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William Byrd, John Petre and Oxford, Bodleian MS Mus. Sch. E. 423

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## WILLIAM BYRD, JOHN PETRE AND OXFORD, BODLEIAN MS MUS. SCH. E. 423

DAVID MATEER

This manuscript consists of the Contratenor only of what was originally a set of six partbooks. Had the collection survived intact, it would undoubtedly have ranked as one of the most important of all secular sources dating from the Elizabethan period, for it comprises a representative cross-section of most musical genres—English anthems, Latin motets, consort songs and instrumental pieces—and its 131 items include many *unica*. But the sheer size of the anthology is not the only reason why we should lament its tragically imperfect state. Mus. Sch. E. 423 is an important and authoritative source for the vocal music of William Byrd, as Philip Brett, Alan Brown and other scholars have shown. Writing more generally about the instrumental music it contains, Warwick Edwards has stated that its ‘authority as a consort source derives from its exclusion of all but a few faults against other sources’. The manuscript’s special relevance to Byrd, then, not the mention the high quality of its musical and verbal texts, makes the loss of its companion books all the more regrettable.<sup>1</sup>

Fresh information has recently come to light about the origin of Mus. Sch. E. 423 that helps to explain this high level of reliability. Fortunately an important clue to the identity of its original owner is preserved on the front cover of its contemporary limp vellum binding: beneath the voice-designation were once inscribed the initials ‘I·P.’, though someone has subsequently attempted to erase the bow of the second capital so that it now appears to read ‘Contratenor ·I·I’.<sup>2</sup> ‘Peter gifford/giffard’, whose name is written on the end paper, may be the later owner responsible for this alteration. It is now possible to identify ‘I·P.’ categorically as John, first Lord Petre (1549–1613), the son of Sir William Petre and friend and patron of William Byrd.<sup>3</sup> The reason for such certitude is that Mus. Sch. E. 423 is in the hand of Petre’s steward and most trusted servant, John Bentley, as may be seen from a comparison of the manuscript’s calligraphy with that of the account books Bentley kept for his master.<sup>4</sup> These six volumes are all that survive of a run of perhaps two dozen or more covering a period of some thirty years beginning in 1567. Intermittent and mutilated as they are, these accounts represent collectively the most valuable source of information about Petre’s social and cultural milieu.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Madrigals, Songs and Canons* (The Byrd Edition 16), 184; *Cantiones Sacrae I* (1589) (The Byrd Edition 2), 224; W. Edwards, ‘The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music’ (Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1974), i, 117.

<sup>2</sup> Certain editors have consequently referred to the manuscript as a ‘second alto’ partbook.

<sup>3</sup> This confirms the suspicions of Brett (‘The Songs of William Byrd’ (Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1965), i, 22–3) and Edwards (‘The Sources’, i, 116–7) who both suggest, in addition, John Parsons as a possible candidate; Edwards particularly makes an elaborate case for the latter.

<sup>4</sup> Essex Record Office D/DP A17–22. Plate 1 is the first page of the accounts for 1576–7 and shows Bentley’s secretary script in its most careful mode. The hand responsible for Mus. Sch. E. 423 worked more fluently (Plates 2a and b), but it is nonetheless possible to demonstrate that it, too, is Bentley’s. Both hands employ two forms of capital C; compare, for instance, ‘Childerditche’ (last marginal note in Plate 1) with ‘Chappell’ (at the top of Plate 2a), and ‘Cowbridge’ (in the entry relating to John West) with ‘Contratenor’. Both use minuscule d with or without a loop; sometimes the looped ascender of the letter is flattened and elongated so that it collides with previous characters, as in ‘Childerditche’ and ‘wycked’ (fourth line of underlay in Plate 2a). The P in ‘Parson Hunter’ and ‘Pickeringe’ (first marginal item and entry of Plate 1) should be compared with the P of ‘Peccatum’ in Plate 2b, particularly with respect to the flourished approach-stroke to the stem.

<sup>5</sup> See Arthur Charles Edwards, *John Petre* (London 1975), which draws heavily on these books; this is a useful and readable study, despite a number of minor errors. There are a few references to John Petre in F. G. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary* (London 1961), the standard work on his father; see also *idem*, ‘Notes and Queries’, *Galpin Society Journal*, 14 (1961), 73–5. The Petre accounts were examined from a musical perspective in David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge 1981), 83–91, though without making the connection with Mus. Sch. E. 423.

Unlike his father, John Petre never rose to national prominence, but he did wield considerable influence as a county magnate, performing his public duties as a member of the local judiciary seriously and thoroughly. The musical background of his early youth can be reconstructed with the help of another set of accounts: those kept by his father's major domo, John Keyme. Sir William, if not personally accomplished, certainly encouraged music in his household; he clearly regarded the possession of musical skills as a badge of gentility, and saw to it that his children and wards received the necessary tuition in a conducive atmosphere. His accounts are consequently littered with references to organs, virginals, viols, lutes, their wires and strings, as well as payments to musicians, instrument makers, 'mynstrelles' and 'the waytes of london'.<sup>6</sup> When Dorothy, Sir William's eldest daughter by his first wife, married Nicholas Wadham in London on 3 September 1555, the children of St. Paul's cathedral performed at the wedding, and received six shillings 'in reward'. In April 1559, the same troupe was paid 6s. 8d. for 'singing and playing before my *maste*'. At the marriage of Thomasine, Sir William's eldest child by his second wife, on 10 February 1560, the list of 'Money disbursed' includes the following entry, which suggests that on this occasion the entertainment mounted by the choristers was of a dramatic nature:

To the Children of powles playing on the Mariage day in Rewarde vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> and to ij men that caried the  
chistes wherin there playinge garmentes were *and* instrumentes xij<sup>d</sup> vij<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

In the same month Sir William sent his son to dancing lessons in the company of George Fermor, one of his wards, and Keyme's account book records payments 'To Corans for teaching m<sup>r</sup> John Petre and m<sup>r</sup> Farmo<sup>r</sup> to daunce by the space of vij wekes xv<sup>s</sup>', and 'to the ussher of the dauncing schole and the musycions iijj<sup>s</sup>'. The teacher was probably George Currance (Corransse/Corance/Corrans/Curran) whose name appears from 1559 onwards in the churchwardens' accounts of the parish of St. Michael le Querne, which was close to the Petres' London house in Aldersgate Street. This engagement was for him the beginning of a long and fruitful association with the family.

On 16 January 1561, Sir William bought John his first lute; it was of the 'Cullen' or Cologne variety, an instrument definitely inferior to the 'Venice' type, but, at a cost of 13s., certainly good enough for a beginner.<sup>7</sup> At the wedding of Catherine Petre to John Talbot in the following August musical entertainment was again provided, but because the ceremony took place at Ingatestone—where Sir William had his Essex home—the players had to make the journey from London:

Item to Currance in reward for the having of his musitians at the mariage for the space of iijj<sup>or</sup> daies v<sup>li</sup>,  
to two musitians being here before the mariage x<sup>s</sup> and geven in Rewarde by m<sup>r</sup> John Petre to Currance  
man w<sup>ch</sup> taught hym to daunce v<sup>s</sup> v<sup>li</sup> xv<sup>s</sup>

The more scholarly side of John's education appears to have been in the hands of various tutors; on Saturday 31 January 1562, John Woodward, Sir William's private chaplain and rector of Ingatestone since 1556, received twenty shillings for '... bookes for M<sup>r</sup> John Petre and M<sup>r</sup> Farmo<sup>r</sup> two of Ovydes Workes and two of lyvyes workes', and in the following November the sum of 22s. 10d. was paid 'To m<sup>r</sup> John Petre by my m<sup>rs</sup> order for certen bookes bought by m<sup>r</sup> delahyde'.<sup>8</sup>

There is a gap in the Petre accounts from 1562 until the beginning of the series kept by John Bentley. The first book, covering the period 1567–70, records in great detail the expenses of John

<sup>6</sup> See Emmison, *Tudor Secretary*, 210–16 and D/DP A 8 and 9.

<sup>7</sup> The lute for which John paid 'Mr Pietro' 50s in September 1570 must have been an instrument of the highest quality.

<sup>8</sup> D/DP A 9. Woodward, who refused to conform to the Elizabethan settlement, resigned his rectory in 1565, though he continued as Sir William's chaplain at Ingatestone Hall (Emmison, *Tudor Secretary*, 230, 278–9); in 1560, a David de la Hyde was ejected from his fellowship at Merton College, Oxford, for declining the oath of Supremacy (David Mateer, 'The 'Gyffard' partbooks: Composers, Owners, Date and Provenance', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 28 (1995), 30).

Petre as a law student in London, and later the costs of his wedding at Ingatestone.<sup>9</sup> He was admitted to the Middle Temple on 27 April 1567 by consent of the Masters of the Bench, and paid a fine of £5 because he had not previously been a member of an Inn of Chancery.<sup>10</sup> For the sons of wealthy landowners the Inns of Court had virtually become a third University, where they hoped to acquire a little of the polish of London society, and enough knowledge of the law to equip them for the local bench and the future administration of their estates. John's accounts reveal the usual teenage preoccupations with fashion, his personal appearance and Valentines, as well as a lifelong passion for hunting, shooting and fishing, but there are also a number of interesting references to his more musical pursuits. Although the book is unmistakably in Bentley's hand, it is written in the first person as if by his master.<sup>11</sup> Petre came up to town on 13 October 1567 and stayed a couple of nights at Aldersgate Street before moving into his room in the Temple, which was that previously occupied by John Talbot. A servant, John Taylor, was paid two pence 'to bringe my lutes *and* to helpe the carren man up with my stuff', and Thomas Ancell received the same sum 'for bryngyng M<sup>r</sup> Brugges lute to my chamber'. In November Petre gave twelve pence to 'M<sup>r</sup> Litchfeldes boye for bringyng me a song for the lute', and in the following month 'M<sup>r</sup> Petro' was paid two shillings 'for a booke for the lute *and* prickyng songes therein'. A later entry in Bentley's accounts tells us that Litchfield was one of the Earl of Oxford's players; he may have been the composer Henry Lichfield, whose five-part madrigals appeared in 1613, but a more plausible identification is with the 'Thomas Lytchfelde' who was a singer under Philip van Wilder at the court of Edward VI, and who is described in the records of the latter's coronation as 'my lorde protectors lutinge Boye'.<sup>12</sup> His association with the Petres dates from as early as July 1562, when 'm<sup>r</sup> lychefeldes man' was tipped two shillings 'for bringing certen songes for m<sup>r</sup> Jo. petre'. In March 1568, John Taylor again had two pence 'for bringing ij lutes from Aldersgate streate to the temple y<sup>c</sup> third daye'. Petre must have practised a lot, for there are many entries in the accounts relating to strings for his instruments. These cost from between three and five shillings for a dozen, and were acquired either from 'Bartlett at Flette bridge' or from Mr Pietro. The former may possibly be related to, or even identified with, the John Bartlet whose book of ayres was published in 1606; the latter was probably Petre's lute teacher, for in March 1568 he gave him 20s. 'fo<sup>r</sup> his paynes *and* songes for the lute'. In the following month Petre paid 'to Currance for my admyttaunce into his scole x<sup>s</sup> *and* to the ussher *and* musitians ij<sup>s</sup>; in all xij<sup>s</sup>'. A year later he had enrolled with another dancing master, a Mr Frithe, to whom he gave a similar fee.

While he was a student John supported the traditional institutions of his Inn. In March 1568 he contributed ten pence to the Reader's Feast, and in February 1570 he gave 12d. 'to the Lord of mysrewle at the Temple' in addition to a generous donation of 50s. 'to Mr Plodun the x<sup>th</sup> daye toward the buyldyng [of] the new hall'.<sup>13</sup> By now, however, his mind was turning towards marriage. His bride-to-be was Mary, eldest daughter of Lady Waldegrave, widow of Sir Edward Waldegrave, whose family seat was at Borley Hall in north Essex. Petre's parents were delighted with the match, especially since they had not rearranged it, and had given him 'free choice of wife'. On 10 February 1570, after two and a half years of study, he moved out of his Temple accommodation, which by this time he was sharing with George Mordaunt. Over the next couple of months Bentley made a number of trips to London to collect his master's belongings and to book Currance's musicians for the forthcoming wedding. Petre paid 2s. 'for the facionyng of my valentyne's name in goldesmythes worke', a

<sup>9</sup> D/DP A17; it is not possible to give precise references, since the Petre accounts have not been foliated.

<sup>10</sup> C. H. Hopwood ed., *Middle Temple Records*, 3 vols. (London 1904-5), i: *Minutes of Parliament*, 159; see also H. A. C. Sturgess, *Register of Admissions to the ... Middle Temple*, 3 vols. (London 1949), i, 31.

<sup>11</sup> It no doubt represents a fair copy of accounts prepared for Sir William's perusal. The care lavished on it by Bentley is apparent on every page, but just occasionally he slips up, as when he enters payment for a Valentine on 'the xiiiij<sup>th</sup> daye' under March instead of February. The error is probably due as much to the disorganized state of his exemplar as to any inadvertence on his part.

<sup>12</sup> Public Record Office (henceforth PRO) LC 2/3, Part 1, p. 52.

<sup>13</sup> For the most recent biography of Plowden, see Geoffrey de C. Parmiter, *Edmund Plowden: An Elizabethan Recusant Lawyer* (Catholic Record Society, 1987).

token he may well have presented to his fiancée on 4 April when they met at the Crown in Romford for a sumptuous dinner costing 37s. The couple were married in Ingatestone church on Monday 17 April 1570. John gave Mr Anthony Brasier, the parson, and William Sawell, the sexton, 5s. and 1s. respectively. Currance and his men received 33s. 4d. for providing the entertainment, and 6s. for 'playing at my wyndow at Ingatestone the xvij<sup>th</sup> daye'.

John now made a series of visits to kinsmen and friends in various parts of the country. On 15 May he is recorded as having given 2s. to 'S<sup>r</sup> henry Tyrelles musytions at Warlye'.<sup>14</sup> In June and July he was in Kent 'at my unkle Brownes'; he stayed with the Bakers at Sissinghurst, and visited Wye, where he gave 2s. 6d. to Sir Thomas Kempe's musicians. In July and August Petre toured Somerset, visiting the Wadhams at Merifield and the Sydenhams at Brympton d'Evercy. On 23 July he paid 12d. to 'mynstrelles at Montague playing at my chamber wyndow', and in the following month he gave a total of three shillings to wrestlers at Winscombe Park and at the home of Mr Strode. The servants who accompanied their master on this progress—Bentley, Reynold Smythe and John Holland—were duly rewarded with 30s. 'at the end of my iourney westward'.

The Petres spent their early married life at Writtle Park, one of Sir William's substantial manors to the west of Chelmsford. Then in 1573, just over a year after his father's death, John bought the West Horndon (or Thorndon) estates from the Mordaunt family, with the help of a £1000 loan from his uncle Robert—an official of the Court of the Exchequer. Within a year or so he had moved to Thorndon Hall, which was to become the principal seat of the Petres for over three centuries, although the family still retained the house at Ingatestone. It was at Thorndon that his son and heir, William, was born on 24 June 1575.<sup>15</sup> Also in that year Petre was made High Sheriff of the county, and at the end of his term of office he was knighted.

The next of Bentley's account books to survive covers the year October 1576 to September 1577.<sup>16</sup> In December there are payments 'for virginall wyer the thirde daye xxij<sup>d</sup>' and 'for a dozen of lute stringes nere fletebridge the xv<sup>th</sup> daye iij<sup>s</sup>'; in January 1577 the minstrels contracted to play during the twelve days of Christmas received sixty shillings, and one of Petre's senior servants, John Troughton, bought 'ij dozen *and* eight knottes of lute stringes' for 7s. 8d. In April, perhaps on the Petres' wedding anniversary, Warren's musicians were hired for 3s. 4d., and in May 'a ducheman in Chauncery lane' received the same amount for mending a lute that was later strung by William Chambers for twenty pence. Music, however, was not the only pastime to engage Sir John's attention; there are expenses for tennis at the Charterhouse and at Frithe's, and on 14 February Troughton paid 3s. 4d. 'to one w<sup>ch</sup> kept the dore goinge to a playe at the black ffryers'. Like his father, Petre also found gambling irresistible, and large sums were lost (and won?) at the Arundels', and in play with Mr Drury and Sir Richard Baker.

These accounts also contain interesting details of an excursion made by the Petres to their Catholic friends and relatives in the West Midlands. The party included Sir John's kinswoman, Susan White, and among the entourage of servants were John Bentley, his deputy Roger Braunch, and John and Charles Troughton. They set off on Tuesday 2 July, and their itinerary took them through Uxbridge, High Wycombe, and Chipping Campden via Oxford, where Petre gave forty shillings to the Rector and Fellows of Exeter College, the college his father had so generously re-endowed. On 5 July the party reached Grafton Manor near Bromsgrove, the house of Sir John's brother-in-law, John Talbot, and here they remained for over a week. They then travelled north-

<sup>14</sup> In May 1577 he gave the same ensemble 5s. 'for playenge at Thorndon'.

<sup>15</sup> His godfathers were Lord Burleigh and Thomas, Earl of Sussex; see J. J. Howard and H. F. Burke eds., *Genealogical Collections Illustrating the History of Roman Catholic Families* (priv. pr., 1887), 38–9, 50.

<sup>16</sup> D/DP A18.

wards into Staffordshire and visited Chillington near Brewood, the family seat of John Giffard.<sup>17</sup> They spent the night of 16 July there; as the party was leaving next day, Petre tipped Giffard's cook and chamberlain, and gave 6s. 8d. 'to the keper of Brewde parke', no doubt in appreciation of the good hunting he had enjoyed there. The next destination on this tour of the west was the Astleys' house at Patshull, but an accident at Brewood involving Susan White meant that she had to be brought from Chillington by Lord Dudley's men in a horse litter. The party then moved on to Ralph Sheldon's house at Beoley, calling *en route* on Sir John Lyttelton at Frankley.<sup>18</sup> The Petres were back at Grafton by 22 July, for on that day Sir John paid out 18s. 'to a pedler for ruffes fo' M' Talbottes children' and 2s. 6d. for the services of 'a Surgion of Worcester to loke to mres Susan Whites knee'. After just over a week they began their homeward journey, which took them to Francis Dingley at Charlton near Evesham, Thomas Fermor at Somerton in Oxfordshire, and Sir John Goodwin at Upper Winchendon, Bucks. They spent the night of 5 August in an inn at St. Albans, which was within a day's travel of either Aldersgate Street or Thorndon.

This record of the Petres' holiday in the West Midlands is significant for the light it sheds on some of the more enigmatic features of Mus. Sch. E. 423. It provides a possible explanation for the appearance of Gregory Ballard's music in the collection (see below), and furnishes documentary proof of the close ties that existed between the Petres and certain of the Staffordshire gentry, particularly the Giffards; it was almost certainly John Giffard's grandson, Peter (1581–1663), who at a later date wrote his name at the back of the manuscript. It is clear from an obscure entry under 'Building and reparacons' in Bentley's accounts for January 1581 that Petre's visit to the Giffards was returned:

To Charles Plum by Walte<sup>r</sup> Madison the xxj<sup>th</sup> daye for making of vj keyes for dores *and* mending of iij stocklockes whereof . . . one keye *and* lock for Jo: Troughtons chamber dore where M<sup>r</sup> Giffard laye . . .

It would appear that the Petres' guest had departed after the Christmas festivities taking his room key with him.

Bentley's accounts for the year beginning October 1580 show that the Petres attended Court in the spring and early summer of 1581, when the Duke of Anjou's embassy was in London vainly attempting to negotiate a marriage with Queen Elizabeth. The occasion demanded the expenditure of large sums on apparel, and there are fewer entries than usual relating to Sir John's pastimes, though on 8 March he did spend sixpence on 'balles at Frithes tennys Co<sup>r</sup>te', and he gave five shillings 'to Musitians the xv<sup>th</sup> Maye'. In January, during the visit of 'Mr Giffard', Petre paid sixty shillings to 'Warrens noyse of Musitians the ix<sup>th</sup> daye playenge on the vyolens at West Horndon all the Christmas tyme by composicon'. His gambling expenses, however, were again the largest part of his outlay.

<sup>17</sup> The Queen had stayed at Chillington in August 1575 during the course of her progress through the Midland counties, and in return for his hospitality John Giffard was immediately summoned before the Privy Council to explain his habitual absence from worship at the local parish church. He was committed to the custody of the Bishop of Rochester but given temporary leave 'to repair home to his howse, being as he alleadged, by reason of her Majesties late being there, out of order and unfurnished'. He was then released on condition that he attended church and used the prayer book in his chapel, but he made little effort to conform. In 1580 he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, though his detention was later commuted to house arrest; see George Wrottesley, *Giffards from the Conquest to the Present Time in Collections for a History of Staffordshire* N. S., v (1902), 130.

<sup>18</sup> All these families were bonded not only by their adherence to the old faith, but by blood relationships and friendship. Talbot's mother was the aunt of John Giffard; the latter's younger brother, Humphrey, had been a contemporary of John Petre's at the Middle Temple; John Lyttelton and Gilbert Astley were cousins, and the latter's wife, Dorothy, was one of John Giffard's sisters. Sheldon's wife was Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Throgmorton of Coughton, Warwickshire; her grandfather's half-sister was John Giffard's mother.

The next account book records, among other things, the expenses incurred by Sir John in his capacity as a magistrate at Chelmsford. At the Quarter Sessions in October 1586 he gave 12d. 'to the waight players', and at the Assizes in July 1587 a servant named William Mekyn paid the same sum to the musicians who attended his master. The real importance of these accounts, however, lies in the fact that they contain the earliest references to that patronage of William Byrd which was to culminate in the dedication to Petre of the composer's second book of *Gradualia* in 1607.<sup>19</sup> In October John Reynolds, one of the footmen, rode up to London with two geldings, and claimed twelve pence for his diet 'at y<sup>e</sup> fetching downe of Mr Byrde'. Two other entries relating to the same journey are of interest:

Payed to John Reynoldes the lackey fo<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Byrdes horsemeate *and* his sonnes at their comyng downe from London ij<sup>s</sup>

To John Reynoldes y<sup>e</sup> footeboye fo<sup>r</sup> horsemeate in London the xvij<sup>th</sup> daye at M<sup>r</sup> Byrdes *and* his sonnes ryding up ij<sup>s</sup>

Since Petre provided only two horses for his guests, the ambiguous 'sonnes' is likely to be a possessive referring to just one other person. Byrd had two male offspring, Christopher and Thomas, who at the time would have been aged seventeen and ten respectively. The latter, a musical boy who was reputed to have later followed his father's profession, may have been required to take the solo line in consort songs or the treble part in any *ad hoc* vocal ensemble. Earlier that month Bentley had paid ten shillings 'to M<sup>r</sup> Brough virginall maker of London the vij<sup>th</sup> daye for his half yeares fee to kepe my Maste<sup>rs</sup> wynde instrument at Westho<sup>r</sup>ndon, this being his first payment, due at y<sup>e</sup> feast of St Michaell Tharchangell last past'.<sup>20</sup> The need for Brough's expertise was doubtless connected with Byrd's impending visit.<sup>21</sup> In November Brough supplied 'a payer of small virginalles for M<sup>r</sup> John Petre' at a cost of forty shillings, though he was not actually paid for the instrument until the following February.<sup>22</sup> In December Mekyn incurred expenses of 16d. in London 'at the fetching downe of M<sup>r</sup> Broughe to tune the instrument'—again an essential part of the preparations for the arrival of Byrd, who had been invited to spend Christmastide with the Petres. On 26 December Raphe Huntman paid 2s. 'for his owne dyett *and* for a dozen of horsbread ... at the fetching downe of M<sup>rs</sup> Coxe *and* M<sup>r</sup> Byrde'. The composer stayed until 16 January, on which date Thomas Carlton escorted him back to London. He paid a third visit to his patron on 17 July 1587, when William Howell claimed expenses of 3s. 6d. on 'meate fo<sup>r</sup> fower horses at y<sup>e</sup> fetching downe of M<sup>r</sup> Byrde *and* M<sup>r</sup> Broughe to Westhorndon'.

The accounts for 1589–90 reveal that Sir John took possession of a new organ in that year.<sup>23</sup> No doubt he had commissioned it several months earlier, for the final instalment of £10 was paid in November 1589 'to M<sup>tes</sup> Broughe in full payment of fifty powndes for an Instrument sold by her husband to my Master'. Six months later the organ was finished and ready for delivery. On 29 April 1590 'Edward Elmes carman of St Gyles parishe in London' was given eleven shillings 'for bringing

<sup>19</sup> D/DP A20; there may, of course, have been earlier evidence of their friendship in the lost accounts for 1577–86. They were certainly acquainted by 17 October 1581, the date of Byrd's letter on behalf of Dorothy Tempest, for there the composer mentions meeting the addressee 'm<sup>r</sup> [Robert] Petre on[e] of y<sup>e</sup> officers of her Ma<sup>ties</sup> Exchequer . . .' at Sir John's house in Aldersgate Street; see E. H. Fellowes, *William Byrd* (London, 1948), 39 and the photographic reproduction of the letter opposite p. 42.

<sup>20</sup> Robert Brough was married to Byrd's sister Barbara; this information is kindly supplied by Mr John Harley, whose recent study of the composer—*William Byrd: Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot, 1997)—provides further details of the family's relationships. He is doubtless the same 'Mr Broughe' who, on 19 February 1583, paid forty shillings to the parish of St. Dunstan in the West 'for the Olde Organs'; see London, Guildhall Library MS 2968/1, Churchwardens' accounts f. 335.

<sup>21</sup> A similar payment is recorded at the end of March 1587; Brough's fee was increased to ten shillings a quarter in August 1590, in line with the growth in Petre's instrument collection.

<sup>22</sup> See under 'Charges for Children'. John, the Petres' third (but second surviving) son, was born on 4 September 1582.

<sup>23</sup> D/DP A21.

downe of y<sup>e</sup> new Winde Instrument from London to West Horndon w<sup>ch</sup> was made by M<sup>r</sup> Robert Brough'. Every precaution was taken to ensure that it arrived safely, Brough receiving an additional 4s. 10d. 'for iij<sup>or</sup> bedd mattes now broughte downe w<sup>th</sup> his New Winde Instrument . . . And for a peece of bedd Corde w<sup>ch</sup> bownd them aboute y<sup>e</sup> sayde Instrument in the Carte'. At the same time he was paid 30s. very belatedly for a year and a half's tuning fees that were due the previous March.

Byrd was again the honoured guest of the Petres at Christmas 1589. The family had moved out of Thorndon in October on account of the extensive building works there, and had taken up residence at Ingatestone Hall, where they were to spend the next nine months.<sup>24</sup> The accounts record the general expenses relating to the composer's sojourn. As before, a servant rode to London to fetch him on Boxing Day, but this time he stayed only until after Epiphany, for Edward Gray, Petre's saddler, paid 18d. 'y<sup>e</sup> viij and ix<sup>th</sup> of January for iij meales at his ridinge up w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Byrde'. On the day of his departure, Bentley gave sixty shillings to the 'five Musitians of London . . . for playenge upon the vyolins at Ingatstone by Composition in y<sup>e</sup> Christmas tyme' and also discharged John Bolt's bill for 'a payer of iron Bracketes to sett y<sup>e</sup> dubble virginalles upon in the great chamber there'. Byrd visited the family again at the beginning of June 1590, when he was perhaps taken to West Horndon to try out the new organ. Indeed, it is possible that the pavan and galliard he dedicated to William Petre were commissioned by Sir John to inaugurate the instrument in that year. Certainly the pieces could not have been written much later, for they appear towards the end of 'My Ladye Nevells Booke', which was completed in 1591; furthermore, as Oliver Neighbour rightly points out, ' . . . the dedicatee, William Petre, who was only fifteen in 1590, would scarcely have mastered such difficult pieces earlier'.<sup>25</sup> Byrd stayed with the Petres over the feast of Pentecost; then the accounts tell us that Nicholas Sheppard, Sir John's chamberlain, claimed two shillings for meals and riding charges 'at y<sup>e</sup> retourne of y<sup>e</sup> said M<sup>r</sup> Birde up to London from Ingatstone after Whitsontide'. His next invitation came in August when John Tabor, Petre's clerk, paid 16d. in London 'for haye for ij geldinges one night *and* half a daye at y<sup>e</sup> fetchinge downe of M<sup>r</sup> Birde'.

Bentley's accounts for 1593-4 contain no references to Byrd, but one should not assume from this that contact between Sir John and the composer had ceased. On the contrary, by this time the latter had moved to Stondon Massey, which was only five miles from Ingatestone and seven from Thorndon Hall. His visits doubtless continued, but because they no longer involved the Petre servants in any expense, they are not recorded in the accounts. We know that after his move to Stondon Byrd regularly gave Sir John and his wife two turkeys at Christmas. He may or may not have been present at Christmas 1593, when sixty shillings was paid to 'Christopher Anslow Musition and y<sup>e</sup> residue of his companye for playing upon the violins at Ingatstone'. John Petre junior gave ten shillings 'to John Haydon, one of that companye, who taught hym *and* M<sup>r</sup> Thomas to daunce during that tyme'. At the Assizes in March 1594 Sir John tipped 'certaine Musitians' and 'Skottishe pipers at M<sup>r</sup> Sheriffes lodging' 2s. and 12d. respectively. There are expenses, too, for music-making of a more private nature; on 30 April Thomas Carlton paid 5s. 2d. 'for ij dosen *and* a half of lute stringes for my *masters* lute, and for a boxe to put them in', and on 17 October Bentley reimbursed the same servant 18d. 'fo<sup>r</sup> a dosen of stringes fo<sup>r</sup> the vialles bought by hym y<sup>e</sup> last moneth'.<sup>26</sup>

It is apparent from the Petre accounts, the State Papers and other documents in the Public Record Office that Sir John continued to be active as a county official till the end of the century; he was elected knight of the shire in 1584 and 1586, and sat on committees concerned with tithes, grain and cloth. He later served as Deputy Lieutenant and as a member of the Commission set up to restrain Papists and seminarists. In 1603 he was raised to the peerage as Baron Petre of Writtle, but

<sup>24</sup> The Petres probably spent every Christmas for the next nine years at Ingatestone.

<sup>25</sup> See *The Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd* (London 1978), 196. The pair was printed in *Parthenia* (1612/13) with the title 'Pavan: Sir William Petre', which misled Dr Emmison into thinking that it was written for the first Sir William; see *Tudor Secretary*, 312. The grandson named after him was knighted in 1603.

<sup>26</sup> D/DP A22; D/DP A29 and 30 (Household Accounts of Ingatestone Hall, 1591-99).



after the death of his wife in 1604 he withdrew increasingly from public life. Contact with the Court, however, was briefly renewed in 1608 when Thorndon Hall was graced with a visit from King James' elder son, Henry; on Tuesday 9 August 'the young Prince came to *super and* went away againe uppon wensdaie in the morning after Breakfaste'. Petre was present in 1610 at the creation of Henry as Prince of Wales, and also at his funeral in 1612. By then, however, Sir John himself was in poor health and was suffering from that 'slow and tedious fever' to which his monumental inscription refers, and to which he finally succumbed. In 1613 he made settlements providing portions of £5000 for each of his grandchildren and conveying properties to Sir William and his heirs.<sup>27</sup> In his will, drawn up on 10 January 1612/13 but not signed until 1 September, Petre left money to the poor in Essex, Devon and London, and to old retainers including Mary, John Bentley's widow, who received two legacies of £10. He also bequeathed £20 'to the Rector and Schollers of Exeter Colledge in Oxford', as well as £10 and £5 respectively for repairs to Ingatestone and West Horndon churches. His younger sons, John and Thomas, were generously provided for with bequests of plate, household goods, and money; Thomas was also given a lease of the manor of Tintinhull in Somerset. The bulk of the estate, of course, went to Sir William, who was made sole executor. Katherine, William's wife, received a chain of pearls and a life interest in the building and contents of 'my howse newly buylded in Aldersgate streete', and her father, the Earl of Worcester, was to receive £100 in gold for acting as overseer. Petre died at Thorndon on 11 October 1613 and was buried at Ingatestone on 29th; his will was proved on the following 18 November.<sup>28</sup>

During his father's semi-retirement the running of Thorndon and the Petre estates was increasingly left to Sir William, and it is to his few surviving accounts that one must turn for further instances of the family's musical interests.<sup>29</sup> These accounts, like those of his father and grandfather, are liberally sprinkled with references to viols, virginals, and composers. A musician named Bicley was employed to teach Sir William's children, and when he left in 1608 Richard Mico was appointed on a quarterly salary of fifty shillings.<sup>30</sup> Several entries record payments to popular entertainers such as 'the musicians of Stanes' or the 'fidlers of Gloucester', but the accounts also testify to Sir William's more serious tastes, particularly to his interest in music for the viol. On 12 March 1600 a Tom Boulte, who may have been related to the John Bolt who had worked for his father, was paid 18d. for viol strings, and in January 1603 he received 3s. 'for Violl stringes *and* a bow for mie base Violl'; in February 1602 Petre gave 10s. 'to Coprario for Lessons he broughte mee', and in November 1604 he paid £8 5s. 'to discharge Hawkins bill y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> day for a cheste of violles vj<sup>li</sup> *and* for other extraordinarie charges'.

The following entry in the accounts for February 1608 may possibly relate to circumstances surrounding the publication of the second part of *Gradualia*:

Given to my wife the xv<sup>th</sup> day w<sup>ch</sup> was parcell of the money I lent Mr Byrde

vij<sup>li</sup>

The composer's dedicatory epistle to Lord Petre is dated 3 April 1607, but we know that the printer, Thomas East, registered the collection at Stationers' Hall on the previous 17 February. The near coincidence of the latter date with that of the entry quoted above is thought-provoking and raises a

<sup>27</sup> For Petre's parliamentary career, see P. W. Hasler ed., *History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558–1603*, 3 vols. (London 1981), iii, 209–10; D/DP A26 (Household Accounts [Provisions] 1607–10); Frederic Chancellor, *The Ancient Sepulchral Monuments of Essex* (London 1890), 318; D/DP F14, 22, 23, 24, 29.

<sup>28</sup> PRO Prob 11/122, f. 315–16.

<sup>29</sup> William Petre's account book for October 1597 to October 1610 is now Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, MS 1772.1; see Giles Dawson, 'A Gentleman's Purse' *Yale Review*, 39 (1950), 631–46. Essex Record Office has a microfilm of Dawson's transcription of the manuscript, which is catalogued as TA 174.

<sup>30</sup> See J. Bennett and P. Willetts, 'Richard Mico', *Chelys*, 7 (1977), 24; the article in *Grove* 6; John Bennett, 'Byrd and Jacobean Consort Music: a look at Richard Mico', *Byrd Studies*, ed. Alan Brown and Richard Turbet (Cambridge 1992), 129–40. For Mico's recusant leanings see Nancy Briggs, 'William, 2nd Lord Petre (1575–1637)', *Essex Recusant*, 10 pt. 2 (1968), 51–64.

number of questions. Why did Byrd borrow such a large sum, for large it must have been if £8 represented only part of it; why did Sir William Petre provide the loan; and why did Byrd repay it on what was virtually the anniversary of the registration of *Gradualia II*? Could the next entry in the accounts—‘Given to M<sup>r</sup> Birde at the same time 40s.’—refer to the composer’s reward for dedicating the collection to Lord Petre? The following speculations may supply some of the answers. It is conceivable that the composer needed the money to see his latest publishing venture through the press; if this was the case, the obvious person to importune would be the dedicatee’s heir, who may have agreed to finance the project on condition that all or part of his investment was repaid within a year. East may have been reluctant to enter the work on the Stationers’ Register—and to commit himself to its printing—before Byrd had secured the necessary capital. Lack of funds, then, may have been responsible for the delay in publication to which Byrd alludes in his dedication: ‘Has autem (vir Illustrissime) Cantiones, iamdudum a me peractas, ac Prelo commissas, tibi potissimum dedicandas censui . . .’<sup>31</sup> In the next sentence the composer acknowledges Lord Petre’s previous generosity, and hints that it was in the congenial climate of Thorndon and Ingatestone that much of *Gradualia* was conceived: ‘Praeterea quod e domo tua (mei meorumque mehercule amicissima) hae Musicae Lucubrationes ut ex faecundo solo enatae fruges, ut plurimum prodiere, . . .’<sup>32</sup> The word ‘amicissima’, of course, can also mean ‘most kind’ or ‘most friendly’, and this may be a more appropriate rendering if we take into account the large measure of protection we know Lord Petre afforded the Byrd family. From 1595 onwards they were regularly presented for recusancy at the Quarter Sessions and in the Essex archidiaconal court, and it was no doubt the influence wielded by Petre as a member of the jury that protected them from the full rigour of the law; furthermore, in 1603 he acted as mediator when Byrd and his children were in dispute with Mrs Jane Shelley over Stondon Place.<sup>33</sup> We have seen that the composer introduced one or both of his sons to the Petres as early as 1586, and it is possible that the elder later served the family in some capacity, for William Petre’s accounts for August 1599 show that he paid 10s. ‘to Christophor Birde in satisfacion’. The few remaining references to the composer in the accounts probably do not convey the closeness of his relationship with the family. The Petres appear to have had unerring confidence in his judgment, for in June 1607 Sir William employed ‘Andrew Foorde that was recommended by Mr Birde to have waited upon my children’; in June 1608 Byrd was paid 10s. ‘for his riflinge for songe bookes’, and the Clerk of the Kitchen lists ‘M<sup>r</sup> Birde and his sonn’ (presumably Christopher) among Lord Petre’s guests at supper on Saturday 23 December 1609.<sup>34</sup>

Despite the dedication of an ostentatiously Catholic publication to the first Lord Petre, the religious sympathies of this naturally cautious and taciturn man are by no means easy to discern. What evidence there is points to his being a ‘church Papist’, that is a barely conforming member of the established Church. His pragmatism in this regard is understandable; as head of the family, with the responsibility of protecting his children’s inheritance from possible sequestration, Sir John was naturally anxious to avoid any suspicion that he was disaffected in spiritual matters. The largest, if not the most unbiased, source of information concerning the Petres’ religious preferences is contained in a statement made by one George Elliot, who had been a servant of Sir John’s widowed mother at Ingatestone Hall before he was dismissed for embezzlement and attempted rape. Repenting of his Catholic past, he avenged himself on the family in August 1581 by revealing to the Privy Council the recusancy of his former employers, and in the process incriminated not only the Petres but also their

<sup>31</sup> ‘I have decided, furthermore (Most Illustrious Sir), that these Songs, completed long ago by me and sent to the Press, should be dedicated above all to you . . .’. I am grateful to Professor Philip Brett for permission to quote from the translation of the dedication which is to appear in *The Byrd Edition* 7.

<sup>32</sup> ‘Moreover, these musical products of my night labours have proceeded as copiously from your house (most dear to me and mine, by Hercules) as a harvest born from fertile soil . . .’; *ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> See E. H. Fellowes, *William Byrd* (London 1948), 20–6, 44.

<sup>34</sup> TA 174, ff. 34<sup>v</sup>, 107; D/DP A26. We know from an inventory taken on 28 May 1608 that Byrd had his own room at West Horndon; see D/DP F218.

friends and other members of the household.<sup>35</sup> Least damaged by Elliot's testimony was the reputation of Sir John, who emerged from it as a person of integrity who would have no truck with 'traitorous priests' or any attempts to subvert the constitution. This loyalist, anti-Jesuit stance was not untypical of the Catholic aristocracy in general, many of whom managed to resolve the conflicting demands of state and religion; one thinks particularly of the Earls of Northampton and Worcester, who were also patrons of Byrd.<sup>36</sup> Petre, no doubt aware of the delicacy of his position as a magistrate, tried to dissuade his mother's servant from opening flouting the statute concerning church attendance, and many times urged him 'to go to y<sup>e</sup> church for fashion sake, and in respect to avoide y<sup>e</sup> dawnger of y<sup>e</sup> lawe; yet to keepe myne owne conscience'. The rhetorical question that Petre posed later in the reported conversation probably reflects his own position: '. . . do you thincke there are not that goe to y<sup>e</sup> church that beare as good a mynde to godwarde as those y<sup>e</sup> refuse[?]. . . Yet would I not for anye thinge wishe you to participate w<sup>th</sup> them eyther in there prayers or communion'.

If Sir John's religious views were somewhat equivocal, those of his family and most of his household were uncompromisingly Catholic. Both his wife and his mother were presented for recusancy in 1581. The old Lady Petre, who died on 10 March 1582, began her will by commending her soul to God and declaring that she had lived and would die 'a trew membre and in the unitye of his catholick Church'.<sup>37</sup> During her widowhood she sheltered the undercover priest, John Payne, who lived at Ingatestone as her steward. He was arrested and exiled in 1577, but soon returned to England only to be betrayed by Elliot. Payne was indicted for high treason on the trumped-up charge of plotting to assassinate the Queen, and was executed at Chelmsford on 2 April 1582.<sup>38</sup> According to Elliot Sir John's wife, Mary, was 'known to be an earnest papist and is by him suff[e]red'. Her family had good reason to be unsympathetic to the reformed religion. In April 1561 her parents were indicted at Brentwood on charges of hearing Mass and harbouring priests, and after their conviction they were confined to the Tower, where Sir Edward died on 1 September. Bentley's accounts contain a number of references to Dr Atslowe, Lady Petre's personal physician, whose recusancy was well known to the authorities. Her own indictment dates from 8 January 1582, but Sir John was spared any possible embarrassment by the timely intervention of the Queen herself. On the following 20 May she wrote to Sir Thomas Mildmay, Custos Rotulorum of Essex:

The *Queen's* moste excellent *Majeste* beinge enformed that the Ladie Peeter is presented for a Recusant, And understandinge that at this present she is greate wi<sup>th</sup> Childe, hath of her gratiouse Favo<sup>r</sup> and upon good Respectes bene pleased that all *proceedinges* againste her for any presentment or Indytement in any suche Cause should be Stayed, untell her *Majeste* should signifie her pleasure to the Contrarye.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> See British Library, Lansdowne MS 33, ff. 145–9; extracts, somewhat inaccurately transcribed, are printed in 'The religious beliefs of the Petre family under Elizabeth I' *Essex Recusant*, 3 pt. 1 (April 1961), 58–66, and Henry Foley, S.J., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, 7 vols. (London 1877–84), ii, 586–9. Elliot may also have been responsible for the capture of Edmund Campion; see E. E. Reynolds, *Campion and Parsons: The Jesuit Mission of 1580–1* (London, 1980), 117.

<sup>36</sup> For a study of this phenomenon, see Gillian E. Brennan, 'Papists and Patriotism in Elizabethan England', *Recusant History*, 19 (1988), 1–15; Arnold Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalty in Elizabethan England* (London 1979); and John Bossy, 'The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism', *Past and Present*, 21 (April 1962), 39–59. Among the State Papers I can find only two documents that acknowledge John Petre's adherence to the ancient faith; one is very early, dated c. 1574 (PRO SP12/99, item 55, f. 2) and the other, from c. 1582, couples 'Sir John Peter & his Lady' (PRO SP12/157, item 90, f. 196).

<sup>37</sup> D/DP F8 and PRO Prob 11/64 (PCC 15 Tirwhite).

<sup>38</sup> For an account of the trial and an assessment of Elliot's character, see B. C. Foley, 'Bl. John Payne, Seminary Priest and Martyr—1582', *Essex Recusant*, 2 pt. 2 (August 1960), 48–75.

<sup>39</sup> Essex Record Office, Q/SR 81/4. There is evidence that, before her marriage, Lady Petre was close to the Queen. In 1591 *The Tragedie of Tancred and Gismund*, which had been '. . . compiled by the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple and by them presented before her Maiestie' in 1566/7, was published in revised form by one of its authors, an Essex clergyman named Robert Wilmot, who dedicated it to 'the right Worshipfull and vertuous Ladies, the L. Marie Peter, & the Ladie Anne Graie . . .'; the prefatory matter recalls that first royal performance and speaks of 'these Gentlemen, which with what sweetnesse of voice and livilinesse of action they then expressed it, they which were of her Maiesties right Honorable maidens can testifie', among them Mary Petre and Anne Grey.

That Lady Petre and the Waldegraves were pillars of the recusant community in Essex is confirmed by a report filed c.1580 by the government agent, Robert Woodward, which gives 'the names and dwelling places of all such papistes whose howses I have ben since my coming into England . . .':

At Thorndon the young Ladie Peters/ At Ingarstone [sic] the ould Ladie Peters/ At Borley the Ladie Waldgrave, her son Nicholas, Maudlaine her daughter; Fraunces Eliott her man w<sup>th</sup> m<sup>f</sup> Redshawe preist'.<sup>40</sup>

Later another informer drew up a list of Catholics who had agreed among themselves to make secret financial contributions towards 'y<sup>e</sup> Reliefe of all suche Prisoneres as be of their secte' (c.1584), and in it the Ladies Waldegrave and Petre are put down for 40 and 20 marks respectively; a note against the latter's name reads '. . . & her housbande knowythe not of'.<sup>41</sup> Lady Mary doubtless shared Sir John's love of music, if not his circumspection; on 17 July 1587, she gave 2s. 6d. to 'old Peryn, Harper of London', and from her youth she appears to have been on good terms with the musicians among her husband's acquaintances, as Bentley's accounts testify:

delivered to my ladye the v<sup>th</sup> daie to geve to m<sup>f</sup> Lychefeld one of the erle of Oxfordes men, lost to him upon a bergayne made w<sup>th</sup> him when she was a mayde, to be p<sup>d</sup> when she shoulde be a ladye xl<sup>42</sup>

Petre's household had at least two servants who were noted as much for their musical connections as for their recusancy. The Nathan Sheppard who was entrusted with the education of Sir John's heir, William, was undoubtedly the son of the composer John Sheppard, who died at Westminster in December 1558. Together with his sister Elizabeth, he was placed under the guardianship of Edmund Danyell, subdean of the Chapel Royal at the time of his father's death.<sup>43</sup> Eventually deprived of all of his preferments under the Elizabethan regime, Danyell went into voluntary exile and took refuge in the English Hospice in Rome, where he died in 1576 after having served its community as auditor (1565, 1573, 1575), warden (1569–70), and camerarius (1570–71). As one would expect, Nathan followed Danyell to Rome, where he was employed as a servant to Thomas Kyrton, the warden of the Hospice in 1568 and 1570.<sup>44</sup> Sheppard first appears in the Petre accounts

<sup>40</sup> London, British Library, Yelverton Papers: Add. MS 48023, f. 110; see also PRO SP12/157, item 88, f. 193. Incidentally, while Woodward was on his spying mission in Rome he met the elder Ferrabosco:

The xvij<sup>th</sup> of February 1579 [i.e. 1580]: Alfonsus an Itallian whoe was not long since one of the Quenes ma<sup>tes</sup> musitions came to craue acquaintance of doctor Allin he was released out of the inquisition not long before and went under sureties and had gotten licence for to gooe to Bolonga where he was borne & where he should have his libertie in time graunted if his usage were thought good and honest Cardinall Palliot was to geve him his libertie appointed by the Pope when he pleased. For w<sup>ch</sup> cause he travailed to Bolonga w<sup>th</sup> William Shipwaye preist an englishman Chaplaine to Cardinall Palliot... (f. 106)

<sup>41</sup> PRO SP12/168, item 31 (f. 74)

<sup>42</sup> D/DP A18, December 1576, under 'Rewardes and guyftes'. A William Perryn was employed as a minstrel at Lincoln's Inn from 1563 to 1600; see John R. Elliott, 'Invisible Evidence: Finding Musicians in the Archives of the Inns of Court, 1464–1642', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 26 (1993), 45–67. For an assessment of the importance of women in English Catholicism, see John Bossy, 'The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism', *Past and Present*, 21 (April 1962), 39–59 and *English Catholic Community 1570–1850* (London 1975), 158; Retha Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation* (Westport, Connecticut 1983); J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford 1984), 150–9; Marie B. Rowlands, 'Recusant women 1560–1640', *Women in English Society 1500–1800*, ed. M. Prior (London 1985), 149–80; P. Crawford, *Women and Religion in England, 1500–1720* (London 1993), ch. 3: 'Anglicans, Puritans and Catholics 1558–1640'; and Michael O'Dwyer, 'Catholic Recusants in Essex c. 1580 to c. 1600' (M.A. thesis, London University, 1960), particularly ch. 4: 'Recusant Wives in Essex'.

<sup>43</sup> See David Wulstan, 'Where there's a will', *Musical Times*, 135 (1994), 25–7.

<sup>44</sup> Could this be the composer Kyrton whose *Miserere* occurs twice in *Lbl* Add. MS 29996?; see John Caldwell ed., *Early Tudor Organ Music: I Music for the Office* (Early English Church Music 6). For more on Danyell and the English Hospice, see A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford 1501–1540* (Oxford 1974), 160, and Anthony Kenny, 'From Hospice to College 1559–1579' in *The Venerable* (Sexcentenary Issue), 21 (May 1962), 218–73, especially 224 fn. 15.

at the end of 1580.<sup>45</sup> His quarterly salary of 33s. 4d., which made him—along with the cook—Sir John's most highly paid servant, was later increased to 50s. Sheppard figures on the pay-roll for the last time in September 1581, his disappearance thereafter being almost certainly connected with the betrayal of John Payne. Elliot's evidence names 'Sheparde alias Chapman' amongst priests of his acquaintance, and clearly identifies him as 'a schoolmaster . . . who hathe spent a great tyme beyond the seas and well known to be a papiste, for I have bene some divers tymes at masse w<sup>th</sup> him at the ould lady Peters. This nathan teacheth Sir John his sonne his heyre, and lerneth him amongst other thinges suche prayers as papistes use.' According to Elliot Sheppard told him 'that if the Q. Ma<sup>tie</sup> by anye meanes were taken awaie, that the Q. of Scot'es should be Q. of England'. In the Essex Quarter Sessions Rolls Sheppard is styled 'of West Thorndon, yeoman' or 'schoolmaster'; he was first presented for recusancy at Michaelmas 1581, and indicted at Epiphany the following year.<sup>46</sup> As a consequence he appears to have fled the country or at least to have gone into hiding, for the authorities eventually gave up trying to apprehend him, his name disappearing from the writs after July 1585. Sheppard must have been an effective teacher, for his pupil still remembered him some thirty years later; the latter's accounts include gifts of 20s. to 'Nathan my ould schoole master' on 15 June 1609, 23 June 1611, and 21 September 1613, which suggests that, if Sheppard did flee abroad in the 1580s, he returned to England in his old age.<sup>47</sup>

The second of Petre's musical, yet troublesome, servants was John Bolt. He was born about 1563 of an Exeter family of some account, as his brother is reputed to have been a knight. According to Grattan Flood, he was a singer, virginalist and organist who lived at Court for three years, where 'Queen Elizabeth thought highly of him for his voice and skill in music'.<sup>48</sup> Bolt may also have been employed at St. Paul's cathedral, for in 1582 he received four pounds as a beneficiary of Sebastian Westcott's will; the appearance of his name after the bequest to the choristers, and in the middle of a list of other cathedral personnel, has given rise to the speculation that he was one of Westcott's deputy almoners.<sup>49</sup> Bolt first appears in Bentley's accounts for the period February/March 1586–7; he may well have just joined Petre's service then, for there is only one reference to him in that year, namely when he was repaid 12d. 'for somuche geven by him at my Maste<sup>rs</sup> commaundement amon-ges Shipboyes'. However, his position within the household had assumed greater importance by the year 1589–90, the accounts of which show him in frequent contact with Sir John, and responsible for substantial sums of cash. Although Bolt was undoubtedly employed primarily for his musical talents, he also had more general duties and spent long periods in London, probably as Petre's city agent. Indeed, apart from the one instance quoted on page 27, he appears to have had little to do with the family's establishments in Essex. If his presence was required there, he had to be summoned, as in 1590 when Edward Gray was paid 12d. 'for his Charges in ridinge up to London w<sup>th</sup> a horse for Jo: Bolte, to come downe upon y<sup>e</sup> first of Maye.' When Sir John was in town Bolt accompanied him everywhere, functioning as his personal servant and perhaps even as a bodyguard on his master's

<sup>45</sup> In November he bought two quires of paper at Brentwood for his pupil.

<sup>46</sup> Essex Record Office, Q/SR 78/46; 79/75; 79/100; 80/77 and 78. Clauses VI and VII of 'An Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their due Obedience' (23 Elizabeth I, c. 1) particularly targeted recusant schoolmasters.

<sup>47</sup> TA 174 and D/DP A33. See also 'Marian Priests in Essex', *Essex Recusant*, 4 pt. 1 (1962), 91–4 and A. C. F. Beales, 'A Biographical Catalogue of Catholic Schoolmasters in England from 1558 to 1700. Part 1: 1558–1603', *Recusant History*, 7 (1964), 268–89. For the career and religious affiliations of Sheppard's replacement, Kenelm Carter, see Briggs, 'William, 2nd Lord Petre (1575–1637)', *Essex Recusant*, 10 pt. 2 (1968), 51–64.

<sup>48</sup> *Grove* 5, i, 799–800. The source of his information is apparently the chronicle of St. Monica's, Convent, Louvain; see John Morris, *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers; First Series* (London 1872), 297–300. Bolt should not be confused with the John Bold who was parish clerk of St Botolph, Aldgate, between 1554 and midsummer 1563, nor with Richard Bold, the friend of the priest William Weston, who sheltered Fathers Garnet and Southwell on their arrival in England in 1586.

<sup>49</sup> PRO Prob 11/64, f. 99'; Trevor Lennam, *Sebastian Westcott, the Children of Paul's, and The Marriage of Wit and Science* (Toronto 1975), 24 and 28. Thomas Morley, who was once organist of St. Paul's, may have been thinking of Bolt when, in his *Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music* (1597), Polymathes attributes his skill in descant to the teaching of 'my master Bold', who 'ever had me in his company, and because he continually carried a plainsong book in his pocket he caused me to do the like, and so, walking in the fields, he would sing the plainsong and cause me sing the descant, and when I sung not to his contentment he would show me wherein I erred'; see Alec Harman ed., (London, 1953), 214.

nocturnal round of social and business engagements. In November 1589, for instance, he made payments 'for my *Maste*<sup>rs</sup> boatehire to Westminster y<sup>e</sup> xxvj<sup>th</sup> w<sup>th</sup> ij botes', and 'for a bushell of Oates for my *Maste*<sup>rs</sup> horses he beynge at M<sup>r</sup> Vizechamberlaines'. In December he gave a shilling 'fo<sup>r</sup> my *maste*<sup>rs</sup> botehire to M<sup>r</sup> Gorges howse *and from thence to y<sup>e</sup> iij cranes*'. He would also make occasional purchases on Sir John's behalf; most of these are of an unspecified nature, as in 'To John Bolte *per bill xij<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>*', though a few entries do refer to individual items such as lemons and viol strings. If Petre was in London at a time when his Aldersgate house had only a skeleton staff, it was customary for food to be sent down from Thorndon; occasionally, however, he would have to import meals, as in 1590 when Bolt was reimbursed 10s. 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. 'for *provicon of dyett bought into y<sup>e</sup> howse at London ye xix<sup>th</sup> and xx dayes of June for my Maste<sup>r</sup>*'. At such times Bolt was given money to dine in a local tavern.

Bolt makes his last appearance in the Petre accounts on 10 March 1593, when he bought prunes, currants and other provisions for the kitchen.<sup>50</sup> Just over a year later he was arrested with William Wiseman and others in a house in Golden Lane, London, which the authorities suspected was either a Mass centre or a safe house for Catholic conspirators. In the first of his three interrogations he states that 'he *serveth not any nor hathe doen this half yeare or moore, and dyd lastly serve S<sup>r</sup> John Peter and sythence hym not anye and was discharged out of his *servic about midsomer last past*'. Subsequently he went first 'into Warwicksher to M<sup>r</sup> Verney his howse to teach M<sup>r</sup> Bassettes children to syng and play on the virgynalles', and then to Finsbury Fields where he lodged with Morgan Robins. The week before his arrest had been spent at Braddocks, Mr Wiseman's house at Wimbish in Essex. Bolt had a number of seditious books about his person when he was seized; one of them, Robert Southwell's long poem *St. Peter's Complaynt*, had been borrowed from Mr Wiseman; another, 'conteynyng matter of Campion', had been copied from a manuscript belonging to Harry Souche, who was now reported to be 'beyond the sea'.<sup>51</sup> In the course of his second examination on 21 March, Bolt confessed 'that certeine leaves conteynenge *divers and many verses beginninge* "Why do I use my paper penne and Inke" etc. and endinge thus "to Jesus name which such a manne did raise" is all of his owne hand wrytinge', again copied from an exemplar provided by Souche.<sup>52</sup> At his third interview later that day, Bolt said he had not been to church for two years and had not communicated for seven. He would neither tell who had reconciled him to Catholicism nor answer questions about his actions in the event of an invasion by the Pope or the king of Spain.<sup>53</sup>*

For details of Bolt's subsequent fate we are dependent upon the anecdotal chronicle of St. Monica's convent, Louvain. Apparently the infamous Topcliffe intended to torture him, but through the intercession of Lady Penelope Rich, who had known him at Court, he was released and enabled to retire to the Continent. He spent some time at the College at St. Omers, then moved to the English Benedictine Convent at Brussels, 'to help their music, which hath been so famous'. After three years he joined the English Benedictines at St Gregory's monastery at Douai, where he assumed the alias of Johnson and became a novice. He later moved to Douai College, and was ordained priest in 1605. For some years he lived in the diocese of Cambrai; then in 1613, whilst on a visit to Louvain to attend the profession of Sister Magdalen Throckmorton at St Monica's, he was persuaded by the prioress, Jane Wiseman, to become chaplain and organist to the convent. There he remained till his death on 3 August 1640.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> D/DP A29.

<sup>51</sup> Presumably this was a copy of one of the many books written in protest at Edmund Campion's execution in 1581.

<sup>52</sup> This poem on Campion's martyrdom has been attributed to Henry Walpole. The first stanza only was set by Byrd, though the song was printed in his 1588 collection with two additional stanzas not taken from Walpole's poem.

<sup>53</sup> See PRO SP12/248 nos. 37-9, and *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1591-1594* (London 1867), 467.

<sup>54</sup> See Philip Caraman (trans.), *John Gerard: The Autobiography of an Elizabethan* (London 1951) 227 *et passim*; Joseph Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, 5 vols. (London, c.1885) i, 256-7; Morris, *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers; First Series* (London, 1872), 297-300; *Catholic Record Society*, 3 (1906), 31.

The last member of the Petre household to demand our attention is John Bentley, the scribe of Mus. Sch. E. 423. He was probably born in Shudy Camps, Cambridgeshire, where his father, also called John, was a prosperous yeoman.<sup>55</sup> His service in the household of Sir William Petre began towards the end of 1554; on Saturday 10 November John Keyme recorded the costs of his livery, which included ‘Cotton for the ly[n]ing of bentlyes fryse coote . . . , ij yardes di[*midio*] of fustean for a deblett . . .’, and a yard and three quarters of kersey ‘for his hooose’.<sup>56</sup> From these quantities of cloth we can calculate that he was aged about nine or ten at the time. In the following December, Keyme paid 2s. 6d. ‘for a Cappe for bently’ and 18d. for two pairs of his shoes. Although Sir William was responsible for him *in loco parentis*, he was certainly not on a par with Petre’s other wards—John Gostwick, George Fermor and John Talbot. His status was more that of a page being groomed for his later role as personal servant to John Petre. Apart from Bentley’s food and clothing, Sir William had to provide for his education, and in this connection the following entry for Thursday 31 January 1555 may be of interest:

To m<sup>r</sup> bower m<sup>r</sup> of the Children of the Chapell for his paynes taken *with* Bentley and for his meate and drinke *with* hym to this day xl<sup>s</sup>

Was Richard Bower auditioning, or in some way preparing, the child for a chorister’s place in the Chapel Royal? This seems likely for three reasons. Apart from the purchase of another pair of shoes for Bentley in April, there are no further references to him in the Petre accounts until 1559; a period of service in the Queen’s chapel, where he would have received a first-class musical and general education, offers the best explanation for the prolonged absence of someone so young from the household. Secondly, we know from his will (see below) that Bentley possessed a large quantity of vocal and instrumental music in a variety of formats; for a servant, even of the highest rank, such a collection would be most unusual were the owner not an accomplished and well-rounded musician. Finally, some of the music in Mus. Sch. E. 423 was undoubtedly drawn from the repertory of the Chapel Royal during Queen Mary’s reign and the early part of Elizabeth’s; the manuscript has a much higher percentage of such pieces than, for example, Robert Dow’s partbooks, which are almost exactly contemporary and very similar with regard to layout and general content. Bentley’s training and first-hand knowledge of these works could account for their inclusion and the accuracy of his copies.

Keyme’s accounts suggest that Bentley was attached to the retinue of his young master as early as 1559. Even at the tender age of nine the latter’s passion for field-sports was already evident, and on Saturday 1 April Bentley paid 14d. ‘for a bracen bowle for m<sup>r</sup> John Petre viij<sup>d</sup>, for a bracer and shotinglove for hym vj<sup>d</sup>’.<sup>57</sup> The last entry relating to Bentley comes in the accounts for 1561, when he was reimbursed 5s. 2d. ‘for so moche by hym layde forth for wyer xvj<sup>d</sup> for the virginalles *with* vj<sup>d</sup> for a wrest for them xxij<sup>d</sup> two bookes of Isoppes fables in greeke and latten ij<sup>s</sup> two bookes of hunte<sup>rs</sup> tables xvj<sup>d</sup>’.<sup>58</sup>

On 5 October 1567, i.e. about a week before John Petre began his studies at the Middle Temple, John Bentley married Mary Murkecocke in Ingatestone church. Although she was never a member of the Petre household her name does appear occasionally in the accounts, often in connection with Lady Mary. The Ingatestone registers also record the baptism of the Bentleys’ first born, John, on 9 June 1569. In celebration of this happy event Petre paid 16s. 6d. ‘for ij sylver spones geven to Bentley his childe’; sadly the infant does not appear to have survived the early years of life, though five other children—George, Edward, Ann, Grisell and Mary—did grow to maturity.<sup>59</sup> This was a largish

<sup>55</sup> Bentley senior died in 1594. For his will, see P.R.O. Prob 11/84.

<sup>56</sup> D/DP A5.

<sup>57</sup> D/DP A8.

<sup>58</sup> D/DP A9.

<sup>59</sup> D/DP A17 June 1569: ‘Rewardes’. A daughter, Francis, baptized at West Horndon on 2 May 1578, also died young.

family for Bentley to have to support on a quarterly salary that remained fixed at 13s. 4d. for most of his working life. His emoluments were neither generous nor always paid punctually, as in 1569 when he had to wait till July for wages due to him at the Annunciation and Midsummer. Against this, however, one should weigh the large gratuities that he occasionally received from his master, including a New Year's gift of six shillings, and the fact that his board, lodging and livery were provided. More importantly, to compensate for their low salaries, Petre's top servants were granted leases on most generous terms. From at least September 1570, Bentley held a farm in Great Burstead called Blunts Walls. The lease was renewed in December 1585, and from it we learn that he paid only £9 10s. 10d. in annual rent, and rendered to Sir John '... one good sounde bore, well frankefedd mete for brawne of y<sup>e</sup> age of two yeares *and* upward, and Twentie good *and* sounde wethar shepe of Essex brede in their wooll of three yeares age *and* upward, and sixe fatt Capons . . . And further yeldyng the some of Twentie shillings . . . for all maner of Tythes'.<sup>60</sup> No doubt Bentley's son and heir, George, took most of the responsibility for the farm, for his father and mother were as often as not at Thorndon Hall. As late as 1589–90 Bentley was still receiving only 13s. 4d. per quarter, but by 1593–4 this had increased significantly to 33s. 4d. What is more, the same accounts disclose another perquisite attached to his employment with the Petres; under 'Annuities *and* Reprises' for December we read:

Fo<sup>r</sup> my sonne Edw. Bentley his half yeares exhibition ended at this feast of Christmas of my masters allowance towardes his mayntenance at Westmynster schoole 1<sup>s</sup>

Another contribution of fifty shillings towards Edward's school fees was made in the following June.<sup>61</sup>

Bentley died in the early days of 1597. The record of his burial in the Ingatestone parish register—'xxj<sup>o</sup> die Januarij sepultus fuit Johannes Bentley gen'—indicates that his station in life was considered by then to be 'generosus', i.e. that of a gentleman.<sup>62</sup> Indeed, his will, which was made on 5 June 1596 and proved on 26 February 1597, shows him to have been a man of considerable substance.<sup>63</sup> It begins by making suitable bequests to charity—ten shillings to the poor of both Ingatestone and Great Burstead, and twenty shillings at Shudy Camps, where a similar amount was to go towards the reparation of the parish church. He bequeathed to Mary 'my verie lovinge wife my lease *and* terme of yeares yet to come in the farme I hold of my verie good Maste<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup> John Petre knight called and knowen by y<sup>e</sup> name of Bluntes Walles in the *parishe* of Great Bursted . . . to maintaine herself *and* two children *with* all namelie Edward *and* Marie'.<sup>64</sup> He also gave her 'for the terme of her naturall life the severall yerelie rentes yssue *and* comynge out of *and* for my two Tenemen<sup>tes</sup> in Shudy Campes . . . called Huntes *and* Whitinges'. After her death these were to pass to George Bentley, who in addition was to have his father's gold ring and a couple of large chests. The next part of the will is quoted at length, not only because it attests to John Bentley's capabilities as a musician, but because it shows him to have been a well educated and cultured individual, with interests in a number of different areas. George was to receive:

. . . all my settes of songe bookes and songes in Rolles *and* my bookes for the virginalles, all the bookes he now hath in custodie, *and* Cowpers Dictionarie in ye large volume, Barrettes dictionarie, A Thomasius dictionarie *and* all other my dictionaries in greke or latten, or other languages whatsoever, Tullies Offices w<sup>th</sup> commentaries *and* all my bookes pertaingne to divinitie as well in Englishe as in Latten. And all other my bookes in Englishe written or printed whatsoever, w<sup>th</sup> my statute bookes *and* lawe bookes, one paier of virginalles, my mapps, and armes. . .

<sup>60</sup> D/DP E25: Lease Book 1572–1635, ff. 62<sup>v</sup>–63<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> For more on Edward's subsequent career, see J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 1922) Pt. 1, i, 137.

<sup>62</sup> D/DP 31/1/1.

<sup>63</sup> D/ABW 5/365.

<sup>64</sup> Edward was still a student at Cambridge, and Mary was only fifteen.



To his younger son, Edward, Bentley gave an enamel ring, a copy of Livy, and ‘all my bookes in laten or greke not before bequeathed to his brother George’. Presumably this last bequest represented a substantial library; otherwise there would have been a serious imbalance between the inheritances of the two brothers. Bentley did not forget his master and mistress:

Item I give *and* bequeath to the right worshipfull my singuler good Maste<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup> John Petre knight, my new bible in Laten in quarto of venice printe, ymprinted in the yeare of o<sup>r</sup> lord god 1587, w<sup>ch</sup> I doe b[e]seeche him to take as a small remembrance of me, not havinge anie better thinge to bestowe upon him, most humble desiring him *and* my good Ladie to be good to my wife *and* poor children, and to aide and asist them w<sup>th</sup> ther good advise *and* counsaill. And I give *and* bequeath to my said Ladie A verie fruitfull *and* plesante booke called the Instruction of a christian woman made by Lodovicus Vives; and twentie shillings in golde.

Finally, Bentley left the residue of his goods to George, whom he made his sole executor. Despite a lifetime of service to the Petres, there is nothing in his will, or more generally in his biography, to suggest that he was anything other than an dutiful member of the Anglican communion. Such a position would doubtless have set him apart from most of Sir John’s senior servants; even his son-in-law, Andrew Pease, who later performed for William, second Lord Petre, much the same duties as Bentley had carried out for Sir John, was presented for recusancy in 1626. But just as Pease’s obduracy was largely determined by William’s more militant attitude to religious observance, so Bentley’s stance may be seen as a loyal reflection of the less entrenched position adopted, at least outwardly, by his master.

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Warwick Edwards has demonstrated that the bibliographical structure of Mus. Sch. E. 423 is the result of the amalgamation of three, formerly discrete, sections or fascicles; each has its own system of contemporary numbering, and is separated from its neighbour by empty pages.<sup>65</sup> The absence of motets from the Tallis/Byrd *Cantiones* may indicate that they were already available in print by the time the collection was started, and this suggestion of a post-1575 date is confirmed by the evidence of the watermarks, six of which can be discerned. Type A consists of the bottom only of a long cartouche containing indecipherable lettering, and occurs on pages 1–2. Watermark B appears in the centre-right of the top margins, and consists of the letter B within a shield surmounted with a crown; beneath the escutcheon is a cartouche with the letters ACNOSG. However, this is an accurate description of the device as it occurs in one of the moulds only (e.g. page 247), for in the other the letter N is reversed and the left edge of the shield has buckled slightly due to upward pressure on that side of the cartouche (e.g. page 251); another state of this ‘twin’ was created when, in an attempt to correct the cartouche’s tilt, compensatory pressure was applied to its right which resulted in serious distortion of that side of the shield (page 275). Although not listed by Briquet, the device can be dated fairly precisely since all three ‘versions’ of the mark are to be found in the churchwardens’ accounts of St. Dunstan in the West, London, in documents from 1580 onwards.<sup>66</sup> Watermark C, which is very close to Briquet 13203 (Narbonne 1582), comprises the initials V I beneath a bunch of grapes with a stalk. Its unusual position in the outer corners of the top margin probably indicates that originally the paper was larger than that required for the partbook, and had to be trimmed before use. Watermark D appears in the top margin, centre-left, and consists of a cartouche with the

<sup>65</sup> ‘The Sources’, i, 111–8; Edwards’ perceptive account of the manuscript has served as the starting-point for the following discussion. The rather careless pagination of the collection, which dates from the turn of the century, has been further complicated by the recent separation of leaves originally glued together, and by a change of policy regarding blanks. The pagination given in the Index represents the situation as it currently stands; for more on these issues, see the excellent notes made by Dr Bruce Barker-Benfield during the course of the manuscript’s repair in 1985–6 (Bodleian Library, Refs. LVI 16).

<sup>66</sup> C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, ed. A. H. Stevenson (Amsterdam 1968); London, Guildhall Library, MS 2968/1, f. 324<sup>v</sup> *et passim*.

letters CSAVOIS beneath a fleur de lis, crowned; it is close to Briquet 7257 (Le Mans 1577), and is a device used by the Troyes paper-making family of Savoie. Pages 239c–240 present the only specimen of watermark E; all that is visible is a cartouche with lettering that appears to begin with VIN. . . Watermark F, which is similar to Briquet 8082 (Tréguier 1580), consists of the letter B within a shield beneath a crown; N LEBE appears in the cartouche below, and indicates that the paper came from the factory of Nicolas Le Bé at Troyes. Although the format of Mus. Sch. E. 423 is quarto, it is for the most part quired in eights. Normal gatherings of four leaves are the exception, and occur only at the end of sections and, more notably, at the beginning of the manuscript. This initial gathering, the first leaf of which has been replaced by two blank leaves pasted together, contains a group of five consort songs that must have been added sometime after 1586, since it begins with Byrd's two elegies for Sir Philip Sidney who died in that year. Certain calligraphic and bibliographical features confirm this as a late accretion to the main body of the collection: it uses lozenge-shaped note-heads, in contrast to the more rounded notation found elsewhere in the manuscript; it once had its own vellum wrapper, a fragment of which is still visible in the binding; and its watermark (type A) is peculiar to this gathering.

The second and third of the three main fascicles (pages 63–200 and 201–317), which contain mostly Latin vocal music in five and six part parts respectively, were undoubtedly started before the first. Their early quires use paper of type D, which probably indicates that Bentley worked on them concurrently, at least in the early stages. There is evidence to suggest, however, that they did not grow at the same pace. Warwick Edwards has drawn attention to the fact that the scribe changes from Roman to Arabic numerals as a means of indicating the number of voices required for each composition. This happens at different points in the collection; thus the six-part fascicle had doubtless been completed up to Byrd's first fantasia by the time the last five pieces of the second fascicle, and the last nine of the first, were copied. The paper in the six-part section shows a steady chronological progression from two eight-leaf gatherings of type D (c. 1577) to three of B (c. 1580) to one of F (c. 1580) to one of C (c. 1582).<sup>67</sup> The four Byrd motets with which the section begins are relatively early works, though they were not published until 1591. Most of the pieces that follow are decidedly old-fashioned, and would have been available for immediate inclusion by the time Bentley began the copying process in c. 1577. However, the dates 1568 and 1570, appended respectively to Tye's *In quo corrigit* and White's *Magnificat*, are somewhat puzzling since stylistic considerations rule them out as dates of composition, and clearly they cannot refer to copying-dates, at least so far as Mus. Sch. E. 423 is concerned. It seems likely, therefore, that they were carried over by Bentley from his exemplar.

The gradual chronological sequence of papers observed in the third fascicle does not recur in the second, where there is a sudden shift from five eights of type D (c. 1577) to three eights and a four of type C (c. 1582). The sections also differ in the pattern of their compilation. Whereas the six-part fascicle consists of four Byrd motets followed by a large quantity of older music, the five-part section basically comprises a steady stream of Byrd motets that is punctuated first by a selection of Henrician and Marian items, then by a varied group of instrumental pieces, and finally by a cell of four *In nomine*s. The single-mindedness of Bentley's endeavour is truly impressive; of the motets that eventually appeared as Byrd's 1589 *Cantiones* only one—*Defecit in dolore*—is missing, and that, as Kerman has suggested, was probably composed expressly for the publication.<sup>68</sup> It is almost as if Bentley had access to the pieces as they were being written, for their succession follows in broad outline the chronology proposed for them by Kerman; while waiting for the next group to become available, the scribe would apparently turn his attention to other genres and/or composers. Although there is no documentary evidence to link Byrd with the Petres before 1581, they must surely have been acquainted earlier, perhaps even as early as the late 1570s. It was almost certainly their regular contact over subsequent years that enabled Bentley to accumulate such a comprehensive collection of the composer's motets in their pre-publication versions.

<sup>67</sup> The final four-leaf gathering of type B is empty, and was doubtless added much later.

<sup>68</sup> Joseph Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd* (London, 1981), 128.

As a copyist Bentley produces work of high quality with a consistency that makes his occasional aberrations seem all the more remarkable.<sup>69</sup> Perhaps the most serious of these lapses occurs on pages 151–4 where he fails to discriminate between what appear to be three quite unrelated compositions—Mundy’s two-verse setting of *Sermone blando*, a *Gloria patri* and a piece entitled *Te iure laudant*—all of which are textless except for their *incipits*. His normal practice of ending one work with a double bar and beginning the next on a new stave is here suspended, and the pieces follow each other in unbroken succession with single bar lines only articulating the constituent parts of the musical continuum. The scribe is in fact no more emphatic in distinguishing between the three separate entities than he is in marking the internal, bipartite division of Mundy’s consort hymn. Add to this the fact that all three works have F as their tonal centre and a B flat key signature, and it is easy to understand how they have come to be regarded as subdivisions of the same multisectional composition.<sup>70</sup> This was evidently how Bentley himself perceived them, since they are all subsumed under the same running number. However, *Sermone blando*—a hymn sung from Low Sunday until Ascension Day—can have little to do with *Te iure laudant*—an antiphon sung at Lauds on the feast of the Holy Trinity and on other occasions with *Quicumque vult* at Prime.<sup>71</sup> The connection between *Sermone blando* and *Gloria patri* is equally dubious. The latter cannot be the opening words of the hymn’s doxology which, according to the Sarum service books, begins ‘Gloria tibi, Domine’; furthermore, its music does not fit convincingly with the plainsong *cantus firmus* on which the other verses of Mundy’s setting are based. Little wonder, then, that the concordances of *Sermone blando* preserve no more than those two verses. An overly submissive attitude to the authority of his exemplar is perhaps responsible for such deficiencies as there are in Bentley’s work, and his adoption here of a layout that minimizes the independence of items to the point that they almost coalesce is so extraneous to the *modus operandi* of the rest of his collection that it must surely be a feature he imported from his source.

It is safe to assume that the first fascicle (pp. 7–62) was started after the other two, since the paper of the opening quire is of type B. Its structure is reminiscent of the second section in that groups of older pieces alternate with concentrations of Byrd’s music. Despite the opening group of anthems, the emphasis now is on secular song. Byrd later published many of these pieces in *Psalmes, Sonets & Songs* (1588) and *Songs of sundrie natures* (1589) with text-underlay in all parts; here they are preserved in their pre-publication, consort versions.<sup>72</sup> The first cluster of Byrd items ends with the Campion elegy *Why do I use my paper*, by which point the year 1581 must have been reached. Bentley probably copied the next group of songs from exemplars he acquired during his period of residence with Petre at the Middle Temple; Nicholas Strogers, the composer of *O heavenly God*, was parish clerk at the nearby church of St. Dunstan in the West from 1564 to 1575, and the other pieces may well be stage songs taken from the productions of the London choir-boy companies. In the second group of Byrd songs, the misattribution of *I thought that Love had been a boy* to the mysterious ‘Mr Ballarde’ is conspicuous in a collection that has been admired almost as much for the reliability of its ascriptions as for the clarity and accuracy of its readings. Bentley is usually highly responsible in such matters, and where there is doubt about a work’s authorship he is content to leave it unattributed, as in the case of *Sponsus amat sponsam* (p. 166), which is preserved in ‘decent anonymity’, as Kerman puts it.<sup>73</sup> ‘Mr Ballarde’ is presumably to be identified with the ‘Gregorie Ballarde’ who composed the instrumental piece entitled ‘The poynte’ on pages 154–5. A vicar choral of that name appeared before the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield cathedral on 15 April 1558, and was given a first

<sup>69</sup> If he accidentally omitted a passage, he would insert a caret in the text and make good the defect on an extra stave at the bottom of the page; see, for instance, ‘Constant Penelope’ on pages 4–5. To improve the look of his anthology, however, he later recopied these pages incorporating the corrections and pasted them over the offending pages; this happened once in Byrd’s *Recordare Domine*, and twice in the course of Sheppard’s *Magnificat*. These added leaves, which were intended to replace pages 135c, 239b and 241c, are now sewn onto their own guards.

<sup>70</sup> See *Elizabethan Consort Music: I* (Musica Britannica 44), 189.

<sup>71</sup> See F. Procter and C. Wordsworth eds., *Breviarium ad usum ... Sarum*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1879–86) i, col. mlv *et passim*.

<sup>72</sup> These manuscript versions have been edited by Philip Brett in The Byrd Edition 16.

<sup>73</sup> *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd*, 57; British Library, Add. MS 32,377 ascribes it to Byrd, while Tenbury MS 389 and the ‘McGhie’ partbook cannot decide between Byrd and Alphonso Ferrabosco the elder.

warning about conducting himself more soberly as much within the close and city as anywhere else.<sup>74</sup> It is interesting to speculate as to how the name of an obscure Staffordshire musician should come to figure twice in a manuscript of undoubted Essex provenance. The vicars choral of Lichfield did not confine their musical activities to the singing of divine service in the cathedral, for we know from the household accounts of Thomas, third Lord Paget of Beaudesert, that he extended hospitality to them at various times during 1580, presumably when they came to entertain him and his guests. Paget was deeply interested in music, and it comes as no surprise to find that the 'Mr Byrd' who lunched and dined at his Burton residence from 7 to 15 August 1580 has been identified with the composer.<sup>75</sup> The names 'Ballard' and 'Byrd', with their letters 'B', 'r' and 'd' in equivalent positions, could quite easily be confused, and it may therefore have been in the context of Paget's music-making that uncertainty about the authorship of the song arose, with the final decision naturally favouring the local musician.<sup>76</sup> The piece with its erroneous ascription could then have been transmitted southwards to Bentley along any one of a number of channels within the 'Catholic network', for the Pagets and the Petres had many friends in common, including Ralph Sheldon and the Giffards of Chillington, not to mention the dowager Lady Paget (d. 1587), who had a house in Fleet Street and who was John Petre's godmother.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, Thomas Paget had lodgings in the London Charterhouse, where he kept an organ which was maintained by Robert Brough; John, who of course played tennis there, may even have acquired the song directly from Paget after a game. All contact between them, however, must have ceased after November 1583, when Paget's implication in the Throckmorton Plot forced him to flee to France.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>74</sup> 'xv<sup>to</sup> die mensis Aprilis Anno predicto presentibus in capitulo magistris Decano Cumberford Dudley walker bolt et Draycott et capitulum facientes comparuit gregorius ballarde vicarius choralis quem idem decanus et capitulum monuerunt que decetero se honestius gerat tam infra clausum et Civitatem Lich' quam Alia loca publica seu privata quocumque etc. et hoc est prima monicio etc.' Lichfield Joint Record Office; Chapter Acts 1523–1560 (D 30/2/1/4 f. 163<sup>v</sup>). Ballard was apparently still alive in 1598; see ed. D. G. Vaisey, *Probate Inventories of Lichfield and District 1569–1680 (Collections for a History of Staffordshire, 4th Series)*, v (1969), 45.

<sup>75</sup> Christopher Harrison, 'William Byrd and the Pagets of Beaudesert: a musical connection', *Staffordshire Studies*, 3 (1990–91), 51–63. Thomas Paget, who retained his loyalty to the Church of Rome, was among the composer's chief patrons from c.1575 to the early 1580s. Apart from his Staffordshire mansions, he maintained a large house at West Drayton in Middlesex which appears to have served as a rallying centre for Catholics. In the 'London' section of a document in the Public Record Office which supplies 'The names of certain parsons who be great frendes and ayders of those beyond the Seas' (c.1580), we read '... M<sup>r</sup> Byrde at m<sup>r</sup> Listers his howse over against S<sup>t</sup> Dunstons or at the L<sup>d</sup> Padgettes howse in Draughton' (SP 12/146 item 137). From at least 1577 the Byrds were living conveniently close in Harlington, which is only a couple of miles to the south east.

<sup>76</sup> Incidentally, a John Ballard was bailiff not only to the vicars choral of Lichfield, but also to Thomas Paget; see Staffordshire Record Office, Paget Papers: D 1734/3/3/277 f. 12, D 1734/3/3/278 f. 10<sup>v</sup>, and Lichfield Joint Record Office D30/VC/C2 (John Ballard's account book for 1583, unfoliated).

<sup>77</sup> A 'Mr Gifford' was a frequent guest at the Paget house in Burton during the summer of 1580.

<sup>78</sup> Byrd's association with the Pagets and with another of the alleged conspirators—the Earl of Northumberland—led to his interrogation by the Lords of the Council; see William Parry's letter of 22 February 1584 to Charles Paget in Paris (PRO SP 12/168, item 23). The Paget accounts offer other possible musical identifications. The John Strawbridge, who appears as a member of the household in the 1570s, may be the composer of a *Dum transisset* setting in *GB-Och Mus.* 979–83 (no. 11). The scribe of that collection, John Baldwin, could have had access to Paget manuscripts during its compilation, for St George's Chapel, Windsor, where he was employed as a lay clerk, is but a short distance from West Drayton. A list of 'Priests and Recusants lately committed', dated 10 March 1587, contains the name of 'John Grene alias White alias Strawbridge a Seminary prieste who hath for two yeres laste paste frequented the houses of many Recusantes & hath done muche harme aboute London & is very obstinate'. He was apparently confined in the Wood Street Counter; see J. H. Pollen, 'Official Lists of Catholic Prisoners during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth: Part ii 1581–1602', *Catholic Record Society II: Miscellanea*, 2 (1906), 276–8. References to another musician named Laecke, Leacke or Lacke—apparently a man well stricken in years—occur regularly in the Paget accounts for 1579–80:

'Item givenn in rewarde per my La[dy's] comaundmen<sup>t</sup> the seconde of Marche 1579 [i.e. 1580] to olde father  
Laecke y<sup>c</sup> Mussisscionn

ij<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup>  
(Staffordshire Record Office: D(W) 1734/3/3/279)

This is possibly the former royal harper Edward Lake, who received an annuity of 12d. a day for life in consideration of his service to Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary Tudor; see *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Philip and Mary*, ii, 221.

The only other blemish on Bentley's reputation for accurate ascriptions is not particularly contentious and involves the *Magnificat* which he credits both before and after the setting to 'Mr William White'; this, despite the scribe's insistence, is without question the work of Robert White. The spurious christian name may have been interpolated in circumstances not dissimilar to those surrounding the 'Ballard/Byrd' controversy discussed above, i.e. the manuscript that served Bentley as exemplar could have belonged to Thomas Paget, and its scribe may well have been influenced in his attribution by knowledge of a local musician. This speculation derives some support from the records of the Court of King's Bench where, among the Middlesex indictments found at Michaelmas 1583, there is a *billa vera* against a William White of Uxbridge, 'musician', for being a 'common barrator'. One might reasonably expect Paget to have known, or even employed, a musician living only two or three miles to the north of West Drayton, and it is possible that one of his lordship's scribes, having copied a work attributed merely to 'Mr White' in his source, attached William's name to it in a misguided attempt to explicate matters.<sup>79</sup>

It is impossible to say exactly when the three fascicles of the collection and its introductory quire were brought together and bound in the form we know today, but the following entry from Bentley's accounts for 1589 may offer a clue. Under 'Charges of yeomans stable' for October we read:

To Ellwood smythe of great Warley the xv<sup>th</sup> daye for a markynge iron w<sup>th</sup> I·P· to marke ye furniture  
w<sup>th</sup> all ijj<sup>d</sup>

Such labelling was doubtless made necessary by the family's temporary move to Ingatestone during the re-building of Thorndon Hall, and Mus. Sch. E. 423 and its companions may have been emblazoned at the same time as the rest of Petre's household goods; certainly 1589 as a date for the binding is consistent with the internal evidence of the anthology. Petre also owned Essex Record Office MSS D/DP Z6/1 and D/DP Z6/2—unfortunately, like Mus. Sch. E. 423, the sole survivors of two different sets of partbooks; both have his full name stamped on their contemporary calf bindings. They are in the hand of the Paston lute books, so Bentley can have had little to do with their compilation, though D/DP Z6/1 and Mus. Sch. E. 423 do have some repertoire in common.<sup>80</sup> It has not been possible to ascertain how or when the Music School at Oxford acquired Bentley's partbooks.<sup>81</sup> They were apparently missing from Petre's library as early as 1608, for the inventory of his music and instruments which Richard Mico drew up in that year at the behest of Lady Katherine mentions only one manuscript item—a 'Sett of 3. 4. 5. and 6 parts w<sup>ch</sup> are thicke bookes w<sup>th</sup> red Covers not printed but prict'. This cannot be taken as proof positive, however, for although Mus. Sch. E. 423 does not answer the above description, neither do D/DP Z6/1 or Z6/2 which are known to have been in the family's possession until 1938. One must therefore allow for the possibility that Mico's catalogue was not exhaustive.<sup>82</sup> Another inventory was made on 28 June 1615, when the music books and instruments were delivered into the charge of John Oker. This mentions other Byrd publications not on the first list, such as a 'sett named Sacrarum cantionum of 5 parts' [1589], and '. . . An other sett of bookes of 5 and 6 parts dedicated to my lord Lumley' [*Cantiones sacrae* (1591)]. There are also two manuscript sets, of which one, in '3. 4. 5. and 6 parts', is doubtless the same as that referred to above, and the other is a 'sett of prict bookes w<sup>th</sup> Black lether Covers of 5 parts'. Again, the latter cannot be

<sup>79</sup> PRO KB9/658, Part 1 (25–26 Eliz. I [Michaelmas 1583]), m. 52 and KB29/219, rot. 16d. Among the accounts of Robert (later 3rd Baron) Petre are references to 'Willie White' and 'White the Musitian'; see D/DP A 40, which begins in 1621.

<sup>80</sup> See Philip Brett, 'Edward Paston (1550–1630): A Norfolk gentleman and his musical collection', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, iv pt. 1 (1954), 61–9, and Edwards, 'The Sources', i, 169–70 *et passim*; the index to D/DP Z6/1 given by E. H. Fellowes in the *Appendix to Tudor Church Music* (London 1948) should be treated with caution.

<sup>81</sup> Very little can be deduced from Margaret Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', *Music & Letters*, 48 (1967), 23–34.

<sup>82</sup> D/DP E2/1; the list also includes '2 Setts of Mr Birds books Intituled Gradualia, the first and second Sett, . . . one other Sett of Mr Birds bookes contayninge Songs of 3. 4. 5. and 6 parts' [*Psalmes, Sonets & Songs* (1588)].

identified with any of Petre's known collections.<sup>83</sup> Although Byrd's four prints of 1588, 1589 and 1591 are mentioned only in these seventeenth century inventories, Petre would surely have acquired them shortly after their publication, and once they had appeared in his library Bentley's manuscript collection, which duplicates so much of their contents, would have been rendered largely redundant. Mus. Sch. E. 423 and the other partbooks of the set, therefore, may well have changed hands early in the last decade of the sixteenth century, Petre perhaps making a gift of them to the Giffards during some unrecorded visit.\*

**INDEX TO *GB-Ob* MUS. SCH. E. 423**

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|--------------------|-----------|------------|-------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| I <sup>4-1+2</sup> | A         |            | 1           | O that most rare breast            | 5 voc              | Medius [Byrd]           |
|                    |           |            | 3           | [\$Come to me grief]               |                    | Byrd                    |
|                    |           |            | 3           | Truce for a time                   |                    | Byrd                    |
|                    |           |            | 4           | §Constant Penelope                 |                    | Byrd                    |
|                    |           |            | 5           | §In fields broad                   |                    | Byrd                    |
| II <sup>8</sup>    | B         |            |             | v voc & vj yf yo <sup>u</sup> will |                    |                         |
|                    |           |            | 1           | 7 Deliver me from mine enemies     | Ct                 | R. Parsons <sup>1</sup> |
|                    |           |            | 2           | 8 Holy Lord God almighty           | v voc Ct           | R. Parsons              |
|                    |           |            | 3           | 11 O sing unto the Lord            | vj voc Ct          | Tallis                  |
|                    |           |            | 4           | 14 Haste Thee, O God               | v voc Ct           | Sheppard                |
|                    |           |            | 5           | 18 Almighty God, whose kingdom     | vj voc Ct          | Heath                   |
| III <sup>8</sup>   | C         |            | 6           | 21-3 Lord, how are they increased  | vj voc 2Ct         | Sheppard                |
|                    |           |            |             | 23                                 |                    |                         |
|                    |           |            | 7           | 24 Help us, O God <sup>2</sup>     | 6 voc Tenor Decany | Byrd                    |

<sup>83</sup> D/DP E2/8.

\* I owe a debt of thanks to Professor Philip Brett who commented on an early draft of this article with awesome thoroughness and promptitude.

Plate 1 is reproduced by kind permission of the Essex Record Office and Plates 2a and 2b by kind permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

<sup>1</sup> 'Mr Robart Parsons of the Chappell'.

<sup>2</sup> 'Arise O Lord Secunda Pars'.

§ = consort version

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|                 |           | 8                 | 24              | If in thine heart                   | vj voc Tenor primus | Byrd                    |
|                 |           | 9                 | 26 <sup>3</sup> | Blessed are those that be undefiled | v voc Ct            | Tallis                  |
|                 |           | 10                | 31              | \$Susanna fair                      | v voc Ct            | [Byrd]                  |
|                 |           | 11                | 32              | Ah, golden hairs                    | v voc Ct            | Byrd                    |
|                 |           | 12                | 32              | O God, but God                      | v voc Ct            | Byrd                    |
|                 |           | 13                | 34              | \$O you that hear this voice        | v voc Ct            | Byrd                    |
|                 |           | 14                | 34              | O Lord, how vain                    | v voc Ct            | [Byrd]                  |
|                 |           | 15                | 35              | Lord, to thee I make my moan        | v voc Ct            | Byrd                    |
|                 |           | 16                | 35              | O that we woeful wretches           | v voc Ct            | [Byrd]                  |
|                 |           | 17                | 36              | \$Where Fancy fond                  |                     | Byrd                    |
|                 |           | 18                | 37              | \$Why do I use                      |                     | [Byrd]                  |
|                 |           | 19                | 38              | Not she                             | v voc Ct            | anon.                   |
|                 |           | 20                | 38–9            | O heavenly God                      | v voc Ct            | Stroggers               |
| IV <sup>8</sup> | C         | 21                | 39              | What time, Ulysses                  | v voc Ct            | anon.                   |
|                 |           | 22                | 40              | What bred the woeful fall           |                     | Parsons                 |
|                 |           | 23                | 40              | My troubled thoughts                |                     | anon.                   |
|                 |           | 24                | 40              | If fraudless faith                  |                     | anon.                   |
|                 |           | 25                | 41              | When I look back                    |                     | Parsons                 |
|                 |           | 26                | 41              | The griping griefs                  |                     | anon.                   |
|                 |           | 27                | 42              | \$Lullala lullaby                   | v voc Ct            | Byrd                    |
|                 |           | 28                | 43              | \$Christ rising                     | vj voc Ct           | Byrd                    |
|                 |           | 29                | 46              | \$Who likes to love                 | 5 voc Ct            | Byrd                    |
|                 |           | [30] <sup>4</sup> | 47              | \$Though Amarillis                  | 5 voc Ct            | Byrd                    |
|                 |           | 31                | 48              | \$My mind to me a kingdom is        | 5 voc Ct            | Byrd                    |
|                 |           | [31a]             | 48              | As Caesar wept                      |                     | Byrd                    |
|                 |           | 32                | 49              | \$When first by force               | 5 voc Ct            | Byrd                    |
|                 |           | 33                | 50              | \$I thought that Love               | 5 voc Ct            | Ballard<br>(recte Byrd) |
|                 |           | 34                | 50              | \$I joy not in no earthly bliss     |                     | Byrd                    |
|                 |           | 35                | 51              | \$La virginella                     | 5 voc Ct            | Byrd                    |
|                 |           | [36]              | 52              | O happy thrice                      | 5 voc Ct            | Byrd                    |
|                 |           |                   | 53–4            | ruled but empty                     |                     |                         |
| V <sup>4</sup>  | C         |                   | 55–62           | ruled but empty                     |                     |                         |

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| VI <sup>8</sup> | D         | 1          | 63          | Aspice Domine de sede     | v voc Ct  | Byrd            |
|                 |           | 2          | 65          | Ne irascaris              | v voc 2Ct | Byrd            |
|                 |           | 3          | 67          | Domine, prestolamur       | v voc 2Ct | Byrd            |
|                 |           | 4          | 70          | Levemus corda nostra      | v voc Ct  | Byrd            |
|                 |           | 5          | 72          | Ne perdas cum impiis      | v voc Ct  | Byrd            |
|                 |           | 6          | 74          | Sive vigilem              | v voc Ct  | W. Mundy        |
|                 |           | 7          | 75          | O Domine, adiuva me       | Ct        | Byrd            |
|                 |           | 8          | 77          | Memento, Domine           | v voc Ct  | Byrd            |
|                 |           | 9          | 78–80       | Omni tempore benedic Deum | v voc 2Ct | Byrd            |

<sup>3</sup> Pages 28–9 are ruled but empty.<sup>4</sup> Items in square brackets are unnumbered by the scribe.

\$ = consort version

| <i>Quire</i>      | <i>Wm</i> | <i>No.</i>       | <i>Page</i>        | <i>Title</i>                   |                            | <i>Composer</i>      |              |
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| VII <sup>8</sup>  | D         |                  | 79                 |                                |                            |                      |              |
|                   |           |                  | 10                 | 80                             | Tristitia et anxietas      | v voc 2Ct            | Byrd         |
|                   |           |                  | 11                 | 83                             | Domine, exaudi ... inclina | v voc 2Ct            | [Byrd]       |
|                   |           |                  | 12                 | 86                             | Mirabile misterium         | v voc 2Ct            | Ferrabosco I |
|                   |           |                  | 13                 | 88                             | Peccavi super numerum      | v voc 2T             | Byrd         |
|                   |           |                  | 14                 | 90                             | Tribulationes civitatum    | v voc 2Ct            | Byrd         |
| VIII <sup>8</sup> | D         | 15               | 93–5               | [Mater Christi] Virgo sacrata  | v voc 2Ct                  | Taverner             |              |
|                   |           | 95               |                    |                                |                            |                      |              |
|                   |           | 16               | 96                 | Salve intemerata               | v voc Ct                   | Tallis               |              |
|                   |           | 17               | 102                | Gaude plurimum                 | v voc Ct                   | Taverner             |              |
| IX <sup>8</sup>   | D         | 18               | 108–11             | [Magnificat] Et exultavit (I)  | v voc 2Ct*                 | W. Mundy             |              |
|                   |           | 19               | 111                | [Magnificat] Et exultavit (II) | v voc 2B*                  | W. Mundy             |              |
|                   |           | 20               | 116                | [Magnificat] Et exultavit      | v voc Ct*                  | Taverner             |              |
|                   |           | 21               | 120                | Gaude virgo mater Christi      | v voc 2Ct*                 | W. Mundy             |              |
| X <sup>8+1</sup>  | D         | 22               | 123–7              | [Miserere mei] Et in umbra     | v voc B*                   | Tye                  |              |
|                   |           | 23               | 127                | Ave Dei Patris                 | v voc Ct                   | Taverner             |              |
|                   |           | 24               | 132                | Tribulatio proxima est         | v voc 2Ct                  | Byrd                 |              |
|                   |           | 25               | 134                | Recordare Domine               | v voc T                    | Byrd                 |              |
|                   |           | 26               | 137                | O quam gloriosum               | v voc Ct                   | Byrd                 |              |
| XI <sup>8</sup>   | C         | 27               | 140–6 <sup>5</sup> | Manus tuae fecerunt me         | v voc Ct                   | White                |              |
|                   |           |                  |                    | 145                            |                            |                      |              |
|                   |           | 28               | 146                | De la court                    | v voc Ct                   | R. Parsons           |              |
|                   |           | 29               | 149                | Browning                       | v voc Ct                   | Byrd                 |              |
|                   |           | 30               | 151                | Sermone blando                 | v voc Ct                   | W. Mundy             |              |
|                   |           | [30a]            | 152                | Gloria patri                   |                            | anon.                |              |
|                   |           | [30b]            | 153                | Te iure laudant                |                            | anon.                |              |
|                   |           | 31               | 154                | The point                      | v voc Ct                   | Ballard <sup>6</sup> |              |
|                   |           | 32               | 155                | Apparebit in finem             | v voc Ct                   | Byrd                 |              |
|                   |           | 33               | 157                | Audivi vocem ... dicentem      | v voc Ct                   | Byrd                 |              |
|                   |           | 34               | 158                | Haec dicit Dominus             | v voc 2Ct                  | [Byrd]               |              |
|                   |           | 35               | 160–2              | Domine, tu iurasti             | v voc 2Ct                  | Byrd                 |              |
|                   |           | XII <sup>8</sup> | C                  |                                |                            | 161                  |              |
| 36                | 162       |                  |                    | Exurge, Domine                 | v voc 2Ct                  | [Byrd]               |              |
| 37                | 164       |                  |                    | Laetentur caeli                | v voc 2Ct                  | Byrd                 |              |
| 38                | 166       |                  |                    | Sponsus amat sponsam           |                            | anon.                |              |
| 39                | 166       |                  |                    | Circumdedederunt me            | v voc Ct                   | Byrd                 |              |
| 40                | 167       |                  |                    | Vide, Domine, afflictionem     | v voc Ct                   | Byrd                 |              |
| 41                | 170       |                  |                    | Benigne fac, Domine            | v voc 2Ct                  | Byrd                 |              |
| 42                | 171       |                  |                    | In resurrectione tua           | v voc 2Ct                  | Byrd                 |              |
| 43                | 172       |                  |                    | [Christe qui lux es] Precamur  | v voc 2Ct                  | White                |              |
| 44                | 173       |                  |                    | Amavit                         | v voc 2Ct                  | Tye                  |              |
| 45                | 174       |                  |                    | Ad punctum in modico           | v voc 1B                   | Byrd                 |              |
| 46                | 176–7     |                  |                    | Domine, secundum multitudinem  | v voc Ct                   | Byrd                 |              |
| XIII <sup>8</sup> | C         | 47               | 177                | Deus venerunt gentes           | v voc Ct                   | Byrd                 |              |
|                   |           | 48               | 180                | In nomine                      | v voc Ct                   | Poynt                |              |
|                   |           | 49               | 181                | In nomine                      | v voc Ct                   | Tye                  |              |
|                   |           | 50               | 182                | In nomine                      | v voc Ct                   | Byrd                 |              |

<sup>5</sup> The pagination omitted the numbers 143–4; the last leaf of quire X is now paginated '141' [recto] and '142–4' [verso].

<sup>6</sup> 'Gregorie Ballarde'.

\* 'for men'



| <i>Quire</i>        | <i>Wm</i> | <i>No.</i> | <i>Page</i> | <i>Title</i>                    |             | <i>Composer</i>          |
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|                     |           | 52         | 184         | Ave Maria                       | v voc 2Ct   | Parsons                  |
|                     |           | 53         | 186         | Vias tuas, Domine               | 5 voc T     | Ferrabosco I             |
|                     |           | 54         | 187         | Miserere mei, Deus              | 5 voc [T]   | Byrd                     |
|                     |           | 55         | 189         | Vigilate nescitis enim          | 5 voc 2T    | Byrd                     |
|                     |           | 56         | 191–3       | Salve regina                    | 5 voc Ct    | Byrd                     |
| XIV <sup>4</sup>    | C         |            | 193         |                                 |             |                          |
|                     |           | 57         | 194         | Quis est homo                   | 5 voc Ct    | Byrd                     |
|                     |           |            | 197–200     | ruled but empty                 |             |                          |
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| XV <sup>8</sup>     | D         | 1          | 201         | Infelix ego                     | vj voc 2Ct  | Byrd                     |
|                     |           | 2          | 206         | Cunctis diebus                  | vj voc 2Ct  | Byrd                     |
|                     |           | 3          | 208         | Afflicti pro peccatis           | vj voc 1T   | Byrd                     |
|                     |           | 4          | 209         | Descendit de coelis             | vj voc 1T   | Byrd                     |
|                     |           | 5          | 210         | Gaude gloriosa Dei mater        | vj voc 2Ct  | Tallis                   |
|                     |           | 6          | 216–9       | Gaude virgo christipera         | vj voc 2Ct  | Sheppard                 |
| XVI <sup>8</sup>    | D         |            | 217         |                                 |             |                          |
|                     |           | 7          | 220         | In quo corrigit                 | vj voc 2Ct  | Tye <sup>7</sup>         |
|                     |           | 8          | 222         | Domine, quis habitabit (II)     | vj voc 1B   | White                    |
|                     |           | 9          | 224         | Anima Christi                   | vj voc 2Ct  | W. Parsons <sup>8</sup>  |
|                     |           | 10         | 227         | Eruclavit cor meum              | vj voc B    | W. Mundy                 |
|                     |           | 11         | 231–3c      | [Magnificat] Et exultavit       | vj voc 2Ct  | Whitbroke                |
| XVII <sup>8+2</sup> | B         |            | 233a        |                                 |             |                          |
|                     |           | 12         | 234         | [Magnificat] Et exultavit       | vj voc 2Ct  | Taverner                 |
|                     |           | 13         | 238         | [Magnificat] Et exultavit       | vj voc 2Ct  | Sheppard                 |
|                     |           | 14         | 242         | [Magnificat] Et exultavit       | vj voc 2Ct  | White <sup>9</sup>       |
|                     |           | 15         | 245         | [Magnificat] Et exultavit       | vj voc 2Ct  | R. Parsons <sup>10</sup> |
| XVIII <sup>8</sup>  | B         |            | 247         |                                 |             |                          |
|                     |           | 16         | 250         | [Magnificat] Et exultavit (I)   | vj voc 2Ct  | Tye                      |
|                     |           | 17         | 253         | [Magnificat] Et exultavit (II)  | vj voc 2Ct  | Tye                      |
|                     |           | 18         | 257         | Ave caput Christi               | vj voc 2Ct  | Tye                      |
|                     |           | 19         | 261–7       | Domine Deus caelestis           | vj voc 2Ct  | Tye                      |
| XIX <sup>8</sup>    | B         |            | 263         |                                 |             |                          |
|                     |           | 20         | 268         | Domine, non est exaltatum       | vj voc 2Ct  | White                    |
|                     |           | 21         | 270         | Vox Patris                      | vj voc 2Ct  | W. Mundy                 |
|                     |           | 22         | 280–6       | Miserere mei, Deus              | vj voc 2Ct  | W. Mundy                 |
| XX <sup>8</sup>     | F         |            | 281         |                                 |             |                          |
|                     |           | [23]       | 286         | Te Deum laudamus                | vj voc 2Ct  | Tye                      |
|                     |           | [24]       | 291         | [Christus resurgens] Ex mortuis | vj voc 2Ct  | Tye                      |
|                     |           | [25]       | 294–7       | Heth: Peccatum peccavit         | vj voc Ct   | White <sup>11</sup>      |
| XXI <sup>8</sup>    | C         |            | 297         |                                 |             |                          |
|                     |           | [26]       | 298         | Adolescentulus sum ego          | vj voc Ct   | W. Mundy                 |
|                     |           | 27         | 299         | Deus misereatur                 | vj [voc] 2S | White                    |

<sup>7</sup> Dated 1568.<sup>8</sup> Preceded by opening of Tenor of Tye's *Ave caput Christi*; crossed out.<sup>9</sup> 'Mr William White 1570'.<sup>10</sup> 'Mr Robarte Parsons of the Chapell'.<sup>11</sup> 'Lamentacio Hierimie Mr Whyte'.

| Quire             | Wm | No.  | Page               | Title                                  | Composer           |
|-------------------|----|------|--------------------|--|--------------------|
|                   |    | 28   | 303a <sup>12</sup> | Fantasia                               | [Byrd]             |
|                   |    | [29] | 305                | Se lungi dal mio sol [prima pars only] | Ferrabosco I       |
|                   |    | 30   | 307                | Fantasia                               | Byrd <sup>13</sup> |
| XXII <sup>4</sup> | B  |      | 311-7              | blank                                  |                    |

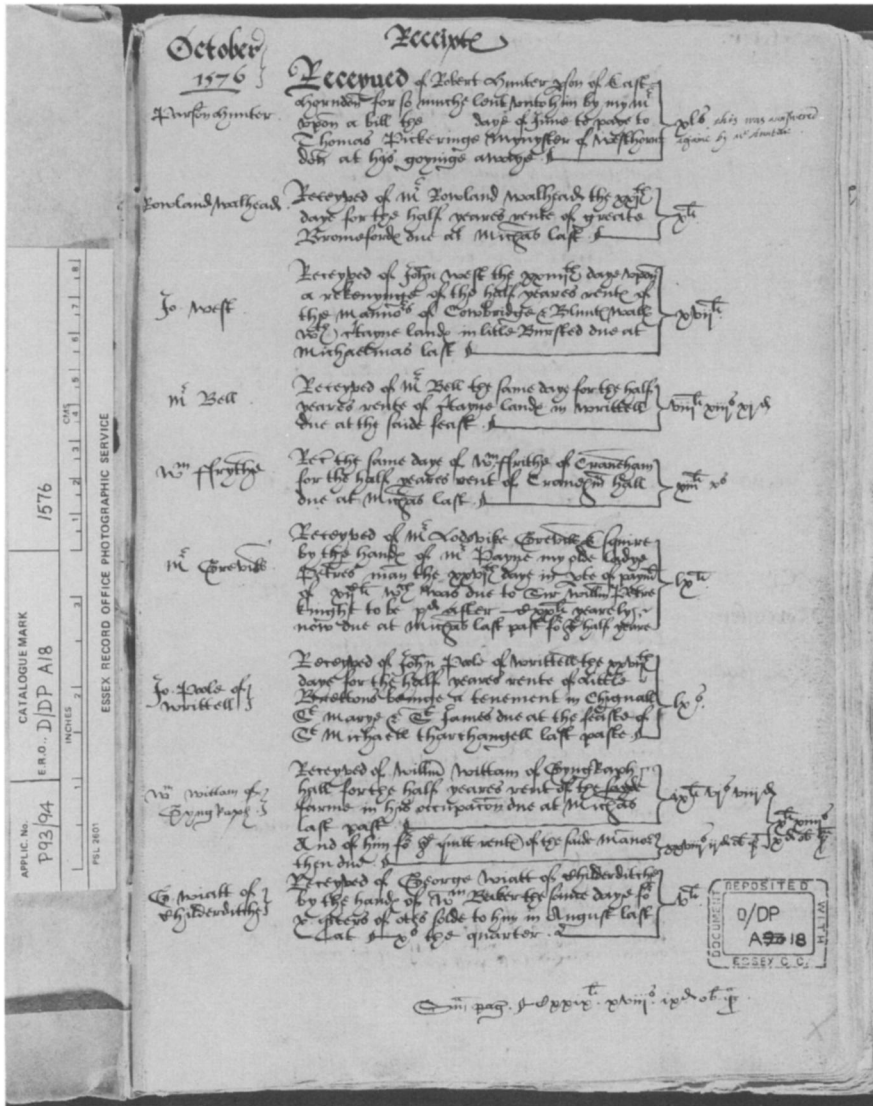


Plate 1: Essex Record Office D/DP A18

<sup>12</sup> Pages 303b and c are ruled but empty.  
<sup>13</sup> Printed in *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets* (1611).



Plate 2a: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus. Sch. E. 423, p. 7

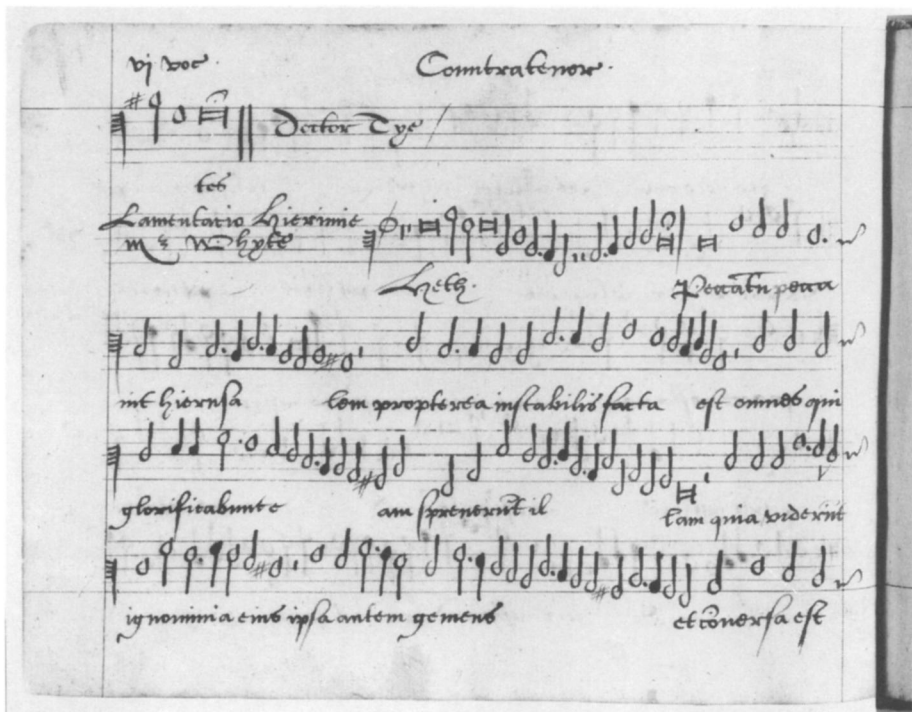


Plate 2b: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus. Sch. E. 423, p. 294