 'small quarto set of books' at Christ Church in which he had found not only Robert White's 'Latin Full Anthems and Services ... beautifully transcribed', but also 'a great number of others, to Latin words, which I have scored', as well as 'beautiful and correct copies' of 'nearly forty' of Byrd's compositions (vol. 3, pp. 66, 71 and 85). Thankfully, Burney did not mark the Dow Partbooks as he scored up their contents (as he was wont to do with the printed editions he consulted), but a trace of his hand may be detected in the numbering sequence added above the contents of Mus. 985.

In fact, very few markings have been made on the Dow Partbooks in the past two hundred years. In the 1840s Henry E. Havergal, chaplain of Christ Church, undertook the mammoth task of cataloguing the music collection

<sup>43</sup> Burney's borrowings are recorded in a pair of duplicate sheets, one in the hand of Burney himself, the other by Joshua Berkeley, Student of Christ Church, noting the identities of the books and the dates on which they were removed and returned. Thus 'A Set of MS. Music B<sup>ks</sup> in small 4<sup>to</sup> Marked GT consisting compositions by Old English Masters—5 vol<sup>s</sup>' was removed 'From D<sup>r</sup> Aldrich's Collect[ion]' on 'Oct<sup>r</sup> 13 1779', and returned together with other volumes in 1787, together with a letter from Burney apologizing for their long absence; Christ Church, Library Records 45(13). Burney refers to the borrowed Christ Church music in a letter to his son (also Charles Burney) dated 25 February 1781; see *The Letters of Dr Charles Burney, I: 1751–1784*, ed. Alvaro Ribeiro, SJ (Oxford, 1991), p. 320. As a token of his gratitude to the college, Burney donated a copy of his four-volume *History* to Christ Church in 1789 (shelfmark: Arch. Sup. H. 1.6–9).

<sup>44</sup> The Burney score-books are now London, British Library, Add. MSS 11581–91; inventories in *Catalogue of the Manuscript Music in the British Museum*, [ed. Frederic Madden] (London, 1842), pp. 83–92. For an analysis of Burney's habits when collecting and transcribing sixteenth-century polyphony, see John Milsom, 'The Nonsuch Music Library', in Chris Banks, Arthur Searle and Malcolm Turner (eds.), *Sundry Sorts of Music Books. Essays on The British Library Collections Presented to O.W. Neighbour on his 70th Birthday* (London, 1993), 146–82 (at pp. 174–6 and 178–9).

<sup>45</sup> Burney, *A General History of Music*, vol. 3, pp. 67–70.

at Christ Church (which had been augmented significantly through further donation);<sup>46</sup> and in the course of indexing the music by composer, he drew up a contents list of the Dow Partbooks on the bifolium that is now pasted to the front flyleaf of Mus. 984. Havergal also numbered the compositions in this partbook by extending onwards from the end of Dow's original motet sequence. But he did not foliate or paginate the books, and even now the leaves lack any numbering system. In the twentieth century, well-meaning librarians similarly numbered the contents of the remaining three partbooks (Mus. 986–8), but unfortunately with errors and inconsistencies, giving rise to a muddled system that is of limited use today. Pagination has therefore been added to this facsimile, to help readers find their way around the contents; but it is important to note that this is properly a pagination of the facsimile, not of the manuscripts themselves.

The Dow Partbooks have withstood the centuries remarkably well, but inevitably there has been some tearing and soiling of the leaves, and the covers are starting to work loose. With the publication of this facsimile, the Dow Partbooks have therefore now effectively been withdrawn from public use, except to researchers studying physical characteristics such as watermarks, erasures and bindings. Admirers of the books can, however, still expect to see them displayed under glass. And the creation of a high-quality colour facsimile now allows the Dow Partbooks to pass back into the hands of those intended by Robert Dow himself—which is to say, singers, viol players, scholars, and connoisseurs of calligraphy who simply wish to turn the pages and admire these lovely books.

<sup>46</sup> See in particular Havergal's manuscript, 'A Short Numerical Catalogue of the Manuscript and Printed Musick in the Library of Christ Church', dated 1846; Christ Church, Library Records 30. The Dow partbooks are described there at position F.I.23–7, corresponding to the numbers written on the inside front covers of the books themselves. Havergal observes that the books are 'beautifully written', and had been consulted and cited by Burney.





Plate 5: The Dow Partbooks

## Select bibliography

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# The Latin inscriptions

compiled by John Milsom  
with English translations and commentary  
by Leofranc Holford-Strevens

## 1. The prefatory inscriptions

Robert Dow did not live to complete the making of his partbooks, and we can only guess how they were meant to open. Possibly titlepages were envisaged; certainly lists or indexes of contents would have been supplied; but in their present unfinished state each of the books now begins with a near-identical set of Latin inscriptions written on or between the staves of the first two pages. For the opening page of each partbook, Dow chose a familiar text by Walter Haddon (1514/15–1571), a prominent civil lawyer and advocate of Protestant reform, whose Latin verses were much admired at the time.<sup>1</sup> No doubt Dow felt some affinity with Haddon, not only on account of their shared interest in law and respect for music, but also because Haddon had links with Oxford, having been President of Magdalen College at the end of Edward VI's reign. Dow was not alone in quoting Haddon's text in praise of music; Thomas Whythorne, for instance, embedded the poem within the verse preface to his *Songes, for three, fower and five voyces* (London, 1571).<sup>2</sup> By a neat coincidence, the versification of the poem (five stanzas, each occupying four lines) exactly matches the five-stave layout of Dow's music paper, and the printed stave-lines therefore function here as text-guides. The reading below is transcribed from Mus. 988; the other partbooks have small variants, the most significant of which are reported in footnotes.

<sup>1</sup> See Charles J. Lees, *The Poetry of Walter Haddon* (The Hague, 1967), with an edition of Haddon's 'De Musica' at pp. 138–9.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne*, ed. James M. Osborn (Oxford, 1961), pp. 177–82.

Gualterus Haddonus

Musicen primum docuit voluptas;  
Musices auxit studium voluptas;  
Musices usum retinet voluptas;  
Gaudia fundens.

Musicen lusit placidus Cupido;  
Musicen lusit Cytherea mollis;  
Muscen lusit cytharâ süavi;<sup>6</sup>  
Clarus Apollo.<sup>7</sup>

Musice mentes tenuit virorum;<sup>8</sup>  
Musice sensus tenuit ferarum;  
Musice montes, et aquas, et ornos;  
Sede removit.

Musice summis dominatur astris;  
Musice terræ dominatur imæ;  
Musice ponto dominatur alto;  
Cuncta pererrans.

Musice<sup>9</sup> mentis medicina mœstæ;  
Musice multum minuit malorum;  
Musice magnis, mediis minutis;  
Maxima mittit.

Walter Haddon

*Music was first imparted by pleasure;  
Music's love was increased by pleasure;  
Music's practice is maintained by pleasure,  
Which pours forth joys.<sup>3</sup>*

*Music was played<sup>4</sup> by gentle Cupid;  
Music was played by tender Cytherea;<sup>5</sup>  
Music was played on the sweet cithara  
By famous Apollo.*

*Music has controlled the minds of men;  
Music has controlled the passions of wild beasts;  
Music has moved mountains and waterways and elms  
From their proper places.*

*Music rules the stars at their highest;  
Music rules the earth at its lowest;  
Music rules the deep sea,  
Permeating all things.*

*Music is the medicine of the sad mind;  
Music diminishes a great number of evils;  
Music sends the greatest [gifts] to the great,  
The middling, and the tiny.*

<sup>3</sup> lit. 'Pleasure first taught music / Pleasure increased the love of music / Pleasure maintains the practice of music / Pouring forth joys'.

<sup>4</sup> An Anglicism; the Latin ought to mean 'cheated'.

<sup>5</sup> Venus.

<sup>6</sup> Normal classical scansion would be *suavi*, two syllables.

<sup>7</sup> *Clarus* is also 'bright', as Apollo's sun; perhaps also an illegitimate play on *Clarius*, of Clarus near Colophon, the site of a famous oracle.

<sup>8</sup> Mus. 985: *ferarum* for *virorum* (and the reverse exchange in the next line).

<sup>9</sup> Mus. 984: here and at the start of the next line: *Musica*, a viable but inferior reading.

Mus. 985 then continues with the following quotation from Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* (I. 4), added by Dow at the foot of the page:

In Græcia Musici floruerunt, discebantque id omnes; nec qui nesciebat, satis excultus doctrina putabatur.  
Tusculanarum primo Cicero.

*In Greece musicians flourished, and everyone learnt it [music], nor was anyone who did not know it considered sufficiently polished by education.*

In all five partbooks, the verso of the opening leaf gives the following texts:

Quisquis es hunc nostrum tacturus forte libellum  
Seu quid voce vales seu cecinisse nequis.  
Pupillam Domini te contrectare putato  
Pars ea vult nitidas sic liber iste manus.

*Whoever you are who perchance shall touch this book,  
Whether you are worth anything with your voice or cannot sing,  
Consider that you are handling the female ward<sup>10</sup> of the master;  
That part [role, or body part] wants shining [clean] hands,  
and so does this book.*

Sum Roberti Dowi.

*I am Robert Dow's.*

Vinum et Musica Lætificant Corda.<sup>11</sup>

*Wine and music rejoice the heart.*

[Added at the foot of the page, in a different ink:]

Ubi est concentus, ne effundas eloquium. Ecclesiastici 32<sup>o</sup>.

*Where there is harmony, pour not out speech. Ecclesiasticus 32.<sup>12</sup>*

<sup>10</sup> *Pupillam contrectare* has sexual connotations; but *pupilla* also means pupil of the eye.

<sup>11</sup> cf. Ecclesiasticus 40: 20.

<sup>12</sup> This is not from the Vulgate Latin text of Ecclesiasticus 32: 6 (*Ubi auditus est, non effundas sermonem*, 'Where there is hearing, pour not out words', variant *non est*, 'no hearing'), but from the version by Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius the elder (probably from the London edition of 1580), in which the verse is numbered 4 as in editions of the Greek text, which means 'Where there is an entertainment [*akróama*, 'thing listened to', usually a musical performance], pour not out talk'.

## 2. Inscriptions within the partbooks (listed alphabetically)

Æteas Scytha maluit audire hinnitum equi, quàm cantum præstantissimi musici Ismeniaë;  
vox equi non hominis.

Mus. 985, facsimile  
p. 83 (after motet 1)

*Aeteas [correctly Ateas] the Scythian preferred to hear the neighing of his horse to the playing of the outstanding musician Ismenias; the voice of a horse, not a human being.*<sup>13</sup>

---

Agamemnon abiens ad bellum Troianum domi reliquit musicum, tam excellentis artis,  
ut Ægisthus potiri Clytemnestra non potuerit nisi musico occiso.  
H. Cardanus de Sap.

Mus. 988, facsimile  
p. 21 (after motet 7)

*Agamemnon, departing for the Trojan War, left a musician behind of such excellent skill that Aegisthus could not make himself master of Clytemnestra except the musician had been killed.*  
Girolamo Cardano (1501–76), *On Wisdom*.<sup>14</sup>

---

Birde suos iactet si Musa Britanna clientes;  
Signiferum turmis te creet illa suis.

Mus. 986, facsimile  
p. 66 (after motet 34)

*Byrd, if the British Muse were to boast of her clients,  
she would make you ensign of her troops.*

<sup>13</sup> The Scythian king Ateas, having taken prisoner the great Theban aulete Ismenias, ordered him to play at a banquet, but disliked the result. The story is found three times in Plutarch, most fully at *On the Fortune of Alexander*, speech 2, §1 (334 B).

<sup>14</sup> cf. *Odyssey*, book 3, lines 267–72.

Britannici belli exitus expectatur; etiam illud iam cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse ullum in ea insula, neque ullam spem prædæ, nisi ex mancipiis, ex quibus nullos puto te literis aut musicis eruditos expectare. [Heading: 'Cicero ad Atticum lib. 4<sup>o</sup>.']  
Unus Birdus omnes Anglos ab hoc conuicio prorsus liberat.

Mus. 985, facsimile  
p. 83 (after motet 41)

*'The outcome of [Caesar's] British war is awaited; it is already known too<sup>15</sup> that there is not a scruple [1/24 Roman ounce] of silver in that island nor any hope of booty, except from slaves, from whom I don't suppose you expect to get anyone educated in literature or music.'* [Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, 4. 16. 7.]  
*Byrd by himself completely frees all the English from that aspersion.*

---

Cantabo Domino in vita mea, psallam Deo meo quam diu sum. psal. 103

Mus. 984, facsimile  
p. 83 (after motet 28)

*I will sing to the Lord as long as I live: I will sing praise to my God while I have my being.*  
[Ps. 103: 13 Vulgate]

---

Cantores inter, quod in æthere sol, bone Birde:  
Cur arctant laudes disticha nostra tuas?

Mus. 984, facsimile  
p. 77 (after motet  
36)<sup>16</sup>

*Good Byrd, [who are] among singers as the sun [is] in the aether,  
Why do our couplets confine your praises?*

<sup>15</sup> 'Too' because Cicero had just written (after *ex(s)pectatur*) that the approaches to Britain were known to have formidable defences, a clause left out by Dow.

<sup>16</sup> This is also written after motet 36 in Mus. 986, and in 988 with this variant: *Cur arctant titulos disticha nostra tuos?*: 'Why do our couplets confine your claims to merit?'

Galli cantant Itali caprizant Germani ululant Angli iubilant<sup>17</sup>

*The French sing, the Italians bleat, the Germans howl, the English whoop.*

---

Mus. 986, facsimile p.  
50 (after motet 25)

[Gimel: see Performance Issues (pp. 39–50 below)]

---

Magister Thomas Tallis.

Mortuus est 23<sup>o</sup> Novembris 1585.

Sepultus Grenouici Choro Ecclesiae parochialis.

*Master Thomas Tallis*

*Died 23 November 1585*

*He was buried at Greenwich in the choir of the parish church.*

---

Mus. 988, facsimile  
p. 80 (after motet 43)

Maxima musarum nostrarum gloria White,

Tu peris, aeternum sed tua musa manet.<sup>18</sup>

*Greatest glory of our muses, White,*

*You perish, but your muse remains for ever.*

---

Mus. 985, facsimile  
p. 15 (after motet 3)<sup>19</sup>

Musicâ capitur omne quod vivit si naturam sequitur.<sup>20</sup>

*Everything that lives is captivated by music if it follows nature.*

Mus. 984, facsimile  
p. 31 (after motet 10),  
and Mus. 985, facsimile  
p. 93 (after motet 48)

<sup>17</sup> This goes back, perhaps by way of Ornithoparchus, *Musice active micrologus* (Leipzig, 1517), sig. M2r, to Gaffurius, *Theorica musicae* (Milan, 1492), sig. k5r.

<sup>18</sup> *Peris* shows our poet's limits: the *i*, which should be long, is scanned short.

<sup>19</sup> In the other four partbooks this is also written after motet 3, with insignificant variants.

<sup>20</sup> *Musica ... vivit*: Regino of Prüm, *De harmonica institutione* 6.



Musica lætificat corda.<sup>21</sup>

*Music rejoiceth hearts.*

Mus. 988, facsimile  
p. 87 (after motet 48)

---

Musica mentis medicina mœstæ.<sup>22</sup>

*Music is the medicine of the sad mind.*

Mus. 988, facsimile  
p. 52 (after motet 27)

---

Musica vel ipsas arbores et horridas mouet feras.<sup>23</sup>

*Music moves even trees and fearsome wild beasts.*

Mus. 988, facsimile  
p. 64 (after motet 34)

---

Non est harmonicè compositus qui Musicâ non delectatur.<sup>24</sup>

*He is not harmoniously compounded who does not delight in music.*

Mus. 984, facsimile  
p. 55 (after motet 25)

---

Non ita mœsta sonant plangentis verba Prophetæ,  
Quam sonat authoris musica mæsta mei.

*Not so sad do the words of the weeping prophet sound [Jeremiah in Lamentations]  
As the music of my author sounds.*

Mus. 986 and 987,  
facsimile p. 8 (after  
motet 1)

<sup>21</sup> cf. Ecclesiasticus 40: 20.

<sup>22</sup> This is a line from Walter Haddon's poem, in the variant reading given by Dow on the first page of Mus. 985. The Greek-derived nominative *Musice* with its long *e*, as in Haddon's original, would have been better.

<sup>23</sup> The closing line of 'Musica, Dei donum', a text set to music by Jacobus Clemens non Papa, Jacobus Vaet, Jean de Castro, Orlande de Lassus and others.

<sup>24</sup> Marsilio Ficino, *Epistolæ*, 6. 36, probably by way of [anon.], *The Praise of Musicke* (Oxford, 1586), p. 74 (misnumbered 46).

Quatuor illustris vixit sub Regibus iste  
 Tallisius magno dignus honore senex.  
 Sub quibus eximius si musicus esset habendus  
 Tallisius semper gloria prima fuit.

Mus. 987, facsimile  
 p. 80 (after motet 42)

*This Tallis lived in fame under four monarchs,  
 An old man worthy of his great honour.  
 If ever a musician had to be accounted outstanding,  
 Tallis was always their chief glory.<sup>25</sup>*

---

Qui decus es generi genti Philomelaque nostræ;  
 Birde precor longum voce manuque canas!

Mus. 988, facsimile  
 p. 63 (after motet 33)

*You who are a glory to our race, and a nightingale to our people,  
 Byrd, I pray that you may make music with voice and hand for a long time.*

---

Qui tantus primo Parsones in flore fuisti,  
 Quantus in autumno non morerere fores?

Mus. 987 facsimile  
 p. 68 (after motet 35)

*Parsons, who were so great in your first flowering,  
 How great should you have been in your autumn, had you not died!*

<sup>25</sup> Lines 3–4 are obscure. Morrison Comegys Boyd (*Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism*, p. 316) rendered them as ‘If in their time a musician ought to have been held distinguished, Tallis was always their chief glory’, but that would seem to mean that in fact no musician did deserve to be called outstanding. *Tallisius* in l. 4 may be a perseverence error for *Tallisii*, ‘Tallis’s glory was always first’.

Sicut in fabricatione auri signum est smaragdi:

Sic numerus musicorum in iucundo et moderato vino. [Heading: 'Ecclesiastici 32<sup>o</sup>']

*As a signet of an emerald in a work of gold:*

*so is the melody of music [lit. 'the musicians'] with pleasant and moderate wine. [Ecclesiasticus 32: 8]*

Mus. 988, facsimile p. 49 (after motet 25), and Mus. 986, facsimile p. 132 (after Byrd, 'Ah, golden hairs')

---

Talis es et tantus Tallisi musicus, vt si  
fata senem auferrent musica muta foret.

*Such and so great a musician are you, Tallis, that if  
the Fates took you off in your old age, music would be mute.*

Mus. 986, facsimile p. 84 (after motet 42); also Mus. 987, facsimile p. 43 (after motet 21), and Mus. 988, facsimile p. 79 (after motet 42).

---

Tallisius magno dignus honore senex.

*Tallis, an old man worthy of great honour.*

Mus. 988, facsimile p. 41 (after motet 20)

---

Dies lunæ

Ut lucem solis sequitur lux proxima lunæ

Sic tu post Birdum Munde secunde venis.

*Monday*

*As the moon's light follows next after the sun's light,*

*So you, Mundy, come second after Byrd.*

Mus. 987, facsimile p. 71 (after motet 37)<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> The bottom line of text has been trimmed and is no longer fully legible.

Vinum et musica lætificant cor.  
Spiritus tristis exiccat ossa.

*Wine and music rejoice the heart.* [Ecclesiasticus 40: 20]  
*A sorrowful spirit drieth up the bones.* [Proverbs 17: 22]

Mus. 984, facsimile  
p. 24 (after motet 7)

# Performance issues

The Dow Partbooks were created for use in the chamber. Although some of the motets and probably all the anthems were originally composed for performance in churches, Dow has included them here in an anthology designed for convivial music-making, a point emphasized by his Latin inscriptions that partner music with the enjoyment of wine; and a domestic context would be exactly right for the motets by Byrd, which are correctly *cantiones sacrae* ('sacred songs') intended to be sung as chamber music. Many of the vocal works can be performed with one voice to part, but a few pieces by White and Parsons include voice-divisions, and these call for larger ensembles of singers; further details of them are given below in the section on gimbels (pp. 44–7). The untexted works and consort songs obviously invite the use of instruments, viols in particular, but players should be warned that some of Dow's copies require pages to be turned during the course of a piece. (This is particularly true of works copied using the early 'curled' F clef; Dow's later copies avoid this inconvenience by allocating a new page to each piece.) The troublesome page-turns might hint at the possibility of vocalized interpretation, with singers rather than instrumentalists performing the untexted lines. But there is also a chance that Dow's convivial music-making took place in company, in which case hands other than those of the viol players might have turned the pages.

## Multi-sectional works

Had Dow finished numbering all the contents of his partbooks, it would be clear where multi-sectional works begin and end. No ambiguities arise in the motets, since these do bear numbers; but in the layers of secular repertory Dow does not always indicate when a work's 'first part' is followed by a 'second' or even a 'third part', and numbers added to the pieces by subsequent users often confuse rather than clarify the issue. The problem is illustrated by Byrd's 'Lullaby, my sweet little baby', a carol in which a refrain ('Lullabie') in  $\phi$  mensuration should alternate with music for the verses ('Be still') in  $\ominus$  mensuration. Dow, however, does not specify their relationship, and the sections were later numbered separately, giving the impression that they are two pieces rather than one. The Main Inventory below (pp. 61–72) shows where each new composition begins; and the Index of composers

(pp. 83–90) refers to modern editions that not only show the structure of individual pieces, but also supply additional stanzas for some of the poetic texts.

### Notational symbols and the mensural system<sup>1</sup>

In the 1580s, when the Dow Partbooks were copied, opinions differed about how polyphony (and especially its rhythm) should be notated. On the one hand, Thomas Morley's famous treatise *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke* (first published in London in 1597) treads the traditional path, teaching notational principles that can be traced back to the start of the fourteenth century. On the other hand, amateur music-copyists like Robert Dow used a simplified notation, the principles of which more closely resemble those of modern practice. This is not the place to describe and account for these differences of opinion. Instead, the following remarks offer a practical guide to Dow's notation, drawing attention to alternative views (as expressed by Morley) only when Dow's readings are themselves either inconsistent or potentially ambiguous.<sup>2</sup> For the reader's convenience, most of the points raised below are discussed with reference to two of Dow's partbooks, the Bassus (Mus. 988) and Superius (Mus. 984).

The majority of pieces copied by Dow are notated in  $\phi$  mensuration. Among them are two motets where the notation has been adjusted, Robert White's 'Exaudiat te Dominus' (motet no. 23) and Robert Parsons's 'Retribuere servo tuo' (motet no. 35). These two pieces should properly begin in  $\phi$  mensuration, and other sources transmit them in that original form.<sup>3</sup> Dow, however, was not alone in copying them in  $\phi$ , and he was therefore not necessarily responsible for making the adjustment; it could already have been present in his exemplars.

For works in triple-time mensurations, Dow and his contemporaries often used a set of simplified notational

<sup>1</sup> The following remarks assume some prior knowledge of the principles of mensural notation, and/or prior experience of reading from facsimiles of late sixteenth-century polyphony.

<sup>2</sup> Morley's treatise is cited below in two forms. 'Morley 1597' denotes (a) the original 1597 edition of *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke*, together with (b) the 1608 second edition (which retains the page layout and pagination of 1597), (c) the various facsimiles of 1597 and 1608 that have been published, and (d) electronic versions of 1597 and 1608 that are now available online. 'Harman' refers to Thomas Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, ed. R. Alec Harman (London, 1952).

<sup>3</sup> In White's 'Exaudiat te Dominus', the mensuration should change from  $\phi$  to  $\phi$  after 'Christum suum'; in Parsons's 'Retribuere servo tuo', the mensuration should change from  $\phi$  to  $\phi$  after 'a mandatis tuis'. Strokes through mensuration signs probably do not have tempo significance; see the discussion in Morley 1597, p. 23 ff (= Harman, p. 40 ff).

principles that remain in play irrespective of the mensuration sign in force or the note-values employed.<sup>4</sup> These principles are illustrated by the closing triple-metre passage of Robert White's 'Appropinquet deprecatio mea' (motet no. 28): see Mus. 988, facsimile p. 55, staves 2–5.<sup>5</sup> If a breve is meant to possess the value of three semibreves (i.e. if it is perfect), then it will always be dotted, irrespective of context. If it is not dotted, then it is worth two semibreves (i.e. is imperfect). In theory, a breve rest in perfect time (without a dot) would be worth three semibreves, but in practice Dow expresses longer rests in multiples of shorter rests, presumably to avoid any ambiguity. Thomas Morley would have found various reasons to quibble with this presentation, but the policy, once understood, is logical, consistent, and effectively equivalent to modern notational expectations.<sup>6</sup>

In the secular repertoires, *c* is the prevailing triple-time mensuration. Here the same principles apply, but at the next note-level down; see for instance the Bassus part of Byrd's *Browning*: Mus. 988, facsimile p. 123. Perfect semibreves are always dotted, and undotted semibreves are imperfect. Semibreve rests (without dots) are worth three minims. Occasionally one or more black semibreves (each worth two minims) will be used to alert the reader to a moment of syncopation or hemiola; see for instance stave 5, which features two pairs of black semibreves.<sup>7</sup> The same principles apply when the entire notational system is toggled from white to black (as happens, for instance, during Parsons's 'De la court'; see Mus. 988, facsimile p. 131, staves 3–5). They therefore govern Philippe van Wilder's 'Je file quand Dieu', which is expressed in black notation throughout: see Mus. 988, facsimile p. 132. Some triple-metre pieces open with two minim rests to indicate that the piece starts with an upbeat, but this convention is not universally applied. Thus players are left to find out for themselves that Woodcock's 'Browning' and the consort song 'When May is in his prime' both begin with upbeats; see Mus. 988, facsimile pp. 125 and 162.

Ligatures are rare in the Dow Partbooks. Some of them reliably possess their standard meaning; for instance, a

<sup>4</sup> Dow's readings sometimes diverge from those of contemporary copies (including printed editions of Byrd, published under the composer's supervision), suggesting that Dow may sometimes have made notational adjustments that reflect his own preferences.

<sup>5</sup> This motet survives only in the Dow Partbooks, so it is possible that the notation here no longer equates with what White himself would have written.

<sup>6</sup> The traditional laws governing triple mensurations, in which note durations were partially determined by context, are laid out in Morley 1597, pp. 12–24 (= Harman, pp. 23–42).

<sup>7</sup> Dow's copies sometimes omit coloration that the composer himself is likely to have specified. An example is Byrd's 'If women could be fair', which is notated with coloration in *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* (1588), but without coloration in the Dow Partbooks; see Mus. 988, facsimile p. 143.

two-note ligature prefixed with an upstem will always denote a pair of semibreves; but elsewhere the normal rules are disregarded.<sup>8</sup> A clear example occurs in the Bassus of Taverner's 'Dum transisset sabbatum [I]': see Mus. 988, facsimile p. 50. On the fourth stave, a three-note descending ligature without stems ought to signify long-breve-long, but here it possesses the value of three breves. The Dow Partbooks are not alone in disregarding the rules of ligatures; even William Byrd (or his printer, Thomas East) allowed an incorrect ligature to creep into the motet 'Tribulationes civitatum'. Curiously, however, Dow's own copy of this motet avoids the error; see Mus. 984, facsimile p. 32, stave 4, penultimate symbol. Here, an oblique ligature prefixed with a downstem correctly signifies two breves; but the 1589 printed edition employs a ligature of two descending squares without stem (= two longs), which is incorrect.<sup>9</sup> The conclusion to be drawn is obvious: ligatures in late Tudor sources are not always what they seem, and singers should be alert to the possibility that they may not strictly observe the standard rules.

In most other respects, Dow's notational symbols will cause little puzzlement, with three possible exceptions, two of which can be seen in Mus. 984, facsimile p. 86 (and elsewhere). In the centre of the third stave, a minim above 'eius' has a crossed stem; this is the conventional way of cancelling the stem (which here has been written in error), and the note therefore has the value of a semibreve. At the end of the fourth stave, two dots have been placed under the first letter of 'nobis', an unconventional and seemingly meaningless symbol that occurs in many of the vocal works, and is probably a residue of Dow's copying process; performers may safely ignore it. The third notational issue relates to pitch-inflection. Like most Tudor copyists, Dow does not employ a symbol to specify naturals, and in general uses a sharp to cancel a flat (or, less commonly, a flat to cancel a sharp).<sup>10</sup> Occasionally, however, he opts for an alternative symbol that can catch the singer unawares. Thus in Mus. 984, facsimile p. 20, stave 2, at the word 'Confundantur', a stylized letter 'f' is used to cancel an earlier F sharp, an English habit of the preceding two centuries. Such notational inconsistency might seem odd in the work of a copyist who otherwise adhered to set policies; but perhaps it crept in from the various exemplars used by Dow.

Mention of sharps and flats leads inevitably to an issue that concerns not just the Dow Partbooks, but indeed

<sup>8</sup> The normal meanings of ligatures are given in Morley 1597, pp. 9–11 (= Harman, pp. 19–22).

<sup>9</sup> The error may be East's rather than Byrd's; the font used to set Byrd's motets did not include oblique ligatures, and East's composers may simply have substituted an incorrect alternative.

<sup>10</sup> Occasionally a flat may serve as a guide to solmization, as in the 'singing part' of Farrant's consort song 'Ah, alas, you salt sea gods': see Mus. 984, facsimile p. 170, lowest stave, seven notes from the end. The flat placed before the F invites the singer to solmize on the B flat hexachord.



the majority of sixteenth-century manuscript and printed sources of polyphony. Do sharps and flats affect only the notes they precede, or do they sometimes have continued force? Should notes be inflected where no sharps or flats are specified? Except at cadences (where leading notes should be raised), these questions often admit no simple and universal answer. Admittedly some of the pieces copied by Dow are highly specific about inflections, to the point where the performer is left in no doubt about what to sing or play. Byrd's 'Audiui vocem' (motet 33) is an example, and almost certainly Byrd himself took care to notate this work explicitly and unambiguously. In the case of the motets by Tallis that Dow derived from the 1575 *Cantiones ... sacrae*, his copies diverge from the print only regarding one policy: if two adjacent notes are to be affected by a sharp, then the 1575 print will indeed place a sharp before both notes, whereas Dow will write a sharp only before the first note.<sup>11</sup> Even this intervention, however, does not jeopardize the outcome; performers have little room for manoeuvre. The same cannot be said, though, of many other pieces contained in the Dow Partbooks. Some of them are by composers whose original notation almost certainly did not specify a single intended outcome. Some of these pieces may subsequently have acquired sharps and flats, added either by the copyists themselves or by performers; but clearly the exemplars available to Dow were not always explicit about such matters. Sometimes Dow himself may have added a few sharps or flats, either as he copied or in the wake of actual performance. Nonetheless, many polyphonic lines in his partbooks are open to more than one interpretation, and all we can do is what Dow and his fellow performers no doubt would have done—which is to say, sing or play what feels right (based on a knowledge of Tudor polyphonic style), and adjust or refine the inflections on repeated performances.

### Ritual forms (responsories and hymns)

The partbooks include three chant-based responsories, Tallis's '[Candidi] facti sunt' and the 'Dum transisset' settings by Taverner and Johnson. These pieces use a typically Tudor mix of notational styles: modified plainchant notation for the *cantus firmi*, and mensural notation for the accompanying polyphonic lines. The full range of principles of the chant notation can be seen in the Tenor of '[Candidi] facti sunt'; see 987, facsimile p. 43. Every rectangular note

<sup>11</sup> See for instance Tallis's 'O sacrum convivium', Contratenor: Mus. 986, facsimile p. 84, top stave, above '-turae' (of 'futurae'). The 1575 print places a sharp before each of the minim Es, whereas Dow's copy has a sharp only before the first E. The same situation arises in the middle of stave 3, where this passage of music repeats.

has the value of a semibreve, unless written with a descending tail on either side (a ‘strene’), in which case its length is doubled to a breve. No significance should be read into the note-groupings or upstems, since the compound notes here are correctly plainchant neumes, not ligatures. Shortly before the end of the *cantus firmus*, one semibreve unit has been subdivided into two black minims, injecting a brief moment of mensural notation into the line.<sup>12</sup>

Identical issues of notation arise in two of the five chant-based hymns (all of which are settings of ‘Christe qui lux es’, starting at the second stanza, ‘Precamur, sancte Domine’).<sup>13</sup> In Robert White’s first setting (motet 3) and the closely related one by Byrd (motet 45), all five voices are expressed in modified plainsong notation, which behaves exactly as does the Tenor of ‘[Candidi] facti sunt’: all the rectangular notes are to be read as semibreves, irrespective of note-grouping or stems, and singers should be alert for strenes and brief mensural moments. White could have used this notation for the *cantus firmi* of his three other settings (motets 4, 5 and 38), but in fact all surviving copies of them (including Dow’s) present these lines wholly in white mensural notation. For that reason, neume-like shapes in their *cantus firmi* are here true ligatures; see for instance the Tenor of the fourth setting (Mus. 987, facsimile p. 72), where several two-semibreve ligatures occur, evidently as a guide to text-underlay.

### Gimels

In Tudor polyphony a gimmel (or gymel; from the Latin *gemellus*, ‘a twin’) is a *divisi* passage in which a voice-part temporarily divides into two voices of equal range. Six motets in the Dow Partbooks include gimels, and three have so-called double gimels, where two voice-parts divide simultaneously. Not all of them are immediately easy to follow in the partbooks, and the following remarks therefore supplement the instructions and symbols provided by Dow himself.

<sup>12</sup> One further symbol on this page should be mentioned. At the start of the third stave, a *signum* has been placed over the word ‘Et’. In a full liturgical performance of this responsory, Tallis’s polyphony would alternate with passages of unaccompanied chant, and this *signum* marks the point where the *repetendum* would begin. In practice, however, Elizabethan music-lovers like Dow are highly unlikely to have had access to a printed or manuscript antiphonal that would supply the missing plainchant, and presumably they simply sang the polyphony without *alternatim* chant or repeats. No doubt Dow diligently copied the *signum* from his exemplar – in this case, the printed *Cantiones ... sacrae* of 1575.

<sup>13</sup> All five of these hymns are technically multi-stanza works in which plainsong should alternate with polyphony; but since Dow does not supply *alternatim* chant for the odd-numbered verses, presumably the run of even-numbered verses should be sung or played exactly as they stand.

- Robert White, 'Manus tuae fecerunt me' (motet 6). The first gimmel is in the **Superius**: see Mus. 984, facsimile pp. 19–21. At the foot of p. 19 ('Veniant mihi'), one voice sings the notation while the other follows silently; after the turn to p. 20, the voices read from staves one and five respectively (both parts are marked 'Gimel'). After 'fecerunt in me' and a long block of rests, they reunite on the right-hand page at 'fiat cor meum'. A double gimmel for **Medius** and **Contratenor** follows immediately. **Medius**: Mus. 985, facsimile pp. 19–20. The two voice-parts begin at the foot of the left-hand page (both marked 'Gimel'), and singers should follow the instructions about how to proceed on to the right-hand page. On p. 20 the upper voice, on reaching the *signum* near the end of stave 2, reunites with the lower voice at the equivalent *signum* on stave 4 ('immaculatum'). **Contratenor**: Mus. 986, facsimile pp. 18–19. At 'Ego autem' on p. 18, one voice sings while the other voice follows silently; at the arrow marked 'Gimel', the silent voice leaps to p. 19, stave 2 (also marked 'Gimel'), where there are further rests before it enters. Meanwhile the upper voice continues to the *signum* on p. 19, end of stave 1, at which point it reunites with the lower voice at an equivalent *signum* at the end of stave 3.
- Robert White, 'Justus es, Domine' (motet 8). There is a double gimmel for **Superius** and **Medius** at 'Tribulatio'. **Superius**: Mus. 984, facsimile pp. 26–7: the two voice-parts are clearly marked. On reaching the *signum*, they reunite on the right-hand page at the start of the third stave (= a block of rests). **Medius**: Mus. 985, facsimile pp. 24–5: a near-identical layout, but here the voices reunite on the right-hand page near the end of the second stave (= a block of rests).
- Robert White, 'Exaudiat te Dominus' (motet 23). The first gimmel is in the **Superius**: see Mus. 984, facsimile pp. 50–52. After 'Christum suum', the two voices read from facing pages, each marked 'Gimel'. They continue to 'invocamus', where they end simultaneously, both on p. 51, the upper voice at the end of stave 2, and the lower voice at the end of stave 5. Here the lower voice (only) has rests, which must be counted by both voices, and which continue on p. 52, where the two voices reunite. Following the **Superius** gimmel, the **Medius** and **Contratenor** break into a double gimmel that lasts to the end of the motet. **Medius**: Mus. 985, facsimile pp. 48–50. After stave 4 of p. 48, the voices read from facing pages, the left-hand voice at the label 'Gimel', the right-hand voice at the words 'Et ceciderunt' (with 'Gimel' written in the right-hand margin). Both voices begin with rests; and the left-hand voice (p. 48, bottom stave) has two useful cues: its first *signum* marks the point where the right-hand voice enters, and its second *signum*, additionally marked 'close', locates a moment of clear cadence. On p. 49, cues at the ends of staves 2 and 5 instruct the voices to turn the page together. (The cues themselves have been slightly trimmed, and should read 'vertes ad 1' and

‘vertes ad 3’.) On p. 50 the upper voice sings staves 1–2, the lower voice staves 3–5. **Contratenor**: Mus. 986, facsimile pp. 46–7. The two voices read straightforwardly from facing pages.

Robert White, ‘Appropinquet deprecatio mea’ (motet no. 28). The first gimmel is for **Contratenor**: Mus. 986, facsimile p. 54. Both voices observe the opening block of rests at the start of stave 1. At the colon, the second voice leaps to stave 3 (‘Cum docueris me’), where there are further rests before it enters. When the upper voice runs out of music (stave 3, B natural on ‘iustificationes tuas’), it unites with the lower voice in the middle of stave 4 (B flat on ‘Pronunciabit’). Later in the motet there is a **Superius** gimmel: see Mus. 984, facsimile pp. 60–62. The start of this gimmel is clearly laid out on facing pages (pp. 60–61); cues instructing the voices to turn the page have been slightly trimmed by the binder, and should read ‘verte ad 1’ and ‘verte ad 3’. On p. 62 the upper voice sings staves 1–2, and the lower voice staves 3–4 (plus the semibreve rest at the start of stave 5). The voices reunite at the change of mensuration on stave 5.

Robert Parsons, ‘Retribue servo tuo’ (motet 35). The only gimmel here is for **Bassus**: see Mus. 988, facsimile pp. 66–7. The two voices read from facing pages, and at the end of the gimmel (‘iustificationibus tuis’) the left-hand voice unites with the right-hand voice for ‘Nam et testimonia’ (p. 67, middle of stave 4).

Robert Parsons, ‘O bone Jesu’ (motet 53, copied by John Baldwin). Again there is a **Bassus** gimmel: see Mus. 988, facsimile p. 95. This is a canon at the unison (‘duæ partes in una’); a *signum* under the eleventh note marks the place and pitch at which the second voice enters. The canon ends at ‘vivencium’, after which the basses unite for ‘O Rex noster’, which is a *tutti* entry.

One gimmel eluded Dow altogether. William Byrd’s anthem ‘O Lord, make thy servant, Elizabeth’ should correctly include two Tenor voice-parts that sing in unison for roughly half the work, but elsewhere proceed independently.<sup>14</sup> Dow’s Tenor book, however, supplies only one of them. Remarkably, the piece works adequately with a missing voice; as its modern editor points out, ‘given the density of the counterpoint, the absence of an inner part might have gone unnoticed. Indeed, Dow’s version . . . proves quite convincing, with only a single ungrammatical harmony’.<sup>15</sup> Performers keen to make good that blemish should locate Mus. 987, facsimile p. 118, stave 2,

<sup>14</sup> Almost certainly Dow copied this anthem directly or indirectly from a ‘liturgical’ source, in which each side of the choir, *decani* and *cantoris*, would have had its own set of partbooks. Byrd’s Tenor ‘gimmel’ was probably distributed between the *decani* and *cantoris* partbooks, and Dow (or an intermediate source) evidently drew from only one of them.

<sup>15</sup> William Byrd, *The English Anthems*, ed. Craig Monson (The Byrd Edition, 11; London, 1983), p. 210.

fourth note, and either render the minim G a third lower as an E, or divide the performers so that both E and G are sung at that moment.

### The Canons

To judge from the three pieces copied at the end of his partbooks, Dow planned to fill their unused pages with canons, catches and curiosities. If so, then he did not live to achieve this aim—a pity, since so few Elizabethan sources of such pieces survive. One that does is the celebrated ‘Lant Roll’ (Cambridge, King’s College, MS Rowe 1), a parchment scroll extending to almost five metres that contains 57 rounds and catches, collected and copied by Thomas Lant and dated 1580.<sup>16</sup> There are reasons for suspecting that Dow and Lant may have known of one another’s existence;<sup>17</sup> but repertorially their manuscripts have only one loose connection. In Mus. 988, facsimile p. 180, Dow gives a version of ‘Hey down, sing ye now after me’, a round for four bass voices composed against a rising and falling hexachord. Lant too gives a version of this piece, but Dow’s reading more closely resembles the one included by Thomas Ravenscroft in his anthology of ‘pleasant roundelays, and delightfull catches’, published in 1609 under the title of *Pammelia*.<sup>18</sup>

The closing piece in Mus. 987 (facsimile p. 192) is a strict 3-*ex-1* *fuga*-canon, headed ‘Trinitas in unitate. Francesco Mocheni in Milano’, but correctly by Vincenzo Ruffo; Dow’s copy ultimately derives from Ruffo’s *Capricci in musica a tre voci* (Milan: Francesco Moscheni, 1564). The canon can be notated as a single melodic line

<sup>16</sup> See Jill Vlasto, ‘A Elizabethan Anthology of Rounds’, *The Musical Quarterly*, 40 (1954), 222–34; also the description of MS Rowe 1 by Iain Fenlon in *Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900–1700*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 136–9.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Lant’s career is traced in Christopher Marsh, *Music and the People in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, forthcoming), from which the following information has kindly been supplied in advance of publication. Trained as a Chapel Royal chorister, Lant travelled in the Low Countries in the service of Sir Philip Sidney. Robert Dow too had connections with the Sidney circle, as documented in Mateer, ‘Oxford, Christ Church Music MSS 984–8’, pp. 2–3, and his partbooks contain Byrd’s two laments for Sir Philip Sidney, as well as Byrd’s setting of ‘O Lord, how vain’, claimed by Dow to be ‘upon Sir Philip Sidneis dittie [i.e. words]’ (Mus. 985, facsimile p. 171). Lant may have been related to the various musical Lants whose names appear in the accounts for Christ Church, Oxford during the 1580s; see Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538* (Oxford, 1991), p. 209. The roll of catches and rounds was probably created for the family of Lord Cheyney of Tuddington in Bedfordshire, whose household Lant served between c.1578 and 1581.

<sup>18</sup> Lant’s version is no. 44 in MS Rowe 1; Ravenscroft’s is no. 88 in *Pammelia*.

from which all three performers read, using different clefs and entering on different notes at different times; but the 1564 print in fact realizes the canon so that each performer reads from a different volume, and only in the Basso partbook is the original enigmatic notation partially preserved.<sup>19</sup> Dow's copy steers a middle path by presenting the canonic line as given in Ruffo's Basso (in C<sub>4</sub> clef), but with incipits for the other two voices (Canto, Tenore) provided at the foot of the page, showing the clefs they must substitute (C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>3</sub> respectively), the time-lapse before they enter, and the ways they should end. Ruffo's *Capricci* was also Dow's source for 'La gamba', copied on the final pages of Mus. 984–6. The title of this piece refers to a harmonic framework loosely related to that of the *folia*.<sup>20</sup>

### Rehearsal cues in Robert White's 'Exaudiat te Dominus' (motet 23)

Uniquely among the contents of the Dow Partbooks, Robert White's 'Exaudiat te Dominus' ends in true seven-voice polyphony, with gimels in the Medius and Contratenor. Dow's copy of it contains a unique and ingenious set of cues that allows this passage to be rehearsed independently of the rest of motet.<sup>21</sup> No doubt Dow himself would have explained the cues to his singers, which are written into the partbooks without instructions for use, hence the need for the following remarks. In turn, all seven voices enter with an imitative point setting the words 'Domine salvum fac'. The first voice to enter marks the spot with a gesture, after which the remaining voices count a specified number of semibreves before they enter in turn. The cues are as follows:

**Contratenor 1:** Mus. 986, facsimile p. 46 (= left-hand gimmel), middle of stave 2: a small minim placed before the words 'Domine salvum fac' means that the singer should mark this point with a hand gesture. It is correctly a downbeat; the entry of 'Domine salvum fac' itself begins immediately after on the offbeat minim. All other singers count in semibreves from this downbeat gesture; and all entries of 'Domine salvum fac' similarly begin on offbeat minims.

<sup>19</sup> Facsimile: *Vincenzo Ruffo. Capricci in musica a tre voci. Milano 1564*, with an introduction by Marcello Castellani (Archivium Musicum: collana di testi rari, 26; Florence, 1979). Modern edition: *Vincenzo Ruffo. Capricci in musica a tre voci (Milano 1564)*, ed. Andrea Bornstein (Setticlavio: musiche nelle chiavi originali, 5; Bologna, 1995), no. 20.

<sup>20</sup> Modern edition ed. Bornstein, no. 13 ('La Gamba in basso e soprano'), and in Dietrich Kämper, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik des 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien* (Analecta Musicologica, 10; Cologne and Vienna, 1970), Appendix.

<sup>21</sup> The cues are not present in the only other surviving complete copy of the motet, John Sadler's partbooks (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus. e. 1–5).

**Medius 1:** Mus. 985, facsimile p. 49 (= left-hand gimel), middle of stave 1: the cue ‘2.↓’ means ‘count two full semibreves, then enter with ‘Domine’ on the offbeat of the third semibreve’.

**Contratenor 2:** Mus. 986, facsimile p. 47, near the start of stave 2: the cue ‘6.↓’ written under the minim rest means ‘count six full semibreves, then enter on the offbeat of the seventh semibreve’.

**Medius 2:** Mus. 985, facsimile p. 49, middle of stave 4 (cue: ‘8.↓’).

**Bassus:** Mus. 988, facsimile p. 46, end of stave 2 (cue: ‘12.↓’; the cue should correctly have been written under the minim rest at the end of the block of rests).

**Superius:** Mus. 984, facsimile p. 52, start of stave 1 (cue: ‘15.↓’).

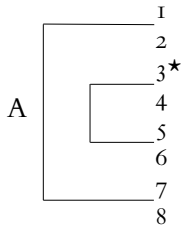
**Tenor:** Mus. 987, facsimile p. 46, middle of stave 3 (cue: ‘20.↓’; the cue should correctly have been written under the minim rest at the end of the block of rests).



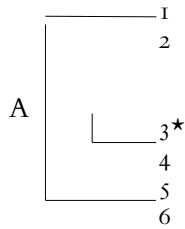


## Gathering diagrams

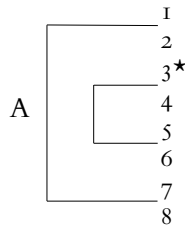
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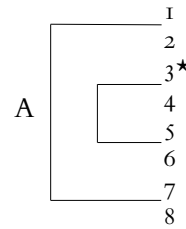
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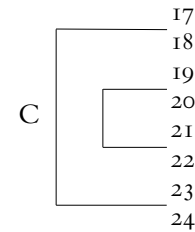
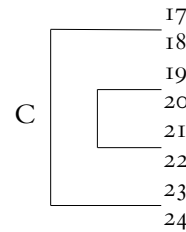
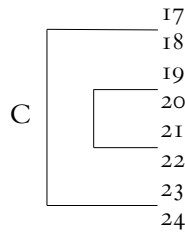
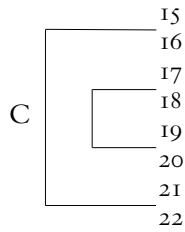
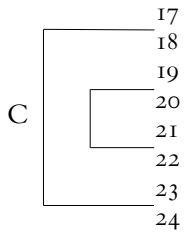
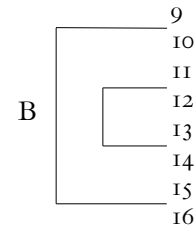
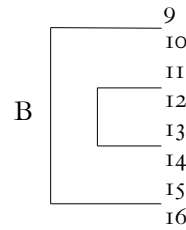
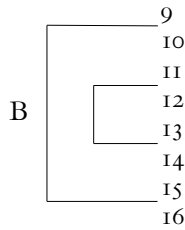
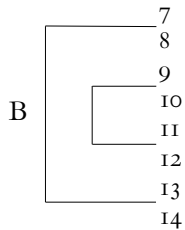
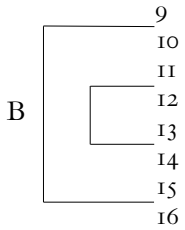
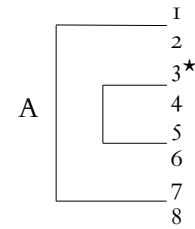
Mus. 986



Mus. 987



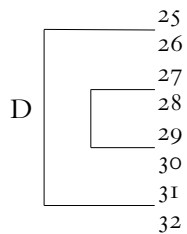
Mus. 988



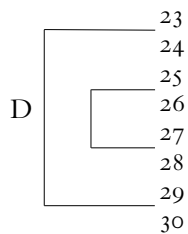
\* Start of motets.

## The Dow Partbooks

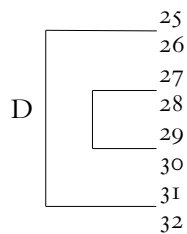
Mus. 984



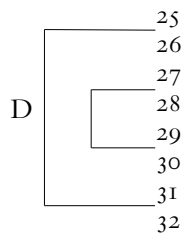
Mus. 985



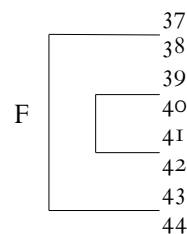
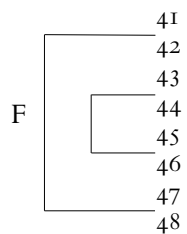
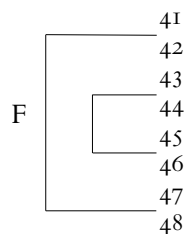
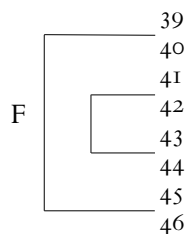
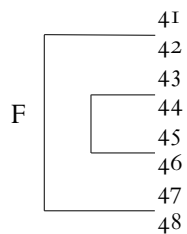
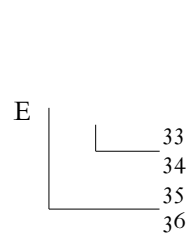
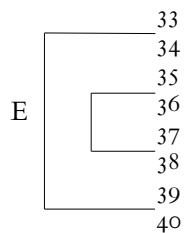
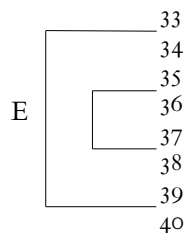
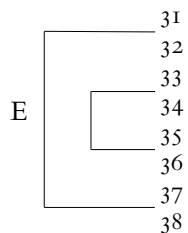
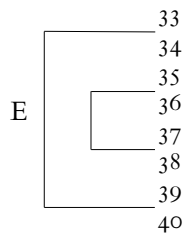
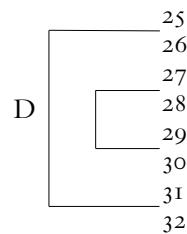
Mus. 986



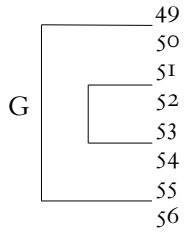
Mus. 987



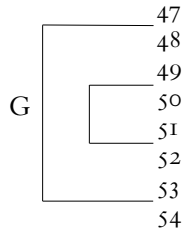
Mus. 988



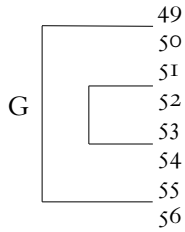
Mus. 984



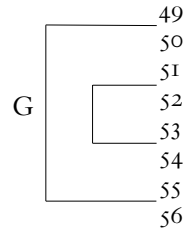
Mus. 985



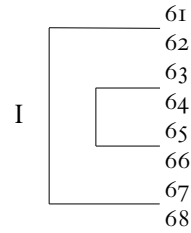
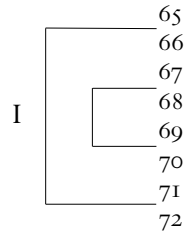
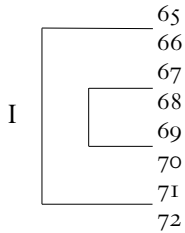
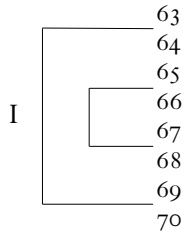
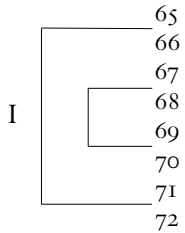
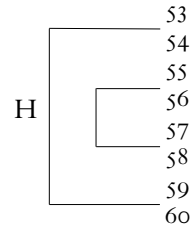
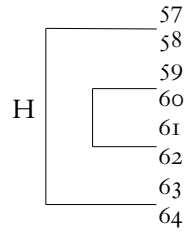
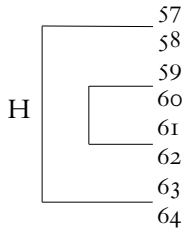
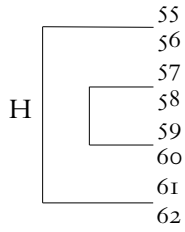
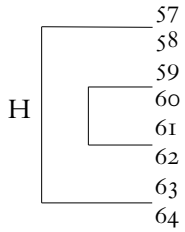
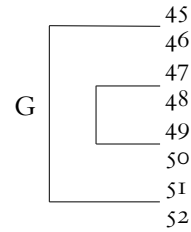
Mus. 986



Mus. 987

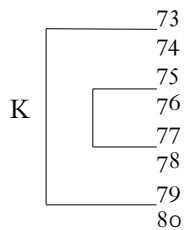


Mus. 988

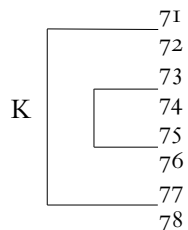


## The Dow Partbooks

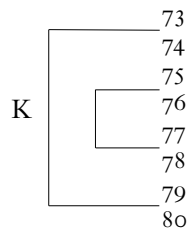
Mus. 984



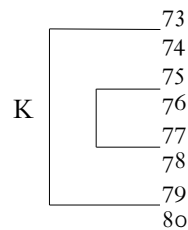
Mus. 985



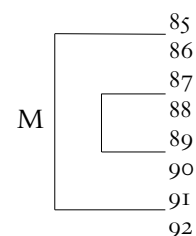
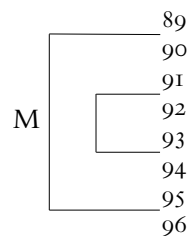
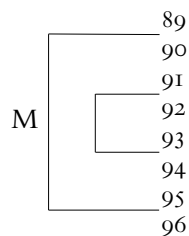
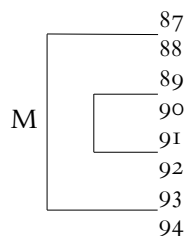
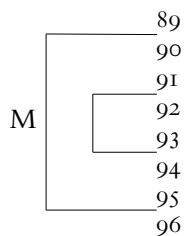
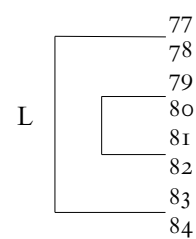
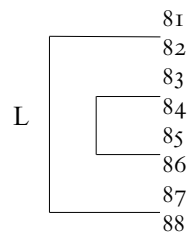
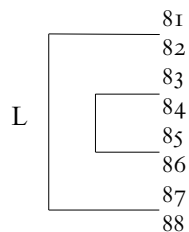
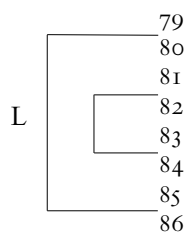
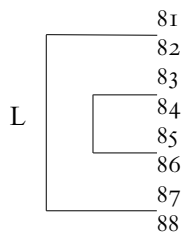
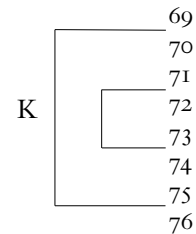
Mus. 986



Mus. 987

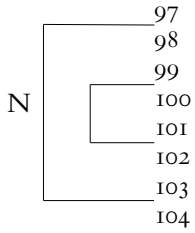


Mus. 988

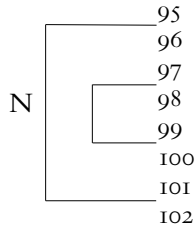


# Gathering diagrams

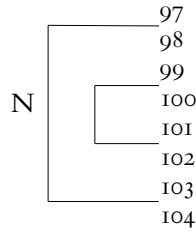
Mus. 984



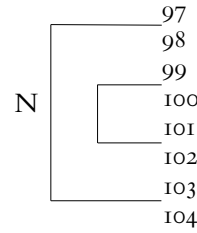
Mus. 985



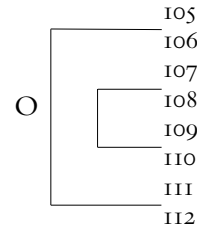
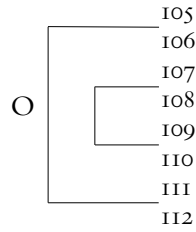
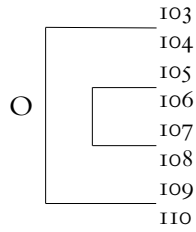
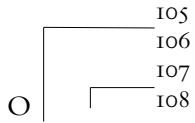
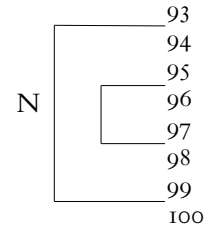
Mus. 986



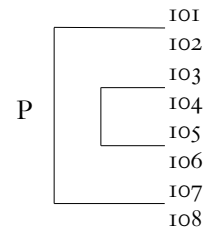
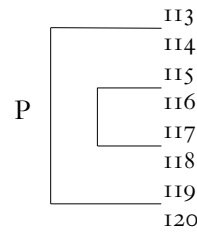
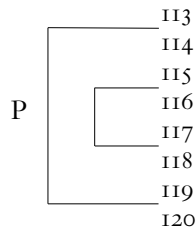
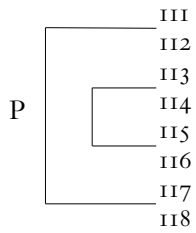
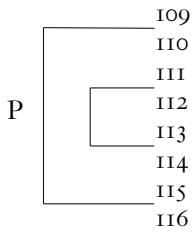
Mus. 987



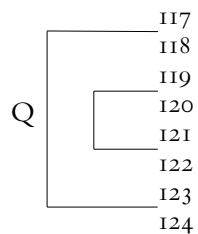
Mus. 988



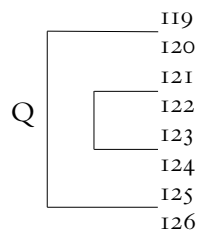
[O]



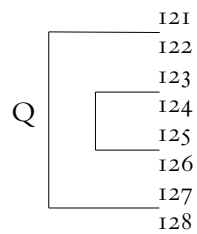
Mus. 984



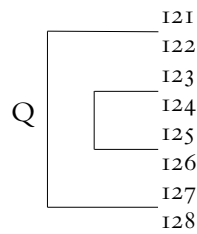
Mus. 985



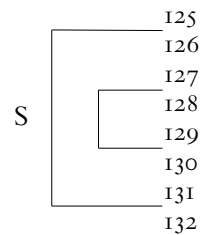
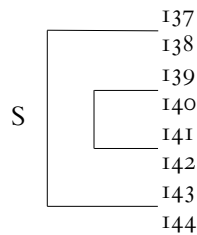
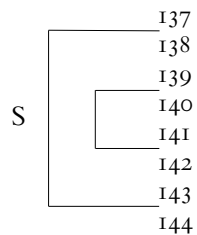
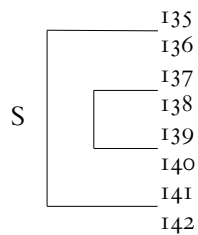
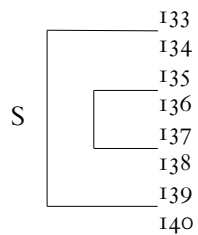
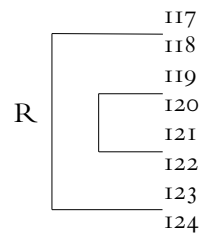
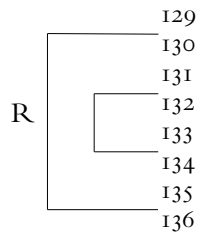
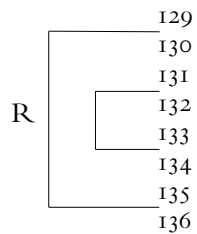
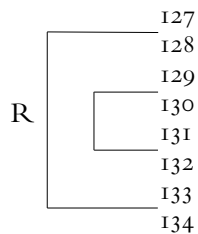
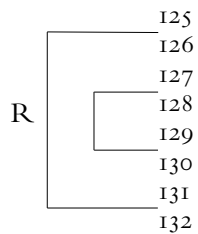
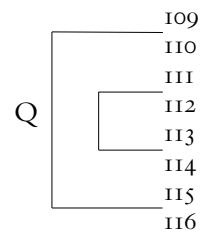
Mus. 986



Mus. 987

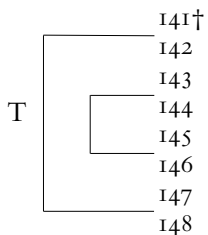


Mus. 988

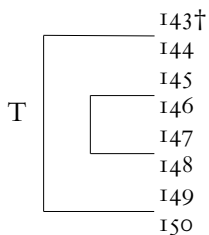


# Gathering diagrams

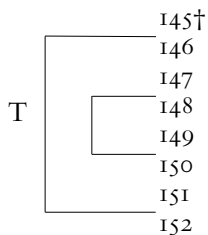
Mus. 984



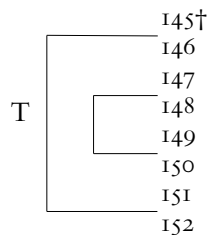
Mus. 985



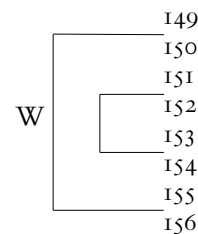
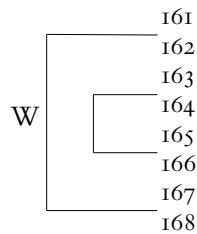
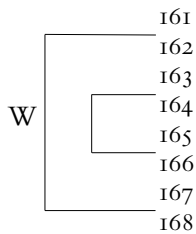
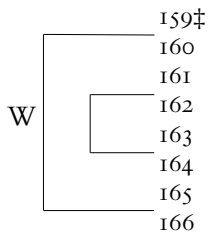
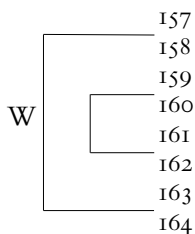
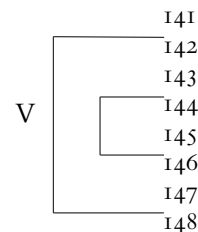
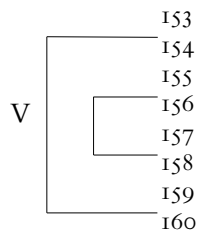
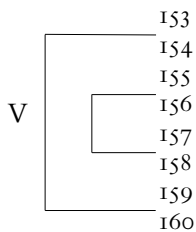
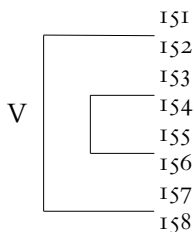
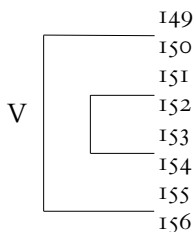
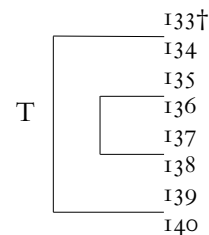
Mus. 986



Mus. 987



Mus. 988



† Start of instrumental music.

‡ Start of sacred and secular consort songs.

	Mus. 984	Mus. 985	Mus. 986	Mus. 987	Mus. 988
X	165‡ 166 167 168 169 170 171 172	167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174	169 170 171‡ 172 173 174 175 176	169 170 171 172 173‡ 174 175 176	157 158 159 160 161‡ 162 163 164
Y	173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180	175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182	177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184	177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184	165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172
Z	181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188	183 184 185 186  187 188	185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192	185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192	173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180

‡ Start of sacred and secular consort songs.



## Notes on the photography and the reproduction

The policy of DIAMM in creating images of documents is to place the welfare of the book ahead of the desire to obtain pictures that are ideal for facsimile reproduction. If there is difficulty in opening the book (the binding is tight, or delicate) then we obtain the best possible picture, which is usually sufficient for the great majority of scholarly and performing needs. The only way to get an ideal picture of a page (i.e. completely flat and with nothing hidden in the gutter) is to disbind the book, and even that is only considered if there is a conservation reason for disbinding. There was no question of disbinding the Dow partbooks.

Opening any bound book causes the pages to lift and create a rise at the gutter edge. The best way to minimize this is to work with the book half closed. For the most part the bindings of the Dow partbooks were loose enough to open the book more than 90° without stress but there was some significant lifting at the gutter edge and, as with all old leather, the spines of the books are fairly brittle and the paper is delicate. Opening was therefore limited to around 95°, which meant that for the most part the page being photographed lay flat on those beneath it, but some images of pages may appear slightly distorted near the gutter margins due to unavoidable lifting.

The collaboration with the Viola da Gamba Society to produce this facsimile has led to a customised approach to the reproduction: normally it is desirable to create a facsimile that will represent the state of the original as closely as possible. However this is primarily a publication intended for those who might play from the books, and therefore some colour adjustments have been made to minimize show-through that would make reading from the distance of a music stand more difficult. Since some of Dow's text was trimmed off at binding, the decision was taken to reproduce the whole of every page, with no trimming to tidy up unevenness in size or shape.

On a number of pages the staves were either printed crookedly, or the pages were trimmed so that the stave lines are no longer parallel with the page edges. The decision in these cases was to give priority to the music, so that the stave lines are printed in the facsimile as close to horizontal as possible (allowing for natural distortion of the paper and curvature of the book during photography) even where some pages may therefore appear to have been printed out of true. This should provide horizontal text from which to read. The generous margins allow for the skewing of some of the pages.

Julia Craig-McFeely



# Inventory and indexes

## Main inventory

The partbooks:

- Mus. 984—Superius
- Mus. 985—Medius
- Mus. 986—Contratenor
- Mus. 987—Tenor
- Mus. 988—Bassus

Notes:

The first 54 compositions (motets) were numbered correctly by Dow. Later hands subsequently numbered the remaining contents in a sequence that is sometimes incorrect, inconsistent among the partbooks, and likely to cause confusion; these numbers have been suppressed, and users should locate pieces using the pagination of the facsimile.

Composers' names have been modernized to conform with *Grove Music Online* (OUP 2007–2010).

Incipits and titles of compositions have been modernized to conform with the modern editions cited on pp. 83–4.
























































Page numbers refer to the pagination of the facsimile. The partbooks themselves are neither paginated nor foliated.

Boxes around page numbers denote voice-parts that divide into gimels (as defined and described on pp. 44–7).

When this happens, both voices have the same clef.





























































Circles around page numbers locate the texted 'singing parts' of consort songs.

Footnotes indicate when a voice-part has been entered into the wrong partbook.

No	Composer	Title	Page number and clef				
			984	985	986	987	988
1	Robert White	[Lamentations] Heth. Peccatum peccavit	3 	3 	3 	3 	3 
2	Robert White	Miserere mei, Deus	9 	9 	9 	9 	9 
3	Robert White	[Christe, qui lux es (I)] Precamur	15 	15 	15 	15 	15 
4	Robert White	[Christe, qui lux es (II)] Precamur	16 	16 	16 	16 	16 
5	Robert White	[Christe, qui lux es (III)] Precamur	17 	17 	17 	17 	17 
6	Robert White	Manus tuae fecerunt me	18 	18 	18 	18 	18 
7	Robert White	Portio mea, Domine	22 	21 	20 	21 <sup>1</sup> 	20 <sup>2</sup> 
8	Robert White	Justus es, Domine	25 	23 	22 	22 	22 
9	William Byrd	Ne irascaris	28 	26 	24 	24 	24 
10	William Byrd	O Domine adjuva me	30 	28 	26 	26 	26 
11	William Byrd	Tribulationes civitatum	32 	30 	28 	28 	27 





























































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


















































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			984	985	986	987	988
12	William Byrd	Domine exaudi	34	32	30	30	30
13	William Byrd	Domine praestolamur	37	35	33	33	32
14	Christopher Tye	Ad te clamamus	39	37	35	35	34
15	Christopher Tye	Omnes gentes plaudite manibus	40	38	36	36	35
16	John Sheppard	[Magnificat] Esurientes	42	40	38	38	37
17	Orlande de Lassus	Angelus ad pastores ait	43	41	39	39	38
18	Orlande de Lassus	Veni in hortum meum	44	42	40	40	39
19	Thomas Tallis	O salutaris hostia	45	43	41	41	40
20	Thomas Tallis	Salvator mundi (I)	46	44	42	42	41
21	Thomas Tallis	[Candidi] Facti sunt	47	45	43	43	42
22	Robert Johnson (i)	[Dum transisset] Sabbatum	48	46	44	44	43
23	Robert White	Exaudiat te Dominus	49	47	45	45	44

No	Composer	Title	Page number and clef				
			984	985	986	987	988
24	Alfonso Ferrabosco (i)	Tribulationem et dolorem inveni	53 	51 	48 	47 	47 
25	Nicholas Stogers	Non me vincat Deus	54 	52 	49 	48 	48 
26	John Taverner	Dum transisset sabbatum (I)	56 	54 	50 	50 	50 
27	William Byrd	Tribulatio proxima est	57 	55 	52 	51 	51 
28	Robert White	Appropinquet deprecatio mea	59 	57 	54 	53 	53 
29	'Mr Tayler'	Christus resurgens	64 	59 	56 	56 	56 
30	William Byrd	O quam gloriosum	65 	60 	57 	57 	57 
31	William Byrd	Tristitia et anxietas	67 	63 	59 	59 	59 
32	William Byrd	Apparebit in finem	70 	66 	63 	62 	61 
33	William Byrd	Audivi vocem	71 	67 	64 	63 	62 
34	William Byrd	In resurrectione tua	72 	68 	65 	65 	64 
35	Robert Parsons	Retribue servo tuo	73 	69 	67 	66 	65 

## Main inventory

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



























































No	Composer	Title	Page number and clef				
			984	985	986	987	988
36	William Byrd	Fac cum servo tuo	76 	72 	72 	69 	68 
37	William Mundy	Sive vigilem	78 	74 	74 	70 	70 
38	Robert White	[Christe, qui lux es (IV)] Precamur	79 	75 	75 	72 	71 
39	William Byrd	Deus venerunt gentes (parts I and II)	80 	77 	77 	73 	73 
40	William Byrd	Domine tu jurasti	82 	79 	79 	75 	75 
41	William Byrd	Exsurge Domine	84 	81 	81 	77 	76 
42	Thomas Tallis	O sacrum convivium	86 	84 	83 	79 	78 
43	Thomas Tallis	Salvator mundi (II)	87 	85 	85 	81 	79 
44	William Byrd	[Deus venerunt gentes (part III)] Effuderunt	88 	86 	86 	82 	81 
45	William Byrd	[Christe qui lux es] Precamur	89 	88 	87 	83 	82 
46	William Byrd	Laentur coeli	90 	89 	89 	85 	84 
47	William Byrd	[Deus venerunt gentes (part IV)] Facti sumus	92 	91 	90 	86 	85 
























































No	Composer	Title	Page number and clef				
			984	985	986	987	988
48	Robert Parsons	Ave Maria	93 	92 	92 	88 	86 
49	['Roose'] <sup>3</sup>	Dum transisset sabbatum	94 	94 	93 	89 	88 
50		Decantabat populus in Israel	96 	95 	95 	91 	89 
51	Alfonso Ferrabosco (i)	Mirabile mysterium	97 	97 	97 	93 	90 
52	William Byrd	Miserere mei Deus	99 	99 	98 	94 	92 
53	Robert Parsons	O bone Jesu	100 	100 	100 	96 	93 
54	Nathaniel Giles	Vestigia mea dirige	104 	104 	105 	100 	96 
	Robert White	Lord who shall dwell	109 	111 	113 	113 	101 
	Robert White	The Lord bless us and keep us	111 	113 	115 	115 	103 
	William Byrd	O Lord, make thy servant, Elizabeth	113 	115 	117 	117 	105 
	William Byrd	Prevent us, O Lord	114 	116 	118 	118 	106 

<sup>3</sup> Attribution from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tenbury MSS 341-4.



Composer	Title	Page number and clef				
		984	985	986	987	988
William Byrd	How long shall mine enemies?	115	117	119	119	107
William Byrd	O that most rare breast	①17	119	121	121	109
William Byrd	Come to me, grief, for ever	①20	122	124	124	112
William Byrd	In fields abroad	①21	123	125	125	113
William Byrd	Where Fancy fond	①22	124	126	126	114
William Byrd	Susanna fair	①23	125	127	127	115
William Byrd	While Phoebus us'd to dwell	①24	126	128	128	116
William Byrd	Why do I use my paper, ink and pen?	125	①27	129	129	117
William Byrd	La verginella	①26	128	130	130	118
William Byrd	I joy not in no earthly bliss	①27	129	131	131	119
William Byrd	Ah, golden hairs	①28	130	132	132	120
William Byrd	Lord in thy wrath	129	①31	133	133	121

Composer	Title	Page number and clef				
		984	985	986	987	988
William Byrd	Care for thy soul	130 	132 	134 	134 	122 
William Byrd	Browning	131 	133 	135 	135 	123 
Clement Woodcock	Browning	133 	135 	137 	137 	125 
Mallorie	Miserere	134 	136 	138 	138 	126 
'D. Tie' [Jean Maillard (i)]	Ascendo ad Patrem	135 	137 	139 	139 	127 
Christopher Tye	Rubum quem	136 	138 	140 	140 	128 
Orlande de Lassus	Susanne un jour	136 	138 	140 	140 	128 
'D. Tie' [Philippe Verdelot?]	Madonna somm' acorto	137 	139 	141 	141 	129 
Philippe van Wilder	Pour vous aymer	137 	139 	141 	141 	129 
Robert Parsons	De la court	138 	140 	142 	142 	130 
'Parsons' [Philippe van Wilder]	Je file quand Dieu	140 	142 	144 	144 	132 
Robert Parsons	In nomine III	141 	143 	145 	145 	133 

























































Composer	Title	Page number and clef				
		984	985	986	987	988
William Byrd	In nomine V	142 	143 	146 	146 	134 
Nicholas Strogers	In nomine I	143 	143 	147 	147 	135 
Nicholas Strogers	In nomine III	144 	144 	148 	148 	136 
Nicholas Strogers	In nomine II	145 	144 	149 	149 	137 
John Bull	In nomine	146 	145 	150 	150 	138 
Robert White	In nomine V	147 	145 	151 	151 	139 
Christopher Tye	In nomine XIV ('Follow me')	147 	146 	151 	151 	139 
Clement Woodcock	In nomine I	148 	146 	152 	152 	140 
William Byrd	If that a sinner's sighs	150 	148 <sup>4</sup> 	153 <sup>5</sup> 	154 	142 
William Byrd	If women could be fair	151 	149 	154 	155 	143 
William Byrd	Prostrate, O Lord, I lie	152 	150 	155 	156 	144 







































<sup>4</sup> Contratenor part<sup>5</sup> Medius part

Composer	Title	Page number and clef				
		984	985	986	987	988
William Byrd	Even from the depth unto thee	(153)	151	156	157	145
William Byrd	When I was otherwise than now	(154)	152	157	158	146
Brewster	In nomine I (a4, with added part)	155	153	158	159	147
	O God, wherefore art thou absent	157	154	160	161	149
Robert Parsons	When I look back			169		
	Come, Holy Ghost/In nomine	(165)	159	171	173	161
	O Lord of whom I do depend/In nomine	(165)	159	171	173	161
	O Lord, turn not away thy face/In nomine	(166)	159	171	173	161
	When May is in his prime	(166)	160	172	174	162
Richard Farrant	Ah, alas, you salt sea gods	(170)	162	174	176	164
Nicholas Strogers	A doleful deadly pang	172	(163)	175	177	165
	My little sweet darling	172	(164)	175	177	165



## Main inventory


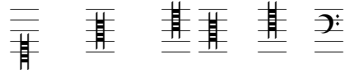
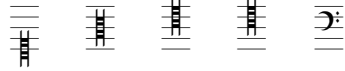
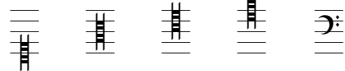
71

Composer	Title	Page number and clef				
		984	985	986	987	988
	Ah, silly poor Joas	173 	(165) 	176 	178 	166 
	In terrors trapp'd	173 	(166) 	176 	178 	166 
	The saint I serve	174 	(167) 	177 	179 	167 
	How can the tree	174 	(168) 	177 	179 	167 
	Alas, alack, my heart is woe	(175) 	169 	178 	180 	168 
William Byrd	Lullaby, my sweet little baby	176 	(169) 	178 	180 	168 
William Byrd	O Lord, how vain	(177) 	171 	179 	181 	169 
William Byrd	My mind to me a kingdom is	(178) 	171 	179 	181 	169 
William Byrd	Who likes to love	(178) 	172 	180 	182 	170 
Robert Parsons	Enforc'd by love and fear	179 	(172) 	180 	182 	170 
	Mistrust not truth	180 	(173) 	181 	183 	171 
	The day delay'd	180 	(174) 	181 	183 	171 


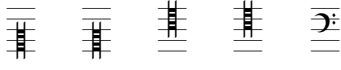
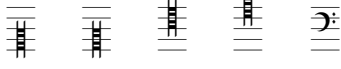
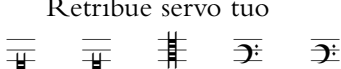
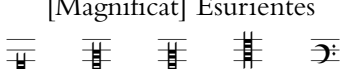
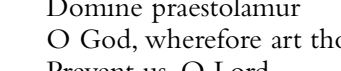
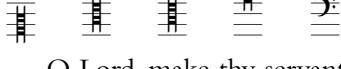


Composer	Title	Page number and clef				
		984	985	986	987	988
	Come tread the paths	180 	(175) 	181 	183 	171 
William Byrd	Triumph with pleasant melody	(182) 	176 	183 	185 	173 
William Byrd	Blessed is he that fears the Lord	185 	(177) 	184 	186 	174 
William Byrd	Blame I confess	185 	(178) 	184 	186 	174 
William Byrd	O Lord, within thy tabernacle	186 	(179) 	185 	187 	175 
William Byrd	How shall a young man?	186 	(180) 	186 	188 	176 
William Byrd	Though Amaryllis dance in green	(187) 	181 	186 	188 	176 
'Francesco Mocheni' [Vincenzo Ruffo]	La gamba	188 	188 	192 		
'Francesco Mocheni' [Vincenzo Ruffo]	Trinitas in unitate				192	
	Hey down, sing ye now after me					180

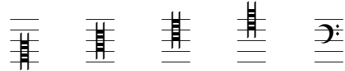
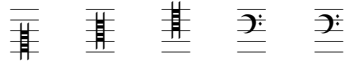

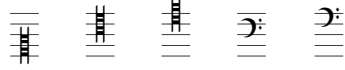
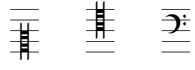
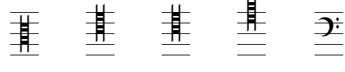
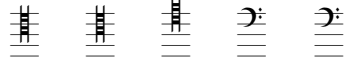
## Index of clef combinations


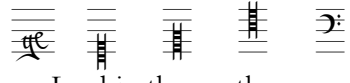
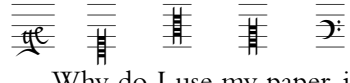
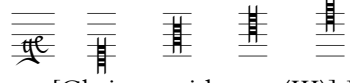
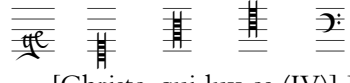
Clefs/Title	Composer	page number in facsimile							
		984	985	986	987	988			
									
Browning	Clement Woodcock	133	135	137	137	125			
Exsurge Domine	William Byrd	84	81	81	77	76			
[Lamentations] Heth. Peccatum peccavit	Robert White	3	3	3	3	3			
Prostrate, O Lord, I lie	William Byrd	152	150	155	156	144			
									
Audivi vocem	William Byrd	71	67	64	63	62			
Ave Maria	Robert Parsons	93	92	92	88	86			
Blame I confess	William Byrd	185	178	184	186	174			
Browning	William Byrd	131	133	135	135	123			
[Deus venerunt gentes (part IV)] Facti sumus	William Byrd	92	91	90	86	85			
Domine exaudi	William Byrd	34	32	30	30	30			
Even from the depth unto thee	William Byrd	153	151	156	157	145			
How can the tree		174	168	177	179	167			
How long shall mine enemies?	William Byrd	115	117	119	119	107			
In terrors trapp'd		173	166	176	178	166			
Miserere mei, Deus	Robert White	9	9	9	9	9			
O Domine adjuva me	William Byrd	30	28	26	26	26			
O sacrum convivium	Thomas Tallis	86	84	83	79	78			
Rubum quem	Christopher Tye	136	138	140	140	128			


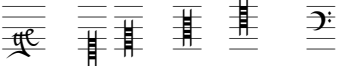
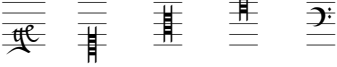
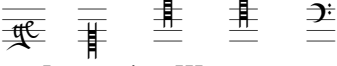
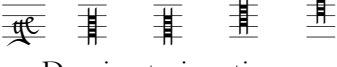

Clefs/Title	Composer	page number in facsimile				
		984	985	986	987	988
 (cont.)						
Salvator mundi (I)	Thomas Tallis	46	44	42	42	41
Sive vigilem	William Mundy	78	74	74	70	70
Tristitia et anxietas	William Byrd	67	63	59	59	59
The saint I serve		174	167	177	179	167
Vestigia mea dirige	Nathaniel Giles	104	104	105	100	96
						
Deus venerunt gentes (parts I and II)	William Byrd	80	77	77	73	73
						
Christus resurgens	'Mr Tayler'	64	59	56	56	56
[Deus venerunt gentes (part III)] Effuderunt	William Byrd	88	86	86	82	81
If women could be fair	William Byrd	151	149	154	155	143
Pour vous aymer	Philippe van Wilder	137	139	141	141	129
Veni in hortum meum	Orlande de Lassus	44	42	40	40	39
When I was otherwise than now	William Byrd	154	152	157	158	146
						
Ne irascaris	William Byrd	28	26	24	24	24
Tribulatio proxima est	William Byrd	57	55	52	51	51
Tribulationes civitatum	William Byrd	32	30	28	28	27


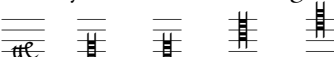
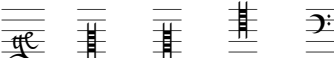





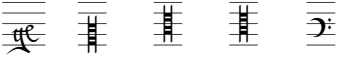

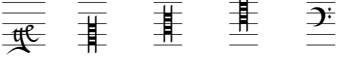

Clefs/Title	Composer	page number in facsimile				
		984	985	986	987	988
	Robert White	18	18	18	18	18
Manus tuae fecerunt me						
	Robert White	109	111	113	113	101
Lord who shall dwell						
	Robert Parsons	100	100	100	96	93
O bone Jesu						
	Robert Parsons	73	69	67	66	65
Retribue servo tuo						
	John Sheppard	42	40	38	38	37
[Magnificat] Esurientes						
	William Byrd	37	35	33	33	32
Domine praestolamur						
	William Byrd	157	154	160	161	149
O God, wherefore art thou absent						
	William Byrd	114	116	118	118	106
Prevent us, O Lord						
	William Byrd	113	115	117	117	105
O Lord, make thy servant, Elizabeth						

Clefs/Title	Composer	page number in facsimile				
		984	985	986	987	988
 Saluator mundi (II)	Thomas Tallis	87	85	85	81	79
 Appropinquet deprecatio mea Exaudiat te Dominus	Robert White Robert White	59 49	57 47	54 45	53 45	53 44
 Triumph with pleasant melody	William Byrd	182	176	183	185	173
 [Candidi] Facti sunt	Thomas Tallis	47	45	43	43	42
 La gamba 'Francesco Mocheni'	[Vincenzo Ruffo]	188	188	192		
 Tribulationem et dolorem inveni	Alfonso Ferrabosco (i)	53	51	48	47	47
 Ad te clamamus	Christopher Tye	39	37	35	35	34


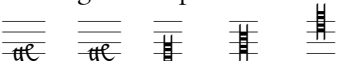
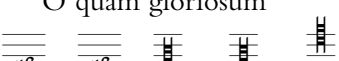
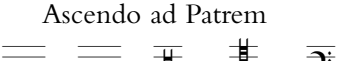
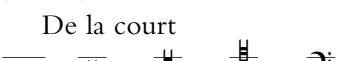
Clefs/Title	Composer	page number in facsimile				
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Though Amaryllis dance in green	William Byrd	187	181	186	188	176
						
Lord in thy wrath	William Byrd	129	131	133	133	121
						
Why do I use my paper, ink and pen?	William Byrd	125	127	129	129	117
						
[Christe, qui lux es (III)] Precamur	Robert White	17	17	17	17	17
						
[Christe, qui lux es (IV)] Precamur	Robert White	79	75	75	72	71
Come, Holy Ghost/In nomine		165	159	171	173	161
Dum transisset sabbatum	['Roose']	94	94	93	89	88
Enforc'd by love and fear	Robert Parsons	179	172	180	182	170
How shall a young man?	William Byrd	186	180	186	188	176
If that a sinner's sighs	William Byrd	150	148	153	154	142
In nomine	John Bull	146	145	150	150	138
In nomine I	Nicholas Strogers	143	143	147	147	135
In nomine I (a4, with added part)	Brewster	155	153	158	159	147
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Decantabat populus in Israel		96	95	95	91	89
						
In nomine XIV ('Follow me')	Christopher Tye	147	146	151	151	139
						
In nomine III	Robert Parsons	141	143	145	145	133
						
Domine tu jurasti	William Byrd	82	79	79	75	75
						
Ah, alas, you salt sea gods	Richard Farrant	170	162	174	176	164
My mind to me a kingdom is	William Byrd	178	171	179	181	169

Clefs/Title	Composer	page number in facsimile				
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 Mistrust not truth		180	173	181	183	171
 Care for thy soul Come tread the paths	William Byrd	130 180	132 175	134 181	134 183	122 171
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 Mirabile mysterium O Lord, how vain	Alfonso Ferrabosco (i) William Byrd	97 177	97 171	97 179	93 181	90 169
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Clefs/Title	Composer	page number in facsimile				
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In resurrectione tua	William Byrd	72	68	65	65	64
Laetentur coeli	William Byrd	90	89	89	85	84
Miserere mei Deus	William Byrd	99	99	98	94	92
Who likes to love	William Byrd	178	172	180	182	170
 A doleful deadly pang	Nicholas Strogers	172	163	175	177	165
 Ah, golden hairs	William Byrd	128	130	132	132	120
Come to me, grief, for ever	William Byrd	120	122	124	124	112
I joy not in no earthly bliss	William Byrd	127	129	131	131	119
In fields abroad	William Byrd	121	123	125	125	113
O that most rare breast	William Byrd	117	119	121	121	109
Omnes gentes plaudite manibus	Christopher Tye	40	38	36	36	35
Susanna fair	William Byrd	123	125	127	127	115
When May is in his prime		166	160	172	174	162
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Clefs/Title	Composer	page number in facsimile				
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Blessed is he that fears the Lord	William Byrd	185	177	184	186	174
[Christe, qui lux es (II)] Precamur	Robert White	16	16	16	16	16
In nomine I	Clement Woodcock	148	146	152	152	140
La verginella	William Byrd	126	128	130	130	118
Lullaby, my sweet little baby	William Byrd	176	169	178	180	168
Madonna somm' acorto 'D. Tie'	[Philippe Verdelot?]	137	139	141	141	129
Non me vincat Deus	Nicholas Strogers	54	52	49	48	48
O Lord of whom I do depend/In nomine		165	159	171	173	161
O Lord, within thy tabernacle	William Byrd	186	179	185	187	175
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Portio mea, Domine	Robert White	22	21	20	21	20
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[Dum transisset] Sabbatum	Robert Johnson (i)	48	46	44	44	43
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The Lord bless us and keep us	Robert White	111	113	115	115	103

Clefs/Title	Composer	page number in facsimile				
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 <p>O quam gloriosum</p>	William Byrd	65	60	57	57	57
 <p>Ascendo ad Patrem</p>	'D. Tie' [Jean Maillard (i)]	135	137	139	139	127
 <p>De la court</p>	Robert Parsons	138	140	142	142	130
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### *Modern Editions*

#### **The Byrd Edition (replacing The Collected Works of William Byrd)**

- BE 2 *Cantiones sacrae I (1589)*, ed. Alan Brown (The Byrd Edition, 2; London, 1988).  
 BE 3 *Cantiones sacrae II (1591)*, ed. Alan Brown (The Byrd Edition, 3; London, 1981).  
 BE 8 *Latin Motets I (from Manuscript Sources)*, ed. Warwick Edwards (The Byrd Edition, 8; London, 1984).  
 BE 9 *Latin Motets II (from Manuscript Sources)*, ed. Warwick Edwards (The Byrd Edition, 9; London, 2000).  
 BE 11 *The English Anthems*, ed. Craig Monson (The Byrd Edition, 11; London, 1983).  
 BE 12 *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs (1588)*, ed. Jeremy Smith (The Byrd Edition, 12; London, 2004).  
 BE 13 *Songs of Sundrie Natures (1589)*, ed. David Mateer (The Byrd Edition, 13; London, 2004).  
 BE 15 *Consort Songs for Voice & Viols*, ed. Philip Brett (The Byrd Edition, 15; London, 1970).  
 BE 16 *Madrigals, Songs and Canons*, ed. Philip Brett (The Byrd Edition, 16; London, 1976).  
 BE 17 *Consort Music*, ed. Kenneth Elliott (The Byrd Edition, 17; London, 1971).
- Burney Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789)*, ed. Frank Mercer (2 vols., London, 1935; republished New York, 1957).

CMM 96/2 *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (1543-1588), Opera Omnia II: Motets, Lamentations, an Anthem and Incomplete Motets*, ed. Richard Charteris (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 96/2; Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1984).

#### **Early English Church Music**

- EECM 28 *Robert White: I. Five-Part Latin Psalms*, ed. David Mateer (Early English Church Music, 28; London, 1983).  
 EECM 30 *John Taverner: III. Ritual Music and Secular Songs*, ed. Hugh Benham (Early English Church Music, 30; London, 1984).  
 EECM 32 *Robert White: III. Ritual Music and Lamentations*, ed. David Mateer (Early English Church Music, 32; London, 1986).  
 EECM 33 *Christopher Tye: III. Ritual Music and Motets*, ed. Nigel Davison (Early English Church Music, 33; London, 1987).  
 EECM 40 *Robert Parsons: Latin Sacred Music*, ed. Paul Doe (Early English Church Music, 40; London, 1994).

FC *French Chansons of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Jane A. Bernstein (University Park, PA and London, 1985).

### **Musica Britannica**

MB 9 *Jacobean Consort Music*, ed. Thurston Dart and William Coates (Musica Britannica, 9; London, 2/1962).

MB 22 *Consort Songs*, ed. Philip Brett (Musica Britannica, 22; London, 1967).

MB 44 *Elizabethan Consort Music: I*, ed. Paul Doe (Musica Britannica, 44; London, 1979).

MB 45 *Elizabethan Consort Music: II*, ed. Paul Doe (Musica Britannica, 45; London, 1988).

MB 66 *Tudor Keyboard Music c. 1520-1580*, ed. John Caldwell (Musica Britannica 66; London, 1995).

MDD *William Mundy: 'Beatus et sanctus' and 'Sive vigilem'*, ed. Francis Steele (Musica Dei Donum; New York, 2007).

MMR 4/2 *Philip van Wilder: Collected Works. Part 2: Secular Works, Instrumental Works, Appendices*, ed. Jane A. Bernstein (Masters and Monuments of the Renaissance, 4; New York, 1991).

### **Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance**

RRMR 95 *Jean Maillard: Modulorum Ioannis Maillardi: The Five-, Six-, and Seven-Part Motets, Part I*, ed. Raymond H. Rosenstock (Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, 95; Madison, WI, 1993).

RRMR 133 *Orlando di Lasso: The Complete Motets, 2: Sacrae cantiones (Nuremberg, 1562)*, ed. James Erb (Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, 133; Middleton, WI, 2002).

RuffoC *Vincenzo Ruffo. Capricci in musica a tre voci (Milano 1564)*, ed. Andrea Bornstein (Setticlavio: musiche nelle chiavi originali, 5; Bologna, 1995).

### **Tudor Church Music**

TCM 5 *Robert White d. 1574*, ed. P. C. Buck, E. H. Fellowes, A. Ramsbotham and S. Townsend Warner (Tudor Church Music, 5; London, 1926).

TCM 6 *Thomas Tallis c. 1505-1585*, ed. P. C. Buck, E. H. Fellowes, A. Ramsbotham and S. Townsend Warner (Tudor Church Music, 6; London, 1928).

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O Lord of whom I do depend/In nomine	MB 22, no. 39	165	159	171	173	161
O Lord, turn not away thy face/In nomine	MB 22, no. 40	166	159	171	173	161
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Audivi vocem	BE 9, no. 17	71	67	64	63	62
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Blessed is he that fears the Lord	BE 16, no. 9	185	177	184	186	174

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Enforc'd by love and fear	Robert Parsons	179	172	180	182	170
Even from the depth unto thee	William Byrd	153	151	156	157	145
Exaudiat te Dominus	Robert White	49	47	45	45	44
Exsurge Domine	William Byrd	84	81	81	77	76
Fac cum servo tuo	William Byrd	76	72	72	69	68
Hey down, sing ye now after me						180
How can the tree		174	168	177	179	167
How long shall mine enemies?	William Byrd	115	117	119	119	107
How shall a young man?	William Byrd	186	180	186	188	176

Title	Composer	page number in facsimile				
		984	985	986	987	988
I joy not in no earthly bliss	William Byrd	127	129	131	131	119
If that a sinner's sighs	William Byrd	150	1484	1535	154	142
If women could be fair	William Byrd	151	149	154	155	143
In fields abroad	William Byrd	121	123	125	125	113
In nomine	John Bull	146	145	150	150	138
In nomine I	Nicholas Stogers	143	143	147	147	135
In nomine I	Clement Woodcock	148	146	152	152	140
In nomine I (a4, with added part)	Brewster	155	153	158	159	147
In nomine II	Nicholas Stogers	145	144	149	149	137
In nomine III	Robert Parsons	141	143	145	145	133
In nomine III	Nicholas Stogers	144	144	148	148	136
In nomine V	William Byrd	142	143	146	146	134
In nomine V	Robert White	147	145	151	151	139
In nomine XIV ('Follow me')	Christopher Tye	147	146	151	151	139
In resurrectione tua	William Byrd	72	68	65	65	64
In terrors trapp'd		173	166	176	178	166
Je file quand Dieu	'Parsons' [Philippe van Wilder]	140	142	144	144	132
Justus es, Domine	Robert White	25	23	22	22	22
La gamba	'Francesco Mocheni' [Vincenzo Ruffo]	188	188	192		
La verginella	William Byrd	126	128	130	130	118
Laetentur coeli	William Byrd	90	89	89	85	84
[Lamentations] Heth. Peccatum peccavit	Robert White	3	3	3	3	3
Lord in thy wrath	William Byrd	129	131	133	133	121
Lord who shall dwell	Robert White	109	111	113	113	101
Lullaby, my sweet little baby	William Byrd	176	169	178	180	168

Title	Composer	page number in facsimile				
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Madonna somm' acorto	'D. Tie' [Philippe Verdelot?]	137	139	141	141	129
[Magnificat] Esurientes	John Sheppard	42	40	38	38	37
Manus tuae fecerunt me	Robert White	18	18	18	18	18
Mirabile mysterium	Alfonso Ferrabosco (i)	97	97	97	93	90
Miserere	Mallorie	134	136	138	138	126
Miserere mei Deus	William Byrd	99	99	98	94	92
Miserere mei, Deus	Robert White	9	9	9	9	9
Mistrust not truth		180	173	181	183	171
My little sweet darling		172	164	175	177	165
My mind to me a kingdom is	William Byrd	178	171	179	181	169
Ne irascaris	William Byrd	28	26	24	24	24
Non me vincat Deus	Nicholas Strogers	54	52	49	48	48
O bone Jesu	Robert Parsons	100	100	100	96	93
O Domine adjuva me	William Byrd	30	28	26	26	26
O God, wherefore art thou absent		157	154	160	161	149
O Lord of whom I do depend/In nomine		165	159	171	173	161
O Lord, how vain	William Byrd	177	171	179	181	169
O Lord, make thy servant, Elizabeth	William Byrd	113	115	117	117	105
O Lord, turn not away thy face/In nomine		166	159	171	173	161
O Lord, within thy tabernacle	William Byrd	186	179	185	187	175
O quam gloriosum	William Byrd	65	60	57	57	57
O sacrum convivium	Thomas Tallis	86	84	83	79	78
O salutaris hostia	Thomas Tallis	45	43	41	41	40
O that most rare breast	William Byrd	117	119	121	121	109
Omnes gentes plaudite manibus	Christopher Tye	40	38	36	36	35

Title	Composer	page number in facsimile				
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Portio mea, Domine	Robert White	22	21	20	211	202
Pour vous aymer	Philippe van Wilder	137	139	141	141	129
Prevent us, O Lord	William Byrd	114	116	118	118	106
Prostrate, O Lord, I lie	William Byrd	152	150	155	156	144
Retribue servo tuo	Robert Parsons	73	69	67	66	65
Rubum quem	Christopher Tye	136	138	140	140	128
Salvator mundi (I)	Thomas Tallis	46	44	42	42	41
Salvator mundi (II)	Thomas Tallis	87	85	85	81	79
Sive vigilem	William Mundy	78	74	74	70	70
Susanna fair	William Byrd	123	125	127	127	115
Susanne un jour	Orlande de Lassus	136	138	140	140	128
The day delay'd		180	174	181	183	171
The Lord bless us and keep us	Robert White	111	113	115	115	103
The saint I serve		174	167	177	179	167
Though Amaryllis dance in green	William Byrd	187	181	186	188	176
Tribulatio proxima est	William Byrd	57	55	52	51	51
Tribulationem et dolorem inveni	Alfonso Ferrabosco (i)	53	51	48	47	47
Tribulationes civitatum	William Byrd	32	30	28	28	27
Trinitas in unitate	'Francesco Mocheni' [Vincenzo Ruffo]				192	
Tristitia et anxietas	William Byrd	67	63	59	59	59
Triumph with pleasant melody	William Byrd	182	176	183	185	173
Veni in hortum meum	Orlande de Lassus	44	42	40	40	39
Vestigia mea dirige	Nathaniel Giles	104	104	105	100	96

Title	Composer	page number in facsimile				
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When I look back	Robert Parsons			169		
When I was otherwise than now	William Byrd	154	152	157	158	146
When May is in his prime		166	160	172	174	162
Where Fancy fond	William Byrd	122	124	126	126	114
While Phoebus us'd to dwell	William Byrd	124	126	128	128	116
Who likes to love	William Byrd	178	172	180	182	170
Why do I use my paper, ink and pen?	William Byrd	125	127	129	129	117