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*I hereby recommend that the thesis prepared under my
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entitled THE LATIN CHURCH MUSIC OF THOMAS MORLEY

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degree of* Doctor of Musical Arts in Choral Conducting

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THE LATIN CHURCH MUSIC
OF THOMAS MORLEY

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PREFACE

It is not generally appreciated that Thomas Morley (1557-c. 1602), consummate madrigalist and author of the celebrated treatise,¹ was an important composer of sacred music. In addition to music for the English Church, Morley composed ten complete works to Latin texts, two of which are in two parts. None of these pieces was published during his lifetime. Indeed, they appeared rarely until 1959, when H. K. Andrews and Thurston Dart compiled and edited the body of music in Thomas Morley: Collected Motets.²

Only recently have scholars given attention to the works. An accurate measure of the orientation of scholarship in the early part of this century is seen in a lecture given to the Royal Music Association by H. B. Collins in 1912. In a lengthy discussion of "Latin Church Music by Early English Composers," Collins discusses a host of composers from Fayrfax to Gibbons; the name of Thomas Morley is not mentioned.

To my knowledge, no separate study of the Latin works exists. The purpose of this investigation is to identify

¹Thomas Morley, A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music, ed. by R. Alec Harman, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1963).

²H. K. Andrews and Thurston Dart, eds., Thomas Morley: Collected Motets (London: Stainer and Bell, 1959).

style and technique in the motets, and examine their position with respect to Morley's career and the history of sacred music in Elizabethan England.

Analysis will be based on the aforementioned collection, which, in turn, has been compared to the earliest known manuscript sources (see Appendix 2). Quotations from primary source material are presented in contemporary English. Two incomplete works, Heu mihi and In manus tuas, are not included in this investigation.

I am grateful for the advice and assistance of Mr. Robert Johnson, librarian of the College-Conservatory of Music, who helped in the securing of the microfilm copies of British Museum and Bodleian Library manuscripts.

Special words of appreciation are due Dr. Elmer Thomas for his unselfish concern, thoughtful advice and inspiration.

To my wife, Mary, and son, John, go my deepest gratitude for their patience and understanding.

I. RENAISSANCE ENGLAND

A. THE RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT AND MUSIC

A brief look at the relationship between music and the Reformation in England begins with the events of November, 1534—Henry VIII's official break with the Church of Rome through the Act of Supremacy. The case against the church music of the day is expressed in the writings of Erasmus:

The choristers themselves do not understand what they are singing, yet according to priests and monks it constitutes the whole of religion. . . . They have so much of it in England that the monks attend to nothing else. A set of creatures who ought to be lamenting their sins fancy they can please God by gurgling in their throats. Boys are kept in the English Benedictine colleges solely and simply to sing morning hymns to the Virgin. If they want music let them sing Psalms like rational beings, and not too many of those.¹

The dissolution of the monasteries, a process which took place approximately between the years 1536 and 1586, was one of the responses of the new foundation. In 1535 (the year in which Henry appointed Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, to draw up injunctions) it is unlikely that any wide-ranging liturgical reform was being contemplated.² Nevertheless, the process of change was well

¹Quoted in Elwyn A. Wienandt, Opinions on Church Music (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 1974), p. 3.

²Peter Le Huray, Music and the Reformation in England: 1549-1660 (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967), p. 4.

under way in the next decade. In a famous letter to Henry VIII in 1544, Cranmer stated his recommendation that each syllable of text be treated with one note of music. Shortly afterward, at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI, the Lincoln Cathedral Injunctions (1548) stated the case succinctly:

. . . They shall from henceforth sing or say no Anthems of our lady or other saints but only of our lord and them not in Latin but choosing out the best and most sounding to christen religion they shall turn the same into English setting there unto a plain and distinct note, for every syllable one, they shall sing them and none other¹

As a sequel, on January 21, 1549, came the First Act of Uniformity, and, within four months, the First Book of Common Prayer. Significantly, the book designed to replace the Latin manuals contained no music, and the musicians were left to ponder their responsibility.

The reign of Mary (1553-1558) restored the Latin liturgy, but had little affect on the developing trends in music. In fact, the Catholic interlude did much to disturb the transition to an English service. The clergy was faced with the celibacy issue again, the musicians were given a new set of rules.

One year after the birth of Thomas Morley, Elizabeth took the throne. Her reign (1558-1603) coincides almost exactly with the composer's life. In 1559, the last Latin

¹Wienandt, p. 11.

Mass was said at St. Paul's Cathedral, to coincide with Elizabeth's Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy. Her attitude toward music differed from that of most of her associates in the administrative circle, however, and established a high aesthetic character for the country. During the summer of 1559 she issued injunctions. Included among some extra clauses was one which dealt specifically with music:

Item, because in diverse Collegiate, and also some parish Churches, heretofore there have been livings appointed for the maintenance of men and children, to use singing in the church, by means whereof, the laudable science of music has been had in estimation, and preserved in knowledge: the Queen's Majesty, neither meaning in any wise the decay of any thing that might conveniently tend to the use and continuance of the said science, neither to have the same in any part so abused in the church, that thereby the common prayer should be the worse understood of the hearers, willeth and commandeth, that first no alteration be made of such assignments of living, as heretofore have been appointed to the use of singing or music in the Church, but that the same so remain. And that there be a modest distinct song, so used in all parts of the common prayers in the Church, that the same may be as plainly understood, as if it were read without singing, and yet, nevertheless, for the comforting of such that delight in music, it may be permitted that in the beginning, or in the end of common prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an Hymn, or such like song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the Hymn may be understood and perceived. . . .¹

In 1560, Walter Haddon issued his Liber precum publicarum, a Latin translation of the Book of Common Prayer. Though it carried the unfortunate nickname, "The Pope's

¹Walter Howard Frere, Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation, 3 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1910), 3:22-23.

Dreggs," it was supported by an injunction which allowed its use at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and at the cathedrals of Winchester and Eton.

During this time the attitude of the crown toward recusant Catholics—those who refused to attend the established Church—was one of leniency, for the most part. The turning point for both Elizabeth and the Catholics came, however, with the Regnans in Excelsis of Pope Pius V in 1570. According to this historic document Elizabeth was excommunicated, and the Catholics were faced with a genuine dilemma: either they were disloyal to the Church of Rome, or they were traitors to the government of England.

The penalty for recusancy had been fines, which at this time were increased. The papal bull gave incentive to Catholic missionaries, whose activities centered around English College in Douai. The approximately two hundred executions which did ensue were inevitable. In the end, Elizabeth's distinction between recusancy and treason allowed inconspicuous musical activity allied to the old church. William Byrd is the prime example of this. Though he was fined and his house was searched on occasion, he remained a Catholic his entire life, composing to Latin and English texts, and listening to Mass in private chapels and homes. Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur (1575), the first English printing of music to Latin texts, was dedicated to the Queen. This was the manner in which its

joint authors, Byrd and Tallis, chose to honor Elizabeth after the granting of the printing monopoly.

By the end of Elizabeth's reign the English service was established. The essential organization of the cathedrals had been maintained. The monks worked their way into the musical system, becoming choirmasters, private teachers, or the like. In the final analysis the most important effect of the religious settlement was the change to the vernacular. The majority of Elizabeth's subjects were willing to accept this change, and eager to enter into congregational participation. Meanwhile, musical development in England did not involve the country at large. The people in the parish churches experienced relatively little music. The vital activity took place in London, where the best musicians of the age were employed at the cathedrals of Windsor and St. Paul's, and, chiefly, at the Chapel Royal.

B. SACRED MUSIC AND MUSICIANS
IN ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND

In the early part of the century English musical taste lagged behind that of the continent. Thurston Dart's depiction of this through the relation to music printing is revealing: "the little that was published is crude and trivial when placed by the flood of exquisitely printed music pouring from the presses of men like Petrucci and his imitators in Italy, or Schoeffer and his successors in Mainz."¹ Further, in 1550, "the whole output of the London music printers . . . could be comfortably carried in one hand. . . ."² The growth during the Elizabethan period was impressive. During the period from 1587 to 1593 the output from the press of Thomas East "was greater than that of all the previous eighty years of the century added together."³

From the middle of the century "fully choral services were to be heard . . . in some forty or so cathedrals, churches and chapels in England, Ireland and Wales, sung by choirs ranging in size from no more than eight to as many as forty-four men and boys."⁴ Unfortunately we cannot be certain of the repertoire, since copies of the part-books have perished. Obviously, no tradition existed for the cathedrals,

¹Thurston Dart, Foreward to A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music by Thomas Morley, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1963), p. vi.

²Ibid., p. vii.

³Ibid., p. xi.

⁴Le Huray, p. 13.

and the first complete collection of service music did not come until 1641.¹ Elizabethan choirs, therefore, sang from manuscript and thrived on the oral tradition.

Choirs consisted of four to five voice parts, with the following distribution:

treble	}	boys
meane		
countertenor	}	men
tenor		
bass		

The tenor was the most common voice, and the treble was used rarely. In most pieces the meane was the top part, and consisted of all the boys.

The cathedral foundation presented the following heirarchy:

priests (called, variously, minor canon or vicars choral)

laymen (vicars choral, singing men, lay clerks)

master of choristers

choristers (singing boys)²

Generally, there was no prescribed place for the organist, who would have been selected from among the members of the group.

¹John Barnard's The First Book of Selected Church Musicke.

²Walter L. Woodfill, Musicians in English Society (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), p. 135.

Masters of the choristers were required to teach singing, pricksong (performing from written or pricked, music), descant (vocal improvisation, and, later, composition) and performance upon instruments. In addition, they were charged with the maintenance of the boys. After the choristers' voices changed, they were usually guided into the ministry, into the universities, or into one of the allied arts.

The finer musician usually began as a singing boy in a cathedral and proceeded to one of the larger establishments. In this respect Thomas Morley's progression from Norwich Cathedral to St. Paul's is typical. During this time Norwich had positions for both organist and master of choristers, and supported eight singing boys. When one person assumed both duties, the salaries were combined.

While Morley was organist at St. Paul's there were twelve priests, six lay musicians and ten choristers.¹ Being one of the most important cathedrals in England, St. Paul's was at the forefront and became affected by the developments of the age. During Edward's reign the first litany in English was sung there, and the high altar and images of the Virgin were removed.² Archbishop Cranmer's reforms had called for the silencing of organs there in 1552,

¹Le Huray, p. 15.

²David Scott, The Music of Saint Paul's Cathedral (London: Stainer and Bell, 1972), p. 11.

and in the following decade Dean Nowell, a progressive reformer, was one of the signees of a proposal calling for the abolishment of "all curious singing and the playing of the organs."¹ Fortunately, the Queen took it upon herself to protect music at the cathedral. In 1559, the boys of St. Paul's gave their first performance for Elizabeth. This theatrical engagement was one of many which were provided for the royalty, often in conjunction with the boys at the Chapel Royal.

Contemporary accounts are unkind to the cathedral organizations. The overall opinion tends to reinforce the view that cathedrals declined under the new order. Some sources from the close of the period provide examples. Bishop Bancroft's visit to St. Paul's in 1598 found the boys spending their time "in talk and hunting after spur-money, even in service time; the hallooing and hooting above in the steeple were intolerable at diverse times."² The organ had been mistreated to the extent that "there was not enough wind 'to give sound to the instrument,' [and] the bellows were jogged."³ The best authority is Morley, himself, who laments the state of affairs in his treatise:

. . . though a song be never so well made and never so aptly applied to the words yet shall you hardly find

¹Le Huray, p. 35.

²Woodfill, p. 146.

³Le Huray, p. 43.

singers to express it as it ought to be, for most of our churchmen, so they can cry louder in their choir than their fellows, care for no more, whereas by the contrary they ought to study how to vowel and sing clean, expressing their words with devotion and passion whereby to draw the hearer, as it were, in chains of gold by the ear to the consideration of holy things. But this for the most part you shall find amongst them, that let them continue never so long in the church, yea though it were twenty years, they will never study to sing better than they did the first day of their preferment to that place. . . .¹

The exemplary musical activity took place at the Chapel Royal. Musicians there were required to provide music for the daily services at the court and palaces, and to accompany the Queen, occasionally, on her travels. The Chapel's organization remained essentially the same throughout the period. The lord chamberlain was the general supervisor, while the subdean presided over the daily activities. By mid-century thirty-two men, including the chaplain, singing men, a master of children and a secretary, balanced the assemblage of twelve singing boys.² The organists came from the gentlemen, and were the finest players available (Byrd, Tallis and John Bull are examples). Men generally joined at the "Epistoler" rank, proceeded to "Gospeller," and finally to "Gentleman in Ordinary." The position provided prestige and security—about thirty pounds a year during Elizabeth's reign. When this was raised to forty pounds in 1604, the attitude of the gentlemen, who had

¹Morley, p. 293.

²Woodfill, p. 162.

struggled up through the ranks of the cathedrals, was immortalized in a marginal comment written into the Checque Book: "cursed be the party that taketh this leaf out of this book. Amen."¹

Ironically, it was the court, with its great composers and performers, which gave England its wealth of sacred music in Elizabethan times. John Case, an eminent writer supporting music, pays reverence to some of the musicians of the day in his Apologia musices (1588), written after the defeat of the Spanish Armada:²

et quae causa nunc est cur hos superstites
ad hos viros Birdum, Mundanum, Bullum,
Morleum, Doulandum, Jonsonum. . . .³

¹Edward F. Rimbault, ed., The Old Checque Book; or, Book of Remembrance of the Chapel Royal from 1561 to 1744, reprint ed. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1966), p. 61.

²A Latin version of his Praise of Music.

³Quoted in Henry Davey, History of English Music, reprint ed. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), pp. 127-28. "For which reasons now these men are outstanding—Byrd, Mundy, Bull, Morley, Dowland, Jonson. . . ."

C. THE ELIZABETHAN MOTET¹

In his article on the motet in Elizabethan England, Joseph Kerman describes the late-century motet as a "major art-form under peremptory death sentence."² Nevertheless, it is his opinion that the demise came some time after Elizabeth, and that Latin church music flourished alongside the madrigal, perhaps even as "the richest form of English music until as late as 1590."³ The effects of the Reformation were certainly more telling in England. Composers in the early part of the century had only begun to adopt continental practices when the break with Rome came. Yet, under the leadership of the great Catholic, William Byrd, English composers did assimilate the style; at the same time, they were laying the groundwork for the form that would replace the motet in England—the anthem.

After mid-century, allegiance to the Sarum rite for the source of texts was no longer an issue. Psalm texts gradually became most favored, and settings of psalms (so-called, "psalm-motets") developed into the "new motet style

¹The term, "motet," is used here as synonymous with non-Mass "Latin church music," in accordance with commonly-accepted usage, and for the sake of convenience.

²Joseph Kerman, "The Elizabethan Motet: A Study of Texts for Music," Studies in the Renaissance 9 (1962): 273.

³Ibid., p. 277.

of the Elizabethan period."¹ The cantus firmus technique came to be rejected in favor of a broad imitative texture. William Byrd's motet collections of 1589 and 1591 include only three examples of cantus firmus usage. These pieces could not have been used in the daily Office, "though they may well have served to bring about a musical, as opposed to a liturgical climax in the daily services of Elizabeth's Chapel Royal."² The Queen's disposition in the 1559 Injunction, already noted, seems to support that idea. Aside from this, it is probable that the motets were used by amateurs, and could have been exported easily for use in Catholic countries.

Beyond the search for a practical raison d'etre lies the conspicuous value of the motet on purely musical grounds. Traditional techniques and ideals persisted. According to Morrison Boyd, composing to Latin was a "labor of Love," and composers preferred the "spiritual and artistic superiority of the contrapuntal style so long associated with the use of that language, rather than the cruder musical idiom that after the Reformation was for a time associated with the English tongue."³

¹Denis Stevens, Tudor Church Music (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1961), p. 43.

²Stevens, p. 42.

³M. C. Boyd, Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940), p. 64.

The influence of the aesthetic of the day (that music serves the text) seems to have affected the Elizabethan motet, as well. Kerman's study reveals that this is certainly the case with William Byrd. After the 1575 Cantiones Sacrae his texts were chosen not for liturgical or technical reasons, but as he wanted them.¹ Furthermore, the subjective treatment of words, a clear Italian influence, was of some importance.

The term, "motet," was probably not in common usage when Morley defined it in 1597:

A motet is properly a song made for the church, either upon some hymn or anthem or such like, and that name I take to have been given to that kind of music in opposition to the other which they call Canto Firmo and we do commonly call Plainsong; for as nothing is more opposite to standing and firmness than motion, so did they give the Motet that name of moving because it is in a manner quite contrary to the other, which after some sort and in respect of the other standeth still.²

Morley's imagination is as vast as his etymology is inaccurate. Once through surmising, however, the author provides a telling appraisal of the genre:

This kind of all others which are made on a ditty requir-eth most art and moveth and causeth most strange effects in the hearer, being aptly framed for the ditty and well expressed by the singer, for it will draw the auditor (and specially the skilful auditor) into a devout and reverent kind of consideration of Him for whose praise it was made.³

¹Kerman, p. 292.

²Morley, p. 292.

³Ibid., pp. 292-93.

II. THOMAS MORLEY

Much of the life of Thomas Morley is shrouded in mystery. The sources do not always agree on the little amount that is known, though recent efforts on the part of Frank Harrison and, especially, Watkins Shaw have done much to corroborate the facts and uncover new information.

The best judgment is that Thomas Morley was born in or around Norwich and was the son of Francis Morley, a beer brewer. The date of birth is confirmed by a note on the second alto part of the composer's motet, Domine, non est exaltatum: "Thomas Morley aetatis suae 19 anno domini 1576." Morley's father may have been the head verger at the cathedral at Norwich, as well. It is not known where Morley received his early music education.

In 1574, the seventeen-year-old Morley was granted reversion of the office of "magister et instructor" of the eight singing boys at Norwich Cathedral. This signified that he would replace Edmund Inglott, who had held that position since 1554, upon his death. Though there is record of payments made to Morley during the next year, it was not until the spring of 1583 when he actually assumed the joint position of organist and master of choristers at Norwich. He remained in this employ until the summer of 1587.

During his last year at Norwich, Morley married a certain Susan, who had been in the service of the Lady Periam. During the following church year, William Inglott (son of Edmund) succeeded Morley, and the latter moved his family to London. In 1588, at the age of thirty-one, he was granted the Bachelor of Music degree at Oxford. In February of the same year the Morleys' first child, Thomas, died.

The first actual record of Morley in London is in the spring of 1589, when he may have received his appointment to St. Paul's Cathedral. He was certainly in the prestigious position by 1591, as is verified by the record of Elizabeth's progress to Elvetham in Hampshire: "a notable consort of six musicians so highly pleased her, that she gave a new name unto one of those pavans made long since by Master Thomas Morley, then organist of St. Paul's Church."¹

Also in 1591, a famous letter was written by the notorious Catholic agent, Charles Paget, in which Morley is mentioned as being involved in suspect Protestant maneuvers in Flanders. (This incident will be discussed in detail later.)

It is not known when Morley left St. Paul's. In 1592, the Cheque-Book records his entry into the Chapel

¹John Nichols, The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, 3 vols., 2nd ed. (London: J. Nichols and Son, 1823), 3:108.

Royal: "Tho. Morley sworne the 24th of July in Mr. Greene's roome."¹ An entry of November 18 of the same year clarifies his position: "The same day also was sworne . . . Thomas Morleye from the Epistler's place to the Gospeller's place and waiges. . . ."² No other information concerning his activities in service of the Queen exists.

The next year marked the beginning of an eight-year period of secular music publications, upon which the fame of the composer rests. During this time Morley issued six sets of his own music, two sets of Italian madrigals "englished," the Consort Lessons of 1599 and the celebrated Triumphs of Oriana in 1601. The collection of four-voiced madrigals of 1594 marks the first time the word "madrigal" was used for music written "in England by an Englishman to English words."³

From 1596 until 1601 the Morley family resided in Little St. Helen's in Bishopsgate, in the company of the noted playwright, William Shakespeare, and the master, William Byrd. The baptism of daughter, Frauncys, is recorded on August 19, 1596. She was buried at St. Helen's on January 2, 1599. In addition to Frauncys, the Morleys had two more children—Christopher, baptized June 26, 1599, and Anne, baptized July 28, 1600.

¹Rimbault, p. 5.

²Ibid., p. 34.

³Dart, Foreward, p. xi.

This period was also marked by the confessed illness of the composer, as noted in the most distinguished English treatise of the Renaissance, A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (1597). On September 28, 1598, two years after the patent held jointly by Byrd and Tallis had expired, Morley was granted the monopoly to print music and music paper. In May of 1600 he assigned the privilege to Thomas East, presumably because of his declining health. The last mention of Thomas Morley is probably the Checque-Book notation: "1602. George Woodson (from Windsore) was sworne the 7th of October in Thos. Morleye's roome."¹

Some doubtful issues deserve further explanation. Watkins Shaw suggests that Morley was brought up as a chorister at Norwich Cathedral, around 1565-72.² This seems consistent with the granting of the reversion in 1574, since the cathedral chapter would have to have had something on which to base their decision. Further, it was customary for a boy to stay in the location in which he was reared, unless he became impressed by the master of choristers at the Chapel Royal or St. Paul's. This latter possibility is suggested by H. W. Grattan Flood, who states as certain knowledge that Thomas Morley was one of Sebastian Westcott's

¹Rimbault, p. 6.

²H. Watkins Shaw, "Thomas Morley of Norwich," Musical Times 106 (Sept., 1965): 669.

singing boys at St. Paul's.¹ Whatever the truth, it is clear that Morley had demonstrated unusual musical skill at an early age, to the extent that the Norwich Chapter accepted him as suited for the master of choristers position at seventeen.

Morley's well-known dedication of the treatise to "the most excellent Master William Byrd," is the most clear reference to that relationship. Unfortunately, there is no record indicating the dates of circumstances bringing the two together. It can only be surmised that the tutelage had begun at least by 1576, the date of Morley's earliest motets. How long it lasted cannot be determined, though it is clear that Byrd continued to provide Morley with inspiration throughout his life. The best assumption is that the two were engaged actively during the 1570's.

Periods of transition in the composer's life are blurred. As it appears, Morley left Norwich for London before the appointment to St. Paul's. Several explanations for this have been proposed, yet they all are speculative. Kenneth Long suggests the possibility which seems the most obvious: that Morley received his appointment while still in Norwich.² The situation after St. Paul's is no less

¹W. H. Grattan Flood, "New Light on Late Tudor Composers: Thomas Morley," Musical Times 68 (1927): 228. This is perhaps based on a note on p. 197 of the Cheque-Book suggesting same.

²Kenneth R. Long, The Music of the English Church (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1971), p. 138.

puzzling. There is no record of his resigning the post, or of anyone succeeding him. Cathedral choirs were known to suffer at the hands of the Chapel Royal, which "contributed . . . to their difficulties because men appointed to it usually kept their old place along with the new, in spite of the fact that they seldom could, or bothered to, serve in their old place themselves, or provide substitutes."¹ It is possible that this was the case with Thomas Morley, though the record cannot verify it.

The exact date of Morley's death is uncertain.

Several facts contribute to the consideration:

1. 1602: Notions that he merely retired in 1602 are dispelled by the record which shows that Chapel Royal appointments were for life.
2. 1606: An entry in the Stationer's Company record suggests this date. In addition, Morley's three-part canzonets of 1593 were republished in this year with the addition of four Morley works. It is assumed that they were written earlier.
3. 1607: A line in the dedication to Byrd's Gradualia II, remarks on the untimely death of one of his students (no doubt, Morley).
4. 1608: Weelkes' three-part ayres contain an elegy on Morley's death.

It seems, in conclusion, that Morley could have died as early as 1602. He may well have been living until 1606 or 1607, but was most certainly dead in 1608, at the age of fifty.

Some additional points are worth investigation. The matter of the Oxford degree is the first of these. At that

¹Woodfill, p. 152.

time the music lecture was not in favorable standing. In fact, Morrison Boyd points out that "the serious study of music had seemed to many a pursuit both unnecessary and unworthy, since it had been associated chiefly with the composition and singing of complicated Papist music."¹

In actuality, the curriculum at Oxford was essentially removed from the realm of the composer and performer.

Rooted in the tradition of the teaching of the seven liberal arts,² Oxford provided a music lecture consisting primarily of Boethius' De Musica. During Morley's time the lecture was threatened by a series of petitions by the instructors, from 1562-1597, calling for the dissolution of music study at the school.³ Six years before Morley received the degree, for example, one "Matthew Guin found it difficult to find books suitable for his lectures, and said the science was considered useless and uncommon."⁴ Other teachers complained of the lack of attendance at their lectures. Despite this, during the period between 1583 and 1603, applications for the degree were numerous, and the following, in addition to Morley, were granted the Bachelor of Music: Nathaniel Giles,

¹Boyd, p. 1.

²Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy and Music.

³David G. T. Harris, "Musical Education in Tudor Times (1485-1603)," Proceedings of the Royal Music Association 65 (1939): 124.

⁴Ibid.

John Bull, John Mundy, John Dowland, Giles Farnaby and Thomas Weelkes.¹

For these musicians, the degree still meant considerable prestige. Records are not reliable concerning the requirements for the Bachelor of Music. The degree was frequently granted in recognition of years spent teaching, studying, or practicing music. In these cases, each applicant was given his own regulations. Because Morley was at Norwich from 1583 to 1587, we can assume that his degree was granted in this manner. Some study at the school is suggested, however, by his treatise. In this regard, Carpenter indicates that most of the treatises appearing in Renaissance England can be traced to Oxford.²

One further episode in the educational history of Elizabethan England appears to bear some relation to Morley. The establishment of a college upon the death and at the request of the merchant, Sir Thomas Gresham in 1596, provided an alternative to the music lecture at Oxford. It is curious that neither Oxford nor Cambridge was able to provide the first music lecturer. The Queen finally appointed John Bull, who was forced to give the "solemn music lecture" in English, since he did not know Latin! Nevertheless,

¹Harris, p. 127.

²Nan Cooke Carpenter, Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 177.

according to a Gresham biographer, the trio of Byrd, Wilbye and Morley cultivated the music lectureship with considerable success.¹

It is significant to note that the rolls of music lecturers at Oxford include none of the great Elizabethan composers. The important place for music study was the private studio, as exemplified by the Byrd-Morley association.

The patent acquisition provides a look at Morley's character at one instance in his life. It is clear that a letter from the composer to the influential Sir Robert Cecil, dated July 23, 1598, was for the purpose of gaining the monopoly.² In that letter Morley promised one-half the expected proceeds to one Christopher Heybourne. Further, his apparent zeal was shown by his rejection of the first wording, allowing him the privilege "to imprint or cause to be imprinted any set songs or parts of songs whatsoever or howsoever to be sung or played."³ With Cecil's apparent influence, the final monopoly adds the phrase, ". . . in any tongue serving for the music either of church or chamber and also for the ruling of any paper by impression to serve for the pricking or printing of any song or songs."⁴ This,

¹Burton, Life of Sir Thomas Gresham, quoted in Rimbault, p. 198.

²letter in Hatfield mss., part 8, p. 273.

³Dart, Foreward, p. xii.

⁴Ibid.

unfortunately, collided with patents held by Mr. Seres and Mr. Day of the Stationer's Company, and confrontations ensued. After unsuccessful attempts by Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, to bring the parties into agreement, the House of Commons ruled, in 1600, that no further monopolies would be granted. This whole matter reflects badly on the respectability of Thomas Morley late in his life.

Finally we come to the relationship between Thomas Morley and the Catholics, a matter which bears directly on a consideration of the Latin church music. The oft-quoted letter of October 3, 1591, from Charles Paget to his Catholic colleague, Monsieur Giles Martin, residing in London, provides the essential evidence:

There is one Morley that playeth upon the organs in poules that was with me in my house. He seemed here to be a good Catholic and was reconciled, but notwithstanding suspecting his behavior I intercepted letters that Mr. Nowell wrote to him, whereby I discovered enough to have hanged him. Nevertheless he showing with tears great repentance, and asking on his knees forgiveness, I was content to let him go. I hear since his coming thither he has played the promoter and apprehendeth Catholics.¹

The Mr. Nowell referred to in the letter is no doubt the Dean of St. Paul's, the aforementioned reformist, who would have been an apt person to direct Protestant activities such as those described in the letter. It is clear that Morley was involved in a serious business. As David Brown demonstrates, an involvement with one such as Paget constituted

¹in State Papers Dom. vol. ccxl., #19.

no mere "dabbling" in politics.¹ It appears that his assignment was to discover information about Catholics who had left England for Flanders. That he accomplished this with cunning is displayed in the manner in which he deceived Paget into letting him go.

Brown uses the evidence supplied by this letter, and the existence of the Latin church music, to reach the following conclusion:

I suspect that Morley was, in his early years, a Roman Catholic but that he later renounced his allegiance and in fact turned traitor to his former friends—that his life was a decline from an early idealism to a quite avid materialism, and his madrigals the deliberate appropriation of a popular style quite different from that which he had been taught and which he employed earlier.²

He reasons that Morley, as a former Catholic, would be a good choice for such a dangerous mission, and that Paget could accept the word of one reconciled (returned) to the Catholic faith. Upon these assumptions, Brown suggests a Catholic period for the composition of all of the motets in manuscript. Further, he assigns four motets which were appended to the 1597 treatise to a later style period.³

In searching for an explanation of the apparent discrepancy between the existence of high-quality motets and

¹David Brown, "Thomas Morley and the Catholics: Some Speculations," Monthly Musical Record (March-April 1959): 56.

²David Brown, "The Style and Chronology of Thomas Morley's Motets," Music and Letters 41 (1960): 216.

³Ibid., pp. 217-18.

the 1591 incident, one fact is unavoidable; the letter notwithstanding, there is no substantial evidence that Thomas Morley ever was a Catholic. The known events of his life suggest otherwise. He was born and doubtlessly reared in the diocese of Norwich, a stronghold of Puritanism. It was here that five Catholic recusants met their deaths by execution, in 1575(2), 1579, 1583, and 1588.¹ Morley was definitely in Norwich as a witness to at least some of these, the earliest examples of executions during Elizabeth's reign. Further, it is unlikely that Morley could have tolerated the association with activist Nowell at St. Paul's, if he had had serious Catholic sympathies. The mere existence of the motets, regardless of the penitential and even Marian nature of some of their texts, is insufficient evidence to support the idea that Morley was a Catholic.²

What, then, do the motets represent? How did they come to be written? The only feasible explanation is suggested by Morley's own words, as he describes motets:

This music (a lamentable case) being the chiefest both for art and utility is, notwithstanding, little esteemed and in small request with the greatest number of those who most highly seem to favour art, which is the cause that the composers of music, who otherwise would follow the depth of their skill in this kind, are compelled

¹Henry Soames, Elizabethan Religious History (London: John W. Parker, 1939), p. 595.

²Thurston Dart speculates on the deliberately Catholic nature of the motet texts in "Morley and the Catholics: Some Further Speculations," Monthly Musical Record (May-June 1959): 89-92.

. . . to put on another humour . . . ; such be the new-fangled opinions of our countrymen who will highly esteem whatsoever cometh from beyond the seas (and specially from Italy) be it ever so simple, condemning that which is done at home though it be never so excellent. [It is for this reason that] . . . the musicians of this age, instead of drawing the minds of men to the consideration of heaven and heavenly things, do by the contrary set wide open the gates of hell, causing such as delight in the exercise of their art tumble headlong into perdition.¹

The moral character of Morley, contradictory as it appears, must be disassociated with the motivation for writing the Latin church music. Morley was a serious student of music, under the influence of the greatest English composer of motets. It is natural that he should exercise his musical skill to the utmost—by composing motets. The fact that they are of a very high quality is attributable to one matter of certainty—Thomas Morley was a very fine composer.

¹Morley, pp. 293-94.

III. THE LATIN CHURCH MUSIC

A. CHRONOLOGY AND STYLE

The following are the Latin compositions presented by voice grouping, and in the order in which they appear in the collected edition:

Four-voiced	<u>Agnus Dei</u> ¹ <u>Domine fac mecum</u> <u>Eheu sustulerunt Dominum</u> <u>Nolo mortem peccatoris</u>
Five-voiced	<u>Domine, Dominus noster</u> <u>Domine, non est exaltatum</u> <u>Gaude Maria virgo</u> <u>Virgo prudentissima</u> (part two) <u>O amica mea</u> <u>Dentes tui sicut greges</u> (part two)
Six-voiced	<u>De profundis clamavi</u> <u>Laboravi in gemitu meo</u>

The only piece of scholarship devoted to these works, the David Brown article, attempts to organize the motets chronologically.² The governing assumption is that the motets come from a Catholic period in Morley's life. Brown assumed, at the time of the writing of the article, that the period was from 1576 (the time of the first motets) to about 1590 (Morley's appointment to St. Paul's). Though this was later to be revised, the initial chronology deserves

¹This is not a setting of the Roman Mass movement, for textual reasons to be discussed later.

²"The Style and Chronology of Thomas Morley's motets."

representation and comment here.

1. 1576 Domine, Dominus noster
Domine, non est exaltatum

These works are dated on the manuscript (see page 15), and are presumed to be the earliest motets.

2. 1582-88 Gaude Maria virgo

Both Brown and Thurston Dart see this work as having a kinship with Byrd's Cantiones sacrae of 1589, and place it in this period because of its maturity.¹

3. 1586-90 De profundis clamavi
Laboravi in gemitu meo

Brown calls these two compositions "the musical culmination of [Morley's] Roman Catholic phase."²

4. 1590? Nolo mortem peccatoris

Brown is following the suggestion of Dart, who judges the work to be late because of the smoothness of the part-writing. It is worth noting the contrasting opinion of Peter Le Huray, who sees the piece as one "in a simple imitative-cum-chordal style that would seem to place it amongst Morley's earliest works."³

¹Brown, "Style and Chronology," p. 222. Lionel Pike questions the authenticity of the work in a Music and Letters article (1969). Despite its appearance in Peter Phillips' Cantiones sacrae of 1611, there is no substantial evidence to doubt Morley as the composer.

²Ibid.

³Le Huray, p. 248.

5. Just before 1597

Agnus Dei
Domine fac mecum
Eheu sustulerunt Dominum
O amica mea

These are the pieces included by Morley along with his Plaine and Easie Introduction. Brown's assumption is that the pieces were written solely for the purpose of illustration.

In a letter to Music and Letters Frank Harrison updated Brown's information by reporting the discovery of Morley's name on the Norwich rolls, beginning in 1583.¹ Brown chose to save his premise of the Catholic association, and was forced to adjust the Catholic period to 1576-1583. The inevitable consequence of this was to accept, in addition, the unlikely suggestion that Gaude Maria virgo, De profundis clamavi, and Laboravi in gemitu meo were written by the age of twenty-six. Harrison seems to have accepted the notion, since he states in The New Oxford History that the "Latin works apart from the four illustrative pieces . . . may have been written before 1583."²

In view of this, it seems appropriate to suggest that the assumption of the motets being written during a

¹Frank Ll. Harrison, "Thomas Morley's Biography," Music and Letters 43 (1961): 98.

²Gerald Abraham, ed., The Age of Humanism: 1540-1630, from The New Oxford History of Music (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), Ch. 9, "Church Music in England," by Frank Ll. Harrison, p. 495.

Catholic phase is further weakened by application to chronology and style considerations. It appears best to surrender the idea that the motets were the product of some Catholic period in Morley's life, and to approach the chronology question on the basis of the music itself. From this standpoint, Brown's initial chronology suggestion is probably as good as any.

The motets are a diverse group. Firstly, the two early works are clearly the products of student endeavor. The crude and even "incorrect" part-writing results in a harmonic structure which is decidedly weak when compared with the other works. Examples of awkward spacing and unusual resolution are common. At the same time, the works exhibit a fresh, adventurous quality which displays the composer's early strengths as well as weaknesses. Brown proposes that some of the "jarres" be attributed to a "deliberate emulation of his master rather than . . . a lack of skill."¹ On this point, one must distinguish between intentional dissonance—which is a part of all the motets—and dissonance resulting from confusion in the part-writing.

Nolo mortem peccatoris is in a style category of its own. It is the only macaronic composition.² Further, it is the only motet which is not written in the pervading imitation style. Its clear, sectional form and chordal

¹Brown, "Style and Chronology," p. 218.

²A composition which uses Latin and English texts.

style give it more the character of Morley's English-texted compositions. In fact, it can be viewed conveniently as a link between the motet and the anthem. The composition could have been written anytime during the composer's mature period.

The task which is left is to give judgment to the style of the motets which remain. Brown recommends separating the treatise pieces from the rest, indicating that they are "products of the age of the English madrigal," whereas the other motets are ". . . altogether less obviously accomplished than the textbook motets, . . . and yet on the whole profounder" ¹ He suggests the latter to be based more strongly in polyphony than the treatise motets, which exhibit a considerable degree of harmonic effectiveness.

The motets cannot be grouped neatly into these categories. The treatise motets are somewhat more polished than the others, by virtue of their status as illustrations. They need not have been written at the time of the treatise, however. The pervading imitation technique is very much in evidence in these works. In this light, it would be very difficult to separate O amica mea from Gaude Maria virgo. Laboravi in gemitu meo exhibits the kind of mature approach to composition which suggests the same period as De profundis

¹Brown, "Style and Chronology," pp. 219-20.

clamavi, an acknowledged masterpiece. On the other hand, it occasionally displays the mark of overzealousness, which is reminiscent of the 1576 works.

Amid the diversity there is a unity which belies categorization. It is the very impulse which allowed Morley to transcend the boundaries of style, as is seen in the opening bars of a ballett and a motet (Example 1).

Example 1. Opening bars of Agnus Dei and Leave, Alas this Tormenting (from The First Book of Balletts, 1595)

The musical score consists of two systems of four staves each, representing Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B) voices. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 4/4.

First System (Agnus Dei):

- Soprano (S):** Rests for the first three measures, then a half note G4 in the fourth measure.
- Alto (A):** Rests for the first two measures, then a quarter note G4, a quarter note F4, a half note E4, and a quarter note D4 in the fourth measure.
- Tenor (T):** Rests for the first two measures, then a quarter note G4, a quarter note F4, a half note E4, and a quarter note D4 in the fourth measure.
- Bass (B):** Rests for the first three measures, then a half note G3 in the fourth measure.

Second System (Leave, Alas this Tormenting):

- Soprano (S):** Rests for the first two measures, then a quarter note G4, a quarter note F4, a half note E4, and a quarter note D4 in the fourth measure.
- Alto (A):** Rests for the first two measures, then a quarter note G4, a quarter note F4, a half note E4, and a quarter note D4 in the fourth measure.
- Tenor (T):** Rests for the first two measures, then a quarter note G4, a quarter note F4, a half note E4, and a quarter note D4 in the fourth measure.
- Bass (B):** Rests for the first three measures, then a half note G3 in the fourth measure.

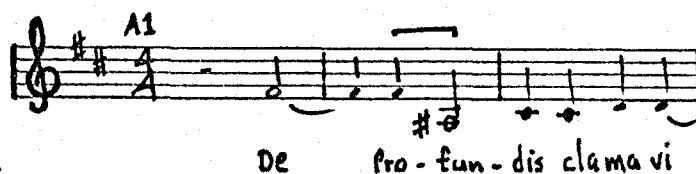
B. MELODIC AND RHYTHMIC COMPONENTS

An examination of the smaller dimensions of melody reveals Morley to be a conformist to the essential ideals of the Renaissance. The movement is largely conjunct, especially when the note values are small. Aside from the unison, the preferred intervals of movement are the major and minor second. The thirds rank about equal to the perfect fourth and fifth, and the octave is common. Sixths are seen infrequently, especially in descending fashion. The sevenths and the tritone are avoided. Figure 1 illustrates the melodic intervals used in four representative motets. The accumulated figures reveal the preference for intervals in the following order: major second, minor second, perfect fourth, minor third, perfect fifth, major third, perfect octave, minor sixth, and major sixth. The precedence of the second is pronounced. The tendency of the bass toward movement by fourth and fifth is evident; however, the other parts exhibit that functional movement, as well.

Morley's use of the rarer intervals is generally cautious. The minor sixth appears fourteen times in the motets, usually in ascending motion. The descending minor sixth is seen as an expressive device in the opening of De profundis clamavi (Example 2). The major sixth appears only four times: three of which are in Domine non est exaltatum

Figure 1. Melodic Step Movement in Four Representative Motets

		m2	M2	m3	M3	P4	P5	a4/d5	m6	M6	m7	M7	P8
<u>Agnus Dei</u> 142 ♯	S	23	23	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	A	25	36	10	1	6	2	0	1	0	0	0	1
	T	32	47	4	4	5	8	0	2	0	0	0	1
	B	12	27	2	2	7	7	0	0	0	0	0	3
<u>Eheu sustulerunt Dominum</u> 162 ♯	S	37	28	1	0	7	2	0	0	0	1	0	1
	A	37	36	7	5	8	4	0	2	0	0	0	1
	T	32	36	9	3	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	1
	B	21	27	3	5	12	8	0	0	0	0	0	4
<u>O amica mea</u> 420 ♯	S ¹	55	71	17	8	16	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
	S ²	64	63	11	10	16	5	0	0	0	0	0	1
	A	60	85	11	10	31	9	0	0	1	0	0	3
	T	39	65	18	10	17	19	0	0	0	0	0	2
	B	48	55	8	12	19	18	0	0	0	0	0	4
<u>De profundis clamavi</u> 310 ♯	S ¹	60	67	12	7	12	6	0	1	0	0	0	0
	S ²	42	78	10	4	13	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
	A ¹	45	65	9	5	16	18	0	1	0	0	0	11
	A ²	46	81	16	3	15	12	0	0	0	0	0	9
	T	40	81	14	11	17	14	0	0	0	0	0	6
	B	34	46	8	6	15	20	0	2	0	0	0	5
Total		772	917	174	106	241	169	0	9	1	1	0	55
Rank		2	1	4	6	3	5	-	8	9	9	-	7

Example 2. De profundis clamavi

(Example 3). This illustration displays three different relationships between leaps and the text. 3A exhibits the most complete use of the leap, since it is exposed on one

Example 3. Domine, non est exaltatum

31 A. 50 B. 138 C.

no, Spe - - rat

o-cu li me - (i)

in mirabi -

syllable of a word. In 3B the leap is within a phrase, yet between two words. The more exposed sixth, in the top voice (3C), is "softened" somewhat by spanning the division

between two phrases. The implication of a musical "breath" separates the two notes of the leap.

This situation also obtains for the only seventh leap in the motets, which occurs during the very expressive setting of the "nescio ubi" portion of Eheu sustulerunt Dominum (Example 4). The minor seventh leap complements the disjointedness of the harmony and the shortness of the phrase.

Example 4. Eheu sustulerunt Dominum

33

- sci-o u - - bi, ne - sci-o

Leaps greater than an octave are rare in this style. In Byrd's entire output there are only two.¹ There is a single example in the motets: a major ninth, in Domine, non est exaltatum (Example 5). Though it is concealed somewhat in the tenor, the unorthodox leap has a considerable effect on the part-writing structure.

¹H. K. Andrews, The Technique of Byrd's Vocal Polyphony (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 64.

Example 5. Domine, non est exaltatum

140

(Do) - - mi - no, Spe - - (rat)

The compass of the individual voices varies considerably from about an octave to a fourteenth.¹ Morley presents compasses to be used in pieces written in high and low keys, and adds the following admonition in his treatise:

Now must you diligently mark that in which of all these compasses you make your music you must not suffer any part to go without the compass of the lines (except one note at the most, above or below) without it be upon an extremity for the ditty's sake or in notes taken for diapasons in the bass.²

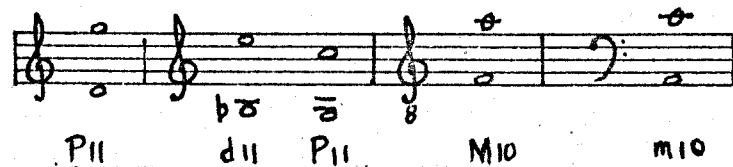
¹A discussion of actual pitch ranges of the motets involves the ambiguous matter of pitch during the period—an investigation outside of the scope of the thesis. In presenting voice compasses, the modern assignments in the collected edition (s,a,t,b) will be used.

²Morley, p. 275.

Example 6 shows Morley's compasses, and reveals the largest interval to be the eleventh.¹ The compasses used in the

Example 6.

For high keys:



For low keys:



motets are shown in Example 7. Morley is obviously at odds with his own rules, though many of the extended compasses occur in the early works. The compasses of the alto parts are noteworthy. The first alto part in De profundis clamavi spans a major thirteenth, and has a correspondingly high number of leaps of the fourth and fifth (see Figure 1, p. 35).

The diversification of the rhythmic component makes categorization difficult. Aside from the idiomatic patterns, the rhythmic constructions are intimately related to the dissemination of the text in the point imitation fabric. Shorter rhythmic values are often clustered together in figurations to animate a section. This technique is often

¹Morley, p. 275.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| A. <u>Agnus Dei</u> | F. <u>Domine, non est exaltatum</u> |
| B. <u>Domine fac mecum</u> | G. <u>Gaude Maria virgo</u> |
| C. <u>Eheu sustulerunt Dominum</u> | H. <u>O amica mea</u> |
| D. <u>Nolo mortem peccatoris</u> | I. <u>De profundis clamavi</u> |
| E. <u>Domine, Dominus noster</u> | J. <u>Laboravi in gemitu meo</u> |

Handwritten musical score for 10 voices (A-J). The score is written on ten staves, each with a treble or bass clef. The notes are mostly whole notes. Various chord symbols and interval markings are present throughout the score.

Chord Symbols: P11, P12, M10, M9, m10, d.8, d.12, m.13, m14, P11, P12, M10, M13, m10, P12.

Interval Markings: transposed ↑M2, ↑M2, ↓M2, ↑M2, ↑M2.

Other Markings: #, b, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

employed at the end of a piece, after the Renaissance custom. The integrity of the point is often maintained by the rhythm, which gives a strong mark to the entrances even when the melodies vary, as in Example 8.

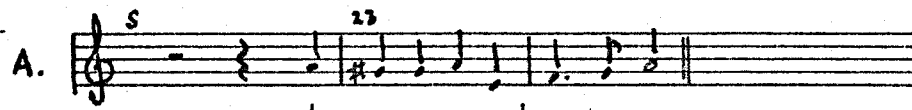
Example 8. Gaude Maria virgo

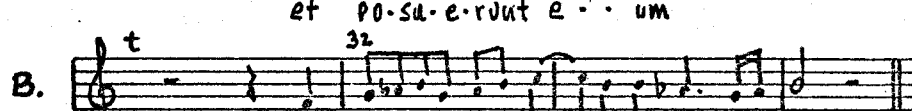


Patterns are organized around the basic pulse (tactus) and work both in accordance with and in opposition to the prevailing proportional meter. The anacrusis principle serves to strengthen the bond between the rhythm and meter, as is seen in the points of imitation shown in Example 9. The implied meter is played upon by characteristic counter-stress, though not to the extent of the style earlier in the

Example 9.

- A. Eheu sustulerunt Dominum
 B. Laboravi in gemitu meo
 C. Domine, Dominus noster

A. 
 et po-sa-e-runt e - - um

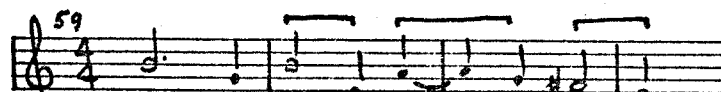
B. 
 la - va - - - - bo

C. 
 quam ad - mi - ra - bi - le, quam

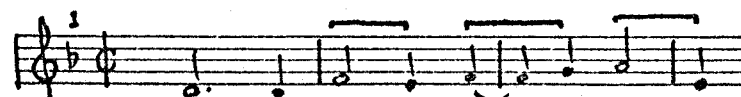
century. Example 10 provides specimens which appear to serve the natural stress of the text at the expense of the meter.

Example 10.

O amica mea


 Den - tes tu - i si - - cut gre - ges

Nolo mortem peccatoris


 No - lo mor - tem pec - ca - to - ris

Without question, the most conspicuous rhythmic impulse in the motets is syncopation. Morley defines it as "driving a small note through a greater," or "binding and hanging upon notes."¹ The majority of the points are given emphasis by beginning on a weak pulse (Example 11).

Example 11.

Agnus Dei

The musical score for 'Agnus Dei' consists of four staves. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It begins with a measure containing a whole note G4, marked with a small 'x' above it. The second staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It begins with a measure containing a whole note G4, marked with a small 'x' above it. The third staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It begins with a measure containing a whole note G4, marked with a small 'x' above it. The fourth staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. It begins with a measure containing a whole note G3, marked with a small 'x' above it. The lyrics are: 'mi - se re mi - se - re - re no - stri, ho - - mi - se - re - re ho - -'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

De profundis clamavi

The musical score for 'De profundis clamavi' consists of a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F-sharp). It begins with a measure containing a whole note G4, marked with a small 'x' above it. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The lyrics are: 'Si in - i - qui - ta - tes ob - - - ser - va - re - ris'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

Quite commonly, a point is presented in both a syncopated and a non-syncopated manner (Example 12). In addition to giving specific character to the points, syncopation serves

¹Morley, p. 256.

Example 12. Gaude Maria virgo

33

s1 Vir - - go pruden - tis - si - ma

a Vir - go pruden - tis - si - ma

the most prevalent melodic and harmonic construction in the motets—the suspension.

There is a composite rhythm created by the texture. Successive entrances of voices cause a rhythm which gives forward movement to the music even when the smaller dimensions of melody, rhythm or harmony are static. On the other hand, it is common to find Morley suspending time by interrupting the expected articulation of the pulse, as in Example 13. Morley enlivens the composite rhythm through

Example 13. Domine fac mecum

19

X

uneven spacing of entrances. In Example 14, the anacrusis figure for "peccata mundi" establishes an expectation for articulation in a "weak-strong" manner. By delaying the alto entrance, Morley upsets the anticipated occurrence

Example 14. Agnus Dei

The musical score for Example 14, Agnus Dei, consists of four staves. The first staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). It begins with a measure containing a whole note, followed by a measure with a whole rest. Above the staff, there are rhythmic markings: 'W S' with a downward arrow, 'W S' with a downward arrow, 'S W' with a downward arrow, 'S W' with a downward arrow, and 'S.' with a downward arrow. The second staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. It begins with a measure containing a whole note, followed by a measure with a whole rest. Above the staff, there is a cross 'X' above a note, and the lyrics 'pec - ca' are written below the staff. The third staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. It begins with a measure containing a whole note, followed by a measure with a whole rest. Above the staff, there is a slur over a note, and the lyrics 'pe - ca - - ta' are written below the staff. The fourth staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. It begins with a measure containing a whole note, followed by a measure with a whole rest. Above the staff, there is a slur over a note, and the lyrics 'pe - ca - - ta' are written below the staff.

and inspires the passage. Similarly, in the extended final section of Nolo mortem peccatoris, the refrain is presented in an unusual manner. The timing of the entrances is varied and the pulse is suspended (Example 15).

During the infrequent occurrences of homophonic writing, the unified articulation of the rhythm among the voices gives a special prominence to that part of the fabric. A unique example of this occurs in De profundis clamavi, when the parts come together for an instant in "madrigalian"

fashion, to lend pointed emphasis to the word "oculos"
(look) (Example 16).

Example 15. Nolo mortem peccatoris

43

w s X w w

No - lo mor-tem pec - ca - to - ris

No - lo mor-tem pec - ca - to - ris

No - lo mor

No - lo

x-time stops

Example 16.
De profundis clamavi

25

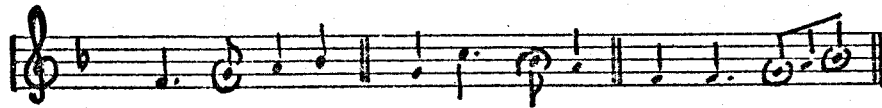
o - - cu - los

o - - cu - los

o - - cu - los

The interrelatedness of melody and rhythm is displayed in Morley's use of idiomatic Renaissance patterns. Typical passing tone figures bear equally typical rhythms, as seen in Example 17. Double passing tones are frequent,

Example 17.



and are marked with the even sixteenth-note rhythm. Example 18 is a passage from De profundis clamavi which exists in isolation. The rhythms create a separate level of imitation,

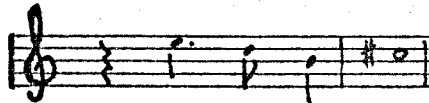
Example 18. De profundis clamavi

A six-part setting of 'De profundis clamavi' in D major, marked with a common time signature 'C'. The score is numbered '50' at the top left. The parts are arranged in two systems of three staves each. The first system consists of three staves in treble clef. The second system consists of three staves, with the top two in treble clef and the bottom one in bass clef. Each staff begins with a brace on the left. The notation shows a series of notes with various rhythmic values, including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes. Several measures contain circled notes, indicating specific rhythmic patterns or imitations. The overall structure is a six-part setting, likely for voices or instruments.

Morley makes frequent use of the nota cambiata, which carries a characteristic rhythm in nearly every occurrence (Example 19). Its primary use is to ornament cadences.

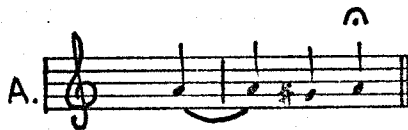
Example 19.

The Characteristic Cambiata Figure

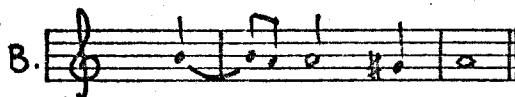


The most frequent melodic-rhythmic construction is the suspension figure. Example 20 illustrates Morley's use of this Renaissance convention at cadences. In 20D the

Example 20.



PARADIGM



MOST-USED FIGURE



EXTENSION

Example 20.—Continued

D. Agnus Dei

E. Domine, Dominus noster

rhythm paradigm is present at two speeds, in a typical ornamented cadence. Example 20E illustrates the combination of suspension and syncopation figures to postpone a cadence.

C. THE HARMONIC STRUCTURE

While the linear concept continued, the vertical organization of music gained in importance as the century proceeded. By Morley's time, the individual strands of melody were placed together with a sensitivity for horizontal movement and an awareness of harmonic sonority. Though the ionian (major) and aeolian (minor) modes had been justified by Glareanus in 1547,¹ the scalar basis for composition was also in a state of transition: from the medieval church modes to the so-called diatonic major-minor system.

Apparently Morley's interest in the modes was shallow. According to a prudent analysis by Robert Stevenson, Morley's treatise remarks confirm this and lend an understanding to the somewhat ambivalent attitude displayed by the English toward the modes.² Morley recalls the teaching of Glareanus, yet when asked by Philomathes for a general rule to govern movement between modal centers, the Master replies, "No, for it must proceed only of the judgment of the composer."³ Nonetheless, the motets confirm a clear modal influence, along with the obvious significance of the two

¹in his Dodecachordon.

²Robert Stevenson, "Thomas Morley's 'Plaine and easie' Introduction to the Modes," Musica Disciplina 6/4 (1952): 183.

³Morley, p. 249.

new "modes." The predominant scale basis for each of the motets is as follows:

Major	<u>Domine fac mecum</u> <u>Gaude Maria virgo</u>	(mixolydian—ionian) (ionian)
Minor	<u>Domine, Dominus noster</u> <u>De profundis clamavi</u>	(aeolian)
	<u>Nolo mortem peccatoris</u> <u>Domine, non est exaltatum</u>	(dorian—aeolian)
Modal	<u>Agnus Dei</u> <u>Eheu sustulerunt Dominum</u> <u>O amica mea</u> <u>Laboravi in gemitu meo</u>	(dorian)

Each of the eight motets based on the aeolian or a dorian mode ends in major. Further, there is a characteristic vacillation between major and minor. Morley systematically ends phrases in major and begins the succeeding phrase abruptly in minor (Example 21).

Example 21. Eheu sustulerunt Dominum

The musical score for Example 21, 'Eheu sustulerunt Dominum', is presented on four staves. The first staff is in treble clef, and the third staff is in bass clef. The second and fourth staves are also in treble clef. The music begins with a measure marked '30'. The score shows a vacillation between major and minor modes, indicated by a double-headed arrow between the second and third staves. The piece ends with two measures marked 'D/d' on the bass staff, indicating a final cadence in D major/d minor.

The modal-tonal framework obtains amidst continual alteration of the distinctive scale degrees by accidentals.¹ The abiding presence of the dorian mode in Agnus Dei is displayed effectively in the close (Example 22). In this case, the characteristic sixth scale degree (E-natural) is exposed in the top voice.

Example 22. Agnus Dei



The concept of key, or tonal area, is also a factor in the motets. Morley reinforces the supremacy of the key in typically vivid language under the heading, "Going out of the key a great fault":

. . . for every key hath a peculiar air proper unto it-self, so that if you go into another than that wherein you begun you change the air of the song, which is as much as to wrest a thing out of his nature, making

¹Musica ficta, in practice, has an immeasurable affect, as well.

the ass leap upon his master and the spaniel bear the load.¹

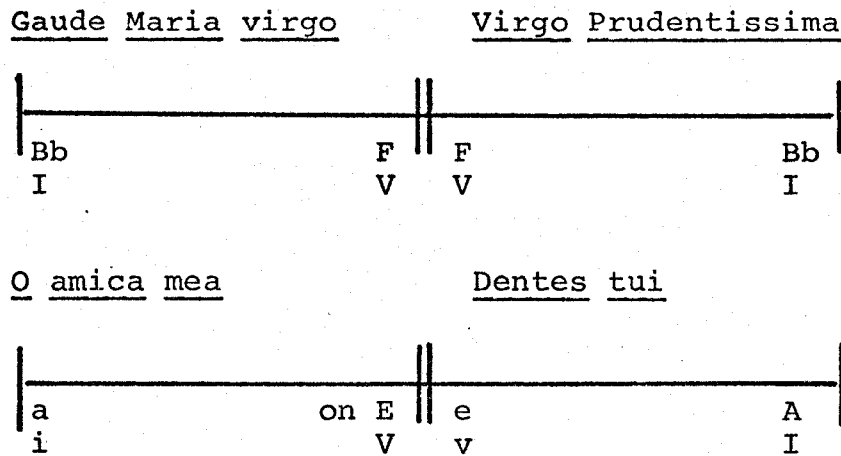
Tonal awareness and a considerable degree of functional movement in the harmony is evident in the motets. Cadence points reinforce particular tonal areas. Secondary key areas (like "dominants" for the modes) are inflected. Appendix 1 illustrates the main areas of articulation and their respective cadences, in relationship to the points of imitation (see pages 95 to 105). The motets in the major mode tend to reinforce I and V.² The others are inclined to cadence on the III (relative major) and VII (the modal leading tone). All the works end in the key area in which they begin. The writing between these cadence points is not always functional in that key. Thus, there is commonly an ambiguous tonal movement from cadence to cadence, with harmonic direction being clarified as the close approaches.

The harmonic implication in the two-part works is notable (Figure 2). Part one of Gaude Maria virgo ends with a plagal cadence in the dominant. Part two begins and remains centered around 'F' until the cadence in measure 42 (a V-I in 'Bb'), at the beginning of the eighth point of imitation (see page 102). Another plagal cadence ends the work in 'Bb.' Similarly, the two-part organization

¹Morley, p. 249.

²Roman numbers will be used to facilitate the presentation.

Figure 2.



of O amica mea stresses the "dominant-tonic" relationship. The cadence ending the first part is a "half-cadence" in 'a' and, thus, is "on the dominant." The second half begins in the parallel minor and proceeds through the I and III areas to a final authentic cadence in 'A' (see page 103). These tonal arrangements foreshadow the Baroque binary structure.

An eminent demonstration of the V-I concept on the large scale occurs in the last measures of De profundis clamavi. After considerable harmonic activity the piece comes to the dominant with a long-held note in the bass (measure 69). The next seven measures represent an abruptly static reinforcement of the dominant, in preparation for the final cadence (see page 104).

There is a curious example of harmonic sequence in O amica mea. The fourth point (measure 39) has a 5-3-1 triadic configuration which proceeds in imitation down

thirds, harmonically (Example 23). The progression goes from 'e' through 'c,' 'a,' 'F,' and finally 'd.' In an unusual example of formal repetition, the entire sequence is given again in measures 47-55.

Example 23. O amica mea

39

e → C → a → F → d

Morley is very interested in cadences, as his Introduction offers twelve pages of "formal closes" in four to six parts.¹ He makes the distinction between "middle closes" and "final closes," and gives a special designation for " . . . 'passing closes' which we commonly call 'false

¹Pages 229-40 in the treatise.

closes'."¹ The latter are equivalent to the deceptive cadence (V-vi; V-VI) and authentic cadence (vii-I). Morley's concern about the form of cadences is clearly expressed: "As for the motets and other grave music you must in them come with more deliberation in bindings [syncopation and suspensions] and long notes to the close."²

Morley's cadences are representative of those common to the late Renaissance. Example 24A-I illustrates the cadences used at the major points of articulation in the Latin works (according to Appendix 1). Shown in the order of frequency, these are representative of cadence usage throughout the motets.

Example 24.

A. $V^4-3 - I(i)$
 80/123 (65%)
 Authentic
Agnus Dei

¹Morley, p. 223.

²Ibid., p. 228.

Example 24.—ContinuedB. $\text{vii}^6 - \text{I}(\text{i})$

12/123 (10%)

Authentic

Eheu sustulerunt
Dominum

21

7-6

vii I

C. $\text{iv}^6 - \text{V}$

8/123 (7%)

Phrygian

O amica mea

38

a: iv 7-6 V

Example 24.—Continued

D. V - I(i) (no susp.)

7/123 (6%)

Authentic

Domine, non est
exaltatum

70

C: I I

E. V - VI(vi)

5/123 (4%)

Deceptive

Domine, non est
exaltatum

95

V vi

Example 24.—Continued

F. IV - I

5/123 (4%)

Plagal

Gaude Maria
virgo

68

Handwritten musical score for 'The Rose Tree'. The score is written on five staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The second staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The third staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The fourth staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The fifth staff begins with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The piece concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The number '68' is written above the first staff.

G. I (i) - V

3/123 (2%)

Half

Gaude Maria
virgo

49

Handwritten musical score for 'The Rose Tree'. The score is written on five staves. The first four staves are treble clefs, and the fifth staff is a bass clef. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The melody is written in the first staff, and the accompaniment is written in the second, third, fourth, and fifth staves. The music is in 4/4 time. The score includes a repeat sign at the end of the first staff. The lyrics 'The Rose Tree' are written below the staves.

Example 24.—Continued

H. V - iv⁶ (IV⁶)

2/123 (2%)

Deceptive

Domine, non est
exaltatum

91

V 4-3 IV⁶

I. vii - I

1/123 (.8%)

Authentic

Domine fac
mecum

21

vii° I

Morley is critical of the so-called "English Cadence," which involves a false relation between the raised and lowered seventh (Example 25). Byrd employs the cadence

Example 25. The "English Cadence"



over two hundred times in his vocal works.¹ In the Introduction the Master complains,

. . . but nowadays it is grown in such common use as diverse will make no scruple to use it in few parts whereas it might well enough be left out, though it be very usual with our organists.

[Polymathes replies:]

That is very true, for if you will but once walk to Paul's Church you shall hear it three or four times at the least in one service if not in one verse.²

There appear to be only two examples of the cadence in the motets of Thomas Morley. They are in intermediate position before the final cadences of De profundis clamavi and Domine, non est exaltatum (Example 26).

There are some special cadences which deserve mention. On occasion, the characteristic v^{4-3} resolves to

¹Andrews, Technique, p. 106.

²Morley, p. 259.

Example 26. Domine, non est exaltatum

160

X

cambiata

v - V

a I^6 , creating an expressive deception (Example 27). An unusual resolution of the v^{4-3} occurs in O amica mea, wherein the chord moves unexpectedly through the "third relation" in an artistic postponement of the cadence (Example 28).

Constructions of the type just mentioned are natural results of polyphonic movement governed by the Renaissance theory of vertical consonance. The harmonic principle for the sixteenth century regarded the perfect fifth, the thirds and the sixths as consonant with the bass. Seconds, sevenths, the perfect fourth, and the augmented and diminished intervals

Example 27. De profundis clamavi

were dissonant.¹ Upon this base Morley presents chord tables in the treatise, which illustrate acceptable vertical organization in three, four, or more parts.²

Some conventions which emerge from the Renaissance style form a part of Morley's harmony. The so-called "consonant fourth" (which results in a $\frac{6}{4}$ construction) is common. The consequence of the consonance of fifths and sixths,

¹Zarlino and Morley allow the diminished fifth in the vii chord.

²Pages 222 and 226-27 in the treatise. Based on Zarlino's Istitutioni armoniche.

Example 28. O amica mea

10

V 4-3 V → III⁶ V⁵ i

the so-called "horizontal 6-5" and "vertical 6-5," is exploited by Morley in the motets. A measure from Domine, Dominus noster illustrates the harmonic ambiguity of the horizontal construction (Example 29). The vertical 6-5 has a different harmonic affect depending upon the number of voices used. Example 30 shows Morley's use of the chord in three and four voices. The horizontal 5-6 movement, which is seen less frequently than 6-5 is represented in 30B.

One of the typically English constructions, and another logical outcome of polyphony and vertical consonance, is the false relation (or cross relation). According to Andrews, " . . . as in the case of the English cadence, the

Example 29. Domine, Dominus noster

25

F-a d-F a-C

Example 30.

A. Gaude Maria virgo

1.

Example 30.—ContinuedB. Laboravi in gemitu
meo

The musical score is for a six-part setting. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has three staves: a vocal line (top), a lute line (middle), and a keyboard line (bottom). The vocal line begins with a sixteenth-note melody. The lute line follows with a similar melody. The keyboard line provides a more active accompaniment. The second system continues the vocal and lute lines, with the keyboard line providing harmonic support. A bracket labeled '5-6' is placed over the fifth and sixth measures of the second system. The piece concludes with a final cadence in the keyboard part, marked with a double bar line and a fermata.

device is much less frequently found in Morley's work than in that of his contemporaries and predecessors in England."¹ Nonetheless, there are nineteen examples in the Latin works, most of which involve a conflict between the major and minor third above the bass (see Example 21, m. 32, page 51). This also reinforces the ambiguity between major and minor previously discussed (page 51). The conflict between the major and minor sixth above the bass on the same beat causes the so-called "simultaneous false relation." Morley employs

¹Andrews, p. 108.

this strikingly dissonant structure six times in the motets. Example 31 displays the typical occurrence, which involves one voice in a leading-tone movement (8-7-8) against the other voice, which moves to a horizontal 6-5.

Example 31. Laboravi in gemitu meo

Morley's dissonant framework centers around passing tones and suspension figures. The former proliferate the motets in single and double form. The passing seventh, which provides important functional movement, is used frequently in the works (see Example 28, page 64). Figure 3 demonstrates the use and frequency of the suspension figure

Figure 3.

Suspensions in the Motets

motet	count	4-3	7-6	9-8	2-3	other*
<u>Agnus Dei</u>	140	6	7	2	0	1
<u>Domine fac mecum</u>	216	6	2	0	1	0
<u>Eheu sustule- runt Dominum</u>	160	12	4	0	2	0
<u>Nolo mortem peccatoris</u>	216	13	10	0	5	0
<u>Domine, Domi- nus noster</u>	228	23	14	12	0	0
<u>Domine, non est exal- tatum</u>	644	64	41	19	1	1
<u>Gaude Maria virgo</u>	544	29	12	1	0	1
<u>O amica mea</u>	420	30	22	3	6	1
<u>De profundis clamavi</u>	308	14	17	2	4	3
<u>Laboravi in gemitu meo</u>	360	28	19	7	3	3
TOTAL		225	148	46	22	10

* because of movement in the bass

in the motets. The convention is found occasionally in the form of a double suspension, as well as the typical chain of suspensions (7-6; 4-3 or 9-8; 4-3, for example).

The nota cambiata (see page 48) forms a non-harmonic structure and is a significant element in the works. Morley uses the cambiata forty-eight times, twenty-eight of which occur in the disproportionately lengthy Domine, non est exaltatum. Though it is used primarily to animate cadences, as in Examples 24A and 26, the figure is also seen at non-cadence points (Example 32). A luxuriant display at a cadence is seen in Example 33.

Example 32. Gaude Maria virgo



The use of the pedal point is limited but important. The close of Agnus Dei, previously cited in Example 22, page 52, exemplifies the use of the dominant pedal. The remarkable dissonances of the minor seventh and major second,

Example 33. Domine, non est exaltatum

used simultaneously (beats two and four, m. 33), are justified by the pedal.

Less important for the motets are the other non-harmonic tones. There are thirty neighbor tones, twenty-one anticipations, a few escape-tone and appoggiatura figures, and one retardation (in Domine, non est exaltatum, m. 69).

D. THE TEXTURE

The prevailing textural context for the Latin church music is polyphony. Purely homophonic sections do exist, but they are rare: Domine fac mecum (mm. 25-28); Nolo mortem peccatoris (mm. 6-8, 10-12, 38-43); and Domine, non est exaltatum (mm. 102-104). Most of the remainder of the uncharacteristic Nolo mortem peccatoris is homophony-based; further, there is a section in Gaude Maria virgo (mm. 48-57) which is essentially homophonic. The element of contrast between polyphony and homophony, so much a part of the madrigalian style, is not a factor in the motets. The uppermost voices tend to dominate somewhat in the four-voiced works, and not at all in the rest of the motets. The rest is a matter of degree: the more strictly imitative the lines, the more thoroughly polyphonic the texture. For Morley, motet composition was a serious matter which evoked the most revered techniques. The motets, then, reflect a conservatism; they are not simple homophony disguised by imitative entrances.

Certain textural qualities are produced by the different voice categories. The four-voiced works often display groupings by threes, or a dialog between the top voice and the bottom three parts. Pairing is infrequent. The greatest portion of the five-part writing consists of various combinations of four voices. Occasionally only three voices move together. All five parts sound together only at cadences

and isolated portions. The six-voiced motets have two pairs of like voices (soprano and alto), but little pairing results in the texture. Most of the time only five voices sound together. Individual parts are silent for such short periods, however, that the impression is of a continuous six-voiced texture. The portions when all six parts sound together are few.

The spacing of voices in the texture is a matter of considerable concern for Morley:

. . . For the closer the parts go the better is the harmony and when they stand far asunder the harmony vanisheth, therefore hereafter study so much as you can to make your parts go close together, for so shall you both show most art and make your compositions fittest for the singing of all companies.¹

Likewise in what key so ever you compose let not your parts be so far asunder as that you may put in any other betwixt them . . . but keep them close together; and if it happen that the point cause them go an octave one from the other . . . yet let them come close together again; . . . ²

As a general rule, the motets reflect this preference for close spacing. Some moderately wide spacing is emphasized because of the doubling or positioning of the third; but it is important to note that " . . . the functional importance of each note within the chord was not fully recognized or the idea developed until the following century."³ There are

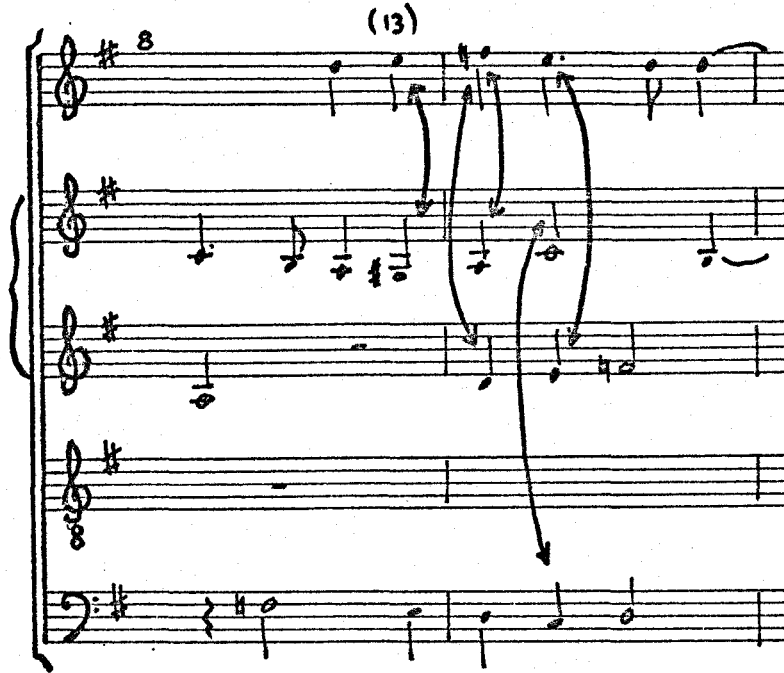
¹Morley, p. 275-76.

²Ibid., p. 248.

³Helen E. Bush, "Chordal Formation by Early Theorists," Musical Quarterly 32/2 (1946): 240.

some examples of awkward spacing, primarily in the early works (Example 34). On the other hand, Morley's concern

Example 34. Domine, Dominus noster



for texture is exemplified by numerous examples of effective sonority through spacing—to the extent that it can be considered a trademark (Example 35).

Spacing and doubling are vertical concepts which affect texture. As such they were developing ideas in Morley's day. Voice crossing, on the other hand, was the practice of the polyphonic age. The interweaving of parts in the texture, despite the vertical arrangement, invigorated the texture. Morley's passing approbation in the

Example 35.

Domine fac mecum

A.

Example 35A is a musical score for four staves. The first staff is marked with the number 28. The music is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second staff is in treble clef. The third staff is in treble clef with an 8va marking. The fourth staff is in bass clef. The music consists of several measures with various note values and rests, including some beamed notes.

Domine, non est exaltatum

B.

Example 35B is a musical score for five staves. The first staff is marked with the number 33. The music is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second and third staves are grouped with a brace on the left. The fourth staff is in treble clef. The fifth staff is in bass clef. The music consists of several measures with various note values and rests, including some beamed notes.

Example 35.—ContinuedGaude Maria virgo

The musical score consists of five staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a time signature of 4/4. It contains a melodic line starting on G4, moving up to A4, B4, and C5, with a '5' written above the first measure and a bracket spanning the first two measures. The second staff has a treble clef and contains a line of music starting on G4, moving up to A4, B4, and C5. The third staff is labeled 'C.' and has a treble clef, containing a line of music starting on G4, moving up to A4, B4, and C5. The fourth staff has a treble clef and contains a line of music starting on G4, moving up to A4, B4, and C5. The fifth staff has a bass clef and contains a line of music starting on G3, moving up to A3, B3, and C4.

Introduction indicates that it was an established custom.¹

Figure 4 demonstrates the crossing association between voice parts in the texture. Quite naturally, the crossing is more frequent in the five and six-part works. The arrangement of the parts is significant. In the five-voiced pieces, the greatest amount of crossing occurs between the added voice and its counterpart. Thus, the crossing pattern for the two early works (saatb) differs from that of the later five-part motets (ssatb). In both the six-voiced pieces the crossing between the sopranos and altos is considerable; in essence, the parts are interchangeable.

¹under the marginal heading, "The middle parts may go one through another," p. 246.

Figure 4.

Table of Voice Crossing

	frequent	moderate	rare
satb	--	at	sa, tb
attb	--	tt	at, tb
saatb	aa	at	sa, tb
ssatb	ss	at	sa, tb
ssaatb	ss, aa	at	sa, tb

On several occasions, the wide-ranged alto parts exhibit rather extreme crossing characteristics. In Example 36A the alto goes below the tenor and bass in the four-voiced Eheu sustulerunt Dominum. In Domine, Dominus noster, the first alto drops below three parts, to become the actual bass (Example 36B). An unusual nine-measure passage in Domine, non est exaltatum, (mm. 83-92), motivates a recommendation from editor Andrews that the alto 1 and tenor be exchanged.

Example 36.

Eheu sustulerunt Dominum

A.

21

8

Domine, Dominus noster

B.

49

E. COMPOSITIONAL TECHNIQUE

Musical structure does not necessarily reveal procedure. Aron and Zarlino describe polyphonic composition as "simultaneous conception": "the voices are all being developed at once in that the composer is continually shifting his attention from one voice to another."¹ An investigation into Morley's point imitation technique is one way to gain insight into his methodology. Appendix 1 (pp. 95-105) shows the arrangement of the points. Examination reveals a varied technique. The number and length of points varies, as does the number of entrances and voices with each point. The degree of melodic and rhythmic strictness is changeable; however, the tendency is toward freedom in this regard. Even in the early works the point structure is free, as is seen in Example 37. The first six entrances

Example 37. Domine, Dominus noster

1. 23
quoniam do-mi-nus bi-le

2. 24
quoniam do-mi-nus bi-le

¹Edward E. Lowinsky, "On the Use of Scores by Sixteenth-Century Musicians," Journal of the American Musicological Society 1 (1948): 21n.

Example 37.—Continued

3. ²⁵
5 quam ad - - mi - ra - bi - le

4. ²⁵
8 t. quam ad - - mi - ra - bi - le

5. ²⁶
a1 quam ad - mi - ra - bi - le

6. ²⁷
a1 quam ad - mi - ra - - bi - le
a2 quam ad - mi - ra - bi - le.

of the second point of Domine, Dominus noster are compared. The differences reveal the subtle use of the principles of inversion and augmentation. Pitches chosen accommodate vertical consonance and key.

Appendix 1 reveals the overlapping of points at various degrees—from no overlapping (Agnus Dei, Domine fac mecum) to moderate overlay (Eheu sustulerunt Dominum, O amica mea) to a considerable degree (Domine, non est exaltatum, De profundis).

Some specific examples point up deliberate procedure. The inversion principle is in effect for the opening of

O amica mea (Example 38). As a result, the first point has two constituents. Laboravi in gemitu meo combines three

Example 38. O amica mea



point motives on two occasions in the work (see Appendix 1, page 105). The text "Lavabo per singulas noctes lectum meum" is divided three ways, as seen in Example 39. The

Example 39. Laboravi in gemitu meo

third part is derived by fragmentation, and is used in its original and inverted state. The three separate fragments are combined in free counterpoint, a portion of which is seen in Example 40.

Example 40. Laboravi in gemitu meo

43

①

③

la - va - bo lec - tum me - um

lec - tum me - um la - va - bo

la - va - bo lec - tum me - um

la - va - bo lec - tum me - um

la - va - bo lec - tum me - um

la - va - bo lec - tum me - um

per sin - gu - las noc - tes lec -

②

The pervading imitation technique implies through composition. Nonetheless, formal repetition is seen in Domine, non est exaltatum, where measures 91-93 equal 95-97, with revoicing. The other example is one previously cited; in O amica mea, measures 39-47 equal 47-55 (see page 55).

Fauxbourdon is used sparingly in three of the four-voiced motets: Eheu sustulerunt Dominum (m. 36), Domine fac mecum (mm. 27-8), and Agnus Dei (m. 18-19; 30-32). Example 41 illustrates the typical employment approaching a cadence.

Example 41. Agnus Dei



A special characteristic seen in the motets appears to be Morley's own. It consists of the proliferation of one idea, either as a distinguishing mark of one motet, or as a spontaneous occurrence in a section of a work. There are several notable examples:

1. Suspensions - O amica mea, part two.
2. Paired passing tones - Gaude Maria virgo.
3. The horizontal 6-5 - Gaude Maria virgo.
4. Passing seventh - O amica mea, (first point and final cadence).

5. Single passing tones against double passing tones -

Laboravi in gemitu meo, (m. 65-end).

F. THE TEXTUAL REPRESENTATION

The following is a preliminary listing of the texts, given with an indication of their separation in the point imitation structure (using /), and a brief comment on their source and structure:

1. Agnus Dei (Ordinary of the Mass, altered)

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi/(peccata mundi)/
miserere nostri.

Morley's alteration of the last word from "nobis" to "nostri," changes the emphasis from "have mercy on us" to "have mercy on ours." Dart sees this as consistent with the penitential character of the texts.¹ It could merely have been a practical matter of avoiding the exact wording from the Mass. Nonetheless, the change distinguishes the text as being apart from the Mass.

2. Domine fac mecum (Psalm 108:21)

(Et tu, Domine,) Domine fac mecum/ misericordiam
tuam/ propter nomen tuum,/ quia suavis est/ miseri-
cordia tua.

Morley omits the opening and adds "misericordiam tuam" for the second point.

3. Eheu sustulerunt Dominum (John 20:2)

Eheu,/ (Eheu)/ sustulerunt Dominum meum,/ et posue-
runt eum./ Nescio ubi.

These are the words of Mary Magdalene at the empty tomb of Jesus. John's text comes the closest: "et dicit illis:

¹Dart, "Morley and the Catholics," p. 90.

Tulerunt Dominum (de monumento,) et nescimus ubi posuerunt eum." The opening expression, "Eheu," ("Alas!") is the composer's addition.

4. Nolo mortem peccatoris

Nolo mortem peccatoris; haec sunt verba Salvatoris.

Father I am thine only Son,
sent down from Heav'n mankind to save;
Father, all things fulfill'd and done
according to Thy will, I have
Father, my will now all is this:

Nolo mortem peccatoris.

Father, behold my painful smart,
taken for man on ev'ry side;
E'en from my birth to Death most tart,
no kind of pain I have denied,
but suffer'd all, and all for this:

Nolo mortem peccatoris.

The English text is the first two verses of a twenty-three verse poem by John Redford (d. 1547), an organist, composer and dramatist who was Master of Choristers at St. Paul's around 1534.¹ The Latin refrain comes from Ezekiel 33:11 ("dicit Dominus Deus: nolo mortem impii"), or a similar source; it represents the words of the Saviour on the cross ("haec sunt verba Salvatoris").

5. Domine, Dominus noster (Psalm 8:1)

Domine, Dominus noster,/ quam admirabile,/ est nomen
tuum,/ in universa terra.

6. Domine, non est exaltatum (Psalm 130, complete)

Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum,/ neque elati
sunt oculi mei./ Neque ambulavi in magnis,/ neque

¹Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th ed., s.v. "Redford, John," by Arthur Brown.

in mirabilibus super me./ Si non humiliter sentiebam,/ sed exaltavi animam meam;/ sicut ablactatus est super matre sua,/ ita retribues animae meae./ Sperat Israel in Domino,/ ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum.

7. O amica mea (Song of Solomon, 4:1-2)

O amica mea,/ sunt capilli tui,/ sicut greges caprarum,/ quae ascenderunt demonte Galaad.

Dentes tui sicut greges tonsarum,/ quae ascenderunt de lavacro.

The text is freely adapted from Solomon:

1 Quam pulchra es, amica mea! Quam pulchra es!
Oculi tui columbarum,
absque eo quod intrinsecus latet.
Capilli tui sicut greges caprarum
quae ascenderunt de monte Galaad.

2 Dentes tui . . . (as above).

8. Gaude Maria virgo

Only the incipits are given in the Baldwin manuscript (see Appendix 2). The editors of the collected edition supply texts from the Sarum Respond for the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Sarum Antiphon for the Octave of the Assumption.

9. De profundis clamavi (Psalm 129)

De profundis clamavi,/ ad te, Domine;/ Domine, exaudi
vocem meam;/ oculos meos ad te levavi/ unde veniet
auxilium mihi./ Si iniquitates observaveris, Domine,/
sustinere Domine, quis potest?/ Jesu, miserere mei,/
quia peccavi tibi.

The underlined portions come directly from the Psalm. The interspersed words are derived from other sources: Psalm 120:1 ("oculos meos . . .") and Psalm 40:5 ("Jesu, miserere mei, . . .").

10. Laboravi in gemitu meo (Psalm 6:6)

Laboravi in gemitu meo;/ labavo/ per singulas noctes/
lectum meum;/ lacrymis meis/ stratum meum/ rigabo.

Fragmentation of the text and word repetition within the presentation of a point is the rule. The only two examples of text repetition for a new musical point occur in Agnus Dei, ("peccata mundi") and Eheu, sustulerunt Dominum ("Eheu"). The procedure is so rare, it is undoubtedly employed to give emphasis to those words. Text mixing occurs only as a result of the overlapping of points. In this regard, the previously-discussed structure of Laboravi in gemitu meo (see pages 80-81) is an extreme example.

Morley's "rules to be observed in dittying"¹ are explicit with regard to applying music to a pre-existent text accentuation.

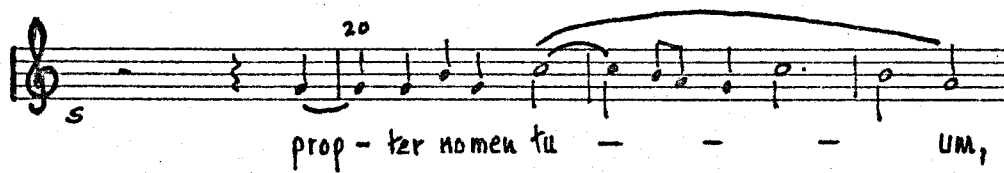
We must also have a care so to apply the notes to the words as in singing there be no barbarism committed; that is that we cause no syllable which is by nature short be expressed by many notes or one long note, nor no long syllables be expressed with a short note. But in this fault do the practitioners err more grossly than in any other, for you shall find few songs wherein the penult syllables of these words 'Dominus,' 'Angelus,' 'filius,' 'miraculum,' 'gloria,' and such like are not expressed with a long note, yea many times with a whole dozen of notes, and though one should speak of forty he should not say much amiss, which is a gross barbarism and yet might be easily amended.²

The composer's attention to this matter is a conspicuous feature of the motets (Example 42). On rare occasions,

¹Morley, pp. 290-92.

²Ibid., p. 291.

Example 42.

Domine, non est exaltatumDomine fac mecum

however, Morley is guilty of the "barbarism" he denounces (Example 43).

Example 43. De profundis clamavi

On the matter of word painting, Morley writes,

Moreover you must have a care that when your matter signifieth 'ascending,' 'high,' 'heaven,' and such like you make your music ascend; and by the contrary where your ditty speaketh of 'descending,' 'lowness,' 'depth,' 'hell,' and others such you must make your music descend¹

Though the occasion for this technique is not as frequent as in the madrigals, some of the occurrences in the motets are noteworthy:

¹Morley, p. 291.

1. The exasperated "sighs" in the opening of Eheu sustulerunt Dominum are set in a manner which combines several disjunct melodic and rhythmic motives (Example 44).

Example 44. Eheu sustulerunt Dominum

2. The most notorious example of the simultaneous false relation exists in a striking setting in Nolo mortem peccatoris (Example 45).

3. The extraordinary opening of De profundis clamavi depicts the text, "From the depths I cry," with the aforementioned downward minor sixth leap. In addition, the tenor line ascends the major triad to an octave (Example 46).

4. Isolated patches of homophonic writing occur for expressive reasons. The previously mentioned setting of "oculos" in De profundis clamavi is an example (pages 45-46). In Domine fac mecum the thoroughgoing polyphony is interrupted for a quiet moment of homophony for the text, "quia

Example 45. Nolo mortem peccatoris

28 X

Fa - ther, be - hold my pain-ful smart

8 Fa - ther behold my pain-ful smart

8 Fa - ther be-hold my

Fa - ther be -

Example 46. De profundis clamavi

De — pro - fun - - dis cla - ma - vi

De —

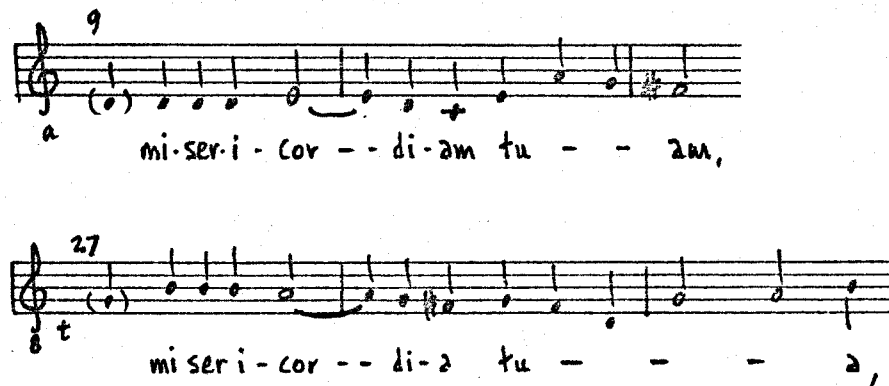
De — pro - fun - dis cla - ma - vi, clama

De — pro - fun - dis cla

suavis est" (for it is sweet). Similarly, after 101½ measures, Domine, non est exaltatum comes to an abrupt halt for nine beats of pure homophony. The text is "Sicut ablactati sunt," or "even as a weaned one."

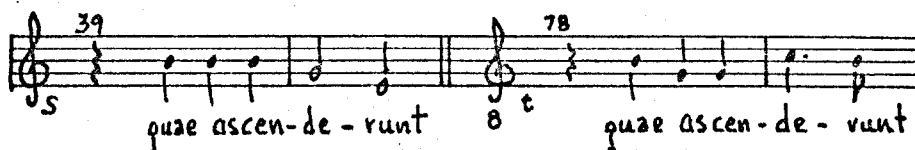
Some special constructions occur as a result of textual relationships. In Domine fac mecum the second and fifth points bear a resemblance which matches the text (Example 47).

Example 47. Domine fac mecum



This is also the case with the "quae ascenderunt" sections of O amica mea (Example 48).¹

Example 48. O amica mea



¹Notice the questionable setting of "ascenderunt" in the first occurrence.

Morley displays an abiding care that the music be disposed "according to the nature of the words which you are therein to express."¹ The aptness of the musical expression to the textual emotion is apparent in ways which are intangible. The final point of Agnus Dei ("miserere nostri") begins halfway through the motet and dominates the total expression with unremitting lines which descend for eighteen measures to the final cadence. A similar moment is created with the setting of "Jesu miserere mei" in De profundis clamavi. The upper-neighbor construction is an overt example of Thomas Morley's creative and expressive impulse (Example 49).

Example 49. De profundis clamavi

64

Je - su mi-se-re-re me - - i, me -

Je - su mi-se-re-re me - - i, me - - i, Je

Je - su mi-se-re-re

¹Morley, p. 290.

IV. CONCLUSION

Thomas Morley, a composer known chiefly for his secular works and his contributions as a theorist, made a significant offering to the repertoire of sacred music in Elizabethan England. His English pieces—four services, four verse anthems, prayers, responses, festal psalms, and the first complete setting of the English Burial Service—are responses to the new foundation. The motets represent a dying genre. The purpose for which they were written is not known. They could have been used in private worship or exported to Catholic countries. They are Morley's contributions in the old style, and the most obvious outcome of his association with the master, William Byrd.

With the exception of the macaronic motet/anthem, Nolo mortem peccatoris, the Latin works are all written in point imitation style. They exhibit the usual characteristics of the Renaissance. They display an expressive use of melody and diverse rhythmic construction in a thoroughgoing polyphonic texture. The modal/tonal framework shows a moderate degree of functionalism and a tendency toward diatonic major-minor harmony.

Presuming that Domine, non est exaltatum and Domine, Dominus noster are the earliest works, the rest of the motets in manuscript could have been written anytime between 1576

and the composer's death. The four treatise motets were written by 1597. Though they are somewhat more reserved than the rest, one cannot assume that they were written expressly as illustrations and that they are products of the 1590's. It is unlikely that Morley wrote the motets during an exclusive period of time when he may have been a Catholic. The biographical details do not support that idea; the style of the works, themselves, indicates otherwise. It is more likely that the motets were written at various times after 1576, when Morley was cultivating the madrigal style and composing English church music.

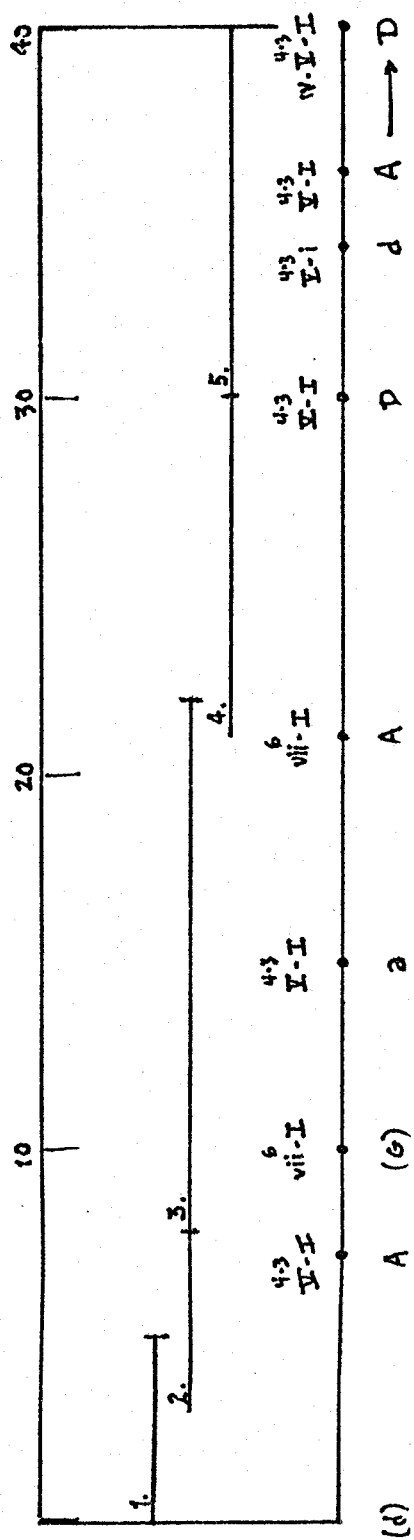
Through his choice and setting of the texts, as well as his remarks in the Plain and Easy Introduction, Morley displays a reverence for the motet. Not as forward-looking as either the madrigals or the music for the Anglican service, the Latin church music embodies the characteristic style and spirit of the Renaissance. The pieces are worthy companions of the treatise. Unlike the works of many theorists, however, the motets are not pedantic, sterile creations. They represent the artistic conception of a gifted Renaissance musician.

APPENDIX 1

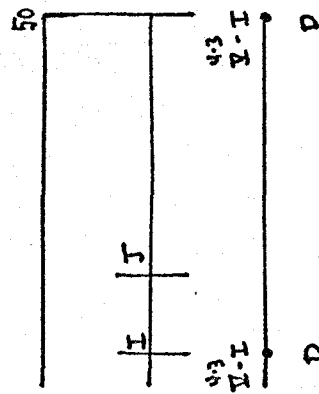
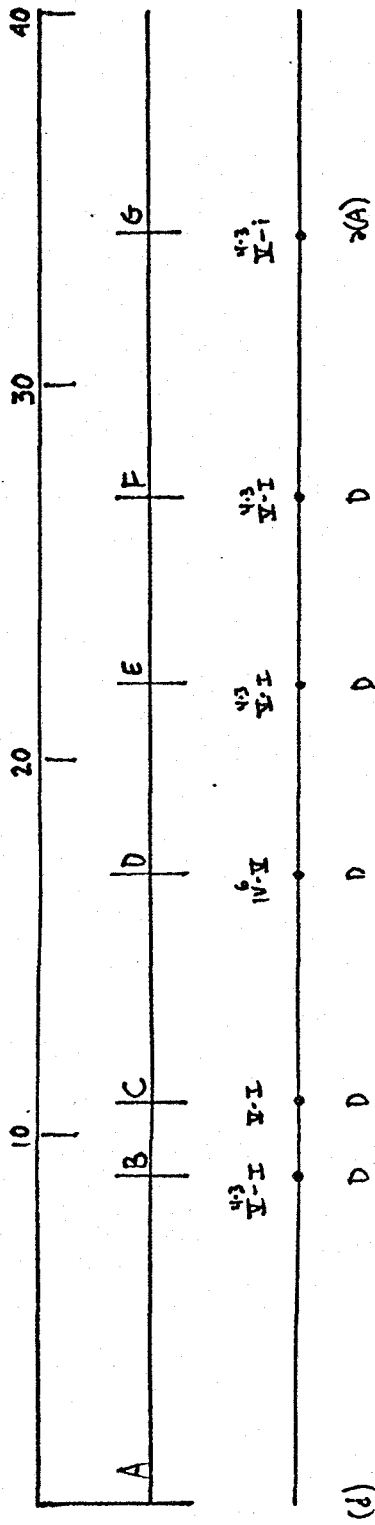
POINT IMITATION STRUCTURE AND PRINCIPAL CADENCES

In the following figures the organization of the points of imitation is given directly under the line numbering the measures. The bottom line represents major points of articulation through cadences. The prevailing tonal center is indicated under each cadence.

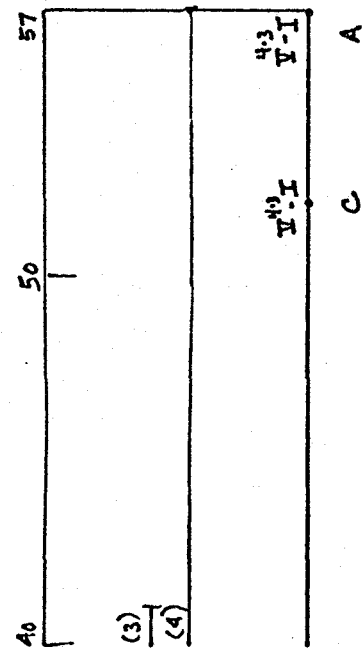
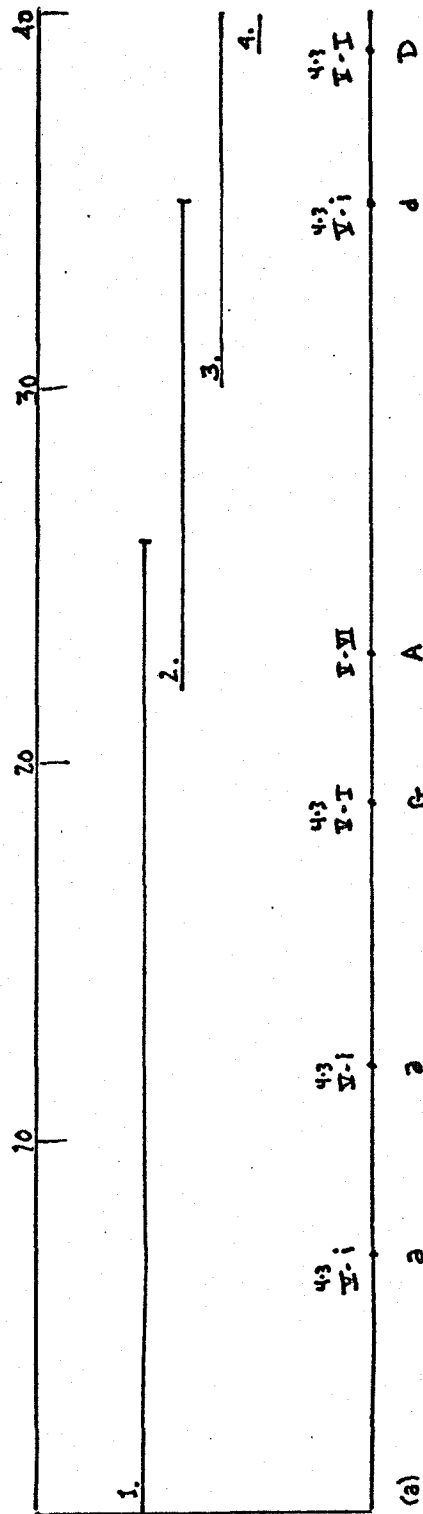
Eheu sustulerunt Dominum



Nolo mortem peccatoris



Domine, Dominus noster



(a)

(3)

Gaude Maria virgo

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

Part 2.

1.

(B^b) B^b B^b B^b B^b B^b

4:3 4:3 4:3 4:3 4:3 4:3

V-I V-I V-I V-I V-I V-I

7. 8. 9. 10. (HOMOPHONIC) 11.

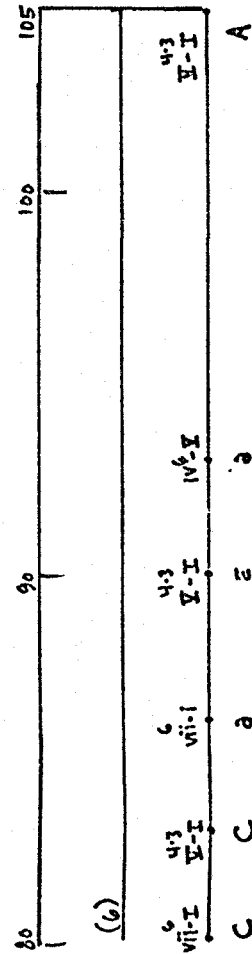
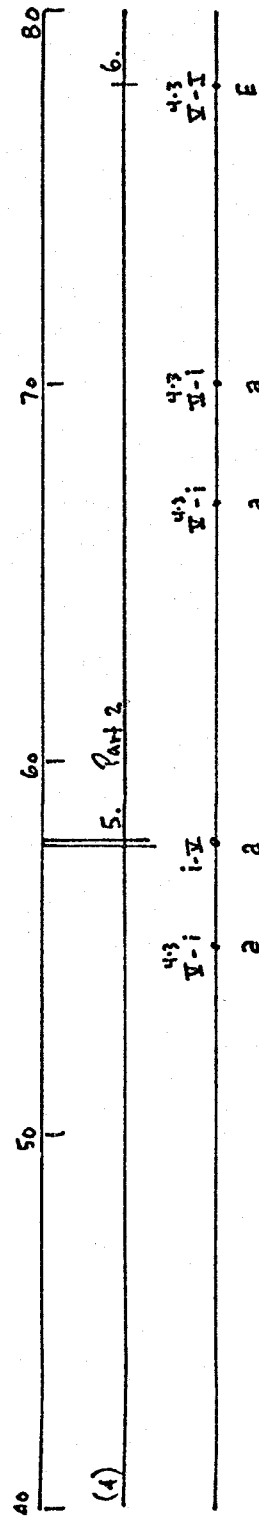
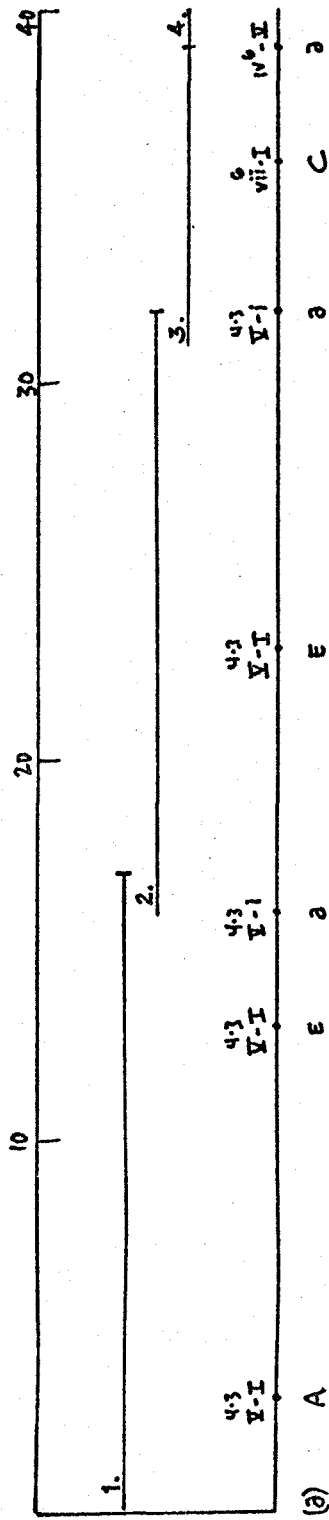
4:3 4:3 4:3 4:3 4:3 4:3

V-I V-I V-I V-I V-I V-I

F B^b B^b B^b B^b B^b

1.-9.	strict
10.	homophonic
11.	freely imitative

O amica mea



Laboravi in gemitu meo

1. 45

2. 40

3. 30

4. 20

5. 10

6. 0

7. -10

8. -20

9. -30

10. -40

11. -50

12. -60

13. -70

14. -80

15. -90

16. -100

17. -110

18. -120

19. -130

20. -140

21. -150

22. -160

23. -170

24. -180

25. -190

26. -200

27. -210

28. -220

29. -230

30. -240

31. -250

32. -260

33. -270

34. -280

35. -290

36. -300

37. -310

38. -320

39. -330

40. -340

41. -350

42. -360

43. -370

44. -380

45. -390

46. -400

47. -410

48. -420

49. -430

50. -440

51. -450

52. -460

53. -470

54. -480

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56. -500

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68. -620

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70. -640

71. -650

72. -660

73. -670

74. -680

75. -690

76. -700

77. -710

78. -720

79. -730

80. -740

81. -750

82. -760

83. -770

84. -780

85. -790

86. -800

87. -810

88. -820

89. -830

90. -840

91. -850

92. -860

93. -870

94. -880

95. -890

96. -900

97. -910

98. -920

99. -930

100. -940

101. -950

102. -960

103. -970

104. -980

105. -990

106. -1000

107. -1010

108. -1020

109. -1030

110. -1040

111. -1050

112. -1060

113. -1070

114. -1080

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116. -1100

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118. -1120

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472. -4660

473. -4670

474. -4680

475. -4690

476. -4700

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APPENDIX 2

EARLIEST KNOWN MANUSCRIPT SOURCES FOR THE MOTETS

1. A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke, 1597.

Agnus Dei
Domine fac mecum
Eheu sustulerunt Dominum
O amica mea/Dentes tui

2. British Museum R.M. 24. d. 2. (John Baldwin), ca. 1600.

Gaude Maria virgo/Virgo prudentissima

3. British Museum Add. 29 372-7 (Thomas Myriell), 1616.

Nolo mortem peccatoris
Laboravi in gemitu meo
De profundis clamavi

4. Bodleian Library Mus. e. 1-5 (John Sadler), 1585.

Domine, Dominus noster
Domine, non est exaltatum

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