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**Robert White's "Lamentations of Jeremiah": A history of  
polyphonic settings of the Lamentations in sixteenth century  
England**

Raynes, Christopher David Harlow, A.Mus.D.

The University of Arizona, 1991

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ROBERT WHITE'S LAMENTATIONS OF JEREMIAH  
A HISTORY OF POLYPHONIC SETTINGS OF THE LAMENTATIONS  
IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

by  
Christopher David Harlow Raynes

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SCHOOL OF MUSIC  
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
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DOCTOR OF MUSICAL ARTS  
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In the Graduate College  
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As members of the Final Examination Committee, we certify that we have read  
the dissertation prepared by Christopher David Harlow Raynes

entitled Robert White's Lamentations of Jeremiah

A History of Polyphonic Settings of the Lamentations

in Sixteenth Century England

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*Christopher D.H. Reynolds*

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## ABSTRACT

The Lamentations of Jeremiah inspired the development of a formal musical structure that is unique in music. Based on texts and forms used in the Roman Catholic *Tenebrae* service, settings of the Lamentations developed in continental Europe into a distinct form by the late fifteenth century. Early polyphonic composers of the Lamentations began the tradition of setting the opening Hebrew letters in a florid style, while maintaining a more restrained style for the verses of the text.

In England, however, little apparent use was made of the Lamentations forms and texts until the middle of the sixteenth century, when a surprising number of settings appeared. The single extant earlier example by John Tudor has heretofore been considered a monodic piece, but appears to be one voice of a polyphonic work. English religious upheavals prevented liturgical use of Latin texts after 1549, but the Lamentations (and other works in Latin) continued to be written, possibly used as anthems, or for certain special occasions. The English polyphonic settings generally make use of the Lamentations forms established on the continent, but at least one example exists of an English formal model being adapted to the Lamentations texts.

One of the least well-known major English composers of the period, Robert White, wrote two extensive settings of the Lamentations. These and his other works are often ignored by contemporary musicians, but provide an alternative repertoire to the more usually programmed Renaissance works.

## INTRODUCTION

The intent of this study is threefold: first to try to discover the origins of the use of the Lamentations of Jeremiah within the framework of the *Tenebrae* service; second, to study the sudden appearance of Lamentations settings in sixteenth century England; and finally, to examine the two settings of Robert White for their roots in both English and continental musical traditions.

Settings of the Lamentations are rarely heard or studied, even though they often contain expressive music, inspired by the moving Hebrew poetry. Until the middle of the sixteenth century, no polyphonic settings of the Lamentations by English composers are extant. On the continent, however, beginning in the late fifteenth century, firm traditions were being established with regards to formal structure. In the mid-sixteenth century, several settings appeared in England. Thomas Tallis, William Byrd and Robert White each wrote settings. With apparently no pre-existing tradition, the English composers had either to adopt continental styles, or adapt English forms to the Lamentations. This study will focus on the origins of the polyphonic use of the Lamentations, and investigate the styles and forms of the English Lamentations. The two settings of Robert White, the least known and recognized of the major composers in England in the mid-sixteenth century, will be closely examined.

With the exception of the Tudor Church Music of 1923, which devoted a whole volume to his music, the work of Robert White has been unjustly ignored for centuries. In the past few decades, thanks to the

scholarship of Frederick Hudson, Irwin Spector, David Mateer and others, much more has been learned of White, although little of his music has been performed. It is my intention in studying the origins of the Lamentations in general, to present them as an alternative for performance, and to promote the works of Robert White through the preparation of a performing score and its performance.

The study will assume an acquaintance with sixteenth-century techniques, repertoire, and some of the outstanding composers of the time. Although monodic and continental polyphonic settings will be used for historical and comparative purposes, the study will primarily be limited to polyphonic settings from England in the sixteenth century. Use of the word "pitch" will refer to originally notated pitches unless otherwise indicated, and voice parts will be listed by standard American choral usage, e.g., "alto" for "mean" and "soprano" for "treble."

## CHAPTER 1

## THE LAMENTATIONS OF JEREMIAH

The Biblical book of the Lamentations of Jeremiah is made up of a series of Hebrew poems. Hebrew poets did not use rhyme or metrical repetition as structural devices; rather, among other techniques, they used an alphabetical acrostic to give shape and form to their works.<sup>1</sup> The Lamentations are examples of this type of poetry. Each chapter, with the exception of the fifth, which is not considered to be by the same author, consists of a series of verses beginning with consecutive letters of the Hebrew alphabet. In this manner, the first word of the first verse begins with *Aleph*, the first word of the second verse with *Beth*, continuing through *Tau*, the twenty-second and final letter of the Hebrew alphabet (a complete listing of the alphabet along with some common spelling variations, will be found in appendix 1). Thus, the first, second, and fourth chapters of Lamentations have twenty-two verses, one for each letter. The third chapter uses the acrostic in a different manner, being constructed of triple repetitions of the letters: three verses beginning with *Aleph*, three with *Beth*, and so on, creating a poem of sixty-six verses.

When the Old Testament was translated into Greek, the Hebrew acrostic letters were left at the beginning of each verse, untranslated. Since the Greek alphabet had twenty-three letters, the

<sup>1</sup> H. T. David, "Hebrew Letters in Polyphonic Settings by Christian Composers," *Bach* ii (1971): 6. The information on Hebrew acrostics is primarily from this source.

completeness and meaning of the acrostic would have been lost if an attempt had been made to set the verses in an acrostic fashion. This tradition was continued with the translation into Latin, creating a book containing such intriguing words as *daleth*, *samech* and *gimel*, prominently set at the beginning of each verse, and having no apparent meaning or connection with the text. These strange symbols were often taken to have some mystical, holy and obscure meaning that inspired composers to set them in a manner quite distinct from their setting of the text.

This powerful Hebrew poetry bewailing the fall of Jerusalem and the abandonment of the Jewish people by God, is an important part of the Roman Catholic *Tenebrae* service of Holy Week, which recalls the abandonment of God by the world, the Crucifixion of Christ. The services, which take their name from the Latin *tenebrae factae sunt* ("there was darkness"), use nine sections of the Lamentations to express the overwhelming sorrow of a Godless world awaiting the resurrection of the Savior. Occurring on the nights preceeding Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday, the three consecutive days before Easter Sunday, the services are based on the Matins and Lauds services (appendix 3 shows the outline of the standard Matins service). The *Tenebrae* services differ from the standard service in that they begin immediately with the First Nocturn, and omit the *Te Deum* at the end of the Matins, moving directly to Lauds. The most striking and dramatic feature of the services is the gradual extinction of the candles to the point of darkness (hence the name *Tenebrae*). The services begin with six candles on the altar, and fifteen candles on a

triangular stand called the Tenebrae Hearse. Before each Psalm in the Matins and Lauds, one of the candles is extinguished, leaving only the top candle lighted. Then during the *Benedictus*, the six altar candles are extinguished, and the one remaining candle (called the Jesus Candle) is hidden. After the *Miserere* and the Collect have been recited in darkness, there is a pause, followed by a noise symbolizing the earthquake at the Resurrection, and the lighted candle is replaced as the symbol of the Risen Christ, while the congregation departs in silence.<sup>2</sup>

The Lamentations texts are used in each service for the three lessons of the first nocturn, and although the first recorded use of the Lamentations in these services dates from Rome in the eighth century,<sup>3</sup> the services themselves, as Matins and Lauds, obviously date from the early church, and there is no reason to believe that the Lamentations were not a part of them.

Until the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century, the verses of Lamentations used in the services varied widely, depending upon local usage and customs. The Council established an ordered selection of verses that has remained essentially the same to the present (the official lessons are listed in appendix 2). The Council also prescribed the chant tone (*tonus lamentationum*) already in use in Rome to be used with the official lessons (see appendix 4). This put an end

<sup>2</sup> An American Holy Week Manual (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Society of Saint John the Evangelist, 1946) 109.

<sup>3</sup> David 9.

at text setting (word painting), and were often somewhat more elaborate than the official tones, especially in the setting of the Hebrew letters. These letters, as they weren't part of the meaningful text, often inspired more florid settings than the Latin verse, establishing a precedent that continued into the polyphonic settings of later centuries. Little variety in Lamentation chant usage had been allowed in Rome even before the Council of Trent, and the official chants reflected this, being simple tones related to the sixth psalm tone. The single exception to this was the third lesson on Holy Saturday, in which an ornamented and more melodic alternate *tonus lamentationum* of Spanish origins can be used (see appendix 4). As previously noted, the official Roman usage of the Lamentation texts consists of the first three lessons in each service. Each lesson is comprised of several verses followed by the refrain, *Jerusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum* (Jerusalem, return to your Lord God) taken, not from Lamentations, but from the first verse of the fourteenth chapter of Hosea. On Maundy Thursday the first lesson begins with the phrase *Incipit lamentatio Jeremiae prophetae*, (here begin the Lamentations of the prophet Jeremiah). The first lessons on both Good Friday and Holy Saturday begin with *De lamentatione Jeremiae prophetae* (The Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah), and the final lesson from Lamentations, the third on Holy Saturday, begins with the same opening as the first Maundy Thursday lesson.



CHAPTER 2  
MUSICAL EVOLUTION

The first extant polyphonic setting of the Lamentations is currently accepted by most musicologists to be that by Johannes Ockeghem, dating from about 1474.<sup>4</sup> By the end of the fifteenth century, Pierre de la Rue and Antoine Févin had composed settings of the Lamentations,<sup>5</sup> and Ottaviano de Petrucci published two volumes of polyphonic Lamentations in 1506,<sup>6</sup> demonstrating just how popular polyphonic settings of these texts had become. Alexander Agricola and Johannes Tinctoris were among the eight composers represented in this collection. These early composers did not use any one particular set of texts, but usually based their settings on the Roman *tonus lamentationum*, often using it as a cantus firmus. The style of these early settings is relatively simple, often quite homophonic in the setting of the texts, but, following the example set by earlier monodic Lamentations, the Hebrew letters are usually set in a more complex manner than the rest of the text.

A setting by Alexander Agricola (1446-1506) will serve as a specific example. This particular set is for four voices: alto, two

<sup>4</sup> David 10.

<sup>5</sup> Mehrstimmige Lamentationen aus der ersten Hälfte des 16 Jahrhunderts (Mainz: B. Schotts Söhne, 1965). Both these settings, and many others from the early sixteenth century are available in this volume.

<sup>6</sup> David 10. Both volumes entitled Lamentationes Jeremiae.

tenors and bass.<sup>7</sup> The text consists of the first six verses of the second chapter, and does not completely fit any known liturgical source, although the first two lessons correspond precisely to those prescribed in the Sarum (English) usage for Maundy Thursday (see appendix 3). The verses each start with the appropriate Hebrew letter set in a *melisma* of a few measures, ending with a complete cadence. The first two verses are followed by the first appearance of the "Jerusalem" refrain, which uses an imitative opening. After three more verses, the refrain is again inserted, but no new music is given-- simply the words *Jerusalem ut supra*. The sixth and final verse is set alone, again followed by the instruction to sing the "Jerusalem" refrain as before. In general, the music is homophonic, with little imitation except in the refrain and in the setting of the Hebrew letters. Agricola uses some duet and trio texture in the setting of the text, utilizes complex rhythms at times, and incorporates the Roman *tonus lamentationum* in places, but not as a *cantus firmus*. Instead, he uses the melody in a manner similar to that used in the parody mass, allowing the *tonus lamentationum* to pervade the texture of all the voices.

The most celebrated composer of Lamentations in the early sixteenth century was Carpentras, whose real name was Elëazor Genet. By 1518, Carpentras had risen from a lowly singer to become the Master of the Pope's Chapel, and had written a set of Lamentations that were

<sup>7</sup> Alexander Agricola, *Opera Omnia*, ed. E. R. Lerner (American Institute of Musicology, 1966) 8.

well received in Rome. In that year, Pope Leo X appointed him "Bishop *in partibus*", and sent him as a diplomat to Avignon where the anti-pope resided. He remained in Avignon for some years, until the death of the opposing popes and the healing of the schism in the Church by Clement VII, before returning to Rome. There, he rewrote his Lamentations and dedicated them to the new pope in a lavishly decorated edition. These Lamentations continued to be used at St. Peter's in Rome until 1587, when they were displaced by those of Palestrina. Inspired by the enthusiastic reception accorded his first settings, Carpentras had another volume of Lamentations published in 1532, this time in Avignon, and again dedicated to Clement. This edition apparently prompted a generation of composers to follow Carpentras's example.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the composition and publication of Lamentations had become widespread. Several printers published collections of Lamentations by more than one composer. One of Attaignant's eleven volumes of church music (Liber Decimus: Passiones, Paris, 1534) contains settings by both Claude de Sermisy and Antoine de Févin along with other Holy Week music. Martin Luther's friend Georg Rhau published a similar work, the Selectae Harmoniae in Wittenburg in 1538. The Lamentationes Hieremiae Prophetae (Nuremberg, 1549) published by Johann Berg and Ulrich Neuber, was dedicated exclusively to settings of the Lamentations. It consisted of a series of compositions by Pierre de la Rue, Antoine de Févin, Thomas Crequillon, Claude de Sermisy, and Johannes Gardano, among others, and was described as containing Lamentations, "...by the most famous musicians of our century with the most sad and sorrowful musical

settings...".<sup>8</sup> In Paris in 1557, Adrian LeRoy and Robert Ballard published Piissimae ac sacratissimae lamentationes, which contained a reprint of the Carpentras Lamentations along with new settings by other composers, including Jacob Arcadelt and Constanzio Festa. The composers of this era set their Lamentations in a manner similar to that used in contemporary motets. These Lamentations are generally for four voices and can vary in compositional style from relatively simple homophonic settings, to those that are highly complex, both rhythmically and imitatively.

The following example may serve to show the variety typical of the period. The Lamentations of Jacob Arcadelt (c.1510-1568) are for four and five voices alternately, and begin with the seventh verse of the first chapter.<sup>9</sup> Arcadelt's setting is unique in his choice of texts and performing forces, for he has picked individual verses from throughout the Lamentations, and set them in pairs, two for four voices, two for five, and two more for four. The Hebrew letters are set in a highly imitative fashion, each several times longer than those of Agricola. The verses also generally begin imitatively, continuing polyphonically until a mid-verse punctuation is reached. Here a full cadence occurs, followed by a homophonic entrance, usually utilizing a "pivot-note" type transition, whereby one voice begins, and is answered by the others, often in a new tonality. This chordal setting of the

<sup>8</sup> David 11.

<sup>9</sup> Jacob Arcadelt, Opera Omnia, ed. A. Seay, 10 vols. (American Institute of Musicology, 1970) 10: 120.

text, usually following a polyphonic section, emphasizes the new text in a declamatory fashion. These Lamentations make some use of the *tonus lamentationum*, but do not use the trio and duet textures seen in those of Agricola. In spite of the expressive poetry of the texts, these settings, and indeed those by the other composers of the time, do not seem to inspire music that is markedly different from other widespread forms, such as the motet.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, however, certain aspects of Lamentations settings were becoming standard on the continent, although by no means universal: the most intricate and innovative music is reserved for the Hebrew letters; usually three sets of verses are used, corresponding to the three lessons in each night's service; each of the sets generally consists of two or three verses followed by the "Jerusalem" refrain; the verses themselves are relatively homophonic and not too daring harmonically, rhythmically, or expressively; and the Roman *tonus lamentationum* is used more pervasively, resulting in most settings being in the F Ionian mode.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> G. Massenkeil, "Lamentations," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980) 410.

## CHAPTER 3

## THE ENGLISH RELIGIOUS CLIMATE

Among the proliferation of Lamentation settings in Europe to the mid-sixteenth century, England remains unrepresented by composer, manuscript, or publication (although little or no music of any kind was published in England before 1570), with the single extant exception of a setting by John Tuder found only in manuscript,<sup>11</sup> and unlikely to be known by any new composers. In the second half of the sixteenth century, however, English composers seized upon the genre and began to utilize the Lamentation texts with a frequency to rival those on the continent. The reasons behind this sudden emergence of Lamentation settings are unknown-- perhaps it was simply because it was a new form; or perhaps the religious upheavals in England, so restrictive with respect to service music for the Church, encouraged composers to find a more "international" form of expression, one that was widely accepted throughout Europe.

Even before Henry VIII's split with the Roman Church, the English Church had developed a strong individual tradition. The Sarum rite or use had developed quite late in the history of the Church, being formed when the see was established in Salisbury in 1075 (the name "Sarum" being a corrupt rendering of the medieval scribe's abbreviation for the town). In the Middle Ages, many of the great churches developed their own "uses," based on the Roman Rite, but differing in detail. The

<sup>11</sup> Pepys MS 1236.

Sarum use may well have been the most widespread of all, being adopted by dioceses throughout most of the British Isles, and extending to the continent by the middle of the fifteenth century (note that in the Lamentations by Agricola, a Flemish composer, the first two lessons fit the Sarum ritual precisely, and the third begins correctly, ending abruptly after only one verse). The Sarum ritual was universally admired. Even as early as 1256, Bishop Giles de Bridport had written, "Among the churches of the whole world, the church of Sarum hath shone resplendent like the sun, in respect of its divine service...".<sup>12</sup> With respect to *Tenebrae* services, the Sarum use differed quite widely from the Roman use in its selection of verses from Lamentations, although it maintained the Roman *tonus lamentationem* (see appendix 2 for a comparison of the prescribed texts). By the sixteenth century, Sarum use had become a National use, not dictated by Salisbury Cathedral, whose practice had become a local variation.<sup>13</sup> This strong national church doubtless made the split with the Roman Church less difficult than it otherwise might have been.

In the early sixteenth century, the English Church was not immune to the demands for change in the Church as a whole. Protestants were gaining strength all over Europe. In England, tentative steps were being taken to modify the service, even to the extent of experimenting with using the English language in certain instances. This reform

<sup>12</sup> Terence Bailey, The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971) ix.

<sup>13</sup> Bailey 74.

however, had nothing to do with the separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome. This split was entirely a matter of state. Throughout his reign, Henry VIII had worked to consolidate religious and secular power in the crown. The pope had entitled Henry "Defender of the Faith" for having published a pamphlet denouncing Martin Luther early in his reign, indicating that Henry had little real interest in religious changes. It was the interference of the pope in political areas, specifically an orderly succession to the English throne, that caused Henry to break with Rome and have himself established as the leader of the Church in England<sup>14</sup>. Beginning in 1529, Henry's powerful and brilliant minister Thomas Cromwell paved the way to separation by having the English Parliament limit the powers of the pope in England, while granting itself the power to issue divorces. This was to enable Henry to divorce his wife Catherine, with the intention of marrying Anne Boleyn, who was then pregnant, so she could provide a legitimate heir to the throne.<sup>15</sup> In 1531, Parliament passed the Act of Submission of the Clergy, following it with the Act of Supremacy in November 1534, declaring Henry to be "the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England."<sup>16</sup> Having obtained full power over the Church, Henry did not hesitate to take advantage of it, particularly from a financial standpoint. From 1536 to 1540, the

<sup>14</sup> Norman Cantor, Western Civilization: Its Genesis and Destiny, 2 vols. (Atlanta: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1969) 1: 545.

<sup>15</sup> Cantor 545.

<sup>16</sup> Peter LeHuray, Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967) 1.



dissolution of the monasteries took place, resulting in the elimination of over eight hundred monastic foundations (Benedictines and Augustines for the most part), allowing only those cathedrals to remain that were not part of a monastic order (fourteen in all), along with a number of monastic churches (fifteen) that were refounded as cathedrals.<sup>17</sup> These cathedrals, along with a number of chapels and collegiate churches, were all that remained of the many churches that had been able to maintain choirs. Despite these dramatic upheavals, the actual services of the Church changed only very slowly. Latin continued to be the official language of the daily service throughout Henry's reign, although some concessions were made to those demanding that services be understood by all. In 1536, the first set of Royal Injunctions required all parish churches to obtain the new English Bible. By 1543, all lessons were required to be read in English at Matins and Evensong. In 1544, an English Litany was published, a result of Henry's apparent acceptance of the idea that even the common people should understand the worship service.<sup>18</sup> This was the work of Thomas Cranmer, and became the basis for the first Book of Common Prayer. Issued in 1549, two years after the nine-year-old Edward VI attained the throne, it was required to be the exclusive basis for public worship. In 1552, the second Book of Common Prayer was introduced, with the most radically Protestant elements ever to be approved by Parliament. Among other

<sup>17</sup> LeHuray 14. LeHuray lists one more of each type than most authors, as he includes two churches in Dublin, Ireland.

<sup>18</sup> LeHuray 4.

things, the new Prayer Book was marked by a dramatic increase in congregational participation. It also contained a strong Zwinglian doctrinal influence, eliminated a Catholic interpretation of the sacrament, and replaced the *Kyrie Eleison* with a responsive version of the Ten Commandments.<sup>19</sup> These new changes had barely taken effect when Edward died, and Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine, became queen. Queen Mary, married to Philip II of Spain, was devoutly Catholic, and until her death in 1558, brought England to the verge of an inquisition, hunting those who had sought reform as heretics, and burning many at the stake.<sup>20</sup> This Marian Reaction restored the unreformed Latin rite in Sarum usage, and brought to a halt any changes in the Church, as Mary made every attempt to return England to the Roman Church.

With the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, the religious persecution of Mary's reign ceased. By 1559, Parliament had confirmed the new Queen as "Supreme Governor" of the Church, and had restored the 1552 Prayer Book with some revisions.<sup>21</sup> These revisions seemed minor, but in effect eliminated the "radical" protestant elements of the 1552 Prayer Book, without reverting completely to the practices of the 1549

<sup>19</sup> Watkins Shaw, "Church Music in England from the Reformation to the Present Day," Protestant Church Music, a History, ed. F. Blume (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1974) 165; Nicholas Temperley, The Music of the English Parish Church, 2 vols. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 1: 16.

<sup>20</sup> Cantor 547.

<sup>21</sup> Hugh Benham, Latin Church Music in England c. 1460-1575 (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1977) 165.

publication.<sup>22</sup> This ignited a major controversy, as the Calvinists and Zwinglians objected strongly to a reversion to "popish" practices.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, with the Elizabethan Settlement, a period of relative stability emerged. Despite this stability, struggle within the church continued, with many reformers in favor of abolishing organs, choirs, and all harmonized music in any church setting, others merely requesting clarity of words. To this end, requirements were made that virtually eliminated polyphony, demanding a one note per syllable texture. These changes were not exclusive to England, however, for throughout Europe similar movements were taking place, and even the Roman Catholic Church would devise similar rules at the Council of Trent.

In England, the law required public services to be in English. However, the option of using Latin or other languages within the service structure remained. The final section of the Prayer book says that "...when men say Matins and Evensong privately, they may say the same in any language that they themselves do understand."<sup>24</sup> In the 1549 Act of Uniformity, college and university chapels were allowed, in order to encourage "learning in the tongues", to say, "the Matins, Evensong, Litany, and all other prayers (the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass, excepted) prescribed in the said book, in Greek,

<sup>22</sup> Shaw 696.

<sup>23</sup> LeHuray 37.

<sup>24</sup> Hugh Benham, "Latin Church Music under Edward VI," Musical Times 116 (1975): 477.

Latin, or Hebrew, anything in this present Act to the contrary notwithstanding."<sup>25</sup>

For these occasions then, the Prayer Book was still required, but the language used in following the Prayer Book was not invariable. To this end, a Latin translation of the Prayer Book, the *Liber precum publicarum*, prepared by Walter Haddon, and authorized by the Queen, became available in 1560. Furthermore, a Royal Injunction of 1559 allowed for "...an Hymn or suchlike song to the praise of Almighty God..." to be sung at the beginning and end of Matins and Evensong (now called Morning and Evening Prayer),<sup>26</sup> seemingly leaving to the discretion of the individual churches to determine precisely what the musical and textual boundaries of the piece were to be.

<sup>25</sup> Benham, "Latin Church Music under Edward VI" 477.

<sup>26</sup> Benham, Latin Church Music in England 165.

CHAPTER 4  
THE DEVELOPMENT IN ENGLAND

The tumultuous state of English religious affairs became the backdrop of the great flowering of English music during the late Tudor and Elizabethan periods; indeed, it may even have been the catalyst. In the last half of the sixteenth century, musical literacy experienced a dramatic increase, especially in the upper classes of English society.<sup>27</sup> Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries is generally bewailed as a black day for English music, because of the many choral institutions abolished and the vast numbers of choristers and singing-men suddenly left seeking alternate means of employment.<sup>28</sup> It is possible, though, that this very disaster helped create the great English demand for music (both sacred and secular) outside the Church. Within a few years, hundreds of these highly trained men and boys, brought up in a world of music, were no longer shielded from society, and consequently were exposed to new ideas, sounds and techniques. Many found employment in the newly founded cathedrals, but those who remained dissociated from the church surely did not lose all interest in music. The burgeoning lay interest in music may partly be ascribed to this series of events. In writing of the vast increase in musical

<sup>27</sup> David Price, Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance (London: Cambridge University Press, 1981) 205.

<sup>28</sup> There is a great discrepancy on the subject of how many choral institutions were lost. Estimates range from about 50 (LeHuray 9) to "...considerably more than 200..." E. H. Fellows, English Cathedral Music (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1969) 7.

interest and practice in the Elizabethan period, David Price states that:

such a high standard of general, amateur musical ability... received its most immediate stimulus... from the Reformation crisis itself. Problems of unemployment and of creative restriction within the Church forced many musicians to seek alternative employment either in private households, or by combining the benefits of Court, Church and private patronage.<sup>29</sup>

The unsettled nature of the Church obviously had a major effect on those composers writing choral music for the cathedrals,<sup>30</sup> particularly in the matter of which texts they were permitted to set, and in the manner in which they could be set. The suspension of the Sarum liturgy in 1549, its reinstatement in 1553, and final outlawing in 1559, must have left composers both frustrated and cautious regarding textual choices. But in effect, the proscription against the use of a Latin liturgy left those who still wished to use Latin with a greater choice of texts. No longer confined solely to liturgical Sarum texts, composers were free to use Sarum Rite, Roman Rite, a Psalm, or other non-liturgical Old Testament texts (the New Testament for some reason being rarely used). By the end of the century, much of the Latin music being written was intended for private devotion in the homes of private

<sup>29</sup> Price 205.

<sup>30</sup> Temperley 1: 1. Temperley points out the vast gulf between the music practices in a cathedral, and those in a parish church. This document deals exclusively with cathedral music.

patrons who could afford to support composers and other musicians. However, evidence suggests that this practice was not as prevalent in the first ten or fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign,<sup>31</sup> and that the use of Latin was confined to the fringes of Church practice.

In spite of the change to the English language in the services of the Church, Latin continued to be used in certain instances during the third quarter of the sixteenth century. The Chapel Royal services continued to be in Latin, for Elizabeth seemed to prefer the language, even to the extent of allowing a Latin Communion to be celebrated, a major change from the Edwardian years.<sup>32</sup> It is uncertain as to how much Latin was actually in use outside of the Chapel Royal. Some authors speculate that the language was still employed by many of the large Cathedrals, although not in a liturgical context. Even composers such as Robert White, who apparently did not have any Roman Catholic leanings, continued to write primarily in Latin, emphasizing psalm-motets whose performance was still permitted, probably as the "...Hymn or suchlike song..." referred to in the Royal Injunction of 1559 that was discussed earlier.<sup>33</sup> There is controversy on this subject, however. Paul Doe writes that "...scarcely any material...can confidently be dated in the first half of Elizabeth's reign, when the church seems rarely, if ever, to have tolerated anything more elaborate

<sup>31</sup> Price 61.

<sup>32</sup> Benham, Latin Church Music in England 166.

<sup>33</sup> Irwin Spector, Robert White: the Instrumental Music, vol. 12 of Recent Researches in Music of the Renaissance (Madison: A-R Editions, 1972) 8.

than simple settings of psalms."<sup>34</sup> Ironically, Doe's statement applies to anthems in English also; he contends that the great body of music at the time was written for non-church use. In taking an opposing view, David Price argues that, despite the zealous reformers attempting to change the ways of the unrighteous, evidence suggests that the new puritanism in the Church, "...did not result in the extinction of elaborate, even Latin, polyphonic music within the Elizabethan Church as a whole."<sup>35</sup> Whether or not we can firmly determine the actual state of Church music at the time, it is safe to say that compositions with Latin texts were common, but generally non-liturgical in nature, whether or not they fit with any prescribed text.

In dealing with the setting of the Lamentations in England, we must first return to the mid-fifteenth century. John Tuder, an amateur composer and sometime member of Parliament, composed what is apparently the first English setting of the Lamentations. Tuder was born around 1440, and lived until about 1500. His setting of the Lamentations survives in the Pepys Ms 1236 in the library of Magdalen College, Cambridge. This manuscript is a collection of one, two, three, and four voice works by various composers, that has been dated by internal evidence as having been compiled between about 1460 and 1465.<sup>36</sup> One of the composers is John Tuder, who contributed at least six pieces to the

<sup>34</sup> Paul Doe, Introduction, Elizabethan Consort Music: I, vol. 44 of Musica Britannica (London: Stainer and Bell, 1979) xviii.

<sup>35</sup> Price 58.

<sup>36</sup> Sydney Robinson Charles, "The Provenance and Date of the Pepys MS 1236," Musica Disciplina 16 (1962): 57. This dating is based on a



collection (three times as many as any other composer), and may have been involved in its compilation. Tudor's Lamentations are a virtually complete setting of the nine lessons for the three Tenebrae services from the Sarum liturgy. A few verses are omitted,<sup>37</sup> but what Tudor has written is a vast work that, if divided into modern measures, would be about five hundred measures long. Sydney Robinson Charles, editor of the recent edition of the manuscript, writes that it is a single voice piece, alternating sections of recitation tone (which is in fact the Roman *tonus lamentationum*) with "astonishing virtuoso elements".<sup>38</sup> The piece is unusual in many respects. It is indeed intended for an exceptional singer with an extended upper register, and utilizes such devices as rapid melismas, melodic sequences, rhythmic repetitions and some attempts at text setting.<sup>39</sup> An interesting consideration, however, is the fact that Tudor's Lamentations must be the only surviving voice part of a two- three- or even four-voice work. Several factors support this statement. The first, and most important piece of evidence is that rests of varying lengths are scattered throughout the composition, a clear indication that it is polyphonic. It is also written out with clearly metrical note values, the equivalents of

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table showing the dates of future Easters starting in 1460, and the fact that "Sir William Haute Miles" is referred to who wasn't knighted until 1465.

<sup>37</sup> The missing verses are: Lamentations 1:12; 2:15; 1:3; 1:14; 1:9.

<sup>38</sup> Charles, "The Provenance," 57.

<sup>39</sup> Sydney Robinson Charles, ed., The Music of the Pepys MS 1236 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1967) xiv.

everything from sixteenth notes to dotted whole notes in modern notation. Second, it is constructed in a manner reminiscent of Tudor's polyphonic compositions. Charles himself says "Tuder's polyphonic compositions use this technique of melodic construction to some extent, but nowhere so pronounced as here."<sup>40</sup> In examining Tudor's other works in the manuscript, we find that, but for being much longer and more complex, the vocal line of the Lamentations could indeed have been extracted from one of these. Third, in many places throughout the work, Landini cadences are recognizable, indicating the presence of other voices.<sup>41</sup> These considerations indicate that the Tudor Lamentations are clearly polyphonic, and are in fact the earliest known polyphonic Lamentations settings, predating those of Ockeghem by some ten to fifteen years.

However important Tudor's settings of the Lamentations are considered now, they were most likely completely unknown to the major English composers of the early Elizabethan period. For whatever reasons, the rather doleful, but moving texts of the Lamentations became apparent favorites in the middle of the sixteenth century. Suggestions have been made that the settings are cryptic comparisons of England with Jerusalem, and that the refrain "Jerusalem, return to the

<sup>40</sup> Charles, The Music xiv.

<sup>41</sup> Tudor's extant Lamentation part is written in alto clef. Unfortunately, this is the only surviving Tudor work in which this clef is used, so we cannot place the voice in relationship to the missing parts with any certainty.

Lord your God" is a plea for England to return to the Roman Church.<sup>42</sup> If indeed that was the rationale for any of the settings, it is doubtful that it was a common purpose, especially in light of the fact that Robert White wrote two settings, and had no apparent association with the Roman Catholics. The English composers who wrote Lamentations that have survived are Thomas Tallis, John Mundy, Osbert Parsley, Robert White, William Byrd, and an anonymous composer whose setting is found in the Royal Appendix MSS 12-16.<sup>43</sup> A further setting appeared in England late in the century by Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger, but this was considerably later than the works of the other composers.

Although the majority of these compositions use the standard Lamentations form developed on the Continent, derived from the liturgical form of the lessons in the Tenebrae Service, there is also the adaptation of an English formal model, the votive antiphon, to the Lamentation texts. In order to determine if the English settings contain common elements, an examination of several of these works is necessary.

Thomas Tallis (c.1505-1585) wrote two sets of Lamentations, together comprising the first two lessons for Maundy Thursday in the Sarum Liturgy (see appendix 3). The works are for five voices: alto, tenor, tenor, baritone and bass. Written in the early Elizabethan

<sup>42</sup> Benham, Latin Church Music in England 168.

<sup>43</sup> David Mateer, Introduction, The Latin Church Music of Robert White, vol. 32 of Early English Church Music (London: Stainer and Bell, 1986) xv.

period,<sup>44</sup> they maintain the typical church style prevalent at the time, of a predominantly homophonic texture in the verses interspersed with the more polyphonic letters. These Lamentations settings are the most well-known of this period, and have been widely performed. Both contain melodic references to the Roman *tonus lamentationum*, although it is not used as a *cantus firmus*, and its ionian characteristics do not pervade the music (the first tending to the phrygian mode and the second to dorian). The set for the first lesson begins with the correct liturgical opening for the lesson: "Incipit lamentatio Ieremiae prophetae," which is set polyphonically and comes to a full cadence. In an interesting deviation from standard continental practice, the first letter, *aleph*, does not end with a full cadence, but overlaps the beginning of the verse. Tallis uses the same device later, eliding the end of the second verse with the "Jerusalem" refrain. During this refrain, use is made of a one-against-four technique in which a single voice is answered chordally by the other four voices on the word "Jerusalem." The second set deviates from standard liturgical practice in opening with the words "De lamentatione Ieremiae prophete," which is correct only for the first lessons of Good Friday and Holy Saturday. Proper usage for this, the second lesson on Maundy Thursday omits an introduction, beginning immediately with the letter *gimel*. The letters in this set all come to full cadences before the verses start, but the last verse again dovetails into the "Jerusalem" refrain. There are

<sup>44</sup> Paul Doe, "Tallis," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980) 544.

some places in the second verse where Tallis uses reduced forces, writing for two and three voices, each followed by a full section.

The single setting by Osbert Parsley (c.1511-1585) uses the same vocal scoring as did the Tallis work, and sets the text from the first lesson of Holy Saturday in the Sarum rite, but not the prescribed Hebrew Letters. Instead, Parsley uses the correct letters for the verses, *mem*, *nun*, and *samech*, in place of the letters wrongly assigned them in the liturgy, *aleph*, *beth*, and *gimel*. Parsley was a singer at Norwich Cathedral for over 50 years, and was held in such esteem that a tablet was engraved to his memory in the cathedral. His set of Lamentations is written with the Roman *tonus lamentationum* as a *cantus firmus* in the top voice, and consequently, the mode is predominantly F ionian. Like Tallis, Parsley does not always come to a full cadence at the end of every verse. The second verse elides into the letter for the third verse, and that verse, similarly, goes directly into the refrain. The music is unadventurous, both harmonically and melodically, although there is some attempt at text setting.

William Byrd, in spite of being a Roman Catholic, takes more liberties with the genre than any of the other English composers. His secure position as a member of the Chapel Royal, and joint holder (with Tallis) of the Royal Patent for printing music, seemed to make him invulnerable to the Puritans trying to purge England of the "papists." His setting, which is of the first three verses of the first Good Friday lesson in the Roman rite, is missing sections of the fourth voice. Again set for five voices with the same scoring as those of Tallis and Parsley, these Lamentations are greatly truncated. Byrd

only uses the opening two-thirds of both of the first two verses, and barely half of the last verse, ending each in the middle of a sentence, yet extending the verses with text repetition. The piece is predominantly in G aeolian, but it shows some evidence of the Roman *tonus lamentationum*, particularly in the refrain, which uses the chant tone to the extent that it becomes ionian. Each verse and letter comes to a full cadence, and, although the verses are fairly homophonic, there is still a much greater use of polyphony than in the Lamentations by either Tallis or Parsley.

## CHAPTER 5

## ROBERT WHITE

Very little is known of the early life of Robert White. It has been assumed that he was born around 1530-1535. Recently, however, scholars such as David Mateer and Judith Blezzard suggest a later date. The more recent dating results from a document at Trinity College, Cambridge, listing White as a chorister (choirboy) as late as 1555. Based primarily on this document, and the fact that it is unusual for a career as a chorister to last into the late teens, a date as late as 1540 has been suggested.<sup>45</sup>

Records from Jesus College, Cambridge, give additional information that may suggest an even later date. According to the Statutes of James Stanley, Bishop of Ely (1514-1515), the Chapel at the college was to have four choristers of under fourteen years of age, who were "...sufficiently trained in singing before admission..."<sup>46</sup> If indeed these Statutes were in any way similar to those at Trinity College, then two points are worth mentioning. First, since Robert White was a chorister in 1555, an age of "under fourteen years" would give him a birth date of 1541 or later; second, we see that a potential chorister would be required previously to have studied music in order to have

<sup>45</sup> David Mateer, "Further Light on Preston and White," Musical Times 115 (1974): 1077. This cannot be considered as an absolutely convincing reason for the later date, because it is not unknown for a boy to reach the age of 20 before his voice changes.

<sup>46</sup> D. G. T. Harris, "Musical Education in Tudor Times (1485-1603)," Proceedings of the Royal Music Association 65 (1939): 115.

been "sufficiently trained" for admittance. Here, the records of the Cambridge University "Grace" Book present something of a dilemma. It shows that he was awarded his "batcheler of musicke" on December 13, 1560, after spending ten years at the study of music.<sup>47</sup> However, the first record of White at Cambridge is in 1554, when he is listed as a chorister. If the statement regarding ten years of study is accurate, then where he studied for the first four years remains a mystery. We may, however, infer from Bishop Stanley's Statutes that White's musical training was probably as a chorister in a cathedral. Bearing in mind the date of White's degree, and knowing that he wrote some pieces of Latin service music that were apparently intended for service use during the Marian reaction 1553-1558, we may also infer that White was something of a prodigy. A comparison with Christopher Tye (White's father-in-law) indicates that Robert White, at about twenty years of age, was somewhat young to receive his Mus.B. degree, for Tye took his Mus.B. in 1536, at an age of about thirty, after a similar ten year period of study. However, indications are that it was not unknown to receive a Mus.B. by the age of twenty. The entries stipulating ten years of study for both Tye and White are unusual in the sixteenth century. Ten years seems to have been a requirement in the fifteenth century (although there is no documentation of this), but

<sup>47</sup> Frederick Hudson, "Robert White and His Contemporaries: Early Elizabethan Music and Drama," Festschrift für Ernst Hermann Meyer, ed. Georg Kepler (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Music, 1973) 165. This article remains the most exhaustive study of all the existing documents relating directly to Robert White from his lifetime. Most of the biographic material in this document derives from Hudson's work.



by the sixteenth, it appears to be the exception rather than the rule.<sup>48</sup>

A condition imposed upon the granting of White's degree was that he compose a Communion Service to be performed in the following year. The requirement was apparently fulfilled, for there is a notation in the "Grace" Book, in the margin next to the recording of his degree indicating that all requirements had been completed. Unfortunately, there is no trace of this service. Indeed, there are no existing works by Robert White for the English Liturgy at all, the only extant English pieces being a handful of anthems, and a few "Englised" reworkings of some of his Latin pieces.

Probably in 1561, White married Ellen Tye, daughter of Christopher Tye. The exact date is not known, for at the most likely churches for the wedding, the parish registers either do not survive, or show no such marriage.

By 1562, White had replaced Christopher Tye as Master of the Choristers at Ely Cathedral (one of the New Foundation churches). Tye had been ordained in 1560, and retired as Master of the Choristers in 1561, to become rector in nearby Doddington.<sup>49</sup> While at Ely, White's daughter Margery was born, baptized December 23, 1565. Shortly after this, he was hired by Chester Cathedral (another diocese newly founded from a dissolved monastic institution) as Master of the Choristers.

<sup>48</sup> Hudson 165.

<sup>49</sup> Michael Kennedy, The Oxford Dictionary of Music (London: Oxford University Press, 1985) 747.

Very few of the Cathedral records remain, but White is mentioned many times in the records of the Company of Smiths, Furbors and Pewterers, who underwrote parts of the Chester Mystery Play cycle in 1567 and 1568. White apparently took a major role in the production of these plays, for he received fees higher than anyone else associated with them.

In 1569, White moved to Westminster, yet another New Foundation church, as Master of the Choristers, where his duties included the training of the choristers of St. Peter's College at Westminster, refounded in 1560 by Queen Elizabeth. The Queen stipulated in the Statutes that the ten choristers were to study with the *magister choristarum* for an hour twice weekly. In addition to his responsibilities in the Abbey services, as the Master of the Choristers, White was also required to board and care for the boys.

Robert White's arrival in London was ill-timed, for it coincided with the arrival of the Great Plague, which was to ravage the city until 1574, the year in which it claimed him and most of his family. In one week, from the sixth through the twelfth of November 1574, the church of St. Margaret's, Westminster buried fifteen people. Among them were the Whites' daughter Prudence on the seventh, and her father Robert on the eleventh. His wife Ellen died within two weeks, leaving their two surviving children (of four) as wards of her mother, Catherine Iye, recently widowed herself.

## CHAPTER 6

## THE MUSIC OF ROBERT WHITE

The music of Robert White is relatively unknown today, but in his lifetime, and into the early seventeenth century, it was regarded by many musicians as being of the highest quality. One indication of the esteem in which it was held is the large number of manuscript part-books (many of them duplicates) that are owned by different English cathedrals. This is also a good reason to believe that the Latin works were performed in some manner in the cathedrals, for why else would they be added to music collections if they were not usable? These sources and others, notably in libraries, provide us with all the existing music of Robert White, for nothing of his was published in his lifetime. Two of the primary manuscripts are the Oxford, Bodleian MSS. Mus. e. 1-5, and the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, MSS. 984-88. The first of these manuscripts was compiled by John Sadler (1513-c.1595) and contains four psalm-motets and the two Lamentations settings.<sup>50</sup> The second is the work of Robert Dow, begun in the mid-1570's and completed in 1588. This collection contain 18 of White's compositions among its 133 choral works.<sup>51</sup> Interspersed throughout the manuscript are Dow's entries commenting upon the music and the

<sup>50</sup> David Mateer, "John Sadler and Oxford Bodleian MSS. E. 1-5," Music and Letters 60 (1979): 286.

<sup>51</sup> M. C. Boyd, Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940) 312. There are more pieces by White in the Manuscript than by any other composer except Byrd.

composers. Some of these comments reveal the respect Dow had for White. After the five-voice setting of the Lamentations, Dow wrote, "not even the words of the gloomy prophet sound so sad as the sad music of my composer." Towards the beginning of the collection, Dow mourns White's passing with, "Thou diest White, chief splendor of our art, but thy music abideth forever."<sup>52</sup> This passage, if it was written at about the time of the event, indicates that the manuscript may have been begun by late 1574. Several other writers speak well of White, including Thomas Morley and John Baldwin, who wrote a poem praising composers, and names them "in order" (apparently of talent) beginning with White.<sup>53</sup> Later he adds that Byrd should have been set first, but we can see that White is obviously held in great regard.

Most of White's existing choral works are in Latin; only four English pieces survive as original compositions, although five other English works were adapted (not all by White) from previously existing material (appendix 5 provides a list of the extant compositions). What seem to be his earliest Latin choral works fit the Sarum liturgy, and consist of a Magnificat, four settings of a hymn (Christe, qui lux es et dies), and two votive antiphons, all possibly written during the Marian Reaction while he was a student. The two votive antiphons are Regina coeli and Tota pulchra es. They use Sarum texts and have the appropriate Sarum chant tone as *cantus firmus* throughout.<sup>54</sup> Regina

<sup>52</sup> Boyd 315, 313.

<sup>53</sup> Boyd 310.

<sup>54</sup> Mateer, The Latin Church Music 29: 102.

coeli is for five voices (all men), and Tota pulchra es is for six voices, including soprano and alto. David Mateer, in his excellent studies of White's Latin church music,<sup>55</sup> assigns these pieces to White's early years for several reasons other than the fact that the texts are liturgical. The unimaginative use of *cantus firmus*, the harsh dissonance treatment, and the forced imitative technique all combine to indicate a date well removed from White's mature style.

White wrote four five-voice settings of the hymn Christe, qui lux es et dies. In the Sarum rite, these hymns were traditionally sung *alternatim*, a fifteenth century practice of setting alternate verses only, leaving the first, and remaining odd-numbered verses to be chanted. White follows this tradition in all four of his settings, an indication that they may have been written for liturgical use during the Marian Reaction. The style is also indicative of an early date, being quite simple. The *cantus firmus* is used in a very straightforward manner in three of the hymns, appearing in the top voice in two settings, and in the tenor in the third. The fourth setting is a little more adventurous, beginning with the *cantus firmus* in the top voice, moving it to the tenor for the next verse, and concluding with it in the top voice. One of the hymn settings is entirely composed in a syllabic chordal style, while the other three are polyphonic, occasionally making a forced use of imitation in a manner reminiscent of the votive antiphons. Dissonance treatment again suggests an early compositional date.

<sup>55</sup> Mateer, The Latin Church Music 28, 29, 32.

The final piece in this category of early Sarum works is the six-voice Latin Magnificat. Mateer's analysis of the piece allows him to ascribe it to the same period as the hymn settings and votive antiphons. However, some problems begin to arise with this system of dating. White's Magnificat is indeed *alternatim* as were most of the traditional settings, but other aspects of the piece give evidence that it is a later work. White gives scant notice to the many English traditions that had grown up around the Magnificat, such as grouping the verses in paired movements alternating in triple and duple time, the use of full and reduced texture in certain places, and the use of word-painting at some traditional points. This is a more "continental" form, which, along with a more imaginative use of the *cantus firmus*, and, "...rugged, angular part-writing generating rapid and sometimes unexpected harmonic movement...",<sup>56</sup> is reminiscent of White's six-voice Lamentations (a more firmly dated later work), and warns us that White's compositions are not necessarily datable solely by a comparison of compositional techniques.

Robert White's greatest creative output, judging by the number of surviving works, was of psalm-motets. Twelve have come down to us by means of the manuscript sources (six for five voices, and six for six voices, including three settings of Psalm 15, Domine, quis habitabit).<sup>57</sup> Mateer groups these twelve motets into four categories, while attempting to place each individual work within White's stylistic

<sup>56</sup> Judith Blezzard, "Review," Early Music 15 (1987): 271.

<sup>57</sup> All Psalms are numbered by the standard Protestant system.

career.

The largest category is comprised of seven motets which show aspects of the large-scale English votive antiphon in their construction. These seven motets run the stylistic gamut of White's career, from Domine, quis habitabit II, which shows many of the indications of an early work, to Manus tuae, which can only be the work of White's mature period.

A second category, containing two motets, is differentiated by the continuous use of full texture in a consistently imitative polyphonic style. Although Mateer assigns both to White's early period, they are quite different. Domine, quis habitabit I is typical of White's early works. Ad te levavi oculos, however, shows signs of continental influence-- a fragmented and extensively repeated text. The use of this compositional procedure seems to be the only attempt at a continental type of word-setting that White ever made, or at least that has survived.<sup>58</sup>

Another pair of motets is striking in the use of three pairs of equal voices, and forms a third category of motets. Both Domine, quis habitabit III and Deus misereatur nostri are written for two each of alto, tenor, and bass voices, and employ the ancient technique of *stimmtausch* (voice exchange between the paired parts) to a high degree.

The last category of motets proposed by Mateer is represented only by Miserere, mei, Deus, for five voices. In this work (one of White's most sophisticated compositions), sections of full polyphonic treatment

<sup>58</sup> Mateer, Introduction, The Latin Church Music 29: xiii.

are contrasted with large sections in a homophonic texture, showing an increasing awareness of the dramatic possibilities of the declamatory style. This psalm has much in common with the five-voice Lamentations setting to be discussed later. Both employ a "one-against-four" technique in which one voice enters on a note either in common with the previous chord, or in a cross relation with it, and the other voices answer, often in a distant tonal area. All the evidence points to the fact that this composition is one of White's masterworks.

The final extant Latin work, with the exception of the two sets of Lamentations to be discussed in the next chapter, is the respond Libera me, Domine, de morte aeterna, from the Office of the Dead. This is a work that is based on the Sarum text, but is not liturgical. In order to be liturgically correct according to the Sarum rite, the verses and responses would be treated (when set polyphonically) as plainsong alternating with polyphony.<sup>59</sup> In this instance, White has set the whole text polyphonically (although some verses use a reduced texture of three voices).

Among the four surviving English anthems, Lord Who Shall Dwell in Thy Tabernacle, yet another setting of Psalm 15, was the first piece to be "rediscovered." Charles Burney, in his General History of Music uses this work to support his claim that the English composers of the period were the equal of the continental composers, such as Lassus and Palestrina. Burney writes, "And no musician had then appeared who better deserved to be celebrated for knowlege of harmony, and clearness

<sup>59</sup> Mateer, Introduction, The Latin Church Music 29: xiii.



of style, than Robert White..." He then prints his own transcription (from Oxford, Christ Church MSS 984-8) of Lord, who shall dwell in Thy tabernacle as an example, and becomes effusive in his praise of White, who, along with Tallis and Byrd, he names as the fathers of England's "...national Sacred Music,... the pride of our country, and honour of their profession."<sup>60</sup> This anthem, which has been published recently, is not as proficient as White's best compositions in Latin, and displays many awkward text underlay problems, an indication that it, too, may be adapted from a Latin original, as yet undiscovered.<sup>61</sup>

A second anthem, O praise God in His holiness, is listed by Frederick Hudson as being definitely by White, while Judith Blezzard calls it "attributed."<sup>62</sup> This anthem appears in two settings, one for four voices, and one for eight. Evidence indicates that the original is the one for eight voices, to be sung in an English cathedral in the typical *cantoris* and *decani* fashion, and includes complete passages that are repeated by alternating choirs.<sup>63</sup> The four voice version either eliminates or elides these passages. The six English compositions that have been identified as being adaptations of other

<sup>60</sup> Charles Burney, A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period, 2 vols. (London: 1776-1789). Reprinted with critical and historical notes by Frank Mercer (New York: Harcourt, 1935) 2: 61.

<sup>61</sup> Judith Blezzard, "A Note on Robert White," Musical Times 115 (1974): 979; the publication ed. Blezzard, Musical Times 115 (1974): Music Supplement.

<sup>62</sup> Hudson 174; Blezzard, "A Note" 979.

<sup>63</sup> Tudor Church Music, 10 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1926) 5. Both versions are printed in this volume.

works are listed in appendix 5, along with their originals.

Before leaving the subject of White's choral music, a mention must be made of his "instrumental" works (for convenience, also listed in appendix 5). Six *In nomines* and six *fantasias* have survived, along with a few other works. The *In nomines* create something of a problem for those interested in what forces were intended for performance. The manuscripts variously arrange them for lute or viols, at least one being an arrangement for viols that is also available for lute. However, these sources all date from long after White could have written the music.<sup>64</sup> Only one source of *In nomines* that dates from the time of Robert White even mentions instruments, and these, not specifically. The title is A book of In nomines and other solfege songs of five, six, seven, and eight parts for voices or instruments (compiled c.1575-1580). The book gives no indication whatsoever of the kind of performance intended by the composers;<sup>65</sup> indeed, from the title we can see that the pieces could be sung or played. Pual Doe, in his introduction to Elizabethan Consort Music: I, volume XLIV of Musica Britannica, traces the roots of the "textless polyphony" of the *In nomine* from Latin polyphony, and states:

there is no reason in principle why some *In nomines*, at least, could not have been vocal like their model, and perhaps sung equally melismatically to the same text, or to no text at all.

<sup>64</sup> Doe, Elizabethan xviii.

<sup>65</sup> Doe, Elizabethan xix.

Doe then quotes a passage by Morley implying that wordless singing was commonplace at the time.<sup>66</sup>

White's *fantasias* too, are suspect as instrumental compositions. Doe points out that this title was often used by scribes to indicate a composition for which the text was not known, and suggests that, as the pieces aren't particularly characteristic of either White's Latin polyphony, or of instrumental consort music, they may have originally been secular part songs of some kind.<sup>67</sup> Another possibility that Doe does not consider is that they may be anthems whose texts have been lost.

At his untimely death in 1574, Robert White was considered to be among the first rank of composers. His early works show signs of a methodical and sometimes forced adhesion to the formal structures of the time (especially imitation), but by his mature years, he had mastered the polyphonic style, which he used in an assured, sometimes innovative fashion. Davey, in his admittedly jingoistic rewriting of music history, History of English Music, writes glowingly of Robert White, comparing his works to those of the Roman and Franco-Netherlands schools such as Palestrina and Lassus. He points out the fact that, as White died twenty years before either, his music must be considered wholly original, and a concurrent development of style. Davey ends with characteristic Victorian hyperbole: "Let us revere his memory and

<sup>66</sup> Doe, Elizabethan xix.

<sup>67</sup> Doe, Elizabethanxx.

treasure his works, and let his name be ever enrolled among England's noblest musicians.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Davey, History of English Music (London: J. Curwent and Sons, 1895) 141.

## CHAPTER 7

## THE LAMENTATIONS OF ROBERT WHITE

Let us now examine the two sets of Lamentations by Robert White. David Mateer has determined that the two settings were written at about the same time in spite of the fact that they differ greatly in concept. The two works share the same text, six consecutive verses that neither conform to any known liturgy nor use the liturgical incipits. Both settings also share many rhythmic, harmonic and melodic elements. Harmonically, extensive use is made of the Phrygian mode, cross relations and sudden shifts from major to minor, often through the cross relation. Although neither setting makes use of the *tonus lamentationum*, common motivic elements abound (appendices 6 and 7 give a comparison of the opening motives of both the verses and the letters in each of the works). A few examples will suffice to make the point: the final verse, "De excelso...", begins with a descending minor triad in both pieces, and continues in a similar vein; the opening motive, "Heth", of the five-voice piece is the same as the first verse entrance in the six-voice; the opening motive of verse two in the six-voice, "Sordes eius...", compares with both "Joth" and "O vos omnes..." in the five-voice. Rhythmic similarities are also common-- virtually every verse has its rhythmic counterpart in the opening motive of the companion setting.

However similar the elements of the pieces are, White has constructed each with a completely different concept. The six-part setting is in the "English style", for White has used the English

antiphon as the framework for the piece (see appendix 8 for a comparison of the structure of the compositions). It has two major sections-- the first (Heth to Joth) in triple meter, and the second (the remaining three verses plus the refrain) in duple. The first two verses in each half are for solo voices (different groupings each time), while the last is sung full. The Hebrew letters are also sung full each time. The six-voice setting utilizes the *Hierusalem* refrain only at the end of the piece, a marked contrast to the traditional continental usage of inserting it every few verses. According to David Mateer, White

...saw the antiphon form of the six-voice work as a traditional, inviolate structure not to be fractured by "hierusalem convertere", and so placed the refrain at the end only.<sup>69</sup>

This composition is also a rarity in being for six voices, most settings being for four or (especially in England) five voices.

Robert White's five-voice setting seems to be a conscious attempt to merge the continental form of Lamentation settings with his English style of writing. In this work, he follows the continental practice of using the refrain after three verses, and at the end. The melodies are somewhat restrained and expressive, avoiding some of the "rugged angularity" that marks many of his earlier works. Diminished and augmented triads occur regularly, along with suspensions and an extensive use of cross relations (creating an ambiguous tonality), all

<sup>69</sup> Mateer, Introduction, The Latin Church Music 32: xvi.

devices consciously used to express the meaning of the text in an affective manner. The use of cross relation and its effect on the tonality is clearly seen at measure 121 in the setting of the letter "Joth." Two voice parts have an opening canon, one pulse (two quarter notes in modern notation) apart, that begins with an ascending G minor triad, and finishes two measures later, with an F sharp as the penultimate note of the theme. Two other voice parts answer a fourth lower, beginning (again in canon, one pulse apart) on a D minor triad in measure 123. The entrances are so arranged that the F naturals in the D minor triad of the answering theme alternate with the F sharps of the first theme, creating, over a space of just four quarter notes, the successive sonorities of D major, D minor, D major, and D minor. Adding to the expressive uncertainty of the harmony is White's use of the "bridge-note" transitional technique. After coming to a full cadence in the middle of a verse, he often begins the next section with one voice, answered by the other four. The note used by the one voice is often a "pivot note", common to both the ending chord and the new one, usually, but not always, entailing a change in tonality. On occasion, the "bridge-note" can itself be a cross relation (appendix 9 gives a chart of these full cadence transitions). The uncertainty that each one of these transitions conveys, contributes to the mood of the piece. This technique also emphasizes the new text, for the homophonic nature of the section following the transition, presents that text in a declamatory fashion, a dramatic change from the polyphonic texture that invariably precedes it. White also uses this "one-against-four" technique to great effect in the final *Hierusalem*

refrain. As we have seen, Tallis uses this technique at the same point in his setting, and since the works may both have been written at about the same time, it is possible that one influenced the other. Certainly the White setting is more elaborately worked out at this point than is the Tallis. That the two compositions are roughly contemporary is probable, as we have seen that the Tallis setting was most likely early Elizabethan and, according to David Mateer, White's five voice setting "...reveals a sureness of touch and technical command...that stylistically, one cannot place it earlier than the late 1560's."<sup>70</sup> From manuscript evidence we can determine that both of the White settings were written by 1570,<sup>71</sup> so they are most likely products of White's years at Chester, or very early works from his career at Westminster.

In spite of the fact that these works are constructed in White's finest style, there is an apparent drawback that is consistent in virtually all his works-- they are harmonically out of date. Throughout the Renaissance, composers were generally moving away from modality and towards what we would recognize as a functional tonality. Traces of it can be found in the music of Isaac and Dufay, and by the time of the late Renaissance, the practice was firmly established throughout continental Europe. England, however, always recalcitrant with respect to innovations in music, lagged behind in acceptance of

<sup>70</sup> Mateer, Introduction, The Latin Church Music 32: xvi.

<sup>71</sup> Mateer, "John Sadler," 286. Mateer suggests that by 1570, Sadler had completed the section in which the Lamentations were found.



the "new harmony". Later English composers made use of the more modern harmony-- certainly Tallis, by the end of his long and productive life had incorporated it into his style, and Byrd was to make use of it throughout his life. But as one of their contemporaries, White was harmonically something of a throwback. His harmonic language is more reminiscent of the music in the Eton Choir Book than that of the most prominent contemporary composers. Certainly his music does not display what we would consider logical harmonic progressions. Perhaps it is this "old-fashioned" sound that kept his music from being performed regularly in the period following his death, and doomed it to relative obscurity. But this very backwardness, when coupled with other, more modern techniques, and White's innovative formal structures, gives the music a unique character found nowhere else. A brief examination of White's most sophisticated psalm-motet, Miserere mei, Deus, indicates that White may have been moving towards an integration of the "new" harmony, for it contains instances that are more clearly modern in harmonic conception. As this work is clearly among White's latest compositions, it is possible that it post-dates the Lamentations, and is a glimpse of the style towards which White was moving-- incorporating all the facets of his mature compositions with the tonality which we expect today.

Judith Blezzard, in her review of the Early English Church Music volumes of Robert White, suggests that White's stylistic attributes, "...are harnessed to greatest effect in the five-part Lamentations. This set provides a worthy challenge to Tallis's supremacy in the

genre..."<sup>72</sup> It is obvious that the two sets of Lamentations are works of White's mature style, clear examples of his ability to make use of both the continental and English traditions and forms, forging his own "international" style.

<sup>72</sup> Blezzard, "Review" 272.

CHAPTER 8  
CONSIDERATIONS FOR PERFORMANCE

In preparing a work of early music for performance, some factors should be taken into account concerning the performance practices of the period. This is not to say that every performance must be an attempt to recreate an "authentic" rendition of the piece. However, certain factors may give the performance a particular style or quality of expression that should be considered when preparing a work for performance. The considerations in this case will be made regarding Robert White's Lamentations setting for five voices. Because of the number of revisions desired, I prepared a performing edition based on the two available editions, one in Tudor Church Music, volume five, and one in Early English Church Music, volume thirty-two. This edition (see appendix 12) owes a great deal to the extensive and complex critical notes by David Mateer in the Early English Church Music volume for their measure-by-measure comparison of the available sources.

One of the first aspects that should be considered when preparing a choral work from this period is the pitch at which it should be sung, for this will often help to determine the forces that are needed to sing it. David Wulstan, in his article "The Problem of Pitch in Sixteenth Century English Vocal Music".<sup>73</sup> has dealt exhaustively with the subject of transposition and when it is required. Three major areas

<sup>73</sup> David Wulstan, "The Problem of Pitch in Sixteenth Century English Vocal Music," Proceedings of the Royal Musicological Association 93 (1966-7): 97.

are discussed: the clef codes, the vocal ranges of period compositions, and the pitch of the English church organs. According to Wulstan, the pitch of most sacred choral pieces from sixteenth century England should be transposed up a minor third. This contention is supported by both Peter LeHuray independently, and Hugh Benham, who quotes Wulstan's work in support of his own ideas.<sup>74</sup> Accordingly, in this performing edition, the music has been transposed up a minor third, from a key signature with two flats that we would call G minor (actually the A phrygian mode) to five flats in Bb minor (C phrygian). This rather awkward transposition makes a dramatic difference in the sound of the piece, changing the choral forces from alto, counter-tenor, tenor, baritone and bass, (in our choral terminology) to soprano, alto, counter-tenor, tenor and bass, eliminating the rather "muddy" sound it would otherwise have.

In preparing the performing edition, word underlay must also be taken into consideration. In this case, many of the sources seem to have been copied with great care, for although there are some problems, the text for the most part fits well, and is relatively consistent throughout the best sources. Editorial changes were kept to a minimum, although a few were deemed necessary.

One of the most difficult subjects to deal with is that of accidentals and *musica ficta*. Many books, articles and treatises have been written about it, but the fact remains that we simply do not know precisely how a particular work was performed, and we have no way of

<sup>74</sup> LeHuray 112; Benham, Latin Church Music in England 34.

gaining that knowledge. Much of the difficulty in dealing with manuscripts comes from the inconsistency of the scribes who copied them. Roger Bray argues for a more aggressive approach to *musica ficta*, contending that it was a widespread, regularly practiced technique that we should emulate.<sup>75</sup> Paul Doe, in his response to Bray, argues for restraint, maintaining that the sources of music of the period give us a relatively accurate idea of how the music was performed at the time.<sup>76</sup> In dealing with the White Lamentations, the nine different sources seem to have provided a relatively clear concept of what was intended. Scribal errors are mostly confined to one source at a time, and a clear idea of what is wanted in the music can be established. These Lamentations display a large number of cross relations and unusual tonal shifts, but they are carefully notated in most of the manuscripts, and fortunately, where one source has a mistake, the others are usually in agreement. A conservative approach to *musica ficta*, based on that of Paul Doe, works very well for this style of music.

Having prepared the score, we now turn to a determination of the performing forces necessary. To do this, we need to find out how many voices, and of what qualities, comprised the choir. In the case of the Lamentations, this is dependent upon where the performance was to take

<sup>75</sup> Roger Bray, "The Interpretation of *Musica Ficta* in English Music c.1490-1580," Proceedings of the Royal Music Association 97 (1970-1): 29.

<sup>76</sup> Paul Doe, "Another View of *Musica Ficta* in Tudor Music," Proceeding of the Royal Music Association 98 (1971-2): 113.

place. As we have determined, the Lamentations were probably written in the late 1560's, possibly as late as 1570, so we must consider the choral forces available at Chester Cathedral, the most likely venue for performance, and at Westminster, which is at least a possibility.

The statutes of Chester Cathedral, dating from August 4, 1541, when it was refounded, provide for a choir comprised of six petty-canon, six lay-clerks, and eight choristers.<sup>77</sup> With these forces available for a performance of the five-voice Lamentations, transposed up a minor third, we would have a perfect figure of four on a part. However, according to the Treasurer's account of 1567, there were only six choristers, along with the six singing men. To make matters more difficult, by the middle of that year, three more men were hired as singers.<sup>78</sup> With nine men and six boys, the choir now consists of three on a part.

To determine the forces available at Westminster, Mrs. Enid Nixon, Assistant Librarian in the Muniment Room, Westminster Abbey was consulted. Her letter of reply (appendix 11) states that there were ten choristers on the Foundation at the time Robert White arrived, but that "...there is little reliable information...concerning the choir in the time of Robert White...", an indication that numbers of choristers could vary in spite of the Foundation requirements. Mrs. Nixon goes on to say that, "The choristers did some acting but none is noted during the period of White's mastership, probably owing to the extent of the

<sup>77</sup> LeHuray 14.

<sup>78</sup> Hudson 167.

plague in Westminster." This ominous note may help explain why there are only seven names on a list of choristers dating from December 1569, made up by a Mistress Peryns who cared for the boys from the time White's predecessor left, to the time White arrived.<sup>79</sup> Apparently the plague had already taken its toll. The number of singing men at Westminster was usually twelve, as the letter from Mrs. Nixon attests, her letter indicating that this number includes both lay-clerks and ordained petty-canon. These investigations show that the choirs of the day tended to vary quite a bit, with the number of choristers being between six and ten, and the number of singing-men between six and twelve.

In dealing with the voices themselves, we must consider the typical choir of the period. Men sang the bass, tenor, and counter-tenor parts, with boys singing the treble and mean (soprano and alto). The lack of trained choristers in many places often necessitates the current practice of substituting women's voices for the boys parts. This substitution requires a certain amount of restraint on the part of the singers. The straight tone and piercing quality of the boys voices is extremely difficult for most women to accomplish. Rather than have them strain to sing an absolutely straight tone all the time, it is more prudent to have them sing with a "restrained" tone and reduced vibrato, saving straight tone for dissonances and cadences, where tuning is of the utmost importance. The same use of restrained tone is important for all voices, especially those which have considerable

<sup>79</sup> Hudson 171.

modern vocal training. The scarcity of trained counter-tenors is not really too much of a difficulty. A sensitive singer with a good falsetto is generally able to pick up the style in a relatively short period of time.

An additional consideration when determining what forces to use, is the question of accompaniment. There is virtually no evidence to support the use of viols or other instruments for accompaniment in the normal cathedral service at this time, although some evidence indicates that, at least in the Chapel Royal, and possibly in some large cathedrals, they were used in certain festivals. The question remains, however, as to the use of organ as an accompanying instrument. Peter LeHuray comments, "Whether, indeed, all this music was actually played on the organ is open to question."<sup>80</sup> He goes on to determine that by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the organist (at least in the cathedrals of Chichester and Hereford) was expected to sing with the choir whenever it was singing, moving to the organ only when the choir was silent, such as for the voluntary. Hugh Benham says bluntly, "It may be safely assumed that the music we are considering was intended for unaccompanied voices... we have no reason to think that organs, or any other instruments, accompanied vocal polyphony."<sup>81</sup> These arguments, however, all but ignore the fact that vast numbers of organ scores for much of the cathedral music survive, and it is hard to believe that these scores were written out simply for rehearsals. In

<sup>80</sup> LeHuray 115.

<sup>81</sup> Benham, Latin Church Music in England 30.



addition, the rise of the verse-anthem during this period adds weight to the argument for the use of organ, for these new pieces were certainly accompanied as a matter of course. It is less likely that the Lamentations were sung with accompaniment because of the traditional ban on instrumental music during Holy Week. Indeed, the use of organ would inhibit certain subtleties of dynamic shading that this music demands.

The subject of ornamentation often arises with the performance of early music, but treatises on the subject by period authors make it clear that ornamentation it was generally intended for solo voices only, and hence it is very unlikely that this type of music was ever ornamented in English churches.

## CHAPTER 9

### CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, it is clear that the many sixteenth century settings of the Lamentations of Jeremiah comprise a substantial body of excellent choral literature that has been largely ignored by conductors and singers. In general, the music is as varied as the composers who wrote for the genre. The contrasts built into the texts, from the florid letter settings to the often more declamatory lessons, provides a fresh source of music and style in contrast to the commonly used masses and motets that seem to make up the entire current repertoire of choral Renaissance music. It is certainly a genre worth investigating.

Further, it is apparent that the music of Robert White has been forgotten, and unjustly ignored for centuries. His mature works rival those of the accepted masters of the period, and he, in some ways, stands out as an individual in a period when much of the music can become all too similar. His international style, forged during the tumultuous days of the English Reformation, is distinct in some ways from many of his contemporaries: masterful and progressive in most compositional features, but more primitive in overall harmonic structure. Many of his works, such as the two Lamentations settings and most of the psalms-motets are major works made up of contrasting sections that effectively set the texts. It is interesting to note that White was only two or three years older than William Byrd, yet by his premature death in 1574, had already produced a substantial body of well-known music. This music is certainly worth considering as an

alternative to more regularly programmed works of Byrd and Tallis.

It is tempting to speculate on what would have happened had White not moved to Westminster in 1569. However, even considering the somewhat unconventional nature of his works, (and perhaps because of it) there is no question that the music of Robert White deserves to be more widely studied and performed.

## APPENDIX 1

## A CHART OF THE HEBREW LETTERS

With some common spelling variations

1.	א	ALEPH	12.	ל	LAMEDH (LAMED, LAMECH)
2.	ב	BETH	13.	מ	MEM
3.	ג	GIMEL (GYMEL, GHIMEL)	14.	נ	NUN
4.	ד	DALETH (DELETH)	15.	ס	SAMEKH (SAMECH, SAMETH)
5.	ה	HE	16.	ע	AYN (AYIN)
6.	ו	VAU (VAV, WAW)	17.	פ	PE
7.	ז	ZAYE (ZAIN, ZAYIN)	18.	צ	ÇADE (SADE)
8.	ח	HETH	19.	ק	QOPH (COPH)
9.	ט	TETH	20.	ר	RESH
10.	י	YODH (JOD, JOTH, IOD)	21.	ש	SIN (SHIN)
11.	כ	KAPH (CAPH)	22.	ת	TAV (TAU)

## APPENDIX 2

## MATINS AND LAUDS

## Matins:

Versicle  
*Deus in adjutorium*  
 Invitatory  
 Psalm 94 (95)  
 Hymn

## First Nocturn

Antiphon; Psalm  
 Antiphon; Psalm  
 Antiphon; Psalm  
 Lesson 1; Response  
 Lesson 2; Response  
 Lesson 3; Response

## Second Nocturn

Antiphon; Psalm  
 Antiphon; Psalm  
 Antiphon; Psalm  
 Lesson 4; Response  
 Lesson 5; Response  
 Lesson 6; Response

## Third Nocturn

Antiphon; Psalm  
 Antiphon; Psalm  
 Antiphon; Psalm  
 Lesson 7; Response  
 Lesson 8; Response  
 Lesson 9; Response

*Te Deum*  
 Versicle  
 Prayer  
*Benedicamus Domino*

## Lauds:

*Deus in adjutorium*

Antiphon; Psalm  
 Antiphon; Psalm  
 Antiphon; Psalm  
 Antiphon; Canticle  
 Antiphon; Psalm

Chapter

Hymn

Versicle

Antiphon; *Benedictus*

*Benedicamus Domino*

Tables derived from Richard Hoppin, Medieval Music (New York: W. W. Norton and. Co., 1978) 100, 98.

## APPENDIX 3


LAMENTATION TEXTS IN *TENEBRAE*

Prescribed by the Roman and Sarum rites

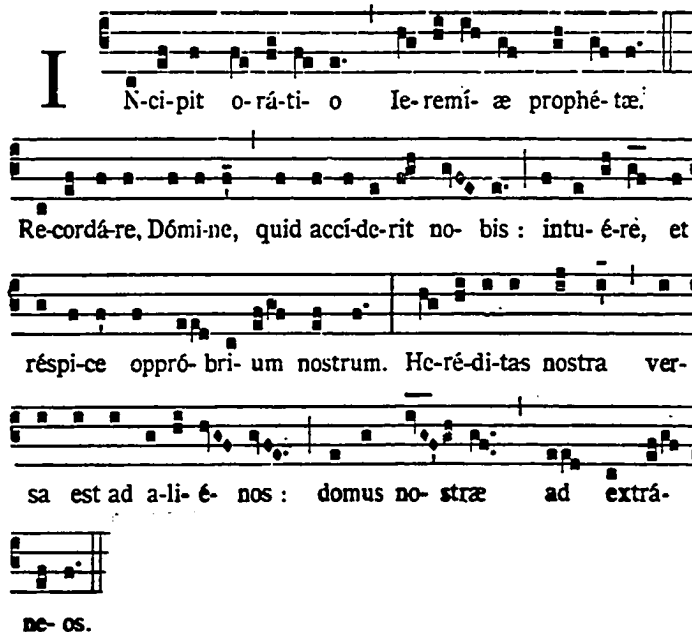
	Maundy Thursday	Good Friday	Holy Saturday
<u>Roman rite</u>			
First lesson:	Chapter 1:1-5	Chapter 2:8-11	Chapter 3:22-30
Second lesson:	Chapter 1:6-9	Chapter 2:12-15	Chapter 4:1-6
Third lesson:	Chapter 1:10-14	Chapter 3:1-9	Chapter 5:1-11
<u>Sarum rite</u>			
First lesson	Chapter 1:1,2	Chapter 1:10-12	Chapter 2:13-15
Second lesson:	Chapter 1:3-5	Chapter 1:13-15	Chapter 2:17, 18
Third lesson:	Chapter 1:6-9	Chapter 1:16-18	Chapter 2:21,22; 3:5,6

## APPENDIX 4

## TONUS LAMENTATIONUM

Roman *tonus lamentationum*


I N-ci-pit lamentá-ti-o Ie-remí-æ prophé-tæ.  
 A-leph. Quómodo sedet so-la cí-vi-tas plena pópu-lo :  
 facta est qua-si vídu-a dómi-na génti-um : princeps pro-  
 vinci-árum facta est sub tri-bú-to.

Alternate *tonus lamentationum*


I N-ci-pit o-rá-ti-o Ie-remí-æ prophé-tæ.  
 Re-cordá-re, Dómi-ne, quid accí-de-rit no-bis : intu-é-ré, et  
 réspi-ce oppró-bri-um nostrum. He-ré-di-tas nostra ver-  
 sa est ad a-li-é-nos : domus no-stræ ad extrá-  
 ne-os.

From Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae (Paris: Desclée et Socii, 1961) 94, 323.

## APPENDIX 5

## A LIST OF WORKS BY ROBERT WHITE

## Six Voice Latin Psalms (using the standard Protestant numbers):

Ad te levavi oculos, Psalm 123

Deus misereatur nostri, Psalm 67

Domine, non est exaltatum, Psalm 131

Domine quis habitabit, Psalm 15 (three settings)

## Five Voice Latin Psalms:

Appropinquet deprecatio mea, Psalm 119, vv. 169-176

Exaudiate te dominus, Psalm 20

Justus es, Dominus, Psalm 119, vv. 137-144

Manus tuae fecerunt me, Psalm 119, vv. 73-80

Miserere mei, Deus, Psalm 51

Portio mea, Domine, Psalm 119, vv. 57-64.

## Votive Antiphons:

Regina coeli, five voices

Tota pulchra es, six voices

## Other Latin Compositions:

Christe, qui lux es et dies, four settings of five voices

Lamentations of Jeremiah, two settings, five and six voices

Libera me, Domine, de morte aeterna, four voices

Magnificat, six voices

## English Anthems:

Lord, who shall dwell in Thy tabernacle, Psalm 15, five voices

O how glorious art Thou, O God, five voices



O praise God in His holiness, Psalm 150, for four or eight voices

The Lord will bless us and keep us, five voices

Adapted Compositions:

Cantate Domino, from the opening of Exaudit te Dominus

I will wash my hands, from O how glorious art Thou (not White's adaptation)

Let Thy merciful ears, from O how glorious art Thou

O Lord, deliver me, from Manus tuae fecerunt, the "Cognovi Domine" section

O Lord, rebuke me not, from The Lord bless us and keep us

Praise the Lord, O my soul, from Domine, non est exaltatum, the "speret Israel" section

Instrumental Compositions (as existing in manuscript):

*In nomine*, four voices, three settings for lute

*In nomine*, four voices, for viols, same as the first lute setting

*In nomine*, seven voices, for viols

*In nomine*, five voices, for viols

*In nomine*, five voices, for viols

Six *fantasias*, arranged for lute

Ut re mi fa sol la, for organ

Song (Fancy), five voices, for viols

"A White Song", for lute

The works list by Frederick Hudson contains several mistakes in the Latin listings: Christe, qui lux es et dies is listed only once, and for four voices-- the Hymns are listed as Precamur Sancte Domine which is the beginning of the second verse-- the first to be set

polyphonically; laetantur coeli et exultant is listed for six voices-- this must be a source that begins the psalm-setting Deus misereatur at the midpoint; there is a listing of Peccatum peccavit Jerusalem for five voices-- this is a manuscript of the Lamentations for six voices that is missing the baritone part, is untitled, and omits the setting of the first letter (Heth).

The best listing of sources for the instrumental compositions is in Frederick Hudson's article "Robert White and His Contemporaries: Early Elizabethan Music and Drama". The most comprehensive overall source listing for Robert White is Hudson's article "Robert White" in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. The best study of the Latin works is David Mateer's exhaustive study in Early English Church Music.

## APPENDIX 6

## TEXT USED BY ROBERT WHITE

Lamentations 1: 8-13. (from the New English Bible)

- (HETH) Jerusalem had sinned greatly,  
and so she was treated like a filthy rag;  
all those who had honoured her held her cheap,  
for they had seen her nakedness.  
What could she do but sigh  
and turn away?
- (TETH) Uncleanness clung to her skirts,  
and she gave no thought to her fate.  
Her fall was beyond belief  
and there was no one to comfort her.  
Look, Lord, upon her misery,  
see how the enemy has triumphed.
- (JOTH) The adversary stretched out his hand  
to sieze all her treasures;  
then it was that she saw Gentiles  
entering her sanctuary,  
Gentiles forbidden by thee to enter  
the assembly, for it was thine.
- (CAPH) All her people groaned,  
they begged for bread;  
they sold their treasures for food  
to give them strength again.  
Look, O Lord, and see  
how cheap I am accounted.
- (LAMECH) Is it of no concern to you who pass by?  
If only you would look and see:  
is there any agony like mine,  
like these my torments  
with which the Lord has cruelly punished me  
in the day of his anger?
- (MEM) He sent down fire from heaven,  
it ran through my bones;  
he spread out a net to catch my feet,  
and turned me back;  
he made me an example of desolation,  
racked with sickness all day long.

## APPENDIX 7

## COMPARISON OF LETTER INCIPITS

Six-voice

Five-voice

Sop. HETH Sop. HETH

Sop. TETH Alto TETH

Ten. 1 JOTH Sop. JOTH

Ten. 2 CAPH Ten. CAPH

Sop. LAMECH Sop. LAMECH

Sop. MEM Sop. MEM

## APPENDIX 8

## COMPARISON OF VERSE INCIPITS

Six-voice

Five-voice

<p>TEN. 1</p>  <p>B Pec - ca - tum pec - ca - vit...</p>	<p>TEN.</p>  <p>pec - ca - tum pec - ca - vit...</p>
<p>ALTO</p>  <p>Sor - des e - . . . . .</p>	<p>C. TEN.</p>  <p>Sor - des e - jus</p>
<p>ALTO</p>  <p>Ma - num su - am Mi - sit ho - . . .</p>	<p>C. TEN.</p>  <p>Ma - num su - am Mi - sit ho - . . .</p>
<p>ALTO</p>  <p>Om - nis po - pu - lus</p>	<p>TEN.</p>  <p>Om - nis po - pu - lus</p>
<p>TEN. 1</p>  <p>B O vos Om - nes</p>	<p>ALTO</p>  <p>O vos Om - nes</p>
<p>ALTO</p>  <p>De ex - cel - so mi - - sit</p>	<p>TEN.</p>  <p>De ex - cel - so mi - sit . . .</p>

## APPENDIX 9

## STRUCTURAL COMPARISON

Six Voice Lamentations

Part one: triple meter.

HETH. Full, 6 meas.  
     Peccatum... ♯3 (STB) 24 meas.  
 TETH. Full, 6 meas.  
     Sordes... ♯3 (ATB) 22 meas.  
 JOTH. Full, 4 meas.  
     Manum... full, 28 meas.

Part two: duple meter.

CAPH. Full, 9 meas.  
     Omnis... ♯4 (AABB), 35 meas.  
 LANECH. Full, 10 meas.  
     O vos omnes... ♯2 (ST), 21 meas.  
     O vos omnes... ♯4 (ATB), 21 meas.  
     Quoniam... ♯4 (SATB), 22 meas.  
 MEM. Full, 9 meas.  
     De excelso... full, 35 meas.  
 Hierusalem... full 17 meas.

Five Voice Lamentations

Duple meter, full.

HETH. 11 meas.  
     Peccatum... 49 meas.  
 TETH. 9 meas.  
     Sordes... 51 meas.  
 JOTH. 8 meas.  
     Manum... 46 meas.  
 Hierusalem... 23 meas.

CAPH. 9 meas.  
     Omnis... 43 meas.  
 LANECH. 11 meas.  
     O vos omnes... 37 meas.  
 MEM. 11 meas.  
     De excelso... 38 meas.  
 Hierusalem... 31 meas.

## APPENDIX 10

## TRANSITIONS

Robert White's Lamentations for five voices.

Internal full cadences with "bridge-note" transitions:

<u>#</u>	<u>Verse</u>	<u>Measure</u>	<u>Bridge-voice</u>	<u>Bridge-note</u>	<u>Tonality Change</u>	<u>Type</u>
1	1	37-8	soprano	D	G:-Bb:	cn
2	1	46-7	soprano	(B)-Bb	G:-Eb:	x
3	2	94-5	soprano	D	D:-Bb:	cn
4	2	108-9	counter-tenor	D	D:-g:	cn
5	4	235-6	alto	(F#)-F	D:-Bb:	x
6	6	326-7	alto	F	Bb:-Bb:	cs

Key: "Verse" and "Measure" indicate where the cadence occurs; "Bridge-voice" indicates the voice part used; "Bridge-note" is the note on which the the pivot occurs; "Tonality Change" indicates the harmonic movement; "Type" indicates the type of "bridge-note" used (cn= common tone with a new tonality, cs= common tone with the same tonality, x= cross relation).

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Our Ref  
 R/20865

22nd January 1990

Dear Mr Raynes,

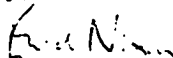
Thank you for your letter of 10th January. Unfortunately, there is little reliable information that I can give you concerning the Choir in the time of Robert White, although it is firmly established that there were 10 Choristers on the Foundation. The Choristers did some acting but none is noted during the period of White's mastership, probably owing to the extent of the plague in Westminster.

There seem to have been rather more Choirmen some of whom were ordained (petty-canons) and some of whom were laymen. In 1603 the list of those singingmen given an allowance for mourning at the time of Queen Elizabeth I's death had 15 names on it but the more usual number was 12 (as given in a list of 1553). They had some lodging at the Abbey and it may be that at this early date they did not need to diversify their occupation so much. (In the 18th century they often became "tomb-shewers" as well, to augment their stipend). However, it looks as if most would have had instrumental skills in addition to their singing, so it is possible they were employed for court music on occasion, although there is no clear evidence of this, nor whether they sang in choral groups outside the Church. Voices available would have been alto, tenor and bass. Incidentally, in Queen Elizabeth's time it was not usual to use the Communion service more than once a month.

I enclose for you some photocopied details from the historical introduction to Tudor Church Music, 1923. It is not signed and therefore I cannot say which of the five editors wrote it. However, I hope it will help in resolving the question of why so much of White's music has Latin texts. We have no autograph music by Robert White in this Library.

I am sorry this gives little of value to add to your lecture-recital, but I hope, nevertheless, that you will find in time sufficient information to provide an interesting and a worthwhile background for one whose work seems to have been too little regarded in past centuries.

Yours sincerely,



Mrs E. Nixon,  
 Assistant Librarian

Mr Christopher Raynes,  
 4175 E.Ft.Lowell, Apt.5233,  
 Tucson,  
 Arizona 85712,  
 U.S.A.

Encs.



## APPENDIX 12

## PERFORMING EDITION

Lamentations for Five Voices

by Robert White (c.1540-1574)

This edition has been transposed up a minor third. A "o" above a note on the staff indicates an accidental found in one or more sources that was not used for this edition. An accidental in parenthesis above the staff is a reminder to the singer. An accidental without parenthesis above the staff indicates an accidental found in one or more sources that is recommended to be taken in this edition. Commas above the staff indicate suggested phrase breaks or breaths. Text placed within parenthesis is an editorial addition.

# Lamentations

for Five Voices

Robert White (c. 1540-1574)  
edited by Christopher D. H. Raynes

Soprano

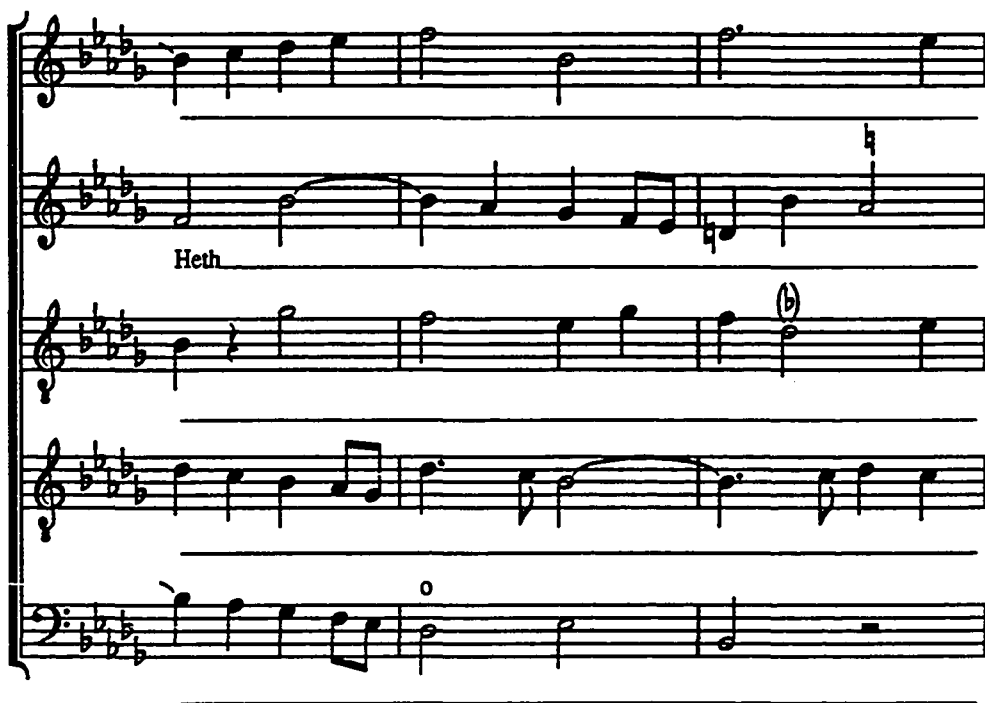
Alto

Counter Tenor

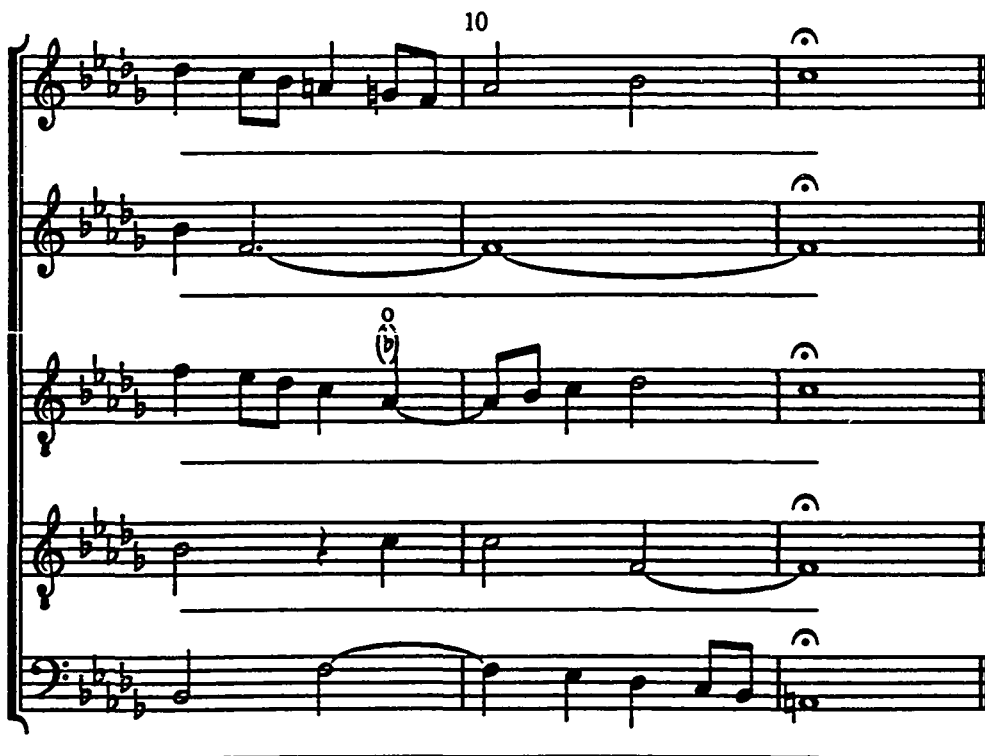
Tenor

Bass

5



Musical score system 1, consisting of five staves. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The first staff contains a melodic line with eighth and quarter notes. The second staff contains a melodic line with a slur over the first two notes and a fermata over the last note, with the word "Heth" written below it. The third staff contains a melodic line with a slur over the first two notes and a fermata over the last note, with a circled "b" below it. The fourth staff contains a melodic line with a slur over the first two notes and a fermata over the last note. The fifth staff contains a bass line with a slur over the first two notes and a fermata over the last note, with a circled "o" below it.



Musical score system 2, consisting of five staves. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The first staff contains a melodic line with a slur over the first two notes and a fermata over the last note, with the number "10" above it. The second staff contains a melodic line with a slur over the first two notes and a fermata over the last note. The third staff contains a melodic line with a slur over the first two notes and a fermata over the last note, with a circled "o" below it. The fourth staff contains a melodic line with a slur over the first two notes and a fermata over the last note. The fifth staff contains a bass line with a slur over the first two notes and a fermata over the last note.

Pec - ca - tum pec - ca -  
Pec - - ca - - tum pec - ca -

15

Pec - - ca -  
Pec - ca - tum pec -  
vit Hie - ru - sa - - - - - lem - - - - -  
- - vit Hie - ru - sa - lem

20

Pec - tum pec - ca - vit Hie - ru - sa - lem, pro - lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem.

ca - tum pec - ca - vit Hie - ru - sa - lem, pro - lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem.

25

- - lem, pro -  
 lem, pro - pte - re-a in - sta - bi - lis fa -  
 pte - re-a in - sta-bi-lis fa - cta  
 lem, pro - pte - re - a in - sta - bi - lis fa - cta  
 pro - pte - re - a in - sta - bi - lis fa - cta

pte - re-a in - sta - bi - lis fa - cta est.  
 - cta est. O - mnes qui  
 est. O -  
 est. O - mnes qui glo - ri - fi -  
 est.

30

O - mnes qui glo - ri - fi - ca bant\_

glo - ri - fi - ca bant\_ e - - - -

mnes qui glo - ri - fi - ca bant e - - - -

ca - bant e - - - -

O - mnes qui glo - ri - fi - ca bant e - - - am spre -

35

e - - - - am spre - ve - runt

- - am spre - ve - runt il - - - -

am spre - ve - runt il - - - -

- - - - - am spre -

ve - runt il - lam, spre - ve - runt il -

il - lam: qui -  
- - - lam: qui -  
- - - lam: qui -  
ve - runt il - lam: qui -  
- - - lam: qui -

40

a vi - de - - - runt ig - gno - mi -  
a vi - de - - -  
a vi - de - - - runt  
a vi - de - - runt i -  
a vi - de - - runt





-ni-am e - - - - - ius, i -  
 - - - - - runt  
 ig - gno-mi - - ni-am e - - - - -  
 gno - mi - ni-am e - - - - -  
 i - gno - mi - - ni-am e - -

45



gno-mi - - ni-am e - - ius: i - -  
 i - gno - mi - - ni-am e - - ius: i -  
 - - - - - ius: i -  
 - - - - - ius: i -  
 - - - - - ius: i -

psa au - tem ge - mens et

- psa au - tem ge - - - (-mens,

- psa au - tem ge - mens

- psa au - tem ge - - -

- psa au - tem ge - - -

con - ver - sa est re - tror

ge-) - - -

et con - ver - sa est re - tror - - -

- mens et con -

- - - mens

55

sum,  
mens et con -  
-(-sum, re-tror-)-  
ver - saest re - - tror -  
et con - ver - sa est re - - tror -

et con - ver - sa est re - - tror -  
ver - sa est re - - tror -

60

sum. Teth

sum. Teth

sum. Teth

sum. Teth

65

Teth

Teth

Teth

Musical score for five staves, measures 65-69. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals, with some notes marked with a circled 'b'.

70

Musical score for five staves, measures 70-74. The key signature is three flats. The lyrics "Sor - des" are written under the notes in the third and fifth staves.

Sor - -  
 e - ius in pe - di - bus  
 Sor - - des e - - -  
 - - - - - ius in

75

Sor - -  
 - - des e - ius in pe -  
 e - - - - -  
 ius in pe - di - bus e - - -  
 pe - di - bus e - - -

80

des e - ius in pe -  
 - di - bus e -  
 (-ius, e-) - - - - -  
 - - - - - ius in pe -

- di - bus e - ius:  
 ius:  
 - - ius: nec re - cor -  
 - di - bus e - ius: , nec re -  
 - - - - - ius: nec re -

85

nec re - - cor - da - ta -  
nec re - - cor - da - ta -  
da - ta est fi - nis su - - - -  
- cor - da - - - ta est fi - - nis su - -  
- cor - da - - - ta est \_\_\_\_\_ fi -

est fi - nis su - - - - i. De - po - si -  
est fi - - nis su - - - - i. De -  
- - i. De - po - si - ta est  
- - - - -  
- nis su - - - - -



90

ta est, de-po-si-ta est ve-he-

po-si-ta est ve-he-men

ve-he-men

- i. De-po-si-ta est

- i. De-po-si-ta est ve-he-

95

men-ter: non ha-bens

- - - - - ter: non ha-bens

- - - - - ter: non ha-bens

ve-he-men-ter: non ha-bens

men-ter: non ha-bens

con - so - la - to - - - - rem. Vi -  
con - so - la - to - - - - rem. Ve -  
con - so - la - - to - - - - rem. \_\_\_\_\_  
con - so - la - to - - - - rem. \_\_\_\_\_  
con - so - la - to - - - - rem. \_\_\_\_\_

100

- de, Do - - - mi - ne, vi -  
- de, Do - mi - ne, vi -  
\_\_\_\_\_ Vi - de, Do - mi-ne, \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Vi - de, Do - mi-ne, \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ rem. \_\_\_\_\_ Vi -

- de, Do - - mi - ne, af -  
 - de, Do - mi - ne, af - fli - cti - o - nem  
 de, Do - - mi - ne, af - fli - cti -

105

fli - cti - o - nem af - fli - cti - o - nem me -  
 me - am, af - fli - cti - o - nem me - - am:  
 af - fli - cti - o - nem  
 af - fli - cti - o - nem me - -  
 o - nem me - -

110

am: quo - ni -

am: quo - ni -

me - am: quo - ni - am e - re - -

am: quo - ni - am

am: quo - ni - am

am e - re - ctus est

am e - re - ctus est

- - - - - tus est in - i -

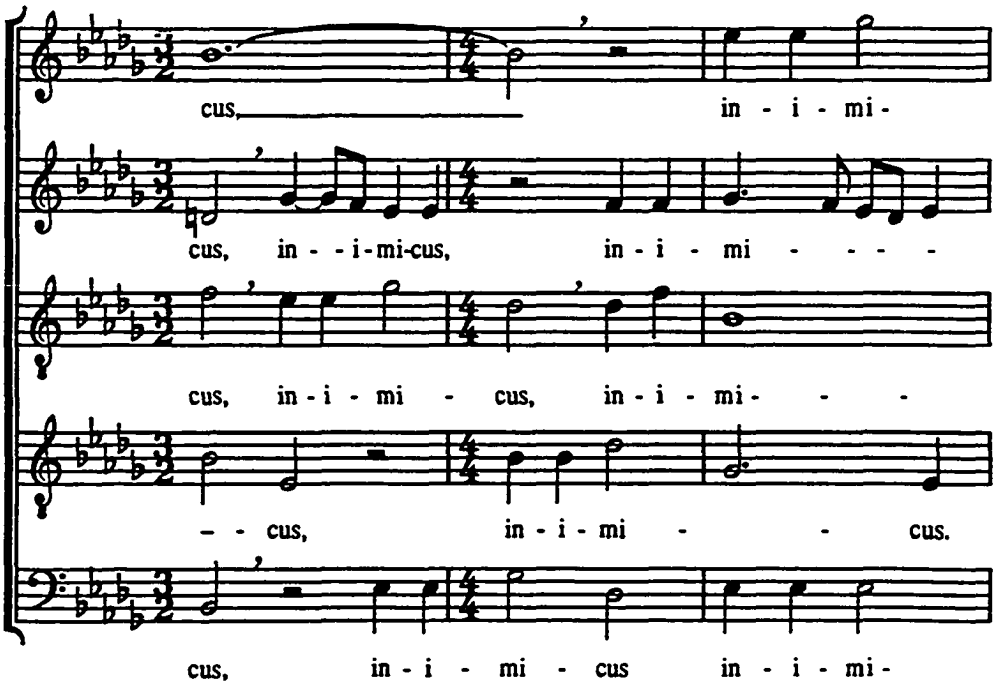
e - re - ctus est

e - re - ctus est

115



in - i - mi - cus, in - i - - mi - - -  
 in - i - mi - - -  
 mi - - - - cus, in - i - mi - - -  
 in - i - mi - - - cus in - i - mi - - -  
 in - i - mi -



cus, in - i - mi -  
 cus, in - - i - mi - cus, in - i - mi - - - -  
 cus, in - i - mi - - - cus, in - i - mi - - -  
 - - - cus, in - i - mi - - - - - cus.  
 cus, in - i - mi - - - cus in - i - mi -

120

cus. Joth

cus.

cus.

cus. Joth

cus.

cus. Joth

125

Joth

Joth

Musical score for five staves, measures 127-130. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The top staff is a treble clef with a melodic line. The second and third staves are also treble clefs with accompaniment. The fourth staff is a treble clef with accompaniment. The bottom staff is a bass clef with accompaniment. The music concludes with a fermata on the final note of each staff.

130

Musical score for five staves, measures 131-134. The key signature is three flats. The top two staves are treble clefs with rests. The third staff is a treble clef with a vocal line. The fourth staff is a treble clef with rests. The bottom staff is a bass clef with accompaniment. The lyrics are: "Ma - num su - am mi - sit ho - - - -" on the vocal line and "Ma - num" on the bass line.

Musical score for measures 128-134. The score consists of five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "Ma - (-stis, ho-) - - - - -". The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "Ma - - num su - am mi - sit ho - -". The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "su - am mi - sit ho - - - - -". The fourth and fifth staves are piano accompaniment.

135

Musical score for measures 135-141. The score consists of five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "- num su - am mi - sit ho - - - - -". The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "Ma - - num su - am". The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "- - - - - (-stis, ho-)". The fourth staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "- - - - - (-stis, ho-) - - - - -". The fifth staff is a piano accompaniment.



140(b)

- - - - stis ad o - mni - a,  
 mi - sit ho - - - - stis ad  
 stis ad o - mni - a,  
 - - - - stis ad o - mni -  
 - - - - stis ad o - - mni -

ad o - mni - a de - si -  
 o - mni - a de - - si - de - ra -  
 ad o - mni - a de -  
 a, ad o - - mni - a de -  
 a, ad o - mni - a de -

145

de - ra - bi - li - a e - ius:  
 bi - li - a e - ius: qui - a  
 -- si - de - ra - bi - li - a e - ius:  
 -- si - de - ra bi - li - a e - ius:  
 -- si - de - ra - bi - li - a e - ius:

qui - a vi - dit  
 vi - dit gen - tes  
 qui - a vi - dit gen  
 qui - a vi - dit gen (b)  
 qui - a vi - dit gen (b)

150

gen - - - tes in - gres -

in - gres - - - sas

tes in - gres - - -

tes in - gres - - - sas

tes in - gres - - -

155

sas san - ctu - a - - ri - um su - um, san - cta - a -

san - ctu - a - ri - - um su - am, san -

sas

san - ctu - a - - ri - um

sas

- ri-um su - - - - um, san - ctu - a -  
 ctu - a - - ri-um su - - - -  
 san - ctu - a - - ri-um su - - - -  
 su - - (-um, su-) - - - - um san -  
 sas san - ctu - a - - ri-um su - - -

160

- ri-um su - - um de qui - bus prae - ce - pe -  
 - (-um, su-) - - - - um  
 - - - - - um de qui - bus prae -  
 ctu - a - - ri-um su - - um de  
 - - - - - um de qui -

ras, de qui - bus prae - ce - pe - ras  
 de qui - bus prae - ce - pe ras  
 ce - peras  
 qui - bus prae - ce - pe - ras  
 - - bus prae - ce - pa -

165

ne in - tra - rent in ec - cle - si - am  
 ras ne in -  
 ne in - tra - rent in ec - cle - si - am  
 ne in - tra - rent in ec - cle - si -  
 ras ne in - tra - rent

170

tu - - - - - (-am,  
tra - rent in ec - cle - si - am

tu - - - - -  
am tu - - - - -  
in ec - cle - si - am

tu-) - - - - -  
tu - - - - -  
(-am, tu-) - - - - -  
tu - - - - -

175

am.

am.

am.

am.

am. Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie - ru - sa -

am.

Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie - ru - sa -

Hie - ru - sa -

lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem, \_\_\_\_\_

180

lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie - - ru - - sa - - -

lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie - ru - sa -

Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie - - ru - sa -

Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie - ru - sa -

185

lem, Hie - - ru - sa - lem:

Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie - ru - -

lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem: con - ver - te -

lem, Hie - - ru - - sa - lem,

lem, Hie - ru - - sa - lem, Hie - ru -



con - ver - te - re ad Do - mi - num

- sa - lem, Hie - ru - sa -

re - ad Do - mi - num

Hie - ru - sa - lem: con - ver - te -

- sa - lem: con - ver - te - re ad Do - mi -

190

con - ver - te - re ad Do - mi - num

- lem: con - ve - te - re ad Do - mi - num

(ad Do - mi -

re ad Do - mi - num

num, ad Do - - - num, con - ver - te - re ad

De - um tu - - - - - um

De - - um tu - -

num)

De - - um tu - - - - - (um,

Do - mi - num De - um

195

De - um tu - - - - - um.

- - - - - (um, tu) - um.

De - - um tu - - um.

tu) - - um.

tu - - - (um, tu) - - um.

200

Caph

Caph

Caph

Caph

Caph

205

O - mnis po - pu - lus e -

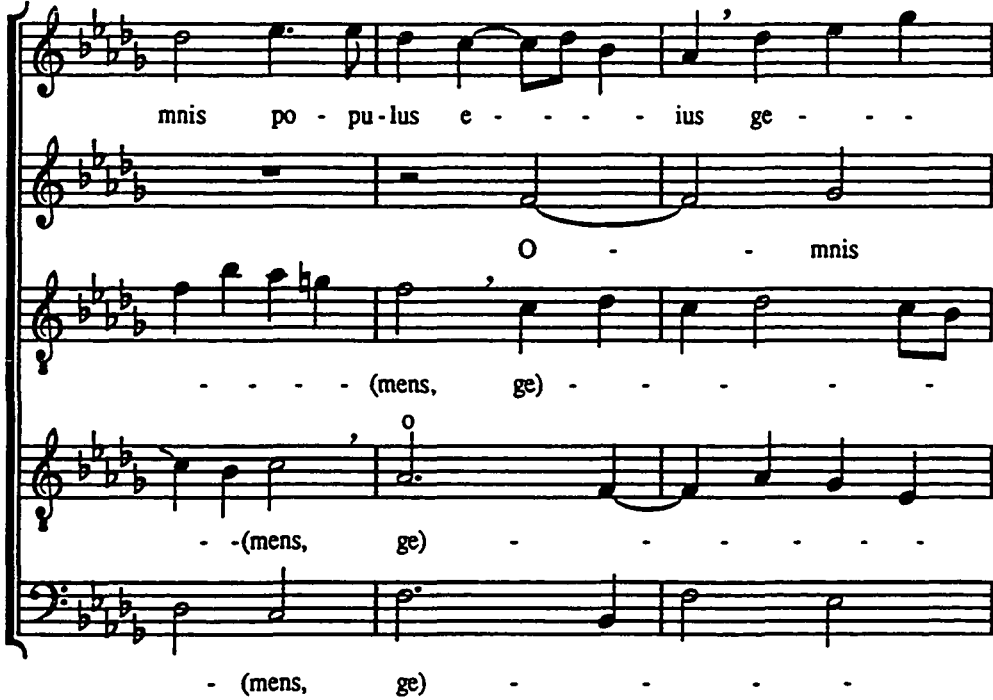
O - - - - - mnis po - pu - lus e -

210



Musical score for measures 210-214. The score consists of five staves. The first two staves are vocal parts with lyrics. The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The fourth and fifth staves are piano accompaniment. The key signature has four flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat, D-flat). Measure 210 has a vocal line with a long note 'O -'. Measure 211 has lyrics 'mnis po - pu-lus e - - ius ge - -'. Measure 212 has lyrics 'ius ge - - - - -'. Measure 213 has lyrics 'ius ge - - - - -'. Measure 214 has lyrics 'ius ge - - - - -'.

215



Musical score for measures 215-219. The score consists of five staves. The first two staves are vocal parts with lyrics. The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The fourth and fifth staves are piano accompaniment. The key signature has four flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat, D-flat). Measure 215 has lyrics 'mnis po - pu-lus e - - - - ius ge - - -'. Measure 216 has lyrics 'O - - - - - mnis'. Measure 217 has lyrics '- - - - (mens, ge) - - - -'. Measure 218 has lyrics '- - (mens, ge) - - - -'. Measure 219 has lyrics '- (mens, ge) - - - -'.

mens et quae - rens  
 po - pu - lus e - - ius ge - mens  
 (mens, ge)  
 mens et

220

pa - - - - - nem:  
 et quae - - rens pa - - -  
 mens et quae - rens  
 mens et quae - rens pa - - -  
 quae - rens pa - - -

de - de - runt pre - ci - o - sa

nems: de - de - runt

pa - nem:

225

quae - que, de - de - runt pre - ci - o - sa

pre - ci - o - sa, de - de - runt pre - ci - o - sa

de - de - runt pre - ci - o - sa quae - que pro -

nem:

nem: de - de - runt

230

quae-que pro ci - - - bo

- quae-que pro ci - - -

ci - - - bo

de - de - runt pre - ci-o - sa quae - que pro ci -

pre - ci - o - - sa quae - que

ad re - fo - cil - lan - dam a - -

bo ad re - fo - cil - lan - dam

ad re - fo - cil - lan - dam a - ni - -

bo ad re - fo - cil - lan - - dam a - -

pro ci - - - bo ad re - fo - cil -



235

- ni - mam. Vi - - -

a - ni - mam. vi - - de,

- - mam. Vi - - -

- ni - mam. Vi - - -

lan - dam a - ni - mam. Vi - - -

de, Do - - mi - ne

Do - mi - ne, et con - si - de -

de, Do - - mi - ne,

de, Do - - mi - ne, et con - si - de -

de, Do, - - mi - ne

240

et con-si - de - ra, et con - si - de - ra:  
 ra, et con - si - de - ra:  
 et con-si - de - ra:  
 ra:  
 et con-si - de - ra:

245

quo - ni-am fa - cta sum vi - - -  
 quo - ni-am fa - cta sum vi -  
 quo - ni - am fa - cta sum vi - -  
 quo - ni - am fa - cta  
 quo - ni -

(lis, Vi) - - - - - lis - - - - -  
(lis, vi) - - - - -  
sum vi - - - (lis, vi) - - - - - lis.  
am fa - cta sum vi - - - - - lis.

250

lis. La - - - - -  
lis. La - - - - -  
La - - - - -

Musical score for measures 250-254. The score is written for five staves. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The time signature is 4/4. The notation includes various note values, rests, and slurs. The word "La" is written above the third staff in measure 252 and below the fourth staff in measure 253.

255

Musical score for measures 255-259. The score is written for five staves. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The time signature changes from 3/2 to 4/4. The notation includes various note values, rests, slurs, and a circled 'b' in measure 259.

260

mech.

mech.

mech.

mech.

mech.

O vos o - - mnes

O vos o - - -

265

O vos o - mnes

O vos o - - mnes qui tran -

O vos o - - mnes

mnes (o - - - - mnes)

O vos o - mnes

qui tran - si - tis per vi - am,

si - tis per vi - am, at - ten - di -

qui tran - si - tis per vi -

qui tran - si - tis per vi - am, at -

qui tran - si - tis per vi - am,

270

at - ten - di-te et vi -  
 te et vi - de -  
 am, at - ten - di - te  
 ten - di-te et vi - de -  
 at - ten - di - te et vi - de -

275

de - - - te  
 te si est  
 et vi - de - - - te  
 te si  
 te si est do -

si est do - -  
do - - - - - lor  
si est  
est do - lor  
lor

280

- lor sic - ut do - lor me - -  
sic - ut do - lor me - - - -  
do - - lor sic - - ut do - lor  
sic - - ut do - - lor me - -  
sic - ut do - lor me - -



us: quo - ni

me - us: us: quo - -

us: quo - - ni - am vin

us: quo - -

285

am vi - de - - mi - a - - vit - -

quo - - ni - am vin - de - - mi - a - - vit

- ni - am vin - de - - mi - a - - vit - -

de - mi - a - - vit - -

- ni - - am vin - de - -

290

me, ut lo - cu - tus est

me, ut lo - cu - tus est Do - - - - -

me, ut lo -

me, ut lo - cu - tus est Do - - -

- mi - a - - vit me, ut lo -

Do - mi-nus, Do - mi-nus in

- mi - nus in di - e i - rae fu - ro - ris

cu - tus est Do - mi-nus, Do - mi-nus

- - mi - nus in di - e i - rae fu -

cu - tus est Do - mi-nus in di - e

295

di - e i - rae fu ro - ris su - - - - -  
su - - - - -  
in di - e i - rae fu-ro - ris su - - - - -  
ro - ris su - - - - -  
i - rae fu - ro - ris su - - - - -

i. Mem  
i.  
i.  
i. Mem  
i. Mem

300

Mem

Mem

Detailed description: This system contains five staves of music for measures 300-304. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The time signature changes from 3/2 to 4/4. The first staff has a long melodic line with a slur. The second staff has a melodic line with a slur and the word 'Mem' below it. The third staff has a melodic line with a slur and the word 'Mem' below it. The fourth staff has a melodic line with a slur. The fifth staff has a bass line with a slur.

305

Detailed description: This system contains five staves of music for measures 305-309. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The time signature is 4/4. The first staff has a melodic line with a slur. The second staff has a melodic line with a slur. The third staff has a melodic line with a slur and a circled 'b' above the final note. The fourth staff has a melodic line with a slur. The fifth staff has a bass line with a slur.

Musical score for five staves, measures 308-310. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The first staff has a soprano clef and a fermata over the first measure. The second and third staves have a fermata over the first measure. The fourth and fifth staves have a fermata over the first measure. The music consists of various note values and rests.

310

Musical score for five staves, measures 310-311. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The first three staves contain rests. The fourth staff has the lyrics "De ex - cel - so mi - sit i - -". The fifth staff has the lyrics "De ex - cel - so".

De ex -

De ex - cel - so mi - sit i - - - -

mi - sit i - - - - (-gnem,

315

De ex - cel - so mi - sit

cel - so - mi - sit i - - - -

(-gnem, i-) - - - -

i-) - - - - (-gnem, i-) - - - -

320

i - gnem in os - si - bus me - - -

gnem in os - si -

(-gnem, i-)

is: et e - ru - di -

in os - si - bus me - - -

bus me - - - is: et e - ru -

gnem in os - si - bus me - is: et e - ru -

325

- vit me, et e - ru - di - vit me.  
 is: et e - ru - di - vit me. Ex -  
 e - ru - di - vit \_\_\_\_\_ me.  
 di - vit me. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ et e - ru - di - vit \_\_\_\_\_ me.

Ex - pan - - dit rhe - te pe - - di - bus  
 pan - dit rhe - - te pe - - di - bus me - - -  
 Ex - pan - dit rhe - - te pe -  
 Ex - pan - dit rhe - te pe - - di - bus  
 Ex - pan - - dit rhe - te pe - di -



330

me - - is, con - ve - tit me re -

me - - is, con - ver - tit me

- di-bus me - is, con -

me - - - is, con - ver - tit me re -

bus me - is, con - ver -

335

tror - - - - - sum. Po - su -

re - - - - - tror - - -

ver - tit me re - tror - - - sum.

tror - - - - - sum.

tit - - - me re - tror - - - sum.



di - e mae - ro - re con - - fe - - ctam, con -  
 mae - ro - - re con - - fe - - - -  
 to - ta di - e mae - ro - re con -  
 to - ta di - e mae - ro - re con -  
 e, to - ta di - e mae -

345

fe - - - ctam. Hie - ru - sa -  
 - - ctam. Hie - ru - sa -  
 fe - - - ctam. Hie - ru - sa -  
 fe - ctam.  
 ro - re con-fe - ctam.

350

lem, Hie - ru - sa - - - lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie -

lem, Hie - ru - sa - - lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie -

lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie -

Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie -

Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie -

(b)

ru - sa - lem Hie - ru - sa - lem, Hie -

ru - sa - lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem,

ru - sa - lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem,

ru - sa - lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem,

ru - sa - lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem,

355

ru - sa - lem, Hie - ru - sa-lem, Hie -  
 Hie - ru - sa-lem, Hie - ru - sa -  
 Hie - ru - sa-lem, Hie - ru - sa -  
 Hie - ru - sa-lem, Hie - ru - sa -  
 Hie - ru - sa-lem, Hie - ru - sa -

ru - sa - lem: con - ver - te - re, con -  
 lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem: con - ver - te - re,  
 lem, Hie - ru - sa - - - lem: con - ver - te - re,  
 lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem: con - ver - te - re,  
 lem, Hie - ru - sa - lem: con - ver - te - re,

360

ver - te-re, con - ver - te - re, con -  
con - ver - te - re, con - ver - te - re,  
con - ver - te - re, con - ver - te - re,  
con - ver - te - re, con - ver - te - re,  
con - ver - te - re, con - ver - te - re,

(b) 365

ver - tere ad Do - mi - - num  
con - ver - te - re ad  
con - ver - te - re ad Do - mi - -  
con - ver - te -  
con - ver - te - re

De - - um tu - -

Do - mi - - num

(-num, Do - - mi-) - num

re ad Do - mi - - num De - um

ad Do - mi-num

370

um, De - - um tu - -

De - um

De - um tu - -

tu - - (um tu) --

De - um tu - -

um, De um tu  
tu um,  
um, De um  
um, De um tu  
um,

375

um.  
De um tu - um.  
tu um.  
(-um, tu-) um.  
De um tu um.



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