

THE TRANSMISSION OF MOTETS WITHIN THE PASTON MANUSCRIPTS, c.1610*

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ABSTRACT

The creation and expansion of commercial music printing from around 1500 has normally led to modern editors assigning textual primacy to published copies of music from the period in preference to any equivalent manuscript copies. However, some groups of manuscript sources, such as the Paston collection, from late 16th and early 17th century England, can shed a different light on contemporary music print culture and its relationship to manuscript copying. Edward Paston's huge private music library, now dispersed in collections in the UK and US, contains many multiple versions of works he already access to in print form, and the choices he or his copyists made with regard to three particular six-voice Latin motets, Byrd's *Memento homo*, Ferrabosco's *In monte Oliveti*, and Vaet's *Salve Regina*, are examined here, and placed within with their collecting context and likely use.

KEYWORDS: Edward Paston, manuscript collections, William Byrd, Alfonso Ferrabosco, Jacob Vaet, *Memento homo*, *In monte Oliveti*, *Salve Regina*

INTRODUCTION

The creation and huge expansion of music printing from 1500² appears to have over time diminished the importance of the previous music manuscript culture that had previously dominated; and today, where a composer-sanctioned historical published

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² See, for example, the graphic representations of this in Rose, Tuppen and Drosopoulou 2015: 649–660, illus.1 and 2.

copy exists, the value of any manuscript-equivalent to a modern editor is lessened, unless it offers some particular information regarding early versions, variant readings, performance practice or the like. However, there are some groups of sources that can shed light on music print culture and its relationship to continued hand copying,³ and one such is the Paston collection, from late 16th and early 17th century England. This vast private music library, now dispersed in the UK and US, represents a rare opportunity to examine what differences might occur when a group of related scribes working in the same place and at the same time apparently used one printed original as an exemplar. The multiple copies of works they produced - up to nine - can be compared with the original, to see what choices they made, how they interpreted the prints, how accurate their copies were, and how they grouped the pieces within genres and within manuscript partbooks.

Edward Paston⁴ (1550–1630) was a linguist, poet, traveller, lutenist and collector of music. The head of a junior branch of the Norfolk Catholic family⁵ which produced the well-known ‘Paston Letters’ at the end of the 15th century, his name has been known to musicologists since at least the end of the 19th century (Eitner 1900–1904: vii, 333) for his ownership of four leather-bound volumes of manuscript music stamped with his name, but it was not until the early 1960s that Philip Brett noticed that there was evidence on grounds of contents, subsequent ownership and writing styles to connect a large number of other late 16th-century and early 17th-century English manuscripts with these Paston books.⁶ The size of the collection he identified is quite remarkable: some 45 sets of vocal and instrumental partbooks, comprising 157 bound volumes⁷ of an estimated original 220, now scattered throughout libraries in England and the United States. The largest groups are to be found at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (the deposited collection from Tenbury), the British Library, London, the Madrigal Society collection (now also in the British Library)

3 For some useful background on the status and reasons for manuscript copying in the age of print, see Love 1993.

4 Paston’s biographical details were established in detail by Philip Brett in his seminal article “Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and his musical collection” (Brett 1964), and this introduction relies heavily on his findings. See also Brett 1965. Paston studies have received a great deal of attention in the past few decades, including dissertations (Knights 1999; Schmitt 2004; Taylor 2007; Sequera 2010) and chapters (Sequera 2016: 215–229). Byrd studies have also been very active; among others, Harley 1997, 2010, McCarthy 2013 and Smith 2005 and 2016 have added greatly to our knowledge. Note that Francis Knights, *A Catalogue of the Paston Music Manuscripts is forthcoming*.

5 See Castor 2006.

6 The terms ‘Paston manuscripts’ and ‘Paston collection’ are used here to refer to those manuscripts which can be linked on grounds of provenance, paleographic evidence and repertoire with those books definitely owned by Edward Paston himself.

7 Joseph Kerman estimated this to be one-third of all surviving contemporary English music manuscripts (Kerman 1980).

FRANCIS KNIGHTS

THE TRANSMISSION OF MOTETS WITHIN THE PASTON MANUSCRIPTS, C.1610

and the Royal College of Music, London. It is evident from Edward Paston's will⁸ that many other music books have been lost,⁹ and only one printed book¹⁰ has so far been identified as coming from this source.

Edward's branch of the Paston family achieved a level of social distinction, and can be seen to have been very well connected. His father, Sir Thomas Paston, was a Gentleman of Henry VIII's Privy Chamber, and received a knighthood and grant of lands in East Anglia in 1544. Sir Thomas' second son, Edward, was born in 1550, and given the name of his godfather, Edward VI. Succeeding to the estate on the death of his elder brother, Edward was able to enlarge his estates by the receipt of property (including his principal home at Appleton, near Norwich, Norfolk, in eastern England) from his uncle, the sea-captain and Member of Parliament Sir Clement Paston (c.1523–1598). It is not known where Edward was educated; his name does not appear on any university lists, and a surviving letter¹¹ he wrote to a Spanish nobleman at the age of 18 indicates that he was about to return to Spain, where he had many friends. He was mentioned in the preface to Bartholomew Young's 1598 translation of Montemayor's *Diana*,¹² and in Whitney's 1585 *A Choice of Emblemes*.¹³ These literary connections are strengthened by the fact that he was likely known to Sir Philip Sidney's circle: Penelope Rich¹⁴ (the supposed 'Stella' of Sidney's 1591 sonnet sequence *Astrophel and Stella*) stayed at Appleton. However, despite these important social and literary contacts, Brett rightly says that Paston "seems to have had no desire at any time of his life to advance himself in the public eye, either at court or in his own county" (Brett 1964: 55). Paston's diffidence in this respect will surely have owed something to his status as a Catholic; the Pastons were staunch Catholics. Several of Edward Paston's children suffered under the Elizabethan recusancy laws, and three of them entered monasteries on the Continent; a grandson also named Edward even became president of the famous college at Douai (Brett 1964: 53). Paston also kept a secret mass centre (Brett 1964: 53), which may have been a focus for Catholics in North Norfolk. He died in 1630, and his grand family monument in Blofeld church, Norfolk, survives.¹⁵

8 Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Scroope 43; the relevant music extracts are given in Brett 2007: 33–34.

9 Other manuscripts, no longer extant, that are likely to have derived from Paston's circle were sold by Edward Taylor on 30 November 1863 (Hofman 1977: iii, 164–165); of the nine sets listed, only two now survive.

10 Byrd's *Psalmes, sonets and songs* of 1588, British Library, catalogue number K. 2. f. 1.

11 British Library, Harleian MS 1583 f.378.

12 <https://search.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240897327/FC499FD957224F8CPQ/14>.

13 <https://search.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240902622/AoB1C8CF105040D4PQ/1>; and see Brett 1965: 40, and Smith 2016: 164–165. The Whitney woodcut is reproduced in McCarthy 2013: 197.

14 (1563–1607), later Countess of Devonshire.

15 For the later history and collecting activity of other members of the Paston family, see Bucklow 2018.

The number of individual compositions or extracts from compositions in the manuscripts totals 1350, only one third of these being English in origin (motets, consort songs, madrigals and instrumental pieces). The remainder comprises continental motets and masses (479), Italian madrigals (310) and French chansons (103), virtually all apparently copied from printed sources imported into England from the mid-16th century onwards. The Italian and French pieces are untexted. Studies of the Paston repertory to date have often concentrated on single genres. In the broader context of other English sources, the Latin motets, chansons, instrumental music, lute arrangements, secular songs and Italian madrigals have been considered by May Hofman (1977), Jane Bernstein (1974), Warwick Edwards (1974), Stewart McCoy (1985), Philip Brett (1965) and Francis Knights (1999) respectively. It is apparent that there are two genres which Paston seems to have had little interest in collecting, if the extant manuscript survivals are at all representative: keyboard music and the English madrigal.¹⁶ The Paston books are especially rich in the music of William Byrd, and contain a large number of otherwise unknown pieces, and early versions of works later published by Byrd.

One major group within the Paston collection comprises the five lute accompaniment manuscripts (the corresponding “singing books” mentioned in Paston’s will have been lost). They contain an enormous repertory – about 600 pieces – of sacred and secular vocal compositions in two to eight parts, arranged for six-course lute and one or two soprano voices. Some of this music is known from no other sources, and it is quite likely that it was derived from other Paston partbooks themselves made from manuscript and printed copies no longer extant, or not yet identified. The arrangements themselves follow very closely the style of 16th-century Spanish vihuela intabulations, and represent virtually the only known use of non-French tablature in England.¹⁷ The transcriptions, which seem to be the work of an experienced and capable player despite being very literal,¹⁸ reflect a complete familiarity with the sophisticated notational practices of the vihuelists. Interestingly, this type of notation must presumably have rendered the entire extant collection quite inaccessible to almost all other contemporary lutenists in England besides Edward Paston, and this confirms the domestic nature of this repertory. As well as directions for giving the singer their first note (e.g. *La.p.al.3.t.* – “La prima al 3 traste”, “the first [course] at the third fret”), the lute book 31992 also includes more than once a comment – in Spanish – regarding some of the music: *Excellente*.¹⁹ The poet Geoffrey Whitney

16 A number of English madrigals were copied into the miscellaneous and rather atypical Paston set, Lbl Add MSS 18936-9; very many were of course available in published versions.

17 See McCoy, 1985; Julia Craig-McFeely details the contemporary English solo lute sources, and specifically omits the Paston lute books (Craig-McFeely 1994).

18 I owe these observations on the intabulations to lutenist David Miller (private conversation); Stewart McCoy (1986: 22) makes the same point.

19 Such subjective marginalia can be found in a number of English virginal manuscripts: Thomas Tomkins writes “Excellent for the hand” against John Bull’s *Quadran Pavan* [II] in Paris Conservatoire,

FRANCIS KNIGHTS

THE TRANSMISSION OF MOTETS WITHIN THE PASTON MANUSCRIPTS, C.1610

(c.1548–c.1601) provided a contemporary verse description of Paston's playing,²⁰ and the latter was clearly an able gentleman-amateur of music.²¹ His domestic ensemble performing resources (or ambitions) appear to have encompassed eight-part music (34001–2 and 34000/9–15), and even ten parts in one instance.²²

The bulk of the music in the Paston collection is usually thought of as reflecting a conservative or old-fashioned taste,²³ and as reflecting some antiquarian interest. The earliest music is by Josquin and Fayrfax, and there is relatively little English music later in date than about 1585, the compositions of William Byrd excepted. However, Paston was in some areas more up-to-date with more recent continental musical developments, such as the polychoral style of Giovanni Gabrieli and Hassler, although there is no music by Monteverdi or Gesualdo, for example.²⁴

It is not known how Edward Paston came to have access to such a large number of continental music publications (probably as many as 200), nor whether they were actually owned by him, or borrowed from fellow travellers and musicians. Iain Fenlon (1982) suggests that Paston's sources were primarily Netherlands and German reprints, mostly anthologised, of Italian and French publications, but the picture that has since emerged is more complex.²⁵ Paston's continental sacred sources did include large-scale anthologies such as Montanus and Neuber's *Thesaurus musicus* (RISM 1564¹⁻⁵), Giovanelli's collection of the same name (RISM 1568²⁻⁶),²⁶ and the later Schadeus collection *Promptuarium musicum* (RISM 1611¹, 1612³, 1613³ and 1617¹). The Paston scribes (named A, B, C and L by Philip Brett) made considerable use of some of these collections, extracting for example 16 pieces from among the 229 motets of the 1564 *Thesaurus musicus* volumes, making 49 copies in all (see Knights 1999).

Copying a piece repeatedly is a characteristic feature of the Paston scribes, even as many as eight or nine times. On occasion the same motet or song will appear twice in the same set of partbooks, at two different performing pitches.²⁷ This policy of re-copying, assuming that it is intentional rather than having any scribal make-work

MS Rés 1122 (*Musica Britannica*, xix: 235), and the 1649 printed catalogue of King John IV of Portugal's music library also includes similar comments ("muito bom", R. F. V. Nery 1990: 259–260).

20 For, hartes like marble harde, his harmonie dothe pierce: And makes them yeelding passions feele, that are by nature fierce. From Whitney 1585, quoted in full in Brett 2007: 37.

21 The word 'amateur' carries different connotations today; see Marsh 2010, ch.4.

22 Andrea Gabrieli's *Deus, Deus meus* in Lbl Add MSS 34001-2 is scored for 10 voices.

23 As implied in Brett 2007: 46.

24 The most modern exemplar prints identified so far date from as late as 1617, by which time Paston was over 65.

25 See Knights 1999, vol. ii ch. 2 for a list of likely madrigal anthologies available to the Paston scribes. These include volumes published in Antwerp, Copenhagen, Ferrara, Florence, Leiden, Milan, Nuremberg and Venice for which the first impressions date between 1551 and 1616.

26 RISM B/1, see <http://www.rism.info/publications.html>.

27 See Brett 1993: 89, and Sequera 2010 for a discussion of this.

component, may be accounted for partly by the supposition that Paston wished to have separate, partly duplicated music collections at each of his three Norfolk houses: Thorpe Hall, Appleton and Town Barningham.²⁸ The Netherlands source of some of these anthologies may also tie in with Paston's manuscript paper sources: one of the commonest Paston watermarks²⁹ is similar to contemporary Flemish watermarks (see Briquet 1907), and Norwich's important trading position near the Continent would have made such import of both music and paper practicable. While it is known that Thomas Vautrollier, printer of Byrd and Tallis's 1575 *Cantiones sacrae*,³⁰ visited the celebrated Frankfurt Book Fair several times, it is not certain whether he, or well-travelled musicians like Thomas Morley, Alfonso Ferrabosco the elder, John Bull and Peter Philips, were more responsible for bringing music back from the Continent. Certainly, Francis Tregian³¹ must have had a good source of foreign prints, yet a comparison of the large Paston and Tregian collections shows surprisingly few concordances.³² The restrictive terms of the patent granted to Tallis and Byrd regarding the importation of music, and printed in full in the 1575 *Cantiones sacrae*, stated:

...we straightly by the same forbid all printers booksellers subjects & strangers, other then as is aforesaid, to do any the premisses, or to bring or cause to be brought out of any forren Realmes into any our dominions any songe or songes made and printed in any forren countrie, to sell or put to sale, uppon paine of our high displeasure...³³

and may have resulted in Byrd himself (or an assignee) sourcing continental prints which were then given, sold or loaned to Paston or other musicians and collectors (Milsom 2014).

28 A further house was planned for Binham but never started, after a work accident; see Brett 2007: 33.

29 Knights' watermark A (see Knights 1999: 188), an ornate heraldic crowned shield, seen most clearly in the Cantus partbook of 2036 (37v). Surprisingly, this watermark is also found in a much later volume of theorbo music and songs (Obod b.1) presented to Oxford in 1656 by the composer John Wilson (1595–1674), then Heather Professor of Music.

30 For the most recent work on this important collection, see Milsom (ed.) 2014. The substantial 1583 stock list of Henry Binnemann mentioned there included imported music prints.

31 See Reid Thompson 2001: 1–31, Smith 2002: 7–16 and Smith 2019: 163–183, for discussion of Tregian and his sources.

32 A relatively small number of pieces from the 30-plus prints used by Tregian in Egerton 3665 and Drexel 4302 appear in Paston.

33 Facsimile printed in the *Byrd Edition* I p.xxiv. The extent to which this monopoly was enforced – or enforceable – is unknown.

THE PASTON SOURCES OF THREE MOTETS COMPARED

Some two-thirds of the 1350 pieces extant in the Paston music manuscripts exist in more than one copy. Some works, especially continental motets, were copied many more times. This poses the question whether these copies were made anew from the source exemplars each time, or whether subsequent copies were made from earlier manuscript copies. A close reading of the musical texts themselves is the best way of addressing this issue, clarifying the relationship between the printed sources and the manuscript copies, and between the manuscript copies themselves. This article examines the extant Paston copies of three six-voice Latin motets: Byrd's *Memento homo*, Ferrabosco's *In monte Oliveti*, and Vaet's *Salve Regina*; a full critical commentary and music transcriptions have been included in an Online Appendix. These three pieces have been chosen as they exist in an unexpectedly large number of multiple copies (eight, seven and nine respectively), and were derived from unique printed exemplars: each piece appears to have been printed only once during the 16th century. (With respect to *In monte Oliveti*, although it is now known only from a continental print, it is not impossible that Paston's scribes could have used a now-lost manuscript exemplar from the composer's circle, as seems to have been the case with some other contemporary English copies of certain Ferrabosco motets.) The published version can thus plausibly be treated as a definitive first-source text,³⁴ against which deviations can be measured.

In the discussion of manuscript transmission, the musical and verbal text is of primary importance, as substantive variants and scribal errors provide the main evidence for transmission direction. The texts of the lute intabulations which Paston or his scribe 'L' made of nearly half the pieces in the Paston manuscripts can also be compared in the same way as the partbook sources. These lute parts contain variants and errors of their own, which are not necessarily related to those in the other Paston manuscripts.

The process of copying by hand is inevitably open to error as well as the copyist's own ongoing interpretation of the text.³⁵ Even the most experienced and careful

34 Milsom (1996: 348–367) reminds us that corrections were made to some prints during their run, giving Tallis and Byrd as examples. It is also worth remembering that even a composer-sanctioned and corrected printed version may not have had a definitive compositional status as it became understood in 18th and 19th century music (such as the *ordres* of François Couperin, to give an early example of a 'fixed' version). See also Herissonne 2019: 244–311.

35 For a guide to stemmatic issues relating to music manuscripts, see Grier 1996, ch.3. Bent 1981 and Boorman 1981 are valuable contributions to this subject, although they deal with an earlier repertoire than that discussed here; the latter includes an extensive bibliography. My own professional experience as a music copyist and typesetter has also informed my views. Boorman's caution in discussing the limitations of musical stemmatic techniques must be borne in mind with regard to the stemmata below, which must be considered as conjectural: the Paston sources contain numerous variants, many of which (such as the omission of ligatures, and underlay variants and *musica ficta*) would be regarded as non-substan-

copyist will rarely reproduce an entirely flawless document, or one that duplicates exactly the style, format and layout of the original. Five types of scribal variant ('variant' here encompassing among other things the notion of an actual error) are considered here:

- miscopying of pitch or duration
- deliberate substantive variants (that is, those introduced intentionally by the scribe)
- miscopying of text
- expansion or contraction of text underlay
- errors of omission or addition

This information is relatively straightforward to obtain, but interpretation of the evidence is greatly complicated by the fact that an intelligent scribe (and all of the Paston scribes seem to come into that category) may be able to correct or partly correct an error (or perceived error) in their³⁶ source. This could even involve the physical correction of the exemplar in addition to making a corrected copy. The likelihood of such scribal correction of a suspected error is minimal in the case of pitch or duration errors, as a copyist working from single partbooks rather than a score could not know whether there is an error of this kind in their source, unless they knew the piece well. But it may be possible to see, for example, perhaps by reference to other partbooks in the set, that a final pause mark has been omitted from the exemplar, or that the given underlay does not correspond to the notes provided. Both substantive and non-substantive variants must therefore be treated with some caution as transmission evidence, in case the obvious interpretation has been confused by scribal initiative. Evidence of this kind may be negative rather than positive: for example, a given manuscript cannot have been copied from another, as the second introduces a variant for which the scribe cannot reasonably be thought to have been responsible, at least without reference to some other musical text, or possibly the advice of a performer (who might themselves be the copyist).³⁷

The lute sources can be considered in the same way as the staff-notation manuscripts. In this case there is the additional advantage, stemmatically, that the musical text having been reduced to tablature form – and this was not done directly from the partbooks (McCoy 1986: 26) – it is then expressed in a notation in which the scribe is unlikely to be able to interfere, unless extremely knowledgeable about Italian lute tablature. Generally, the lute texts are too similar in detail to presuppose that the labour of intabulating each piece was done independently, and all of the lute sources will therefore be closely connected stemmatically.

tive in other repertoires. Here, they attain greater importance, as there are relatively few of the substantive pitch and duration variants on which to base stemmatic relationships.

36 The gender of the copyists is not known, apart from Paston's secretary, Hand L.

37 The addition of *musica ficta* is an obvious example of the latter.

FRANCIS KNIGHTS

THE TRANSMISSION OF MOTETS WITHIN THE PASTON MANUSCRIPTS, C.1610

As well as the textual errors and variants, such as incorrect pitches or note values, added accidentals and sub-section omissions, the layout and style of a copy may also yield useful information. A scribe is faced with many decisions during the copying process: should a part called *Cantus Secundus* be copied into the *Quintus* partbook, if there is no separate book for the former? Should a printed source laid out on five staves be compressed on to one page or expanded to two pages of a four-stave manuscript copy? Scribal solutions to such questions may provide useful information about the nature of the exemplar. In the former case, one may fairly assume that a copy in which the voice-names exactly match those of the exemplar is likely to be closer, stemmatically, to the original; it is less probable that a scribe, having renamed the parts of a motet to correspond to the new partbook titles, would in a subsequent copy revert exactly to the original names, at least without reference to the first copy.

The extent to which a scribe will duplicate the layout of an exemplar provides useful evidence for transmission. Copying by hand is a mechanical process, and it is ordinarily most convenient for the copyist to reproduce exactly what they see in front of him, unless they have some reason to alter it. The format of the Paston manuscripts is almost entirely uniform (four staves on each oblong page), with the exception of Tenbury MSS 341-4 (upright format), and the lute sources (five or six six-line tablature staves on each page). This being so, the layout modifications to the musical text, by compression or expansion depending on the available space, may be visible, and even imply the direction of transmission. For example, several lute intabulations apparently copied from 2089 to 29247, in which the copying direction is clear from error transmission, show an attempt to compress the musical text, wherever possible, presumably to save space and therefore paper. At the most literal level, a tabulation of line endings by bar number³⁸ indicates the correspondences between the various manuscripts. Where these figures are very different, this proves neither that the manuscripts are related nor that they are independent; however, where the layout is similar, this indicates a possible connection between the copies. A scribe copying from a manuscript *a* to a second manuscript *b*, where both are similar in size and format, will tend graphically to reproduce the layout, in order to ensure good use of the available space. A comparison of the printed source in the same way may also be instructive, for the same reason.

As the process of assembling a partbook set by the Paston scribes appears to have involved, to a considerable degree, the editorial selection of pieces from printed sources (frequently themselves anthologies), the context in which an individual motet or madrigal is copied is very relevant. Although there is no example yet identified of the Paston scribes copying in blocks (i.e. substantial groups of pieces transmitted in exact order), many pieces were copied in small but related groups, or in close proximity to other pieces from the same source. The variations in the order and size of these groups can be a further guide to the direction of transmission. It appears that a filtering process occurs: a selection from a printed or manuscript exemplar (typically, a continental printed anthology) is grouped in the first instance according to

38 See Knights 1999, Appendix 3.

the number of voices. It is noticeable that the Paston scribes are generally methodical about sifting repertory into partbook sets with a uniform number of voices, even sometimes omitting sub-sections with reduced scoring; this may simply reflect a desire not to waste space. Some of these pieces may then be copied into other manuscripts at a later date, interspersed with new pieces, and possibly in a different order. There are examples of pieces being dispersed in this way, or copied with the order reversed. Tracing a piece or group of pieces through this process is complex, given the large number of possibilities, the high input of new repertory, and allowing for the fact that intermediate or additional manuscripts may no longer be extant.

The relevant Paston sources used here are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Paston manuscripts including the three motets

The first two columns list the location and manuscript sigla, the third the scribe (identified as A, C and L (for “lute-hand”),³⁹ and the fourth the earliest completion date for each manuscript (with reference to the publication date of the printed exemplars).⁴⁰

Location	Number	Hand	Date
Tenbury MSS	340	L	1617
	341-4	L	1591
	379-84	C	1611
	1469-71	A	1589
British Library Add. MS(S)	29247	L	1611
	29388-92	A	1600
	30361-6	C	1611
	30810-5	C	1591
Madrigal Society MSS G	31992	L	1611
	16-20	A	1613
	21-6	A	1612
Royal College of Music MS	2041	A	1611
	2089	L	1591

WILLIAM BYRD, MEMENTO HOMO

Memento homo is the 18th piece in the collection of 34 motets by Tallis and Byrd printed by Vautrollier in 1575, *Cantiones, Quae ab argumento Sacrae vocantur*. Craig Monson (1977) has established that there were no changes to the musical or verbal text during the print run, and this text (which in this motet is entirely free of errors)

39 Hand B was not involved with copying these three motets.

40 For full descriptions and catalogues of the contents, see Knights 1999 vol.1.

FRANCIS KNIGHTS

THE TRANSMISSION OF MOTETS WITHIN THE PASTON MANUSCRIPTS, C.1610

may thus be regarded as definitive. There are eight Paston manuscript copies of the piece (341-4, 21-6, 379-84, 30810-5, 1469-71 and 2041,⁴¹ including two lute intabulations (340 and 29247) (see Table 2)). All of these appear to derive ultimately from the printed source and not some other manuscript version (contrasted with Paston's access to pre-publication copies of Byrd's printed songs); and all but 30810-5 (transposed upwards by a fifth) and 1469-71 (the Cantus part only transposed up a fourth, as is not uncommon in this manuscript⁴²) retain the printed clefs and pitch.

The only noted pitch or duration variant relative to the printed source is the replacement of a dotted crotchet and quaver with two crotchets [3] of 26 (that is, bar 3 of manuscript Madrigal Society MS G.26), which can therefore be placed at the very end of one stemmatic branch; it can be explained either as a wilful scribal variant (a figure of four equal crotchets is found twice elsewhere in the motet, at [10] and [30]), or it might be an error. The added *ficta* sharp [36] may imply a link between 341-4, 1469-71 and 30810-5; but this could have been added independently in each case, or it could reflect a manuscript emendation of the exemplar.⁴³ The non-identical transposition of 30810-5 and 1469-71 indicates that they are to be placed at the end of two different stemmatic branches. In the former case, this is supported by the underlay variants [5], [8], [13] and [25]. 379-81 is also to be located at a stemmatic extremity, as shown by underlay variants [5], [10], [12], [13], [25], [37] and [40-41]. The same is true of 21-6 [3], [10], [13] and [40], and a possible intermediate missing manuscript *a* is suggested by [13], where the printed underlay is replaced.⁴⁴ Both 379-84 and 30810-5 are close to 1575 in layout, as indicated by line endings,⁴⁵ but this does not necessarily imply a relationship between them. The position of 2041 is less clear, as this is only a single Discantus part remaining from a complete set. The readings of this source are identical to 1575, but 2041 could have equally have been derived from 1469-71 or 341-4 (1470 and 342 are also identical to 1575); the idiosyncratic transposition of 1469-71 suggests however that this is not an intermediate transmission source. In the following stemma, 2041 is tentatively derived directly from 1575.

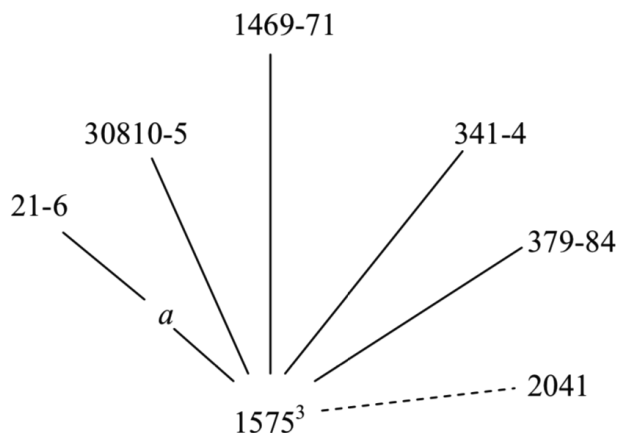
41 See the Online Appendix for full information.

42 For an extensive discussion of transposition issues in Paston, and the likely reasons for these, see Sequera 2010.

43 Such alterations might occur over time; hence one Paston copy might reflect an emendation, while an earlier one did not, yet both could have been copied from the same printed exemplar.

44 This suggests that 21-6 was copied from an exemplar where the underlay for these bars had been abbreviated from the printed version; hand A then expanded this incorrectly.

45 See Knights, 1999, Appendix 3.

Figure 1. Stemma for *Memento homo*

The repertorial context is a useful guide to the value of the stemma above, but it is limited in that the derivation of all the extant Paston sources from either 1575 or the conjectural manuscript *a* admits the possibility of the scribe making a fresh selection of pieces from the copy source each time. It is worth noting that the Paston manuscripts contain a total of 46 copies of 16 of the 34 motets in 1575. In terms of a percentage of the source contents copied by Paston scribes, this means that 1575 is one of the most frequently used (one might say, popular) exemplars.

Table 2. Repertory concordances between the Paston sources of *Memento homo*

Numbers in square brackets indicate the number of other motets (or mass sections, in parts of 2041 and 341-4) occurring between the named motets in the sources; a '/' between two titles separates *prima* and *secunda pars*. In the key, the number after the colon refers to the numbering of the piece in the print.

FRANCIS KNIGHTS

THE TRANSMISSION OF MOTETS WITHIN THE PASTON MANUSCRIPTS, C.1610

2041	341-4	1469-71	21-6	30810-5	379-84	29247	340
	M				K		
	[27]				E		
	N				[13]		
	O				A		
	[6]				[7]		
	P			D	H		
	[34]			A	[8]		
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
C	B		[22]	C		A	[5]
[1]	[1]		L	A		B	E
A	D			B		C	F
B	[4]			I		D	G
H	L			J		[15]	[4]
[1]	[1]					C	C
L	C					A	A
					B	B	
							H

Key

A	Byrd	Aspice Domine (1575 ³ : 10)
B	Byrd	Attollite portas (1575 ³ : 11)
C	Byrd	O Lux beata trinitas (1575 ³ : 12)
D	Byrd	Infelix ego
E	Byrd	Tribue Domine (1575 ³ : 30) ⁴⁶
F	Byrd	Te deprecor (1575 ³ : 31)
G	Byrd	Gloria Patri (1575 ³ : 32)
H	Byrd	Circumspice
I	Byrd	Domine, non secundum
J	Byrd	Domine, salva nos
K	Byrd	Cunctis diebus
L	Tallis	Suscipe quaeso/Si enim iniquitates (1575 ³ : 27)
M	Byrd	Emendemus in melius (1575 ³ : 4)
N	Tallis	Derelinquat impius (1575 ³ : 13)
O	Tallis	Dum transisset (1575 ³ : 14)
P	Tallis	Sermone blando (1575 ³ : 16)
X	Byrd	Memento homo (1575 ³ : 18)

46 The three motets 1575³: 30–32 are a single work, numbered separately in the print.

The patterns shown above may be significant: the A - B - C grouping of 1575 is mirrored in 29247, although the order C - A - B is more widespread (2041, 30810-5, 29247 and 340). E - F - G, from later in 1575, appears only in 340. The relatively small number of 1575 motet copies in 1469-71, 21-6 and 379-84 confirms that they are not likely to be intermediate transmission sources. The way in which 1575 is interspersed with much other material in 379-84 and 341-4 suggests, as does the stemma, that all six Paston non-lute copies of *Memento homo* were made either from the printed version, or manuscript *a*; the only evidence against this is the C - A - B grouping apparent in four of the sources. A possible explanation of this might be that this was a performing order for this group that had become conventional in the Paston household, perhaps as a result of the order of the pieces in the lute books, and that the scribes were aware of this when copying 2041 and 30810-5. There seems no sense of any liturgical groupings, and it is not possible to determine whether, how and when the Paston sources might have been used in private services or devotions.

The part-names and layout offer little further evidence to that above; no source duplicates more than two of the six voice names of 1575. This may not be unexpected, as the Paston scribes follow the continental practice of naming the parts nearest to the usual voice-ranges by the Latin titles *Cantus*, *Altus*, *Tenor* and *Bassus*, with the *Quintus* or *Sextus* for any additional parts. 1575³ uses some less usual terms like *Discantus* or *Tenor Secundus*, and Paston scribes A and C do not hesitate to change them. The inconsistent way in which this is done might be taken as confirmation that each copy was made independently.

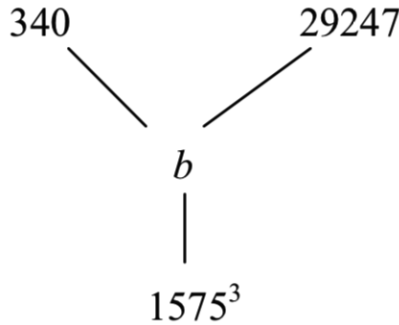
The two lute 29247 and 340 sources are very closely related: this is evident from their near-identical line endings,⁴⁷ and hence layout. While the omission of five tablature letters (two of which are actual errors, and three possible variants) in 29247 and the erroneous tablature letter in [21] suggest that 340 came first, the similar omission of two tablature letters and frequent change from 'o' on one course to 's' on the next course down – an intabulating mannerism found elsewhere in Paston copies (McCoy 1986: 22.) – indicate that both copies came from a lost source *b*. The variants are such that it is impossible that one manuscript was derived from the other. Yet 340 and 29247 are so close in layout, musical text and localised repertory (see Table 1 above) that they can not have been made independently. This is further shown by the 'cantus contamination'⁴⁸ in [19-20] of both copies: two notes of the *Discantus* are inadvertently intabulated alongside the four lowest parts, and the existence of a common exemplar, manuscript *b*, is shown.

47 See Knights, 1999, Appendix 3.

48 This term, referring to the inconsistent inclusion of notes from an otherwise omitted top voice in an intabulation, was coined by McCoy (1986: 26).

FRANCIS KNIGHTS
THE TRANSMISSION OF MOTETS WITHIN THE PASTON MANUSCRIPTS, C.1610

Figure 2. Lute book stemma for *Memento homo*



It appears that all the extant copies of *Memento homo* represent a final point of transmission;⁴⁹ none of them served as the copy-source for any other. This conclusion suggests the existence of a notional Paston ‘library’ copy of the 1575 *Cantiones sacrae*; and that the copying of these manuscripts by scribes A, C and L took place at a single location: whether Paston had manuscript copies of music at each of his houses, his principal residence at Appleton Hall must surely have contained his main library and therefore his ‘scriptorium.’⁵⁰

ALFONSO FERRABOSCO, *IN MONTE OLIVETI*

Ferrabosco’s six-part motet was published in Lindner’s 1585 *Sacrae Cantiones* (RISM B/1 1585¹), an anthology of 41 motets in five to nine voices, arranged according to liturgical usage. Seven of the motets appear in twelve Paston manuscript sources, in 18 copies. However, omitting *In monte Oliveti* and Palestrina’s *Dum complerentur/Dum ergo essent* (and the latter may have come from a different printed source) from these figures leaves only seven copies of five motets, in six sources. It is clear that the Lindner collection was well known to Paston or his scribes, but that only two of the pieces in it achieved wide circulation in the manuscripts.

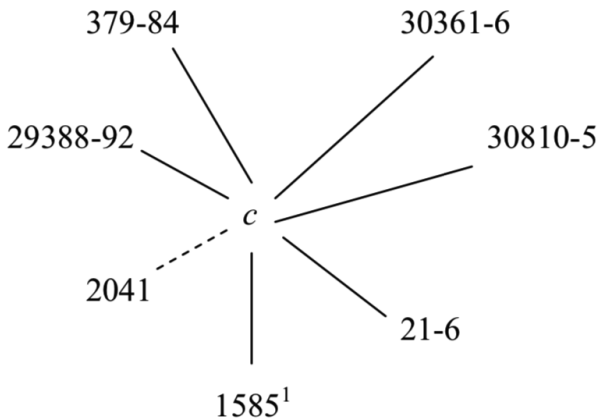
21-6, 29388-92 and 30361-6 all have voice designations identical with those of 1585, and were probably not derived from 2041, 30810-5 or 379-84; the two latter sources

49 With the possible exception of 2041, where the data is insufficient for a judgement to be made.

50 The notion of an Elizabethan gentleman’s private ‘scriptorium’ is plausible here, as manuscript datings imply that all four Paston scribes were working simultaneously in the 1610s and early 1620s (see Knights 1999).

agree in their designations. The missing ligatures [16-17] and [60], and missing ficta [74] show that 2041 is not an intermediate source; underlay variants [22-25] and [30-31] and missing flat sign [49] suggest the same for 21-6. These two sources can be placed at the end of separate stemmatic branches, as can 30810-5 (transposed upwards by a fourth). The underlay variants [4-7] and [43] and subdivided notes [56] imply 379-84 was derived from a missing manuscript *c*. In [4-7] the underlay variant of 30363, 30812 and 383 shows *c* to have reduced the 1585 underlay to *ij*, expanded wrongly by scribe C in these three sources. The similar upward transposition of 30361-6 and 30810-5 suggests that these two copies are directly related: the underlay variant [64] implies that 30361-6 is further from the exemplar than 30810-5 but the former does have voice designations identical with those of 1585, unlike 30810-5. The underlay variant [22-25] shows also that 21-6 too was copied from *c*, not 1585. The most problematic manuscript is 2041; its readings show that it could have been copied from any manuscript except 21-6 (see the underlay variant [22-24]), and also not probably not from 1585 (a comparison of the minor underlay variants indicates that out of 16 variants, three of 2041 are in agreement with 30362, four with 30811, eight with 380 and eight with 29388-92; 2041 too has therefore been tentatively derived from lost manuscript *c*, with a dotted line).

Figure 3. Stemma for *In monte Oliveti*



FRANCIS KNIGHTS

THE TRANSMISSION OF MOTETS WITHIN THE PASTON MANUSCRIPTS, C.1610

A tabulation of concordances between the manuscripts demonstrates the necessity of including the hypothetical manuscript *c* in the stemma (Table 3).

Table 3. Repertory concordances between the Paston sources of *In monte Oliveti*

29388-92	30810-5	30361-6	2041	379-84	21-6	3092
				F		
	H		D		[15]	
[2]	A	I	B	J	[3]	K
[11]	B	J	C	C	A	J
L	C	F	[3]	[11]	C	L
M	M	M	M	M	M	M
X	X	X	X	X	X	X
[8]	D	K	F		K	D
K	E		G		[4]	[17]
[9]	F		[19]		H	F
J	G		A			
I			[1]			
		K				
		[9]				
		L				

Key

A	Ferrabosco	Virgo per incertos
B	Palestrina	Dum complerentur/Dum ergo essent (1585: 25)
C	Anon	Laetentur coeli/Tunc exultabunt
D	Baccusi	Aspice Domine/Plorans ploravit
E	Pevernage	Salvatorem expectamus/Sobrie et juste
F	Lassus	Tristis est anima mea
G	Lassus	Ave Regina
H	Walliser	Morti tuae tam amarae
I	Lassus	Locutus sum/Fac mecum
J	Lassus	Veni creator
K	Ferrabosco	O vos omnes
L	Lassus	Timor et tremor
M	Lassus	In monte Oliveti (1568)
X	Ferrabosco	In monte Oliveti (1585: 17)

The fact that the Lassus and Ferrabosco settings of *In monte Oliveti* are invariably paired, in this order, by all three Paston scribes,⁵¹ shows that they must surely all be derived from a source one stage removed from 1585, manuscript *c*.⁵² The Lassus setting was almost certainly copied from the first volume of Giovanelli's 1568 *Thesaurus musicus*, from which the Paston scribes took 16 motets. In view of the discussion of the relationship between 30361-6 and 30810-5 above, it is interesting to note that they have no common repertory in the above table, except the Lassus motet; this tends to confirm that both were independently derived from *c*. The A - B - C pattern of 30810-5 is partly duplicated by 2041 (B - C) and 21-6 (A - C), but this may be no more than coincidence. In general, while these manuscripts show a common interest in a certain repertorial area (there are a total of 44 copies of motets A to M), no real pattern emerges; like *Memento homo*, the impression given is of a fresh reselection of music from a central library collection or archive as each manuscript is copied.

JACOB VAET, SALVE REGINA [IV]⁵³

Vaet's *Salve Regina* was printed by Giovanelli in the fourth volume of his huge five-volume anthology of Latin motets, *Thesaurus musicus* (RISM 1568²⁻⁶). It was evidently a favourite piece in the Paston domestic repertory,⁵⁴ as it appears in no fewer than nine extant manuscript copies, more often than any other piece. Paston's scribes copied 42 of the 246 motets in the anthology, making this the largest single Paston copy-source so far identified (see Table 4). Few of these pieces, however, appear more than once.

The added numbers⁵⁵ (indicating the number of beats) under a three-note ligature [2-7] and added ficta [129] show 341-4, 30361-6 and 30810-5 to be related, but the underlay variant [26-28] suggests that 30810-5 was not copied from either of these other manuscripts. The duration variant [15], underlay abbreviation [70-71] and [141-142], added ficta [74], [88] and [95] indicate that 16-20 and 21-6 were not exemplars for any other of the manuscripts; the added ficta [94], [125] and divided note value [143] indicate the same for 29388-92. A missing source *d* that was the common

51 And also, in reverse order, in the Spencer Fragments; this source is discussed in Charteris and Spencer 1985: 52.

52 It is possible, though unlikely, that Paston's copy of one of these prints had the other motet in question bound in with it.

53 The numbering of Vaet's *Salve Regina* settings is taken from Harry B. Lincoln, *The Latin Motet: Indexes to Printed Collections, 1500-1600* (Ottawa, 1993).

54 See Milsom, J., 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', in John Morehen (ed), *English Choral Practice, 1400-1650*, (Cambridge 1995), p.161-179, for an exploration of the musical usage of works whose liturgical purpose had passed, and also Kerry McCarthy, 'In search of the English motet', in Esperanza Rodríguez-García and Daniele V. Filippi (eds), *Mapping the Motet in the Post-Tridentine Era* (London, 2018).

55 These appear to have been added at the time of copying, rather than later as an assistance to the performer when they were found to be needed.

FRANCIS KNIGHTS

THE TRANSMISSION OF MOTETS WITHIN THE PASTON MANUSCRIPTS, C.1610

origin of all the sources (with the possible exception of 2041 and 341-4, for which no *Bassus* partbooks survive) is suggested by the added ficta in the *Bassus* [22] and [128] and that in the *Cantus* [125]; these are found in all extant voices. The added ligature numbers [2-7] suggest either that 341-4, 30361-6 and 30810-5 are one stage removed from *d*, or that these numbers were added to the exemplar at some point. The underlay variants [32-33], [99-101] and [148-50] may indicate that 341-4, 30810-5 and 2041 were also not intermediate sources. The manuscript 2041 is, as usual, problematic; as a single surviving partbook from a set it has relatively few variant readings on which to base a conclusion; its minor underlay variants seem closest to 30811 in this instance.

The stemma suggested by this information is as follows:

Figure 4. Stemma for *Salve Regina*

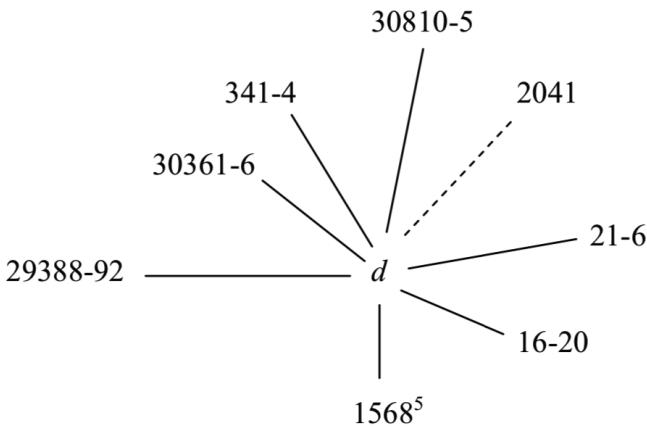


Table 4. Repertory concordances between the sources of *Salve Regina*

30361-6	30810-5	29388-92	341-4	21-6	16-20	2041	31992	340
F								B
[1]								[3]
C								A
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
[1]	[1]			A	C	[10]	[4]	
G	F					B	A	
[4]	C							
E	D							
D	E							

Key

A	Baccusi	Aspice Domine/Plorans ploravit
B	G. Gabrieli	Cantate Domino
C	Deiss	Ne derelinquas (1568 ^s)
D	Buissons	Zachae festinans/Hodie huic domui (1568 ^s)
E	Zaphelius	Sancti martires/Unus spiritus (1568 ^s)
F	Pevernage	Laudem dicite/Gaudeamus (1568 ^s)
G	Uttendal	Plangent eum/Mulieres stantes (1568 ^s)
X	Vaet	Salve Regina (1568 ^s)

Motets A and C are the most common companions of the Vaet motet, although A is separated some distance from it in 2041 and 31992. In comparison with *Memento homo* and *In monte Oliveti*, seven of these nine sources contain relatively little material from the printed source. In fact, all of the seven sources contain no more than two motets each from the whole of 15682-6, except 16-20, which has three pieces. 30361-6 and 30810-5 have five pieces from the source in common. 30810-5 is the only manuscript source to preserve exactly the voice designations of 1568, although 30361-6 only differs in exchanging *Quintus* (as in the title of the second voice partbook of 1568) for *Cantus Secundus*. 30810-5 and 30361-6 are also extremely close in layout,⁵⁶ even though the former does not include the latter section of the work.

The lute sources are both very similar in all respects, even layout, although 31992 intabulates a fifth part. As with the lute sources of *Memento homo*, there are examples of cantus contamination (McCoy 1986: 22), and even of a free added part [87-88] that proves both intabulations to have had a common source. Self-evidently, the five voices of 31992 cannot have been copied from the four voices intabulated in 340, but the variants in the latter source do not make the reverse true. This actually would have

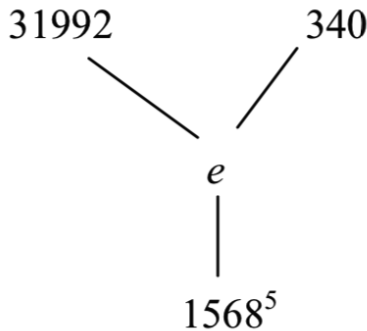
56 See Knights 1999, Appendix 3.

FRANCIS KNIGHTS

THE TRANSMISSION OF MOTETS WITHIN THE PASTON MANUSCRIPTS, C.1610

been possible, since in much of 31992 [96-150] the highest voice is pointed (i.e. has a dot below each tablature letter) in the Spanish vihuelist manner.⁵⁷ It would have been simple enough to produce a four-part intabulation from a five-part intabulation by omitting this pointed part,⁵⁸ providing that it could then be supplied in the companion 'singing book' from an underlaid partbook source elsewhere. A third, lost lute source *e* must be supplied in the stemma:

Figure 5. Lute book stemma for *Salve Regina*



The notion of a lost lute copy-source for both *Salve Regina* and *Memento homo* suggested by the stemma is quite credible, since an intermediate lute manuscript must have existed in which the initial intabulations were made. The neatness, accuracy and lack of erasures in all five of the Paston lute manuscripts make it impossible that any of the pieces were intabulated directly into the manuscripts.

The copying processes represented above appears to involve an unstructured juxtaposition of pieces, new material alternating with favourite domestic repertory according to the whim of the scribe (or under the direction of Paston himself, if he took a close interest in such details). Since the majority of the Paston manuscripts are indexed at the back of the *Bassus* partbook of each set and of the lute books, the main concern of the users may simply have been a practical one: the number of voices or parts required for performance. The transmission of pieces within the manuscripts may reflect this aim, rather than any attempt to reproduce (in part) an actual exemplar like the 1564 *Thesaurus musicus*.

57 See McCoy 1986: 21–22.

58 McCoy 1986: 26–31 demonstrates exactly this process.

CONCLUSION

The Paston collection is of three-fold importance to researchers working on Renaissance musical sources: it offers a large number of highly significant Byrd sources;⁵⁹ it contains a substantial retrospective collection of Latin sacred music by White, Tallis, Taverner and others, some of which is unique to these sources; and it includes more than two-thirds of all the continental sacred music copied into extant contemporary English manuscripts, as well as some works, including madrigals and chansons by Lassus, Gombert and others, which have been incompletely preserved in their original publications.⁶⁰ In addition, the sheer size of the collection, much greater and more varied than the music libraries built up at the same time by collectors like Francis Tregian, the Earl of Arundel and William Heather, gives an opportunity to consider the musical taste (insofar as such a very large collection can be thought of in such terms) of a cultured Elizabethan gentleman who was known to some of the leading writers and musicians of his day.

Through a close reading of the Paston scribes' work, seen in these three very duplicated motets by Byrd, Ferrabosco and Vaet, it is possible to delve further into some of the possible rationales for the compilation of the Paston manuscripts, and explore their possible usage. The close relationship between the 30810-5 and 30361-6 pair of Paston sources demonstrated in each of the three motets discussed here suggests one profitable future area of research. Whatever issues of practicality, technical difficulty, personal association, textual reference and personal taste informed the copying decisions that seem implied in the resulting 'popularity' of these three works,⁶¹ it is likely that they were among those most valued, or most often heard, in Paston's musical circle.

59 Byrd's very success in assimilating continental musical styles makes such attributions on stylistic grounds alone problematic; aspects of this issue are addressed in Rees 1992: 24. As Kerman (1961: 359) pointed out many years ago, more unknown Byrd compositions may well be hidden away among the unattributed music. Identification of anonymous works in the Paston collection using computational methods forms part of the ongoing Formal Methods in Musicology project in Cambridge, <https://formal-methods-in-musicology.webnode.com>.

60 There are dozens of concordances in Lincoln 1988, for example, for which the Paston books are able to supply voice-parts now missing.

61 For some comparison of the musical selection issues around the Paston-related manuscripts owned by John Petre, see Knights 2019: 22–41.

FRANCIS KNIGHTS

THE TRANSMISSION OF MOTETS WITHIN THE PASTON MANUSCRIPTS, C.1610

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FRANCIS KNIGHTS

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ФРЕНСИС НАЈТС

ПРЕНОШЕЊЕ МОТЕТА У ОКВИРУ ПАСТОНОВИХ РУКОПИСА, ОКО 1610. ГОДИНЕ

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Настанак и експанзија комерцијалног штампања музике око 1500. године уобичајено наводи данашње уреднике издања да дају текстуални примат штампаним примерцима музике из овог периода, а науштрб еквивалентних рукописних партитура. Међутим, поједине групе рукописних извора, као што је Пастонова колекција, с краја XVI и почетка XVII века у Енглеској, бацају другачије светло на тадашњу праксу штампања музикалија и њихов однос према ручном преписивању партитура. Велика приватна музичка библиотека Едварда Пастона, данас расута по колекцијама широм Уједињеног Краљевства и Сједињених Америчких Држава, садржи бројне вишеструке верзије дела која су њему већ била доступна у штампаном виду. У овом раду тумачим како су он или његови преписивачи вршили одабир верзија, конкретно у вези са три шестогласна мотета на латинском језику: *Memento homo* Вилијама Берда, *In monte Oliveti* Алфонса Ферабоска и *Salve Regina* Јакоба Ваета; такође ове мотете стављам у контекст колекционарства, као и њихове вероватне употребе.

Кључне речи: Едвард Пастон, рукописне збирке, Вилијам Берд, Алфонсо Ферабоско, Јакоб Вает, *Memento homo*, *In monte Oliveti*, *Salve Regina*