

Scottish Church Music and Musicians, 1500–1700

Two Volumes
Volume 1

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To my Mother



Abstract

The present study is in two parts, the first concerned with church musicians and the second with church music in Scotland during the period 1500–1700. Following an introduction, Chapters 1–5 deal with the historical and social context of church music and musicians. First, since it was the foremost musical establishment for most of this period, the musical history of the Chapel Royal is discussed in detail and an extensive list of the chapel's personnel is presented in Appendix A. The remaining chapters of this part present for the first time a comprehensive study of church musicians and their activities throughout mainland Scotland. Each chapter deals with a particular geographical area (the North and North-East, the East, Central Scotland, and the West and South) and each is subdivided into three time periods: pre-Reformation, 1560–1603, and the seventeenth century. This arrangement facilitates comparison of musical activity between various towns.

Throughout the first part data has been gathered mainly from printed sources, in particular the records and accounts of burgh councils, churches and universities, the minutes of kirk sessions and presbyteries, and the Registers of the Privy Council, Privy Seal and Great Seal. Using this information it has been possible to reconstruct and compare the histories of song schools throughout the kingdom. These histories are of paramount importance in the development of Scottish church music since, in almost all cases, the master of the song school also worked at the local parish or collegiate church or neighbouring cathedral, whether as priest and singer responsible for the training of choristers in pre-Reformation times, or as the 'uptaker of the psalms' after 1560. The evidence gathered in these chapters sheds further light on song school curricula, masters' pay and conditions (discussed fully in Appendix B) and the status of music within local communities. This study also provides much new biographical information for many Scottish musicians, whether humble precentors or "the primest Musicians that ever this kingdome had".

The second part of the study comprises detailed stylistic analyses of representative church music of the period. First, Chapter 6 contains a discussion and suggested dating of the extant music by Robert Carver (and two Masses attributed to him)—arguably Scotland's most eminent pre-Reformation composer. Second, Chapter 7 presents analyses of other

representative works, including four anonymous Mass-settings, five motets, post-Reformation anthems, canticles and psalm-settings. These works are discussed with reference to other extant Scottish music as well as to works by English and Continental composers of the period.

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I professe my self a Welwiller to Musick, who in love and paines for advancement thereof will yeeld to few, though in qualification to many.

(Edward Millar in his preface to the 1635 Scottish Psalter.)

In recent years the study and performance of early Scottish music has seen a huge upsurge in interest, due principally to the pioneering work in this field of Dr Kenneth Elliott. His edition of *Music of Scotland 1500–1700*, first published in 1957 (MB xv), was the first authoritative work in this area; work which continues with his general editorship of the current *Musica Scotica* series. I have been extremely fortunate, therefore, in having my studies supervised by Dr Elliott since embarking on this project in 1994. His vast knowledge, expert guidance, enthusiasm, encouragement and, indeed, patience have proved invaluable over the past few years.

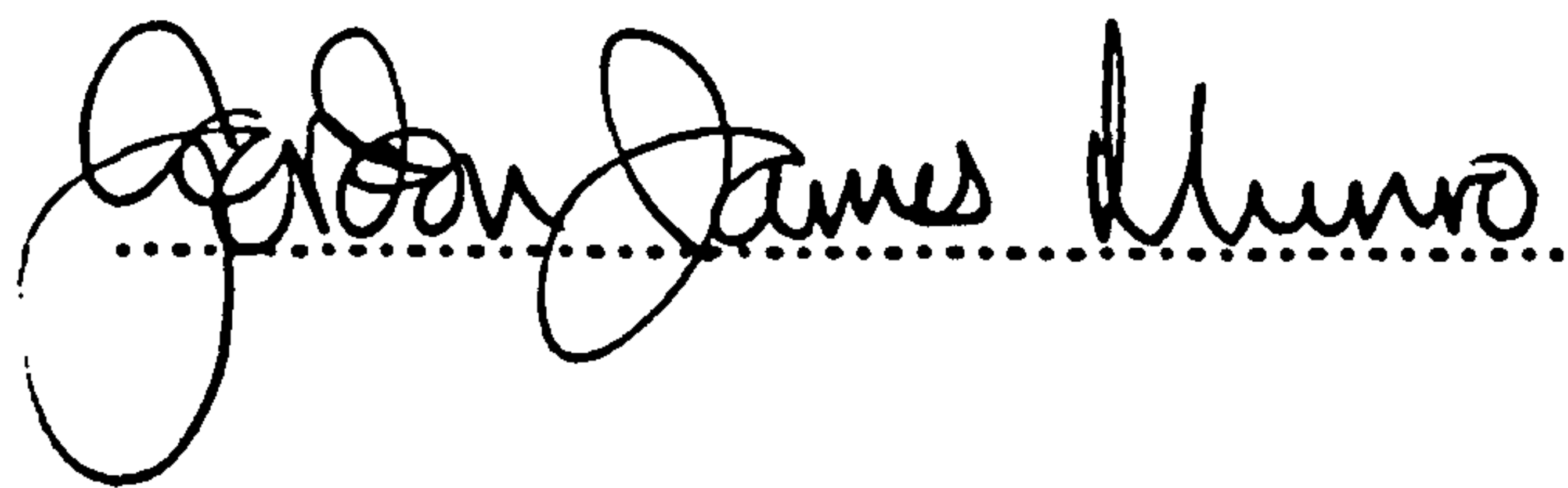
Others, too, have given freely of their time and expertise. For discussion and advice I am indebted to Dr Elaine Moohan, Dr James Reid Baxter and, particularly, to Dr John Durkan who kindly let me see a draft of his forthcoming book on early Scottish schools and who helped with the interpretation of some historical data. Without the encouragement of Dr Myra Soutar and Mr David Munro, I might never have begun this study.

The staff of the following libraries have been most courteous and helpful with my enquiries: the libraries of the Universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and St Andrews; the library of the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama; the Mitchell Library, Glasgow; the National Library of Scotland; the Scottish Record Office; the British Library; and the Scottish Music Information Centre.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis embodies the results of my own special work, that it has been composed by myself and that it does not include work forming part of a thesis presented successfully for a degree in this or another University.


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21 July 1999
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Conventions and Abbreviations

The calendar year is taken as having begun on 1 January (not 25 March).

All sums of money are quoted in pounds, shillings and pence (£ s d) Scots, unless otherwise stated. The merk (equal to two-thirds of a pound, *i.e.* 13s 4d) was the common unit of account throughout the period. Where comparison is necessary, sums of merks have been converted into pounds, and *vice versa*.

The spelling of names (a matter of great variation between scribes and, indeed, the people themselves at this time) has been rationalized, the most commonly found spelling used throughout the text. Original spelling has been preserved in direct quotations. The lower case Roman numerals of original documents have, in most cases, been exchanged for modern Arabic numerals.

Mention of music notation refers to the rhythmic notation of modern editions. In most cases this implies a quartering of the original note values in music of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and a halving of the note values of later music. In Chapters 6 and 7, Roman numeral chord indications and other anachronistic terms (*e.g.* *échappée*, *appoggiatura*, *etc.*) have been used in discussions of harmony. These analytical terms do not attempt to describe composers' musical thinking, rather they seek to convey, in concise terms, the effect of certain harmonic progressions.

The Harvard system of reference citation has been adopted throughout, except in two cases. First, six anonymous works are cited by title in the main text; these are listed at the beginning of the bibliography. Second, the following standard reference works are cited using an italicized abbreviation of the work's title, followed by the volume number (Roman numeral) and the page number.

ALC *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs 1501–1554 ...*
edited by Robert Kerr Hannay (Edinburgh: HM General
Register House, 1932)

ALHT *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* edited by
Thomas Dickson *et al.* (Edinburgh: HM General Register
House, 1877–1978) 13 vols

APS *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* edited by T Thomson
et al. (Edinburgh: HM General Register House, 1814–75) 12
vols

- AS *Antiphonale Sarisburiense: a reproduction in facsimile of a manuscript of the thirteenth century with a dissertation ... by Walter Howard Frere* (rep. Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1966) 6 vols
- CMM *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* (np: American Institute of Musicology)
- CSP *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland ...* edited by Joseph Bain *et al.* (Edinburgh: HM General Register House, 1898–1969) 13 vols
- DOST *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue from the twelfth century to the end of the seventeenth* by Sir William A Craigie (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1931–) 8 vols
- EECM *Early English Church Music* (London: Stainer & Bell, for the British Academy)
- ER *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, edited by John Stuart *et al.* (Edinburgh: HM General Register House, 1878–1908) 23 vols
- FES *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* edited by Hew Scott and John Alexander Lamb (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1915–61) 9 vols
- MB *Musica Britannica: a national collection of music* (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd, for the Royal Musical Association)
- MusScot *Musica Scotica: editions of early Scottish music* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Music Department Publications)
- NG *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 1980) 20 vols
- RMS *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum* edited by John Maitland Thomson *et al.* (Edinburgh: HM General Register House, 1882–1912) 11 vols [This work does not use volume numbers, therefore Roman numerals refer to the volume years as follows]:

1306–1424	i	1609–1620	vii
1424–1513	ii	1620–1633	viii
1513–1546	iii	1634–1651	ix
1546–1580	iv	1652–1659	x
1580–1593	v	1660–1668	xi
1593–1608	vi		

- RPC *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* edited by John Hill Burton *et al.* (Edinburgh: HM General Register House, 1877–98) series 1: 14 vols; series 2: 8 vols; series 3: 16 vols
[The series and volume numbers (both lower case Roman numerals) are given in that order and separated by an oblique stroke, thus: RPC i/iv:709.]
- RSS *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum scotorum* edited by M Livingstone *et al.* (Edinburgh: HM General Register House, 1908–1982) 8 vols
- TCM *Tudor Church Music* edited by P C Buck *et al.* (London *etc.*: Oxford University Press)

In the course of this study reference is made to the following manuscript sources (BL = British Library; EUL = Edinburgh University Library; NLS = National Library of Scotland):

The Art of Music collectit out of all ancient doctouris of music [c. 1580].
BL Add. MS 4911

Balcarres Lute-Book [c. 1690]. In the library of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres

John Baldwin's Partbooks [c. 1575–81]. Christ Church Library, Oxford, MSS 979–983

Borthwick Manuscript [c. 1670]. In possession of Mr Larry Hutcheson, Dunfermline

BL Add. MS 22597 [c. 1565–85].

BL Add. MS 31390 [c. 1578].

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 5557 [c. 1459–80].

Duncan Burnett's Music Book [c. 1610]. NLS MS 9447 (Panmure MS 10)

Carver Choirbook [early 16th century]. NLS Adv. MS 5.1.15

Colin Campbell's Notebooks [17th century]. EUL MS La.II.695/1 and 3

Dowglas-Fische[ar] Partbooks [c. 1550]. EUL MS 64

Robert Edwards's Commonplace Book [c. 1630–65]. NLS MS 9450 (Panmure MS 11)

Alexander Forbes of Tolquhon's Cantus Partbook [1611]. Library of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MU.MS 687

Louis de France's Music Book [c. 1680]. EUL MS La.III.491

Hyrdmanston Breviary [c. 1300]. NLS Adv. 18.2.13A

Inverness Fragments [c. mid 16th century]. NLS Accession 11218, No. 6

Lady Anne Ker's Music Book [c. 1625–35]. NLS MS 5448

Thomas Wood's Partbooks [1562–c. 1592, with later additions by other hands, after 1606 and c. 1620]. The eight extant volumes are now widely dispersed; for ease of reference, they are cited using the following standard abbreviations:

- TWC₁ (Cantus, first copy) EUL MS La.III.483
- TWC₂ (Cantus, second copy) EUL MS Dk.5.14
- TWQ (Quintus) Library of Trinity College, Dublin, MS 412
- TWA₁ (Altus, first copy) BL Add. MS 33933
- TWA₂ (Altus, second copy) Georgetown University Library,
Washington D.C.
- TWT (Tenor) EUL MS La.III.483
- TWB₁ (Bassus, first copy) EUL MS La.III.483
- TWB₂ (Bassus, second copy) EUL MS Dk.5.15

McKinnon Manuscript [c. late sixteenth century]. Library of King's College,
Aberdeen

David Melvill's Bassus Partbook [1604]. BL Add. MS 36484

Edward Millar's Music Book [c. 1650]. NLS MS 9477

William Mure of Rowallan's Cantus Partbook [c. 1627–37]. EUL MS
La.III.488

Walter Ponton's Notebook [1700–1701]. EUL MS Dc.8.43

San Pietro MS B 80 [c. 1474/5–c. 1500]. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,
Vatican City

John Squyer's Music Book [1699–1701]. EUL MS La.III.490

William Stirling's Cantus Partbook [1639]. NLS Adv. MS 5.2.14

Robert Taitt's Music Book [c. 1680]. Clark Memorial Library, University of
California at Los Angeles

Tenbury MS 389 [c. 1595–1613]. Bodleian Library, Oxford

Wimborne MS *sine sigla* [c. 1595–1613]. Private library of David McGhie, Esq

[Various notebooks, 17th century]. NLS Adv. MS 5.2.11, Adv. MS 5.2.16,
Wodrow MS 19

Introduction

A good deal has been written on the history of Scottish music since as early as the eighteenth century: William Tytler first attempted a historical commentary on Scottish music in 1779. The first nineteenth-century study was that by William Daune produced in 1838; in 1864 Neil Livingston produced his "facsimile" edition of the 1635 Scottish Psalter with supporting essays; and in 1867 David Laing gave an account of some of Thomas Wood's Partbooks. Livingston's work was partly reproduced by R R Terry in 1935; but it was not until the 1940s that Scottish music attracted the scholarly attention it so deserves. Studies since then have been either general music histories or investigations of specific aspects of Scottish music. General histories include those by Harry Willsher (1945), Henry Farmer (1947), Kenneth Elliott and Frederick Rimmer (1973), and John Purser (1992).

The first specialist study of Scottish music during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was undertaken by Kenneth Elliott (1959). His work included a survey of sources of Scottish music. Source studies have also been the concern of Hilda Hutchison (1957), Judson Maynard (1961) and Isobel Woods (1984). The music of sixteenth-century Scotland has been the subject of studies by Glynn Jenkins (1988) and James Ross (1993). Other research undertaken this century has focussed on Scottish musicians (C S Terry, 1940; and John McQuaid, 1949) and church music (Millar Patrick, 1949; Maurice Frost, 1953; and Raymond White, 1972).

The first part of the present study (Chapters 1–5, dealing with the history of Scottish church music and musicians) is most closely related to the work of John McQuaid and Raymond White, but there are several points of difference. First, both these investigations are concerned with the same historical period: c. 1560–c. 1650; the present study is larger in scope, extending back to 1500 and forward to 1700, thereby allowing a fuller discussion of church music prior to the Reformation and following the decline of the mid seventeenth century. Second, McQuaid has been concerned primarily with musicians directly related to crown policy; the present work expands this area, particularly with regard to the Chapel Royal, and greatly augments the scope and number of musicians' biographies. Third, this study's discussion of church music in its social and cultural context is more comprehensive than that attempted by either

McQuaid or White. In particular, there is a detailed examination of song schools and their role in the history of church music; and musicians' activities outside the church are discussed to give a more complete account of their lives. The geographical area covered in these chapters can be defined as the lands east and south of the Highland line, as illustrated by the map on p.18. (The Highland line divides the mountainous regions of the north and west—the *Gaidhealtachd*, or Gaelic-speaking area of Scotland—from the lowlands where Scots (a distinct form of English) was spoken.) The second part of this study (Chapters 6 and 7) builds on the work of previous authors (particularly Elliott, Woods and Ross) in constructing stylistic analyses of representative Scottish music of the period, with due regard to international musical trends and the changing cultural context within Scotland.

This changing cultural context is what makes study of Scotland's Renaissance so fascinating. The history of Scottish church music was determined by three vital aspects of Scottish society and their interaction with each other: the Crown, the Church and the People.

The influence of the king and the royal court cannot be underestimated. Royal marriages, political alliances with foreign powers and the theology of kings all had a direct influence on church music. James IV's marriage to Margaret Tudor (1503), James V's French marriages (1536, 1538) and Mary's return from France (1561) undoubtedly brought English and French music to the Scottish court. Heavy defeats by the English at Flodden (1513) and Solway Moss (1542) were followed by the minority reigns of James V (r. 1513–42) and Mary (r. 1542–67, d. 1587). These were periods of relative political instability and Mary's minority indirectly aided the establishment of Protestantism, which irrevocably changed the course of church music in Scotland. James VI (r. 1567–1625) and Charles I (r. 1625–49) were forceful advocates of Episcopalianism. They enjoyed ceremony and promoted the use of more elaborate forms of worship, including a return to the use of organs and ornate choral music. James's 'Act of tymous remeid' (1579) did much to revive music education and church music. However, Charles's reign was characterized by a continuing struggle with the strong Presbyterian movement in Scotland, culminating in his defeat during the Bishops' Wars and Civil War of the 1640s. The subsequent course of Scottish Presbyterianism swept away much fine music of the early Reformation period. The restoration of Charles II (r. 1660–85) provided for

some stability (and the re-emergence of bishops) but, as far as Scottish church music was concerned, the damage had already been done. The brief reign of James VII and II (r. 1685–88) came to an ignominious end with his advocacy of Roman Catholicism, leading to the “Glorious Revolution” instigated by William of Orange (r. 1688–1702).

The Church, of course, had a direct influence on the worship of the Scottish people. During the early sixteenth century, the continuing establishment of new collegiate churches with frequently lavish choral foundations ensured the cultivation of elaborate church music throughout Scotland. But the rich display of some church music and the profligacy of prelates attracted criticism from within and outwith the Church in the satirical works of Sir David Lindsay, Robert Richardson’s *Commentary on the Rule of St Augustine* (1531), and in the deliberations of the Council of Trent (1545–63) and the Scottish Reforming Church Councils (1549, 1552, 1559). A return to plainchant and simpler polyphonic settings was advocated.

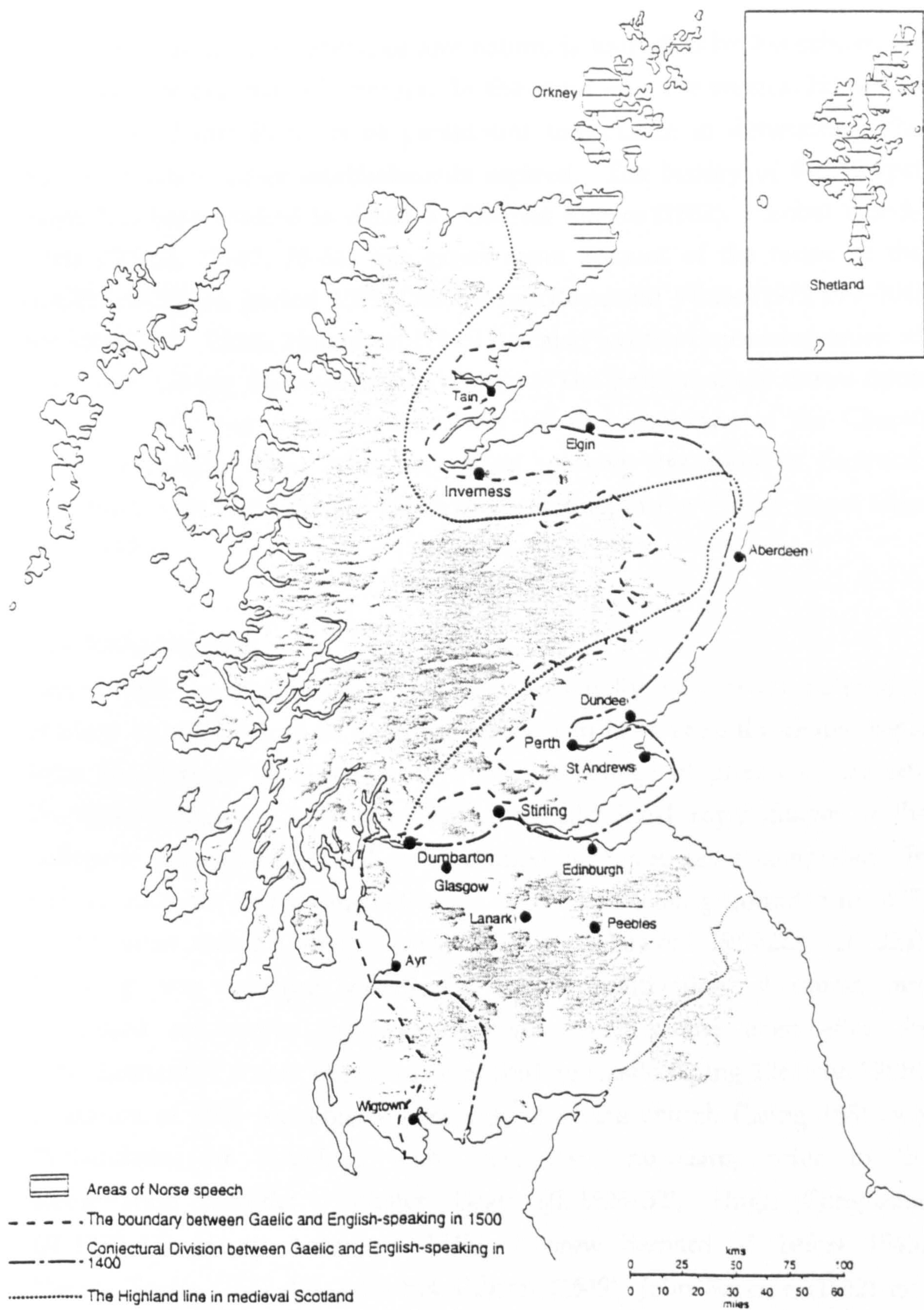
The next and most significant event in church history came about through the will of the People, led by prominent Reformers including John Knox. Support for reform had been growing since the first Lutheran heresies began to spread through Scotland in the 1520s. By 1560 Scotland was ripe for reform. Knox’s new Calvinist regime promoted congregational singing as the only form of church music. Depending on one’s point of view, the worship of God in song had been either reduced to the level of the lowest common denominator or returned to the people as their right.

The presbyterian government of the New Kirk vied for supremacy over the episcopalian Protestantism promoted by the Crown. In this continuing struggle the Kirk had the overwhelming support of the Scottish people against the Crown. The riots at the introduction of the Scottish Prayer Book in 1637 led to the downfall of Episcopalianism and, ultimately, to the re-simplification of church music with the introduction of a new Psalter in 1650. James VII’s attempts to reintroduce Catholicism were similarly overthrown by civil unrest. The modern presbyterian Church of Scotland was born at the close of the seventeenth century.

The Church itself is the thread which runs through the nation’s history throughout this period: it touched the lives of all Scotland’s people—royalty, greater and lesser nobility, and commoners—alike. The state of church music in any one place at any one time can therefore be seen as a

reflection of the religious, political and social climate in which it found itself on a local level. But local events were influenced by national events.

The fluctuating history of Scottish church music is marked out by four events of national significance: two peaks and two troughs. First, the setting up of the Chapel Royal in 1501 provided a national focus for the cultivation of church music. Second, the effects of the Counter-Reformation in the 1540s and 1550s and the Protestant Reformation of 1560 severely curbed the development of church music. Third, the 1579 'Act of tymous remeid' and the subsequent rise of Episcopalianism once again promoted the cultivation of church music. Finally, the National Covenant of 1638 led ultimately to the decline in standards of church music during the later seventeenth century. The present study follows the effects of these events as they were felt by the Chapel Royal, by local churches and by composers.



Map of Scotland showing the division between Gaelic-speaking and "English-speaking" (*i.e.* Scots-speaking) areas (reproduced from McNeill & MacQueen 1996:427, with additions).

The Chapel Royal

A monarch, as the figurehead of any nation, is looked to by his subjects as the model for that nation's culture. In the same way, the musical history of Scotland's Chapel Royal is of paramount importance in determining the model to which other establishments aspired. The history of the Chapel Royal has been studied in detail by Charles Rogers (1882). Isobel Woods (1984 i:20–25, 39–47, 70–81) has given some account of the music at the institution for the period 1501–1567, as has Raymond White (1972 i:74–104) for 1560–1637. Hilda Hutchison (1945) has also written concerning music at the chapel during the seventeenth century. The present study draws upon these accounts but focuses particularly on the musicians of the Chapel Royal, especially those who may have worked elsewhere in Scotland. Appendix A (p.327ff) gives a list of the personnel of the Chapel Royal from 1500 to 1700.

Pre-Reformation

Before 1501 various Scottish chapels occasionally held royal patronage. St Mary on the Rock in St Andrews appears to have been the chapel royal from the time of its elevation to a secular college of priests in the late thirteenth century. A plan to found an additional royal chapel at the collegiate church of Coldingham in around 1473 was never completed. In the late fifteenth century the collegiate church of Restalrig (founded in 1487) is sometimes styled a "chapel royal" (Cowan & Easson 1976:225, 216, 224). Restalrig was enlarged specifically for the cultivation of music, and continued to receive royal endowments to this end even after the establishment of a new chapel royal at Stirling Castle (Laing 1861:xliv, 278ff). A statute of 1515 mentions a song school at the church (Laing 1861:283). Prebendaries of Restalrig, who were also musicians, prior to the Reformation include: Walter Gray (*fl.* 1526–32), Hugh Congiltoun (*fl.* 1532–47), Henry Achesone (1545), Andrew Bernard (d. before 1545), Patrick Foulis (1547–49), Lancelot Gibson (1549), John Bartane (1552) and Hugo Wilsoun (d. before 1552; Innes 1851:222, Laing 1861:cxiii).

Van Heijnsbergen (1995:299f) has made the point that the Stewart kings (James III and James IV) wished to rule "over a nation that had its own

cultural identity, an identity that would in its turn reinforce the reputation of the sovereign because it was closely tied up with the royal cause". This was achieved with the founding of the Chapel Royal, which was to become a centre of excellence in various branches of learning, particularly music and poetry. In around 1471 James III made preparations to establish a Chapel Royal at the chapel of St Mary and St Michael at Stirling Castle (Rogers 1882:xiv–vi, *MusScot* i:v). This establishment was greatly enlarged and elevated to collegiate status during the reign of his son, James IV, in 1501.

The newly endowed Chapel Royal was to support a dean, subdean, sacristan and sixteen canons "skilled in song, with six boy clerics, competently trained in song, or fit to be instructed therein" (Rogers 1882:xxxii). Some of the first boys came from Dunfermline, according to an entry in the Treasurer's Accounts: "Item, to Schir Johne Craufurd, passand to Dunfermlyn for childir to the college in Strivelin ... 14s" (*ALHT* ii:129). The following year (1502) one of the canonries was elevated to a chanter'ship. In 1504 a further ten canons and a treasurer were added to the establishment. The office of succentor (*i.e.* sub-precentor) is mentioned in 1506, but this may be the same as the later title of "preceptor [= master] of the bairns" (Cowan & Easson 1976:226). Two further dignified offices (archdeacon and chancellor) were erected within the chapel before 1512, making a total of eight dignitaries (including cantor and succentor), 25 other canons and six boy choristers—by far the largest collegiate establishment in Scotland¹.

Unfortunately very little is known about most of the men who were canons of the chapel. Usually their names appear in documents presenting them to the various canonries or prebends which they held. Otherwise their names appear in accounts or as witnesses to other documents. Whilst it cannot claim to be exhaustive, the list in Appendix A gives the names of a good many of these canons who, according to the chapel statutes, would have been "skilled in song".

Using as her evidence the number of clerics actually recorded as working at the Chapel Royal in any given year, Woods (1984 i:43–46) has been able to suggest several busy periods of musical activity at the chapel (1501–4, 1506–12, 1531, 1542–51, 1554 and 1566) and one conspicuous low-

¹ At the Reformation this total consisted of the eight dignitaries already mentioned and about 20 other canons, as well as the six boys (Cowan & Easson 1976:227).

point (the 1520s). The two initial busy periods were due to the chapel's newly acquired collegiate status. During these periods, two of the clerics are also recorded as singers (without designation of place) paid "be the Kingis command". Thomas Clerk received eight French crowns [= £5 12s] in November 1501 and Alexander Buchan received 14s in July 1502 (*ALHT* ii:127, 154). The nature of these payments (neither form part of a list of payments to chapel personnel) may imply that these men also sang at court. Clerk worked at the chapel during the period 1502–7 and 1511–12; Buchan reappears there in 1530². Another man who apparently had connections with the court is Richard Carmichael³. Knox (1949 i:19) describes Carmichael as a singer at the Chapel Royal (around the early 1530s), and he is listed as a "songster" (again, not as part of a list of Chapel Royal personnel) receiving a livery in 1534 (*ALHT* vi:205⁴). Knox tells how Carmichael was heard to say in his sleep, "The devil take away the priests, for they are a greedy pack"—the singer was later made to "burn his bill" (*i.e.* recant this heresy). According to Knox, Carmichael was still alive in Fife at the time of writing his *History of the Reformation*, in 1566.

Thomas Galbraith worked at the Chapel Royal between 1502 and 1504 (*ALHT* ii:92, 94, 97, 334, 353). A Robert Galbraith held the treasurership of the institution from 1528 until 1532 (Watt 1969:339), and a William Galbraith is described as a lutenist and singer at court in the late 1520s (*ALHT* vi:18, 87; *ER* xv:292, 463). It is very possible that these three men (at least two of whom were musicians) are related. This may be evidence, therefore, for another (smaller) family of musicians working at court, just as the Hudsons were to do later in the century (see p.38ff).

Patrick Newlandis, a cleric of the Chapel Royal in 1501–2, may also have worked in Linlithgow. There are two references to a man (or men) of this name at the Parish Church of St Michael in Linlithgow, and both refer to chaplains of the altar of Our Lady (Ferguson 1905:285f). From at least 1540

² The Alexander Buchan listed as a prebendary of the Chapel in 1543 and 1551 (see Appendix A) may well be the son of the abovementioned Alexander Buchan: Buchan senior had three sons legitimized in 1530, one of whom was named Alexander (*RSS* ii:No. 496).

³ Rogers (1882:98) also mentions a Roland Carmichael, but this is probably in error for Richard, to whom he refers on p. lv.

⁴ There may have been two different Richard Carmichaels at court. The other is mentioned as receiving liveries alongside men with no specific designation (one of whom appears to have been a messenger; *ALHT* vii:22, 127, 334, 470, 477). Another singer, George Coutts, is mentioned along with Carmichael in the 1534 livery list (and elsewhere in the accounts) but on no occasion is he linked with the Chapel Royal, although Woods (1984 i:237) lists him amongst the chapel's personnel.

(and probably before) the chaplain of this altar was also a member of the choir and master of the song school in the town (see p.150f).

John Silver, organist of the Chapel Royal in 1501–4 and 1507–8, does not appear elsewhere in the records but may well have been related to James and William Silver, also clerics of the chapel around the same time.

Nicholas Abernethy (*fl.* 1501–1518, d. before 7 October 1522⁵) received many payments from the king during his life. The first reference to him (July 1501) describes him as one of the “clerkis of the Kingis chapell”—this was for payment until Whitsunday 1501. He is next mentioned in October 1501 (after the erection of the chapel as a collegiate church) when provision was made for him to receive 24 merks each year of his life from the customs of Edinburgh (*RSS* i:No. 727). It seems, therefore, that Abernethy was not in holy orders and so could not hold one of the new canonries of the Chapel Royal⁶. Also, Abernethy was married: a later payment was made to his widow, Cristine Gray (*ER* xiv:443). Despite this, he may well have continued singing at the chapel as on various occasions he is described as “cantori” or “sangster” and, in 1503, he was given money to buy a gown (as opposed to being given a livery; *ALHT* ii:368).

Although the dignified office of cantor may have been a titular benefice in other Scottish cathedrals (see p.74), it seems probable that the Cantor of the Chapel Royal was an active musician⁷: the office was held by John Fethy, a prominent Scottish musician, in 1545 and 1566 (*Watt* 1969:337). Other pre-Reformation cantors of the Chapel Royal include John Elnwand/Elwald (1502)⁸, John Cantuly (1529–38) and John Scrymgeour (1529).

As Woods (1984 i:40) has demonstrated, it was possible for clerics of the Chapel Royal also to work at the parish church in Stirling. Woods has found evidence that fourteen men held positions in both chapels at various

⁵ *ALHT* ii:94, *ER* xiv:334, 443.

⁶ Other clerks of the old foundation were promoted to canonries in the new, *e.g.* Alexander Buchan (*RSS* i:No. 591).

⁷ *ER* xiii:96 (1508), *Rogers* 1882:lii (1512), *ALHT* v:85 (1516).

⁸ Woods (1984 i:70) states that the office of Sacristan of the Chapel Royal was held by the Cantor from 1502. This is not borne out by *Rogers* (1882:xxxvi): the Cantor “should have precedence of the Sacristan”. Furthermore, Alexander Shaw is described as Cantor (c. 1508–14), whilst at the same time David Trail was Sacristan; and the offices are treated separately in a document relating to the Chapel Royal in about 1619 (*Rogers* 1882:ccxi).

⁹ Woods’s list (1984 i:238) states he was Dean [of the Chapel Royal]. In fact he is almost always named as “Dene John Elnwand” which does not imply that he was head of the chapel (*DOST* ii:70).

times before 1567 (these occurrences are listed in Appendix A¹⁰). Chapel Royal personnel who also worked at the parish church did so most consistently in the period 1523–1532, when there was little activity at the Chapel Royal as the court had moved to Edinburgh (Woods 1984 i:45), and during the early 1540s (a few years before the erection of the parish church as a collegiate body¹¹). Three clerics worked at both institutions simultaneously: Sir John Aysoun (in 1506), Mr Alexander Kyd (in 1530 and 1531; see below) and Sir Robert Arnot (in 1543).

Arnot was the alias used by the most important Scottish composer of the sixteenth century—Robert Carver. Carver's life and works have been studied in depth by Kenneth Elliott (1959, 1960b, *MB* xv and *MusScot* i¹²), Isobel Woods (1984, 1988) and James Ross (1993, 1998, 1999). His surviving works (five Masses and two motets) are all recorded in the Carver Choirbook (National Library of Scotland MS Adv. 5.1.15), along with sacred music by Lambe, Nesbett, Cornysh, Fayrfax and Dufay¹³.

Recently unearthed documents (discussed by Elliott in *MusScot* i:xi) reveal that Carver had a maternal uncle, Sir Andrew Gray, who was a chaplain at St Nicholas's Parish Church in Aberdeen. In these documents (dated 1505) Carver is described as "dompnus". This is a term applied to a monk, usually one who has taken solemn vows at the end of his novitiate, aged around 20. Elliott therefore infers Carver's year of birth as 1484/5. However, Bowers (1999:8f, following Woods 1988) proposes Carver was born between 25 March 1487 and 24 March 1488 since Carver describes himself (in 1546) as 58 years old. In the same inscription (to the Mass *Pater Creator omnium*), Carver states that he is in his 43rd year in religious orders, thus he became a novice in 1505 at the age of 16. Clearly the correct year of birth hinges on whether the term "dompnus" could have applied to a 16-year-old novice monk. If so, it seems likely Carver was born in 1487/8. The dates Carver appends to the Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium* show evidence of having been changed and so support a number of different

¹⁰ Two of these men also held offices outwith the Chapel Royal. John Hamilton (at the Chapel Royal in 1543–1546) may have been Succentor of Glasgow, 1551–70 (Watt 1969:170). Walter Stewart (Treasurer, 1531–41) simultaneously held the precentorship of Ross, 1532–41 (Watt 1969:339, 276).

¹¹ The date of this erection is not known. However, it is likely to have taken place during the early 1540s and certainly before 29 May 1546 (Woods 1984 i:34f).

¹² *Musica Scotica* i (Glasgow: Music Department, University of Glasgow, 1996) presents a new edition of Carver's complete works, along with two attributed Mass-settings extant in the Dowglas-Fische[ar] Partbooks.

¹³ Only Dufay and Carver are named in the manuscript.

interpretations; *MusScot* i:vi, xi.) Recent new evidence may shed light on Carver's parents and upbringing: Ross (1999:9) refers to an Aberdeen document of 19 February 1479 recording the marriage of one John Carver with Marjory, widow of William Cantly¹⁴.

At any rate, by 1505 Carver is described as a canon of Scone Abbey with which he associates himself on several occasions in the Carver Choirbook. He also describes himself therein as "alias [or "vel"] Arnat". This pseudonym prompted Elliott's suggestion (1960b:356) that Carver was associated with David Arnot, Bishop of Whithorn and the Chapel Royal. Recent writings endorse this suggestion, proposing David Arnot to have been Carver's patron (Ross 1998, 1999; Bowers 1999). Woods (1984 i:26ff) went further by identifying Carver with one Robert Arnot, burgess and bailie of Stirling; however, this identification may now be discounted¹⁵. Woods also identified Carver with the priest Sir Robert Arnot who worked at the Chapel Royal in 1543 and 1551 (see above and Appendix A). Ross (1999:9) casts doubt on this theory. There are various references to men with the surname Carver during the early sixteenth century, but relationship to the composer cannot be proved in any of these cases (Woods 1984 i:22; *ALHT* iv:275; Ross 1993:6, 1998:8). During his life Carver signed various documents relating to Scone Abbey. The last of these is dated 21 August 1568 (*MusScot* i:xi), by which time Carver would have been in his eighties—he must have died soon thereafter.

There is no evidence to suggest that Carver actually worked at the Chapel Royal, but it is highly likely that his works were intended for performance there¹⁶. Carver attaches his alias to three early works (*O bone Jesu*, *Gaude flore virginali* and the Mass *L'Homme armé*) composed during the time that David Arnot was Bishop of Chapel Royal¹⁷; and the chapel was

¹⁴Coincidentally, a John Cantuly was Cantor of the Chapel Royal, 1529–38 (Watt 1969:337).

¹⁵In a private communication, Dr James Baxter has informed me that, in the manuscript records of Stirling burgh council, the names of clergymen are habitually preceded by a clerical title (eg. "Sir" or "Dominus"). "This is not the case with Robert Arnot the bailie, thus casting severe doubts on any possible identification of Robert Arnot, bailie and master of works, with Robert Arnot, canon of the Chapel Royal, let alone the composer Robert Carver, who used the alias "vel arnat" in only three early works."

¹⁶It is quite possible that Carver was involved in the direction of these performances. Bowers (1999:9) posits for Carver a protracted period of absence from Scone Abbey. This need not have been the case: given that the abbey is situated only 30 miles from the Chapel Royal in Stirling, Carver could easily have made occasional visits to the royal foundation where his patron was bishop. (Augustinian canons were not subject to the rule of absolute claustration; Coulton 1933:29.)

¹⁷Arnot was bishop from 1508 until his resignation on 23/24 January 1526 (Watt 1969:132). In his previous office as Archdeacon of Lothian he had helped establish the new choral foundation of the Chapel Royal in 1501 (Elliott 1960b:356).

one of very few establishments which could boast the vocal forces required to perform the nineteen-part motet *O bone Jesu*. The ten-part Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium* is dated 1513 and may well have been sung at the coronation of the infant King James V that year (Elliott 1960b:357)¹⁸. Carver's only other dated work is the four-part Mass *Pater Creator omnium*, written in 1546 according to Carver's own inscription (f.5v). This Mass (which is much less elaborate than the other four-part and the ten-part settings) may have been used at the erection of Stirling Parish Church as a collegiate institution: its *Kyrie* trope is suitable for such an occasion (Woods 1984 i:35)¹⁹. Carver's other surviving works are: Mass *L'Homme armé* (à4), Mass *Fera pessima* (à5), a Mass for six voices; and the motets *Gaude flore virginali* (à5) and *O bone Jesu* (à19). On stylistic evidence, Elliott has attributed two further Mass-settings to Carver (*MusScot* i:ix): a Mass for three voices (in the Carver Choirbook) and the Mass *Cantate Domino* (à6, from the Dowglas-Fische[ar] Partbooks, Edinburgh University Library, MS 64). (Carver's music is discussed at greater length in Chapter 6.)

Alexander Paterson (fl. 1524–46) was organist and singer at the Chapel Royal from 1524 (RSS i:No. 3308, quoted in Woods 1984 i:91)²⁰. Robert Richardson, in his *Commentary on the Rule of St Augustine* (published in 1531), praised the singing of Mass in chant and especially the efforts of "that venerable man Sir Alexander Paterson, Sacristan of the Royal College of Stirling, (whose Masses) incite no less devotion than good delight" (translation from Woods 1984 i:87). That Mass at the Chapel Royal was sung in chant around this time seems likely when one considers the relatively low number of staff listed at the chapel: only fifteen different names occur between 1520 and 1530, including those of seven non-musical dignitaries. Compare this with 42 different names (including seven non-musical dignitaries) during the period 1500–1510 (see Appendix A).

After the Chapel Royal, the most prestigious musical centre in Scotland was Aberdeen (discussed in Chapter 2), and the two places had several connections. Robert Carver held a chaplainry at the Parish Church of St Nicholas in 1505, the previous incumbent of which had been his uncle, Sir Andrew Gray (*MusScot* i:xi). John Murray, at the Chapel Royal in 1506,

¹⁸ This date appears to have been altered several times in the manuscript (*MusScot* i:vi).

¹⁹ Ross (1993:40) suggests the Mass was written in 1543, possibly for the coronation of Mary, Queen of Scots on 9 September that year. However, there seems little reason to doubt Carver's own dating of the Mass as 1546.

²⁰ Alexander Paterson may well be related to James and/or John Paterson, also musicians at the Chapel Royal (Appendix A).

is described as a singer at St Nicholas's in 1514 (Stuart 1844a:88). Andrew Gray, another singer of the Chapel Royal (1554), had made the journey north to St Nicholas's by 1556 (Stuart 1844a:301)²¹. Similarly, a John Goldsmyth worked at both churches: 1501–12 at the Chapel Royal and 1522–29 at St Nicholas's, although he is not described as a singer in Aberdeen (Cooper 1888 ii:123, 377).

Alexander Kyd, canon of the Chapel Royal (c. 1530–31), also worked at the parish church in Stirling (see above) and became Succentor of Aberdeen (c. 1533–63; Watt 1969:17). There he founded "a service altar for the Lady Mass for the choirboys of the 'sang schwyll'" in 1537 (Innes 1845 i:413, quoted in MacDonald 1996:186n). Kyd was also a court poet: his sole surviving poem, *The rich fontane* (found in the *Bannatyne Manuscript*), contains moral advice for the young King James V (Williams 1996:210). In the penultimate stanza of the poem, Kyd encourages the king to enjoy the pleasures of music as a worthy regal pursuit, extolling the virtuous influence of this art:

Eftir *thi* meit of instrumentis muisicall
 Thow suld be fed *with* plesand armony
 quhilk is exercitioun most regall
 Lichtis the mynd plesand to heir & se
 attour all thing in musik *cunn*and be
 quhilk ornat homeir decoir of discepling
 ane kendill of curage off rankour Inneme
 musik callit wirthy for ony king²²

Regarding his poetry, Sir David Lyndsay described Alexander Kyd as "in cunnyng and practick rycht prudent" (*The Testament and Complaynt of Our Souerane Lordis Papyngo, Kyng Iames the Fyft*, line 43, quoted in MacDonald 1996:179).

John Fethy was Cantor of the Chapel Royal between 1545 and 1566 (Watt 1969:337). However, he appears not to have been continuously resident in Stirling during this period: Fethy also worked as master of the song schools

²¹This Andrew Gray may have been a relative of the aforementioned Sir Andrew Gray, in which case he would also have been related to Robert Carver.

²²Lines 81–88 of *The rich fontane*; Tod Ritchie 1928 ii:242–245. The second half of the stanza may be read as:

above all things be cunning in music,
 which ornate Homer, ornament of learning,
 a candle of courage, enemy of rancour,
 called music worthy of any king.

I am grateful to Dr Theo van Heijnsbergen (Scottish Literature Dept., Glasgow University) for advice on this poem.

of New Aberdeen (1544–46, see p.78f) and Edinburgh (c. 1551, see p.153). Two other musicians of the royal chapel also had connections with Edinburgh: Alexander Scott and Andrew Buchan.

Alexander Scott was at the Chapel Royal in 1539 and 1549. He, like John Fethy, was also a poet and musician, although apparently not a priest (he is never designated “Sir”). Scott’s life and poetry have been discussed by Helena Shire (1969:44–66) and John MacQueen (1970:xxxv–lxiii and 1983:50–59). Scott received the parsonage of Ayr (a benefice of the Chapel Royal) in 1539 (RSS ii:No. 2899). The following year he is described as “joueur de fifre” at a student pageant in Paris (Shire 1969:50f, quoting Durkan 1959a:71). Before 1548 Scott received further revenues from the Chapel Royal, the parsonage of Balmaclellan (MacQueen 1970:xxxviii). In 1548, Scott, as “musitiane and organist”, was granted a canon’s portion of the priory of Inchmahome (Shire 1969:52). According to the terms of this grant, Scott was not always required to be present at the priory, and he travelled to France this year with John Erskine, Prior of Inchmahome, probably in the retinue of Mary, Queen of Scots (MacQueen 1970:xxxix). Shire (1969:49) notes that Alexander Scott, prebendary of the Chapel Royal, was the father of two sons (John and Alexander) who were legitimized in 1549 (RSS iv:No. 505).

A further (and hitherto unnoticed) reference may be cited here. In January 1556, an Alexander Scott was paid £10 annual fee by the town council of Edinburgh “for his avating and singing in thair queir [of St Giles] ... all the haly and festiuall dayis and playing on the organis quhen he salbe requirit” (Marwick 1871b:236). This is undoubtedly a reference to the organist of Inchmahome. MacQueen (1983:53) notes that between 1555 and 1560 Scott wrote a poem (*Of May*) “with distinctly Protestant undertones”. John Knox had been preaching in Edinburgh during late 1555. It is therefore conceivable that Scott came into direct contact with Protestant doctrine during his time as organist in the capital. MacQueen (1970:xl, xliii) notes that after 1549 there are no further references to Scott as canon of the Chapel Royal, and that he had given up or lost his Chapel Royal benefices by 1561. During the 1550s, therefore, Scott must have been looking for work elsewhere, and so it is that we find him as organist in Edinburgh in 1556.

In 1565 and 1567 Scott is described as a canon of the abbey of Inchaffray (MacQueen 1970:xliii). Alexander Scott “youngar” (the legitimized son of the poet) was presented to a benefice of the Chapel Royal in 1567 (Woods

1984 i:240; RSS v:No. 3213). MacQueen (1970:xliv) shows that Alexander Scott senior died some time between June 1582 and July 1583. The same author suggests Scott was born in about 1515. As poet and musician Scott is very likely to have composed the music for his own song texts (Elliott & Rimmer 1973:22), some of which have been edited in *MB* xv (Nos. 42 and 43) and *MusScot* ii (Nos. 5 and 8).

Andrew Buchan is described as a canon of the Chapel Royal in a document dated 1551 (Scottish Record Office MS RH6/1533B, quoted in Woods 1984 i:24). From 1579 he worked in Edinburgh as master of the song school there, the position which had earlier been held by John Fethy (Marwick 1882:126, 128). Buchan died in office in about 1582 (Marwick 1882:239) and seems to have held a prebend of the Chapel Royal until his death (Rogers 1882:ciii). As Woods (1984 i:24) points out, Andrew Buchan²³ knew Robert Arnot personally: they both signed the 1551 document referred to above in Arnot's rooms. (Sir Alexander Buchan and Sir James Haldran/Haldane, canons of the Chapel Royal, were also signatories.)

We have only a few pre-Reformation references to organs at the Chapel Royal. Several repairs were made to the instruments during the early periods of activity at the Chapel: in 1506 and 1507 (by an unnamed canon of Holyroodhouse), in 1511, 1512 and in 1533 (*ALHT* iii:195, 362; iv:276, 339, vi:89). A new instrument was purchased for the chapel in 1537: William Calderwood was paid £66 13s 4d for "ane pair [of] organis to the Kingis grace chapell" (*ALHT* vi:353). Calderwood is mentioned frequently in the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* and was obviously a favoured musician at court. From 1539 he received annual payments of £20 as a gift under the Privy Seal (RSS ii:No. 2993; *ALHT* viii:449, x:133, 215) and in 1542 he provided a new organ for the chapel at Holyroodhouse, for which he received £60 (*ALHT* viii:55). Other mentions of organists and organs (mostly in *ALHT*) refer to court musicians and instruments at other royal residences. Gillean "Francheman, organist" (c. 1512) is one such musician who was favoured at court (*ALHT* iv:276 *etc.*).

Organs were frequently transported around the country with the king, and various payments were made for this purpose in the early sixteenth century (*ALHT* ii:117, 129, 407, 456; iv:339). The instruments were used not

²³Woods (1984 i:11) speculates that Andrew Buchan may be the compiler of the Scottish treatise *The Art of Music Collected out of all Ancient Doctouris of Music* (British Library MS 4911). However, there is no evidence to substantiate this. Andrew Buchan is probably the son of Alexander Buchan who was clerk of the Chapel Royal in the early part of the century (see p.21).

only for court entertainment but also for church services, apparently in churches where there were no organs: there is record of one instrument being carried to “the kirk of Steill [=?] ... quhen the King wes thare”. During the 1530s various payments are recorded to the king’s (unnamed) organist: he received a livery of “Scottis blak” in 1533, and three payments (two of 20 crowns and one of 15 crowns) are listed under March, May and June of 1538 (*ALHT* vi:350; vii:20, 22, 25). Marie de Guise arrived in Scotland that year and doubtless the Chapel Royal musicians were in attendance at court²⁴. It is likely that the three payments were not to the same organist. The organists’ duties in 1538 are not specified, but they were likely employed for religious rather than (or perhaps in addition to) court functions. No liturgical organ music has survived but organists would have been expected to improvise on the chant or polyphony sung during the Mass (Ross 1993:98ff).

The coronation of Marie de Guise took place on 22 February 1539 in the Abbey of Holyroodhouse. The Abbot of Arbroath “sang mess that day” (*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents*:23). The Chapel Royal choir would also have sung then, but unfortunately there is no record of the music. No doubt some large-scale celebratory Mass-setting would have been sung on this occasion. The various royal palaces were refurbished in anticipation of James’s marriage and for a while thereafter. In the works accounts of Falkland Palace (1539–41) there is mention of an organ loft there, and a new organ and organ loft were constructed “for the chapell within the palice of Halyrudhous” in 1542 (Paton 1957:284; *ALHT* viii:55, 121). A new organ was built for the Chapel Royal at Holyroodhouse in February 1558, and this may well have been the last new instrument built in Scotland before the Reformation (White 1972 i:105f, *ALHT* x:330²⁵). The instrument was repaired in February 1562 (*ALHT* xi:109).

Besides references to organs, various other musicians are mentioned in the Treasurer’s Accounts, only one of which has specific reference to sacred music. In 1534 Sir David Inglis “chaplane, singare for the saule of King James the Third” was paid £13 6s 8d for his duties (*ALHT* vi:213). The name of this musician appears nowhere else in the records which I have

²⁴ As noted earlier, when Chapel Royal clerics were active at Stirling Parish Church there are few references to them in official records. Similarly, there are no references to these men for the year 1538 (see Appendix A) when they would very likely have been active at court in Edinburgh.

²⁵ £36 for the new organ was paid to “David Malville, induellar in Leith” who was probably the organ builder. I have found no other references to him.

studied.

1560–1603

Despite the national upheavals of the Reformation and the devastating effects this change had on Scotland's sacred music, musicians continued to be employed at the Chapel Royal at both Stirling and during its residences in Edinburgh. Among them was Arthur Erskine (*fl.* 1561, Chalmers 1818 i:54), "by [whose] good device" the chapel choir sang a Mass for Mary, Queen of Scots on 14 September 1561. But on that occasion some leading Protestant nobles "so disturbed the quyere, that some both preists, and clerks, left their places, with broken heads, and bloody ears!"²⁶. Such was the intense hostility towards Catholicism after 1560. Arthur may have been related to two further Erskines who also sang at the Chapel Royal: William (*fl.* 1531, RSS ii: 852) and Thomas (*fl.* 1549–50, Watt 1969:341). Despite the Protestant outrage just described, Mary continued to attend Mass although it is said that by 1562 the chapel musicians would not play at Christmas Mass or evensong (Randolphe in a letter to Cecil, 30 December 1562; CSP i:675). The attitude of some of the musicians had altered somewhat by 1565. Randolphe in another letter to Cecil writes:

Greater triumphe ther was never in anye tyme of moste Poperie, then was thys Easter, at the Resurrection and at her Hye Masse. Organynes was wonte to be the commen musycke. (CSP ii:148.)

Mary, despite being a most Catholic monarch, was very tolerant of the new religious doctrines in her kingdom (Fraser 1970:189). Her private faith may have dictated her continued attendance at Mass, but her public position brought her into contact with the Reformed Church—and its music. Upon her arrival at Holyroodhouse in 1561, the excited crowds entertained Mary by singing and playing psalms outside her apartments. The now well-known opposing views of Knox and Brantôme on this episode may well reflect two sides of Mary's thinking. The "meschants violons et petits rebecs" and the psalms "mal chantez et ... mal accordez"²⁷ would no doubt have allowed her little rest and comfort on her first night. Whether or not she liked such music we cannot tell, but Knox tells us Mary wished it to continue for several nights. This seems a prudent line for

²⁶ Randolph in a letter to Cecil (24 September 1561; CSP i:555).

²⁷ Protestant psalm-settings were not unfamiliar to Mary. Clément Janequin's *Octante-deux pseumes de David* (1559) were dedicated to the "Queen of France" and a copy of this work may well have been in Mary's library (Durkan 1987:84).

Mary to have taken for, had she requested the music to stop, she no doubt ran the risk of upsetting her new and ardent subjects, which would have been a mistake so soon after her arrival from France.

As already noted, John Fethy remained as Cantor of the Chapel Royal until at least 1566. During his time there Fethy would undoubtedly have known the composer and fellow-canon John Angus, and works by both these composers were recorded by Thomas Wood in his partbooks²⁸. Angus was a monk of Dunfermline Abbey, where he seems to have remained despite his tenure of other benefices, such as the vicarage of Inverkeithing which he held from 1562 until at least 1568 (*FES* viii:412). In January 1565 Angus was presented to a prebend of the Chapel Royal, that of the sacristan, worth £50 *per annum* (*RSS* v:No. 1884, Haws 1972:148). In November 1595 Angus is described as parson of Crieff, another prebend of the Chapel Royal (*FES* v:42; McQuaid 1949:159). Angus received various other pensions during the 1580s (McQuaid 1949:160; *RSS* viii:No. 2703, 2713) and he had died by 1596 (Elliott, *NG* i:435)²⁹. The document describing Angus as parson of Crieff (1595) also records his brother, William, as parson of Kirkinner (the Chapel Royal benefice formerly held by John when he was Sacristan). In fact, William Angus had been associated with the Chapel Royal since 1565–6 when he was described as a canon of the chapel and vicar of Crieff (*RSS* v:No.2238, 2675; *FES* viii:379).

It is evident that John Angus was a favoured musician during his lifetime. From the number of benefices he held following the Reformation it is obvious that he subscribed to the new religious doctrines in, or shortly after, 1560 (but see p.120, n.10); and also that he lived comfortably during his working life. Indeed, it is quite possible to imagine that James VI himself was aware of Angus's musical talents. On 24 December 1584, just two days after James had confirmed the portions of the nine remaining monks at Dunfermline (including Angus), the king made a further grant to John Angus, "his majesteis daylie oratour" (*RSS* viii:No. 2713).

In contrast to many Scottish burghs at the Reformation, the Chapel Royal continued to provide for the musical education of its youth. Indeed,

²⁸ These are now widely scattered: Edinburgh University Library MS La.III.483, MS Dk.5.14, MS Dk.5.15; Trinity College Library, Dublin TCD MS 412; British Library Add. MS 33933; Georgetown University Library, Washington DC.

²⁹ A further reference to a John Angus is found in *RSS* v:No. 2662, dated 1565. There he is granted lands formerly belonging to the abbey and nunnery of "Icolmekil", i.e. Iona. However, he is designated "Maister" in this entry (not "Dene" as usual) and so this is unlikely to refer to the composer.

the first occurrence of the term “preceptor [= master] of the bairns” is in 1565. Sir William Myrtoun held this position in the early 1560s, but had died in office some time before 14 March 1563. On this date the preceptory was gifted to Sir James Castellaw, according to the confirmation of this gift (RSS v:No. 2528). In fact, there seems to have been some dispute over the preceptory in the early 1560s. George Ross was presented to the preceptory in October 1565, Mary and Darnley having discharged “all gifts and dispositionis maid of the said preceptorie to quhatsumevir personis ... sen the deceis of umquhile schir Williame Myrtoun” (RSS v:No. 2388). This latter phrase is uncommon amongst the gifts to prebends of the Chapel Royal. Perhaps Ross, who was at this time Treasurer of the Chapel Royal, felt that he should also be Preceptor, just as Myrtoun had also been simultaneously Treasurer and Preceptor. However, another entry in the Register of the Privy Seal, less than three months later (3 January 1566), confirms that James Castellaw had been in “peceable possessioun” of the preceptory since 14 March 1563 (RSS v:No. 2528). Castellaw thus appears to have successfully overturned Ross’s claim to the preceptory. Thereafter Castellaw seems to have held the position until 1618 when he is last mentioned in the records (Laing 1851 i:571)³⁰. His fifty-five years in office must have been one of the longest tenures of any Scottish musician at this time.

The baptism of Prince James took place at the Chapel Royal in Stirling castle on Tuesday 17 December 1566. The ceremony followed the Catholic rite, as Mary wished, although certain Protestant nobles (and the envoy of Elizabeth I) remained defiantly outside the chapel doors. The ceremony ended around 5 p.m., after which there was “singing and playing on organis” (*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents*:104). According to Chalmers (1818 i:73), John Hume (chief lutenist at court) was paid £177 10s 8d for the musical arrangements surrounding the baptism. This sizable payment was evidently to be shared amongst several musicians. If each musician were paid an average of about £4 [= 80s, a substantial single payment], then this figure would allow for some 44 musicians. The payment therefore probably included an amount for the chapel choir (numbering about twenty canons and six boys after the Reformation, see p.20) as well as amounts for court

³⁰ Ross is never again mentioned in connection with the preceptory. In 1569 he held a prebend of Castellaw in the Chapel Royal and raised letters for non-payment of certain monies of St Mary of the Lowes (RSS vi:No. 645). Matthew Ross (probably son of George) succeeded to the treasurership in about 1584.

instrumentalists who would have provided the secular entertainments following the ceremony. It is interesting to note that there is a significant increase in the number of Chapel Royal personnel mentioned during the year 1566 (eleven names appear this year, see Appendix A), reflecting the busyness at court and chapel due to the birth and baptism of Prince James.

George Gray was Cantor of the chapel in 1566 (Watt 1969:337). He had been active at the Chapel Royal since 1549 (RSS iv:No. 510) along with a possible relative, Andrew Gray, who later moved to New Aberdeen (see p.79). George Gray remained at the Chapel Royal until his death some time before 9 September 1577 (RSS vii:No. 1174). As can be seen from Appendix A, two other Grays also worked at the chapel during the early seventeenth century: James (*fl.* 1593–1612, latterly Master of the Chapel) and Thomas (Treasurer, *fl.* 1603–c. 1619). It is not unlikely that these men were in some way related as all (except Andrew) held fairly high positions within the church. Also, another Gray (William) was Precentor of Aberdeen from 1617 until 1626 (Watt 1969:12).

The baptism of Prince James was to be the last great Catholic ceremonial at court. There followed a rather dismal period in the chapel's fortunes. This reflected the state of turmoil in which the court and kingdom found itself in the wake of the events of 1567–8. Darnley, who for some time had been estranged from Mary, was violently murdered in an explosion at Kirk o' Field (Edinburgh) less than two months after the baptism (10 February 1567). Bothwell, chief among those implicated in the plot, secured his own acquittal. To the astonishment of the 'Thrie Estaites', just three months after the murder (15 May), Bothwell and Mary were married at Holyroodhouse "not with the mess bot with preitching". The same commentator goes on to remark ruefully "... there was naithir plesour nor pastyme usit as use wes wont to be usit quhen princes wes mariyt" (*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents*:111f). The circumstances probably dictated the avoidance of ceremony and display and if the chapel singers were in attendance then the music would probably have been nothing more than Protestant psalm-settings.

Not all of the Chapel Royal personnel mentioned in 1566 were necessarily musicians. Two, Robert Fraser and William Kemp, were the sons of two of the queen's servants. Although it cannot be proved that Fraser and Kemp were not musicians, it seems likely that their presentations to benefices of the Chapel Royal (both made in the same

month, March 1566) were given as favours to loyal subjects of the crown, rather than in any attempt to further the musical service of the Chapel Royal.

The month after his mother's imprisonment at Loch Leven, the one-year-old James was crowned king on 29 July 1567. The circumstances of the coronation, coming just five days after Mary's forced abdication, can hardly have been conducive to elaborate ceremony, and one may doubt whether the choir of the Chapel Royal was indeed involved. Mary Stewart escaped Loch Leven Castle in May 1568 and, after a failed attempt to rally forces, fled to England later that month. There she remained in captivity until her execution (8 February 1587). With the removal of Mary Stewart, and under the regencies of James's minority, Protestantism became firmly established in Scotland. There would have been a great deal of uncertainty surrounding the future of the musicians of the Chapel Royal at this time, there no longer being the prospect of providing elaborate service music. Furthermore, the month before assuming his regency in September 1571, the Earl of Mar had cleared the Chapel Royal at Stirling of all its popish trappings (*APS* iii:62).

Yet some of the musicians, as well as the boys, remained: a large payment of £93 6s 8d was made to Sir James Castellaw as "preceptor of the sex barnes within our Soverane Lordis Chapell Royall of Striueling" in April 1574 (*Rogers* 1882:ci). This substantial sum comprised several years' back pay for Castellaw and the boys. In fact, the money was paid from part of the lands of St Mary Kirk of the Lowes, the benefice to which Castellaw had been presented in 1563 (*RSS* v:2528). It appears, therefore, that Castellaw had had difficulty procuring the money due him from this benefice. Such difficulties became common amongst the benefices of the Chapel Royal after the Reformation. Protestant lairds, responsible for collecting the rents, appear to have been unwilling to continue financing what they no doubt saw as the 'Old Church'. Sir John Fethy also experienced problems with the tenure of this benefice. He wrote in 1560/1: "... I gat nevir penny payment fra the said laird sen his enteres quhilk wes at Lambmes wes a yeir bypast and hes na uther thing to live on and thairfoir protestis for lettres for payment" (*Kirk* 1995:263). George Gray and George Ross also raised letters for payment of dues from St Mary of the Lowes in 1569 (*RSS* vi:No. 645). Andrew Burgane and Andrew Buchan both made attempts to recover money owed to them since 1561 from the prebend of

Dalmellington (RSS v:No. 1670; vi:No. 1232).

Andrew Buchan (*fl.* 1551–c. 1582, see p.161) also worked in Edinburgh as precentor and master of the song school there, 1579–1582 (Marwick 1882:126, 239). He is probably the son of Alexander Buchan (prebendary of the Chapel Royal, *fl.* 1500–1530), legitimized in 1530 along with his brothers, Alexander Jr and Jasper (RSS ii:No. 496). Andrew Buchan may well be the father of John Buchan³¹: John was presented to the parsonage of Dalmellington within the Chapel Royal (vacant by the decease of Andrew) in 1584 (RSS viii:No. 1923). John Buchan was master of the song school at Haddington from 1583 until 1592, when he moved to Glasgow to take up a similar position there (see p.167f)³².

In 1571 a gift of a prebend of the Chapel Royal was made to William Drummond “for his sustentation at the scolis quhill he be of the aige of xxvi yeris”, specifically to support him in his studies for the ministry (RSS vi:No. 1242). In total, seven of the twelve benefices which fell vacant between 1571 and 1581 were gifted as scholarships³³ (see Appendix A). Mostly these scholarships were gifted for a set period of seven years and it was presumably the intention that the recipients went on to become ministers, although some gifts specify the study of grammar or “at the grammar school of Stirling”. Scholarships were gifted to: William Drummond (1571), Alexander Darroch (1574), James Duncanson (1575), William Scot (1577), Thomas Sinclair (1579), Andrew Aisone (1580) and Thomas Lindesay (1581)³⁴.

These men were not the first to study during the tenure of their benefices. In 1566 John Stoddard, a canon of the Chapel Royal since 1559 (and one of the men who had previously worked at Stirling Parish Church), was allowed to retain his Chapel Royal prebendary and altarage of the parish church during his studies of “learning and sciences” abroad (RSS v:No.3021).

³¹This suggestion was first made by Livingston (1864:49).

³²For John Buchan’s biography, see Elliott, NG iii:404.

³³It was made possible to grant prebends to students that they may be “sufficientlie brocht vp in vertew, and leirning” by Act of Parliament in 1567 (APS iii:25).

³⁴Gifts of prebends were also made to William Murray, son of Sir William Murray of Tullybardin (1574) and Alexander Ruthven (1582). The fact that Murray’s kinship is specified suggests this gift was in the manner of a favour to a friend of the then Regent, the Earl of Morton, but one cannot be certain of this. The gift to Ruthven was made for seven years, but without stipulation of study, although this may be an omission of the scribe. The scholarships to William Scott, Thomas Sinclair and Thomas Lindesay were granted for life. Only Scott reappears in the records as non-resident Cantor. He was eventually deprived of the prebend on or before 24 July 1624 (Watt 1969:337).

Significantly, none of the scholarships of the 1570s specify the study of music, and attendance at the Chapel Royal is not stipulated in any of the gifts. It is quite clear, therefore, that the musical prestige of the institution was at a low ebb during the 1570s, as chapel funds were directed away from *bona fide* musicians. Indeed, a degree of nepotism may be detected among these gifts, as several of the recipients were the sons of Chapel Royal prebendaries. James Duncanson was the son of John Duncanson, then “minister of oure soverane lordis hous”, and formerly Vicar and then Subdean of the Chapel Royal (RSS vi:No. 200, 2468). The student Andrew Aisone succeeded to the prebend of Castellaw *tertius*³⁵ in 1580, formerly held by his father, Robert. Finally, Thomas Sinclair may well have been the son of Archibald Sinclair, Chancellor of the Chapel in 1573.

With the commencement of James VI's personal rule in 1579, the importance of music was re-established, not just at the Chapel Royal but also nationally. In November 1579 an Act of Parliament was passed, binding all councils “of the maist speciall burrowis of this realme” and provosts of colleges “To erect and sett vp ane sang scuill *with* ane maister sufficient and able for instructioun of *the* yowth in the said science of musik” (APS iii:174; the so-called “Act of tymous remeid”). Action at such a high level had become necessary because “*the* art of musik & singing ... is almaist decayit and sall schortly decay *without* tymous remeid be prouidit”. This Act bore fruit in many places throughout Scotland (as will be seen in subsequent chapters) and served its purpose in halting the decline of music as an art form.

James was very much occupied with music during the month of November 1579 for not only did he pass this Act but he also received some very expensive music books:

Item be the Kingis majesteis precept to Maister Servine, musicien, Frencheman, in recompans of certane buikis of musik maid be him and dedicated to the Kingis majestie ane hundreth crownis of gold, as the said precept with his acquittance schewin upoun compt beiris ... £210. (ALHT xiii:291.)

Jean Servin received another £20 later in the month, but thereafter disappears from Scottish records (ALHT xiii:292). However, Servin (*fl.* 1565–1596) is known to have been a composer working on the Continent

³⁵In common with many other church lands, the lands of Castellaw were divided into four portions, each of which became a benefice of the Chapel Royal. The benefices supported by these portions of the same land were regularly numbered *primus*, *secundus* etc.

(in Geneva and possibly Lyons)³⁶. The books “maide him” were in all likelihood his own latest publications. In 1578, Servin had published three collections of “*chansons nouvelles*”, mostly consisting of sacred music; and in 1579 there appeared his *Psalmi Daudis a G. Buchanano versibus expressi* for 4–8 voices. A copy of the tenor part only of this last work exists in the library of St Andrews University, lending credence to the possibility that this was among the books for which James VI paid such a large sum. George Buchanan (1502–82) had been tutor to James during 1570–78 and it is probable that he met Servin in 1579. Servin may even have come to the Scottish court at the invitation of either the king or Buchanan, especially if they had known of his musical setting of Buchanan’s psalm translations. Alternatively, having published his settings, Servin may have made his own way to the Scottish court with the intention of meeting the author and in the hope of some reward from his illustrious pupil, the Scottish king. Given the preference for French *chansons* at the court during the 1580s (the Castalian era) it seems likely that Servin may also have brought with him up-to-date French secular music by other composers.

At the Chapel Royal the first evidence of this renewed interest in music is demonstrated in 1584 by the gift of a prebendary to John Buchan, who had been master of the song school at Haddington since June the previous year (Miller 1844:459). The next Chapel Royal benefice to fall vacant was filled by Robert Makcawlay in May 1584 (RSS viii:No. 2087). Due to the small number of Chapel Royal prebendaries of whom we have notice during the 1580s, it is not possible to discern any explicit policy of granting benefices to musicians as early as 1584. However, Makcawlay’s presentation comes about ten weeks after that of John Buchan, one of the “primest Musicians that ever this kingdome had”³⁷. Following the presentation of such a prominent musician to the Chapel Royal, it seems unlikely that the Crown would gift two prebends of Strathbran to a non-musician. Furthermore, we may speculate that Robert Makcawlay may be the “McCallaw” employed (with others) to examine a candidate for the mastership of Edinburgh’s song school in 1593 (Wood & Hannay 1927:103). (Musicians of the Chapel Royal were later to act as “examiners” in musical competence at the appointment of song school masters in Dunfermline, see p.144f.) McCallaw’s fellow music examiners in Edinburgh included Patrick Dunbar, James Lauder,

³⁶ *Vide* Paul-André Gaillard’s article on Servin in NG xvii:192. Gaillard’s biography does not mention Servin’s visit to the Scottish court.

³⁷ According to Edward Millar, in his preface to the 1635 Scottish Psalter.

James Gray and a Frenchman "Ellie" (not noted elsewhere). Dunbar was associated with the Chapel Royal from 1588; Lauder was active at court in 1584³⁸; and Gray is very probably the same man who was later Master of the Chapel Royal in 1612 (Rogers 1882:cxv). The strength of the Chapel Royal/court connections between Dunbar, Lauder and Gray suggest that their colleague McCallaw may well also have had such connections. Allowing for a little scribal difference then, it is very probable that McCallaw, the Edinburgh music examiner, and Robert Makcawlay, Chapel Royal prebendary and possibly musician, are the same man. However, he was obviously a musician of lesser standing than Buchan as there is no further mention of either name in the records.

The next major appointment to the Chapel Royal came in June 1586 when Thomas Hudson was made Master and Commissioner of the chapel (McQuaid 1949:59). Thomas Hudson was the eldest of four brothers who, in the company of their father, had arrived at the Scottish court from England (probably York) around 1566. The family was employed as violars at court and remained in royal service for around 30 years. Craigie (1941) gives details of the biography of Thomas Hudson and his brothers, as does McQuaid (1949:29–73) and Shire (1969:71–5 *etc.*).

Hudson's appointment as Master is recorded in the Register of Presentations to Benefices on 5 June 1586. His letter of appointment gives a clear account of the desperate state to which the chapel's music had been reduced by the 1580s:

his hienes chappell royell, being foundit for his maiesties musicianis be his maist nobill progenitouris of worthie memorie, thir divers yeiris bygane hes bene neglectit and sufferit to cum to extreame decay and rwyne in sa mekill as the haill benefices prebendaris fruittis rentis and emolumentis belanging thairto hes bene unwarthelie disponsit to unqualefeit personis quha nether ar skillit in the said arte of musik nor yit meanis in onywyis to profiet thairintill. (Register of Presentations to Benefices, quoted in Craigie 1941:xv.)

As McQuaid (1949:60) has commented, however, this was a slight exaggeration: we have seen that just two years earlier prebends had been gifted to John Buchan and Robert Makcawlay, at least one of whom was a musician. There was a large degree of truth in the statement though, and Hudson's appointment was obviously intended to reverse the recent trend

³⁸Lauder's *My lord of marche pauin* is dated 1584 in Thomas Wood's duplicate cantus partbook (Elliott 1988:152f).

away from the chapel's original purpose, that of providing musical worship worthy of a Renaissance prince.

The other principal collegiate church for the cultivation of music, over which James had royal jurisdiction, was that of Restalrig. Five months after Hudson's appointment to the Chapel Royal (*i.e.* in November 1586), James promoted David Cuming, then master of the song school in Edinburgh, to a similar position (preceptor and commissioner for the promotion of music) at Restalrig. (Since Restalrig supported musicians often connected with the Chapel Royal, it is discussed separately below.)

Thomas Hudson was to receive £200 *p.a.* for taking charge of the music at the Chapel Royal, nominating only musicians to future vacant benefices. Hudson was thus the first post-Reformation incumbent of an office which was to become very important in the history of Scotland's sacred music. Future holders of this office included Edward Kellie and Edward Millar, the editor of the "Great" Scottish Psalter of 1635. The ratification of Hudson's appointment (APS iii:489) refers to Hudson as "his [hienes] lovit daylie *seruitor*" and by now he must have been a trusted servant of the 21-year-old king and a respected musician at court. Indeed, as McQuaid (1949:83) has observed, "it was on the advice of the king that Thomas [Hudson] undertook his translation of du Bartas' *Judith* published in 1584, and this incident seems to point to very good relations with the monarch, at a critical period for musicians".

Hudson's appointment was ratified by Parliament in 1587 and again in 1592 (APS iii:489, 563f). Also in 1587, Thomas Hudson's younger brother Robert was appointed Treasurer of the Chapel Royal. Robert remained in office until his death in about 1596 (McQuaid 1949:185). Another of the brothers, William, is described as Treasurer in 1597 (Watt 1969:339)³⁹.

The 1587 Act ratifying Thomas's appointment as Master considerably extended his powers of nomination to include the king's "*uther chantorie collegis*", *i.e.* the collegiate churches of Restalrig (near Leith), St Mary on the Rock (in St Andrews) and possibly St Duthac in Tain⁴⁰. McQuaid (1949:62), on the other hand, takes this phrase to mean all collegiate churches in the

³⁹The career of the fourth (and probably youngest) brother, James, is touched upon by McQuaid (1949) and Shire (1969:73). As well as playing the viol, he carried messages of state between Scotland and England.

⁴⁰These are the collegiate churches which, according to Cowan & Easson (1976:224, 225, 227f) had royal patronage or were instituted by royal foundation. Another, Trinity College in Edinburgh, had been given into the hands of the provost, bailies and council of Edinburgh in 1585 and would therefore not have been included in the above Act of 1587 (Cowan & Easson 1976:221).

kingdom, as well as others providing for the upkeep of musicians, but excluding the collegiate church of Restalrig, the rents of which had been at the disposition of David Cuming since November 1586. However, the Act is quite specific in referring only to "*his hienes uther chantorie collegis*" *i.e.* those of royal foundation (my italics). Furthermore, the exception of Restalrig indicated by McQuaid is not mentioned in the 1587 Act, which "dischargis all vtheris com missionis and giftis toward the ordouring of *the saidis colleges*". It is therefore conceivable that Cuming's commissionership of Restalrig (which had only begun in November 1586) was abandoned in July 1587 and passed to Hudson under the terms of this Act, a possibility not considered by McQuaid.

The 1592 Act referred to above (APS iii:563f) specified that Thomas Hudson was to receive the rents of all benefices of the Chapel Royal which were to fall vacant in future. Of this money Hudson was to retain £200 *p.a.* for himself and distribute the rest among "quhat nowmer of musicianis [*his hienes*] wilhaue to *serue* him in his house and chappell", the king to decide "quhat fie euerie persone salhaue". It is clear from this Act that the old distinctions between musicians of the court and Chapel Royal (the "house and chappell") were now less clear-cut. Whereas prior to the Reformation musicians of the chapel may occasionally have performed at court, court musicians could not have sung at chapel as they would have required to have been in holy orders. Now, however, musicians of both the "house and chappell", *i.e.* both sacred and secular, were equally likely to be paid from the rents of the Chapel Royal.

Hudson probably remained as Master and Commissioner of the chapel until his death. According to Craigie (1941:xx), Thomas Hudson is last mentioned in official records in 1595 (ER xxiii:44). He was probably still alive in 1600 (McQuaid 1949:47) but his successor as Master of the Chapel, John Gib, was appointed in 1605, suggesting Hudson had died by then (Craigie 1941:xx⁴¹).

John Gib was first presented to a benefice of the Chapel Royal in 1586, four months before Thomas Hudson was created Master (Rogers 1882:ciii). However, Gib was no musician—instead, he was a groom of the privy chamber, a familiar of the king. This presentation was simply a gift from the king to a loyal servant and (doubtless) a good friend. The events of 1586 thus show a curious ambivalence of attitude towards the Chapel Royal. In

⁴¹ Craigie gives the year as 1604, but Gib became Master in February 1605 (Rogers 1882:ciii).

February, King James is keen to reward his subject with a life-long pension, and does so using a benefice which ought properly to support a royal musician. In June, however, he promotes a royal musician to the commissionership of the chapel with the express intention of preventing chapel rents falling to non-musicians such as his servant Gib. This duality appears even more incongruous when, in 1605, as one of a number of gifts from the king, Gib is promoted to Thomas Hudson's former post: a non-musician with the power to nominate musicians to chapel benefices (Rogers 1882:ciii). Parliament (and, no doubt, the few remaining musicians at the chapel) was outraged by this move and in July 1606 passed an Act returning all chapel rents into the hands of "the ordinar memberis alanmarlie [= only] of the said Chappell Royall being astrictit [= legally bound] to serue his Maiestie and his successouris in Musick ..." (APS iv:298f). Further attempts were made by the king to restore the rents to Gib in 1610 and 1612 (Rogers 1882:cviii, cix). However, the commissionership passed to James Gray⁴² in 1612, although Gib managed to retain some of his former emoluments until at least 1619 (Rogers 1882:cxxxii). Despite the anomaly of Gib's presentation in 1586, Thomas Hudson did go on to nominate known musicians to benefices of the Chapel Royal during the last years of the sixteenth century. The first of these was Patrick Dunbar.

Dunbar's career has been discussed to some extent by McQuaid (1949:43, 95, 98f, 135ff). According to the letters granting Dunbar's benefices, he was the son of the late David Dunbar of Penik (McQuaid 1949:135ff). McQuaid also quotes an entry in the Register of the Privy Seal (1583) granting the chaplainry of Applecross to a Patrick Dunbar, student of philosophy, son of David Dunbar of Penik⁴³. A further reference (not mentioned by McQuaid) may be noted here. On 12 July 1582, a Patrick Dunbar, son of the late "David Dumbar of Petquhin" was granted the annualrent of a house in the Canongate (RSS viii:No. 2746). This house formerly belonged to the dean and chaplains of Restalrig Collegiate Church. Patrick Dunbar the musician was granted a prebend of Restalrig in 1587 (see p.42). The names of the recipient and his father, and the connection with Restalrig, strongly suggest that the Patrick Dunbar in the Canongate (1582) is the student from Penik who, five years later, became a musician-prebendary of Restalrig. Thus

⁴² Probably the music examiner found in Edinburgh in 1593, see p.164.

⁴³ Donaldson, however, in RSS viii:No. 1433 transcribes the father's name in this entry as *Patrick Dunbar of Penik*.

Dunbar seems likely to have spent his student years in Edinburgh⁴. There remains, however, the incongruous fact that the scribe of the Privy Seal gives Dunbar's father as being from "Petquhin", not Penik. This is probably a confusion on the part of the scribe. Penik was described in 1973 as a "hamlet ... three miles east of Nairn" (Munro 1973:282). It is understandable, therefore, that a sixteenth-century lowland scribe referring to what must then have been a tiny settlement in the north of Scotland might misspell the place-name or even substitute another similar or more familiar name. (Two references to Dunbar in 1587 give his late father's name as "David Dunbar of Petqutrie [= Peterculter?]" and "Dauid Dunbar of the Toun of Penik" (Laing 1861:lviii).)

In April 1582, another (the same?) Patrick Dunbar, also a student, was presented to a benefice of the burgh of Elgin to support seven years' study (RSS viii:No. 2744). A long line of Dunbars were succentors of Moray (at Elgin Cathedral) from 1534 until 1619 (Watt 1969:237), and the pre-Reformation succentors (at least) would have been practising musicians. It is tempting to speculate that the Dunbars of Penik (not far from Elgin) may be related to (or even the same family as) the succentors of Moray. We know from the letters of Dunbar's presentations to the benefices of Restalrig (1587) and the Chapel Royal (1588) that he had been "brocht up" and "from his youth tranit up in the said art of musick" (McQuaid 1949:136, 138), perhaps suggesting a musical family background such as that of the Moray succentors.

In April 1587 Dunbar was granted the prebend of Bute *quintus*, part of the patrimony of the collegiate church of Restalrig (the commissioner of which was David Cuming at that time; McQuaid 1949:43 and see below). However, John Barbour, then the incumbent of Bute *quintus* (and *tertius*), successfully complained against the reallocation of this prebend (RSS vii:No. 2433, McQuaid 1949:135). Dunbar was then presented to the prebend of Rossin, also in Restalrig church (McQuaid 1949:136). The letter of presentation makes much of the fact that Dunbar had been well trained in music. A year later (June 1588) Dunbar received a prebend of Strathbran (within the Chapel Royal) from Thomas Hudson (McQuaid 1949:138).

A later entry in the Register of the Privy Council (RPC i/iv:709, dated 1592) refers to Dunbar as being in danger of assault at the hands of one John

⁴The Patricius Dunbar "*minister verbi*" who graduated from Edinburgh University in 1600 is probably too late to refer to the musician, as is another man of this name who graduated in 1615 (Laing 1858:17, 29).

Cuming. The provost of Nairn was to act as surety that Cuming “will not harm Patrik Dunbar, prebendary of the Chapel Royal of Stirviling”. The reason for the physical abuse threatened by Cuming upon Dunbar is not given. However, this reference may well imply that Dunbar was back at home in Penik in about 1592. (Penik is three miles east of Nairn.) The same year, and again in 1600, Dunbar is described as prebendary of Bute *quintus* in the collegiate church of Restalrig (Innes 1851 ii:222, Laing 1861:cxiii).

By 1593 Dunbar had returned to Edinburgh and was one of the examiners at the trial of John Chalmer, candidate for the mastership of the song school there (Wood & Hannay 1927:103, see p.164). Dunbar held the prebend of Strathbran until at least 1619, by which time he had also acquired the parsonage of Balmaclellan (also part of the Chapel Royal; Rogers 1882:cxxxii, cxxxiii). The last reference to him is as a signatory to a chapel document of 1623 (Rogers 1882:cl). Judging by the number of benefices received by Dunbar, he was obviously a very prominent musician in his day. He was also respected by his peers (James Lauder, James Gray and, as I have suggested, Robert Makcawlay) to the extent that he could represent the Chapel Royal at trials of musicianship.

James VI married Princess Anne of Denmark in Oslo during the winter of 1589. The following May the royal couple returned to Scotland where they were greeted at Leith and then Edinburgh with great rejoicing. Anne was crowned Queen of Scotland in the Abbey Church of Holyrood on Sunday 17 May 1590. Apart from the obligatory trumpets, the only reference to music on this occasion is the singing of Psalms 40 and 48. These psalms immediately preceded the sermon and are most likely to have been sung in their metrical versions by the assembled congregation (Stevenson 1997:104; Craig 1828:50f). Musicians of the Chapel Royal would almost certainly have been present at the coronation. They may additionally have sung some more polyphonic anthems, but these are not recorded. In this respect it is worth noting the survival of an isolated bass part “Anna veni sequimur” in the Melvill Bassus Partbook (British Library Add. MS 36484, f.18). This part is the lowest of a six-voice motet or anthem; only the incipit of the text is given. Elliott (1959:274ff) has suggested this piece may be by Andrew Blackhall, and was quite probably written for Anne’s arrival or coronation. Only a small number of Chapel Royal personnel were available to sing for this occasion. Significantly, there

are no mentions of chapel personnel in the year 1590 (nor the year before or after, see Appendix A). Certain musicians were at the Chapel, though: Thomas Hudson was Master in 1590 (and therefore probably organized the musical arrangements) and James Castellaw was probably Master of the bairns at this time. David Cuming, Patrick Dunbar, Robert Fowlis and Thomas Lauder were all musicians receiving Restalrig benefices. All of these men may well have taken part in the musical celebrations of Anne's arrival—the coronation and/or her entry into the city.

In contrast to the coronation, we do have a good deal of information regarding Anne's triumphal entry to Edinburgh on Tuesday 19 May. One contemporary accounts tells how Anne, arriving upon a chariot, saw nine maidens

brauely arraied in cloth of silver and gold, representing the nine Muses⁴⁵, who sung verie sweete musicke, where a brave youth played upon the organs, which accorded excellentlie with the singing of their psalmes. (Craig 1828:40.)

The new queen heard several more psalms that day⁴⁶, both at the Cross and in St Giles's church, all sung "with verie good musicke", suggesting at least four-part harmony. Another chronicler, John Burel, wrote *The Discription of the Queenis Maiesties maist honorable entry into the tovn of Edinburgh*, which appears in *Papers relative to the Marriage of King James* (printed in Craig 1828:i). A few stanzas of this eulogy may be quoted here as illustrative of the elaborate music in which the above musicians almost certainly took a leading part:

Ye might haif hard on euerie streit
Trim melodie and musick sweet.

[stanza 18]

Thocht Philamon his braith had blawin,
For musick quho wes countit king,
His trumpal tune had not bene knawin,
Sic sugrit voycis thair did sing,
For thair the descant did abound
With the sweit diapason sound.

⁴⁵The 'Nine Muses' was also the name of a courtly dance-tune current in England, and in Scotland under the title "the bankis of Helicon". The reference here to the nine Muses may indicate, in addition to the psalms, the performance of this courtly dance (see Shire 1969:165ff, 264 and MB xv No. 49).

⁴⁶The Danish account of Anne's arrival specifies these as Psalms 120, 19 and 23, but gives no further details regarding the actual music performed that day (Stevenson 1997:114).

Tennour, and trebill with sweit sence,
 Ilkane with pairts gaif nots agane,
 Fabourdoun fell with decadence,
 With priksang, and the singing plane:
 Thair enfans sang and barnelie brudis,
 Quho had bot new begun the mudis.

Musiciners thair pairts expond,
 And als for joy the bells wer rung,
 The instruments did correspond
 Vnto the musick quhilk wes sung:
 All sorts of instruments wer thair,
 As sindry can the same declair.

Organs and Regals thair did carpe,
 With thair gay goldin glittring strings,
 Thair wes the Hautbois and the Harpe,
 Playing maist sweit and pleasant springs:
 And sum on lutis did play and sing,
 Of Instruments the onely King.

Viols and Virginals were heir,
 With Girthorns maist iucundious,
 Trumpets and Timbrels maid gret beir,
 With Instruments melodious:
 The Seistar and the Sumphion,
 With Clarch Pipe and Clarion.

*cittern; joyous
 drums; din*

*cittern; [?]⁴⁷
 clàrsach⁴⁸; trumpet*

Thir notes seemd heuinly sweit and hie,
 And not like tunes terrestriall,
 Appollo thair appeird to be,
 Thair sound wes so celestiaall:
 O Pan amang sick pleasant plais,
 Thy rustik pipe can haue na prais.

Although none of the music is here named, and even allowing for some poetic licence and exaggeration, it is clear the festivities were accompanied by ornate and varied music. The “descant” and “diapason” of stanza 19 refer to singing in harmony, whilst the tenor and treble which “with pairts gaif nots agane” suggest some kind of imitation in the music. “Fabourdoun” refers to various techniques of improvising parts around a given tune in the tenor voice, as described in *The Art of Music* (cf. pp.275

⁴⁷ “Sumphoneia ou Sumponia—Instrument à vent des anciens Hébreux, qui au dire quelques auteurs, ressemblait à la cornemuse” (Wright 1941:160). *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (edited by Stanley Sadie, London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1984) describes the term “Symphonia” as one which has been used for a number of different instruments, including bagpipe, drum, hurdy-gurdy and string keyboard instruments.

⁴⁸ See Wood 1977 ii:121.

and 294 of the present study). Priksang (*i.e.* polyphonic music) is here contrasted with “the singing plane”, a (somewhat anachronistic) reference to plainsong. This, and the following reference to the “mudis” (*i.e.* the moods of proportional notation), may imply that, despite having dropped out of church use, these elements of music were still being taught to the “barnelie brudis [= broods of children, *i.e.* the song school pupils]”. All these techniques of composition date from pre-Reformation times, a period with which John Burel may have been more familiar⁴⁹. However, these techniques appear to have continued in Scotland after the Reformation and are discussed in the didactic Scottish treatise *The Art of Music Collected out of all Ancient Doctouris of Music* (British Library MS 4911; Maynard 1961).

James and Anne’s first child, Henry, was baptized at the Chapel Royal in Stirling Castle on 30 August 1594. The Chapel had recently been rebuilt and refurbished for this splendid occasion (Rogers 1882:lxix). Fortunately, we have some information regarding the music sung at this ceremony. A contemporary account⁵⁰ states that

the provost and prebends of the Chappell Royall did sing the 21 psalme of Daud⁵¹ according to the art of musique, to the great delectation of the noble auditorie. (Rogers 1882:xxxiii.)

Elliott (Elliott & Rimmer 1973:27) suggests this refers to a polyphonic setting of the psalm. The 1635 Psalter contains a setting of Psalm 21 in Reports (see p.524). This four-part setting is very short with only one point of imitation (but one which gives the illusion of a fifth voice; see p.524, Ex.7.98, S, b.8), and there is an assured use of part-writing and harmony. The same setting (without designation of psalm text) had earlier appeared among the common tunes in the 1633 Scottish Psalter and is there entitled *Montrose*. Although very simple in style, and more akin to the common tunes which appeared in the seventeenth century, it is possible that this psalm-setting was current around the end of the sixteenth century before reaching print in 1633. Thus it may have been the setting used at the baptism.

Later, at a concert following the banquet,

there was sung, with most delicate dulce voices, and sweet

⁴⁹ Little is known about Burel (*fl.* 1590–?1596). He was a burghess of Edinburgh and may have been master of the King’s mint. It has also been suggested that Burel may have been a goldsmith around 1628 (Wood 1977 ii:117).

⁵⁰ *A true Reportarie of the most triumphant and royal Accomplishment of the Baptisme of Frederick-Henry, Prince of Scotland, solemnized the 30 Day of August 1594*, probably prepared under the guidance of James VI himself (Rogers 1882:xxx).

⁵¹ This was probably sung in the English metrical version by Thomas Sternhold “O Lord, how joyfull is the King”.

harmonies in seven partes, the 128th Psalm⁵², with fourteen voices. (Rogers 1882:lxv.)

Twenty years earlier Andrew Blackhall had written a polyphonic setting of this psalm in five parts for another noble occasion (*MB* xv No. 10). Although evidently not the same piece, Blackhall's setting is an excellent illustration of the type of music which would have been sung by the Chapel Royal musicians that day. It makes great use of skilful imitation and syllabic text-setting (see *Exx.* 7.81–7.84, p.511ff). The fourteen voices were likely deployed two per part in this performance. If the six boys of the chapel took the upper three parts, this leaves eight men, some of whom we can name with a degree of certainty. Thomas Hudson was very likely still Master of the Chapel, whilst James Castellaw was Master of the bairns; Robert Hudson was the chapel's treasurer, and may have sung; Patrick Dunbar was also a prebendary at this time. The term provost was not generally used of the Chapel Royal at this period and Watt (1969:336) does not list a bishop, dean or provost for 1594. Perhaps the account referred to the subdean, John Duncanson, who was then minister of the king's household and almost certainly in attendance⁵³. Three other men also held prebends of the chapel in 1594: William Murray (who may have been a musician), James Duncanson (son of the subdean, and a student of ministry, not necessarily musically qualified) and John Gib (the king's servant, also unlikely to have been a musician). In June the same year an Act of Parliament made provision for the musicians of the Chapel Royal to receive the chapel rents due to them (*APS* iv:75). James's renewed interest in the welfare of the chapel musicians was probably a long overdue "reward" prompted by his desire for elaborate ceremony and music at his son's baptism in August.

The last three known musicians to enter the Chapel Royal before 1603 are Thomas Gray, John Ross and William Chalmer. Gray, having been found a "fit musician" was presented to three benefices of the chapel in

⁵² Appropriately enough, the metrical text of this psalm ("Blessed art thou" by Sternhold) includes the lines:

Like fruitfull vines on thine house sides, [thus] doth thy wife spring out:
Thy children stand like olive plants thy Table round about.

⁵³ Shire (1955:9) suggests books listed in the Aberdeen song school library (c. 1637) as "stand of 6 pts John duncanes[on ?]" may at one time have belonged to the Chapel Royal, dating from the incumbency of John Duncanson. The "stand", probably a set of six partbooks, may have been stamped with his name before being salvaged from the Stirling chapel when it was cleared of all Popish trappings in 1571. If Duncanson was a singer, he may well have owned such as "stand" of partbooks.

1599: the prebend of Crieff *secundus* and the parsonage and vicarage of St Mary of the Lowes (McQuaid 1949:142). Formerly, a member of the chapel could expect to hold only one such benefice, but recently there had been a trend towards one man holding two or more benefices. To be granted three may suggest that Gray was particularly well qualified. Alternatively, the granting of Crieff *secundus* may have been a precautionary measure since, as we have seen, previous incumbents had had trouble obtaining the rents due from St Mary of the Lowes. The latter benefice was divided into several parts which supported the cantor, treasurer and preceptor. Watt (1969:339) states that Gray occurs as treasurer in 1603. The part of St Mary of the Lowes to which he had acceded in 1599 was therefore probably that belonging to the treasurer. Gray held this office with the prebend of Crieff until at least 1619, when he is described as “non-resident” (Watt 1969:339, Rogers 1882:cxxxi). A number of other Grays, to whom Thomas is probably related, also worked at the chapel. These men are noted on p.33.

John Ross was gifted four prebends of the chapel in 1600 (McQuaid 1949:119). He held at least one prebend of Strathbran in 1617 (Rogers 1882:cxxxix) but had either died or resigned from the chapel before 1619, when the Strathbran prebends were held by Stephen Tullidaff and Patrick Dunbar (Rogers 1882:cxxxiii). John Ross was the son of Mungo Ross, “elder” of Edinburgh (McQuaid 1949:119). He is probably to be identified with the musician of St Andrews who was precentor and master of the song school there (c. 1595–97; see p.131). John Ross may well be related to a succession of other men of this surname who also worked at the Chapel Royal (see Appendix A): George Ross (treasurer and preceptor 1564–c. 1584), Matthew Ross (treasurer 1584–c. 1587, and probably son to the preceding) and Robert Ross (chorister 1623–34, John’s son?).

We have only one reference to William Chalmer at the Chapel Royal. In May 1601 he is described as “lwter” of the chapel (Rogers 1882:ci–cii). This is the first specific reference to an instrumentalist (other than an organist) in connection with the chapel. It seems, therefore, that this is an example of a court musician being paid from the chapel rents, under the terms of the 1592 Act of Parliament granting this power to Thomas Hudson (see p.39f). William may be related to John Chalmer, musician in Edinburgh around 1593–6 (see p.164). Finally, John Robesone, organist, is mentioned in the Treasurer’s Accounts for 1577 and 1579, but he is not

connected with the Chapel Royal and probably confined his activities to the court (*ALHT* xiii:176, 250).

As mentioned (p.19), from 1586 the rents of Restalrig Collegiate Church were also to provide for the upkeep of musicians. The Reformers had razed the church to the ground around 1560. Despite this, the chapel rents continued to be drawn. During the 1570s and 80s the benefices of Restalrig had been granted as university bursaries, just like those of the Chapel Royal (Laing 1861:lvi; *RSS* vii:No. 2433, 2435). In 1586, however, David Cuming was appointed Preceptor and Commissioner of the church rents, so that all future incumbents might be qualified musicians.

David Cuming was reader at the church of Ruthven in Angus from 1574 until 1578. He was presented to the vicarage of the same church in July 1580, the fruits of which he retained until at least 1583 (*FES* v:274, viii:605). Some time in or before 1583, Cuming became master of the song school in Leith (*RSS* viii:No. 1469). From now on Cuming's career advanced fairly rapidly. Around 1584 he became precentor of the Chapel Royal at Holyroodhouse⁵⁴ where he sang "with his bairnis without recompens" (Laing 1861:lvii). Cuming was granted the prebend of Easter Kells in 1584 (McQuaid 1949:122)—part of the patrimony of the Chapel Royal (Cowan & Easson 1976:227). On 7 April 1585 David Cuming "sangster" was appointed precentor of the East Kirk (Marwick 1882:407) and succeeded to the mastership of one of the song schools in Edinburgh, probably the Canongate song school, where he is found in November (McQuaid 1949:122). Three months later he was appointed master of the "principal" song school in Edinburgh, and precentor in the High and East Kirks⁵⁵ (February 1586, Marwick 1882:450). The highest position he achieved was that of Commissioner of Restalrig, with power to nominate musicians to the prebends of the church. He received this appointment on 30 November 1586 (Laing 1861:lvii).

On 22 April 1587, Cuming himself was gifted the prebend of Bute *tertius* within Restalrig church (Laing 1861:lviii⁵⁶). The same day Patrick Dunbar was granted the prebend of Bute *quintus*. As noted earlier (p.42), both these prebends were at that time held by John Barbour, a student and son of the deceased previous incumbent William Barbour (*RSS* vii:No. 2433). John

⁵⁴The chapel here had recently been refurbished for royal worship (Rogers 1882:xciv).

⁵⁵These are divisions of St Giles's Kirk where two congregations worshipped separately.

⁵⁶McQuaid (1949:84) incorrectly gives the year as 1586.

was evidently not a musician, hence the reallocation of these prebends. However, Barbour seems to have held on to the prebends for some time as Cuming and Dunbar raised letters against him for non-payment in 1592; and Barbour is again described as prebendary of Restalrig in a document dated 1600 (Innes 1851ii:222, Laing 1861:cxiii). It appears that Cuming relinquished the commissionership of Restalrig in July 1587, when an Act of Parliament gave Thomas Hudson the sole commissionership of all the king's "chantorie collegis" (APS iii:489, see p.39f). At any rate, no later documents refer to Cuming as preceptor, master or commissioner of the church.

McQuaid (1949:93) suggests David Cuming may originally have come from Aberdeenshire. This he supports with an entry in the Register of the Great Seal dated 22 March 1591⁵⁷. The entry grants to David Cuming, "magistro seu preceptoris scole musice Edinburgi", lands in the burgh of Aberdeen belonging to the late John Cuming, bastard son of Patrick Cuming (RMS v:No.1844)⁵⁸. Cuming died some time after 18 August 1594. On this date there is a reference to William Cuming "filio legitimo Davidis C. ludimagistri schole musice Edinburgi" (RMS vi:No. 1190)⁵⁹. A document quoted by Innes (1851 ii:222) describes Cuming as deceased prebendary of Restalrig. However, the document is dated 1580 which must, of course, be a mistake. The same document also mentions the deceased John Campbell, Bishop of the Isles. According to Watt (1969:206), Campbell died some time between 1596 and 1605. This is of limited help in dating Cuming's death, but it is likely the musician died near the end of the sixteenth century.

Following David Cuming's appointment as Commissioner in 1586, a number of other musicians were gifted Restalrig benefices (which were drawn mainly from the parish of Rothesay in Bute). Robert Fowlis, Thomas Lauder and Patrick Dunbar received benefices in 1587. Dunbar's biography has been traced above (p.41f). Robert Fowlis was the son of Jhonne Fowlis, burgess of Edinburgh. He received the prebend of

⁵⁷McQuaid (1949:93) states incorrectly that the gift of escheat was granted in 1590.

⁵⁸Although the lands were in Aberdeen, the men who owned them need not necessarily have lived or hailed from there.

⁵⁹It is not entirely clear from this whether David was still the master of the song school. It seems to me that his son was probably master by now (August 1594), although David is not described as "quondam" (see p.164). McQuaid (1949:93) states that Cuming was still alive in 1601, citing as his evidence RMS vi:No. 1190. However, 1601 is the year of confirmation of the original charter which had been drawn up in 1594.

“St redwellis Ile”⁶⁰ within Restalrig, having been (or presently being) a student of music (Laing 1861:lvii, McQuaid 1949:141). Thomas Lauder was granted the prebend of the King’s Wark in Leith⁶¹. He had also studied music and is described as the son of James Lauder, also a burghess of Edinburgh. Thomas may be one of the seven children of James Lauder, court musician and music examiner in Edinburgh (see pp.37, 155)⁶².

The lands of the King’s Wark appear to have passed from Thomas Lauder to Bernard Lindsay (a groom of the king’s bedchamber) some time before 1590. Rogers (1882:xxxii) states that in May that year Lindsay entertained James VI and Anne upon their return from Denmark in the buildings of the King’s Wark. Not for the first (or last) time, then, James VI is seen to contradict his own generous policy towards musicians, by granting chapel lands to his favourite personal servants (the other being John Gib, already discussed, see p.40f). Like Gib, Lindsay was the subject of further royal largesse. The gift of the King’s Wark was confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1606 (APS iv:315). Some time before 1619 Bernard Lindsay was granted a prebend of Coylton in the Chapel Royal and by 1629 he held the subdeanery of the same chapel (Rogers 1882:xxxii, Watt 1969:340).

Robert Lindsay held the prebend of Bute *primus* and the sacristanry of Restalrig church in 1594 (Innes 1851 ii:222). He may be related to the aforementioned Bernard Lindsay, in which case he was not necessarily a musician. Alternatively he may be connected with Walter Lindsay who was master of the song school in Old Aberdeen from about 1604 till about 1607 (see p.87f).

The Seventeenth Century

With the departure to London of James VI in 1603, there began a turbulent period in the fortunes of the Chapel Royal. On one hand there were periods of great musical activity at the chapel; but on the other the institution was continually beset by serious financial difficulties right up until its demise in 1638.

The musical flowering which took place during the 1580s and 1590s continued only fitfully during the early seventeenth century. John Gib’s

⁶⁰ “St Tredwell’s aisle” in the other vernacular documents; “St Triduan” in the Latin documents (cf. Laing 1861:lvi, 280).

⁶¹ A prebend founded by James IV in 1512 (Cowan & Easson 1976:225).

⁶² James Lauder in a letter to his son John states that he has “a wife and seven children ... with sundry other servants” (Shire 1959:16).

appointment as receiver of the chapel rents (February 1605) was certainly viewed as an abuse of the benefice system. How could it be that a familiar of the king, with no apparent musical qualifications, could have charge over the revenues of what was, ostensibly, the kingdom's leading musical establishment? These or similar must have been the sentiments of the Scottish parliament when it overturned Gib's appointment in July 1606 (APS iv:298). Gib's appropriation of chapel revenues was seen by Parliament as a serious threat on two levels: national and international. The musical decline brought about by Gib's appointment would

breed derogation to the honour of the realm, quhilk onlie, among all Christian kingdoms, will want that civill and commendable provision of ordinar musick for recreatioun and honour of their princes. (APS iv:298.)

Furthermore, the Chapel Royal was to be an example and encouragement to the rest of Scotland, that the country's youth might be inspired to study music further.

Despite Gib's patent unsuitability for this post, it seems he did nominate at least one musician to a chapel benefice. In July 1605 Symeoun Ramsay was granted the prebend of Kells "for his better sustentatioun and intertenement at the scuillis, and to encourage him to continow in the studie of letters and exerceis musick" (Rogers 1882:cii). This is the only contemporary reference to a musician of this name. Ramsay may, however, have remained at the chapel until about 1617 in which year the prebend of Kells was held by John Chrainthall (Rogers 1882:cxxxix). Symeoun was very probably related to Andrew Ramsay who was later subdean and sacristan of the Chapel Royal (1629–49 and 1655–58; Watt 1969:340, Rogers 1882:ccix).

This presentation to Ramsay of the benefice of Kells is significant for two reasons: first, it is the only bursary-benefice of the Chapel Royal specifically to mention the study of music; secondly, it is the last such student bursary to be granted from the chapel rents. Gib's approval of this presentation to a music student may have been a gesture intended to reassure his critics that he could discharge his duties (of which the most important was the appointment of musicians) effectively. That Gib made no further such nominations suggests he intended (legally, of course) to retain all other unapportioned rents for his own personal gain. This conjecture may account for the lapse of twelve months between Ramsay's

appointment and the Act of Parliament returning all revenues (excepting two benefices) into the hands of the chapel musicians: such a length of time with no further musical appointments may have been thought sufficient to prove Gib's dishonourable motivation of personal gain rather than the promotion of music at the chapel.

The Act of 1606 doubtless caused a good deal of friction between James and his Scottish Parliament, exacerbated, perhaps, by its distance from the royal court in London. James made two further attempts to restore Gib as his factor and commissioner at the chapel, the second as late as July 1612 (Rogers 1882:cviii, cix). Gib, however, seems to have lost the dispute as new arrangements were made for the chapel in September 1612 (RSS, quoted in Daunev 1838:157). The chapel rents were now to be controlled by its dean, Mr William Birnie. Birnie was to ensure that only musicians "apt and qualifiet for uthir divine service" should hold prebends. Henceforth the college would be known as the Chapel Royal of Scotland and it would ordinarily reside at the Palace of Holyroodhouse, although its musicians would "attend his majesty in whatever part of Scotland he may happen to be". By December 1612 James Gray (see p.41) had been made Master and Commissioner of the chapel (Rogers 1882:cxv) and would therefore have taken up the day-to-day running of the chapel, whilst Birnie remained in overall control.

It is not clear whether these measures had any immediate effect. Likely they did not for, in April 1616, the king commissioned William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway and Dean of the Chapel Royal, to conduct an inquiry into the state of the chapel (RPC i/x:492ff). The terms of the commission detail the neglect of those who were at that time members of the chapel: most were musically unqualified and a few had "disertit thair chairge". Cowper was therefore given full powers to try each and every member of the chapel with regard to their "habilitie, qualificatioun, residence, and sic utheris pointis of dewtie as belangis to thair chairge and functioun". Members were also to swear an oath of allegiance to the king, and to acknowledge Cowper as their superior. Any members who failed this trial were to be deprived of their benefices.

Three months later, in July 1616, the king commissioned Thomas Dallam of London⁶³ to build a "faire large and verie serviceable double organ" for the Chapel Royal of Scotland (quoted in White 1972:111). The

⁶³See NG v:156f.

organ was very costly: Dallam was paid £300 sterling in July 1616, a further £133 6s 8d Scots in May 1617, and another £50 sterling in July 1617 (Green 1858:379, 476; Rogers 1882:cxxv). This made an almost incredible total of £4,333 6s 8d Scots (since the £ Scots was equal to one-twelfth of the £ Sterling at this time, *cf.* p.368). However, the immense sums of money involved and Dallam's royal commission were no guarantee of hospitality and it is reported that, concerning his time in Scotland, Dallam declared "he would have been better used amongst the Turks"! (Green 1858:242⁴⁴).

The reinvigoration of the chapel with its new and impressive organ was in preparation for James's visit to Scotland in 1617. The king's journey to his Presbyterian northern kingdom was viewed with great misgivings among his English courtiers, not least because of the expenses involved. Nevertheless the visit went ahead and the king arrived in Edinburgh on 16 May. Two pieces of welcome music were composed for his arrival: the ode *Do not repine, fair sun* and the verse anthem *Great king of Gods*, both by Orlando Gibbons⁴⁵. The English Chapel Royal travelled north for the occasion and may have combined with the Scottish Chapel Royal for the performance of these pieces as well as the Anglican services which began the day after the king's arrival. Scottish musicians, especially those with connections to the Chapel Royal, undoubtedly knew about James's visit. It does seem strange, then, that the surviving music for this major state occasion should come from the pen of an Englishman. It is hardly likely that the Scots were not interested in composing for their own king. Perhaps an explanation lies in James's fourteen years at the centre of the English court. He would certainly have appreciated its wealth of musicians and may therefore have felt more comfortable in the knowledge that Gibbons (personally known to him as an established composer⁴⁶) had written the music for at least part of the festivities. Brett (1981:225) suggests the ode may have been performed by the English musicians inside Holyrood palace for, as he remarks, "the choir [of the English Chapel Royal] ... would scarcely have been welcome outside Holyrood" (Brett 1981:225). The Scots' hostility to this Anglican invasion is perfectly summed up by the contemporary

⁴⁴ In fact this report does not specify Dallam, but "an organ builder", who is almost certain to be Dallam.

⁴⁵ Both works are scored for three soloists (ATB and AAB respectively) with SAATB chorus and viols (doubling the voices); Gibbons 1961, Brett 1981, TCM iv:197–202 and EECM iii:No. 7.

⁴⁶ Gibbons received a gift of £150 from the king in 1615 "for and in consideration of the good and faithful service heretofore done unto ourself by Orlando Gibbons our organist, and divers other good causes and considerations us thereunto moving" (NG vii:353–7).

English satirist Sir Anthony Weldon:

I am persuaded that yf God & his angells should come downe in their whitest garments they would run away and cry, "the children of the Chappell are come againe to torment us; let us fly from the abomination of these boys, & hide ourselves in the mountaynes"[!] (Quoted in Brett 1981:214.)

The main aim of James's visit was the establishment of episcopacy in Scotland. The Chapel Royal was to be a model for the rest of the country, not only in music but also in worship. To this end the chapel at Holyroodhouse was refurbished with a "glorious altar", candles and bibles (Row & Row 1842:113). The English service was sung and said daily during the royal visit but was mocked by the people. Rogers (1882:cxxv) states that two "musitians", Alexander Chisholme and Adam Wallat, were paid £600 for providing "to everie ane of thame a suit of apperrell", most likely a reference to cassocks and surplices for the choir. Their names appear nowhere else in the records.

The king directed that his Scottish Chapel Royal should continue to observe daily musical service after his departure for England. To what extent this edict was observed is hard to ascertain, but one musical service did take place on 19 August 1617. Bishop Cowper described a baptism in the chapel which was celebrated by him with "organes and musitians, four on everie part, men and boyes agreit in pleasant harmonie to the contentment of all" (Laing 1851:509f). This statement gives some indication of the reconstituted chapel following Cowper's "tryall" of 1616. The musicians now numbered at least twelve men and four boys plus one organist. Putting names to these numbers is, of course, a matter of conjecture but some of the men may be identified from the evidence in Appendix A. The long-serving James Castellaw (Master of the bairns) along with John Chrainthall, Andrew Cowper, Patrick Dunbar and John Ross held prebends of the chapel in 1617. Castellaw, Dunbar and Ross, known musicians, have been discussed above (see pp.32, 34; 41ff; 48). Unfortunately nothing further has come to light regarding John Chrainthall, but he may well have been musically qualified. Although not mentioned in 1617, the musician Thomas Gray held a prebend of the Chapel Royal until at least 1619 (see p.47f). Alexander Chisholme and Adam Wallat (the musicians who provided the vestments, see above) may also have been part of the chapel. Andrew Cowper was Bishop Cowper's brother and may or may not have

been a musician⁶⁷. These men are the most likely to have served in the chapel during the king's visit to Scotland.

It seems, however, that not even a visit from the king himself was enough to stimulate continued musical activity at the Chapel Royal. Just four weeks later (15 September 1617) Bishop Cowper wrote to the king complaining of abuse of the new organ by "ignorant people" (Laing 1851:510). Nothing more is heard of choral services, although the organ was in use again on Christmas Day that year (Calderwood 1842 vii:288).

In August 1618 we see the first signs of the financial trouble which was so to dog the chapel. In a letter Bishop Cowper complained that he had not enough funds to "redeme a rent to the Musitians" and yet retain a reasonable living standard for himself (Rogers 1882:cxxix). The situation was not resolved quickly. Following the bishop's death (15 February 1619) another investigation was held into the running of the chapel. As in the past, this enquiry revealed shortcomings in the attendance and musical qualifications of chapel personnel. The (undated) document produced following the review (*Information anent his Majesties chapell Royall in Scotland*) detailed the personnel, their titles and benefices, the present and former value of these benefices, and gave some indication of daily attendance at the chapel. The document has been transcribed by Rogers (1882:ccxi ff) and White (1972:216ff) and the details of personnel, benefice (but not value) and attendance have been engrossed into Appendix A⁶⁸.

From Appendix A it may be seen that the skilled musicians among the chapel staff numbered only five in 1619: James Castellaw Jr⁶⁹, Patrick Dunbar, James Keith, Andrew Sinclare and Stephen Tullidaff. In addition, the chapel rents paid for an (unnamed) organist and a trumpeter by the name of "Ferguson" (Rogers 1882:xxxii). The other prebends were held by: Andrew Cowper and his two young sons⁷⁰, a man who lived in Poland

⁶⁷ Others who are unlikely to have been musicians, but were probably also connected with the chapel in 1617 are: William Scott, James Duncanson and William Murray (each of whom was in receipt of a scholarship) and John Gib, the king's servant.

⁶⁸ White dates the document as around 1620. I follow Rogers (1882:ccxii) in using 1619. The document mentions "Andro cowper brother to the late B. of galloway". Bishop Cowper died on 15 February 1619. Significantly, I feel, the document does not mention his successor (Andrew Lamb) who was translated to the bishopric of Galloway on 4 August 1619 (Watt 1969:336f). Therefore it seems probable that the document was drawn up some time between these two dates. The original document is housed in the National Library of Scotland (Adv. MS. 33.3.12).

⁶⁹ He had succeeded to his father's benefice in about August 1618 (Laing 1851:572).

⁷⁰ Despite Bishop Cowper's reforms of 1616 it is clear that he too indulged in nepotism.

(William Duncanson⁷¹), two of the king's servants (John Gib and Bernard Lindsay, see pp.40f, 51), an ex-musician now living elsewhere (Thomas Gray, see p.47f), William Scott (who received a life-long scholarship in 1577), and a child (Henry Mow). The same document states that there was by now no income to support the six boys of the chapel's original foundation. It is unlikely, therefore, that any boys attended—unless Henry Mow is one of these; we have no further details concerning him⁷². The survey of the chapel in 1619 concludes with a dismal account of worship there:

... and of all the xvi chanonis and Nyn prebendis, only sevin attendis, and hes no meanes, so that only they sing the comon tune of a psalme, and being so few, ar skarse knowen. (Rogers 1882:xxxiii.)

It seems almost incredible that a musical foundation which was once of international standing should now be reduced to singing simple four-phrase tunes. The choir had even abandoned the more noble proper tunes, and it is not clear from this description whether they sang the common tunes in harmony or in unison. (The common tunes were first collected as such and published in the Psalter of 1615. The first Psalter to contain harmonizations of these tunes was not published until 1625, but manuscript versions of the harmonies may have been in circulation before then.)

McQuaid (1949:268) has identified James Keith at the chapel Royal in 1619 and 1623 as also having worked in Edinburgh. In 1618 he was disciplined by the town council there for teaching a music school without licence from the council (Wood 1931:184). There are no further references to him in Edinburgh. An Alexander Keith was master of the music school in Dundee (1668–1705, see p.136f) and a Robert Keith was master of the song school in Linlithgow (1633–6, see p.176).

Andrew Sinclair worked at the Chapel Royal for a number of years, from 1619 until at least 1636 (see Appendix A). He was an organist (Wood 1936:129) and may have been the unnamed organist in the 1619 document. Sinclair acted as spokesman on behalf of the Chapel Royal during its financial disputes, in which he became personally embroiled (see below).

⁷¹There are no further references to this man. He may be related to two other Duncansons at the Chapel Royal: John (1568–1601) and James (1575–1617).

⁷²Henry may be connected with John Mow, master of the music school in Dundee, 1609–1637 (see p.134f).

Stephen Tullidaff worked at the Chapel Royal in 1619 and 1623. If the number of prebends he received reflected his musical skill, then he was obviously a very well qualified musician—he held four prebends of Strathbran in 1619. In 1626 Tullidaff moved to Dunfermline where he took up the mastership of the song school (see p.144). Although we cannot be sure of his pay and conditions there, he may have moved in order to secure a better livelihood in view of the chapel's financial difficulties. Tullidaff worked in Dunfermline until 1630 when he moved back to Edinburgh as master of a private music school in the town (Wood 1936:xlix). By 1633 Tullidaff had returned to the Chapel Royal (but he may well have continued his private music school) and once again held the four prebends of Strathbran. He continued to hold these benefices until at least 1638, and therefore probably drew these rents during his four years in Dunfermline. Tullidaff died some time before 28 February 1640, on which date his will is registered (SRO CC8/8/59 ff.169^r–170^r). The will mentions Tullidaff's brothers Andro, "musitianer in Leith", John (probably the musician in Tain c. 1620–1628, see p.112) and Samuel, "Reader at halyrudhous kirk" (i.e. the Chapel Royal). Nothing further is known of Andro. Samuel Tullidaff seems to have been a schoolteacher in "Fowdene" [= ?Foulden, near Chirnside, Berwickshire] in 1610 and then Culros (c. 1623–28) before moving to the Chapel Royal in about 1640 (RPC i/ix:647, i/xiii:382; RMS viii:No. 1458). Another Tullidaff, probably of the same family, is Alexander. He was master of the music school in Cupar, 1627–8 (see p.141)⁷³.

In addition to detailing the pitiful state of the Chapel Royal in 1619, the review made several recommendations concerning revenues which in some cases had never been drawn or received by the chapel. It concluded: "Lastly, if no better meanes can be had, a new fundation must supplie it, or els all will cease ..." (Rogers 1882:xxxiv). Thankfully, this grim prospect did not come to pass. Although there is no information for the years immediately after this, the situation did improve somewhat as, by 1623, the chapel could boast several new members. In May that year, the chapel musicians were allowed to receive money from sources other than their own chapel benefices (Rogers 1882:cxlix). However, in a curiously backward move (reminiscent of his chapel dealings in 1586, see p.40) King James

⁷³Samuel Tullidaff also taught music in Ellon, as did Alexander who later also taught music in Dunfermline. John Tullidaff is also found in Kirkwall, Kiltarn and Tarbat. I am very grateful to Dr John Durkan for this information from his forthcoming book *Early Schools and Schoolmasters in Scotland, 1560–1633*.

annulled this grant to the musicians in August 1623—it would have caused friction elsewhere in the kingdom (Rogers 1882:cxlix). Incensed, four days later the members of the chapel signed a petition to the king requesting further revenues to be made available to them (Rogers 1882:cxlix). This petition gives the names of sixteen men (including the dean) who were members of the chapel in 1623. Their names are given in Appendix A.

This list of names is very important for it shows the results of a major reorganization of the chapel, probably overseen by the new dean, Adam Bellenden⁷⁴. Of these sixteen men, only five had been prebendaries in 1619: James Castellaw Jr, Andrew Cowper, Patrick Dunbar, James Keith and Stephen Tullidaff. No fewer than ten people mentioned in the 1619 review had by now lost their chapel benefices: Andrew Sinclair, Ferguson the trumpeter, Andrew Cowper's two sons⁷⁵, William Duncanson, John Gib, Bernard Lindsay, Thomas Gray, William Scott and Henry Mow. All of these, (except Sinclair, Ferguson and possibly Mow) had been either non-serving or non-resident members of the chapel in 1619. Their discharge allowed for the induction of ten new members, most of whom are known to have been musicians: Alexander Hay, James Laurie, Walter Troup, John and Humphrey Watson, James Weland, Robert Wynram, James Law, Robert Weir and Robert Ross⁷⁶.

This 1623 reference to Alexander Hay is the first we hear of this musician. His name reappears in connection with the chapel in 1630 and 1632 (see below). A man of the same name later worked in South Leith (1678–84) as master of a music school and precentor (see p.201). It is unlikely that the two men are the same since Hay would have been in his seventies when he worked in Leith and he then went on to become minister in Kilconquhar (near Largo in Fife). Other Hays to whom Alexander may have been related are: William senior, William junior and George (successive masters of the music school in Old Aberdeen 1655–c. 1677, see p.90) and Daniel (violar in Edinburgh, c. 1649; McQuaid 1949:268).

McQuaid (1949:271) has identified James Laurie at the Chapel Royal in

⁷⁴Bellenden succeeded to the deanery when it was attached to the bishopric of Dunblane (which he held already) on 16 July 1621 (Watt 1969:337).

⁷⁵It is curious to note that Andrew Cowper remained a prebendary despite the deprivation of his sons. Perhaps he was indeed musically qualified and received his prebend in 1617 on the strength of this, rather than because of his fraternal relationship to the then bishop.

⁷⁶McQuaid (1949:108) states erroneously that Edward Kellie also signed this petition (the date of which he gives wrongly as 5 July 1623). In fact Kellie was not appointed to the chapel until 1628 (see below).

1623 as the man who had been master of the music school in Ayr around 1612–17 (see p.236). He resigned his musical post at the chapel before 20 February 1634 when he is described as “reader at the kirk of Halyrudhous” (RPC ii/v:601). Another Laurie, Robert, became a precentor in Perth in 1637 and eventually succeeded to the bishopric of Brechin (see p.139f).

Walter Troup was master of a music school in the Netherbow area of Edinburgh from 1616 until at least 1622 (Wood 1931:144, 239⁷⁷). The town council of Edinburgh experienced some financial difficulties during the early 1620s and this probably prompted Troup to find a more secure income at the Chapel Royal in 1623. As with Stephen Tullidaff (see above), it is possible that Troup continued teaching in his music school whilst also singing at the chapel. Troup is again listed as a prebendary of the chapel in 1634 (RPC ii/v:408).

John and Humphrey Watson, probably brothers, both sang at the Chapel Royal around the same time. Both men are listed as chapel personnel in 1623 and 1634, and John only is mentioned subsequently in 1635 and 1636 (RPC ii/v:408, RPC ii/vi:110, 166). They may well be related to some other Watson musicians of the seventeenth century: Charles (South Leith, c. 1636–c. 1643), Robert (Edinburgh, c. 1646) and Walter (Glasgow, 1678).

We have only one reference to James Weland as a musician at the Chapel Royal (in 1623). Before this he worked in Stirling as doctor in the grammar school (c. 1603) and later at the song school there (c. 1623, Hutchison 1904:36f; see p.168). He had probably taught at the song school for a few years before moving to Edinburgh to enter the Chapel Royal.

Robert Wynram is first mentioned at the chapel in 1623. On 7 July the following year Robert Wynram “musitianer” succeeded to the benefice normally associated with the precentor. William Scott, the previous incumbent, had therefore been deprived of this office at some point before this date (Watt 1969:337f), probably in the wake of the reorganization mentioned above (c. 1621?). Wynram is not mentioned again, but his benefice passed to Edward Kellie on 17 March 1628, therefore he demitted office before this date (Watt 1969:338).

Save the above reference to them as prebendaries of the Chapel Royal in 1623, we have no further information regarding Robert Weir and James Law (Treasurer of the Chapel; Rogers 1882:cxlviii). Given that the eight

⁷⁷Wood (1931:216n) states that Troup’s pension from the council did not cease until 1625.

other men new to the 1623 list were all musicians, it may be assumed that Law and Weir were also suitably musically qualified to hold office in the chapel. The same is true of Robert Ross, although in his case we know that he also worked at the chapel in 1634 (*RPC* ii/v:408). Ross is very likely related to several other men of this name who also worked at the chapel (see p.48), and possibly to Gilbert Ross who worked in Old Aberdeen, 1620–40 (see p.87f).

Following a short illness, King James died on 27 March 1625. His son, Charles, acceded and was crowned King of England on 2 February 1626. Despite his troubled reign, Charles did much to promote the Chapel Royal of Scotland. In March 1627 Charles instituted another “tryall” of the chapel. It appears that in the years following the musical high-point of 1623, the chapel had again been infiltrated by men unskilled in music. Charles commissioned Dean Bellenden, like Bishop Cowper before him, to try the musicians, remove those unfit for office, and replace them with suitably qualified men (White 1972:89).

Charles was determined to continue his father’s policy of establishing episcopacy in Scotland and, like James, sought to use the Chapel Royal to further this aim. Unlike James, however, Charles made available the funds with which to support the Scottish chapel. In May 1627 he wrote to his Exchequer to ensure payment of the 3000 merks (Scots) *p.a.* necessary for the upkeep of the chapel musicians (Rogers 1882:clvi). This was to be an interim measure “till the said Chappell rents be established”.

The next musician appointed to the Chapel Royal was Edward Kellie. Kellie had been in the service of Sir George Hay, Viscount Dupplin⁷⁸ (Rogers 1882:clxi). On 17 March 1628 he formally received the benefice attached to the precentorship of the chapel—the benefice formerly held by Robert Wynram (Watt 1969:338). Kellie had, however, been a member of the chapel for some “lang tyme bygane” (Rogers 1882:clxii). A later document suggests Kellie may have sung at the chapel since about March 1627 (*RPC* ii/iv:479). He was soon promoted to the position of Director of Music and receiver of the chapel rents (26 November 1629, Rogers 1882:clxii), following which he reported to the king on further “insufficient and refractorie personis” at the chapel. Unfortunately we do not have the names of musicians or non-musicians at the chapel around this time, but

⁷⁸ Hay had been Lord High Chancellor since 1622. He was created Viscount Dupplin and Lord Hay of Kinfauns by Charles I in 1627 and later (1633) became first Earl of Kinnoul (Anderson 1863 ii:609).

in June 1630 the king granted to Kellie the right to discharge those musically unqualified (Rogers 1882:clxiii).

During the late 1620s the king took further steps to ensure the payment of the musicians. These are detailed in Rogers (1882). The next musicians of whom we have notice at the chapel are named in an incident recorded in the Register of the Privy Council (Scotland). Andrew Sinclare and Alexander Hay complained to the council that Kellie had withheld money due to them (*RPC ii/iv:12*, 9 August 1630). This document tells us that at that time there were twelve members of the chapel, and each received 250 merks *p.a.* (from the treasury's 3000 merks *p.a.*). The next month Kellie appeared before the council and set forth his case, which was overturned (*RPC ii/iv:34*). He argued that from the 500 merks due to each of them (evidently two years' payment), should be deducted the cost of their gowns (£93 6s 8d according to my calculations) and the money received from their respective benefices⁷⁹.

Kellie was zealous in his advancement of the Chapel Royal and is mentioned frequently in letters to and from the king on this subject. One such letter describes how, since October 1630, Kellie had himself provided for an organist and six boys for the chapel in order to improve the music there (Rogers 1882:clxv).

Whilst in London, in January 1631, Kellie prepared a report for the king on the latest state of his Chapel Royal (quoted in Dauney 1838:365–7)⁸⁰. He wrote that the choir now comprised sixteen men, six boys and an organist as well as two men "for playing on cornets and sackbuts". Kellie had some time earlier hired the organist and instrumentalists in London, as well as two of the boys "for singing divisions in the versus". Kellie informed the king that the boys practised daily and the men met twice a week. Also taken back to Edinburgh with him were twelve large gilded books of music, and twelve smaller ones and an organ book. These had been copied by Kellie during a five-month stay in London. The chapel could now boast a practice room (in the palace) full of instruments and music books: "ane organe, two flutes, two pandores with violls, and other instruments, with all sorts of

⁷⁹ From their benefices Sinclare received £133 6s 8d and Hay received £53 6s 8d. It is not clear whether these amounts are for a one- or two-year period.

⁸⁰ The letter is dated "at Whitehall, 24th Januarii 1631, after the English account". White (1972:90), however, dates the letter "1631/2". But a letter from the king to his Exchequer (9 June 1631; Rogers 1882:clxv) states that the king is "crediblie informed [presumably having received Kellie's report] that [Kellie] hath well furnished [the Chapel] with an expert organist ... and six boyes". Thus it is more likely that Kellie's report was written in 1631 than 1632.

English, French, Dutch, Spaynish, Latin, Italian, and old Scotch musick, vocall and instrumentall". Kellie was keen to remind the king that, just as during the flowering of the Scottish court the previous century, the chapel still practised music of a very cosmopolitan nature. The "old Scotch musick" could very well be a reference to books such as the Carver Choirbook or the partbooks compiled by Thomas Wood or even the Dowglas-Fische[ar] Partbooks which contain music from all the countries listed (except Spain, Elliott 1959:177ff).

As to the actual service, Kellie informed the king that the choir sits in recently-made stalls, the men wearing black gowns and the boys "sadd [= dark] coloured coats". They sing "psalmes, services and anthymnes": a full anthem is sung before the sermon, and "ane anthymne alone in versus with the organe" after the sermon. This obligingly detailed information wants only for names of musicians.

It is clear that Kellie modelled the Scottish chapel on that which he had experienced in London. Doubtless the 24 partbooks brought back from London contained music then in the repertoire of the English Chapel Royal. This would certainly have included anthems in several parts for full choir ("full anthymne[s]") by Thomas Tomkins and Nathaniel Giles, then members of the English Chapel Royal, and possibly by their predecessors Byrd, Gibbons and Weelkes. The books would also have contained verse anthems: anthems with alternating sections for soloists (accompanied by organ) and full choir (possibly accompanied by the wind instruments mentioned above). The solo sections were sometimes very embellished verses for two or three voices (hence the "two boyes for singing divisions in the versus"; cf. *Praise the Lord* by Walter Porter⁸¹). More often, however, these sections simply allowed for a contrast of texture, as in the verse anthems of Gibbons and Tomkins (cf. those in *EECM* iii, v, ix, xiv). The sung "services" is a reference to settings of the Preces, Responses and Canticles⁸² for the Anglican services of morning and evening prayer, at which psalms and anthems would also have been sung. Kellie's letter also mentions specifically that he had "provided [for the Scottish Chapel Royal] the same musick that was at your Majestie's coronation here". (This will be discussed further below.)

King Charles must have been delighted at the progress made in his

⁸¹ Edited by Peter Le Huray in *The Treasury of English Church Music* 2:232–247 (London: Blandford Press, 1965).

⁸² The *Te Deum*, *Benedicite*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*.

Scottish chapel. On 17 January 1632 the whole chapel choir was summoned and appeared before the Privy Council and, through Andrew Sinclare "thair speecheman", agreed to undertake daily service in the chapel, as well as to sing at the forthcoming coronation (*RPC* ii/iv:408).

Despite the musical flowering under Kellie's leadership, all was not yet well with the chapel finances. As in 1630, Andrew Sinclare⁸³ and Alexander Hay, this time on behalf of all the musicians, raised a complaint against Kellie accusing him of unlawfully uplifting all the chapel rents (13 April 1632; *RPC* ii/iv:474). The next day Kellie submitted his defence by producing various letters detailing his powers, one of which was to ensure that all the chapel musicians are paid the same amount, whatever the value of the benefice to which they had previously been presented (*RPC* ii/iv:479). The resolution of this dispute is not recorded in the Register. It is quite clear, however, that even since 1630 there had been a good deal of mistrust between the choirmaster and his singers. This can hardly have been conducive to high morale at the chapel and one can imagine that the twice weekly practices were not always "harmonious".

Eventually, in the ninth year of his reign, Charles made the journey north for his coronation at Holyroodhouse⁸⁴. The ceremony took place in the abbey church next to the palace on 18 June 1633. (By now the abbey was being used as the parish church of the Canongate.) This was to be the long-awaited climax in the recent musical history of the Chapel Royal. It turned out to be one of its bleakest episodes.

Some time before 13 June 1633 Edward Kellie had absconded with at least half of the pay due to the men of the chapel⁸⁵. As Archbishop Laud puts it "it seems [Kellie] was a bancroft [= bankrupt], and either ran away with their money, or misspent it, or else serued his own turn with it" (*Rogers* 1882:clxxxv). The chapel had been deceived and betrayed by one of its own members, one whom they had had reason to doubt for some time. To add insult to injury, it had been decided that the English Chapel Royal

⁸³ Kellie had his faults, but neither was Sinclare spotless. At the same time as the above court action, Sinclare was caught up in a separate legal wrangle over the procurement of a Great Seal (*RPC* ii/iv:480f).

⁸⁴ For further on Charles's Scottish progress and the English Chapel Royal see Baldwin 1990:168–79.

⁸⁵ His flight probably took place during the month or two before the coronation. Kellie is mentioned in the Register of the Great Seal in a document, the date of confirmation of which is 20 July 1633 (*RMS* viii:No. 2200). The document was obviously drawn up before this date, but this is the last definite reference to him as a serving prebendary of the Chapel Royal.

was to travel north to sing at the coronation, thus completely undermining all the intense preparation which had been overseen by Kellie. Indeed, White (1972:93) suggests Kellie may have been “displeased” that Charles should prefer his southern Chapel Royal, perhaps prompting Kellie’s flight. At any rate, although Kellie fled with a large sum of money, he did leave behind “ten gilt bookes [from England] unnoted⁸⁶ for the use of his Majesteis chappell” (RPC ii/v:114). In the course of several letters to and from the king following his coronation it became clear that, despite Kellie’s embezzlement, the musicians of the Chapel Royal would, eventually, be paid (Rogers 1882:clxxxiv f).

A comparison of the music sung at Charles’s English and Scottish coronations reveals that the same music was indeed used at both ceremonies. There was more music at the English ceremony than at the Scots, but everything sung at the Scottish coronation had been performed in 1626, and in the same order (except for Behold O Lord [/God] our Protector [/Defendor]; see Fig.1.1 on the following page).

Of all the music sung, only one of the items has survived. *Be stronge and of a good courage* was composed by Thomas Tomkins (1572–1656) apparently for the English coronation of James VI and I in 1603. Bernard Rose has made a modern edition of this work (EECM xxxix:24–41). The piece is a large-scale full anthem in seven parts (SSAATBB) with organ accompaniment. The music is mainly contrapuntal and imitative, set off by occasional passages of homophony. The text of this anthem is worth some consideration within the political context of 1633. The meaning of the following lines would not have been misconstrued by the religious leaders of Scotland present on this occasion: “observe the commandements of our God, ... *and keep his ceremonies*”, i.e. the episcopal rites preferred by Charles. After leaving Scotland the king left instructions that twice daily services (according to the English liturgy) were to be said at the chapel, even in his absence (Rogers 1882:clxxvi). James VI and I had left similar commands in 1617.

In the absence of extant music, we cannot say a great deal about the coronation music. There was clearly plenty scope for full and verse anthems and service music, and the Litany at least would have been chanted. The texts used for the *Veni Creator* and *Te Deum* were probably

⁸⁶ Later the same day these are described as “musick bookes” (RPC ii/v:115). Perhaps the staves therein had been ruled, but no music had been entered.

those of the English metrical versions, whether sung to a metrical psalm-tune or as through-composed items.

The English Coronation (1626)

I was glad [Ps 122]

Strengthened be thy hand⁸⁸

Come Holy Ghost

Litany and responses

Sadoch the priest⁸⁹

Be stronge and of a good courage

The Kinge shall rejoyce [Ps 21]

Te Deum

Behould, O God our Defendor⁹⁰

Nicene Creed

Lett my prayer be sett forth [Ps 141:1]

the holies [*i.e.* Sanctus] and
the Et in terra pax, &c⁹¹

O hearken unto the voyce
of my callinge

The Scottish Coronation (1633)⁸⁷

Behold O Lord our Protector ...

(*quam dilecta*) [Ps 84:9–10; *Quam dilecta* is the incipit of this psalm]

Firmetur Manus tua—Let thy hand
be strengthened, &c." Psal. 80.

"Miserecordias dei—Glorie be ... "

Veni Creator, Spiritus

the Letanie is sung and read

Zadoche the preist

Be stronge and of a good courage

Te Deum laudamus

Fig.1.1: The music sung at Charles I's English and Scottish coronations

The following is a list of the English Chapel Royal who sang for Charles at Holyroodhouse in 1633. It is taken from Ashbee (1988:71).

⁸⁷ These lists give only the sung musical items (in order) at each ceremony. The music of the English coronation is taken from Rimbault (1872:157ff), and that of the Scottish coronation from Balfour (1824 iv:389ff). The English items are almost the same as those used at the coronation of James I in 1603 (*cf.* Wickham Legg 1902:10ff) but one would expect new musical settings to have been provided for the 1626 coronation.

⁸⁸ Cooper (1902:28) gives this as "Let thine hands be strengthened ..." and suggests it was used as an antiphon before and after Ps 89:1–6. The incipit of Ps 89 is *Misericordias Domini* which is very close to the "Misericordias dei" of the Scottish order. "Firmetur manus tuas" is from Ps 89:14. The author of the Scottish order is therefore surely mistaken in entering "Psal. 80".

⁸⁹ This anthem was also composed by Thomas Tomkins, but only the text now survives (in British Library Harley MS 6346 and Oxford Bodleian Library MS Rawl. Poet. 23).

⁹⁰ "Newly composed and made" for Charles's English coronation (Cooper 1902:13n).

⁹¹ "To be songe by the Quier, except the Archbushop will read them".

Basses:

Thomas Piers, senior	John Frost, junior
Ezechell Waade	Ralph Amner
Roger Nightingale	Thomas Rayment

Tenors:

George Cooke	John Frost, senior
John Clarke	Walter Porter

Contratenors:

Thomas Day	Richard Sandy
Thomas Pierce [junior?]	Thomas Laughton
Henry Lawes	Nathaniel Pownell

The organists were John and Giles Tomkins, and eight children of the chapel also joined the choir, as well as eight trumpeters. According to a contemporary source (Hillebrand 1920:267), nineteen chapel members travelled to Scotland, but the above list, with the organists, accounts for only eighteen. Thomas Tomkins is missing from the list but may have been the nineteenth man. Thus among the English Chapel Royal there were several musicians of great renown. Ralph Amner is probably the brother of the composer John Amner. Walter Porter (d. 1659) was a lutenist and composer, as well as tenor. His extant works consist mainly of madrigals; his verse anthem *Praise the Lord* has been mentioned above (p.63). Henry Lawes (1596–1662; brother of William Lawes) is chiefly remembered as a songwriter, but also wrote psalm-settings and full and verse anthems. The brothers Tomkins, as organists, had chief responsibility for the choir during its northern sojourn. Giles (b. after 1587, d. before 1668) was organist at King's College, Cambridge, before moving to Salisbury Cathedral and the Chapel Royal. Of the two surviving verse anthems by him, we have the text only of one, and the other is incomplete. John (1586–1638) was also organist at King's College and later St Paul's Cathedral. His extant work includes a setting of the evening canticles, a full anthem, seven verse anthems (five incomplete), a motet, madrigal, keyboard music and the psalm-tune *Gloucester*. Thomas (b. 1572–d. c. 1656), the leading English composer of sacred music of his time, was organist of Worcester Cathedral and the Chapel Royal. He has a vast corpus of sacred music to his credit including five services, evening canticles, many anthems, madrigals and music for keyboard and consorts.

Following Edward Kellie's scandalous departure from the Chapel Royal, Edward Millar was appointed his successor on 15 February 1634 (Watt 1969:338). Millar had been a student at Edinburgh University from where

he graduated in 1624 as Master of Arts (Livingston 1864:48). He appears to have remained in Edinburgh as, in 1627, he is described as teaching “bairns” in Blackfriar’s Wynd (Livingston 1864:48). Livingston also suggests that Millar may have had some informal connection with the Chapel Royal before his formal appointment in 1634. This may well have been the case as we have already seen that Stephen Tullidaff probably retained his chapel benefices during his stay in Dunfermline, and Walter Troup continued teaching in Edinburgh whilst singing at the chapel. Edward Millar edited the music of the 1635 Scottish Psalter. (This work will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 7.) Millar also penned at least two sets of music manuscripts: a psalm book of 1615 interleaved with manuscript psalm-settings dated 1626 has been described by Cowan (1913:89) but now appears to be lost (Elliott, *NG* xii:321); another book, known as Edward Millar’s Music Book, bears his signature and the date 1643 (discussed by Elliott 1959:327–332, and in *MB* xv where it is called the “MacAlman Manuscript”, National Library of Scotland, MS 9477).

From 1634 until 1638 we learn of the Chapel Royal of Scotland from various entries in the Register of the Privy Council relating to lack of pay for the musicians. The desperate circumstances of James Laurie in particular are probably an accurate reflection of the general state of the chapel musicians. In February 1634 Laurie, who had resigned his post as musician and was by now reader at the “kirk of Halyrudhous”, had incurred debts which he expected to meet through his pay from the treasury. However, the king’s treasurer had not paid him, and his creditors were now threatening him with deprivation of his present office, from which calamity Laurie sought protection (*RPC* ii/v:601).

Later, in November the same year, the members of the chapel petitioned the Privy Council in the hope of being paid after “furnishing their houses and ... procuring some comely attire, seeing they most [= must] ordinarily attend his Majesty’s Chapel” (*RPC* ii/v:408). Like Laurie the chapel members had been threatened by their creditors, this time with imprisonment. The Lords of the Privy Council granted them protection from this threat until 1 April 1635 “so that they may attend their service in the said chapel”. Thus we see that, after Charles’s departure in 1633, the Chapel Royal did continue Anglican musical services in his absence. This may be directly contrasted with the lax musical arrangements after King James returned to England in 1617. Of the thirteen signatories to this

petition, six men had previously held office at the chapel: Edward Millar, Robert Ross, Walter Troup, Stephen Tullidaff and John and Humphrey Watson. The last major list of chapel personnel was dated 1623 (quoted in Rogers 1882:cxlix). The 1634 petition thus gives the names of seven new musicians at the chapel: John Castellaw, Robert Colquhoun, James Creichtoun, George Fergusoun, Francis Marchell⁹², Eleazer McKiesoun, and Martine Thomesone. A comparison of this document with those already mentioned indicates that, besides Edward Kellie and the abovementioned James Laurie, several men had left the chapel in recent years: Andrew Cowper, Patrick Dunbar, Alexander Hay, James Keith, James Law, Robert Weir, James Weland, and Robert Wynram. Andrew Sinclair, though not mentioned in 1634, reappears in 1635 and 1636 and so may have held office in 1634.

McQuaid (1949:247) has identified James Creichtoun at the Chapel Royal in 1634 as a teacher of music in Edinburgh in 1617. He was reprimanded by the town council for teaching music without a licence (Wood 1931:163f). Creichtoun remained at the chapel until at least 1636 (RPC ii/vi:166) and he had died before 23 June 1649 (Rogers 1882:ccxi). Very little else is known about the other musicians who had joined the chapel by 1634. This is the only reference we have to George Fergusoun and Martine Thomesone. Thomesone may well be the father of James Thomson, musician in Stirling in 1644 (Hutchison 1904:244). Robert Colquhoun is mentioned again at the chapel in 1635 (RPC ii/vi:110); and Francis Marchell and Eleazer McKieson both remained at the chapel until at least 1636 (RPC ii/vi:3, 110, 166). John Castellaw probably demitted office around 1638 at the demise of the chapel (APS vi (part 2):482). It is highly likely that he was some relation of James Castellaw senior and junior who worked at the chapel before him.

We may assume that daily service at the chapel continued throughout 1635, the year which saw the publication of the most complete Scottish Psalter in harmony. In September 1635 the gentlemen "quiristers" of the chapel complained that Andrew Sinclair had collected 10,000 merks from the treasury as payment for the chapel members. Most of this sum he had distributed amongst the singers, but Sinclair refused to give up the remaining 2,610 merks. Sinclair's accounts were to be audited and he was to pay the remaining sum. The complainers on this occasion were: Edward

⁹²In fact his name is spelt "Marche", but a later document refers to him as "Francis Marchell" (RPC ii/vi:110).

Millar, John Watson, Stephen Tullidaff, Robert Colquhoun, Francis Marchell, Eleazer McKieson and William Mercer (RPC ii/vi:110). This is the only reference to Mercer as a musician at the Chapel Royal. In 1631 he was admitted "gratis" a burghess of Edinburgh (Wood 1936:95). McQuaid (1949:279) has identified him as the army officer and poet who wrote verses dedicated to Edinburgh Town Council in 1632 and Aberdeen Town Council in 1633⁹³. That he wrote verses in honour of Aberdeen suggests he may also have taught music there for a time around 1633, but I have not found his name in the Aberdeen records.

The problem with Sinclair's "intromission" with the chapel funds continued until January 1636. Then the Privy Council ordained that he should hand the remaining £516⁹⁴ to the Bishop of Edinburgh who would distribute it equally between the complainers. On this occasion the pursuers are listed as: John Watson, Stephen Tullidaff, Edward Millar, Francis Marchell, Eleazer McKieson and James Creichtoun.

The ensuing year was to be the last during which a musical staff worked at the Chapel Royal. May 1636 saw the publication of Archbishop Laud's Book of Canons and this aroused popular discontent. The mounting unrest in the country came to a head in May 1637 with the publication of the Service Book—a Scottish version of the Anglican liturgy. Initially the Book was to be used in Edinburgh and thereafter throughout the rest of the country. However, in the event it did not even receive a single reading in the capital. The first such service to be held in Edinburgh's High Kirk was completely disrupted by an angry mob, and the infamous throwing of a stool, usually attributed to Jenny Geddes. The National Covenant was subscribed the following year and episcopacy was completely abolished in Scotland. There followed various confrontations between the king and the Covenanters, and eventually Charles became embroiled in the Civil War, leading ultimately to his execution in 1649.

In the wake of these events no English services were held at the Chapel Royal, which itself was abolished (Rogers 1882:ccxi). The organs were dismantled and lay "mothening and consuming" for several years before a

⁹³William Mercer is mentioned several times in Johnstone & Robertson (1930). Apart from the above-mentioned works, he was the author of several elegies on the deaths of distinguished army officers. His earliest literary work was published in 1632, and his latest in 1675.

⁹⁴The sum of money in Andrew Sinclair's possession changed unaccountably from 2,610 merks in September 1635 to £600 in December the same year (RPC ii/vi:110, 160). Sinclair paid £7 sterling to a Londoner who had done work for the chapel, leaving a total of £516 in his hands.

decision was taken to sell them and the money given to the poor (Livingston 1864:56). Two late references to the Chapel Royal give some indication of the musicians who continued in service until its abolition. A charter confirmation of 31 July 1638 names Alexander Lowis and Stephen Tullidaff as prebendaries of the chapel (RMS ix:No. 851). The portion held by Lowis was that which had formerly been held by Edward Kellie and to which Edward Millar succeeded in 1634. It seems, therefore, that Edward Millar resigned from his post at the chapel some time before 1638. Alexander Lowis is later found teaching music in South Leith (Robertson 1911:89, see p.197). An Act of Parliament of 1649 made provision for the diversion of funds away from the Chapel Royal "not onlie abolished bot now vacant by deceas of vmquhile James Crichtoun and James mouat and by the dimissioun of Johne Castellaw" (APS vi (part 2):482). The name James Mouat does not appear elsewhere in the records. He evidently succeeded James Crichton as a musician at the chapel some time after 1636 (when Creichtoun was definitely employed there) and before 1638 (when the chapel was disbanded). John Castellaw, in common with all the other chapel musicians, must have demitted his office in about 1638.

The few names appearing in Appendix A after 1638 are those of men who held the titular offices of dean and subdean and so acceded to these benefices. The Chapel as an institution remained dormant until the reign of James VII and II in 1685. James, who was Catholic, attempted to re-establish the Chapel Royal in the Abbey Church adjacent to Holyroodhouse. He made great plans for this and spent vast sums of money on the chapel decorations. He also provided £100 sterling *p.a.* for the provision of music at his new chapel (Rogers 1882:ccxxiii). The Catholic rite was revived in February 1688, but the chapel was ransacked by mobs of angry protesters in December that year. All monuments to 'Popish idolatry' were utterly destroyed.

The 137-year history of the Scottish Chapel Royal spanned a great many changes in the nation's political and religious climate, all of which had a direct influence on the musical life of the chapel. During the early sixteenth century and even as late as 1606, the chapel was considered to have an international musical standing, necessary for the "recreation and honour of [Scotland's] princes" (APS iv:298). The most important chapel composer prior to the Reformation was certainly Robert Carver (whether or

not he was resident there). However, the huge and thriving musical establishment of 1501 suffered a marked and rapid decline following the Reformation of 1560: it became increasingly secularized through the gifting of benefices to students and royal favourites, and by the seventeenth century the decimated chapel emoluments could hardly support the few remaining active musicians. Attempts were made to reverse this decline but these seem to have been a case of "too little, too late". The royal visits of 1617 and 1633 proved to be only short-lived impetus for improvement of the chapel's music, particularly during the Anglican repertoire period overseen by Edward Kellie. The culmination of this activity came in the publication of the 1635 Scottish Psalter, edited by Edward Millar, then musical director of the chapel. This was the final flowering of the Chapel Royal, cut down in 1638 by the overwhelming popular support for the National Covenant which guaranteed the stifling of Episcopalian (and Catholic) ceremony, including elaborate music.

It can be seen from Appendix A that, throughout the chapel's history, several families held important and lasting links with the chapel by supplying members of its personnel. Four or more members of the following families all held office at the Chapel Royal: the Arnots (including two dignitaries and the composer Robert Carver, *alias* Arnot), Aysouns, Buchans (having also links with Glasgow, Edinburgh and Haddington), Cowpers (two dignitaries and two non-serving children), Duncansons (one of whom was minister to the king), Gordons (including four bishops), Grays (two held high office in the chapel, another had links with Aberdeen), Hamiltons (including four dignitaries), Patersons (two were sacristans) and Rosses (including two treasurers). These family connections gave the chapel some sense of continuity even through its periods of low activity and morale and would have fostered a close sense of community amongst the musicians.

The North-East and North of Scotland

Aberdeen possesses the most complete set of burgh records of any town in Scotland. Extracts from these have been published in various sources, but particularly by the Spalding Club and the Scottish Burgh Records Society (edited by John Stuart last century) and, slightly later, the records of Old Aberdeen have been edited by Alexander Munro for the New Spalding Club. Aberdeen remained as two separate and distinct burghs ("Old" and "New"¹) until very late in the nineteenth century. St Machar's Cathedral was the spiritual hub of the former and St Nicholas's Parish Church that of the latter.

Two important secondary sources of particular relevance provide useful information: *Extracts from the commonplace book of Andrew Melvill* by William Walker (1899) and *The Music School of Old Machar* from the papers of C Sanford Terry, edited by Harry Willsher (1940). The former illustrates the history of the music school of New Aberdeen until its demise in the eighteenth century. Information drawn from these sources has been supplemented with references to the published records. We have little information regarding other northern towns during the early part of the sixteenth century, but more information becomes available later in the form of kirk session registers kept by each parish church.

Pre-Reformation

Aberdeen prior to the Reformation was a very important centre of musical activity. In 1506 Bishop William Elphinstone ordained that the choir of his cathedral should have eleven singing boys (Farmer 1947:98—but only six choristers are recorded, Cowan & Easson 1976:201)—at that time the largest choir in Scotland. Some years earlier (in 1495) he had overseen the establishment of Aberdeen University, to be known as King's College (Cowan & Easson 1976:231f). The college was enlarged by Bishop Elphinstone in 1505. The new foundation statute made provision for four choristers and eight priests skilled in song. The boys were to be competent in "cantu Gregoriano", the men in plainsong, pricksong, figuration, faburden and descant (Innes 1854a:60). (Furthermore, countering is

¹ These are really misnomers. Old Aberdeen had been known as "Aulton" (meaning farm or village by the stream) which became anglicized as "Old Town". "New" was then taken up by Aberdeen to distinguish the two (Keay & Keay 1994:4).

described in *The Art of Music* (British Library Add. MS 4911) and is mentioned as part of the duties of the parish clerk of Perth in 1521, see p.117.) These skills are encountered in various Scottish song schools and Flynn (1995:182) suggests they formed a progressive musical curriculum. Pupils evidently began by learning plainsong melodies, followed by a study of mensural notation (pricksong) and the application of varying rhythms to plainsong (figuration). Faburden, descant and countering are various different methods of improvizing upon a plainsong *cantus firmus* (Flynn 1995:182ff; see also pp.44ff, 119f, 158, 164f, 208, 275 of the present study). Besides these important skills, all centred around the musical life of the church, song school pupils would also have been taught to read (and possibly write) English (*i.e.* Scots) as well as Latin.

Cathedrals also had among their dignified officers a precentor (or cantor) and succentor (*i.e.* a sub-precentor who would have been responsible for the day-to-day running of the choir). The office of cantor had existed at Aberdeen since 1240, and the first known succentor occurs around 1533/4 (Watt 1969:9, 17). These positions may originally have entailed working with the choir, however by the sixteenth century it seems they were becoming regarded as honorary titles attached to certain benefices belonging to each cathedral. Only a very few cantors and succentors are mentioned with specific reference to music; these men are therefore excluded from this study, except in those instances where they may be identified with active musicians².

Of those musicians who worked at St Machar's Cathedral during the early part of the sixteenth century, we have the names of only two: John Malison (*fl.* 1503–18³) and John Gourlay. Malison was, in fact, master of the song school attached to the church and a man of some considerable reputation⁴. The historian Hector Boece lauds him in the following terms:

Huic viro debent Aberdonenses, musicam praesertim edocti,
quam parenti filii caritatem: quicquid illic musices, quicquid
exactae in Dei ecclesia boreali jubilationis, hujus viri justissime
debetur operae ...

To this man the Aberdonians, especially those of them that are

² The precentors and succentors of the various dioceses of Scotland may be found in Watt 1969.

³ He is described as "chapellane of the landis of Fokay, cituat within the cathedrale kirk of Abirdene" in 1503 (ALC iii:242) and as "collectore dicte ecclesie" in 1518 (ER xiv:343).

⁴ If Carver was brought up in Aberdeen (see p.23f) then John Malison may well have been his music teacher (Ross 1999:9).

trained in music, owe the affection which is expected from a child to his parent. Whatever musical skill is possessed there, whatever the northern church of God has achieved by way of organized praise, must be justly ascribed to this man's efforts. (Boece 1894:79, translation by J. Moir, with amendment by Dr Betty Knott-Sharpe)

The single reference to Gourlay is as vicar of the choir in Aberdeen in 1557 (RMS iv:No. 1201).

We know rather more of the chaplains of the choir at King's College. James Awell was Cantor there in 1519 and is mentioned until April 1546 (Anderson 1893:90)⁵. By 1527 there were six feed choristers at the college who were to be paid 4 merks each per year, as well as an organist who received 2 merks more (Instrument by Bishop Gavin of Aberdeen, Innes 1854a:16). The same year the "capellanis chori ecclesie collegiate Abirdonensis" included "Magistris Johanni⁶ Awaill, Alexandro Wrycht, Duncano Robertstone et Daud Barnys" (Robertson 1843 iii:392). A charter dated 30 April 1546 again describes Awell as Cantor and lists the following six chaplains of the choir at the College: David Barnis, Duncanus Gormak, Thomas Seres⁷, Alexander Smyth, John Smyth⁸, and John Strachquhin⁹; Alexander Wrycht had by this time been promoted and is here described as "sacrista" (Innes 1854a:19). From May 1549 until June 1567 John Hay was Cantor at King's College. Hay had been presented to the prebend of Monymusk in the Cathedral in 1546 (RSS iii:No. 1457) and died before 1574 (Haws 1972:184).

Whereas the singers at the Cathedral were supported by prebends belonging to the church, those at the parish church of St Nicholas were supported directly by the town council of New Aberdeen. Much information regarding its music can therefore be deduced from the records of the council. St Nicholas's also had a song school attached and the appointments of the various masters are recorded in the council minutes. It is not clear when the song school was founded in Aberdeen, but music was certainly being taught here by 1256 when "the master of the schools was required to see the due attendance of four singing boys at divine service"

⁵ He is also described as "cantorem" on 12 February 1537 (RMS iii:No. 2496).

⁶ A scribal error for "Jacobi"?

⁷ Seres had been presented to a prebend of the College as early as 1532 (RSS ii:No.1331).

⁸ For a possible identification of Alexander and John Smyth, see p.126.

⁹ John Strachquhin may be the John Strathauchin who was minister of Kearn in 1567 and 1569, minister of Cushnie in 1574 and in the same year had oversight of Auchindoir, a prebend of King's College (Haws 1972:116, 57, 15).

(Stuart 1852:preface 70, quoted in Walker 1899:xvii). In 1491 it was appointed that “no mass shall be sung without twelve persons and the priest that sings the mass” (Cooper 1888 ii:228, quoted in White 1972:9).

Sir Andrew Coupar (*fl.* 1498–1533, d. before 1538)¹⁰, chaplain, was appointed to instruct and inform the “sangstaris and barnis” on 20 September 1505 (Cooper 1888 ii:345). Coupar’s duties also included singing and playing the organ, for which he received an annual pension of £7 8s in 1508 (Stuart 1852:36). According to Walker (1899:xxi) Sir Thomas Bynne had similar duties at the song school¹¹. Sir John Trombull and Sir John Murray are recorded in the council register as singers at St Nicholas in 1510 and 1514 respectively (Stuart 1844a:80, 88). They were “to serue in the queyr and kirk in all devin seruice, messis, mattutinis, evynsangis, and all vder seruice belonging to ane sangster, for ane yere to cum” for fees of £10 and 10 merks respectively. John Murray had earlier been a canon of the Chapel Royal (*ALHT* iii:125, 126, 326; Woods 1984 i:239).

Fees, however, were not always rendered in cash. Wat Strathin was hired as a singer in 1505 and was to receive “his mett [= meat] with viij personis circualie oukly [= weekly]” (Stuart 1844a:75). A similar contract, to Andro Lame in 1533, specifies the various “personis” for each day of the week. The men listed were probably bailies or other officials of the town and included none other than the provost (Gilbert Menzies), with whom Lame was to eat on Sundays (Stuart 1844a:148)¹². Thus, in seeking to uphold God’s service in music, the council was quite prepared to accept responsibility on a very egalitarian basis, at the same time fostering close community ties. Singers paid thus are never designated “Sir” (indicating a member of the priesthood): they may have been junior members of the choir, perhaps in training at the song school¹³, or else may have lived (or come from) somewhere outwith the town. At any rate, these “sangsters” would appear not to have been married. In addition to receiving his “meat circualie”, Walter Futhe was paid 40s each year and from October 1521 was required to sing and play the organs “small or great” for the next three years

¹⁰ Coupar is mentioned in a document dated 23 October 1498 (Cooper 1888 ii:260) and a document ordaining his soul to be remembered is dated 4 August 1538 (Cooper 1888 ii:152). His name is variously spelt “Couper”, “Cowpar”, “Cowper” and “Cuper”.

¹¹ Sir Thomas Bynne appears alongside the names of others associated with the choir of St Nicholas’s in charters dated 5 March 1524 and 18 January 1531 (Cooper 1888 ii:125, 148).

¹² Lame was to eat with John Black on Fridays. This may be too early to refer to the composer of the same name who is known to have been active in Aberdeen from 1546 and who died in 1587, see p.78.

¹³ The song school was intended for the training of both “men and bairns” (Stuart 1844a:207).

(Cooper 1888 ii:354–5). Besides indicating the presence of at least two different organs in the parish church at this time, this contract appears to be the first offered for a period of more than one year.

By 1518, Andrew Coupar had been succeeded at the song school by Sir Johne Cuming “chorister and player on thair organis”, although Coupar is still listed as a singer in 1525 (Stuart 1844a:95, xl). There was some kind of decline in the music at St Nicholas around this time as, on 10 January 1519, the council approved that John Cuming should have the “reull and regiment” of the song school because “godis seruice was latten dovne” by the absence of a teacher (Cooper 1888 ii:353). Other singers working here in the 1520s included Sir David Loremar (*fl.* 1520–1525, by which latter date he is also described as “organster”)¹⁴, and a document of 1525 (Stuart 1844a:xl) names Sir Thomas Bevyng, Sir William Coupar (d. before 1539; Cooper 1888 ii:366)¹⁵, William Strathauchin and Gilbert Robertson. Robertson had received a three-year contract in 1521 (Cooper 1888 ii:354) and in the 1525 document was exempted from certain services “for his study”, presumably at the song school. Johne Cuming was similarly exempted because of his teaching at the school. Robertson obviously showed great potential for, in 1527, he was allowed “to pass to the skoullis to lair to play the organis for twa yeres”. His fees were to be paid by the council and he was then to “mak tham a yeiris service at his first hame cuming” (Cooper 1888 ii:359). The particular school (university?) is not named, but the last phrase implies a town outwith Aberdeenshire. Robertson later held a prebend of St Giles’s Collegiate Church in Edinburgh (Durkan 1959a:70). Sir Robert Spark is named as a chaplain and “singar within the queir” in 1530 (Cooper 1888 ii:362).

From the above list of singers the choir of St Nicholas seems to have overcome the difficulty of 1518/19. However, further problems were to beset the institution. On 13 January 1533 the council took the sweeping measure of discharging all feed singers within the choir for certain “demeritis bigane done to God and tham [*i.e.* the council]” except Sir Andrew Coupar “that is an agit man and hes bene ane ald servand to the toun” (Cooper 1888 ii:363). We have no clue as to what these “demeritis” may have been, but such uncompromising action could only have been prompted by a very serious general breach of discipline. Walker

¹⁴ Cooper 1888 ii:354, 355; Stuart 1844a:xl.

¹⁵ Possibly related to Sir Andrew Coupar, master of the song school?

(1899:xxiii) speculates the cause may have been sympathies with the "Luther heresy", but Aberdeen remained an area of staunch support for Catholicism (and, later, Episcopalianism).

Nothing more is heard of the choir or song school until 1541, by which time both institutions were running again: Robe Nicholsoun and Robe Portair were each given 40s yearly to buy clothes "so thai continew the Sang Scuils" and serve in the choir (Stuart 1844a:177). Walker (1899:xxiii) suggests these men had control of the school at this time, but it is significant that neither are designated "Mr" or "Sir", in contrast to all masters at the school before and after this date.

• Three years later Sir John Fethy was appointed a prebendary of the choir, organist and instructor of the men and bairns at the song school, for which he received an annual fee of £20 (Stuart 1844a:207)¹⁶. He is most likely the musician named as Precentor of the Chapel Royal in 1545 (RSS iii:No. 1026) who later became master of the song school in Edinburgh (RSS vi:No. 487)¹⁷. John Fethy was a common name throughout Scotland at this time, and it is difficult to disentangle the various references to this name. Elliott presents a short biography of this priest, poet, composer and teacher in NG vi:511.

Another eminent Scottish composer worked with John Fethy at the song school in Aberdeen. John Black¹⁸ was singer and deputy to Fethy in 1546¹⁹. A dispute arose between Black and Fethy over the running of the school. Matters came to a head on 13 July when it was resolved by the town council that Black should have powers to punish "his avin tua brether, Alex[ande]r Grayis tua sonis, ane Skeyne, and ane Lummisdan, barnis of the said skuill", the punishment of all other pupils to be undertaken by Fethy. Furthermore, if Black ever fails Fethy again he will be discharged of all profits he has from the town (Stuart 1844a:239). Two days later another minute of council reaffirms Fethy's position as master:

Sir Jon Futhy, maister of thair Sang skull to joist and possess the said skuill And to haue the haill regiment and teching of the barnis *thai*rof togidder with thair organis in thair parroche kirk ... and dischargit all utheris ... except the said Sir John and his techaris under him to be nomit and input be him as thinkis expedient. (Cooper 1888 ii:368.)

¹⁶ John Fethy may perhaps be related to Walter Fethy the singer (*fl.* 1521), see p.76.

¹⁷ A John Fethy was also master of the grammar school in Dundee in 1522 (Maxwell 1891:152, I am grateful to Dr Elliott for this information).

¹⁸ See Elliott (NG ii:769) for further information on Black's life and music.

¹⁹ He may be the Sir John Black, substitute of Sir David Hervy, chaplain in the parish church of Cullen, who was paid £6 13s 4d for his services there in 1536–7 (ER xvii:55).

Although we do not know the number of pupils at the song school, there were evidently enough to warrant one or two teachers as well as the master (these were later to be known as “doctors” of the music school). Nothing more is heard of John Fethy in Aberdeen after this date.

The council took further measures against the payment of the choir’s wages on 8 October 1547 “and [the council] ordanit that tha pay nane of tham ony fee in tyme cuming quhill tha gif tham new command thairto agane” (Stuart 1844a:254). The wording here is less condemnatory than that upon the occasion of the previous misdemeanour, and implies the re-employment of the choir at some later date. The explanation this time seems due to a lack of money: the previous day the auditors of the town’s accounts were ordained to “find and prouid mone, quhairwith [tua barrellis of poulder] salbe bocht” (Stuart 1844a:254), the town anticipating invasion by its “auld ennimeis of Ingland”—Dundee had recently been raided as part of Henry VIII’s “rough wooing”. The ensuing years were certainly quieter (musically speaking) in comparison to the preceding. Before we next hear of a master of Aberdeen’s song school in 1556, references to only three singers survive: Sir Andrew Jaffray is described as a chaplain of the choir in 1552 (Anderson 1890:400); Sir Robert Bynne, chaplain and singer, now blind, is to retain his old fee of 8s (1555)²⁰; and James Nory has his salary augmented from 20s to £4 for his good service (1555) (Stuart 1844a:289, 291).

By 16 November 1556, John Black was once again working at the song school, now in the office of master. The choir had some vacancies, and one was filled by Andrew Gray (Stuart 1844a:301). Two years earlier Gray had been working at the Chapel Royal in Stirling (RSS iv:No. 2875; Woods 1984 i:238). In 1558 and 1559 Black’s annual salary is given as 22 merks [= £14 13s 4d] (Stuart 1844a:313; 1852:112). Two other chaplains and singers appear in the 1559 entry: Sir John Collison and Sir Robert Spark²¹. Within the space of a few months, however, events at the church and song school had once again taken a down turn. On 30 October 1559 we find Black and another chaplain, Sir John Collison²², petitioning the council on behalf of themselves and the other chaplains of the choir, requesting the kirk and

²⁰ Probably related to Sir Thomas Bynne of the song school, see p.76.

²¹ Black’s payment is much larger than that received by the other chaplains. In addition to the two others mentioned above are the names: Sir *William* Walcar, Sir Jon Goldsmytht, *Alexander* Andirsone, Richard Reid, Thomas Mar and Daud Cuming.

²² Collison was chaplain of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in St Nicholas’ Parish Church this year (FES viii:534). In 1565 he was appointed Succentor of Aberdeen (Watt 1969:17).

choir to be “patent” [= open] to them so that they may perform divine service (Cooper 1888 ii:373). Nothing has come to light as to why the kirk and choir were closed to them in the first place but, whatever the reason, they seem to have remained closed for some time. The next indication of musical activity at St Nicholas occurs in 1570 with the appointment of Andrew Kemp as master of the song school (see below).

Such was the state of music in Aberdeen prior to the Reformation. As regards other towns in the north of Scotland, we have, unfortunately, almost no information at all. According to the council records of Elgin, a song school existed there before 1552 at which time it was being taught by Sir James Kar (Cramond & Ree 1903:118)²³. The collegiate church of St Duthac at Tain had a song school attached since its foundation in 1487 (Durkan 1962:150). Reference is made in the foundation charter to the fact that the five canons of this church had to sing at the canonical hours and other services. The third prebendary (of Dunskeath) was placed in charge of the choir and the three boy choristers (Durkan 1962:151). Fragments of Latin polyphony linked with Inverness suggest the town had a school teaching music before 1560 (Allenson 1989). Furthermore, Durkan notes that one James Auchlek [= Auchinlek?], town and parish clerk of Inverness from 1539, was to teach “the scholars ... in the art of music, not only in singing but in playing the organ”²⁴. In Orkney, Bishop Robert Reid made provision for a song school with six boys at the Cathedral in 1544 (Peterkin 1820:App. 23; Cowan & Easson 1976:210).

1560–1603

Musical development was stifled almost out of existence by the Reformation of 1560. The situation is particularly grim in Old Aberdeen where we find almost no information relating to music in the service of the church until 1604. William Meldrum is styled “magister scole musice” in Aberdeen in 1575²⁵ (RMS iv:No. 2360)—this is an isolated reference to him in this position, but a man of the same name was Precentor of Aberdeen in 1593 (Watt 1969:11) and McQuaid (1949:275) identifies him with the

²³ We have no further information regarding this priest, but he may possibly be identified with the chaplain of Ogston (a mensal of Elgin Cathedral) in 1558, where he was also reader and exhorter after the Reformation (Haws 1972:192).

²⁴ I am very grateful to Dr John Durkan for this information from his forthcoming book *Early Schools and Schoolmasters in Scotland, 1560–1633* (see also Durkan 1959a:71).

²⁵ This reference occurs in the middle of a charter relating to Old Aberdeen, and White (1972 i:127) places Meldrum in the list of musicians at St Machar’s.

Precentor of Brechin before 1601.

As mentioned, 1570 saw the appointment of Andrew Kemp as master of the song school at St Nicholas in New Aberdeen. The council minute recording this also informs us that Sir John Black was then (6 October) "presentlie absent of the realme" (Stuart 1844a:370). There are no indications as to where he may have gone, nor for how long, nor why he went, although he was probably trying to find some employment outwith Aberdeen where his attempts to make the "kirk and choir patent" had been unsuccessful²⁶.

Kemp's biography is presented by Elliott in NG ix:859. To summarize: Kemp was master of the song school of St Andrews some time between 1560 and 1565, around which time he set to music a text by Christopher Goodman, then minister in the town. A charter of 10 August 1569 lists Kemp as one of the choristers and prebendaries of St Salvator's Collegiate Chapel in the town (Anderson 1899:No. 846). A collection of 44 psalm settings by Kemp survives in Duncan Burnett's Music Book (National Library of Scotland, MS 9447), which, as Elliott has shown, has links with Aberdeen. The settings were therefore probably written by Kemp during his time there in the 1570s (Elliott 1959:350ff and NG ix:859).

There appear to be several references to men with this name in contemporary records. The composer is probably the Andrew Kemp mentioned in the kirk session registers of St Andrews, who married Isobel Adesoun and died before 4 November 1573, when she is described as his "relict" (Fleming 1889:383)²⁷. One particular entry in the register describes how, on 14 June 1570,

Andro Kempt [was to ask] David Symson and his mother forgevenes upon his kneis, for the offens committit be hym aganis them, and gyf he committis sic lik in tyme cuming to be deprivat of his office. (Fleming 1889:338.)

The "office" is not specified but may well refer to Kemp's mastership of the song school at St Andrews. Perhaps this offence (or its recurrence, occasioning his dismissal) prompted Kemp's move to Aberdeen a few months later. He may also be the Andrew Kemp presented to the vicarage

²⁶ A "Sir John Black, priest," is mentioned as exhorter at Bunkle and Preston, in the Presbytery of Duns, in 1563 and 1567 (Haws 1972:32, 201; FES viii:115) and another was reader at Currie in St Andrews Presbytery in 1574 (Haws 1972:57). However, it is not possible positively to identify these with the musician of Aberdeen.

²⁷ This Kemp also had a son, Patrick (Fleming 1889:613).

of Fintray in Aberdeenshire on 29 August 1571 (RSS vi:No. 1250), who died before 9 March 1573 (RSS vi:No. 1881)²⁸.

A further reference to an Andrew Kemp is found in the council records of Dundee, and this may well refer to the composer. On 15 November 1555 the council directed an

inhibition till Robert Merschell and Andro Kemp that they nor nane of them teach ony bairns privately or openly grammar, Ynglish, or singing, but with the company of Maister Thomas Makgibbon, maister of the Grammar school, and Richard Barclay, maister of the song school. (Maxwell 1891:153²⁹.)

References to an Andrew Kemp can also be found in St Andrews Presbytery as reader at Kilrenny in 1563 and at Balmerino (Presbytery of Cupar) in 1568–9 (FES viii:459, 438)—these may well refer to the musician (Baxter 1997:18).

Returning to Aberdeen, nothing more regarding Andrew Kemp is found in the council registers. Sir John Black reappears in 1574 when he received payment for a task which he would surely have felt loath to do: removing the organs from the parish church (Kirk and Bridge Work Accounts, Cooper 1888 ii:385)—they were to be sold for “the vse and support of the pure” (Kirk Session Register, Stuart 1846:19).

In 1576 Black and the other chaplains “resigned into the hands of the council all their patrimony and property” (Walker 1899:xxix)³⁰, thereby giving the council complete control over the church. By 4 October the next year John Black had been reappointed master of the song school at St Nicholas. He had as doctor under him, James Symse, who was given £4 to help him buy clothes. Black’s salary at this time was still at the same level as in 1558–9, £14 13s 4d (Stuart 1848:29; 1852:113). He died before 14 August 1587, upon which date the council appointed as his successor John Andersoun. The master’s salary was augmented to £20 in this

²⁸ FES viii:277 states that an Andrew Kemp was admitted minister of “Fintry in Dumbarton Presbytery” before 1571. This man married Isobell Anderson “who survived him”. The similarities between this man and the Aberdeenshire vicar seem too close to be mere coincidences. The editor of FES viii seems to have been mistaken in placing this entry under the heading of Dumbarton Presbytery.

²⁹ That Kemp had worked in Dundee is alluded to by McQuaid (1949:182), although he does not present the evidence for this assertion. I am grateful to Dr Elliott for referring me to this source.

³⁰ William Walker was a signatory to this document. McQuaid (1949:308) describes him as a musician under the direction of John Black, and gives his death as before 10 July 1584. According to McQuaid (1949:244) John Collison, the Succentor of Aberdeen, was also a signatory.

agreement (Stuart 1848:60) and payments to Andersoun are recorded until 1589–90 (McQuaid 1949:233).

It was intended that the master of the song school should “teiche and instruct thair youththeid [sic] and cheildreine in the said facultay of mwseik meaners, and wertew” (Stuart 1844a:370)—men are not mentioned in post-Reformation times. That the song school provided a purely musical training seems to be borne out by the fact it is the only school in the burgh to be exempted from requiring a licence from the grammar school (Stuart 1848:154). The music curriculum would undoubtedly have centred on instruction in the psalm tunes used in church. In the last decade of the sixteenth century we find evidence, for the first time in Aberdeen, that the pupils of the song school led the singing in the parish church. The Kirk and Bridge Work accounts for 1591/2 detail a payment made for “ane dowbill sett [= seat] in the kirk to the bernis of the sang skoull” (Cooper 1888 ii:393). In 1596 St Nicholas was divided into two churches and the following year the council instructed that “the maister ... sall serve bayth the kirkis in uptacking of the psalme theirin, everie Sondag, the ane kirk be himselff, and the uther be the doctour or sum of his discippullis” (Stuart 1848:157). The pupils, with their expertise in music, probably sang the psalms in four parts: the tune was invariably in the tenor of four-part settings (although this would have been sung in octaves by both men and women of the congregation), the pupils may have supplied the alto and treble parts, while the master (after starting the tune) and some older boys perhaps held the bass line. Certainly manuscript settings of harmonized psalm tunes had been current in Scotland since 1566, by which time Thomas Wood had completed his copying of the settings by David Peebles (see p.127f); and, as Elliott has shown, a previous master at the song school (Andrew Kemp) had also contributed to the corpus of settings probably whilst at Aberdeen. The master in 1597 was Willeam Skene, who received a stipend of 120 merks—four times as much as his predecessor. Skene received an augmentation of 10 merks because he also had to pay his doctor. The amount received by the doctor is not stated but it may only have been 10 merks. Skene remained in office until his death, shortly before 15 November 1598 (Stuart 1848:157, 174)³¹.

³¹ According to Walker (1899:xxx) Skene was appointed master upon the death of John Andersoun in 1589. This is not improbable, but Walker presents no evidence in support of this assertion. Farmer (1947:168) states that Skene received £86 [= 129 merks] for two terms’ teaching in 1596.

Upon Skene's death the council was very concerned for the future of the song school, fearing that its closure would "preiudice ... the youth of this town". An interim master was therefore appointed:

and understanding Johne Leslye, in Kyntor, to be a qualefeit musician, albeit he can not instruct his scholeris in playing, theirfor to the effect that the schooll suld nocht dissolve, and quhill a qualefeit man be provydit to occupie the place, [the council] hes appoyntit and nominat the said Johne Leslye to teich the musick schooll of this burgh. (Stuart 1848:174.)

for which he received 20 merks—far less than Skene. This important minute shows that the council now held the school in high regard: it had been flourishing for some time and was one of the first song schools in Scotland to be re-established after the Reformation. In 1579 an Act of Parliament ordained that all the "maist speciall burrowis" should have song schools "for instructioun of the youth in *the* art of musik & singing *quhilk* is almaist decayit and sall schortly decay *without* tymous remeid be prouidit" (APS iii:174). Aberdeen's song school had been re-established by 1570. Its name, too, was beginning to change, reflecting the fact that instrumental music was also being taught at the school. Perhaps considerable changes (like the teaching of instrumental music and possibly singing in parts, both of which the Reformers did not consider important) took place under the leadership of Willeam Skene (who, after all, received such a large salary) or his predecessor John Black (who is known to have composed a good deal of instrumental music, particularly "Lessons on the Psalms" e.g. MB xv Nos.81, 82 and MB ix No. 30).

It is not clear how long Leslye remained as interim master, but we have notice of only one payment made to him (Stuart 1852:125)³². In January 1599 and 1600 payments of £3 6s 8d [= 5 merks] were made to Patrick Walter for precenting in the New Kirk (Livingston 1864:16)³³. Walter may, therefore, have been the doctor in the song school, although no records confirm this. Walter is next found in the records of Old Aberdeen (see p.87). The next master of the song school was Patrick Davidson who, in 1601, is described as "ludimagister scole musice Nove Abirdonensis" (RMS vi:No.1254; quoted

³² McQuaid (1949:273) suggests Leslye may be identified with a reader of the same name in North Aberdeen in 1570. Also, a John Leslie was reader at St Nicholas' and at Nigg (in Aberdeen Presbytery) in 1567 (FES vi:69; viii:534).

³³ Livingston gives the years as 1598 and 1599, but I have taken account of the change of year (see Conventions, p.11).

in McQuaid 1949:254)³⁴. Davidson was the first in a line of masters at the school who were to prove important in the subsequent history of printed music in Scotland.

Aberdeen had a prestigious music school, but Elgin, too, could lay claim to an important institution. In 1594 James VI gifted to the town council the lands and revenues belonging to the Maisondieu³⁵, for the specific support of a preceptor “qualified to teach music” (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:447). The first such teacher on record is William Fraser³⁶. He had been master of the song school in Tain before 1595 and was to take up his post in Elgin before Michaelmas the same year. His duties included uptaking the psalm in the parish church “be himselff and his scollairis ... befor and efter preching” and his salary was £80 from the preceptory of the Maisondieu (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:397). This salary is on a par with that of Willeam Skene in 1597; and the pupils are also involved in leading the congregational singing. This council minute therefore allows us to compare Elgin favourably with Aberdeen, albeit on a smaller scale (there was no doctor). It is also an example of a musician moving from one town to another for work, as so often happened during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this case, Fraser was probably attracted by the offer of better pay and conditions, and it is possible (although not recorded) that he may have been visited at Tain by a delegate from Elgin town council—further examples of such “head-hunting” will be commented upon later.

Fraser remained in office for no more than two years, however. On 14 September 1597, George Douglas “sone lafull to Archie Douglas meason in the auld toun of Aberdeen” was appointed master of the song school (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:398). The minute of his appointment is of particular interest since it lists the instruments which are to be taught at the school. Douglas was to

instruct and vpbring the zowthe of the said burgh of Elgin
Committit to his charge in art and science of musick teaching and
lerning of the said yowth to play vpoun all musicall instruments

³⁴ Walker (1899:xxxii) gives Davidson’s appointment as 1607.

³⁵ This was a hospital near Elgin (founded before 1237) originally for the support of the poor (Cowan & Easson 1976:165, 179).

³⁶ McQuaid (1949:296), referring to an unpublished entry in *RSS* (vol. lx, f.152), mentions a John Sinclair “late Master of the song school of Elgin on 27 June, 1590”.

specialle virginallis monocordis luit seister³⁷ and wtheris the lyk instrumentis and to reid and wreit and nortour thame with all maneris and curtasie.

Thus keyboard and stringed instruments are prominent, and woodwind instruments notable by their absence (brass instruments were rarely taught in song schools). The remit of the school was now somewhat wider than that in Aberdeen, with the inclusion of reading and writing in the curriculum.

The kirk session of each town in post-Reformation Scotland carried a huge amount of weight in local affairs, particularly with regard to the trial of parishioners and the punishment of their crimes. Kirk session registers abound with cases of adultery, theft and, of course, more petty offences. On 9 October 1597, one Agnes Fleming was called before Elgin kirk session charged with "speiking within the kirk the tyme of the psalme and vsing conferens" (Cramond 1897:44). She confessed to the misdemeanour and was ordered to repent publicly and pay a fine of 6s 8d—psalm singing was a serious matter. Another edict of the session (20 December 1599) forbade, amongst other "prophane pastymes", "singing of carrellis or uther prophane sangis, guysing, pyping, violing and dansing"³⁸ (Cramond 1897:63). The Elgin area clung to its Romish heritage, however, and an act of the Privy Council established a commission for the "trial of persons practising superstitions in the diocese of Moray", in particular the offences above mentioned (RPC i/x:650f). Around 1600, services were being held twice daily in Elgin: the morning service included a reading before which a psalm was to be sung; and "the bairnis" were "to repet the commoun cathecheis" at each evening service, at which a psalm was sung before the "blissing". George Douglas (and presumably his pupils) were to lead the singing at these services (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:85).

The Seventeenth Century

The records of Old Aberdeen present us with rather more information regarding music during the seventeenth century. The history of the music school (until the late nineteenth century) is well documented by C S Terry

³⁷ I have found no other references to such an instrument. Curiously, "seis" is a Cuban term for a type of guitar (*The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* edited by Stanley Sadie, London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1984) and "sistre" is French for "cittern".

³⁸ All these things were especially forbidden in the Cathedral and its kirkyard—"except futball".

in his article *The Music School of Old Machar* (edited by Harry M Willsher). The following account makes use of some original records quoted by Terry, supplemented by several references to records of the council, kirk session and King's College not mentioned in his survey.

According to a council minute of 1607, Walter Lindsay³⁹ had been master of St Machar's song school and precentor since 1604, but had not been paid for his service during these three years (he was to receive £39 13s 4d; Munro 1899 i:42). He did, however, receive the rent of his house:

[It is] statut and ordanit ... that the act anent the payment of the maister of sangschole his hous maill [= rent] be put to dew executioun conform to the stent row [= assessed value of property]. (Council minutes, 18 November 1606, Munro 1899 i:41.)

This type of payment occurs with increasing frequency in various burghs around Scotland throughout the seventeenth century. Repairs to the house were met by the kirk session in 1633: "delyverit to [the] Glasinwricht be the Minister 58s for ane new window to the Mr of the Musick Scoole his house in the chaplens" (Munro 1899 ii:8). Substantial repairs to the music school and other council buildings were carried out in 1692 and a tax was levied on all inhabitants of the Old Town to defray these expenses (Munro 1899 i:157).

Lindsay may have remained in office after 1607 but the records provide no further information until 1620 when we find Patrick Walter as "reider in Auld Abd." (Munro 1899 i:327). Walter had previously held a similar position in New Aberdeen around 1599/1600 (see p.84). It is clear from the 1620 minute that Walter had held the position in Old Aberdeen since Martinmas 1619. By August 1626, however, the kirk session found occasion to rebuke their "chorister and kirk officiar". His salary was set at (reduced to?) only 20 merks *p.a.*, some of which was to be withheld due to negligence (he had "put away the boordclothes of the communion tables") and would be subject to his further "good behaviour" (Munro 1899 ii:4). Moreover, to avoid further "scandalous conversation", the session forbade him from any future meetings with Margrat Mercer in the town. Just three months after this reprimand, William Watson "student and bursar of divinite [was] admitted to be chorister" in the church; and in December Patrick Walter finally demitted all his church positions (Munro 1899 ii:5).

William Watson presumably continued as precentor until 1628 when Gilbert Ross was appointed reader, chorister, session clerk and teacher at an

³⁹ His name is actually recorded as "Wa Lindsay" and Terry gives it as "William Lindsay".

English and music school (Munro 1899 ii:7). Terry shows that the music school of Old Machar, as distinct from that in New Aberdeen, was “an elementary school in which music and the three Rs were the subjects of tuition” (Terry 1940:226)—hence the “*English and music school*”. The records of King’s College contain two references to a Gilbert Ross who may be identical with the song school master: he is listed as a student in 1620 and graduated in 1623 (Innes 1854a:456, 507).

Ross is found frequently in the records of Aberdeen and King’s College between 1634 and 1640, during which time he was Cantor at the College (Innes 1854a:289). An elegy by David Leitch on the death of Bishop Forbes⁴⁰ recounts his reformation of the College and the appointment of three new “professors”: extolling the state of music there, a note (p.366) explains “*Stabilitur professio Musicae, Professore D. Gilberto Rossio*”. Stevenson (1990:72f) describes the financial hardships suffered by Ross at the College: he received £60 *p.a.* for his duties at the Cathedral, but agreed to become Cantor at King’s without pay, initially, and subsequent decisions on his salary were delayed in 1635 and again the following year. Meanwhile, the local trades agreed to lend their support for the upkeep of the music school (Council minutes, 13 June 1636, Munro 1899 i:64–5). The same minute is interesting for it specifies the pay and conditions attached to the school. The fees of the scholars are set as 1 merk per quarter for those who read and write only; 20s for those learning to sing; and 26s 8d for those learning to sing, read and write. Ross is to keep the following “*ordinarie*” hours at the school: 6–9 *a.m.*, 10 *a.m.*–12 *p.m.*, and 2–6 *p.m.*; and is to read prayers “at the chope” of 7 *a.m.* and 5 *p.m.* (an hour later and an hour earlier respectively in winter). The modern school day of 9 *a.m.*–3.30 *p.m.* seems very lenient by comparison, but these hours were typical of schools around Scotland after the Reformation (see p.100).

On 12 April 1638, Ross and three others were accused of calling themselves members of the College—certainly an odd accusation, unless at some time previous he had given up his post as cantor. But this also seems unlikely, as only two weeks later he was described as cantor and nominated one of four “national procurators” in the election of the new subprincipal (Innes 1854a:293, 409). Later in the year he was in trouble again: this time he and two others were accused of giving powers of agent to a Mr John

⁴⁰ Leochaëo, Davide (1635) “*Allegoria, qua reverendissimi in Christo Patris, Patricii Forbesii, episcopi Aberdonensis ...*” In *Funerals of a right reverend father in God Patrick Forbes of Corse, Bishop of Aberdene* (Aberdeen: Raban), partly quoted in Farmer 1950:9.

Lundie to act at the General Assembly (Innes 1854a:412). The following year, on 1 April, Ross was dismissed from the College "as ane vnprofitabill member" (Anderson 1893:90). This judgment may, however, reflect on his office rather than Ross himself, as the post of cantor appears to have been abolished by the Covenanters around this time (Farmer 1950:9). In the absence of a cantor, one of the more skilled bursars was to lead the singing of psalms at dinner and supper (Innes 1854a:36). Ross retained his position at the music school, however, as indicated by a receipt of payment dated 30 June 1640 (Munro 1899 i:68).

Ross's eleven-year tenure of office ended before 30 May 1641, when Alexander Wilguis⁴¹ was admitted reader and "Maister of Muisik within the kirk of Machar and Auld Aberdeen" (Council minutes, Munro 1899 ii:15f). The schollage (fees) he received from his pupils is at the same level as that set for Ross in 1636, with provision for those who learn to read only to pay 6s 8d per quarter; and "playing" is also now listed as a skill for those who pay 26s 8d per quarter. About this time, Orem tells us, a new song school was built on the site of the bishop's dove-cote which had been razed. The building also housed the council and weigh-house. The music school comprised two rooms

one laigh and another high; the former properly accommodating children, who were only taught to read, write and learn arithmetick; and the latter for those who were taught vocal and instrumental musick. (Orem 1791:111.)

Terry (working from the session minutes) informs us that Wilguis was discharged from office on 24 May 1646 for "moral defects" and was paid redundancy of £100 (Terry 1940:233). His successor, William Logan, was appointed three days later, receiving the same schollage and 200 merks salary. Logan had previously been Schoolmaster at Ellon where his duties had included teaching music (Simpson 1947:32). Terry suggests Logan as the originator of a directive made by the kirk session "that all join together in the singing of the psalm, and those that cannot sing to give good attention and follow those that can sing"! (session minute of 2 August 1646, quoted in Terry 1940:234). It seems from this minute that Logan took matters relating to the improvement of music firmly in hand. Thus, the music school was beginning to flourish: on 13 June 1648 we read of a doctor

⁴¹ His name appears as "Alex Wilguis" in the minute. Terry spells the surname "Wildgoose" and Orem (1791:123) has "Wilguise".

at the school, to whom all “readers” were to pay 3s 4d (Munro 1899 i:79)⁴²; and a week later Logan’s salary was increased to 250 merks, after he complained it was too small (Terry 1940:234).

Logan demitted office before 12 November 1655, when William Hay was accepted by the kirk session—however, he was to receive only 100 merks (Munro 1899 ii:50). Hay’s son (also William) succeeded him in office, although it is unclear exactly when. Terry states that Hay (younger) was “ordained in 1673 and must therefore have been a divinity student for some part of the period in which he was in charge of the Music School” (1940:234). (Schoolmasters were often candidates for the ministry—several more such examples will be remarked upon later.) He may, on the other hand, have attended university while his *father* was master of the school, and we find a “Guilelmus Hay Aberdonensis” accepted into King’s College under the “nomina juvenum” in 1661 (Innes 1854a:477). He would have graduated by 1665 and was possibly master of the music school that year, when the session made efforts to suppress teaching in private schools “to the prejudice of the M[aste]r of the Musick & English Scholl” (Munro 1899 ii:62).

This was the first of many attempts by the session and council to stave off competition from private schools in the latter half of the century. The threat was a serious one in that it directly affected the master’s pay: he received schollage on a quarterly basis from each pupil attending his school. Although we have no record of the fees charged by private schools, it may have been the case that parents were inclined to save money by having their children educated at (possibly cheaper) unlicensed private schools. The efforts of the kirk session, however, seem to have had very little and certainly no long-lasting effect on the running of private schools. Complaints were repeatedly lodged by various masters of the music school in 1673, 1682, 1695 and 1698, by which latter date certain private schools were teaching both vocal and instrumental music (Munro 1899 i:123; ii:79–80; i:160, 164).

Terry (1940:234) notes that, between 1670 and 1672, William Hay (younger) preached occasionally at St Machars. As master of the music school in Old Aberdeen, the last payment specifically to him is recorded on 3 April 1669 (Munro 1899 i:118). The burgh accounts show that at some

⁴² I have found no other references to a doctor of this school, however. Perhaps it was a temporary measure.

point between 1670 and 1673 George Hay took over as master of the school: "Item payed to M. William and m. George heyess schoolmasters for their stipend the years of God 1671, 1672, 1673 ... £20" (Munro 1899 i:217)⁴³. In November 1673 Willilam Hay was admitted minister of Kilconquhar (in St Andrews Presbytery), and was translated to Perth (East) Church in 1684. Hay demitted his office in Perth in February 1688 and was consecrated Bishop of Moray the next month (*FES* v:209; iv:231). Orem describes George Hay as the Bishop's brother (1791:123).

Terry asserts that some time before 20 May 1677, George Hay either resigned or died as, on that date, a session minute records Alexander Couper⁴⁴ as master of the music school (Terry 1940:235). The following day Couper acknowledged receipt of £10 from the Master of the Kirkwork as his salary (Munro 1899 ii:69). This is a great deal less than had been paid formerly and marks the lowest salary received by any master in Old Aberdeen during the seventeenth century. By 1681 it had increased to £20, but Couper was well aware of the fact that "his Salarie as master and reader ... hath been deminished considerablie besides that q[ui]ch was payed formerlie to his predecessors" and petitioned the kirk session to have the sum increased again "(not withstanding his pains is now greater)". The session agreed and doubled it again to £40 (Munro 1899 ii:75). Couper appears not to have been particularly happy in office: he made two complaints to the session in November and December 1682. The first concerned the ongoing problem of competition from other schools "both in toun and parish"; the second complained of "negligent" people who did not send their children to school (Munro 1899 ii:79–80). The situation may have improved a little thereafter, but by November 1684 Couper had had enough and went directly to the bishop to complain about his salary, threatening his resignation and intention to take up a similar position in Montrose (Munro 1899 ii:83). Perhaps the Montrose vacancy had been filled before Couper had a chance to leave—at any rate, a payment to him (this time of only £10) is recorded in 1685 (Munro 1899 i:220), and he did not give

⁴³ Terry (1940:234) states that William Hay (younger) "demitted office upon his ordination" (*i.e.* in 1673) and that George Hay was appointed master on 4 August this year. This cannot be correct in light of the above extract from the accounts, and the council minute describing George as master on this date implies he had been appointed some time earlier: "anent the supplicatione given in be Mr George Hay maister of the musick schoole ... " (Munro 1899 i:123).

⁴⁴ Terry spells the surname "Cooper". Alexander Couper was the eldest son of John Couper, elder burghess of Aberdeen, and was himself made a burghess of the town on 15 July 1678 (Munro 1899 i:238).

in his resignation until Whitsunday 1691, intending then to take up the mastership of the music school in New Aberdeen (Terry 1940:235).

An interesting anecdote also sheds light on the social circles in which Couper moved. On 6 July 1686 General Patrick Gordon noted in his diary:

I was at the buriall of Old Craige, who was buryed in the Snow Kirke, in the Old Towne. The magistrates and many gentlemen convoyed him. From thence, wee went to the master of the musick schoole his house, and with excellent musick, and many friends, were very merry. (Gordon 1859:148; quoted in Simpson 1947:81.)

The election of Couper's successor was a matter which generated a great deal of acrimonious dispute in the council and kirk session (due mostly to procedural irregularities) and is described at length in Terry's article. To summarize: Robert Gellies⁴⁵ was elected successor on 5 March 1691 and was to take up the post at Whitsunday. Couper remained in office until the Autumn, however, and in the interim Gellies had found employment elsewhere. Another election ensued which saw wrangling between parties supporting William Cuming (a student and native of Elgin) and William Smith (an innkeeper⁴⁶, Jacobite and native of Old Aberdeen). After trial in "vocal and instrumental musick" (which cost £6 11s, Munro 1899 i:147), Cuming was eventually appointed to the school. Such examinations of prospective music school masters occur throughout the century with varying degrees of rigour. In addition to this trial, Cuming also underwent a test of "reading and precenting both forenoon and afternoon in church" (Terry 1940:237). Masters in other towns could sometimes expect more formal ordeals at the hands of very well qualified musicians, such as Robert Anderson who was examined by musicians of the Chapel Royal for the position as master of the music school at Dunfermline in 1631 (see p.144f). Cuming evidently considered himself a gentleman. His entry in the *List of Pollable Persons in the Toune of Old Aberdeen* (1696), reads: "Mr William Cuming, master of the Musicle School, his poll, as being ane gentleman, is £3 6s"—few other schoolmasters in Aberdeenshire could (afford to?) claim this standing (Simpson 1947:80; Stuart 1844b ii:587).

Cuming served as master until July 1696, when he too left to take up a

⁴⁵ Terry gives his name as "Gellas". A Robertus Gellie enrolled in first year at Marischal College in 1655 (Anderson 1889 ii:222); he is described in 1691 as a "young man of good lyff and conversatione" (Munro 1899 i:154).

⁴⁶ Simpson (1947:101) states that Couper had kept a "common change" [= inn] in the town, basing this on the fact that a session minute prohibits future masters of the school from doing likewise (Munro 1899 i:153).

similar position elsewhere, this time in Elgin. Before his departure from Aberdeen, however, Cuming was appointed one of the examiners in the competition for his successor, along with Gilbert Leslie, Thomas Scott and Cuming's predecessor, Alexander Couper (now, of course, working in New Aberdeen). Five men were considered: William Smith (the aforementioned inkeeper, who refused to appear), John Sinclair (rejected as being in opposition to the government), Thomas Gordon (found not qualified), William Carneggy (rejected as "not so good for the instrumental part of musick") and William Chrystie, who was successful (Orem 1791:125–7). William was the eldest son of James Chrystie, merchant burgess of the town, and was himself made a burgess on 16 March 1697 (Munro 1899 i:246). According to a council minute of 27 August 1696, quoted in Terry (1940:238), Chrystie had been "late Governor to the laird of Balgonie's children in Perthshire"; but immediately prior to his appointment in the Old Town, he may have been doctor at the music school in New Aberdeen (see p.105). Chrystie initially received a salary of £53 6s 1d for his duties as reader, precentor and session clerk and, in addition, was allowed the dues from baptisms, marriages and burials—a feature of conditions relating to these positions in most burghs (Orem 1791:128). Chrystie was master of the music school in Old Aberdeen until 1731—the longest term in office of any master at this school (Terry 1940:239).

New Aberdeen was provided with a new music school in 1605 when the "kirk ludge" at the north-west end of the kirkyard was to be divided into three "houses" for the music school and two English schools (Stuart 1848:267). Patrick Davidson, master since 1601, received a stipend of £80 for two terms in 1607 (Stuart 1852:134), the same rate at which his predecessor Willeam Skene had been paid. According to a monograph penned by one of his descendants during the early eighteenth century, Patrick Davidson "was an exquisite musician, bred in Italy, and forc'd to leave Italy upon the Account of a young Princess, who was much in love with him" (Guthrie Wright 1900:122–3). Taking this to be true, we can be sure that Davidson brought back with him the very latest in musical styles, and this would no doubt have been a great incentive to the council in choosing to appoint him master of the town's song school.

Davidson seems to have been master of the school until his death: the

last mention of him is recorded in 1633–4 when he is paid £20 “be resone of his old decrepit age” (Stuart 1852:150); and he died before October 1635 (Stuart 1871:96). Based on this information, McQuaid places his year of birth before or about 1570 (1949:254). Patrick Davidson may be related to another family of Davidsons in the town. John Davidson (eldest son of John Davidson, maltman and burgess) petitioned the council in 1618 to become a “frieman” of the burgh, having served a seven-year apprenticeship and three years’ paid work under Thomas Mylne, “virginall macker” (Stuart 1848:355). John had been a pupil at the music school and became an apprentice (in 1608 according to these dates) immediately after leaving it, so he would certainly have been taught by Patrick. The council, having viewed a pair of virginals made by him, allowed John to continue his trade without payment of fees.

Patrick Davidson had at least one interruption to his mastership. A minute of the kirk session refers to James Sanderis as master on 19 August 1610⁴⁷:

the sessioun findis fault that the psalme is not sung ordinarlie befor and efter the morning prayeris on the Sabbath day as wes wount to be done of befor; and thairfor ordainis the master of the song school to tak vp the psalme ewerie Saboth in the morning, both befor and efter the prayeris in tyme cuming, according to auld vse and wount; and ordanis the kirk officier to intimat this ordinance to James Sanderis, present maister of the musick schooll, and to charge him to giwe obedience to the same. (Stuart 1846:75.)

Davidson is last mentioned in a council minute dated 9 August 1609 (Stuart 1848:298) and is back in office by December 1612 (Stuart 1848:313). Sanderis could not have held the post for more than three years, therefore, and quite probably for less than this. It is obvious from this minute that Sanderis was not as diligent in office as the regular master (although Davidson had his own faults, as we shall see) and this may indicate Sanderis’s appointment on a temporary basis: it is unlikely that the burgh, regarding its music school so highly under Skene and Davidson (to judge from their salaries), would settle for a neglectful master for a period as long as three years. Sanderis is later found as a music teacher in South Leith in 1613 and in Glasgow around 1626–53 (see pp.195f, 220)⁴⁸. The records give no more

⁴⁷ White (1972:125, 139) erroneously states that Sanderis was at this time master of the song school at St Machar’s.

⁴⁸ A James Sanderis had been made burgess of Aberdeen *ex gratia* in 1607 (Munro 1890:104).

information regarding Davidson during this period and we can only speculate as to the reason for his absence from the school.

Like the old town, New Aberdeen had its own continuing problem: not competition from private music schools, rather the indiscipline of its pupils. It had been the custom prior to the Reformation to grant pupils some holidays around Christmas and other feasts each year—a custom which many kirk sessions tried to stamp out. In 1574 the master of the song school and another teacher were admonished to “give no play nor any priwoledge to theyr scholars in the dayes dedicated to superstition in Papistrie, but shal retheyne them those dayes at theyr lessonis” (Stuart 1846:16⁹). The pupils began to revolt against this edict over successive years. One particularly violent incident in December 1612 greatly aroused the fury of the council. Various pupils were accused of “tacking the said sang schuil” with “hagbuttis, pistollis, swords and lang wapynnys”! They also caused other “great deidis of oppressioun and ryottis” including vandalism and theft (Simpson 1906:41f). The council punished the offenders with expulsion and fines, deploring the fact that the school “is taken almost yearly”. The masters of the three schools (the grammar, song and writing schools) were condemned for having been negligent in their discipline (Stuart 1848:313–4). Indiscipline of a lesser nature continued and the council eventually relented on the question of holidays. In December 1641 (fearing further insurrection?) the council granted three days’ play at the beginning of each quarter, in lieu of the Yule holiday “which is now dischargit” (Stuart 1871:274). Troublesome pupils were to be found in other towns too: Elgin kirk session requested the masters of the grammar and song schools to “disciplin their disciples that trublit the kirk” in November 1599; and the following month the session conceded ten days’ play to the scholars, and again in 1604 (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:75, 130).

The Aberdeen scholars did not confine their misbehaviour to holidays—funerals, too, often induced riotous events. In 1631 the council bemoaned the “great insolencie of scholares at nicht-walkis” (or “lyke walks”⁵⁰) some of whom were under the supervision of Patrick Davidson (Simpson 1906:62). In future only four music scholars were to be permitted at these events and if they misbehaved they were to be ejected, along with

⁴⁹ White (1972:139) names the master as Andrew Kemp, but this is unlikely since he probably died before 4 November 1573 (see p.81). The original minute (Stuart 1846:16) does not, in fact, name the master.

⁵⁰ Robinson (1985:390) defines a lyke walk as a “funeral wake (vigil); also the (frequently large and riotous) gathering on such occasions”.

the master. As well as the reading of scriptures, psalms were sung at these wakes (Cramond 1897:193) and music school masters received benefits (from the family of the deceased) for attending them. The problem of "insolencie" seems to have got worse as, before 1643, the inhabitants of the town were forbidden to ask the master, doctor or any scholars of the music school to attend these events, upon payment of a fine (Walker 1899:xxxvi). This must have come as a severe financial blow to the music teachers whose salaries had been substantially augmented by the benefits from these wakes: Thomas Davidson, as master in 1644, received a payment of £53 6s 8d from the council "for setting up his loiss he susteines for discharging of lyk wakis" (Stuart 1852:163). The financial burden thus taken on by the council eventually became too great and, in 1666, the master's salary was set at 250 merks in addition to which he was now to be allowed to receive benefits from funeral wakes (Stuart 1872:226).

Andro Melvill was appointed doctor in the music school, under Patrick Davidson, in 1617 (according to a council minute recording his promotion to the mastership in February 1636, Stuart 1871:96). Shire (1955:6) has suggested that, prior to his engagement at the song school, Melvill may have been involved in the musical education of Alexander Forbes of Tolquhon, son of an Aberdeenshire landed family. Melvill himself gives the year of his birth as 1593, making him 24 years old upon his appointment as doctor (Walker 1899:1). He was admitted a burghess *ex gratia* on 19 September 1621 (Munro 1890:129; Walker 1899:xxxiv) and (probably some time after this) married a daughter of Patrick Davidson, his superior at the music school. Melvill's commonplace book provides further information regarding the birth of his six children (the first born in 1628) and their godparents (Walker 1899:1f).

Pupils at the grammar and song schools were still causing problems in 1619 when the masters of each complained to the council that some had not paid their due schollage, thus affecting the masters' pay (Stuart 1848:359). The offenders were given fifteen days from the beginning of each quarter in which to pay the amounts and failure to do so would result in their expulsion. During Patrick Davidson's mastership we find various notices of payments to him. He was paid £20 in 1624/5 according to the accounts of the Dean of Guild (Stuart 1852:101) but no mention is made of the work undertaken. It is possible that this was additional to his yearly stipend which seems to have been paid in two equal amounts of £40 each at

Michaelmas and Whitsun (Taylor 1942 i:310, 333)—the £20 may even have been for setting some psalms in four parts: a similar amount had been offered to him by an Edinburgh lawyer earlier in 1624 (see below). Melvill received a payment of £10 13s 4d (also “in supliment of his stipend”) in 1629/30 (Treasurer’s Accounts, Stuart 1852:147–8). This was allowed by an ordinance of council, but the reason is not specified in the accounts. Perhaps Melvill was by this time undertaking a share of the master’s work formerly done by Davidson who, by now, was of an advanced age.

Following the Reformation, the Book of Discipline made provision for every church to have a school and schoolmaster. Education was thus firmly in the hands of the Church and, to exercise its control, schools were visited by local dignitaries and ministers or members of the kirk session. Schoolmasters themselves were “examined” during the visitation of each kirk by representatives from its Presbytery. Schools in the burghs of New and Old Aberdeen were visited quarterly (Simpson 1906:79; Munro 1899 ii:38): doctrine and discipline were to be examined and occasionally recommendations were made for improvement. A council minute of 1627 decreed that the scholars *and masters* in New Aberdeen should not be ignorant of the school rules as these were to be displayed prominently (Simpson 1906:79⁵¹). No doubt such inspections were anxious times for schoolmasters (and their students) as they sought to justify their continued employment through the merit of their teaching. The council of Old Aberdeen seems to have relieved the anxiety (of the children, at least!) by granting them “four pound of plumdemus” at one of these visitations (Munro 1899 i:217).

A letter to George Nicolsone, Provost of Aberdeen, from Thomas Nicolsone in Edinburgh has a very interesting postscript referring to Patrick Davidson. The letter is dated 2 January 1624 and the postscript runs thus:

If my Gossope [= friend] Patrick Davidsoun will gif yow the auld toinis conteanit in the auld psalme buik I mean the speciall thairof the nynt and tuelt and sik uthers under the four parts, I will request yow to send thame and gif him £20 for his painis I

⁵¹ Simpson gives the date of this council minute as “9 May 1672”—the year should read “1627”.

seik none of the tuelff toins quhilk ar callit the new toins⁵².
(Taylor 1942 i:223.)

At this time printed psalm books contained only the tunes for the psalms: the first psalter to contain harmonies did not appear until 1625 (from Edward Raban's press in Aberdeen). The edition published in 1615 by Andro Hart (in Edinburgh) was the first to contain "common" tunes—twelve of them. These were common on two counts: they were in common metre and could be sung to *any psalm* in common or double common metre (*i.e.* about two thirds of the Scottish Psalter). "Proper" tunes, on the other hand, were used for only one or two psalm versifications as they varied greatly in metre and tended to be more complex. Common tunes became popular because they were short and "tuneful", and thus easily memorable. These are obviously the "new toins" to which Nicolsone refers. The lawyer evidently knew that the proper tunes were being sung in harmony in Aberdeen, whether in settings by Peebles or Kemp or another, possibly even by Davidson, we cannot tell.

But what was so special about the ninth and twelfth psalms and "sik uthers"? The tune usually associated with Ps 9 ("With heart and mouth unto the Lord") first appeared in the Anglo-Genevan Psalter of 1556. It is in double common metre, minor key and has a very shapely melodic line (Frost 1953:No. 26). In most printed Scottish psalters Ps 12 ("Helpe, Lord, for good and godly men") is directed to be sung to the tune of Ps 7, also in DCM, minor key and first appearing in the 1556 edition mentioned (Frost 1953:No. 23). The last of the common tunes harmonized in the 1625 Psalter is called *Bon Accord*⁵³ and is directed to be sung to the text of Ps 12. This is a report-style (*i.e.* imitative) setting—the first such to be published (see Ex.7.97, p.523)⁵⁴. Could this be the "speciall" meant by Nicolsone?⁵⁵

I have found no evidence in the council records of Edinburgh to suggest Nicolsone had any notable musical talent. What was he going to do with

⁵² Thomas addresses George as "Luiffing Coosing" and closes with "your cousang in the auld maner", but this may have been a form of address rather than a blood relationship. Thomas Nicolsone's name appears in various letters and documents relating to Aberdeen and he is described as the city's "procurator". A father and son of the same name were advocates in Edinburgh at this time. He may have been resident in Aberdeen or held property there; at any rate, it is interesting to note that in 1601 (when Davidson had just begun his mastership) the music school was moved to "Thomas Nicholson's new biggit hous at the burnhied" (Walker 1899:xxxi).

⁵³ This was the motto of Aberdeen.

⁵⁴ It also appears in manuscripts, including the addenda to Thomas Wood's Partbooks (Elliott 1959:259).

⁵⁵ But no report setting of Ps 9, printed or manuscript, has come down to us.

the harmonizations which he had requested from his friend, then? Did he perhaps intend giving them to someone with musical expertise with a view to private performance or public use? Possibly the common tunes had become so prevalent in Edinburgh (where they were first published nine years earlier) that Nicolsone sought a return to the proper tunes. We will probably never know and so, pure speculation as it is, I may suggest another possibility. According to Edward Millar's preface to the 1635 Psalter, he collected "all the sets [he] could find on the Psalmes [and], after painfull tryall thereof, ... selected the best for this work"—the first published psalter to include harmonized settings of proper tunes. We know, too, that Millar had begun work on harmonized settings as early as 1626 and had graduated from Edinburgh University as MA in 1624 (Elliott, *NG* xii:321). Could it be, then, that Nicolsone, aware of Millar's imminent graduation and interest in psalmody, requested whatever "special" proper psalm settings Davidson may have had on Millar's behalf? Whatever the circumstances behind this interesting postscript, Nicolsone was certainly prepared to pay Davidson well for the work.

The year after Nicolsone's letter, 1625, saw the publication in Aberdeen of the first psalter to include the common tunes in four-part harmony, along with the (unharmonized) proper tunes. The volume was published by Edward Raban, printer to the town council "for David Melvill"⁵⁶. The next Scottish psalter to contain harmony issued from the same press: the 1633 edition also has the colophon "by Edward Raban ... for David Melvill". Elliott (1959:78) has suggested that Andro Melvill and Patrick Davidson may have edited and arranged the common tunes in the two publications, especially as the David Melvill mentioned in these publications was Andro's brother and a bookseller in the town⁵⁷. The printer, Edward Raban, was also godfather to one of Andro Melvill's children in 1634 (Walker 1899:3–4). The contents of the two psalters are very similar, but it is quite clear from internal stylistic evidence (to be discussed in Chapter 7) that they were edited by two different men. It would seem reasonable, therefore, to suggest that the earlier psalter was edited by Davidson, and the 1633 publication by Melvill, Davidson by this time being of an "old decrepit age" (Stuart 1852:150; see p.308f).

⁵⁶ Quoted in Elliott 1961a:22.

⁵⁷ Melvill was also compiler of two manuscript collections of music: David Melvill's *Bassus Partbook* (now in the British Library) and David Melvill's *Buik off Roundells* (Library of Congress, Washington DC), both described by Elliott (1959:274–288; 293–5).

Following Davidson's death (before October 1635), the council appointed Andro Melvill master of the music school. According to the minute of his appointment on 24 February 1636 (Stuart 1871:96–7), Melvill had been promised the promotion "two yeires since"—i.e. in 1634, not long after the publication of the psalter which he probably edited. He was granted the same salary and schollage as his predecessor and allowed to find a doctor to help him teach, although I have found no further records of a doctor. Andro Melvill was the grandfather of Gideon Guthrie's wife, and in a description of her family, Guthrie says of Melvill that "he refined the Musick at Aberdeen, composed the common tunes, and prickt⁵⁸ all the other music" (Guthrie Wright 1900:122). Melvill kept a commonplace book, full of interesting details. Most of the contents of this volume have been described by Walker (1899), and Shire (1955) has scrutinized the list of music books which Melvill owned in the music school. During Melvill's term in office the hours of school opening are specified as being 7–9 *a.m.*, 10 *a.m.*–12 *p.m.* and 2–6 *p.m.* (Council minute of 23 October 1639, quoted in Walker 1899:xxxvi). These are very similar to the hours worked by Gilbert Ross at the music school in Old Aberdeen, only Ross had to start one hour earlier.

Walker states that Melvill died in 1640⁵⁹ and that he was succeeded by Thomas Davidson, son of Patrick Davidson (and thus Melvill's brother-in-law, Walker 1899:i, xxxvii). This year the council ordained that the master of the school and his pupils were to sing with the congregation in the parish kirk in summer and winter, both mornings *and* evenings: "hitherto the practise of that exerceis hes not beine usit within the kirk of this burghe at the evening prayeris as in the morning" (Stuart 1871:198). This had, in fact, been a stipulation in Melvill's contract of 1636: it would thus appear he

⁵⁸ Terry (1936:403) takes "prickt" to mean "harmonized" but it simply means "transcribed": later in the eighteenth century Robert Burns used it with this meaning when he wrote "I am not Musical Scholar enough to prick down my tune properly" (quoted in Low 1993:950). Elliott (1994a:272) has recently suggested some of the common tunes may have been composed by Andrew Blackhall.

⁵⁹ So too does Shire (1955:3), who also points out that the last dated entry in Melvill's commonplace book is given the year 1637 (the birth of his last child). On f.61v of the commonplace book are the signatures of some of Melvill's relations (including "Elspeit dauidsoun", "elizabeth dauidsoun" and "William Melvill") with the following inscription:

He that wret this with his fac
I pray that god may send him grac
Be me W^m Melving w^t my hand
Anno Dom. 1.6.4.5. 15 december

We may safely infer, therefore, that Andro Melvill had died before this date. (I am grateful to Dr Elliott for the use of his transcription of the commonplace book, from which the above excerpt has been taken.)

had been negligent in this duty.

Thomas Davidson was the eldest son of Patrick and was made a burgess of the town whilst still a "pupil" in 1623 (Munro 1890:135). Davidson was certainly master of the music school by 1644 (Stuart 1852:163, see p.96)⁶⁰. Walker asserts that, in 1651–2, the school had an interim master, William Forbes (1899:xxxviii, although he presents no evidence to support this). Forbes⁶¹ was certainly doctor of the school for several years before 1662 when he and Davidson had a dispute which had to be settled by the town council. On 23 November that year, Davidson alleged that he had the power to nominate a doctor (which, in fairness, was the right accorded Andro Melvill in 1636), that Forbes was not his doctor and he therefore did not allow Forbes to go about his duties. The council found, however, that Forbes had given several years' good service and was allowed to serve as rightful doctor and to receive all fees due to him (Stuart 1872:212). Nothing more is heard of Forbes until 1675 when he is allowed to continue as doctor after the appointment of a new master (Stuart 1872:292–3). We may assume, therefore, that he did continue in this office after his dispute with Davidson.

The dispute certainly seems a strange one, Davidson evidently seeking to have Forbes dismissed purely on the technicalities of his appointment (several years earlier and presumably by the council). If, for example, Davidson's complaint had been on the grounds of Forbes's musical incompetence or some other negligence, he would surely have specified this and the council would have looked further into the matter. In my view, Davidson's rather unconvincing complaint is a pretext for some other, perhaps more personal, motive.

An interesting (if highly subjective) contemporary description of church music in Aberdeen is given by Richard Franck in his *Northern Memoirs ... writ in the year 1658*:

Here you shall have such order and decorum of song devotion in the church, as you will admire to hear, though not regulated by a cantor or quirister, but only by an insipid parochial clerk, that never attempts further in the mathematics of musick, than to compleat the parishioners to sing a psalm in tune. (Franck 1821:229, quoted in Dauney 1838:20n⁶².)

⁶⁰ Patrick Davidson (son of Thomas, master of the music school) became Cargill bursar at Marischal College in 1658 (Anderson 1889 ii:226).

⁶¹ Walker (1899:xxxviii) has suggested that William Forbes may be related to John Forbes, the Aberdeen printer.

⁶² It is not entirely clear whether Franck is writing of New or Old Aberdeen.

The identity of the unfortunate clerk must remain a mystery, but let us hope that his substitution for the master or doctor of the music school was a temporary one! At any rate, the congregational singing is rated very highly by this traveller.

In 1662 John Forbes and son were appointed printers to the town council and University of Aberdeen. The same year they published the first of three editions of a cantus partbook entitled "Songs and Fancies"⁶³. The title page of this work links it with the music school (from Terry 1936:403):

Cantus
Songs and Fancies,
To Thre, Foure, or
Five Partes,
both apt for Voices
and Viols.
With a briefe Introduc
tion of Musick,
As is taught in the Mu
sick-Schole of Aber
dene by T.D. Mr.
of Musick.

Thomas Davidson ("T. D.") was probably also the musical editor of this work and of the second edition in 1666 (Terry 1936:403). The didactic material is not, however, by Davidson but an almost verbatim copy of Morley's *A plaine and easie Introduction to practicall Musicke* (first published in 1597).

From 1663 Davidson was to pay 70 merks each year to the master of the English school, presumably to support his smaller income: this money was to come from the benefits of baptisms which Davidson received. However, three years later, Davidson complained to the council that he could no longer pay this amount and yet receive a reasonable salary for himself. The council therefore reorganized their wages. The master of the English school was now to receive all benefits from baptisms, and Davidson was to receive 250 merks annually (£73 6s 8d from the Common Good fund and £93 6s 8d from the Kirkwark), in addition to which he was to be allowed the benefits of funeral wakes (Stuart 1872:224–6). Davidson's salary is now more than twice that accorded his father in 1629/30 (Taylor 1942 i:310, 333).

A letter, dated 8 May 1674, addressed to the provost and council of

⁶³ The publication has been studied by CS Terry in his article of 1936.

Aberdeen has not hitherto received attention. It is signed by John Lyell in Leith and pertains to the music school of New Aberdeen:

Yesterday Bailief Mollison and I mett and communed about your Lordships and counsels desyr that I should come and serve you. It was my desyr, and yett is, to serve in that place wher I was bred. I shal not doubt of your Lordships and counsell encouragement and further advancement and that no other musick school be kept in town but that wherunto your Lordship bailiefs and counsell giveth me an call. Bailief Mollison in your names hath promised all that Thomas Davidson had quick is 250 merks scots money *per annum*, quherwith I have closed and waits for your Lordships written call and act of no other musick school in town And att terme I shall be readie to wait on your Lordships and counsell quick is the desyr of/My Lord, (Taylor 1942 v:316.)

Therefore Davidson either died or had announced his retiral before this date⁶⁴. Lyell, a native of Aberdeen and probably a former student of Davidson, seems to have been known to the council and regarded by them as a natural successor to the mastership of the school. He took up the position as doctor at the grammar school and teacher of the music school in South Leith in May 1673 (Robertson 1911:128, see p.199). A report to Aberdeen council from bailie Mollison in Edinburgh, penned the day after his meeting with Lyell, includes these details:

... I have settled with Mr John Lyell who is willing to serve you at Whitsonday ensewing [*i.e.* 7 June 1674] as Master of the Musick School and precenter, conditionallie that ye admit no other musick school to be in toune and that he have a libertie of some spaire houres without detrement of his attendance of the schoole to wit betuixt tuelff and one in the afternoone and after sex at night to teach in his owne house on the viall de gambo and other musicall instruments not ordinar. (Taylor 1942 v:317.)

Lyell's insistence upon a monopoly of music teaching may be a reflection of his earlier days in Aberdeen (the Old Town, as noted, suffered a great deal of competition, although this problem did not occur in New Aberdeen) or it may be in view of his experiences in central Scotland, where the larger towns had similar difficulties. The "spaire houres" were compatible with the teaching hours noted already, but one wonders what other instrumental talents Lyell possessed, besides playing the viol da gamba.

Despite Lyell's willingness to take up the post, he appears not to have done so for there are no further references to him in the records and, in

⁶⁴ Walker states that "Davidson held office till his death in 1675" (1899:xxxix). McQuaid (1949:256) notes a reference to Davidson, dated 26 September 1674, among the Laing MSS.

March 1675, the council moved to have the position advertised. Two months later bailie Mollison was requested to distribute advertisements for the mastership in Edinburgh, Leith, Glasgow, Dundee, Montrose “and all other places [he] sall find convenient” (Taylor 1942 v:427).

On 24 November 1675 the council appointed Louis de France master of the music school. He had previously lived and worked in Edinburgh “for ane considerable tyme” (according to the Aberdeen records) and “had been very useful to all under his charge” (Stuart 1872:292–3). The first extant reference to him in Edinburgh, however, is only a few months earlier, in March, when (after a trial) he is to be allowed to keep a music school *there* (Wood 1950:220). Conditions in the capital would appear not to have been suitable, however, occasioning Louis de France’s move north just six months later.

The Frenchman was a musician of great repute: according to the Edinburgh minute, Louis de France was “weill expert in that famous and excellent airt of Musick and hath the most fyne Tunes which have beene sung in the court of France both French and Italian”. His pay and conditions in New Aberdeen reflect this too—they are considerably more generous than those of his predecessors, or even those to which John Lyell had agreed the previous year. His salary was set at £200 *p.a.* (a rise of 20% on Davidson’s 250 merks), the schollage of his pupils was to be 30s per quarter (other rates for those not learning to sing or play are not mentioned in this minute), and his teaching hours were to be 7–9 *a.m.*, 10–11 *a.m.* and 2–3 *p.m.*—wholly four hours less than those set in 1639. These hours were not to be allowed to future masters of the school, but such generosity was shown to Louis de France “inrepect he is ane stranger, and as is informed weel expert in musick” (Stuart 1872:293). Probably due to his reduced teaching hours, Louis was also to have *two* doctors to assist him: William Forbes, doctor under Davidson, was allowed to continue his post, and David Melvill may also become a doctor “upon his own hazard”⁶⁵. The meaning of the curious condition of Melvill’s appointment is not clear—perhaps no salary was set aside for him by the council, and he was to receive what schollage he could procure from the pupils in his charge. Neither Forbes nor Melvill are mentioned again in relation to the music school.

⁶⁵ This Melvill, though not a son of the previous master (according to the list of his children in Andro Melvill’s commonplace book), may well have been some relation of his.

The above conditions were allowed to the Frenchman for a probationary period of one year. No references to him are to be found in the Aberdeen records after 1675, although he probably remained there for a few years before returning to Edinburgh, where he is mentioned in a minute of March 1682. During his time in Aberdeen, Louis de France compiled a music book, now in Edinburgh University Library (La.III.491). The manuscript has been described by Elliott (1959:341f) and contains the cantus parts of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century songs as well as four-part settings of nine common tunes and the treble part of "Help Lord for good and godly men" (*i.e.* the tune *Bon Accord*). An inscription in the book provides more information on the musician:

A Musick Booke ... Wherein are aires to thrie, four and five parts by m^r Clandam and other fyne peeces in french, Italian and Spanish, Composed by the best maisters of france, as also other fyne scotish and Inglish aires old and new taught by Louis de france now musick maister of Aberdein, having been the scholler of the Famous musician m^r Lambert being the King of france cheife musician for the method and manner to conduct the voyces.

Elliott (1959:344) tells us that Michel Lambert was Lully's father-in-law, and suggests "m^r Clandam" is possibly Claudin. In common with other musicians of the period, Louis worked in various towns around Scotland: upon his return to Edinburgh around 1682, he worked there until at least 1685 and is later found teaching in Glasgow in 1691 (Renwick 1908a:36–7).

According to Walker (1899:xl) John Inglis⁶⁶ was appointed master in succession to Louis de France in 1682; and Alexander Couper, who had been master at Old Aberdeen (see p.91), held the position from 1692 until 1721. Couper was by now a fairly wealthy man. His entry in the *List of Pollable Persons* (1696) reads:

Alexander Coupar, master of the Music School, stock under 5000 merks, for himself and wife, Alexander, John, George, Anna, Issobell, and Christian, his children; William Christall and Robert Stuart, prentices, no fee; Jean Proat, 14 merks, Janat Robertson, Margrat Smith, and Margrat Smellie, 16 merks yearly each ... £7 14s 8d. (Stuart 1844b ii:616.)

The last three named are very likely servants in his household: similar entries are listed under the names of other wealthy men. William Christall "prentice" could well be the William Chrystie who was appointed to the

⁶⁶ John may be related to Robert Inglis, musician in Glasgow (c. 1663–9; see p.227).

mastership of the music school in Old Aberdeen in 1696—Couper had been one of the examiners at his trial (see p.93). No further references to Robert Stuart have been found but he was very probably a second doctor at the school.

The music school in New Aberdeen suffered a decline during the early eighteenth century and was finally sold by the council in 1758 (Walker 1899:xlII–xlvi).

A number of small towns in Aberdeenshire also supported the teaching of music. Notices of schoolmasters teaching the subject occur in Longside (1626), Slains (1659), Peterhead (1676) and Ellon (1620) where “learning to play and sing in musick” formed part of the curriculum (Simpson 1947:32, 69, 99, 101).

In Elgin, George Douglas was made joint master of both the music and grammar schools in 1603, for which he was to be paid 200 merks *p.a.* from the preceptory of the Maisondieu (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:130⁶⁷). This is the only instance I have found of one man holding the mastership of two such schools and his substantial salary (c. £133 6s 8d, excluding schollage) reflects the importance of his position. The preceptory is once again confirmed in Douglas’s name in 1609 when he is described as master of the music school: the grammar school had had its own master since 1607 (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:399, 447). Douglas remained in office until at least 1622 (when he was paid £100; Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:167, *Miscellany of the Maitland Club* ii:44) and had an assistant to help him teach, at least from 1620: David Cowy was employed by the kirk session to teach reading and writing at the song school for 5 merks *p.a.* (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:164). Cowy was replaced by Johne Schilps in 1622, but he received the smaller sum of 2 merks (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:167; McQuaid 1949:246, 296).

David Murray “resident at the burgh of Striuling” (see p.170) was appointed master of the Elgin music school for four years on 16 May 1625. He was to undertake his duties “in sic forme and maner as is obseruit in the best reformat musik scoles within this realme” for which he was to receive £100 from the preceptory of the Maisondieu (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:401). Murray probably remained in office for the four years: he is mentioned in a

⁶⁷ Cramond & Ree (1903 ii:447) list John Mow as a master of the song school in 1603. Throughout their two volumes of records there are various references to this man (who was a fiddler, i:156) but none are in connection with either the grammar or song schools.

kirk session minute of 1628 as promising to marry “Jonet Grant ... of Spynnie, lauffull dochter to umquhill Grigor Grant of Gartinmore” (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:205; McQuaid 1949:283).

Little more is gleaned from the records regarding Elgin’s music school from now until 1649. It seems the masterships of the music and grammar schools were once again combined during this period: entries in the accounts of the Common Good for 1632–34 record “To the Maister of the Grammare and Musick Schuillis ... £230” (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* ii:44).

William Murray is described as “teaching the Musick Schoole” in a minute of Elgin Presbytery dated 21 November 1649 (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:360)⁶⁸. He may well have been in office before this date, however: he appears to have been session clerk since at least 24 May 1640 (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:236, 253) and was reader from 1641 (*FES* viii:636)—these positions were customarily held by the master of the music school. The session “commended [him] for being faithfull and painfull in wreiting and honest in his calling” in 1647 (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:260), but his relationship with his employers was not always so genial. Two years later, during a visitation of the kirk by Elgin Presbytery, Murray’s teaching was approved but he was admonished to “walk more circumspectlie and soberlie in his conversation” (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:360).

Murray appears to have taken heed of this warning as the council awarded him a pay rise in 1652: he was now to receive 200 merks for teaching the music school (still no mention of the grammar school) and precenting. But his contract was for one year only, and he was warned that if he failed in his duty the contract would not be renewed (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:404). Despite this final warning, Murray again neglected his duties and was duly dismissed at Whitsunday 1654 (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:404). Alexander King was appointed his successor on 22 May that year and remained in office until at least July 1656, when his teaching was approved by the Presbytery (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:368). King had previously been doctor of the music school in South Leith (Robertson 1911:46, see p.197). We have no record of King’s salary, but his schollage was set at 6s 8d per quarter for each town’s child learning to read and write—“landward bairnes” were to pay twice as much (a common feature of school fees in many burghs)—and those learning to sing were to pay 12s.

⁶⁸ He is, perhaps, related to David Murray.

King did not remain in office for much more than three years. I have found no record of his dismissal, resignation or death; but whatever the reason for his departure, the council certainly seems to have had trouble finding a replacement—in July 1657 they allowed William Murray to return to his old post upon “tryall of his more diligence and care” (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:405). One week after his reappointment, Murray petitioned the council requesting that children “learning onlie Inglish” at the grammar school should be taught by him at the music school, thereby increasing his income. We do not know whether anything came of this supplication, but his salary was set at £20 per quarter in December that year—40% less than it had been in 1652/3 (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:405).

The reappointment lasted only one year. This time Murray “willinglie demitted [his] charge [on 2 August 1658] ... because he finds himself now weake for that charge”. Three days later Thomas Innes was appointed clerk to the session and presumably also master of the music school—he is described thus in 1664 (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:405, 290, 408, 371). Innes is described as “schoolmaster of the English school and session clerk” in 1667 (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:371). He married Nicolas Craig and had a son, Robert (FES viii:636)⁶⁹.

A new music school was built “on the syde of the Moise Wynd” in 1675 (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:406). Before this lessons may have been taught in a barn as, in 1644, “Andrewe Annand is appoyntit to try James Myllroy if he will set us George Donaldsones barne for ane song scuill” (Cramond & Ree 1903 i:282). Seats and writing tables were provided for the school in 1658—probably one of the first things Thomas Innes saw to as master (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:289)⁷⁰.

Innes held office for about 22 years—he died some time before Martinmas 1680, according to a council minute of June 1681:

Payit £33 6s 8d to Nicolas Craig, relict of umquhill Thomas Innes, maister of the Musick Schooll, for attending therof and causing raiss the psame in the church since the deceise of her husband from Mertimes 1680 to Whitsunday 1681. (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:407.)

This entry is quite exceptional in that it demonstrates the employment of a

⁶⁹ Several other men of this surname were musicians during the century: Johne Innes was a schoolteacher and precentor in Inverness in 1677; and William Innes was a precentor in Glasgow in about 1678 (see pp.112, 229).

⁷⁰ Cramond (1897:285) gives the year as 1657.

female music school teacher and precentor. Admittedly the situation was only temporary, but the appointment of a woman is highly unusual—this is the only instance I have found of a female precentor⁷¹. If Nicolas was paid at the same rate as her deceased husband, then Innes' salary (for teaching and precenting only) was £66 13s 4d. On 9 May 1681 the kirk session of Elgin agreed that William Niven should be paid £12 for precenting in the new church⁷² (Cramond 1897:308). This is the only reference to Niven in Elgin and, curiously, does not refer to the music school—he is later found as master of the Inverness music school in 1686. The school in Elgin, though, did receive a new master after Nicolas Craig: the entry following her payment reads:

Payit for bringing the maister of the Musick Schooll his chist from the Bruch to Elgin 18s. (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:407.)

“The Bruch” (or broch) was a proper name used for the nearest town (Robinson 1985:65–6). We cannot tell to which town this entry refers, but it may relate to William Niven, had he been working in “the Broch”. The evidence is inconclusive, but if Niven was indeed the new master, he must have left Elgin some time before 1686.

John Taylor is the next master of the music school of whom we have notice in 1692 (Cramond & Ree 1903 i:352)⁷³. He was succeeded by William Cuming whose contract was agreed on 8 June 1696. Cuming (originally from Elgin) had been master of the music school in Old Aberdeen since 1691 (see p.92). His pay in Elgin was £66 13s 4d (*i.e.* the same rate at which Nicolas Craig had been paid in 1680), in addition to which he recieved £20 as session clerk (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:408). Although the rates of pay in Old Aberdeen seem to have been in a state of flux around this time, these figures compare very favourably with the £40 paid to Alexander Couper, master there in 1681. Pay, conditions (including competition from private schools) and perhaps a desire to return to his native town may therefore have been factors in Cuming's decision to leave Old Aberdeen.

The last reference to Cuming in Elgin is dated 25 August 1697 (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:319). He may have remained there longer, but was succeeded

⁷¹ Women were occasionally allowed to keep schools and music was sometimes taught by them as one of several other subjects in the curriculum, *e.g.* Christian Cleland in Edinburgh (see p.186f).

⁷² *I.e.* the Little Kirk, built adjoining the parish church. It had been separated from the parish church by a wall in 1679 (FES vi:387).

⁷³ Cramond & Ree (1903 ii:448) in a list of music school masters, give the year of his appointment as 1681, *i.e.* following Thomas Innes and his widow.

by Alexander Monro some time before 1709. Monro had been “latelie master of Musick at Inverness” (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:410; I have found no records of him there, however). Monro must either have been inadequate or negligent as he was ordered to “quitt” the post in April 1709, while the council of Elgin appointed “the town’s agent in Edinburgh to search for some *fitt* person to be master of the town’s Musick Schooll”. Monro’s successor apparently reneged, however, and the council was forced to retain Monro (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:410–1).

The duties of the last two Elgin masters of the seventeenth century make for surprising reading. As an extension of his record keeping for the kirk session, William Cuming was to keep “a register of the dead”—he was to be paid 2s for each name entered, and the gravediggers were appointed “to open no graves untill the samen be payed” (Cramond & Ree 1903 i:360). In 1697, he was also to catch up on all the record keeping which had been stopped “since the revolution” (nine years earlier) (Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:319). John Taylor had what may have been an entertaining duty. A minute of the town council records that he was to meet with a bailie and “compt [with him] ... anent his intromission with the penalties receaved be him from fornicators”! (Cramond & Ree 1903 i:352). Paul Keith, the master of Banff music school, undertook a similar duty in 1692 (Cramond 1891 i:165).

Music was taught in the grammar school of Banff when we first learn of that institution in 1620 (Cramond 1891 ii:167): a separate music school was not set up in the town until 1675. George Chalmer was the first master of the grammar school. His contract was agreed on 6 October 1620, and he was “to teach Latin and Greik ... and to sick lykwayes as pleases sall teache the airt of musick and learne the youth to sing and play” (Cramond 1891 ii:166)—most grammar schools at this time did not teach music. Cramond does not quote in full the contracts of subsequent masters, so we cannot be sure that music was taught by all the masters—perhaps the council wished to capitalize on Chalmer’s musical talent⁷⁴. Chalmer was also precentor in the church, as were all subsequent masters of the grammar school (until about 1680)—this was a responsibility frequently allotted to the master of the grammar school in towns where there was no separate music school.

⁷⁴ Robert Brown was appointed master of the grammar school in 1632. Cramond (1891 ii:169) describes his contract as being very similar to that of George Chalmer perhaps, therefore, including the teaching of music.

For his duties Chalmer was to be paid 60 merks from the Common Good fund and 20 merks from the kirk.

Paul Keith is described as “master of the Musick School” in 1675 according to an entry in the register of births in Banff (Cramond 1891 ii:287). This entry tells us he was married to Janet Lorimer and had a son, Alexander⁷⁵. The kirk session of Banff granted him an annual salary of 20 merks for teaching music on 2 May the same year⁷⁶ (Cramond 1891 ii:50) but it was not until 1680 that Keith entered into a formal agreement with the council and session. Then he was “to teach music, vocal and instrumental, arithmetic and writing, and to keep a constant school therefor” as well as precenting (Cramond 1891 ii:174). The school appears to have functioned as an extension to the grammar school: Keith was to teach music and arithmetic daily from 1–3 *p.m.*, “to such scholars of the grammar school as should frequent his school”. His salary was now set at £20 from the kirk session and 50 merks from the council, with schollage at a half merk [= 6s 8d] per quarter for “English scholars” and a half crown [= 2s 6d] for those learning music and arithmetic—these are in line with rates in other towns⁷⁷.

A Presbytery visitation of Banff in 1683 notes that Keith “is of a sober conversatione and cairfully attending his charge and hath 50 merks yearly out of the kirk box”—a rise of 20 merks on his church pay in 1680, not taking account of his pay from the council (Cramond 1891 ii:54). Keith was also session clerk as well as precentor: his pay for these duties in 1694 was £3 6s 8d and £8 6s 8d per quarter respectively⁷⁸.

Keith was also a composer: a council minute of 1719 records that Paul Keith,

precenter and master of the Musick Schooll, presented to the magistrates and Council a new composed tune called ‘Banff’ tune, dedicat to the Magistrates and Council, for which they ordain their treasurer to pay him £12 Scots. (Cramond 1891 i:191.)

The kirk session was equally pleased with the new tune and gave Keith one guinea for his efforts (Cramond 1891 ii:436). Cramond, in trying to trace the tune, could find no earlier version than one published in 1787 which, appearing under a different name, was composed by Henry Purcell; he

⁷⁵ Keith also had two other children by Janet, and another eight children by a later wife (Dorothea Allan, d.1738) (Cramond 1891 ii:287).

⁷⁶ In which case he may also have been precentor then, too.

⁷⁷ The family income was augmented by his wife, who taught carpet weaving.

⁷⁸ These figures amount to £33 6s 8d [= 50 merks] and £13 6s 8d [= 20 merks] *p.a.*

therefore suggests that Keith may have appropriated Purcell's music (Cramond 1891 ii:436f). Keith's headstone (transcribed in Cramond 1891 ii:314) records that he died on 5 August 1733, having been precentor at the church for some 50 years⁷⁹.

As noted earlier, Tain had a post-Reformation song school since at least 1595 when William Fraser, master, moved to take up the post at Elgin. McQuaid (1949:305) states that John Tullidaff was master of the school between 1620 and 1622. He is mentioned again in the accounts of the Common Good, when he received £100 in the years 1628 and 1634 (equal to the salary of the grammar school master; *Miscellany of the Maitland Club* ii:50; Daune 1838:364). This sum compares very favourably with that paid by the council in New Aberdeen around 1629 (£80, see p.96). McQuaid suggests John Tullidaff may have been related to four other musicians of this surname⁸⁰. Nothing further is known of the music school in Tain.

Inverness had its own music school by 1628, when the master received £36. A similar amount is paid to him again in 1634 (accounts of the Common Good, *Miscellany of the Maitland Club* ii:50; Daune 1838:363). This was a very meagre sum compared with other towns at this time. Johnne Innes was probably the master of the school in 1677: described as "precentar", he complained to the council in April that year of children being taught at unlicensed schools. The council duly discharged three such schools within the town (Mackay & Boyd 1911 ii:273).

Thomas Fraser was Schoolmaster, precentor and session clerk at Kirkhill, near Inverness, in 1682. His salary was made up of a "chaldre of victuall", £20 from the kirk and the baptism and marriage dues (Mackay 1896:108). Fraser had graduated as MA from King's College in Aberdeen in 1676 and was later ordained minister at Dores (Inverness Presbytery) in 1683 (FES vi:451).

The close of the seventeenth century presents us with a scandalous character as master of the music school at Inverness. William Niven (earlier precentor in Elgin, see p.109) was made a burgess and one of the guild brethren of Inverness in September 1686, and had become master of the music school before this date (Mackay & Boyd 1911 ii:345). In

⁷⁹ I.e. since 1683, but Keith had held this office since 1680 (see above).

⁸⁰ The name Tullidaff is spelt in numerous different ways in original records. This spelling has been preferred throughout the present study.

November the following year, however, Niven “Professor of the Musick School” confessed to having married and to having had “carnall copulation” with one of his pupils: Jean Cumming—a minister’s daughter who was under age (Mackay & Boyd 1911 ii:350f). He was immediately put in prison and his position was made vacant. Niven was tried in Edinburgh in March 1688 and the Register of the Privy Council records that he was thereafter “banished from the kingdom ... not to return under pain of death” (RPC iii/xiii:217). Alexander Monro was master of the music school some time after Niven, but had moved to the position in Elgin before 1709 (see p.110; Cramond & Ree 1903 ii:410).

The north of Scotland, then, despite the remoteness of its towns, had several musical establishments throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The largest and most important schools were in Aberdeen, but even Kirkwall could boast a song school by 1629⁸¹. Such establishments may well have existed in other towns and “speciall burrowis”, and would have been set up following the 1579 Act of “tymous remeid”, but many burgh and parish records have not survived in small and remote communities.

In common with many other towns throughout Scotland, the masters of song schools in the north and north-east were usually tried for their suitability to the post, and were subject to regular examinations of competence and effectiveness during their employment, which also entailed precenting and acting as clerk to the kirk session. In addition to their salaries, they received schollage from their pupils and the benefits of baptisms, weddings and funerals at which their services were required. The post of music school master was often a lucrative one and, understandably, town councils and kirk sessions tried hard to employ the best musicians available—they certainly did not suffer incompetence.

Aberdeen was a centre of musical excellence and attracted several of the most important musicians of the day, including John Fethy, John Black, Andrew Kemp and Louis de France; the latter was even enticed away from the capital for a while. Several of the music school masters had spent some time abroad, too: Fethy, Black, Patrick Davidson and, of course, Louis de France. The prestige of the town and its musical heritage was fuelled by the town council which sought out the best musicians for its school from other

⁸¹ I am very grateful to Dr John Durkan for this information from his forthcoming book *Early Schools and Schoolmasters in Scotland, 1560–1633*.

towns all over the realm. The development of music printing in the town in the 1620s also helped spread Aberdeen's reputation, and the city was at the forefront of developing psalmody: there is evidence of a choir (made up of pupils from the song school) in the 1590s, and the 1625 Aberdeen Psalter was the first to be published in Scotland with tunes in four-part harmony.

The East of Scotland

Moving southwards in this study we come to the principal towns on the east coast and in Fife: Montrose, Arbroath, Dundee, Perth, St Andrews, Kirkcaldy and Dunfermline. Prominent Scottish musicians lived in several of these towns, and it was in St Andrews that the important work of David Peebles was carried out: his harmonizations of the psalm tunes (in manuscript) were copied out by Thomas Wood and completed in 1566. The Reformers Knox and Goodman also stayed here for some time and were not only aware of the musical work going on around them (McQuaid 1949:18) but were positively involved with it: Thomas Wood tells us "the letter [= text] of this sang [*Have mercye God*] wes geuein be maister gudman ... to Andro kempe ... to set It in four pairtis" (quoted by Elliott in NG ix:859, Hutchison 1957 i:165; TWA, p.134f).

Pre-Reformation

Comparatively little information on these towns is available for study, particularly for the period before the Reformation. A short post-Reformation reference to music in the cathedral town of Brechin seems to imply the establishment there of a school (probably a song school) at which the cathedral choristers¹ were taught, obviously before 1560: the lands "dotat [= endowed] of auld be the predicessouris of the lord of Brechyn to thre chaipplanriis of the queir of Brechin and sex bairnis to be sustenit at the scole to sing in the said queir" were gifted to Alexander Nory in September 1584 (RSS viii:No. 2401).

In Dundee we read of organs and a choir in the 1470s. A certain Sir Nychol Segden was warned not to "wer [= misuse] the organs" around this time; and in 1474 John Singar was promised wages for singing in the choir for a year (Maxwell 1891:39). Among the few references to music in the town before 1560 we find mention of a chaplain who was

daily to sing and say devine service at *the* hailie bluid altar situat in the south ile of *the* paroche kirk of *the* said brugh, and ... ane singing mess solemnlie ilk Thursday, in honour of *the* halie bluid of our Lord Jesus Christ, continualie to be singing at *the* said altar. (Merchant's Letter c. 1515, quoted in Beatts 1873:27.)

¹ Since 1429 there had been six choristers at the Cathedral (Cowan & Easson 1976:201).

In 1553 John Martyne was a member of the choir at the parish church. He received 10 merks *p.a.* for singing at “matins, mess, and even sang” (Maxwell 1891:39)². Martyne is not designated “Sir” and therefore was probably not one of the clergy at the church. He appears to have been living with one Elene Ramsay outside of wedlock: the next year he was ordered to “devoid [her] furth of his company”. The couple duly separated but argued over the ownership of possessions, Elene eventually “acclai mit ane bed and ane pair of double blankets” (Maxwell 1891:40). Another (possibly the same) John Martyne (again without the designation “Sir”) had been a musician at Dunkeld Cathedral in 1517. There he was described as “a young priest, simple and devout, with a mastery of music, [who] has supplemented his grammatical training with a good character and diligence in divine service” (Alexander Myln quoted in Woods 1984 i:74).

Dundee was prominent as the home town of three brothers, James, John and Robert Wedderburn, who compiled *Ane compendius buik of godly and spirituall sangis, collectit out of sundrye partes of the Scripture,* This collection came to be known as *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*. The earliest extant edition dates from 1567, but the first edition was probably published around 1550 (Shire 1969:26; Mitchell 1897:cxi). The volume is important as being the first published collection of Scottish songs embodying Reformation principles. The Wedderburns took the words of popular love songs and ballads and changed them to reflect the new theology. Music was not provided, but the songs were sometimes directed to be sung to the tunes of their secular forerunners. In this way Reformation ideas spread quickly throughout the country.

Dundee had its own song school by 1553. A minute of this year specifies that part of the revenue from St Thomas’s altar should support the master of the song school (Jessop 1931:30). In 1555 Richard Barclay is named as the master of the school. The record of the town council which names him prohibits Robert Merschell and Andro Kemp from teaching grammar, English or singing, except with the permission of the master of the grammar and song schools (see p.82, Maxwell 1891:153). The names of Merschell and Barclay appear nowhere else, but Kemp may well be the composer of the same name who worked at Aberdeen around 1570 (see p.81f), and earlier at St Andrews (see below). According to Stephenson

² This compares favourably with, for example, the fee of £4 received by James Nory in Aberdeen (1555, see p.79).

(1973:41) the song school was sold by the town council in 1561, by which time it was obviously no longer needed for the training of choristers in the service of the church.

Dunkeld Cathedral had a choir of some fourteen singers around 1517, most of whom had some musical training. An interesting account of the choir, with individual sketches of each of its members, is given by Alexander Myln (Official of the Diocese) and quoted in Woods (1984 i:74–5). The singers included: Sir Stephen Yong, Master John Pennicuke, Sir Alexander Richardson, Sir William Lacock, Sir James Lawder, Sir William Martyne, his brother John Martyne³, Sir Patrick Gardner, Sir Thomas Bettoun, Sir Alexander Fairefole, Sir Johne Martyne, John Leslie, William Scherar and Sir Finlay Simsoun. Myln also mentions Dominus John Stephen as teacher of music and organ playing (“Johanni Stephani de Ferdischawe, in musica arte et organorum ludo illic preceptori”, Myln 1831:2, 68). Sir William Martyne is again listed as a vicar of the choir in 1539, along with James Robertsoun and John Eldar (RMS iii:No. 1996).

In 1561 the choir had fifteen members: the aforementioned James Robertsoun and John Elder as well as Alexander Cowper, Walter Young, Thomas Mureheid, Robert Vallange, John Betoun, John Cairny, William Stewart, Archibald Cunynghame, George Irland, David Moresoun, Walter Robertsoun, Thomas Irwing and James Sandesoun (RMS v:No. 1138). The two last named had also been members of the choir in 1550, along with John Cardeny (RMS vi:No. 952). The names of the other musicians do not appear elsewhere.

The following singers are listed at Dunblane Cathedral in 1562: James Forsyth, Robert Hendirsoun, Alexander Andirsoun, Thomas Rob, Robert Sinclair and William Johnesoun (RMS v:No. 842). Andirsoun is again listed as a singer at the cathedral in 1566, along with Andrew Lauder (RMS iv:No. 1066).

As with Dundee, we have little information regarding pre-Reformation music in Perth. The earliest mention of an organ is in August 1511, when the council records note that the parish clerk was to find a singer and organist. The appointment of the next parish clerk (in October 1521)

³ See p.115.

specifies that he

shall find and sustain ane good and able and sufficient person of cunning in counter singing and organ's playing, to the daily uphald of matins, high mass, and even songs both festival and ferial days, with note and other divine service daily to be done in the kirk and choir. (Council Records, Scott Fittis 1885:40.)

This is unusual in that it seems to delegate responsibility for the provision of church music to one person (the clerk), whereas in most other towns this important position was filled after consultation between the council and clergy. Music thus appears to have had less prestige here than in some other Scottish towns. Perhaps the situation had improved by 1546 when, according to a council minute, the choir of the parish church comprised ten singers, all of whom were chaplains of altars in the church (Council Book GD79/4/136, quoted in Verschuur 1985 i:282).

St Andrews, the seat of the archbishopric, was the most important town in this area. Several leading musicians worked here before and after the Reformation. Patrick Hamilton was active at the university in the 1520s⁴. Alexander Alesius says of him:

Missam ut vocant musici, novem vocum figurali cantu composuit, in honorem angelorum, super tenore vel plano cantu officii missæ Benedicant Dominum omnes angeli ejus, &c. Hanc cantionem in ecclesia metropolitana S. Andreæ curavit cani, et ipse precentorem egit. (Alesius (1554) *Primus liber Psalmorum juxta Hebræorum et divi Hieronymi Supputationem, Expositus ab Alexandro Alesio, D. in celebri Academia Lipsensi*, quoted in Lorimer 1857:238.)

Hamilton composed what the musicians call a Mass, arranged in parts for nine voices, in honour of the angels, intended for that office in the missal which begins with [the Introit] "Benedicant Dominum omnes angeli ejus." This piece he procured to be sung in the Cathedral of St Andrews, and he acted himself as precentor of the choir. (Translation from Lorimer 1857:59 (slightly amended).)

Unfortunately no trace of Hamilton's music survives. He embraced the Reformed faith, presumably after he composed this work—he was burned as a heretic in 1528.

The colleges of the university were, not surprisingly, the main hub of

⁴ A "Magister Patricius Hamilton" is listed as a member of the University in 1523 (Dunlop 1964:lii).

activity in the town. But the parish church was also musically active: a statute of 1527 ordained that the choir (numbering at least ten priests) should sing psalms at 5 *a.m.* in summer and at 6 *a.m.* in winter, and Mass at 1 *p.m.* every day (Fleming 1889:40n, Rankin 1955:133f). The same year Alexander Swyntoun, the “rector chori” of the parish church and master of the song school, was commanded to “keip all divine service in queir and kirk als wele as ony uther Rector chori dois in ony parich kirk in Scotland, and sall cause the Lady mess to be sung in als wele or bettir than it has bene in tymes bygane” (Rankin 1955:134; Durkan 1959a:70). Here is a first rate instance of pride in the Church’s cultivation of liturgical music at “grass roots” (*i.e.* parish) level. One can appreciate, then, how much greater was this pride in music at collegiate, episcopal and royal foundations. Indeed, Swyntoun later sang with the Chapel Royal where he held a prebend in about 1543 (see Appendix A)⁵.

A “Dominus Johannes Fethe, vicarius de Cramund” is listed in the register of St Salvator’s College in April 1533 (Anderson 1926:232). This may possibly refer to the composer of the same name who was working in Aberdeen by 1544 (see p.78) and who (according to Thomas Wood) had returned to Scotland around the year 1530⁶. St Salvator’s College (the oldest of the university’s three colleges) had a song school attached since before 1534, when it is first mentioned in a visitation of the College (Cant 1950:28). Around this time, Hugh Spens (who was provost of the College in 1534) “for the instructing of the young in music” granted a sum of money to the master of the song school “to sing the Mass of Our Lady daily with his pupils in Gregorian chant” (Cant 1950:28, 25). The stipulation of chant (as opposed to polyphony) suggests that musicians in St Andrews were now bowing to pressure for the reform of liturgical music. (By contrast, the choirboys of Glasgow Cathedral were required to sing a polyphonic motet each evening, see p.207f.) Three years earlier, in 1531, Robertus Richardinus (a Scot working in Paris) published a *Commentary on the Rule of St Augustine* in which he severely criticized the conduct of Scottish and English choirs during divine service, and the “vain sophistries and tricks” displayed in the (polyphonic) music sung by them⁷. Another man connected with the University, Sir James Baldovy (vicar of

⁵ Swyntoun’s predecessor as rector chori at the parish church was Sir Johne Barry (Rankin 1955:134).

⁶ Marginal note in TWQ, p.11. The vicar of Cramond had a son naturalized in March 1530 (RSS ii:No. 584).

⁷ This translation is taken from Woods (1984 i:85).

Leuchars), is described as “skilled in the art of music” in 1543 when he was a candidate for the election of Rector (Dunlop 1964:clix). A Dominus Jacobus Baldowy is listed in the matriculation roll of the University in 1525, around which time he would therefore have known Patrick Hamilton (Anderson 1926:220); and a Sir James Baldowy, canon of St Andrews, held the vicarage of St Andrews in 1553 and 1557 (Haws 1972:213, 94).

In nearby Crail, the Collegiate Church of St Mary was founded in 1517 with provision for a provost, ten prebendaries and a clerk (Cowan & Easson 1976:217). Three years later, on 22 October 1520, the second prebendary (of St Mary the Virgin’s aisle) was elevated to the office of sacristan and master of the song school attached to the church (Rogers 1877:31ff). The first incumbent of this office is named as James Browne. He was to “instruct the scholars in plain song—*precantus et discantus*” and was to be continually resident at the college. His successors were to be “of sufficient literature, [and] skilful in song and discant”. Fairly stringent rules were laid down for the conduct of this prebendary, particularly regarding his observance of the canonical hours: matins at 6 *a.m.*, *missa dominicali* at 8 *a.m.*, High Mass at 10 *a.m.*, vespers (4 *p.m.*) and compline (5 *p.m.*); as well as anniversary and Requiem Masses throughout the year. Another clause of the charter refers particularly to his relationships with women. The fact that it was necessary specifically to prohibit all of the following offences suggests that the founder of the college was well aware of the vices to which other priests were prone. (Or had James Browne previously fallen foul of these rules?) The sacristan and song school master was

not to cohabit with prostitutes or other infamous persons, nor spend the night with married women; but if he kept a concubine, or commonly cohabited with such, and after the third warning ... did not desist, the prebend *eo ipso* should become vacant. (Rogers 1877:33.)

The same charter earlier states (in Rogers’s account) that Browne “and his successors are to have charge of the song school”. The wording here suggests the school had already been established, although there is no earlier evidence to substantiate this⁸. A Sir Patrick Mawchlyn was master

⁸ Confusing the issue further, Conolly (1869:136) gives the summary of an instrument dated 9 November 1525 founding a song and grammar school at the church. The preceptor of the song school is named as Sir James Bowman. It seems likely that James Bowman became master in 1525, but that the song school had been in existence before this date.

of the song school at Haddington around 1535 and had formerly been a chaplain at Crail (1512–17, see p.157). Thus Mawchlyn may well have taught at the song school in Crail prior to Browne's appointment in 1520. The original charter requesting collegiate status for St Mary's, Crail, states that the fourth prebendary (that of St Michael's altar) shall be "skilled and trained in organs" (Rogers 1877:57). Sir David Bowman was then (1517) prebendary of this altar. Furthermore, a clerk of the college was to be skilled in chant and discant. Presumably he with David Bowman and the four boy choristers (mentioned in the confirmatory charter, Rogers 1877:59f), constituted the song school in 1517.

Bowman was not the only organist to play at St Mary's. During his time there (c. 1516–1526; Rogers 1877:45, 39) a Sir William Turnour was gifted the chaplainry of the Holy Rood (1522). Turnour and his successors were to be "sufficiently imbued with languages and learned in Gregorian chant, precant, descant and playing on the organ" (Rogers 1877:49f)⁹. Turner had been a chaplain at the church since at least 1517 (Rogers 1877:24).

The principal musician associated with Dunfermline is John Angus (fl. 1543–95). He contributed several settings of the canticles to Thomas Wood's collection (compiled after 1566), and is named by Edward Millar in his preface to the 1635 Scottish Psalter as having harmonized psalm tunes. Angus is usually described as "conventuall brether of the Abbay of Dunfermling" and his name is recorded in several documents relating to this institution¹⁰. Elliott provides a biography of this composer in NG i:435. Another monk of the abbey, Dean James Lawsone, is described as "chantour" in October 1519 (Burgh Records, Beveridge 1917:No. 207). McQuaid (1949:283ff) describes one Thomas Mustard as organist in Dunfermline in 1505, and suggests he is probably identical with the man of the same name working in Linlithgow around 1546–57 (see p.151).

⁹ Turnour's predecessor, Alexander Swyntoun, had resigned the chaplainry. Swyntoun may well be the musician of the Chapel Royal who held the prebendary of Ayr *sextus* some time before 1543 (RSS iii:No. 359).

¹⁰ These include several documents preserved among the Yester Writs (Harvey & MacLeod 1916:Nos. 753, 776, 799, 828, 863; I am very grateful to Dr John Durkan for informing me of references to Angus among these papers). The last of these post-Reformation documents (dated 1588), and the only one of them drawn up under the commendatorship of the Catholic Earl of Huntly, refers to Angus by his former title of "Dein". This has led Dr Durkan to speculate that Angus (and two others also styled "Dein") may possibly have remained Catholic, despite his co-operation with the Reformers.

1560–1603

Following the Reformation we glean some information relating to music in Montrose from the diary of James Melvill, who spent his formative years in the town. He says that in the year 1570

the Lard of Done ... dwelt oft in the town and of his charitie interteined a blind man, wha haid a singular guid voice; him he causit the doctor of our scholl teatche the wholl Psalmes in miter, with the tones thair of, and sing tham in the kirk; be heiring of whome i was sa delyted, that I lernit manie of the Psalmes and toones thair of in miter, quhilk I haiff thought ever sen syne a grait blessing and comfort. (Pitcairn 1842:22.)

The Laird of Dun (a parish three miles west of Montrose) was John Erskine—a prominent Reformer and friend of John Knox and Lord James Stewart. He was appointed Superintendent of Angus and the Mearns, was Moderator of the General Assembly for several years and frequently represented the Reformers at court (Jacob 1931:57–126). At the coronation of the infant James VI (July 1567), Erskine and James Stewart, Earl of Moray, took the oath to promote the Reformed faith on the king's behalf (Jacob 1931:95f). Just seven months earlier Thomas Wood had completed copying David Peebles's psalm harmonizations (see below). This work had been commissioned by James Stewart and it is possible that the Laird of Dun was aware of Peebles's harmonizations and perhaps even had copies of his own by 1570.

James Melvill goes on to say that around this time (when he was aged 13/14) he first encountered the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* "whereof [he] lerned diverse par ceur, with great diversitie of toones" (Pitcairn 1842:22). Montrose appears to have been a fairly musical town, then, with a varied diet of psalm-singing in church supplemented by selections from the Wedderburns publication, presumably for private recreational use—the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* were never officially sanctioned for church use, whereas the psalms in metre had been completed by 1564. The blind man taught the psalms to the doctor of the grammar school, presumably with the intention that he should then pass on his training to his school pupils. We may infer, therefore, that Montrose did not have a separate song school (and no references to one exist) and that music (or at least instruction in psalmody) formed part of the curriculum at the grammar school.

The Book of Common Order laid down the orders of service for the various sacraments and ordinances of the church. But occasionally local

variations were used and one such departure from Common Order existed at Montrose. "The Forme and Maner of Buriall usit in the Kirk of Montrois" was written on the end fly-leaves of an earlier manuscript book. The Forme itself dates from the late sixteenth century¹¹. After an exhortation and a prayer at the graveside there follow twelve stanzas of a funeral hymn which would have been sung by the assembled congregation. It is almost identical with one of the songs in the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*¹². The first stanza runs thus:

Oure Broder lat ws put in graiff,
And na dout thairof lat ws haiff
Bot he sall ryis at Domisday,
And sall immortall leve for ay.

The copyist has then written two blank staves for the tune to this song, but unfortunately the music was never entered¹³. It is interesting that this song (rather than a psalm) was sung at Montrose funerals. Perhaps the words and/or tune were more familiar to the congregation than the minister's preferred psalm. Whatever the reason, the use of one of the Wedderburns' songs at a sacrament of the church may infer their occasional use at a local level during daily or weekly worship although, as mentioned, their use is never specifically authorized or prohibited in the Book of Common Order or the Books of Discipline.

In Dundee, further references to the song school are found during the period after the Reformation. Stephenson (1973:41) alludes to the town's song school in 1571 (ten years after it had been sold), but he fails to give further details of the reference. It was just before this (in 1570) that

¹¹The "Forme" has been reproduced with an introduction and comments by David Laing in the Miscellany of the Wodrow Society (Laing 1844:291–300). Laing dates the order of service as between 1560 and 1581.

¹²The hymn is of German origin and at first had seven stanzas, to which an eighth was added. At the hymn's inclusion in the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, four more verses were inserted between the seventh and eighth of the original—Mitchell (1897:xxxvii) gives an explanation for these verses based on local events in Dundee around 1545.

¹³No tune is indicated for this hymn in the Wedderburns publication (Mitchell 1897:163f). The tune associated with it in *Gesangbuch der Böhmischen Brüder* (1531) (the first German edition with seven verses) does not appear in any Scottish or English collection of psalm tunes. Indeed, only two long-metre tunes to which the song may have been sung appear in Scottish psalm publications of the sixteenth century (neither of German origin): the tune for Ps 100 (*Old Hundredth*, which first appeared in the French Genevan Psalter of 1551); and the tune for *The Commandements of God* which first appeared in the Scottish psalm book of 1566 (a slightly altered version of a tune from Bourgeois's collection of 1547) (Frost 1953: Nos.114 and 178). If the tune was to fit on two staves of manuscript, it is unlikely that a double long metre tune was intended.

Aberdeen's song school had been re-established under the mastership of Andrew Kemp (earlier linked with Dundee). The two towns had therefore pre-empted the 1579 Act of "tymous remeid", demonstrating a degree of self-confidence and forward-looking enterprise on the part of their councils and clergy, just ten years after the Reformation.

Ninian Roull¹⁴ is named as the master of Dundee's song school in the Common Good Accounts for 1580/1, where his annual salary is given as £20 (McQuaid 1949:292). Roull was also active in St Andrews (see p.130). There are no other references to him in Dundee.

Nothing more comes to light regarding Dundee's song school until 1584 when the then master, John Williamson¹⁵, appears in a burgh minute (Willsher 1945 i:240). Williamson was admitted to the town's guildry in 1597 (Stephenson 1973:41). He probably remained in office until at least 1603: the Common Good Accounts for 1602 record the (unnamed) master's salary as £80 *p.a.* (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* ii:44); and on 12 July 1603 a council minute notes a payment to him of 120 merks [= £80] (Maxwell 1884:336)¹⁶. Later "in consideration of the burden and chaarge he sustenit of his family, and the exigencie of his stipend" Williamson was additionally allowed "feu-mail" of £5 (Maxwell 1884:336). Nothing more is known of John Williamson: he may, however, have remained at the song school until the appointment in 1609 of the next master of whom we have notice, John Mow.

The administration of post-Reformation Perth regarded music more favourably than had been the case before 1560: a song school was established in the town some time in the late 1570s, although admittedly the school's master was perhaps not the most suitable incumbent. John Swinton, in January 1579, "exponed to the Assembly of the Ministers and Elders, that he had great travel [= travail] in teaching the youth of this town in music, and in taking up of the Psalms" and complained that his salary was too little (Kirk Session Records, Scott Fittis 1885:111). The issue was

¹⁴Ninian is sometimes found as "Ringand" and Roull often appears as "Ruill" or other variants.

¹⁵Williamson may possibly be identified with the John Wyllzemson who, as a member of St Andrews priory, signed two charters along with other musicians from St Andrews including David Peebles and John Roull (1566) and Ninian Roull (1566 and 1584; Anderson 1899:Nos. 809, 1082).

¹⁶Dauney, however, quotes the following entry from Dundee's Common Good Accounts for 1603: "to the masters of gramer and sang schol, £70 13s 4d [= 106 merks]" (Dauney 1838:363). It is not clear why this discrepancy should have arisen.

resolved (although no specific amounts of remuneration are mentioned) and Swinton gave up his claim to the altarages of Greyfriars kirk. In addition to the schoolhouse, Swinton seems to have enjoyed the benefits of a dwelling-house with a garden in St Ann's Vennel in the town (Smart 1932:131). From the above excerpt from the session records, it would appear that Swinton had been teaching music in the town for some time prior to this representation, and so Perth (as well as Dundee and Aberdeen) had also founded a song school before the Act of "tymous remeid" became statute in November 1579.

It is surprising to find John Swinton in this position at all, far less his applying for an increased stipend, when we consider that in May 1577 he had appeared before the same kirk session accused of having had "carnall deall with Marion Whyte" who had since had a child. After initially denying the allegations, he later confessed to this "his second fault of fornication" (*The Chronicle of Perth* 1831:49f). We may infer that the session encountered problems when it came to filling the position of precentor and song school master: surely a man better qualified and more circumspect in his behaviour would have been preferred to Swinton. This is confirmed in the minute of his dismissal by the kirk session in July 1582: he was found "not qualified ... and ... guilty of divers other faults disagreeing in the person of him who has office in the Kirk of God" (Lawson 1847:145). Swinton was, however, reappointed (presumably due to the lack of any other qualified person) and on 29 July 1583 the session ordained him "first, to keep only the tenor in the Psalm, secondly, to help and sustain his bairn, under the pain of deprivation from his office" (Lawson 1847:152). So he was a bad father, but, more importantly for this study, Swinton seems to have experimented with singing parts other than the tune of the psalm. Why was he ordered to desist from this practice? Perhaps the congregation's singing was weak and easily confused by Swinton's harmonies (whether his own¹⁷, or some manuscript version); or perhaps the kirk session was determined not to have any frills during worship. The latter possibility may account for the fact that, unlike some other towns where song schools existed, there are no references to the pupils of Perth's school helping to lead the congregational singing.

The next reference to Swinton occurs three years later in 1586. In April

¹⁷It may even have been that Swinton's harmonies were simply wrong since he was "not qualified [in music]".

that year he was again summoned before the kirk session where he “confessed his third fault of fornication committed by him with Maige Whyte¹⁸, ... and [confessed] the bairn to be his” (Lawson 1847:167). Whether or not Swinton was discharged after this further misconduct we cannot say, but he had certainly left his post of precentor by 17 April 1592, when a session minute notes an imminent meeting with the council regarding the appointment of a new precentor (*The Chronicle of Perth* 1831:61). One last session minute of 1593 has the final word on this wayward musician: John Swinton was not to “bruik the said office in time coming” because he had willingly deserted his office without “occasion of fead [= enmity]” and was a man without feeling or judgement¹⁹ (Smart 1932:132).

Later in 1593 John Wemyss was recommended to the session as being a “young man qualified for the post” and should be permitted to take up a writing school²⁰. He was approved, and his salary consisted of £100 from the council (Smart 1932:132) and £80 from the hospital (9 April 1599, Scott Fittis 1885:112, quoted in McQuaid 1949:309—this minute describes Wemyss as master of the *song* school). The school seems to have flourished under Wemyss: in May 1599 renovations were made to the house previously occupied by Swinton so that it could now be used as the schoolhouse, and it was also to have its own “little yard” (Scott Fittis 1885:112, McQuaid 1949:309). Wemyss remained in this post until his death, some time before 29 October 1604. In marked contrast to his predecessor, the session wrote of him that “Mr John Weims, sometime musician, was very faithful and diligent in his services, during the time of his life” and granted £80 to his widow “for the behoof of herself and her young infant” (Smart 1932:132; *The Chronicle of Perth* 1831:71).

St Andrews was perhaps the only town in Scotland whose song school continued despite the disruption caused by the Reformation. Andrew Kemp was master of the song school shortly after the Reformation (according to Thomas Wood²¹) and Alexander Smith is described as doctor

¹⁸ This is probably a scribal error for “Marion Whyte”.

¹⁹ This probably refers to Swinton’s desertion before 17 April 1592.

²⁰ Music is not mentioned specifically until minutes of 1599 but would probably have been taught by Wemyss from his commencement at the school.

²¹ “maister gudman ... wes the first satlit minister in Sanctandrouse” (TWT, p.137), he “gaue this letter [= the text of *Have mercy, God*] to Andro kempe, maister of the sang Scule, to set It in four pairtis ...”; (TWA₁, p.134).

“of the Sang Scole in the Abbay” on 4 May 1560²² (Fleming 1889:39). Dr Elliott’s biography of Kemp is found in NG ix:859; his career, which took him to Aberdeen and Dundee, has also been discussed in the preceding chapter (see p.81f).

An Alexander Smith who may be the doctor at St Andrews is listed as a prebendary and chaplain of the choir at King’s College in Aberdeen in 1546²³ (Innes 1854a:19, see p.75). The only other main reference to the musician of St Andrews comes in 1574 in an important entry in the diary of James Melvill who was then in his fourth year of study at St Leonard’s College in St Andrews:

Mairower, in these yeirs I lerned my music, wherin I tuk graitter delyt, of an Alexander Smithe, servant to the Primarius of our Collage²⁴, wha haid been treaned upe amangis the mounks in the Abbay. I lerned of him the gam, plean-song, and monie of the treables of the Psalmes, wherof sum I could weill sing in the kirk; bot my naturalitie and easie lerning by the ear maid me the mair unsolide and unreadie to use the forme of the art. (Pitcairn 1842:29.)

This Smith can be none other than the doctor of the “Sang Scole in the Abbay”.

Besides importantly filling in some gaps in Smith’s biography, this excerpt sheds some light on music education during the later sixteenth century. “The gam” refers to the rudiments of music (scales, intervals *etc.*) and was always to be found near the beginning of contemporary treatises. That Smith should continue to teach plainsong is odd, for it was by now obsolete. It may, however, have served to illustrate the modes of various compositions. The mention of psalm trebles is intriguing: whose version did Smith teach—his own, perhaps, or those of David Peebles, then current in Thomas Wood’s Partbooks? Smith of course would have had other pupils, and so we may envisage a band of students, such as James Melvill, singing the psalms in harmony in the chapel at St Leonard’s College. The

²² Alexander Smith is therefore very likely the Alexander [blank] whose signature appears alongside those of David Peebles, John Roull and Ninian Roull (members of the abbey and known musicians) in a charter relating to the abbey of St Andrews dated 2 September 1566 (Anderson 1899:No. 809).

²³ A John Smyth is also described as chaplain of the choir in the same charter (see p.75)—his name immediately follows that of Alexander Smyth. In the Laing charter referred to in the preceding footnote (Anderson 1899:No. 809), the signature of Alexander [?Smith] is also immediately followed by that of a John Smith. Alexander and John may well be related and therefore may have worked first at King’s College (c.1546) before moving to St Andrews in the 1560s.

²⁴ James Wilkie was Principal (Primarius) of the college from 1570 (Dunlop 1964:cclxv).

last part of the quotation is also interesting in that Melvill tells us he had a good ear for music, but was “unsolide and unreadie to use the forme of the art”. By “forme” he probably means “musical notation”, therefore he was less good at playing or singing from part music. If, in writing this, Melvill is referring to the psalm trebles of the previous phrase, then we may infer that manuscript copies of harmonized psalm tunes were readily available around this time (1574).

Two further references to an Alexander Smith, possibly the musician, may be supplied here, although neither mentions music. “Alex Smyth cive. S Andree” was a witness to a charter dated 2 January 1558 (RMS iv:No. 1239). An Alexander Smith of St Andrews died in October 1585. His will is dated 5 September 1586 (Grant 1902:316; Scottish Record Office CC 20/4/2 f.62^v).

Smith assumes a position of some importance in the history of Scottish psalmody because Edward Millar takes the trouble to mention him in the preface to his 1635 edition of the Psalter:

I acknowledge sincerely the whole compositions of the parts to belong to the primest Musicians that ever this kingdome had, as *Deane John Angus, Blackhall, Smith, Peebles, Sharp*²⁵, *Black, Buchan* and others famous for their skill in this kind ...

John Angus, Andrew Blackhall, David Peebles, John Black and John Buchan were all active during the second half of the sixteenth century and it would seem reasonable therefore to identify “Smith” as Alexander Smith of St Andrews, who was contemporary with these men²⁶.

David Peebles, “ane of the cheiff musitians into this land” according to Thomas Wood (TWT, p.167), was a canon at the Priory of St Andrews. His biography is given by Elliott in NG xiv:333. He first came to prominence around 1530 when he wrote the motet *Si quis diligit me*, which he presented to James V. Thirty years later, shortly after the Reformation, Peebles was commissioned by Lord James Stewart, Earl of Moray (and Prior of St Andrews), to set the psalm tunes in four parts in a plain style (“my lord comandit the said david to leave the curiosity of musike, and sa make plane and dulce” Wood tells us²⁷). Peebles set about the task, “bot he wes not earnest”, and completed 106 settings which Thomas Wood copied into

²⁵The composer Sharp has so far eluded attempts at identification. He may possibly be the composer of “Sharps miserere”, an incomplete work extant in Alexander Forbes’s Cantus Partbook and David Melvill’s Bassus Partbook.

²⁶McQuaid (1949:298) suggests William Smith (fl. 1617–23), who worked in Ayr and Edinburgh, as the musician referred to by Millar. I think this unlikely.

²⁷TWT, p.167 (Hutchison 1957 i:3).

his manuscript partbooks between 1562 and 1566. Edward Millar was later to appropriate some of these settings in his printed edition of the Scottish Psalter (see above).

Despite having influential connections at three times during his life (James V and the Earls of Moray and Lennox), it is notable that Peebles did not receive any benefices and held no post within the Reformed church, whether musical, pastoral or educational (e.g. as master of a song school). Very likely this was because he remained a Catholic: as late as 1576 he was commissioned to write a Latin motet, *Quam multi, Domine*, for Robert Stewart, Earl of Lennox (Elliott, NG xiv:333). Peebles died some time before 21 October 1592, the date of his widow's will (Grant 1902:192²⁸).

Thomas Wood, the copyist of the partbooks sometimes known as the St Andrews Psalter, but more usually by his own name, had been a member of the Benedictine community at Lindores Abbey (Fife) prior to the Reformation (Durkan 1959a:71). The partbooks contain a wealth of music with lavish and colourful decorated borders and many interesting comments on the music and composers by Wood himself. His biography is given by Elliott in NG xx:519.

Wood began copying Peebles's harmonizations in 1562 and completed them by 1566 (TWC, p.177). A reference to a student called Thomas Wood occurs in the records of St Andrews University in 1568 (Anderson 1926:276). Three years later this student was presented to the prebend of Kinkell (McQuaid 1949:196; FES v:188). These citations may well, however, refer to another, younger man of the same name. In 1574 a Thomas Wood (the student?) is recorded as reader at Abdie and Largo (in the Presbytery of St Andrews; FES v:188, Haws 1972:2, 156).

Thomas Wood the copyist was presented to the vicarage of St Andrews on 24 March 1575 (RSS vii:No. 132; FES viii:468). He is often mentioned in the kirk session register of St Andrews, on one occasion (27 May 1584) being admonished "in tyme of prayaris, [to] reid onlie the prayar in the Psalme Buik, and the chaptouris alanerlie [= only] of the New and Auld Testament, without ony additioun of his awin brane" (Fleming 1889:529). Wood either demitted office or had died some time before 25 October 1592, the date of his successor's presentation to the vicarage (FES viii:470). Earlier, in March of the same year, Wood had been assaulted by a tailor in the town (Fleming 1889:726), so he may have died of his injuries following this incident.

A charter dated 10 August 1569 lists the names of nine choristers at

²⁸ I am obliged to Dr Elliott for this information.

St Salvator's College in St Andrews: Thomas Myles, Adam Gibson²⁹, James Winchester, John Young, Thomas Wemis³⁰, Andrew Kempt (the composer discussed above), John Mortoun, James Symson, and Charles [blank] (Anderson 1899:No.846). Several references to John Young are extant, but these may not be the chorister: men of this name were ministers of Kirriemuir and Kingoldrum in 1563, North Berwick in 1567, Duns in 1568 (Haws 1972:153, 138, 191, 74) and Dysart in 1582 (*FES* v:86³¹). James Symson may be identified with the man of the same name who was doctor at the song school in New Aberdeen under John Black in 1577 (see p.82). It is interesting to note that Symson and Andrew Kemp (who was master of Aberdeen's song school in 1570) are mentioned in the same charter in St Andrews: the two men therefore knew each other—perhaps Kemp brought Symson north with him in 1570.

Returning to James Melvill's diary, it offers some more information concerning music at St Leonard's College in the 1570s:

I lovit singing and playing on instruments passing weill, and wald gladlie spend tyme whar the exerceise thair of was within the Collage; for twa or thrie of our condisciples played fellow weill on the virginals, and another on the lut and githorn [= cittern]. Our Regent haid also the pinalds [= spinet] in his chalmer, and lernit some thing, and I eftir him; bot perceaving me ower mikle caried efter that, he dishanted [= gave up] and left of. It was the grait mercie of my God that keipit me from anie grait progress in singing and playing on instruments; for, giff I haid attained to anie reasonable missure thairin, I haid never don guid utherwayes. (Pitcairn 1842:29.)

A variety of instruments were therefore to be found in the college and a number of good players, tempered by a considerable amount of guilt regarding the enjoyment of the art in the new religious climate. Melvill seems to have applied his "easie larning by the ear" to playing the spinet as well as to singing: Wilyeam Collace (Regent of the College, Pitcairn 1842:24) probably felt Melvill's natural musical ability and enjoyment thereof was beginning to interfere with his academic studies. Of the musical "condisciples" nothing more is known, but the college matriculation rolls for 1570–74 yield the names of two students who may fit Melvill's

²⁹ Adam Gibson is possibly related to David Gibson, prebendary (and presumably musician) of the Chapel Royal in 1566 (*RSS* v:No. 3049).

³⁰ This man may be related to John Wemyss, master of the song school in Perth (1593–1604, see p.125).

³¹ The next incumbent of Dysart (presented 25 November 1584) was a certain Thomas Wood, perhaps the compiler of the manuscript partbooks.

description. Two students by the name of Joannes Wemes matriculated at the College in 1570 and 1572 (Anderson 1926:282, 279). Either of these may be the John Wemyss who is later found as master of the song school in Perth from 1593 to 1604 (see p.125). Thomas Gray matriculated at St Leonard's in 1572 and graduated in 1575 (Anderson 1926:282, 171, 173). A man of the same name, fit to be a musician in the Chapel Royal, was presented to two benefices of that institution in March 1599 (McQuaid 1949:142).

In 1581 Ninian Roull is described as precentor in St Andrews. Roull had been a member of the priory of St Andrews and is described thus in a charter dated 2 September 1566 (Anderson 1899:No. 809). Two years later, however, he was denounced by the town's kirk session (along with Eufame Daidson) as a fornicator (Fleming 1889:308). In June 1570 Roull was a witness in an action raised in the kirk session against Andrew Kemp (very probably the musician, see p.81; Fleming 1889:338). Roull spent some time in Dundee and was master of the song school there in 1580/1 (see p.123, McQuaid 1949:292).

Ninian Roull returned to St Andrews around 1581 and was then caught up in a dispute regarding the appointment of a minister for the town. Andrew and James Melvill had been preaching in the town but stepped aside, at the request of the Presbytery, when they became aware of a deliberate plan to prolong the vacancy. This action provoked an angry response from those scheming the plan. James Melvill recounts how two of these men, incensed by the Presbytery's action, wrote a vitriolic reply

for the quhilk cause, the persone that red it, Ringand [*i.e.* Ninian] Rewll, taker upe of the Psalmes, being callit befor the Presbyterie, schew that mr David Russell and Wilyeam Lermont commandit him to reid it; bot, pure man, he gat his reward, for he never threave nor did guid efter that, bot died with madnes and miserie. (Pitcairn 1842:127.)

This is the first definite reference to Ninian Roull as precentor in St Andrews. He seems to have continued in this post for several more years, despite Melvill's description of his sad end. From 1587 Roull was to proclaim the banns of marriage in the kirk (Fleming 1889:604). Another session minute of 27 November 1588 ordains that one Henry Hammiltoun, accused of quarelling with the minister, should "oppinlie sitt in the saitt besyde Niniane Rowill, quhill the sermone and prayar be endit ..."—that is,

at the front of the church where the precentor would naturally sit (Fleming 1889:630). Roull retained his connections with the Priory until at least 1584 (Anderson 1899:No. 1082; McQuaid 1949:291).

By 1595 the song school of St Andrews was under the mastership of John Ross³². Ross had been a student at St Leonard's College shortly after Melvill's time there—he matriculated in 1576 (Anderson 1926:289). On 1 March 1595 Ross was summoned before the town's kirk session and

maist humlie, with all reverence on his kneis befor the sessioun, askit God mercy ... for his using and playing of ane part of the comode [= comedy] and play in St Leonardis College, tyme of the last baichelar act. (Fleming 1889:813.)

No further details regarding the "comode" or the part played by Ross are supplied. Dr Elliott has suggested the play may have been *Philotus*, a Scots comedy probably by Alexander Montgomerie, master poet of James VI's Castalian Band in the 1580s (McDiarmid 1967:223–235).

Another minute of the kirk session mentions Ross in 1597, ordaining him

and Robert Zuill to be present in the kirk heireftir at the secund bell to sermone, ilk Sondag, befor and eftir none, that chaptouris of the Word of God and Psalmes may be sung in the kirk continewalie, quhill the minister be in pulpeit. (Fleming 1889:833.)

Yuill was presented to the vicarage of St Andrews as successor to Thomas Wood on 25 October 1592 and admitted reader on 16 November that year (FES viii:470). The "chaptouris of the Word of God" would therefore have been read by Yuill, and John Ross (presumably still master of the song school) was to precent the psalms. The last part of the quotation appears ambiguous, but may be read as: "that chapters ... and psalms may be sung ... for the duration of ["continewalie"] [the reader's service], until ["quhill"] the minister is in the pulpit"—the reader's service (of an hour or so) always preceded the minister's sermon. One wonders whether Ross and Yuill had been remiss in the observance of their duties, either by not starting at the second bell, or by not continuing their part of the worship for the required length of time.

A John Ross, probably the musician of St Andrews, was found qualified in the art of music and awarded benefices belonging to the Chapel Royal on 17 October 1600 (McQuaid 1949:119). At any rate, Ross did not remain in St Andrews as precentor or song school master much later than 1597 as, in

³²Usually spelled Jhone Ros in the session minutes.

1599, John Roull is described as master of the song school.

John Roull was a member of the Priory of St Andrews: in 1566 he signed a charter in this capacity along with, amongst others, David Peebles and Ninian Roull (to whom he may have been related) (Anderson 1899:No. 809). A Johannes Roull is recorded in the matriculation roll of St Leonard's College in 1559, and this may be the musician and member of the Priory (Anderson 1926:267). A kirk session minute of 31 October 1599 requests that John Roull

maister of the sang schole, [is] to caus the best of his scholaris sitt besyid him self, about the pulpeit, to help to sing the Psalmes on the Saboth dayis. (Fleming 1889:908.)

This interesting record demonstrates that in St Andrews, as in some other towns towards the end of the century, pupils of the song school were being enlisted to promote the congregational psalm singing. The best of Roull's "schollaris" would doubtless have been able to sing in harmony and their formal positioning "about the pulpeit" indicates a degree of organisation in leading the singing from the front of the church. This may have been a new departure in psalm singing for St Andrews, although the paucity of contemporary records precludes any confirmation of this. For the same reason we have no further information regarding the town's song school or precentors until 1626.

Two other towns in Fife had song schools which we know of in the 1580s: these were most probably set up as a response to the Act of "tymous remeid" (1579). Cupar had a song school by 1581: the town's Common Good Accounts note a payment to the school's master of £6 13s 4d (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* ii:42). This is a meagre sum compared to that received by the masters of other song schools around this time, but Cupar was a much smaller town than Dundee or Perth, for example, and it is surprising to find a specialist song school in such a small community. The school continued until at least 1628.

The only two (indirect) references to the song school of Kirkcaldy date from 1582. On 10 July the burgh records note that Mr David Spens (minister)

sall tak wpe & teche ane grammer scoill be him selff as principall ... Prowyding thar be na vther scoill teachit in this toun bot sang onlie, quhilk sall be onlie the numbr of twelff bairnis. (Macbean 1908:71-2.)

Three months later (8 October) another minute reads:

Item, as to the act anent the grammer scoill, [the council] Ratefeis the saim, prowying the sang scoill haif 20 bairnis onlie.
(Macbean 1908:73.)

These are two of the very few references to the number of pupils attending a song school. As in other towns, the burgh was very careful to maintain its monopoly on education not only by the prohibition of other schools (except the song school) but also by limiting the number of pupils allowed to attend even the song school (which, by the nature of its curriculum, was never really in competition with the grammar school). This is a curious measure taken by the council and has not been observed in other Scottish towns. Perhaps the schollage at the song school was less than that at the grammar school, and frugal parents may have been more inclined to send their children to the former institution, hence the council's limit on the number of its pupils. Unfortunately nothing more is known of the song school at Kirkcaldy.

The Seventeenth Century

Music is not specifically mentioned as a subject taught at the grammar school in Montrose, but it may well have had a prominent place in the curriculum there as psalms had been learned by the schoolmaster (who would then have taught them to his pupils) in the 1570s. More than one hundred years later (in November 1684), Alexander Couper threatened his resignation as master of the song school in Old Aberdeen, intending to take up a teaching vacancy in Montrose (Munro 1899 ii:83, see p.91). No records exist of a song school in Montrose, so we must assume Couper sought the mastership of the grammar school there, but, for whatever reason, Couper did not take up this position. That Couper entertained the possibility of moving to Montrose implies that the pay and conditions there were better than at Old Aberdeen (he repeatedly complained to the kirk session about this); and possibly that his musical skills might be better employed in Montrose.

A grammar school had existed at Arbroath since at least 1562, but it is not until 1675 that we find the school's master as precentor in the parish church. James Hamilton was appointed Schoolmaster on 29 August 1675 (according to the Kirk Session Records) and was to "present [*sic*], say prayers

at morning and evening, and do what others in that office had done formerly" (Hay 1876:260); therefore Hamilton's predecessors may well also have held the office of precentor. Certainly his successors did so: John Howie (servitor to the Countess of Airlie) became Schoolmaster in 1679 and was followed by John Straton in 1683 (Hay 1876:261). The last schoolmaster and precentor of the seventeenth century was Alexander Guthrie who was appointed in 1687 (Hay 1876:262).

John Mow was appointed master of the music school in Dundee on 10 October 1609³³ (Maxwell 1884:337). The town council minutes give interesting details regarding his appointment. Mow was to teach music, reading and writing in the school, and to precent at services twice daily in the East Kirk. His stipend was the large sum of 200 merks *p.a.* (his predecessor had been paid 120 merks in 1603) "by and attour the profit and commoditie that he may mak be the casualties of the Music School". Three levels of quarterly fees were set for the pupils: 26s 8d for those learning to play instruments; 13s 4d for those learning to sing; and 6s 8d for those learning to read and write only. Mow also received his house rent and the council made provision in this contract for his stipend to be increased at their discretion "in case they found his charge to grow be ane family, and his service to deserve it". These generous terms and conditions of employment compare very favourably with those in other towns at this time. Indeed, Patrick Davidson, Mow's contemporary at the prestigious song school in New Aberdeen, received only £80 [= 120 merks] *p.a.*.

The school went from strength to strength under John Mow's mastership, and with the council's encouragement. In January 1612 Mow was awarded an extraordinary pay rise of 50%, taking his salary to 300 merks (Beatts 1873:250). His duties at the school and in the kirk had not changed but obviously, under the terms of his 1609 contract, his service had merited such an increase, and he may also have started a family. Although not the only town council to provide for the families of its schoolmasters, Dundee seems to have taken particular care in this respect: John Williamson (Mow's predecessor) also received a (smaller) augmentation to his salary (see p.123). The council seems to have taken great pride in its music school:

³³McQuaid (1945:281) refers to this man as John More, identifying him as the John Mwir from St Andrews who had been a witness against Andrew Kemp there in 1570 (see p.81). However, all the printed sources I have consulted use the form "Mow", thereby making this identification seem less certain.

in October 1613 it ordained that, “for the *advancement* of the music schole”, a doctor should be appointed to serve under John Mow on a “yeirlye pensioun of £10” (Beatts 1873:250). This also implies that around this time the number of school pupils had increased significantly.

By February 1614 John Mow had been made a burges of Dundee. In return for this honour he was to “deliver to the Council and community ane pair of fine virginells, in gude and sufficient estate” (Maxwell 1884:338). Likely Mow was to buy the instrument on behalf of the council for use in its music school. For the next twenty years the only references to the music school exist in the Common Good Accounts for the town. John Mow received £200 [= 300 merks]³⁴ for his stipend and house rent in the years 1621 and 1622. By 1628 this had increased by 33% to £266 13s 4d [= 400 merks], which sum Mow again received in 1634 (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* ii:44).

A council minute of 1636 again illustrates the council’s concern for its music school:

taking consideration that the Music School lying on the west side of the kirkyard, is for the present ruinous and likely to decay, the Council, all of ane mind, condescended with all convenient diligence presently to cause re-edify it. (Maxwell 1884:338.)

The same day (18 October) John Mow, described as “principal musician” (*i.e.* master of the school, distinguishing him from the doctor), was allowed £10 augmentation of his house mail for his “faithful service” (Maxwell 1884:338). On 22 August 1637 James Fithie was appointed doctor of the music school under John Mow, “for educating and learning of young children and bairns to read Inglische books”. His stipend was set at £10 *p.a.* (Maxwell 1884:339). Later Fithie was appointed Sunday reader in the West Kirk and precentor in the East Kirk on week days, for which he received £100 *p.a.* (Maxwell 1884:339). Precenting in the East Kirk was a duty previously performed by Mow: it was mentioned specifically at his appointment in 1609. As Mow’s position became more important, the doctor of the school may well have undertaken Mow’s “lesser” duties, probably since 1613 when the town council first made provision for a doctor. Fithie also precented in the West Kirk “quhen there wes preaching there” and received an additional 50 merks for this duty (Maxwell 1884:339).

Nothing more is known of John Mow: Maxwell (1884:339) states he had

³⁴ Daune (1838:363) gives the figure as £250 but this may not be accurate in view of an earlier discrepancy in his reading of the Common Good Accounts for Dundee (see p.123n).

died by 23 November 1647, the date of appointment of his successor at the music school, James Harvie. Harvie was also auditioned for the precentorship “and if his voice should be found fitting, to be preferred to the takin up the psalm, and to have such allowance therefor as James Fithie hes”, implying Fithie’s vocal skills left something to be desired. The following week Harvie’s schollage was set by the council as 46s 8d per quarter from those pupils learning music and writing; music only, 30s; writing only, 16s 8d; and higher fees may be procured from pupils who were not the children of burgesses. There is no specific mention of his salary (Maxwell 1884:339³⁵).

Fithie was still working in Dundee around the time of the Civil Wars. In 1648 he is described as precentor there—a very rich one, in fact, as he lent the council 1000 merks this year (Maxwell 1884:339). He probably also continued his duties as doctor at the music school which was enlarged in 1650 by the addition of an upper room (Maxwell 1884:340). Following General Monk’s devastating invasion of Dundee in 1651, the music school was closed for a time, but by May 1652 the council had taken steps to re-establish the school with the appointment of George Runseman as master. Runseman was skilled in “all vocal and instrumental music” and received £50 *p.a.* plus schollage. Runseman may have remained at Dundee until around 1656/7: a music teacher of this name incurred the displeasure of the kirk session of South Leith in February 1657 (Roberston 1911:106, see p.197).

The next reference to the music school occurs in the Treasurer’s Accounts for 1662 and 1663 when John Ritchie, master of the school, was paid £83 6s 8d for his fee (Stephenson 1973:41)³⁶. Ritchie would also likely have been precentor, but he was deposed from this latter position around May 1668 when he was replaced by a certain Mr Webster. Although very probable, it is not clear from Stephenson’s account whether Webster was also appointed master of the music school at this time, but his tenure of the precentorship, at least, was very short, lasting only until November.

Alexander Keith, formerly Schoolmaster at Behelvies, was appointed precentor in the West Kirk and master of the music school on

³⁵ Maxwell suggests these fees are much higher than under John Mow as James Harvie did not receive a salary. It is not clear from Maxwell’s prose account whether this assertion is based on his reading of original documents or whether he found no evidence that Harvie received a salary. However, lack of evidence need not imply Harvie wanted for salary, especially given the council’s favourable disposition towards the music school over many years.

³⁶ John may be related to Andrew Ritchie who was allowed to keep a music school in Edinburgh in 1633 (Wood 1936:135, see p.184).

24 November 1668 (Stephenson 1973:41). Keith's predecessor (probably Webster) seems to have afforded the council some trouble after his dismissal for, one month after Keith's appointment, the council took measures to suppress his teaching of any other music school in the burgh (Stephenson 1973:41). Keith is still described as "Music master" in 1705 and he appears in various records from 1671 onwards as reader, precentor and "musician" (Stephenson 1973:41f). In 1677 Keith³⁷ wrote an earnest letter to the lord provost:

quhairas thir severall yeires bygon I have taught my scollars in a verie cold rowme, to the prejudice not onlie of my youn[g] ons, but also to the prejudic[e] of my musicall instrumentis many tymes in tyme of raine ... (Quoted in Beatts 1873:87.)

The council therefore ordered the roof of the school be tiled. By 1694 Keith was receiving a salary of £153 6s 8d, the same as the master of the grammar school (Stephenson 1973:42). The heyday of Dundee's music school was therefore the first half of the seventeenth century. Around mid-century the masters held office for much shorter periods of time, two were dismissed from office, salaries decreased significantly and the fabric of the school fell into disrepair. Perhaps Keith's long mastership from 1668 slowed or even reversed this process of decline. But even his mastership was not continuous: a single reference describes him as precentor and master of the music school in Stirling in 1681 where he was paid 300 merks *p.a.* —significantly more than he was to receive upon his return to Dundee³⁸. Alexander Keith may be related to one or two other Keiths who were active musicians in the seventeenth century: James Keith worked as a musician in Edinburgh in 1618 and then at the Chapel Royal in 1623 (see p.179); and Robert Keith was master of the song school at Linlithgow around 1633–36 (see p.176).

James Young was appointed as the new precentor and music teacher in Perth on 21 October 1605 (*The Chronicle of Perth* 1831:72; McQuaid 1949:311). Young's fee was £80 *p.a.* plus his "chalmer maill". This appointment was almost exactly one year after the notice of his predecessor's death; presumably the kirk session had employed some

³⁷ Beatts actually gives the name as Alexander Reid, but this is probably either a misreading or a scribal error for Alexander Keith.

³⁸ By August 1681 another man was precenting in Stirling, and Hutchison (1904:245) suggests Keith may not have taken up the position of precentor in the town.

interim musician until a suitably qualified candidate could be found. No minute of Young's resignation or death is extant, but he remained in office for no longer than three months: his successor, Thomas Garvie³⁹, was appointed on 25 January 1606 (Smart 1932:132).

Nothing is known of Garvie's period in office until 1617 when the council and session resolved to look for a new precentor and music teacher since Garvie "this long tyme bygane has not been apt nor habill to discharge his office" due to ill health (Lawson 1847:275). The council began looking for a replacement on 3 March 1617. Henry Adamson may have held the interim position then, and certainly did so before 24 March when it was decided that he should continue precenting until a final decision was reached by the kirk session (Lawson 1847:275). By 12 May, however, Adamson had written to the session informing them that, if his interim appointment were not confirmed, he was prepared to take up another post recently made known to him by his brother, John Adamson (later to become principal of Edinburgh University; Smart 1932:133). The session responded by confirming his position as precentor and music teacher, awarding him a salary of 200 merks *p.a.* (to be paid by the masters of the hospital), and £60 as reader; the council paid him 160 merks and the guildry gave him £40—a total of £340 (*The Chronicle of Perth* 1831:77; Smart 1932:133).

Despite being well thought of by the session at his appointment in 1617, Adamson committed some (unspecified) offence around 1619 and was temporarily dismissed from office, after which he neglected his duties at the music school and consequently suffered a salary decrease of 50 merks (Smart 1932:133). The Presbytery Records note that on 3 May 1620 Adamson was allowed to "teitche publicly in the Parish Kirk of Perth, or elsequhair". There are no further references to him as precentor or music teacher, but he was clerk of Perth Presbytery from at least 1626 until his death, some time before 24 March 1637 (Wilson 1860:x). Further biographical details of Henry Adamson are found in *The Chronicle of Perth* (1831:84f, 90): his marriage to Katharine Buchanan in December 1620; his pre-marital affair with his father's servant-girl; and his vitriolic argument with a certain parishioner⁴⁰.

Henry Adamson was a poet as well as being a musician (Lawson

³⁹Smart (1932:132) gives his name as Charles Garvie, but all other sources refer to him as Thomas.

⁴⁰There exists an isolated reference to a Henry Adamson, reader in the East Church in 1630, who married Jean Lethame (*FES* viii:369). This may refer to the musician, if he remarried.

1847:275; Smart 1932:133). He was author of:

THE
MUSES THRENODIE,
OR,
Mirthfull Mournings, on the death
of Master Gall⁴¹.
Containing varietie of pleasant Poeticall
descriptions, morall instructions, historicall narra-
tions, and divine observations, with the
most remarkable antiquities of Scot-
land, especially at Perth.

...
Printed at Edinburgh in King James College,
by George Anderson. 1638

Adamson dedicated this book to the town council of Perth "his worthie patrons". As its title declares, the volume contains nine muses outlining various parts of Scottish history in rhyming verse. He was urged to publish the muses by various gentlemen to whom he had shown them. The foremost of these correspondents had his letter to Adamson included in the volume. It is signed "W. D.", the initials of William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585–1649).

Nothing is known of music teaching in Perth immediately after Adamson's neglect of these duties in 1619. Likely there was none, prompting the council to make arrangements for the inclusion of music in the curriculum at the grammar school in November 1623. Pupils wishing to learn were to pay 12s per quarter extra (Smart 1932:19). Adamson may have continued as precentor at the church until his death for, from 1637, payments to doctors of the grammar school for teaching singing and occasionally for precenting are found in the council records (Smart 1932:134).

Towards the end of 1637⁴² Robert Laurie was admitted reader and precentor of the East Church by the council—"without consent of the ministeris and elderis" (*The Chronicle of Perth* 1831:35). John Robertson (then minister of the East Church, *FES* iv:230, 2) was present at this meeting but dissented in the vote, and left the meeting upon Laurie's admission.

Therefter the prouest, alexander peblis, past with the counsall to the latrone [= lectern], and patt mr robert in possessioun of bayth

⁴¹"a Citizen of Perth, and Gentle-man of a goodly stature ... and a prettie poet" (Adamson 1638:introduction).

⁴²No specific date is recorded in *The Chronicle*, but the previous entry is dated 3 September, and the next 27 December 1637.

the places, and deliuerit to him the bybell and psalme buk in his hands. (*The Chronicle of Perth* 1831:35).

The cause of this acrimony between the church and the council is not given, nor is there any reference to its resolution (amicable or otherwise). Robert Laurie, very likely the precentor, was ordained minister of the West Church in Perth on 11 May 1641 (*FES* iv:233). He is described as son of Joseph Laurie, the previous incumbent of this charge, who was later minister at Lenzie⁴³. In 1644 Robert Laurie was translated from the West Church to Trinity Parish Church in Edinburgh. He later became Dean of Edinburgh and, following the Restoration, Bishop of Brechin (*Cant* 1774 ii:185). As Laurie was obviously a supporter of the king and episcopacy, it is likely that the dispute of 1637 centred on Laurie's willingness to read from the new Scottish Prayer Book, which had caused such riots at St Giles's, Edinburgh, in July of that year.

Music teaching seems to have had a rather low profile in Perth during the seventeenth century. But in the 1680s, David Rankine, who had been first doctor at the grammar school since 1681, demitted this office to become precentor and master of the music school for "*the ordinar sellarie of 100 merks yeirlie with the wysl. dewes and casualties attending the same*" (*Smart* 1932:39f). The phrasing of this minute ("ordinar sellarie" and "wysl. [= usual] dewes and casualties [= incidental income]") implies the music school had been operating independently of the grammar school for a time. George Munro⁴⁴ became master of the school in 1694: he was to teach music, writing and arithmetic for four hours each day (except Saturdays and Sundays) and received £40 *p.a.*, with schollage limited to 14s per student per quarter (*Smart* 1932:134). Munro was followed by Alexander Rankine (around 1699, very probably related to David Rankine, master in the 1680s) and Robert Whyte (1709) who also received £40 (*Smart* 1932:134).

Music in Perth certainly never seems to have attained the status accorded this art in many other Scottish towns. Although a song school existed from the late 1570s until around 1619, and later in the seventeenth century, we know nothing of what the children might have sung or played. They did not form a choir to aid the precentor (as in other towns), and they

⁴³Joseph Laurie had earlier been involved in a dispute with the precentor at Lenzie, Duncan Burnett (see p.218ff). Robert Laurie's royalist episcopalianism seems not to have been inherited from his father, who appears to have been a supporter of presbyterianism.

⁴⁴Possibly related to Alexander Munro, master of the music school in Inverness before 1709 (see p.113).

appear not to have learned to play musical instruments. Of course, much of this information may be lost to us. But the minutes of appointment of music school masters in other towns often detail their duties minutely; the extant minutes in Perth are wholly lacking in such detail, suggesting either that music was not an activity which merited fastidious record keeping or that the activities one might expect of a song school never, in fact, took place there. The music school masters themselves were never paid highly (except in the case of Henry Adamson); and one (John Swinton) was not particularly well qualified for the position and yet was reinstated after his dismissal, showing the council cared little for the welfare of its employees or the effective education of its schoolchildren. Also, disputes between the church and council such as that of 1637 would have done little to improve music's standing in the community. Such attitudes towards music contrast sharply with those found in other east coast towns such as Montrose, Dundee and St Andrews.

Unfortunately, very little is known about the musicians in St Andrews during the seventeenth century. All we have are four sparse references to a music school in the town whose (unnamed) master was also the precentor. In the years 1626, 1627, 1632 and 1633 the master was paid £200 for teaching at the school and precenting "at preacheing and prayeris" (*Accounts of the Common Good, Miscellany of the Maitland Club* ii:49). The master of the grammar school received less than this in these years: £166 13s 4d. The difference of 50 merks probably represents the salary for precenting; therefore the town council of St Andrews regarded the music and grammar schools as of equal importance (which was not always the case in other burghs).

In nearby Cupar, we have two further references to the song school. The Common Good Accounts for the town (quoted in McQuaid 1949:280) name Alexander Tullidaff⁴⁵ and John Mitchell as master and doctor of the school respectively in the years 1627 and 1628. In both these years the master received £100 (the same salary as the grammar school master) and the doctor £26 13s 4d.

An interesting account of music in Cupar is found in the diary of

⁴⁵McQuaid (1949:280, 222n) suggests Alexander Tullidaff may be related to Stephen and/or John Tullidaff, musicians who worked in Edinburgh and Tain respectively.

Mr John Lamont of Newton. In June 1650

the King's Maiestie [*i.e.* Charles II] came from Hollande to this kingdome ... The 6 of July, leauing St Androus, he came to Cowper, where he gatt some desert to his foure-houres: the place where he satte downe to eate was the Tolbooth. The towne had apointed Mr Andro Andersone, scholemeaster ther for the tyme, to giue him a musicke songe or two whille he was at tabell. (Lamont 1830:19f; Dauney 1838:28n.)

Andrew Andersone, although not specifically designated as such, was probably the master of the music school in the town.

No references to the song school in Kirkcaldy exist for the seventeenth century. The presbytery records do, however, give some information on the usage of psalmody in the town. A minute of 17 January 1633 notes that "ane copie of the new Psalme book" was presented to the presbytery "to be perused and considerit be them" (Stevenson 1900:59). This edition may well have been that printed by Edward Raban (Aberdeen) in 1633. According to Cowan (1913:58, 94f) this copy was the most complete ever to issue from Raban's press and included several features which would merit the "perusal and consideration" of a presbytery. In particular this edition contained fifteen common tunes in four-part harmony (two of which were in reports), and the prose text (printed in the margin of most seventeenth-century psalters) was that of the new King James (1611) version—the first of only two editions *not* to use the prose of the Genevan Bible. Furthermore, Raban was reprimanded by the General Assembly for failing to print one paragraph of an evening prayer in this book. The other editions of 1632 and 1633 contain no particularly remarkable features. If this presbytery minute refers to the 1633 Raban publication with music, then we may infer that psalms were to be sung in harmony (and in reports) in some parishes within the presbytery.

In 1646 Mr James Symeson, minister of the town, "was censured for interponing the singing of the psalm between the reading and the exponeing of the chapter" (Stevenson 1900:304). One would not imagine that such a minor change to the order of morning worship could have such serious consequences. Indeed, an edition of the Book of Common Order as recent as 1641⁴⁶ ordained that a psalm should be sung immediately before

⁴⁶*The Service Discipline, and Forme, of the Common Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments, Used in the English Church of Geneva ... And the Church of Scotland.* (London, Printed for William Cooke at Furnifalls Inne. 1641)

the sermon. Kirkcaldy Presbytery obviously had a different opinion, letting nothing interfere with the heart of Reformed worship: the Word of God and its exposition. Further presbytery minutes of 1647 and 1648 refer to the process of consultation surrounding the introduction of the new metrical version of the Psalms, the use of which was enforced in 1650 (Stevenson 1900:313, 325).

The burgh of Dunfermline was honoured by a mortification⁴⁷ of Queen Anne in 1610. The queen mortified the sum of £2000 for the support of the burgh's schoolmasters, both grammar and music, and from this time all masters were to be subject to approval, after advice "anent [their] qualifications, life, [and] conversation" had been given by the bailies to her majesty, or her successor to the Lordship of Dunfermline (Chalmers 1844 ii:417ff). But the first reference to music teaching in the town occurs in 1623 and makes no mention of the mortification⁴⁸. On 10 March this year William Culen petitioned the town council

shawing how he wald instruct & train up *the nyctbors bairns* in *the airt* of musik and that upon sich resson pryces as the toun thinks convenient and also cravand for present support fra *the Counsaill* in respect of thir tua bypast hard & dere yeirs & his great burdens. (Shearer 1951:140.)

Culen's "great burdens" are not made explicit, but one gains the impression he may have been teaching (probably reading and writing) in the town for the past two years. At any rate, the council agreed to the points outlined by Culen and "modified" his quarterly payment (*i.e.* schollage) to 6s 8d for teaching music, with another 20 merks "for supplie of his present necessitie" (Shearer 1951:140).

Culen was married to Bessie Hutoun and the couple had six children from 1613 (Paton 1911:150, 156, 162, 178, 195, 222). The last child, Bernard, was baptized on 29 May 1627, by which date his father had died. Baptism normally took place within a few days after birth, thus placing William Culen's death some time after late August 1626. The new master of the music school was appointed on 27 November 1626, therefore it is likely that Culen held this position until his death, shortly before this date.

Stephen Tullidaff was proposed as master of the music school by the

⁴⁷ Scots legal term: "the act of disposing of property for religious, or, since the Reformation, for charitable or public purposes" (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

⁴⁸ It is also notable that William Culen, the first master of whom we have notice, was not presented to the mastership by the Earl of Dunfermline, as in the case of his successors.

Earl of Dunfermline on 27 November 1626 and was accepted by the council the same day, apparently fulfilling the terms of the queen's mortification. Tullidaff was to meet with the council and consult with them regarding his pay and conditions, which are therefore not specified in this minute (Shearer 1951:156). In June 1627 the council increased Tullidaff's schollage to 10s per quarter for "toun bairnes" learning music, and also paid his house rent (Shearer 1951:157). Two years later the council, seeking to reduce its costs, arranged that a house to the west of the town (presumably belonging to the council and recently vacated) should now be used by the master of the music school as his schoolhouse (Shearer 1951:163).

Tullidaff married Margaret Row, daughter of John Row, minister of Carnock (FES viii:407). He was a witness to the baptism of two children in Dunfermline in 1629, and on 23 August that year his own daughter, Grizel, was baptized (Paton 1911:235, 237). According to the burgh records, Stephen Tullidaff demitted the mastership of the music school on 20 December 1630 (Shearer 1951:166), having recently (8 December) been licensed to keep a music school in Edinburgh (Wood 1936:xlix, see p.180). Before working in Dunfermline, Tullidaff is named as a canon of the Chapel Royal in 1619 (Rogers 1882:xxxii, see p.48) and returned there by 1633 (RMS viii:No. 2200). McQuaid (1949:280) notes that Stephen's brothers were Andrew and John Tullidaff, musicians in Leith and Tain respectively, and Samuel Tullidaff, reader at Holyroodhouse⁴⁹.

Robert Anderson succeeded Tullidaff as master of the music school at Dunfermline in February 1631. As with Tullidaff, he was nominated to the post by the Earl of Dunfermline (11 February), following which the council ordained that he should be tried "befor the musitioners of the Chapell royall on Monoday nixt" (Shearer 1951:166). The minute of his appointment (21 Feburary) records:

Robert Anderson being convenit before the A[rch]bishop of Dunblane, D[e]ane [of] *the said* Chapell royall and greatest number of best experienced *thairof* in *the said* art and they having

⁴⁹These men are mentioned in Tullidaff's will (dated 28 February 1640, SRO CC8/8/59 f169^r-170^r), partly quoted by McQuaid (1949:304-7). McQuaid describes Samuel as precentor at Holyroodhouse, but the will states he was reader (f170^r). McQuaid suggests that Tullidaff's in-laws, the Rows, "formed a link, one generation removed, between the Hudsons [violars to the king] and Tullidaff". This link becomes more cogent when one considers that Tullidaff lived and worked in Dunfermline where Robert Hudson had once lived (McQuaid 1949:161) and that Thomas Hudson was at one time Master of the Chapel Royal (from 1586) where Tullidaff held benefices. (The information concerning Tullidaff's work in Dunfermline was apparently not available to McQuaid, who makes no mention of this episode.)

takin tryall of *the* qualification of the *said* Robert in *the* art of musik and playing upon *instruments* as be *thair* testimoniall and approbation *submittit with thair* hands, hes fund the *said* Robert to be qualifiet and meit to be maister of the musick scholl and to instruct the youth *thairin* And *thairfor* the *Counsail* hes acceptit & accept *the said* Ro[ber]t to be Master of *the* Musick Schooll *within* this burgh. (Shearer 1951:167.)

This trial is by far and away the most thorough test of any potential music schoolmaster in the seventeenth century. The Archbishop would have acted as judge of Anderson's moral character, while the "greatest number of best experienced" musicians examined his knowledge of music theory ("the art of music") and practice ("playing upon instruments"). Edward Kellie was the musical director of the Chapel Royal in 1631 and would doubtless have been involved in this examination, along with Andrew Sinclair, one of the choristers.

Anderson probably took up the position of precentor in Dunfermline at the same time as his appointment to the music school, in common with other musicians at this time. However, he was not appointed reader or session clerk until 30 June 1640 (Paton 1911:396, 306). His fee for precenting is stated as "4 dollers"[= £12] in 1646 (Henderson 1865:22).

In 1641 James Reddie, master of the grammar school, complained to the council that his school was prejudiced by others in the burgh. Robert Anderson and all (unnamed) other schoolmasters were consequently ordered not to teach "anie maill childrene wha hes learned the *said* book [the single catechism] and are able to travell to and fra the *said* [Gramer] schoole" (Shearer 1951:244)⁵⁰. Similar injunctions are to be found in other Scottish towns. The town council of Ayr, in 1600, decreed that all (and only) male children were to be taught at the grammar school, except those who wished to learn music who may therefore go to the music school (Pagan 1897:75, see p.217).

Anderson remained as master of the music school until at least 1666. The burgh records for August 1665 show that Anderson sustained an unfortunate drop in salary due to a legality at this time. On 19 August 1665 it is clear that Anderson's salary as schoolmaster and precentor had been £80

which is the *annual*rent onlie of the principall soume of ane

⁵⁰The dispute may not have been regarded as personal between James Reddie and Robert Anderson. At any rate, the two men were on friendly terms by 1643 when Reddie is described as a witness at the baptism of Anderson's fifth child, Agnes (Paton 1911:330).

thousand pounds mortified in the town's hands [from Queen Anne] and *which annualrent foirsaid* doeth agrie to eight of the hundredth. (Shearer 1951:275.)

However, the minute goes on to say that this does not take account of an Act of Parliament whereby annualrent should be paid "according to six of the hundredth"⁵¹. Consequently Anderson's salary was reduced to £60 *p.a.* with "no *oyther* wages". In October the next year Anderson complained that he was still owed £16 4s under the former 8% rule for his salary until Whitsunday 1666. The council agreed to pay him the outstanding stipend as long as he accepted the new salary of £60 whilst working on the same conditions as when he was first appointed (Shearer 1951:283).

Anderson's name appears many times in the Parish Register, usually designated "Mr" and/or "musician", although there were two or three other men of the same name in the town. He witnessed several baptisms in 1633 and 1634 and in the latter year the musician married Marion Dewar (23 September; Paton 1911:263, 264, 269, 270). The couple had five children between 1635 and 1643 (Paton 1911:276, 283, 293, 303, 330). According to the Kirk Session Records (Henderson 1865:79), Anderson was session clerk (and probably master of the music school) until his death, some time before 17 April 1687 (on which date a payment is made to an interim clerk). If Robert Anderson had been born and brought up in Dunfermline, then two possible years for his birth may be suggested. The Parish Register notes the baptisms of several Robert Andersons: two in the late sixteenth century would make the musician impossibly old at his death; another two in 1615 would make him too young to be master of the music school in 1631; therefore he may have been born in 1601 or 1612 (Paton 1911:109, 149).

Two further references to psalmody in Dunfermline have come to my attention. In May 1674 (when Anderson was probably still precentor) the kirk session ruled

anent brides and bridegrooms *that* if they shall not come on the day of *thair* marriage into the Kirk before the first psalme be closed, they shall pay 12s or more as the minister shall please. (Henderson 1865:79.)

It seems quite incredible to think that a marriage service could begin without the wedding couple; perhaps such fines ought to be exacted today to deter the late arrival of brides. A payment of £14 10s was made to the

⁵¹ APS vi part ii:537 "Act for reducing the annuals to six for the hundred", passed on 7 August 1649.

precentor in August 1688 “for his extraordinary pains” (Henderson 1865:80). This is very likely a payment to an interim precentor after Anderson’s death the previous year.

St Andrews was by far the most important town in the east of Scotland. Its university colleges ensured a stimulating academic life and the town was also a hub for the Reformation. The important musicians who lived and worked there all had connections with the abbey or colleges (or both) and included Hamilton, Kemp, Peebles, and Smith. St Andrews had links with New Aberdeen, the musical centre of the north: Andrew Kemp worked in both towns (as well as Dundee) and, among the several musicians with whom he was acquainted in St Andrews, knew James Symson who later became doctor of the song school in New Aberdeen. Indeed, although very little is known about the song school in St Andrews, it evidently flourished during the seventeenth century when its master was paid substantially more than that of Aberdeen’s song school, by then itself a very prestigious institution (see Appendix B).

Music also appears to have prospered in Dundee, to judge by the council’s interest in the advancement of its music school, and the comparatively generous pay and conditions it afforded the school’s masters. Andrew Kemp and Ninian Roull, who worked in the town, were closely associated with music in St Andrews and would no doubt have kept Dundee abreast of musical developments taking place in St Andrews, in particular the copying of Peebles’s psalm harmonizations by Thomas Wood.

By contrast, Perth, one of the larger towns in this area, appears not to have encouraged music to any great degree. The song school, set up in the late 1570s, appears only to be in compliance with the Act of “tymous remeid” and music went into a decline around the middle of the seventeenth century. The paucity of information regarding music suggests there was little musical activity in Perth; whilst the row in 1637 over the appointment of a new precentor did not augur well for the future development of music there.

But even small towns, such as Cupar and Kirkcaldy, could afford to keep decent music schools; whilst in others music seems to have been taught at the grammar school. As with Elgin, Dunfermline also benefited from royal endowment thus attracting good musicians to the burgh who, before appointment, were tried by an expert panel of musicians from the Chapel

Royal.

Music in song schools and churches on the east coast thus appears to have developed well during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and this was often due to the self-esteem shown by individual town councils, seeking perhaps to be counted amongst the “maist speciall burrowis” to which the Act of “tymous remeid” applied.

Central Scotland

Central Scotland has the largest concentration of the nation's population and one may therefore expect to find many talented musicians in this area. The two most important musical centres during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the Chapel Royal (see Chapter 1) and Edinburgh itself, the centre of the court from the later sixteenth century.

Pre-Reformation

Apart from those musicians who worked at both the Chapel Royal and Stirling Parish Church¹, I have found reference to only one other church musician in the area prior to the Reformation. Jhone Bully is first mentioned in the Stirling Burgh Court Book of 1520 (Renwick 1887:5). He was employed by the town council to "mak service in the queaier" at Mass, "Mathemes" [= matins; possibly a mis-transcription of "Matheines"] and evensong. Bully still held this position ten years later in 1530. That year, however, the council required him to hand over ("dispone") his clerkship to "the maist cunning chaiplane that can be had to syng in the choir and to na secular in all tymes cuming" (Renwick 1887:39). Bully is not designated "Sir", therefore he was probably not a priest in holy orders. The stipulation "na secular" implies that henceforward the council wished to employ not just a priest, but a priest who was a canon regular, *i.e.* a member of a religious order (frequently Augustinian). Furthermore, the council obviously wished to maintain the high musical standards which had obtained during the 1520s (due to the large number of Chapel Royal cleric-musicians who worked at the parish church then²). The council records show that Bully wished to retain the clerkship until his death, intending it then to be passed on to his son (Sir Thomas Bully) who, as well as being a priest, was presumably a skilled singer.

James V paid great attention to the rebuilding of Linlithgow Palace, one of the most important of the royal palaces. During the early years of the

¹ These are: William Symson, Robert Wemyss, Thomas Jarvy, Robert Cristeson, Alexander Kyd, John Lambert, Walter Stewart, Robert Arnot, John Hamilton, William Alexander, James Nicholson, Thomas Duncanson and John Stoddard (see Appendix A).

² Nine Chapel Royal clerics worked at the parish church during the 1520s: John Aysoun (1520, 1525), Robert Wemyss (also 1520, 1525), Robert Cristeson (1523/4), John Lambert (1524), Thomas Jarvy (1524/5), William Symson (1524, 1528, 1529), Thomas Duncanson (1525), Robert Arnot (1527) and William Alexander (1527).

sixteenth century various payments were made by the Lord High Treasurer for organ work carried out at Linlithgow. David Traill and others were paid for transporting the chapel gear and organs between Edinburgh and Linlithgow (ALHT ii:439; iv:339, 347, 373, 472). In 1513 "Gilyem, Franchman" (see p.28) was paid £7 for building a new organ at the royal palace, thus obviating the need for further transporting of an instrument from Edinburgh (ALHT iv:523). On 23 April the same year, Sir Walter Ramsay "in Linlithgtqw" received £10 for work at the new organ in the palace (ALHT iv:446). Ramsay was very probably a chaplain at St Michael's Parish Church, next to the palace³. The organ work is not specified but, from the sums of money involved, it was obviously as important as the actual construction of the instrument; possibly the work entailed tuning and voicing of the pipes. Such specialized work could only have been carried out by an experienced organist and I would suggest, therefore, that Walter Ramsay was at this time organist at St Michael's.

Ferguson (1905:331) states that "a song school existed in Linlithgow from very early times. It occupied a site in close proximity to the royal palace and to the church". However, he does not state (or suggest) a year for the school's commencement. If, as seems likely, Walter Ramsay was organist at St Michael's in 1513, then he would almost certainly also have been responsible for the song school there. The first reference to the song school is in 1540 but it is evident that the school had existed for some time before this. In January 1540 the town council of Linlithgow ruled that Sir Robert Akinheid should succeed as chaplain to the altar of Our Lady at St Michael's church⁴, following the death of Sir Patrick Newlands, the present incumbent (Ferguson 1905:285f). Akinheid was to

mak gud ordour honorabill and sufficient service in the Kirk and queyr of Linlithgow, at matynis, mes, and evinsange as us and consuetude [= custom] usit, and to be usit in the said kirk and queir be the querestaris of the sammyn ...

for which he was to be paid £4 *p.a.* until Newlands's death, after which he would succeed to Newlands's former emoluments.

And mair, gif he ma uptene it with gud thanks and benevolence

³ It seems odd indeed that the church was never erected as a collegiate establishment. Such a scheme had been envisaged in the early fifteenth century by James I, but was never carried out (Cowan & Easson 1976:228).

⁴ There were two altars dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary: one was in the gift of the council, the other was endowed privately. The altar in the patronage of the council is referred to here and in the following paragraphs.

of the said burgh, and the said Schir Robert Akynheid sall uptake ane sang schull, now incontinent, and sall ken, instruk, and leir all bairnis that will cum thereto, and tak his payment therfor as us and wont was of befor.

The payments for restarting the town's song school are not specified but it is clear that there had been a complete cessation of activity at the school during the years immediately before 1540. Now, however, the council set about raising the importance of church music in the town.

A council minute of October 1540 lays down certain conditions of service for all chaplains at St Michael's. They were to

cum till mattyngs, hie mess, evensangs, processionis, *with thair* surpluss on *thame*, and till sitt in *the* queyr, and *thai that* cannot syng till do uthir suffrage for *the* honestie of Goddis service, as sone as *the* third bell is rung, undir *the* pane of 10d Scottis unforgiven, ... (Lorimer 1857:264.)

It appears that certain of the chaplains had been negligent in their duties, particularly as regards singing in the choir. Such negligence was no longer to be tolerated by the council, determined as they were to improve musical provision at St Michael's.

In 1541 a Dominus Patrick Newlands is described as chaplain of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary at St Michael's (Ferguson 1905:286). This man may or may not be the same as the aforementioned Sir Patrick Newlands. If the two men were the same, then Sir Robert Akinheid had not yet succeeded to the chaplainry of Our Lady. On the other hand, Dominus Patrick Newlands was made a burgess this year, which seems odd for a man presumably advanced in years (and possibly close to death, reading between the lines of Akinheid's appointment in 1540). In the more likely case of the two Newlands being different, Robert Akinheid would appear to have held the chaplainry for only a short period between 1540 and 1541. Akinheid was then engaged as Lady chaplain at Torpichen, but returned to Linlithgow in 1543 (Durkan 1959a:70). A later chaplain of this altar (Sir Thomas Mustard) may be identified with the organist at Dunfermline earlier in the century, so it seems likely that the positions of organist and song school master were incumbent upon the chaplain of the altar of Our Lady, supported by the town council of Linlithgow.

In October 1541 the council made strenuous efforts to support the worship of the parish church:

it is statut ... for the weillfair of *this* brugh, that *thai* [the prowest, ballies, and consale ... of Linlithgou] and all honest persones *thereof* observe and keip all sounge, ewinsangs, and mess in the kirk, sayand *thair* devotion to God Almighty and his modir the blessit virgine marie ... (Lorimer 1857:264.)

It seems strange that a pre-Reformation town council should have recourse to what is effectively an edict enforcing church attendance. (Such authoritarianism is more redolent of the Calvinist era.) The need for this council minute suggests a lack of religious observance in the town. The cause of this is not known, but perhaps Reformation ideas were beginning to seep through. At any rate Ferguson (1905) points out that chaplains at St Michael's had lately been very careless in the discharge of their duties. This council minute may also reflect an externally-motivated desire on the part of the council to increase church attendance, if for example the court were at Linlithgow Palace. Two further council minutes eighteen days later admit the inadequacies of musical provision at the church, and take steps to reverse this trend:

Item. It is statut and ordanit, because *the* queir is waik and febill of syngars, *that* na chaplan in tyme comyn be admit till, nor chosin to ony altarage at the townis gift, but gyf he be ane kennand qualifit man in musyk, notourlie kend, or ellis *that* he underlie and abyde *the* examination of kennand men in musyk, and be admittit be *thame the* provest, ballies, and consale cheisis to examine on him.

Item, *That* nyctbouris bernis of *the* burgh forsaid, being lik qualifit in musyk to *uthirs* extranes [= others who are strangers] be irst [= first] admitted to altarages, and *the* maist kennand and best conditionat first. (Lorimer 1857:265.)

The first of these minutes is indeed a sweeping measure which would have had a great effect on the quality of music at the church, even if several years of this policy were needed to replace all the non-musical chaplains ("*thai that cannot syng*"). The examiners to be appointed by the council were probably musicians already at the church and possibly also members of the Chapel Royal. That some of the burgh's youth were by now considered to be "lik qualifit in musyk" to others who may have been drafted in shows that the town's recently reconstituted song school (not yet two years old) was now operating effectively and able to influence the quality of music at the church.

The last musician associated with Linlithgow prior to the Reformation

is Thomas Mustard. McQuaid (1949:283f) describes him as organist and chaplain at St Michael's around 1546–57. As with Akinheid, Mustard was chaplain to the altar of Our Lady (Ferguson 1905:287) and was therefore probably also master of the song school. McQuaid has identified this chaplain as the organist who had previously worked at Dunfermline in 1505.

References to sacred music and musicians in Edinburgh begin in the 1550s when John Fethy and then Edward Henderson were masters of the song school at St Giles's collegiate church. Fethy was at this time a canon of the Chapel Royal (see p.26f); and from 1544 until at least 1546 he had also been master of the song school of St Nicholas in New Aberdeen (see p.78f).

An entry in the Register of the Privy Seal (RSS vi:No. 487) describes Fethy as master of the song school at St Giles, Edinburgh, in 1551. Based on this entry, MacQueen (1970:xxxii) states that Fethy held the mastership until his resignation in 1568. However, a closer reading of the evidence shows this not to be the case.

The Register entry is dated 13 September 1568 and is a confirmation of gifts already given to Edward Henderson, master in succession to John Fethy. It runs thus:

Ane lettir maid ... confirmand twa giftis maid in forme of actis be the provest, baillieis, counsall and dekynnys of craftis of Edinburgh to Edward Hendersoun, of the prebendrie callit Sanct Fabiane and Sebastiane ... and ordanit him to have institution thair of as effeirit, as the foirsaid gift and act thair of maid thairupoun, of the dait [25 August 1560], at mair lenth proportis;

i.e. this prebend was gifted to Henderson in 1560, although it was only confirmed in 1568. The entry continues:

that uthir gift in forme of act be the saidis provest, baillieis and counsall gevand and disponand to the said Edward Hendersoun the office of maisterschip of the sang scole during all the dayis of his lyf tyme, with all feis and proffittis belangand thairto, and that eftir renunciatioun and geving our of the said office be schir Johnne Fety, ane of the prebendis of the quere of Sanct Geillis kirk, in the said provest, baillieis and counsallis handis, and thai ordanit ane gift to be maid to the said Edward Hendersoun under thair commoun seill thair of, as the said uthir act of the dait [31 July 1551] ... proportis; with command ... to the Lordis of Sessioun to grant lettiris ... to the said Edward chargeing all personis quhome it effeiris to ansuer and mak payment to him of all mailis, rentis, emolimentis and dewiteis belangand to the

saidis prebendrie and office of scolemaisterschip of *all yeiris bigane sen the dait of his saidis giftis* ... (RSS vi:No. 487; my italics.)

Thus, the act gifting the mastership to Henderson was drawn up in July 1551 and it is clear from the last phrase that he had held the prebend and mastership for some time before 1568. In fact, Henderson first appears in the council records as master of the song school on 15 December 1553:

Sir Eduard Henderson, maister of thair sang scule, to be paid 6 merks for the Mertymes last bypast and Witsounday maill nixt tocum of the sang scule now occupijt be him. (Marwick 1871b:185.)

"Now occupijt be him" may imply that Henderson had only recently taken up the residence and mastership of the song school.

Therefore John Fethy was master of the Edinburgh song school from some time before 1551 but resigned this post to Edward Henderson on 31 July that year (although Henderson may not have taken up the position until Martinmas 1553). It is possible, then, that Fethy left the mastership of Aberdeen in 1546 (shortly after the disagreement with his deputy) to take up the post in Edinburgh. It is not clear whether the description of Fethy as "ane of the prebendis of the quere of Sanct Geillis kirk" is a reference to his present position (in 1568) or a reference to his former position at the time the gift-act was drawn up in 1551 (it is possible this phrase was transcribed from the council's "uthir act").

Fethy reappears in the Edinburgh records in 1555 when he was paid 24s for "tonying of the organis at Sanct Geillies day" (1 September; McQuaid 1949:169; Marwick 1871b:358). Further references to Fethy occur in the Register of Deeds. These relate to the fruitless tenure of his Chapel Royal benefice and are discussed by MacQueen (1970:xxxii). The last definite reference to Fethy, therefore, is in 1566 as Cantor of the Chapel Royal (Watt 1969:337) but, as noted, he may still have been alive in 1568. Fethy was a renowned organist in his day for, as late as 1592, Thomas Wood says he was "the first trim organeist that euer wes in Scotland" and "the first organeist that euer brought in scotland the curius new fingering and playing on organs" (TWC, p.162 and TWQ, p.11; Hutchison 1957 i:178f). Fethy brought these new techniques into Scotland in around 1530 after a period of study abroad. He is known to have written both words and music. One of his songs, *O God abuse*, and another attributed piece have appeared in modern edition (MB xv Nos. 37 and 38; *MusScot* ii No. 26).

Edward Henderson⁵ was the first in a long line of this family who were to work as musicians in the capital for the next one hundred years. Edward had been a prebendary of St Giles since at least 1542 (Laing 1859:254). Before 1551 he had held the prebend of St Michael's altar at St Giles. Henderson resigned this position in favour of John Symson on 17 September 1551 (McQuaid 1949:143), probably because he had just been presented to the prebend of Sts Fabian and Sebastian, as well as the mastership of the song school (see above). As noted, Edward is first officially described as master of the song school in December 1553 when he received 6 merks [= £4] as payment for two terms' house rent (Adam 1899:130). Further termly payments of 40s [= £2] for house rent are recorded in 1555 (Marwick 1871b:223⁶; Adam 1899:130, 132).

Henderson (although not named in the accounts) received £10 annual fee as master of the song school every year from 1553 to 1559 inclusive (Adam 1899:71, 103, 127, 171, 201, 233, 276). On 22 March 1560 a single payment of £5 (possibly for only six months' teaching) is recorded by the town's treasurer (Adam 1899:306). During 1554 essential repairs to the timber work, floors and door were carried out at the song school "in the kirk yard" (Marwick 1871b:192, 197).

The remainder of Henderson's career may be more conveniently dealt with in the post-Reformation section. Other musicians mentioned in the burgh records and accounts as working in Edinburgh before 1560 include: James Lauder, Alexander Stewinsoun, Alexander Scott and John Symson. A burgh record dated 26 January 1553 permitted Lauder (then a prebendary of the choir at St Giles) to travel to England and France for one year "that he may haue and get better eruditioun in mvsik and playing nor [= than] he hes" (Marwick 1871b:176). Lauder later became a servitor to Mary, Queen of Scots and James VI and received frequent payments for his services to the Crown. He is not known to have composed sacred music, but at least one pavan by him survives (see Elliott 1988) and he may well have written the

⁵ The surname is rendered in various different ways (e.g. "Henrysoun") in the original records. "Henderson" is used throughout the present study for all members of the family. Edward Henderson may be related to Alexander Henderson (sangster in Ayr, fl. 1547–51/85?) and/or Robert Henderson (singer at Dunblane Cathedral in 1562).

⁶ This entry refers to Henderson as "ane of the prebendaris of the queir callit *minister core*, and maister of the sang skule". Among his duties was the furnishing of wax to the high altar and lamp, but he was admonished "not to procur with the Lady bred in the kirk be him self".

music for dance-songs of the Castalian band (*MusScot* ii:ix)⁷.

Alexander Stewinsoun is described as a member of the choir at St Giles's in June 1553 (Marwick 1871b:180). His payment of £5 for one ("Witsonday") term is substantial when compared to the £10 annual fee received by Edward Henderson for teaching at the song school. The next year, and again in 1555, Stewinsoun received 20 merks [= £13 6s 8d] for singing every festival day and at the "Mass of Our Lady and the Haly Blud" (Marwick 1871b:192, 218). Alexander Scott, as already mentioned (see p.27) worked as an organist at St Giles in 1556. John Symssoun, who followed Edward Henderson as prebend of St Michael's altar in St Giles (see above), was paid 2s 6d "for singing of the passioun" on Palm Sunday 1555 (Marwick 1871b:365)⁸.

Finally, two works by the Scottish composer Patrick Douglas have survived in English manuscripts: *In convertendo* (a setting of Psalm 126 à5, in the Baldwin Partbooks (Christ Church, Oxford, MSS 979–983)) and a seven-part instrumental *Miserere* (incomplete, in Wimborne MS *sine sigla* p.92f and Tenbury MS 389, p.90f)⁹. Jenkins (1988:82) notes that a Sir Patrick Douglas held a prebend of St Giles's in 1556 (Adam 1899:171) and suggests this man may be the composer. Not mentioned by Jenkins is the fact that Douglas is again listed as a prebendary in 1557 (Laing 1859:265). A further reference to Douglas seems to refer to a chaplainry gift of 1557 under dispute ten years later (Laing 1859:270, cf. Moncreiff & Moncreiffe 1929:85)¹⁰. There are references to a student by the name of Patrick Douglas at St Salvator's College in St Andrews (c. 1533–4); this student may well be the composer (Jenkins 1988:82; Dunlop 1964:373, 376). If so, then Douglas would have been born c. 1517. An inscription appended to *In convertendo* describes Douglas as "priste, scott borne" implying that he moved to England at some time after 1557 (rather like Robert Johnson who fled Scotland "lang before reformation"¹¹). In fact, Douglas was naturalized English on 10 November 1565¹².

⁷ Other, though not necessarily related, Lauders who appear in the records are: James Lawder (singer at Dunkeld Cathedral in 1517) and Andrew Lauder (singer at Dunblane Cathedral in 1566; see p.116).

⁸ Other musician Symssouns, to whom John may or may not be related, are: William (at the Chapel Royal and Stirling Parish Church, see Appendix A), Finlay (at Dunkeld Cathedral in 1517, see p.116) and James (at St Andrews in 1569, see p.129).

⁹ I am indebted to Dr Elliott for this information.

¹⁰ I am extremely grateful to Dr John Durkan for the historical references to Douglas and help with this biography.

¹¹ TWA₁, p.168.

¹² *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Elizabeth I* iii:198 (London: HMSO, 1960).

In convertendo was a well-known work in its day, having been transcribed at least twice in textless sources, possibly for instrumental performance (British Library MSS 31390 and 22597)¹³. The finely wrought imitation throughout the motet points to a composer of considerable skill (see Exx.7.53–7.59, pp.486–90); and Douglas was evidently highly regarded by his contemporaries, as the Baldwin Partbooks attribute to him the composition of a motet, *Ubi est Abel*, which is in fact by the Continental master Orlando di Lasso¹⁴.

This attribution is not altogether fanciful since it seems very likely our Scottish musician did indeed move to the Continent where he continued to pursue his religious vocation. “Patrick Dunglas” is described as a theology student in Paris c. 1584 (Forbes-Leith 1889:196)¹⁵. Later still he is found at the Scots monastery in Ratisbon [= Regensburg], Bavaria¹⁶. At his death there, on 10 May 1597, he was described as “noster Philosophiae Lector” (Dilworth 1958:183). These references afford us some hope that we may yet find more music by this talented composer in Continental sources.

An important song school was attached to St Mary’s collegiate church in Haddington¹⁷. Prior to the Reformation, however, we have only one reference to a musician there. Sir Patrick Mawchlyn was paid £4 10s in 1535 for “findyn” [= founding/funding?] the pupils and books of the choir that year (Thomson 1857:403). This would suggest that the song school was established in or before 1535. Mawchlyn was at that time priest of the Holy Rood altar in the church, and probably also master of the song school. Four years earlier, Mawchlyn had had the honour and responsibility of hosting James V during a stay at Haddington (RSS ii:No. 947). As reimbursement for the very considerable expenses incurred, Mawchlyn was to receive £10 *p.a.* from the customs of Haddington for the remainder of his life.

The name Patrick Mawchlyn seldom appears in contemporary records. It is interesting to note, therefore, that a Sir Patrick Mawchlyne was a

¹³The present author has prepared an edition of this work, published as part of the *Musica Scotica* series of miscellaneous pieces (Glasgow University Music Department Publications, 1998).

¹⁴Farmer (1910:44f) perpetuates this misattribution, and makes no mention of Patrick Douglas in his *A History of Music in Scotland* (1947).

¹⁵If born c. 1517, then Douglas would have been in his late sixties whilst in Paris. This may seem rather late in life to be enrolled as a university student, but Douglas’s case is not without precedent: no less a figure than Clément Janequin enrolled at the universities of Angers (1548) and Paris (1549) whilst in his sixties (NG ix:492).

¹⁶The Benedictine Abbey of St James in Ratisbon was the most important of the Scots monasteries (Schottenklöster) in Germany (Dilworth 1958:173).

¹⁷The church was formally recognized as collegiate in 1540 (Cowan & Easson 1976:222).

chaplain at the parish church of Crail (c. 1512–17; Rogers 1877:18, 19, 21, 57). The church of Crail was held by the Cistercian nunnery of Haddington, the prioress of which initiated its elevation to collegiate status in 1517 (Cowan & Easson 1976:217). The Haddington connection strongly suggests these two Patrick Mawchlyns are the same. The first mention of a song school attached to the church at Crail occurs in 1520, but the wording of this charter may imply the school had been founded before then (Rogers 1877:33). It is tempting to suppose that, if the school had been operating in 1512, its master may well have been Mawchlyn. This position was taken over in 1520 by a James Browne, sacristan and song school master of Crail's recently elevated collegiate church (see p.119).

The collegiate church of St Mary at Crichton (south of Edinburgh) was founded in 1449 and included provision for two boy choristers (Cowan & Easson 1976:217). A post-Reformation mention of this church (1573) refers to attached pre-Reformation grammar and song schools, of which two of the prebendaries were masters (RMS iv:No. 2169). The same entry also refers to the two boy choristers. The schools are not mentioned in the original foundation charter (Laing 1861:305ff) but were probably set up during the late fifteenth/early sixteenth centuries. Nevertheless, at the college's foundation, the prebendaries and boys were expected to read and sing "*plano cantu descant et prikit not*" (i.e. plainchant, discant (improvized parts around plainchant) and notated polyphonic music; Laing 1861:310).

1560–1603

No information regarding a song school at Stirling following the Reformation has come to light. Of course, this does not imply that such a school did not exist. Indeed, this would be unusual, for Stirling would certainly have been counted among "the maist speciall burrowis" referred to in the 1579 Act of "tymous remeid". There was, however, a staunch presbyterian element in the area, which reacted strongly against music-making. An edict of Stirling Presbytery (24 December 1583) banned pipers and fiddlers from escorting bridal couples to and from parish churches (Kirk 1981:192). Such unsympathetic views among the ministers of the area may well have limited the operation of any music school in Stirling.

Two musicians from Edinburgh are first mentioned in the records in around 1560: Alexander Ure and Andrew Blackhall. Both men are listed (along with eight others) as canons of the Abbey of Holyroodhouse “that gets na thing” (Kirk 1995:92). Ure subsequently appears as a “sangistar” at court in 1561, when he received a very complete livery from cloak right down to sword and boots (ALHT xi:85f).

The biography of Andrew Blackhall is given by Elliott in NG ii:769f. Blackhall was a prominent and much-favoured composer of the late sixteenth century. He was minister of various churches in the vicinity of Edinburgh (Liberton, Ormiston, Cranstoun and Inveresk) and contributed several settings of canticles and psalms to the partbooks compiled by Thomas Wood. Some of Blackhall’s music has been edited in MB xv (Nos. 10, 11, 49; and No. 20, a setting in reports of Psalm 18, has been attributed to Blackhall by Elliott). Two of Blackhall’s compositions (the anthems *Blessed art thou* and *Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord*, both à5) were the result of commissions from the nobility, whilst others were composed within the circle of the court (*Of mercy and of judgement both* and *The Bankis of Helicon*, the latter a secular song-setting dating from the Castalian era at court). Blackhall was witness to a charter in 1574 (RMS iv:No. 2323) and was a commissioner to the General Assemblies of 1580 and 1586 (FES i:324). His eminence as a composer is reflected in the number of gifts he received from the king. Apart from the presentations to the parishes already mentioned, Blackhall (and his son, also Andrew) were granted pensions from the king in 1582 and 1589 (RSS viii:No. 915; McQuaid 1949:203). Furthermore, Acts of Parliament were passed in 1594 and 1597 specifically to protect the pensions of certain subjects, and Andrew Blackhall, minister at Musselburgh, is particularly mentioned therein (APS iv:94, 157). According to an inscription at his last church (Inveresk in Musselburgh), Andrew Blackhall died in 1609 aged 73. His only issue, Andrew Jr, was presented to two prebends of Restalrig Collegiate Church in 1580 and 1582 (RSS vii:No. 2435; viii:No. 879, repeated as No. 2090 in 1584). Both these prebends were gifted as scholarships, but they do not specify the study of music¹⁸. According to Scott (FES i:351), Blackhall Jr graduated as MA from St Andrews University in 1596, some sixteen years after first receiving a scholarship. Like his father, he also became a minister, first at

¹⁸Scott (FES i:351) states that Andrew Blackhall Jr was born in 1575. However it is unlikely that Blackhall was aged five when he received his first scholarship in 1580. Therefore he was probably born about 1565.

Glencross (in Dalkeith Presbytery) then Aberlady (in Haddington Presbytery; FES i:321, 351). Andrew Jr died before 19 November 1645 (FES i:351).

The most important family of musicians to work in Edinburgh during the sixteenth century was the Hendersons. Edward Henderson was master of the town's song school from 1551 or 1553 (see p.153f). There are few references to the song school during the 1560s. However it is apparent that the institution did survive the Reformation. A payment was made to Edward as master of the song school in 1560 (Adam 1899:306) and Edward received another payment (of £13 10s) in October 1564 "for expenses deborsit be him on the Sang Scole" (Adam 1899:481). This was but a small part of the money paid by Henderson towards the building of the song school. According to his will "thair wes awin to the said umquhile Edward Henrysoun, be the gude toun of Edinburgh, for bigging of the Sang Scole, £41" (quoted in Dauney 1838:99). This is a substantial sum of money—more than four times his annual salary as master—but Henderson would also have received income from his prebend of St Giles's church and, at his death, he owned a number of properties in Leith (McQuaid 1949:105). Henderson's benevolence towards the song school was to pay off, for the school remained (more or less) under his family's control for many years to come.

In 1570 Edward's son James was granted the prebend of Browderstanis within Trinity College in Edinburgh (a collegiate church of royal foundation; McQuaid 1949:106). The prebend was granted as a seven-year scholarship. It appears that James studied in Edinburgh for, in 1574, father and son were ordained "to sing the salmis on the preching dayis in sic touns [= tunes] as ar maist colmoun for the kirk" (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* i:113).

This small reference is important for our understanding of post-Reformation psalmody, at least in Edinburgh. It shows that, just ten years after the publication of the first complete Scottish psalter (with 105 tunes)¹⁹, certain of these tunes were being sung more frequently than others. This is hardly surprising since very few congregations would have been able to learn all 105 different and fairly long tunes. Almost two thirds of the psalm versifications (and 59 of the 105 tunes) were in common metre and this fact undoubtedly gave rise to the practice of substituting a little-known proper tune for another more commonly-known one in the same metre. The

¹⁹The psalter published by Robert Lekprevik of Edinburgh in 1564.

continuation of this practice eventually led to the almost total abandonment of the proper tunes by the mid-seventeenth century in favour of the newer (and much shorter) "common" tunes. The context of the above ordinance to Henderson is not clear, but the General Kirk of Edinburgh (from whose book this extract is taken) was a body which "was engaged chiefly in administering those concerns in which all the congregations in Edinburgh had a common interest" (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* i:100). It may be, therefore, that this ordinance was by way of a reprimand to the musician and his son, suggesting they had earlier tried (unsuccessfully) to introduce some of the lesser-known psalm tunes into church usage. However, the congregations of Edinburgh were not entirely limited to common tunes. By 1582, 2000 of the town's inhabitants were able to sing Ps 124 in four-part harmony to welcome the return of their exiled minister, John Durie (Patrick 1949:61).

In November 1577 Edward Henderson was awarded a weekly fee of 10s for precenting, probably in the High Kirk to which the song school was attached (Marwick 1882:60). Edward remained as master of the school until his death on 15 August 1579 (McQuaid 1949:106). In his will (partly quoted in Daune 1838:99), Edward left "ane pair of monycordis" to his son James.

In October 1579 James VI made a public entry to Edinburgh. The festivities on his arrival comprised secular music-making, and some "musicians song the xx. psalme, and others played upon the viols" (Livingston 1864:17). Psalm 20 ("In trouble and adversitie, The Lord God heare thee still") was sung again following the service held in St Giles's kirk. The musicians and children of the song school would undoubtedly have been involved in these ceremonies. James Henderson was probably in attendance, and possibly also Andrew Buchan.

Andrew Buchan had been a canon of the Chapel Royal since at least 1551 (see pp.28, 34). He is described as precentor and teacher of music in Edinburgh on 18 November 1579 (Marwick 1882:126), but his appointment as master of St Giles's song school and precentor there was not confirmed until 27 November (Marwick 1882:128). This suggests Buchan may have held the position in an interim capacity following Edward Henderson's death. Buchan may therefore have been responsible for the musical arrangements for James's entry to Edinburgh. Buchan's contract states that he was to receive 20 merks *p.a.* for his duties and a further 20 merks to pay for the rent of the song school. His pupils were to pay no more than a half

merk per quarter for learning “the art of music”, and Buchan’s doctor was to receive no more than 2s [per quarter]. This is the first reference to a doctor at the song school. This position was probably held by James Henderson as, in 1574, both he and his father were employed as precentors in the kirk, suggesting he had been doctor since then. In 1580 James Henderson, who previously held the prebend of Browderstanis, is described as reader at Soultray [= Soutra, in Dalkeith Presbytery] (RSS vii:No. 2434). By 1590, James had become minister at Soutra, which position he demitted on 21 May that year (FES i:321).

Termly payments to Andrew Buchan are listed in the accounts for 1580 (Marwick 1882:165, 190), and Buchan remained in office until his death some time before 1 August 1582 (Marwick 1882:239). On this date James Henderson succeeded to the mastership of the song school, with an annual stipend of £10 plus a house and lands by St Paul’s Work rent free.

In the parish of the Canongate, Walter Broun was appointed reader, precentor and session clerk on 16 June 1584. He was to serve for one year from Whitsunday for a fee of £10 (Dennistoun & MacDonald 1840:353). The following year David Cuming was appointed “ane of the maisters of the sang scholes of this burgh [Edinburgh]” (Marwick 1882:407). The school referred to was probably that in the Canongate, where Cuming was - definitely working in November 1585 (McQuaid 1949:122)²⁰. Cuming’s salary for teaching music, reading and writing, and precenting in the East Kirk was set at 26 merks *p.a.*, but this was augmented to 30 merks [= £20] by order of the burgh council just two days later (9 April 1585; Marwick 1882:407f). Cuming remained in the Canongate for only a short time as on 25 February 1586 he was promoted to the mastership of the “principall sang schole” [i.e. that at St Giles’s] following the death of James Henderson. Five months after his appointment Cuming, along with teachers from other schools, was called before the council and admonished to teach his students with special regard to “keping guid ordour, [and] abstening frome banning [= cursing] and bikkering” (Marwick 1882:479). Despite this, Edinburgh’s school pupils do not seem to have caused anything like the strife seen in Aberdeen around this time (see p.95).

Another son of Edward Henderson, Gilbert, was appointed precentor in Edinburgh the same day that Cuming became master of the principal song school (25 February 1586; Marwick 1882:450). Gilbert was to receive

²⁰The rest of Cuming’s career has been outlined above (p.49f).

10 merks *p.a.* for precenting and was additionally allowed to take up a “vulgar” school for the teaching of reading, writing and singing. The following year this school is described as a song school. At this time Gilbert was living in the house at St Paul’s Work, where his brother James had previously lived (McQuaid 1949:150). However, possibly because Gilbert’s school was not of the same high rank as the main song school, he now paid 6 merks annual rent for the property.

The following payments are recorded in the burgh accounts for September 1589:

Item, payit ... to the Maister of the sang schole for certane things that he had bocht to the bairnes to play ... £5 17s

Item mair, delyverit to the said maister aucht elneis [= 7.5m] of bukrum of cullouris to be breikkis and heids to the bairnis at aucht shillings the elne [... £3 4s]. (Wood & Hannay 1927:327.)

These purchases were in preparation for the arrival of Princess Anne of Denmark. Her marriage by proxy to James VI had taken place in August 1589 and during September she sailed to Scotland, but her fleet was forced back due to bad weather. Cuming’s elaborate musical arrangements were thus to be postponed until May the following year (see p.43ff). We cannot be certain what it was that Cuming had bought for the children, but it may well have been books of (printed?) instrumental music, or even instruments. The children of the main song school would certainly have lent a very colourful air to the proceedings with their new trousers and head-gear, and they would doubtless have been directed by David Cuming.

The burgh accounts also record several other payments to the master of the song school during the 1590s. Payments of £10 are noted in November 1590 and November 1592 (Wood & Hannay 1927:30, 75). In line with the last recorded master’s salary (to James Henderson in 1582; see p.162) these are probably payments of David Cuming’s annual fee. Two payments in May 1591 suggest Cuming was something of an innovator among his fellow song school masters. One allows a special payment of £3 to the master of the song school’s “cumpanie” (Wood & Hannay 1927:331). Another, also of £3, was paid to Cuming “to enterteny his hieland danseris”! The fact that the dancers are “his” may imply that Cuming invited the dancers to the city, and perhaps even that his students provided the appropriate folk music for their dancing. This appears to be the only contemporary

reference to things Highland at a lowland song school.

Cuming's mastership of the school came to a close some time before 23 November 1593. On this date it was agreed by the council that John Chalmer, applicant for the post, should be tried for his musical ability by Patrick Dunbar (lately student in Edinburgh, 1582–87), James Gray, James Lauder, a Frenchman with the surname Ellie, and another man with the surname McCallaw. This audition and the examiners have been discussed above (pp.37f; Wood & Hannay 1927:103). Chalmer passed the examination and was duly appointed master of the song school and precentor in the High and East Kirks on 21 December 1593 (Wood & Hannay 1927: 106). Chalmer was given the power to appoint precentors under him and his quarterly teaching fees were set as follow: 6s 8d for pupils learning to read and write, 10s for those who sing, 13s 4d "for discanting", 20s "for playing onelie but [=without] singing", and pupils who read, write, sing, "sett [=write music?]" and play are to be charged as much as Chalmer thinks fit. No mention is made of his salary. Three months after Chalmer's appointment, work began on building a new song school in the kirkyard of St Giles's. The work lasted about three months and cost £502 4s 10d (Wood & Hannay 1927:130, 348).

By December 1595 Chalmer was in poor health. The burgh records note a payment to him of £20 "because of his illness and the dearth [= high prices]" (Wood & Hannay 1927:147). By the following April he was no longer able to continue as master of the school, and William Cuming (son of David, the former master) was appointed to serve in Chalmer's place until Whitsunday 1596 (Wood & Hannay 1927:156). Thereafter Chalmer disappears from the records and it would be reasonable to assume that he died shortly after demitting the mastership.

William Cuming is first mentioned in a charter dated 18 April 1594, the confirmation of which appears in the Register of the Great Seal (RMS vi:No. 1190): "Wil. Cummyng filio legitimo Davidis C. ludimagistri schole musice Edinburgi". We may infer from the absence of "quondam" in this entry that David Cuming was still alive in April 1594, although he had demitted the mastership of the principal song school before December 1593. The lack of punctuation renders the reference somewhat ambiguous. However, if we read "filio legitimo Davidis C." in parenthesis (and this is a common formula in legal documents), then William Cuming was at that time master of a music school in Edinburgh. Therefore, like his father

before him, William Cuming was most likely master of the Canongate school in 1594, before his promotion to the main song school at St Giles's in 1596. Nothing further is known of William Cuming, except that two weeks after his appointment he was charged personally with responsibility for maintaining the glass windows of the song school²¹ (Wood & Hannay 1927:156).

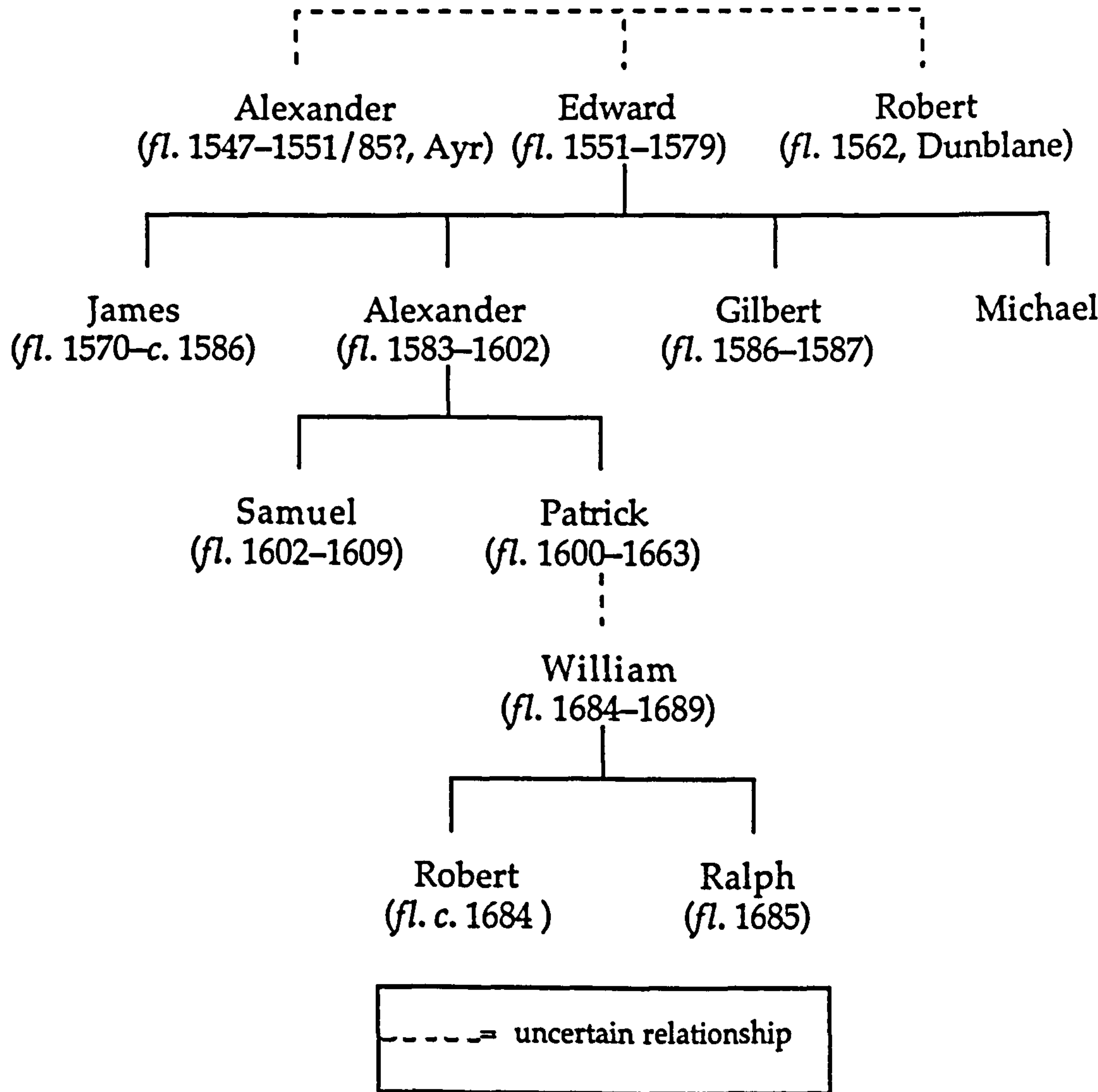
Cuming may have remained as master after Whitsunday 1596, but on 10 June 1597 Alexander Henderson succeeded to this position, along with the precentorship of "the two kirks" (*i.e.* the High and East Kirks; Wood & Hannay 1927:191). Henderson's salary was set at £60 *p.a.*—a substantial increase on the sums earned by his predecessors. Alexander was another of the sons of Edward Henderson, former master of the song school. In 1583 Alexander was master of the hospital of Trinity College in Edinburgh (RSS vii:No. 1260). His brother, James, was at the same time prebendary of Browderstanis at the college. Although Henderson's appointment to the school was initially for a period of one year only, he probably remained there until 1602, when he is next mentioned. In January 1602 he received a payment to help cover his house rent (Wood & Hannay 1927:299f).

Having been master of the principal song school for five years, Alexander Henderson resigned the post on 13 July 1602, in favour of his son Samuel. In recognition of his service to the burgh, Alexander was granted a pension of 40 merks (Wood & Hannay 1927:309). Unfortunately we have no information concerning Samuel's salary as master of the school. It was very probably more than the £60 received by his father as, after Samuel's death in 1609, his successor was paid 300 merks *p.a.* [= £200]. The curriculum of this school expanded during Samuel's tenure of office. In February 1603, he was permitted to teach rudiments and grammar at the music school (Wood & Hannay 1927:317). This move may have been calculated as a means of bringing extra money into the school and surely implies the employment of at least one and probably two other teachers at the school. Following a reorganization of church administration in Edinburgh, the remit of the master himself was reviewed around this time. As a result, Samuel became session clerk to the kirks in the south-east and south-west quarters of the city in 1605, as well as keeper of the Poor Register (Wood 1931:10). Samuel died some time before 8 March 1609, on which

²¹ It would appear these windows were prone to damage (by vandalism?). In November 1597 Edinburgh's Dean of Guild arranged to have the windows repaired (Wood & Hannay 1927:202).

date his brother, Patrick, succeeded him as master of the music school, reader, precentor and session clerk (Wood 1931:50).

The relationships of the various Hendersons who lived and worked in Edinburgh may be summarized in the following diagram:



As mentioned above, Andrew Blackhall senior was minister of the church at Musselburgh from 1574 until his death in 1609. A recently unearthed document (*Some helps for young Schollers in Christianity*, published in 1602) contains the tune and text of Ps 117 and an otherwise untraced four-part setting of Ps 130 (Ex.7.26b, p.496). Elliott (1994a:264-275) has suggested that Andrew Blackhall may have been the composer of these two psalm-tunes and setting, as the author of the pamphlet in which they appear had various common links with him. As the tune for Ps 117 eventually found its way into the 1615 Scottish Psalter (under the title *London*), Elliott has further suggested that Blackhall may also have edited (or possibly even

partly composed) the common tunes found in this edition of the Scottish Psalter. At any rate, Blackhall senior was closely involved with the song school in Musselburgh. In 1589 James VI gifted to Blackhall senior the sizeable sum of 300 merks for the upkeep of a music school²². However, some time after his father's death in 1609, Blackhall Jr sold this pension "Sua that the parochine and the schoole is frustrat of his Majesties gift" (Livingston 1864:21).

John Buchan was appointed master of the song school at Haddington on 17 June 1583 (Miller 1844:459). This is the first news of the school since the Reformation. It therefore seems likely that the school was closed following the Reformation, but re-opened in accordance with the 1579 Act of "tymous remeid". In 1584 Buchan was presented to the prebend of Dalmellington within the Chapel Royal (RSS viii:No. 1923). The previous incumbent had been Andrew Buchan, probably John's father (see p.35). Buchan remained as master at Haddington until 1592, when he moved to a similar position in Glasgow (McQuaid 1949:208).

Little is known of Buchan's time at Haddington save that, shortly before his demission, he was accused of and confessed to having slandered the town (Miller 1844:459). The council evidently pardoned Buchan for, on 25 April 1592, they sanctioned the payment of 45 merks to Buchan's creditors (Miller 1844:459). Furthermore the council and kirk session omitted any reference to this incident from their glowing testimonial to Buchan's good conduct during his nine years in Haddington (McQuaid 1949:208f). Some of John Buchan's psalm-settings appear in Thomas Wood's Partbooks, and Edward Millar acknowledges Buchan's work in his edition of the 1635 Scottish Psalter. Another John Buchan (possibly the same man) was a student at St Andrews University (c.1537–8), then schoolteacher in Ayr (1554–5), and minister at Invergowrie and then Liff (1563; Haws 1972:162, 113). This minister would likely have been in his late sixties in 1592. I doubt whether the music teacher, at this advanced age, would make a career move from Haddington to Glasgow. Therefore the two men seem unlikely to be the same.

²²I am very grateful to Dr John Durkan for this information from his forthcoming book *Early Schools and Schoolmasters in Scotland, 1560–1633*. See also Livingston (1864:21).

The Seventeenth Century

In Stirling, James Weland became a doctor in the town's grammar school in 1602 (Hutchison 1904:36). He left the grammar school the following year and Hutchison (1904:37) speculates he may then have commenced teaching at the song school. However, the first definite reference to a post-Reformation song school in Stirling does not occur until 1620. Hutchison states that Weland was a teacher in the song school in 1623²³. It seems that, until at least 1620, the doctor of the grammar school was responsible for precenting and teaching music, as well as "Ingleshe, reding and writting". Music was therefore a subject taught within the grammar school, rather than at a separately designated song or music school. The possibility of a separate music school in the town is raised by two conflicting accounts of the appointment of a musician in 1620. The council records report that he was appointed "doctour of the grammer schole" and to teach music and precent; the kirk session minutes state that he was precentor and teacher of "ane musick schooll" (Renwick 1887:155; *Miscellany of the Maitland Club* i:458). I take the council minutes to be more accurate as they specify that this musician was to be "under the chaarge of ... [the] principall maister of the said grammer schole". The combination of these references suggest that the "musick schooll", whatever form it took, was a subsidiary of (and probably taught on the same premises as) the grammar school.

The first precentors of whom we have notice in Stirling are Moses Fergusson and John Row. Fergusson was paid £40 *p.a.* for precenting in 1605 (Renwick 1887:114). This is the only record we have of him, but he may well have been related to George Ferguson, a singer at the Chapel Royal in 1634 (see p.69). Given that he was precentor, Fergusson probably also worked as a teacher at the grammar school, no doubt responsible for teaching music. (Had James Weland been teaching at a "song school", as Hutchison suggests, he would undoubtedly also have been precentor. As this is not the case, we may assume Weland was not teaching in Stirling in 1605.)

John Row, the next precentor named in the records, was a doctor of the grammar school in 1618. He was granted 10 merks annual fee for precenting in 1618 and 1619 (Renwick 1887:150; *Miscellany of the Maitland Club* i:457). This considerable drop in pay from £40 to only £6 13s 4d

²³Regrettably, Hutchison in his *History of the High School of Stirling* (Stirling: Eneas MacKay, 1904) frequently omits references to historical evidence.

[= 10 merks] may be a reflection of Row's musical ability: he would appear not to have been as well qualified a precentor as Fergusson before him, and Row is not described as a music teacher. The following excerpt from the minutes of the kirk session may or may not be directly related to the quality of Row's precenting at the kirk:

The present Assemblie undirstanding that thair is ane ungodlie custume usit be sindrie honest men in ganging in the Uttir [= Outer] kirk upone the Sabbath befor the minister enter in the pulpet, quhen God his word is red publictlye and the salmis sung in the Inner kirk ... and therfor ... dischairgis all sic perambulatione in tymes cuming, and commandis that all the accustomat doaris therof sall ... give cairfull attendance to the preaching and reeding of God his word and praising of his holie name, be singing of psalmes in all tyme cuming. (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* i:456.)

The kirk session took the psalm-singing of its church very seriously indeed, and steps were taken to improve the quality of congregational singing. Mair (1990:106) records unprecedented action taken by the kirk session: in 1621 they ordered one Thomas Morris to repent for not singing the psalms properly. One can but wonder how bad a singer he must have been. In February the same year the session authorized the construction of "commodious seattis ... meit for the maister of the sang school and his bairnis to sit on, for singing of psalmes in the tyme of the holie service of the kirk" (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* i:458). These seats were probably built at the instigation of the new song school master, William Row, appointed in May 1620.

William may have been related to his predecessor, but it is known that he was descended from the well-known family of Reformers of which John Row (c. 1526–1580) was the most prominent member (*FES* iv:209, 229). William Row graduated as MA from Edinburgh Unversity in July 1616. He was appointed for one year as "principall doctour" of Stirling grammar school, music teacher and precentor on 22 May 1620 (Renwick 1887:153), at which time he would have been aged about 24 (see below). His salary as doctor was to be 20 merks *p.a.*, much less than his pay as music teacher and precentor: £20 *p.a.*, with 6s 8d schollage per pupil per quarter. According to Hutchison (1904:243) William Row was summarily dismissed from office on 17 October 1620—just five months after commencing his duties. The nature of his misconduct is not given. Despite these offences, William went on to become minister at Forgandenny in Perthshire, his father's

previous charge, in 1624 (FES iv:209). William died, aged about 62, in 1658 (FES iv:209).

Row was replaced as music teacher and precentor by David Murray on 6 December 1620. Like Row, Murray was also a doctor in the grammar school “under the charge of ... [its] principall master” (Renwick 1887:155). The council, obviously keen to retain a qualified musician following the disappointments of John and William Row, hired Murray for a period of three and a half years. He received the same schollage as Row, but his salary was amended to 50 merks *p.a.* paid by the council. The kirk session awarded him an additional 20 merks for teaching music and precenting (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* i:458). I have referred above to Murray’s appointment as suggesting the existence of a separate music school in the town or, more likely, a music school which formed part of the grammar school. Murray held office until 20 May 1622, according to Hutchison (1904:243)—having served only fifteen months of his three-and-a-half year contract. His whereabouts immediately thereafter are unknown, but in May 1625 he was appointed master of the prestigious music school in Elgin (see p.106). He settled there until at least 1628 around which time he married a local woman. David was probably related to William Murray who later also taught at the music school in Elgin (see p.107); and perhaps Alexander Murray, master of the Stirling music school in 1662 (see below).

During David Murray’s time as music teacher in Stirling, and probably at his instigation, the kirk session recommended that the “pulpit and Reederis letrun [= lectern] salbe taine doune and reedefeit againe” with new seats around its base for the “maister of the sang schooll and his bairnis” (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* i:458). The previous seats had lasted for only one year. This is one of very few references to the interior architecture of churches specifically made for musicians. It is certain, however, that this design would have been found elsewhere in Scotland. The description is of a three-tier (wooden) structure: the pulpit was the highest level from which the minister gave his sermon; the reader conducted the initial part of each service from his lectern (lower than the pulpit); and the singers gathered in attached seats at the base of the structure. What form these seats took cannot be ascertained, but they may have been arranged in two rows facing each other such that the singers could have sung from a single music book in table-book format (with some parts printed or copied upside-down) placed between them.

As already mentioned, James Weland appears to have been the music teacher in Stirling in 1623 (Hutchison 1904:37n). By August the same year, Weland had moved to Edinburgh where he is listed as one of the musicians of the Chapel Royal. We have no record of Weland's immediate successor. Perhaps the post remained vacant for some time whilst a temporary precentor was appointed. At any rate, the next music teacher, Patrick Bell, was appointed on 28 August 1626 for a period of five years (Renwick 1887:160) suggesting the council had had difficulty attracting a suitable long-term candidate for the post.

Bell, we are told, was the son of William Bell of Glasgow. In addition to the duties performed by his predecessors, Bell was to be session clerk to the parish church following the demission of James Duncanson through ill-health. Duncanson²⁴ had been session clerk since at least 1617 (RPC ii/viii:345) and as payment received the emoluments attached to the vicarage of Stirling. This benefice now passed to Patrick Bell. According to the terms of his contract (drawn up the day before Duncanson's resignation) Bell was to receive 200 merks *p.a.* until the vicarage should fall vacant (Renwick 1887:160; *Miscellany of the Maitland Club* i:466). Thus the benefice must have been worth at least 200 merks, in addition to which Bell was to receive schollage "at his awin discretioun" from his pupils. Bell remained in office until at least 1636 when his salary was increased from 200 merks to 240 merks *p.a.* (Hutchison 1904:243). He may even have continued until 1644, the year in which he died, according to Hutchison. Bell was obviously highly regarded in Stirling and well qualified: his salary of 200 merks [= £133 6s 8d] was substantially more than that received by any of his predecessors. Notably, Bell's contract makes no mention of working as a doctor at the grammar school. We may infer, therefore, that by 1626 the music school was regarded as a separate entity. That Bell remained in office for at least ten years, after which time his service was rewarded by an increase in pay, is also evidence that he was well qualified and gave good service to the town and kirk.

McQuaid (1949:236) identifies Patrick Bell in Stirling as a musician of the same name who also worked in Glasgow around 1642–63; Hutchison (1904:243) states that Bell died in 1644. Both scholars cannot be correct. The

²⁴James Duncanson, though not a musician, may have held a prebend of the Chapel Royal (see p.35 and Appendix A). McQuaid (1949:234) states he was "later master of the Chapel Royal" but I have found no reference to him there later than 1617. Duncanson died some time before 6 September 1631 (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* i:470).

majority of references to the man who worked in Glasgow state that he was a merchant, bailie and sometime burgess and guild brother with varying civic responsibilities, frequently taking him to Edinburgh. Nowhere is he described as “musician” (cf. Marwick 1905). It is very doubtful whether a man with such wide-ranging duties would also have been a professional musician in the city. McQuaid’s case rests on two points: first that Bell’s name “appears alongside that of” another musician in the manuscript Glasgow records (1642); secondly that Bell examined a potential music teacher for the town in 1663 (McQuaid 1949:236; Marwick 1905:12). The first point cannot stand consideration since the other supposed “musician” (John Andersoun) is not in fact described as such in this minute (see p.226n). Regarding the second point, McQuaid states “Patrick Bell, musician, was called to examine ...”. In fact, the entry in the council records (Marwick 1905:12) does not have the word “musician”. It is not unusual to find bailies (or other representatives of the town council) examining potential musicians and, furthermore, Bell’s co-examiner was Frederik Hammiltoune, another of the bailies. Patrick Bell the examiner is almost certainly the man who was a bailie of Glasgow by 16 October 1663, and probably in April when the examination took place (Marwick 1905:12, 19). Therefore, however tempting it is to speculate on Bell’s having worked as a musician in Glasgow (especially since this was his home town), there is no evidence to substantiate this.

Bell’s successor in Stirling was James Thomson, who was appointed on 9 December 1644 (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* i:480). Like Bell, Thomson was awarded a five-year contract by the town council, specifying that he was to be teacher of “ane musick scoole” (Renwick 1887:186; *Miscellany of the Maitland Club* i:480). His pay was to be the same as that of his predecessor, i.e. £160 p.a. [= 240 merks]²⁵. Thomson was the son of Martin Thomson “burgess of the Canongate”. This is almost certainly the Martin Thomson listed as a singer at the Chapel Royal in 1634, then based at Holyroodhouse in the Canongate (RPC ii/v:408).

Hutchison casts doubt on whether Thomson actually took up office since the plague was rife in Stirling in the early 1640s. But Thomson may have considered his substantial salary adequate compensation for remaining in the town. At any rate, despite his five-year contract he did not

²⁵Hutchison (1904:243) implies that Thomson received this money over and above the emoluments of the vicarage of Stirling already referred to. This is not borne out by the entry in the kirk session register (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* i:480f).

hold office for as long as two years. William Meiklejohn was elected session clerk and precentor on 24 November 1646 (Hutchison 1904:244). Curiously, Meiklejohn was in fact appointed by the kirk session, who then intimated their decision to the town council on 30 November (Hutchison 1904:244). This was a reversal of the normal protocol surrounding the appointment of the precentor. Also notable by its absence in the kirk session minute is any reference to the music school. Indeed, music teaching is not mentioned again in Stirling until 1662²⁶. Just two years after his appointment (perhaps as an incentive to stay in the town, for this was the time at which his two predecessors had left) Meiklejohn was made a burgess and guild brother of Stirling (Hutchison 1904:244). By 1650, Meiklejohn's salary was £160 *p.a.*—the same rate as Thomson and Bell before him (Renwick 1889:304). It may therefore be the case that he was by now also teaching music in the town. Meiklejohn seems to have been a fairly wealthy man. In 1641 there was owing to him by one Archibald Campbell the sum of £566 13s 4d (RMS x:No. 1). The debt was not settled until 1653 when Meiklejohn accepted half the lands of Ardewneman as payment (RMS x:Nos. 1, 119). Meiklejohn died about 1654–5 (Hutchison 1904:244). He was succeeded by another William Meiklejohn, presumably his son, who was made burgess and guild brother on 29 September 1656 (Hutchison 1904:244). Meiklejohn junior remained in office for six years until November 1662 when he was discharged “throw sicknes of bodie and dimnes of sight” (Renwick 1887:240f). His successor was appointed the day he agreed to his discharge (22 November; Renwick 1887:241). Meiklejohn junior's discharge was to have effect from “mertimes last”, *i.e.* Martinmas [= 11 November] 1662. Thus it would appear that Alexander Murray, his successor, had been precenting since at least that date.

Murray's appointment was reverted to the control of the council and it is significant that music teaching is once again mentioned as one of his duties. His pay, however, had dropped dramatically to only £80 *p.a.* (half the previous salary) and schollage was to be at his own discretion (Renwick 1887:241). Murray had lately been precentor at St Ninian's Parish Church near Stirling. As mentioned, this music teacher and precentor may be related to David Murray who had earlier taught music in Stirling and Elgin (see above).

²⁶ Hutchison (1904:244) suggests there may have been no music teaching until 1648 “when a new agreement was made with Meiklejohn, and his salary increased”. However, he does not state whether the new agreement specified music teaching.

Alexander Murray appears only once in the records. After 1662 there are no references to sacred music until 1680. The remainder of the following information on music in seventeenth century Stirling has been summarized from Hutchison (1904:245ff). William Meiklejohn (possibly the man who had been discharged in 1662, or perhaps his son) was paid 300 merks "as his predecessor had" for precenting in 1680. This was certainly the largest salary so far paid to a Stirling musician. Hutchison suggests Meiklejohn's appointment was a temporary measure, for a new precentor and music teacher was employed in February 1681, Alexander Keith. He had previously worked as precentor in Dundee (see p.136f). Keith did not remain in Stirling for long (or possibly did not take up office) for David Wilson, doctor at the grammar school, was precenting in the kirk from 1 August 1681. Wilson continued until 1685 when his successor at the grammar school, George Stewart, took up the precentorship. From 1683 the council made efforts to attract a new musician, but to no avail until December 1685 when the kirk session enlisted the services of William McGie "musician at Lanerick [= Lanark]" (see p.234). McGie seems to have been employed as precentor only, for it was not until May 1694 that he was allowed by the council to keep "ane publict school for teaching of youth to sing and play" for which he was paid the "old cellarie" i.e. 300 merks (Renwick 1889:70).

The next few years of music in kirk and town proved to be very turbulent due to friction between the council and the kirk session. Following his appointment to the music school, McGie was discharged as precentor and William Baxter put in his place. However Baxter was discharged at Martinmas the same year (1694) as the council desired the kirk to have a precentor who would also be the music teacher. This condition was fulfilled by the appointment of Alexander Hume (from Stirling) in April 1695. McGie, however, was back in office by October 1695 and remained as music teacher and precentor until his resignation in November 1697. Walter Allan (presumably a local man) was made interim session clerk and precentor upon McGie's demission. The century drew to what appears to have been an unsatisfactory close for the council and kirk session. In the absence of any better qualified musicians, Alexander Hume was reappointed as precentor in 1698, but was dismissed in October the same year as his voice was too weak, according to the kirk session. One year later a very telling council minute sums up the situation in Stirling:

Having considered the prejudice that this burgh sustaines by want of a good musician to teach musick publicklye ... and being convinced that the want of a musik master hinders many of the gentrie from sending their childring to be here educat, to the noe smal prejudice of this burgh; and they having been at the paines to enquire, and having layed out for intelligence in the most parts of the Kingdom for fitt persones to exerce that office ... can hear of none quallified for that trust except Mr Hume and Mr [James] Ellies ... (quoted in Hutchison 1904:246).

Several important facts can be drawn from this minute. It shows that, in common with many other important burghs during the seventeenth century, Stirling sought the patronage of the gentry in order to raise the prestige of the burgh. It also demonstrates that, by now, music held a firm place in what was perceived to be a rounded education for the sons of upper class families. Finally, the minute is a good example of the lengths to which some councils had gone in order to provide adequate musical instruction for their youth. Alexander Hume was duly appointed master of the music school and precentor in January 1700. His teaching salary was set at 200 merks *p.a.* plus schollage at his own discretion. Hume died in 1708 and was succeeded by James Ellis, the other man thought qualified in 1699. Following his rejection by Stirling in 1700, Ellis moved to Glasgow and precented there around 1700–1705 (see p.232f). One has cause to suspect the musical qualifications of Ellis when we recall that Hume (whose voice was weak and who had already been dismissed twice) was preferred to Ellis in 1700. Ellis died in office as precentor of Stirling in 1717.

We have a single reference to a precentor in nearby Falkirk. In 1632 John Dischingtoun was appointed schoolmaster, session clerk and precentor in Falkirk for a salary of £40 (Murray 1887 i:76). Dischingtoun was still in office in 1638 (Lawson 1973:42). One of his successors, James Levingstoun, was appointed in 1644 and received the same salary. Presumably he too was precentor of the church (Lawson 1973:57).

Ferguson (1905:250ff, 331f) furnishes much of the information on sacred music in Linlithgow during the seventeenth century. The first precentor of whom we have notice is Michael Park. He was in office in about 1628 (Ferguson 1905:250). Park's predecessors were Patrick Moneypenny and Robert Nerne (both *fl.* c. 1592)—both men are described as readers at the

parish church (St Michael's), but may also have precented (Ferguson 1905:249f).

The town council sought to impress Charles I during his northern progress of 1633. In time for his visit to the royal palace they made several substantial repairs to the song school which at that time was described as "very indecent and uncomely" (Ferguson 1905:331). It must have fallen into disrepair following the Reformation and judging by its state in 1633 it seems unlikely that much, if indeed any, music education had taken place in the town since then (despite the 'Act of tymous remeid', 1579). Also in 1633 (whether before or after Charles's visit is unclear) the song school was put under the mastership of Robert Keith who was also to be precentor and a doctor in the grammar school, all offices usually undertaken by the one man in smaller Scottish parishes (Ferguson 1905:250). Keith had graduated as MA "*minister verbi*" from Edinburgh University in 1629 (Laing 1858:44). In Linlithgow his salary was set at 100 merks *p.a.*. He remained there as master of the song school until early 1637. During his mastership further repairs were made to the song school in 1635 to make it weatherproof and in building stair banisters "for the safety of the bairns" (Ferguson 1905:331). On 31 March 1637 (or soon after that), Keith was admitted minister of Ecclesmachan Parish Church within the Presbytery of Linlithgow, following the demission of his uncle (FES i:203). Robert Keith died in 1661, aged 52 (FES i:203). Other musician Keiths to whom he may have been related are Alexander (*fl.* 1668–1705, Stirling) and James (*fl.* 1618–23, Edinburgh).

On 10 February 1637 Alexander Cornwall was paid £10 by Linlithgow council for "reading the prayers" (Ferguson 1905:250). Bearing in mind that Keith received 100 merks [= £66 13s 4d] for a whole year, it would seem that Cornwall's payment was for a period of around eight weeks, *i.e.* his was a temporary appointment. Cornwall's biography appears in FES i:222: he was troubled by financial insecurity for much of his life. He was ordained to Muiravonside Parish Church (Linlithgow Presbytery) on 8 April 1627. Cornwall still held this charge at the time when he was temporary reader at St Michael's in Linlithgow (where his brother was minister) in 1637. This suggests he took up the readership (and precentorship?) because he needed the money. Having been accused of intromission (interference) with the Muiravonside session funds, he demitted the charge in 1641. By 1650 Cornwall was a schoolteacher and precentor at Kettins in South West Angus. He died after 1659.

The Linlithgow vacancy was eventually filled by William Bisset in 1637 (Ferguson 1905:251). Bisset was awarded a seven-year contract as master of the music school and precentor, having the same pay as Robert Keith, 100 merks. It is minuted that the song school fabric was still in need of urgent repair in 1637: its vault required “pinning” *i.e.* the joints of its masonry were to be filled with stones (Ferguson 1905:331). Bisset must have afforded good service to the council and kirk session for he was rewarded by two pay rises over the next two years: a new rate of 120 merks *p.a.* in November 1638 was increased to 160 merks in December 1639 (Ferguson 1905:251). Also in 1639 Bisset’s schollage for teaching music was set at 10s per quarter for children of the burgh, and 20s for “landward” children. These rates are considerably higher than those received by most of his contemporaries: the standard rates seem to have been around 6s 8d per quarter for town bairns with a discretionary increase for children outwith the town.

By 1650 Bisset had been in office for thirteen years. He appears not to have considered leaving Linlithgow, and in fact remained in the town’s service until 1684—47 years in total, a very lengthy employment by comparison with most other precentors and song school masters. Nevertheless, in 1650 the council and kirk session came to a new agreement over the appointment and pay of the town’s precentor. Future incumbents were to be qualified musicians appointed upon the advice of the council (Ferguson 1905:255). In return, the council would give 100 merks towards the precentor’s pay, which was to be made up by the kirk session.

The next reference to the song school given by Ferguson (1905:253) is to yet another (but apparently long-overdue) pay rise for William Bisset. In 1682 Bisset appealed to the council for an augmentation of his salary, having been in their employment for 45 years “in better and worse times”. By this time his allowance had been £40 short “these many years bygane”, *i.e.* he had received about £66 *p.a.*. He was granted an increase of 50 merks, bringing his annual salary to about £100 (almost as much as he had earned in 1639), but this augmentation was not to be allowed to his successor.

Bisset died at the beginning of 1684 and was succeeded by his son, James (Ferguson 1905:255). James’s salary, according to the council’s judgments of 1682 and 1650, must have been around £66 [= 100 merks], all of which they were liable to pay. However, it is very unlikely that all of this sum was paid by the council—a certain amount, perhaps half, would have been met by

the kirk session. James Bisset was dismissed in 1689. The minister and schoolmaster were also dismissed this year as a result of the election of a new provost of the town. Ferguson (1905:255f) therefore believes Bisset's dismissal to have been similarly politically motivated.

The last seventeenth-century precentor of Linlithgow was Robert Strang who was appointed in July 1691 (Ferguson 1905:256). Strang received £30 *p.a.* from the council plus an unspecified sum from the "kirk annuals". Strang remained in office until his death in 1730—a period of 39 years during which he witnessed the demise of the burgh song school. The first warning signal came at the end of the century when the council stopped the £30 salary paid to Strang (and some others) reasoning that these salaries were "exorbitant, and some for no use"! (Ferguson 1905:256.) Four years later (1703) Strang was granted 50 merks annually [= £33 6s 8d] for the upkeep of his large family. The year 1710 saw the final demise of the music school building: its timbers and roofing were removed to repair the "Fleshmarket" (Ferguson 1905:332). Strang, however, continued teaching music for in 1716 his meagre salary of £30 was reinstated. His successors as precentors of St Michael's do not appear to have taught at a music school.

Patrick Henderson became master of St Giles's song school in Edinburgh on 8 March 1609 (Wood 1931:50). He was a grandson of Edward Henderson, one of the first masters of the song school (see p.153ff). Patrick may have been born in about 1584 for, in 1600, he was awarded a bursary to enable him to study at "the town's College" (Wood & Hannay 1927:271). Whilst still a student and as a condition of his bursary, Patrick was also precentor in the West Kirk of Edinburgh. Two years after his appointment to the song school, the council agreed that Henderson should have a new building in which to teach (Wood 1931:77). It seems the building was not started until May 1612, when the council minutes furnish more details: the song school was to be built in the "over [= upper] kirkyard ... quhair the sam wes of awld and now ruinous in larger forme" (Wood 1931:85). Surprisingly the "awld and ... ruinous" song school had been built only nineteen years earlier in 1593 under the mastership of John Chalmer. Due no doubt to the rising population of the town and the growing status of music, we find that the new school was to be of a "larger forme" than the old one.

Throughout the following four years Patrick Henderson worked hard for the council "in publick effairis"—an allusion to his record-keeping of

baptisms and marriages for the town. At any rate, in 1616 his annual pay was increased from £200 to £300 (Wood 1931:144). The same year, the council employed Walter Troup to be master of another music school within the town (Wood 1931:144). This school was also run by the council, and Troup was to receive 200 merks [= £133 6s 8d] *p.a.* for teaching there. Troup's school was situated in the Netherbow area of the town. In 1618 he was granted the house and school "presentlie inhabite be him" rent free as a reward for his "good behaviour [= conduct]" (Wood 1931:182).

Around the same time the council made strenuous efforts to ensure that no private music schools operated within the town—only those at St Giles's, the Netherbow and the Canongate appear to have been run by the council²⁷. In August 1617 James Crichtoun and James Hamiltoun were banned from keeping public music schools (Wood 1931:163f). Hamiltoun, however, was determined to earn a living by teaching music. Consequently he suffered the wrath of the council a second time in November 1618. His co-offender on this occasion was James Keith (Wood 1931:184). Keith and Crichtoun later found employment at the Chapel Royal in the Canongate, as did Walter Troup: Keith worked there around 1619–23, Crichtoun is listed there in 1634 and 1636, and Troup sang at the chapel around 1623–34 (see pp.59f, 68f). James Hamiltoun is later recorded as precentor of the "Colledge Kirk" of Edinburgh (*i.e.* Holy Trinity) in 1647 and was paid 100 merks for saying "prayeris to the poore of the ... hospitall [at Leith wynd foot]" (Wood 1938:137).

Despite his good work and ten-year service in Edinburgh, Patrick Henderson lost favour with his superiors in 1619. He was accused of having been absent without leave on Christmas Day 1618 (Calderwood 1842 vii:348f). Although Henderson had arranged for a deputy precentor that day, the High Commission²⁸ saw fit to threaten him with discharge from his office should he repeat the offence. The High Church so favoured by James VI ordained that the feast of Christmas should be celebrated every year. However, its celebration was shunned in Scotland as a remnant of Papistry. His absence on this particular day indicates that Henderson was probably a supporter of Presbyterianism as opposed to Episcopalianism.

The 1620s were harsh times in Edinburgh as a result of the high inflation which gripped the rest of Scotland and England. By December

²⁷The Canongate was at this time a separate burgh, but it is included here due to its proximity to the other areas being discussed.

²⁸The highest ecclesiastical court in Scotland instituted by James VI and I in 1610.

1620 Edinburgh's council no longer had money with which to pay Walter Troup for teaching music in the Netherbow. They insisted that Troup was to rely solely on the schollage of his pupils and that he was to move out of his rent-free accommodation provided by the council (Wood 1931:216). The situation improved over the next two years: Troup was paid £100 in 1621 (the council must eventually have taken pity on his plight) and 100 merks in 1622 (Wood 1931:225, 239). He continued to be paid until 1625 (Wood 1931:216n). The last reference to Troup is as member of the Chapel Royal in 1634 (see Appendix A).

Nothing is known of the state of music in Edinburgh during the mid-1620s. By 1627, however, a minute of the Edinburgh council records that the town had a school "bot no maintenance" (quoted in Livingston 1864:21). According to this minute, Richert Kene "wryter [= notary]" received the moneys pertaining to the music school (24 merks *p.a.*), but without undertaking any teaching. The council therefore set about rectifying this situation. Following this barren spell as regards music education, the council relaxed its rules on the teaching of music in private schools. We thus find several teachers listed in the records for 1627, among them Edward Millar who later moved to the Chapel Royal as its director of music (Livingston 1864:48). A Frenchman, Claud Buccellis, was granted permission to teach instrumental music in the town in January 1627 (Wood 1936:20). In 1630 Stephen Tullidaff was permitted to keep a music school "upone conditioun and provisioun to serve the guid toun" (Wood 1936:xlix). He had earlier worked in the Chapel Royal and as master of the music school in Dunfermline (see p.48, 56, 58f, 143ff). In August the next year a musician by the name of William Mercer was made a burges of the town (Wood 1936:95). Mercer probably taught music in Edinburgh, and in 1632 wrote verses in praise of the town council there (Johnstone & Robertson 1930). Mercer may have moved to Aberdeen for a short while around 1633 and was connected with the Chapel Royal in 1635 (see p.70). Patrick Henderson, of whom we have heard nothing for ten years, was made a burges and guild brother of Edinburgh in 1629 (Wood 1938:3n). This suggests that, though he may have stopped teaching during the early 1620s, he may have returned to teaching music in around 1627.

Charles I visited his northern capital in June 1633. Henderson must have taken part in the musical arrangements for this occasion but the records give only the names of Stephen Tullidaff and Andrew Sinclair as

the principal musicians involved. Sinclair (then working at the Chapel Royal, see pp.56f, 59, 62f, 69f) played the organ and provided the music for the king's banquet, for which he received 100 merks. Tullidaff, who seems quickly to have established himself as an important musician in the capital, received 200 merks "for setting [the text to music] and acting [= producing] of the musick at Parnassus hill" and at the banquet (Wood 1936:129). "Parnassus hill" was just one of several scenes in the masque produced for the king's entertainment. A very detailed account of this lavish production is preserved in *The Entertainment of the High and Mighty Monarch Charles King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Into his auncient and royall City of Edinburgh, the fifteenth of Iune, 1633*²⁹. William Maitland's *History of Edinburgh* (1753:66ff) also gives details of the masque.

The performance consisted of several scenes positioned at various points along the king's route into the Old Town, concluding as he left the East Gate (presumably on his way to Holyrood Palace). There would probably have been at least one musical item at each scene; however these items are not mentioned in *The Entertainment*. The second scene was entitled "Caledonia" and "the other face of [its] arch shew men, women, and children, dauncing after diverse postures with many Musicall Instruments" (*The Entertainment* ... :10). This seems to be a description of painting on the back of the scenery for "Caledonia".

Mars and Minerva stood at the rear of the next scene, surrounded by instruments of war and peace respectively. Minerva's instruments of peace included "Harpes, Lutes, Organs, Cisseres [= citterns?], Hauboises" (*The Entertainment* ... :12). This time the scenery consisted of portraits of 107 Scottish kings and King Fergus gave a speech in Latin. Following this, the king passed the Town Cross where Bacchus "crowned with Ivie, ... bestroad a Hogshead" may have sung a drinking song. Here, in the middle of the High Street, was a representation of Parnassus hill with Apollo and the Muses, as well as other distinguished Scotsmen: "Sedullius"³⁰, Ioannes Duns, Bishop Ecphistoun [= Elphinstone] of Aberdeen, Hector Boes, Ionnes Major, Bishop Sawen [= Gavin] Douglass, Sir David Lindsay, Georgius

²⁹ A copy of this book, published by John Wreittoun in 1633 (Edinburgh), exists in the National Library of Scotland, call number H.29.b.7. *The Entertainment* is anonymous, but has been attributed to William Drummond of Hawthornden. The speeches contained in *The Entertainment* were published along with Drummond's other poetical works in 1711 (*A Collection Of all the Poems Written by William Drummond, of Hawthornden*; Edinburgh, Printed by James Watson).

³⁰ Sedulius Scottus (fl. c. 848–59) Irish poet and scholar who worked at Liège (Ludwig Bieler (1963) *Ireland: harbinger of the middle ages* (London: OUP) 120ff).

Buchananus" (*The Entertainment* ... :13). As noted, it was here that Tullidaff's music was performed. According to Maitland (1753:66):

In the cavity of the Mount [*i.e.* Parnassus] sat two Bands of vocal and instrumental Musick, with an Organ to complete the Concert; who, at the King's Approach, performed an excellent piece of Music, called *Caledonia*, composed on that Occasion in the most elegant Manner, by the best Masters.

The music *Caledonia* is not specified in the order of events described in *The Entertainment*. However, Maitland (1753:66) follows this description with the lyrics of "The Muses Song". This song includes the word "Caledon" and is undoubtedly the *Caledonia* he refers to above:

At length we see those eyes,
which cheere both earth and skies,
Now ancient Caledon
thy beauties highten, richest robes put on,
and let young joyes to all thy parts arise.

Here could thy Prince still stay,
each moneth should turne in May,
We need not starre nor Sunne,
save him to lengthen dayes and joyes begunne,
sorrow and night to farre climes hast away.

Now Majestie and Love
combin'd are from above,
Prince never Scepter swayd
lov'd subjects more, of subjects more obey'd,
which may indure whilst heavens great orbs do move.

Ioyes did thee alwayes last,
lifes sparke ye sonne would wast,
Griefe followes sweet delight,
as day is shaddowed by fable night,
yet shall remembrance keep you still, when past.³¹

Sadly, the music for *Caledonia* has not survived the ravages of time. Perhaps it took the form of a verse anthem, in the manner of Orlando Gibbons's music for James I's entry to Edinburgh in 1617 (see p.54).

The organist involved in the performance of *Caledonia* was, of course, Andrew Sinclair. The vocal music would have been under the direction of Stephen Tullidaff, composer of the music according to the burgh records

³¹This lyric also appears at the very end of *The Entertainment*, not preceded by any performance directions (*The Entertainment* ... :29). It seems odd that this song, *Caledonia*, should be performed at Parnassus hill, rather than during the earlier scene called "Caledonia".

cited above. And the instrumental music may possibly have been directed by Claud Buccellis, instrumental teacher in Edinburgh since 1627. These men were doubtless “the best Masters” alluded to above. Tullidaff continued to work at the Chapel Royal, and died about 1640³².

One must also consider the interesting possibility that the choir of the English Chapel Royal may have combined with the Scots musicians in the performance of this masque (as they may have done for church services in Charles’s presence). Indeed, features of the scenery for the Mars/Minerva scene described above were the arms of England and Scotland; and English participation would certainly have underlined the unification of the two countries. Arrangements were being made in May 1633 for the English choir to be transported north by sea (upon a ship called the “Dreadnought”; Hillebrand 1920:267; Baldwin 1990:170ff). They doubtless arrived in Edinburgh before the king (who travelled by land) and would have had time to rehearse the scenes in which they may have been involved. Furthermore, at least six men of the English choir present in Edinburgh are known to have sung in a masque at court in London the following year. A comparison of the list of English chapel royal musicians (p.67 of the present study) and the list of performers in *The Triumph of Peace* (Lefkowitz 1970:47 and plate ix) shows the following men took part in both celebrations:

<u><i>The Triumph of Peace</i> (1634)</u>	<u>English Chapel Royal in Scotland (1633)</u>
Mr Night[ingale]	Roger Nightingale (bass)
Mr Frost	John Frost, junior (bass)
Mr Porter	Walter Porter (tenor)
Mr H.L.	Henry Lawes (countertenor)
Mr Lawton	Thomas Laughton (countertenor)
Day	Thomas Day (countertenor ³³).

Besides these men, it is even possible that some of the boys of the chapel took part in performances of masques (Lefkowitz 1970:47). At least eight boys were required for *The Triumph of Peace*; a similar number took part in the chapel’s visit to Scotland. Between its members, therefore, the English Chapel Royal had a large body of experience in the performance and production of masques. It is highly likely that the Scots musicians drew upon this expertise.

³²For further biographical notices of this musician see McQuaid (1949:307). A Stephan Tullidaff, possibly the musician, was witness to a bond of caution on 18 May 1623 (RPC i/xiii:232).

³³Here is the only slight anomaly: Day is described as “tenor” in *The Triumph of Peace*.

Returning to the history of the burgh's music, Edinburgh council's new policy of allowing private schools seems to have continued, for Andro Ritchie was granted a licence to open a music school in November 1633 (Wood 1936:135). Nothing further has come to light regarding this man. Another musician Ritchie to whom he may be related is John, master of the song school in Dundee (c. 1662–68; see p.136).

As precentor and reader at St Giles's (the High Kirk of Edinburgh) Patrick Henderson would have been in the thick of the turmoil surrounding the introduction of the new Anglican-style Service Book. Having possibly rejected Episcopalianism once already (by refusing to celebrate Christmas) it comes as no surprise to find that Henderson refused to read the new liturgy in 1637 (Livingston 1864:23; Wood 1936:197). His defiance on this occasion resulted in his dismissal. Another change of religious climate, after the enforcement of the National Covenant in 1638, enabled Henderson to return to his duties. In 1639 he was appointed clerk to the six kirk sessions in the town of Edinburgh—a considerable responsibility and one which Henderson continued until at least 1653 (Wood 1938:3 and note, 320). Also in 1639, the king (who was much concerned with the fabric of St Giles's; Wood 1936:145, 147, 169) ordained that the song school attached to the church should be taken down, out of the kirkyard and rebuilt elsewhere (Wood 1936:221). Nothing seems to have come of this.

The disintegration of the Chapel Royal in 1638 was a great blow to Scotland's musical life and future. The immediate effects of its downfall were most keenly felt in Edinburgh itself. Of the six musicians listed at the Chapel in 1635–8³⁴, only two continued to work in Edinburgh: Edward Millar (who signed and dated some manuscript psalm-settings in 1643) and Alexander Lowis (who was working in South Leith by 1649); what became of the others is not known, except that Stephen Tullidaff died in about 1640. Thus the capital had lost at least three of its best musicians, as well as the means by which to train the nation's future musicians. Perhaps as a reaction to this tragedy, during the 1640s the council extended its lenient policy towards the setting up of private schools—one might almost say there was now positive encouragement of such ventures. The council granted John Mill "musician" 80 merks to open a music school on 27 March

³⁴ Edward Millar, Andrew Sinclair, Stephen Tullidaff, John Watsoun, James Creichtoun and Alexander Lowis (see Appendix A).

1646 (Wood 1938:87). The same day Robert Watstone “musician” was likewise granted 80 merks to start “ane [music?] school” (Wood 1938:87). Additionally, Watstone was to be precentor to one of the six congregations in the town (that in the charge of the Revd Andrew Ramsay). Nothing further is known of Mill. Robert Watstone was probably related to John and Humphrey Watson (lately singers at the Chapel Royal), and Charles and Walter Watson (musicians in South Leith and Glasgow respectively; see pp.196, 230). The latest “vulgar” schoolmasters appointed in the town, although not necessarily music teachers, were also to be prepared to act as precentors in any of the burgh kirks as the need arose. Thus we find Alexander Moriesone³⁵ and John Lowrie as standby precentors and readers in 1644 and 1646 respectively (Wood 1938:51, 97). From 12 February 1647 Andro Thriepland received £20 *p.a.* for precenting at Andro Ramsey’s church (Wood 1938:110)³⁶. Robert Watstone had therefore demitted his precentorship by this date. In April 1647 it was agreed that a committee should be formed to establish the terms and conditions of employment of the “severall precentoris” in Edinburgh (Wood 1938:117). The outcome of this meeting is not recorded by Wood, but in view of the recent decision to pay Thriepland £20 *p.a.* it may have been resolved to fix each precentor’s salary at this level, or perhaps a little higher. Edinburgh’s pro-music policy was so successful that by 1648 it was deemed necessary to curb the activities of the town’s musicians: weddings in the burgh’s kirks were to be attended by no more than twelve guests and on no account were these to include “pyperis fiddleris or any uther mercenarie musicianess”! (Wood 1938:141.)

Patrick Henderson was still keeper of the baptism and marriage books for the city in 1653. However, he complained to the council on 12 January this year that he had not been paid for the last two years, and urged the council to consider his good service during the previous 42 years and more (44 years, in fact; Wood 1938:303). The council agreed to pay Henderson £675 “as the equal half of his two yeirs fiall” *i.e.* this was equivalent to one year’s salary. The council minute makes no reference to precenting or music teaching, but it seems unlikely that such a large sum was paid solely for the purpose of keeping registers. If indeed he continued to teach music and precent in the High Kirk, then his workload was by now very heavy since, as well as recording all baptisms and marriages within the city, he was

³⁵ He may be the same man as the student who graduated from Edinburgh University in 1634 (Laing 1858:49).

³⁶ Thriepland graduated from Edinburgh University in 1638 (Laing 1858:54).

clerk to all six kirk sessions. By August 1653, Henderson was struggling to cope with the pressures of his work, and it was resolved that the five other precentors in the town should henceforth be clerks to their respective kirk sessions. In return for this duty, they would share in Henderson's former earnings (Wood 1938:320). Thus, due to the newly enhanced status of Edinburgh's precentors and the fact that they were now paid directly from the council, we learn more about them from the council minutes throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century.

John Baxter (son of Patrik Baxter, merchant) was appointed precentor of Greyfriars kirk on 10 February 1660 (Wood 1940:186). His predecessor had been David Milne, who died in office. Baxter was allowed to keep a "vulgar" school for the teaching of 'the three Rs' as well as accounts and music. He remained precentor until at least 1674 in which year he fell ill (Wood 1950:184). There are no further references to Baxter after this, and it would be reasonable to suppose that he died around this time. The precentor at Lady Yesters kirk³⁷ in 1660 was Johne Lily. For some time he had had a very stormy relationship with his "prenteis"³⁸. This culminated in August 1660 when Lily (obviously a man of a violent disposition, despite his surname) broke the unfortunate student's arm "most inhumanlie and barbarouslie". Lily was immediately dismissed for the offence (Wood 1940:212). Some time after this scandal, Lily was appointed precentor of the Old Kirk³⁹, which charge he had to demit in September 1672 because he was by then "infirm" (Wood 1950:116). Lily's demission through ill-health was no doubt viewed with great relief by the other apprentices in the town.

A further two schools were opened around this time: Patrick Kellie⁴⁰ was appointed a vulgar schoolmaster in 1660 to teach the same subjects as John Baxter (see above) as well as "playing the cithern"; and Christian Cleland (in 1662) was allowed to open a school (probably for girls only) which taught a very wide range of subjects including singing, playing, dancing, sewing, embroidery and French (Wood 1940:220, 296). Since 1661 Robert Waters had been employed as precentor at the sessions of Parliament which sat in Parliament House in Edinburgh. The recently

³⁷This kirk was founded by Lady Margaret Yester, who died in 1647. It became the parish church for the south-east part of Edinburgh in 1655 (*FES* i:80).

³⁸It is uncommon for precentors to have had "apprentices"—I have found no other such references. As most precentors also taught either song or vulgar schools, this would seem to be a reference to Lily's doctor at whatever type of school he ran.

³⁹The congregation which met in the nave of St Giles's church.

⁴⁰Kellie may be the man who graduated from Edinburgh University in 1646 (Laing 1858:65), and may be related to Edward Kellie, formerly master of the Chapel Royal (see p.61f).

restored monarch, Charles II, thought it fit that Waters should be reimbursed for his singing and awarded him the very handsome sum of £100 sterling [= £1200 Scots] (APS vii: appendix p.94).

In January 1663 it was reported that Patrick Henderson was “in a dieing conditioun” and unable to fulfil his duties (Wood 1940:313). Nevertheless he continued to receive £400 *p.a.* from the council, from the dues of the baptisms and marriages in the city. Henderson must have died shortly after this as, in 1663, the two main session clerks in the city are named as John Baxter and Archibald Cameron (Wood 1950:171n). If Henderson received his college bursary in 1600 aged 16, then he must have died close to his eightieth year in 1662/3.

The town council revised its terms and conditions of employment of precentors in 1665. From 15 December that year, Archibald Cameron was to be paid 400 merks *p.a.* for precenting, reading and register-keeping. John Baxter, obviously second to Cameron, received 300 merks for similar duties. The four other (unnamed) precentors in the town were to get 200 merks *p.a.* (Wood 1950:3). Baxter and Cameron must have been precentors to the congregations that met in St Giles’s church.

Several more musicians appear in the burgh records during the 1670s. There is a single reference to John Houlatstone (in 1670) who was admitted a burgess and guild brother of the town (Wood 1950:79). Houlatstone had been working in Edinburgh for some time before this, probably as master of a music school. It is important to note that, for some time now, there has been no reference to a “principall” song or music school in the town, nor indeed to any music school directly supported by the town council. We must infer, therefore, that the council encouraged private education—in the manner of free market enterprise—under its control but not funded from the council. George Thomsone became precentor of the Old Kirk in 1672, following the demission of John Lily (Wood 1950:116).

In February 1674 John Baxter fell very ill and Archibald Cameron was to take on his former duties (Wood 1950:171). The council made provisions in case of Baxter’s death. There are no further references to him after this and we may therefore assume that he died shortly thereafter. By July the same year the Tolbooth precentorship fell vacant (this may have been Baxter’s latest post) and we are told that several musicians applied for the position. An examination was held to find the “fittest and best qualified persone” (Wood 1950:184). The interest shown in this job may have been as a result

of its perquisites, for by 1675 (and before this) it had become standard to allow newly appointed precentors (who were now paid £100 *p.a.*) the privilege of keeping a “vulgar and musick scooll” (Wood 1950:236). Such were the terms allowed to John Lyon when he was appointed precentor of the College Kirk, upon the death of John Dobie (Wood 1950:236).

The most important musician to have worked in Edinburgh during the 1670s was certainly Louis de France. A council minute of 26 March 1675 allowed Louis to keep a music school in the town with his house rent paid and, after a “tryell” of his abilities, he was to receive a pension from the council—the first council-paid music-school master to have been appointed since 1646⁴¹. The minute lauds Louis de France as being “weill expert in that famous and excellent airt of Musick and [he] hath the most fyne and newest Tunes which have beene sung in the court of France both French and Italian” (Wood 1950:220). Just six months later, however, the Frenchman is found working in New Aberdeen (see p.104f). This suggests that he was not awarded a pension by Edinburgh council after all. The Aberdeen council minutes state that Louis had taught in the capital “for ane considerable tyme” prior to commencing his mastership of the Aberdeen music school in November 1675 (Stuart 1872:292–3). During his time in Aberdeen, Louis compiled a music book containing the tunes of various secular songs and nine psalm-tunes in four-part harmony (see p.104f and Elliott 1959:341f).

Louis’s successor at Aberdeen was appointed in 1682 (Walker 1899:xl); and the Frenchman is next mentioned in the Edinburgh records on 8 March the same year. Therefore Louis de France moved from Aberdeen back to Edinburgh some time around the end of 1681 or beginning of 1682. The entry for 8 March 1682 implies that Louis had been teaching music in the capital for a while before that date as he is therein described as (rather than appointed) “master of musick” (Wood & Armet 1954:39). On this occasion he requested the town council to pay him a yearly salary of 200 merks [= £133 6s 8d]—much less than his former annual salary in Aberdeen (£200). It is very curious that this famous French musician should agree to a drop in pay upon his return to the capital. One can only surmise that the other terms and conditions of employment were adequate compensation—perhaps the rate of schollage and/or number of pupils in Edinburgh was greater. At any rate, by 18 April 1684 Louis considered his talents undervalued in the capital and had obviously signalled his intention to

⁴¹ John Mill, musician, was granted 80 merks to keep a music school in 1646 (Wood 1938:87).

leave for greener pastures: the council increased his pay to 300 merks [= £200] "for his encuradgement to stay in this Cittie for communicating his knowledge in musick as formerly" (Wood & Armet 1954:108).

Five months later (on 8 September 1684) Louis was again in negotiations with the council, this time regarding the possibility of his teaching church music to the boys of Heriot's Hospital in the city (*Analecta Scotica* ii:263f). In his preamble to the petition, Louis wrote in eloquent Scots that

by the true exercise of [music], God himselfe is worshiped and praised, and mens hearts, amidst the cares and toylls of the world, are elevated and cherished ...

The petition continues:

... and therefor seeing theer are a great number of boyes in Heriot's Hospitall ... manie whereof may have a good dispositione for musick, the Petitioner is readie and willing to attend them at the school upon such dayes and hours of the week as your honours shall please to appoint, and their to teach and instruct the schoollars in the grounds of musick, and the four parts of the psalmes, at least a competent number that may be fitt and able to attend the severall precenters in the churches of Edinburgh, to assist and bear up the true melodie in the four parts of the psalmes to the praise of God, as your honours shall judge convenient. (Quoted in *Analecta Scotica* ii:263.)

There is no record of whether Louis was allowed to teach the boys, but another Frenchman is described as a music teacher at Heriot's in 1687 (Wood & Armet 1954:214), so it seems very likely that Louis de France was the first such music master there in 1684. His petition gives some insight into the state of church music in Edinburgh during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Although not mentioned, we may be sure that the four-part psalm-tunes he intended to teach were the common tunes: these are the tunes which Louis had copied into his music book whilst in Aberdeen. Clearly, due to the lack of specialist music schools in Edinburgh (for those schools where music was taught were, in fact, "vulgar" schools), there were at this time no music pupils to form choirs to assist the town's precentors. Louis de France sought to address this deficiency and thereby improve the quality of psalmody in the capital. The use of youth choirs in leading congregational singing has already been seen in towns such as Stirling (see p.169) and was almost certainly practised in Aberdeen, where Louis had lately been master of the music school and responsible for psalmody at St Nicholas's Parish Church. Louis de France was very

concerned for the “*true* melodie in the four parts”. As a highly skilled and distinguished musician, he was no doubt disappointed, perhaps even shocked, by the apparent lack of musical training which would have been exhibited by several of the town’s precentors. Those who had good voices but could not read music must have relied on the oral tradition to learn the psalm tunes, and this could easily have led to mistakes in the tunes and/or their harmonies. Louis aimed to eradicate these ‘untrue melodies’ through the influence of his Heriot boys. Louis de France continued to teach music in Edinburgh until at least October 1685, after which his pension was to be “discontinued” according to the council minutes (Wood & Armet 1954:149). No further explanation is given. We cannot know whether he fell out of favour with the council (this seems in line with the tone of the minute) or whether Louis took up office elsewhere, perhaps even returning to France for a time. At any rate, his name does not reappear in Scottish records until 1691 when he agreed to teach music in Glasgow (see p.230f).

It had been a condition of Louis de France’s employment in 1675 that “no stranger of any other natione shall have libertie to keep ane publict musick schoall” (Wood 1950:220). However, in view of Louis’s removal to Aberdeen by November, it was decided that Samuell Linn, an “Ingleish man” should be allowed to keep “ane publict musick[,] writting and arethmetick schoall” (Wood 1950:241). There are no further references to this man. William Henderson, almost certainly a relation of Patrick Henderson (d. c. 1663), succeeded Archibald Cameron as precentor of the High Kirk and clerk to the kirk sessions in September 1684 (Wood & Armet 1954:118). One of William Henderson’s sons, Ralph⁴², was appointed conjunt clerk with his father and precentor (of the Old Kirk?) in February 1685 (Armet 1962:24n). William Henderson’s admission to the precentorship was the subject of some debate in the council in August 1685. It seems the city’s provost, Sir George Drummond, had disgraced himself by embezzling council funds and through taking a bribe (of some three or four thousand merks) “for putting Mr William Henderson into the præcentor’s place in the Hy Church” (Lauder 1848 ii:662). The bribe was presumably paid by Henderson and proves that the position of precentor and session clerk of Edinburgh was by now a very prestigious and lucrative appointment. Despite the scandal surrounding his appointment, Henderson remained in office until his resignation on Christmas Day 1689

⁴²See the Henderson family tree on p.166.

(Armet 1962:24).

After the departure of Louis de France from Edinburgh in or around 1685, another French music teacher filled his place: Jacques du Canton. He is described as “musick master” in a council minute of 24 August 1687 when it was ordained that he should be paid 300 merks *p.a.* for teaching music in Edinburgh plus an additional 100 merks for teaching music to the boys of Heriot’s Hospital (just as Louis de France had done since 1684; Wood & Armet 1954:214). The appointment of du Canton—a French Catholic—caused quite a stir in the city, and was commented upon by John Lauder in his *Historical Notices* (9 September 1687):

The Toune Counsell of Edinburgh place a Popish Quirister in Heriot’s Hospital, to teach the children musick, contrare to Heriot’s fundation. (Lauder 1848 ii:818.)

In August 1689 the town council agreed that from now on precentors should be paid £25 per quarter (Armet 1962:14). This was the same rate of pay as agreed for new precentors in 1675, but this figure represented a significant drop in pay for those men, such as William Henderson, who had been earning 400 merks *p.a.* [= £266 13s 4d]. This move may well have been a factor in Henderson’s decision to resign the office of precentor of the High Kirk four months later in December 1689 (Armet 1962:24).

The last seventeenth-century Edinburgh precentors of whom we have notice are those who worked at the Tolbooth church. James Short had led the psalmody in the church for some time until January 1691 when his voice was considered “defective” (Armet 1962:57). He was therefore discharged as reader and precentor, but allowed to continue teaching a school. John Selkirk was appointed his successor, having already led the singing at James Kirkton’s meeting house. (James Kirkton was minister of the Tolbooth. During the later seventeenth century it was apparently common for ministers to hold private prayer meetings and services.) Selkirk demitted office some time before 24 February 1699⁴³ and is found as precentor in South Leith in 1711 (Anderson 1899:No. 3060). Selkirk’s successor at the Tolbooth was George Clerk. In 1699 Clerk was appointed master of what was apparently the first “frie school” in Edinburgh (Armet 1962:242f). This was set up because it was found that there were many children in the city whose parents simply could not afford to pay quarterly

⁴³Possibly as early as September 1692 when he was in dialogue with Leith kirk session regarding the precentorship there (Robertson 1911:168).

school fees. Clerk's terms and conditions specify that he was to teach as many children (both boys and girls) "as possible one man can teach". Later in the same minute this figure is stipulated as forty children "in the meantyme". His charges were to learn "Inglish[,] wryteing[,] common tuns of musick, some Arithmetick and his wyfe to teach the girles to work stockens". Here again, as in Louis de France's petition of 1684, we find a reference to the common tunes of the psalms—perhaps Clerk used these children to help lead the singing in the Tolbooth Church. Clerk's teaching hours were set as 9 *a.m.*–12 *p.m.* and 2 *p.m.*–5 *p.m.* every day except Saturday afternoons and Sundays; and his salary was set at £10 sterling [= £120 Scots]. Clerk was still at the free school in 1701 (Armet 1962:286).

William Tytler (1792:499–510) discusses a remarkable event in Edinburgh's musical history: the presentation of a concert of instrumental music on 22 November 1695 in honour of St Cecilia, the patron saint of music. The first British St Cecilia's Day Concert had taken place at the Stationers' Hall in London in 1683. (Henry Purcell composed the first of his four Cecilian odes for this concert, *Welcome to all the pleasures*.) This concert became an annual event in London and was imitated in other English cities. The trend eventually reached Edinburgh in 1695. Tytler's article reproduces the original plan of the Edinburgh concert, giving the music performed and the names of the players. The very substantial programme consisted of:

- Clerk's Overture [for 1st and 2nd violins, flutes, oboes and basses]⁴⁴
- Torrelli's Sonata for 4 violins
- Barrett's Trumpet Sonata [1st and 2nd violins, oboe, trumpet, tenor [= trombone?] and basses]
- Pepulsh for 2 flutes and 2 violins
- Finger for 2 flutes and 2 hautboys
- Pepulsh, 2 violins, and 2 hautboys
- Bassani Sonata [1st and 2nd violins with harpsichord]
- Songs and Mottetti of Bassani [performed by "Schollars" and "Dan. Thomson's boy"]
- Correlli's Sonata [1st and 2nd violins with harpsichord]
- Fingers Trumpet Sonata [1st and 2nd violins, oboe, trumpet, tenor and basses]
- Torelli's Sonata [1st and 2nd "trebles" and basses]
- Chacoon.

⁴⁴The titles of pieces in this list are taken from the left-hand column of the table in Tytler's article. Details of instrumentation (in square brackets) summarize the information given in the other columns.

There were also solos by Adam Craig (violinist) and John Middleton (flautist) and a "Grand Chorus" performed.

This list clearly shows the influence of musicians from London and Italy. The opening overture was probably by Jeremiah Clarke (c. 1674–1707). John Barrett (c. 1676–1719) was a contemporary of Clarke's and worked with him at the Chapel Royal in London, as did Gottfried Finger (c. 1660–1730), a Moravian composer who served at the English Chapel Royal about 1687. The trumpet sonatas by Barrett and Finger may even have been written specifically for Daniel Thomson, one of the royal trumpeters and so known to them in London, who performed them on this occasion in Edinburgh⁴⁵. Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752), a German composer, theorist and antiquarian, arrived in London near the beginning of the eighteenth century. The first definite reference to him there is in 1704 (NG xiv:357–40). Given the predominance of music from London (and the Italian music almost certainly came via London), it seems reasonable to suggest that Pepusch had in fact arrived in the British capital by 1695 and that his music travelled north from there, rather than coming from some other source on the Continent. His compositions at this concert may have been early manuscript versions of works later published in London, e.g. the twelve sonatas for violins and oboes with continuo (pub. 1710). The sonata by Corelli may have been one of his Op.2 *Sonate da camera a tre* (pub. 1685). Corelli had earlier worked in Bologna, where some of the works of Bassani and Torelli were published. Bassani's motets may have been taken from his *Metri sacri resi armonici* ("Sacred metres harmonized", pub. 1690, Bologna); several volumes of his songs had been published during the 1680s and early 1690s; and sonatas by him appeared in various contemporary anthologies. The source of the Torelli pieces may have been his Op. 3 *Sinfonie* (pub. Bologna, 1687) or his Op. 5 *Sinfonie a 3 e concerti a 4* (pub. Bologna, 1692).

Tytler (1792:508) states that the performers included eleven "masters of music" (professional musicians then living in Edinburgh) and nineteen "gentlemen" (i.e. accomplished amateur musicians of the upper classes)⁴⁶. He lists the professionals as: Thomas Brown and Henry Burn (both violinists), Mr St Columb (bass player), William Cooper and Adam Craig

⁴⁵Trumpet sonatas in manuscript by Barrett and Finger are extant in the British Library (see NG ii:186, vi:565f).

⁴⁶Tytler (1792) gives biographical notices of some of the gentlemen performers.

(both violinists), Henry Crumbden, John McClachlan⁴⁷ (violinist and bass player), Malcolm McGibbon⁴⁸, Daniel Thomson, Francis Toward and John Wilson ("tenor [= trombone?]" player). Nothing further is known of Brown, "St Columb" (presumably a Frenchman) or Wilson. Henry Burn graduated from Edinburgh University in 1690 (Laing 1858:139). William Cooper was also an Edinburgh graduate (1693; Laing 1851:146) and may have been related to Alexander Coupar, master of the song school in New Aberdeen from 1692 until 1721 (see p.105). John McLachlan's arrangements of Scots tunes were popular around 1700: one of his compositions appears in a collection by John Playford and others are found in the Balcarres manuscript (Johnson 1984:2). Adam Craig became an established concert violinist in the early eighteenth century, and published a volume called *Scots Tunes* in about 1727 (Johnson 1984:2).

Henry Crumbden, a Swede⁴⁹, was a flautist, harpsichordist and bass player. According to Tytler (1792:509) he "was long the Orpheus in the music school of Edinburgh". The burgh records give his name as a music teacher in the city in 1698 (Armet 1962:225). He later worked at Mallerstain House in Berwickshire and died in Edinburgh in 1720 (Johnson 1972:26, 30f).

Malcolm McGibbon played flute, oboe and violin at the concert. In 1696 he was approved by the council for keeping a school to teach French oboe playing (Armet 1962:194f). Malcolm had obviously made a great impression upon the council for they also ordained that henceforth the town waits should play "on French oboes, one allwayes playing upon the double curtlee for the bass" (Armet 1962:194f⁵⁰). His son William became renowned as a violinist (Johnson 1984:37) and in 1696 William was made a burghess of Edinburgh "in respect of his singular arte in playing on the hoyboy and other instruments" (Armet 1962:208).

Daniel Thomson played trumpet and [string] bass at the concert. Tytler (1792:510n) states he was one of the king's trumpeters and that he played trumpet in various operas by Purcell. His son William was a singer and also performed at the concert (the "Songs and Motteti of Bassani").

⁴⁷Tytler (1792:506f) gives his name seven times as "Ja. McClachlan". However, Johnson (1984:15) states that *John* McLachlan performed at the 1695 concert. Given that John McLachlan is a known violinist and arranger of Scots tunes, it seems that Johnson is correct.

⁴⁸Tytler (1792) mistranscribes his name as Matthew (Johnson 1972:61n).

⁴⁹Johnson 1972:30. His name can be spelled Krumbein. Tytler states that he was German.

⁵⁰Furthermore, a John Monroe (one of the waits?) was found to be a "compleat master" of these instruments.

William became renowned at court in London where he published his important collection of Scots songs with Italianate accompaniments (*Orpheus Caledonius*, 1725) which he dedicated to Queen Caroline (Elliott & Rimmer 1973:52f).

Francis Toward was a violinist and flautist. His name occurs on several occasions in the burgh records. In 1698 he is described as a “music master” in the city (Armet 1962:225). The same minute states that he, along with Henry Crumbden, was to tune the town’s bells once they had been cast⁵¹. Following the tuning and setting up of the bells, the two men were rewarded for their work by being made burgesses and guild brothers of the city (Armet 1962:246, 273). Additionally, Toward was employed to play the carillon every day except Sunday, for which he was paid 500 merks (Armet 1962:253). That the carillon was not to be played on Sundays indicates it was considered secular musical entertainment. Toward was also to take students in the art of playing the bells; and in 1700 his pay was increased to 600 merks (Armet 1962:273).

The history of church music in South Leith during the sixteenth century has been dealt with in Chapter 1 under the heading “Restalrig”, since this was a collegiate church of royal foundation. This church was razed to the ground at the Reformation and a new church nearby, South Leith, became the local parish church. Much of the information on the music of this parish is derived from Robertson (1911). South Leith attracted many musicians from all over Scotland at various times during the seventeenth century—a fact which has gone unnoticed by previous writers.

In 1610, aware that Aberdeen then had the foremost reputation for music, the kirk session of South Leith requested their minister to write to Aberdeen in search of “ane man [who] may both reid [in church] and teache musick” (Robertson 1911:9). The minister’s representative was later paid the substantial sum of £12 for going to Aberdeen in person to meet with potential candidates for the position. Working in Aberdeen at this time were James Sanderis (who had replaced Patrick Davidson at New Aberdeen for a time) and Walter Lindsay in the Old Town. The appointment of a new precentor and music schoolmaster in Leith is not recorded, but the position was evidently given to James Sanderis for, in 1613, he was paid

⁵¹The council had ordered a set of fifteen bells, of which the smallest was to weigh 6lbs, sounding the note C. They were hung as a carillon in the steeple of St Giles’s Cathedral (Johnson 1972:98).

80 merks “for byinge of ane pair of double wirgenels for *thair* musick scooll” (Robertson 1911:11). Sanderis probably moved to Leith some time during 1610; Patrick Davidson had returned to the mastership of the song school at New Aberdeen in 1612 (see p.94). Sanderis may have remained in Leith until 1626 when he was appointed music teacher in Glasgow (see p.220), but there are no other references to him before this.

The next reader of whom we have notice in South Leith is Johne Sibbald in 1632. As reader he was almost certainly also teacher of the music school. Sibbald was paid £20 *p.a.* to cover his house rent (Robertson 1911:22). Leith followed other parts of the country in its terms and conditions of employment of precentors and schoolmasters. The kirk session sought to preserve the monopoly of its own grammar and music schools, and upheld this right upon the appointment of a new grammar schoolmaster in 1629 (Robertson 1911:18). Sibbald was succeeded some time before February 1636 by Charles Watson, who was henceforth to be allowed the dues of all baptisms (6s) and marriages (12 merks) in the parish, over and above his stipend (which is not specified)—a usual perquisite allowed precentors (Robertson 1911:25). Watson held the precentorship until his death which occurred before 18 May 1643, the date of appointment of his successor (Robertson 1911:43). In July of that year, Watson’s widow petitioned the session for the final payment of her late husband’s stipend, worth 300 merks plus £40 house-rent (Robertson 1911:44). This salary made Watson one of the highest paid precentors in Scotland at the time. Therefore, although it is not mentioned in the records, he must also have kept a music school, just as his predecessors and immediate successor.

David Aldenstoune was appointed Watson’s successor in May 1643. The next month Aldenstoune was required to move out of the present school premises (a part of King James’s Hospital) into another area of the same building. Robertson (1911:44) suggests the fabric of the music school area required some repairs. Perhaps, however, the number of pupils at the school could no longer be comfortably accommodated in the old rooms. (Leith, being a busy port, would have had an ever-growing population.) Furthermore, in November 1643 Aldenstoune requested that he be allowed “ane helper to him for teaching of *the* musick scooll”, presumably because of a rise in the number of its pupils (Robertson 1911:46). In fact, Aldenstoune already had a man in mind: Alexander King. Seeking the best qualified person for the job, the session ordained King to be examined

by several qualified musicians, no doubt from nearby Edinburgh⁵². King received a good grounding in music teaching at South Leith, and had left the town before the appointment of his successor in November 1649. He went on to become master of the music school at Elgin in 1654 (see p.107).

Meanwhile in South Leith, as in every other Scottish parish, presbytery visitations of schools were held to make sure that standards of education and Christian teaching were being upheld. David Aldenstoune was involved in these inspections in 1645 and 1647 (Robertson 1911:46, 63). King's successor as doctor at the music school was Alexander Lowis. He had attempted to set up a private music school in the town, but was forbidden to do so by the kirk session. Instead, they offered that he should become Aldenstoune's assistant, on terms to be agreed between the two men (Robertson 1911:89). Until 1638 Lowis had held a prebend of the Chapel Royal (see p.71). There appear to be no references to him between 1638 and 1649, but it is very likely that after the demise of the Chapel Royal he had looked for work as a music teacher in various towns around Scotland.

In 1656 Aldenstoune was once again obliged to find alternative accommodation for his vulgar and music school. He was required to find a house "with a division *thairin* neir to the gramer school" (Robertson 1911:105). Early the following year, a musician by the name of George Runsiman was reprimanded by the kirk session (Robertson 1911:106). Runsiman had been working as the song school master in Dundee in 1652 (see p.136) and had probably moved to South Leith around 1656. On 19 February 1657 the session agreed that Runsiman would in future have to "provyd for himselff ... for they will have no more of his service in suffering him to keep a musick schooll within this towne and paroch" (Robertson 1911:106). The wording of the session minute implies that Runsiman had been doctor at Aldenstoune's school. (It is worth noting that Aldenstoune is usually described as reader or precentor in charge of a school, but never as a teacher of music. He seems always to have delegated this responsibility.) The tone of the minute could imply that Runsiman was in some way incompetent or had otherwise failed in his duties. Yet in Dundee he had been considered skilful in vocal and instrumental music. His name appears nowhere else in the records.

Nine months after dismissing Runsiman (*i.e.* by November 1657) the

⁵² Probably including musicians, such as Edward Millar, from the recently disbanded Chapel Royal (see p.184).

session had still not managed to appoint a replacement, and Aldenstoune sought from them some guarantee of his salary. The session agreed that, as in the past when Aldenstoune lacked an assistant, he should continue to be paid 200 merks *p.a.* (Robertson 1911:108). This statement suggests the salary was different when Aldenstoune had the benefit of an assistant. Aldenstoune's predecessor (Charles Watson) had received 300 merks *p.a.* in 1643. This was a very large sum of money compared to the salaries earned by other contemporary precentors/teachers (see Appendix B). One must therefore consider the possibility that this sum included an allowance for a doctor at the school: Watson may have retained 200 merks for himself, whilst his doctor received the remaining 100 merks. There are no records of Watson having had a doctor, but this theory brings his personal salary (200 merks = £133 6s 8d) into line with that earned by the song school master in Old Aberdeen in 1646 (see Appendix B). Thus, during the periods when Aldenstoune had someone to teach music, his salary was also likely to have been 300 merks, of which 100 merks was passed on to the musician.

For the last ten years of his life Aldenstoune gave way to a depute master at his school, John Weir, who was appointed on 23 June 1664 (Robertson 1911:119). Music is not mentioned as being taught at the school at this time, and there have been no references to music teachers in Leith since 1657. Indeed, it was not until 1673 that the next music teacher was appointed. Sixteen years without any professional musical provision had greatly deprived Leith in several ways: the town's status had been seriously undermined; its inhabitants had been inconvenienced; and no doubt its economy had also suffered. This is shown by a session minute of November 1673:

The Session considering the desyr proponed by severall of the neighbours and representing each respective incorporation anent the expenses and charg they are put to in sending and keeping at board their children to *Edinburgh* for learning of vocal and instrumental musick throught the want of a fitt person for teaching the same in this place which mainlie is the occasion by want of a sallary ... (Robertson 1911:128).

Once again we see that singing and playing were enjoying increasing popular appeal as modes of recreation during the later seventeenth century. That their children should be skilled in this art was a matter of such importance to the inhabitants of Leith, they were prepared to pay for their children's accommodation, food and education in nearby Edinburgh.

Bearing in mind the fact that children from outwith the burgh in which they were taught normally paid more for their education, this must have been a very costly venture for Leith folk. Of course, the majority of people would not have been able to afford the luxury of boarding music schools for their children and so the level of musical attainment amongst the general population of Leith must have been at a low ebb during the 1660s.

The kirk session resolved to remedy the situation by providing a salary for a music teacher—there had obviously been no money for this purpose for some time. The salary was to be 100 merks plus greatly increased dues from baptisms, marriages and all contracts ratified before the session (Robertson 1911:128). The session appointed John Lyell as music teacher, and allowed him to receive from his pupils quarterly schollage at the same rates as in Edinburgh⁵³. Lyell had been known to the kirk session since May 1673 when he was appointed doctor at the town's grammar school and permitted to keep a "musik schoole" (Robertson 1911:128). If Lyell had opened a music school in the months preceding November 1673 (when his salary was approved) then he would only have earned what schollage he could procure from the pupils then in his charge. One week after the session approved his salary, its minutes record that the master of the grammar school "condescendit" to allow his pupils to attend Lyell's music school three times a week (Robertson 1911:128). Lyell may not have remained long in Leith. In May 1674, tempted by better pay and a desire to teach in the town where he had been brought up, he entered into negotiations with a bailie of New Aberdeen regarding the mastership of the music school there (see p.102f). Despite Lyell's stipulation of lenient terms there, he did not take up the post in New Aberdeen, and his name does not appear in the Leith records after this date. He must have felt his meagre salary, supplemented by haphazard parochial dues, was no longer sufficient incentive to stay in Leith.

David Aldenstoune died between 12 February and 14 May 1674. At the time of his death his salary was still at the same rate as specified in 1657, 200 merks *p.a.* (Robertson 1911:128f). We may assume, therefore, that since that year Aldenstoune had continued to act as precentor as well as reader and session clerk. Following the death of the long-serving Aldenstoune, the kirk session reviewed its budget and decided to offer the next precentor

⁵³These rates are not specified, and I have not come across any contemporary statements of schollage in Edinburgh.

(whoever was to be appointed) no more than the paltry sum of 10 merks *p.a.* (Robertson 1911:129). Presumably the next incumbent would also have been expected to be reader, but acting as clerk to the session (with the greater responsibilities that entailed) would have occasioned a larger salary, and is not mentioned as one of his future duties. Aldenstoune's son-in-law, John Alexander, was appointed precentor on 21 May (Robertson 1911:129⁵⁴). A remarkable condition of employment was attached to Alexander's appointment: "that untill he learne more perfectly musick for precenting he make tryall for and finds out one to sitte by him for that end" (Robertson 1911:129). Three points can be ascertained from this short quotation. First, if John Lyell were still in Leith, it would be natural for him either to have taken up the position, or to have been asked to do so. He did not, probably disgusted by the pittance of a remuneration offered. Furthermore, it seems very unlikely that he would have offered his services free as a tutor to Alexander "to sitte by him". Lyell had therefore probably left Leith shortly after his application to New Aberdeen on 8 May (although, as mentioned, he did not take up the post there). Second, that the session was willing to appoint an unqualified musician indicates there was a general lack of musical talent from which to choose a precentor—a legacy of the previous sixteen years with no music teacher in the town. Third, if a better qualified musician could be had "to sitte by" Alexander, why was the position not offered to this man? The decision to offer the position to Alexander may therefore have been the result of some favouritism on the part of the session. In 1675 he petitioned the session for an increase in his salary to the level received by his father-in-law (Robertson 1911:132), but it is doubtful if much ever came of this. Alexander remained in office until at least 1679 in which year he travelled to London, apparently on business for the kirk session since they paid him £5 sterling to go (Robertson 1911:138). Alexander seems to have been a candidate for the ministry (as were many other musicians, particularly following the Reformation) for in 1677 George Allan (then "[grammar?] school doctor") was appointed depute precentor "whensoever [Alexander] is necessarily away preaching." (Robertson 1911:136.) In addition to precenting, Alexander may have continued to teach a vulgar school in the town—a right granted to him as to his predecessors, but one which he

⁵⁴Robertson assumes Alexander also fulfilled the position of session clerk, but I think this unlikely.

relinquished in January 1678 (Robertson 1911:137). In October the same year, Alexander Hay applied to the session for permission and “encouragement” (*i.e.* some pay) to keep a music school in the town (Robertson 1911:137). Hay’s application was granted and he remained as “music master” in Leith for the next six years. The amount of Hay’s “encouragement” from the session is not stated, but his house rent was to be paid by the kirk session and businessmen who, in 1680, were to go to Hay’s landlady “and give her satisfaction” (Robertson 1911:138). Hay became precentor and session clerk in 1682 (Robertson 1911:142): he had evidently given good service to the town and kirk over the past four years. A minute of 17 July 1684 states that not only Hay, but also the master of the grammar school, had recently been accepted as ministers in other parishes (Robertson 1911:143). Hay settled in Kilconquhar after leaving Leith in October 1684 (FES v:209)⁵⁵.

Samuel Ancrum⁵⁶ was appointed precentor and clerk upon the demission of Alexander Hay in October 1684 (Robertson 1911:143f). Ancrum was replaced early the next year by Alexander Stewart (Robertson 1911:144). William Reid was appointed clerk and precentor to the “meeting hous” (another place of worship in the town) on 29 September 1687 (Robertson 1911:155). He received 50 merks *p.a.* as well as the baptism and marriage dues. He was also allowed to keep a “venture” (*i.e.* private) school, as the session could afford him no salary for this. Some time before September 1692, Reid was replaced by George Huton, but he was considered “no good musician and unfit for *the* church” (Robertson 1911:168). Therefore the church approached John Selkirk to take up the precentorship.

Selkirk was at that time working in Edinburgh where he was precentor of the Tolbooth church (see p.191). According to the letter which Selkirk wrote to Leith kirk session, he had been invited to become precentor, session clerk and music teacher (Robertson 1911:169). The salary received by the church precentor was still only 10 merks *p.a.*⁵⁷ over and above the baptism and marriage dues. However, Selkirk pointed out that “not above one pairt of three doth acknowledge your clerk either for baptism or mariage”, *i.e.* by 1692 there must have been three different congregations within the parish (one of which was the meeting house), so the dues were

⁵⁵ Alexander Hay may be related to some other seventeenth-century musicians of the same surname. These men are mentioned on p.59.

⁵⁶ A Samuel Ancrum graduated from Edinburgh University in 1679 (Laing 1858:114).

⁵⁷ William Reid, who received 50 merks, was precentor for a different congregation, that of the “meeting house”.

“very inconsiderable”. Selkirk therefore requested an augmentation to the salary, which was granted. The session appointed him precentor in the church and meeting house (“while it continues”) and session clerk for £80 *p.a.* plus parish dues (Robertson 1911:169). This salary was less than the £100 he would have received in Edinburgh, but the addition of casualties and schollage (as music teacher) must have made Selkirk’s move to Leith worthwhile. During Selkirk’s time as precentor and music teacher, it appears that the master of the grammar school, Alexander Laing, had tried to teach music to his pupils in 1696. The session, however, warned Laing that “no musick schooll is to be keeped in this place but by *the* precentor” (Robertson 1911:181). They were obviously keen to preserve Selkirk’s monopoly on music teaching so that he would not be tempted to leave the town. Laing must have heeded the session’s reprimand for Selkirk remained in Leith until at least 1711 when (in a charter dated 29 January that year) he is described as precentor (Anderson 1899:No. 3060).

Returning to music in Haddington in the seventeenth century, we find that Robert Gray was appointed master of the music school and precentor in 1607 (Gray & Jamieson 1944:129). Robert may have been related to James and Thomas Gray at the Chapel Royal (see pp.38, 41, 43, 53; 47, 55ff, 59). Gray was succeeded by Patrick Dunbar in 1610, but Gray was probably still alive in 1616 (by which time he had become a burgess) and 1622 (RMS vii:No. 1874; J Anderson 1899: No. 195).

Patrick Dunbar taught singing and “virginallis, lut, gutharie [= cittern], and sic instruments” at the music school as well as precenting (Gray & Jamieson 1944:130). Furthermore, during the summer months, he was also to precent “in the grammar school at even”, presumably in an attempt to improve the singing of the pupils there, so that the overall standard in church would improve. Gray & Jamieson (1944:130) state that James Dunbar succeeded his father as master of the music school in 1614, Patrick having died some time before this. Therefore, the Patrick Dunbar who worked in Haddington must be different from the man of the same name who was a prominent musician at Restalrig and the Chapel Royal, where he is mentioned in 1619 and 1623 (see p.41ff). Miller (1844:460) states that James Dunbar was retained as master of Haddington’s music school in 1619, although it is unclear when he demitted this post.

Nothing further is known of the music school at Haddington until 1677

when Walter Gray was appointed “music-master” (Miller 1844:460). Walter was probably related to Robert Gray, previous master at the school; and he had graduated as MA from Glasgow University in 1673 (FES i:363). According to his contract Walter was “to instruct men as well as children” in singing and playing and, as usual, to precent on Sundays⁵⁸. Prior to the Reformation, song schools existed for the training of boys in the service of church choirs and the master of the song school would also have led (and taught) the choir, including the men. Since the Reformation, however, it was the norm for a precentor to lead the congregational singing, sometimes with the help of his song school pupils. But the addition of men here suggests that they may have sung the lower two parts of four-part psalm settings, whilst the children took the soprano and alto parts. This is certainly a very interesting development in parish psalm-singing and one wonders where else in Scotland these four-part choirs may also have been found⁵⁹. Gray was paid £100 *p.a.* for his work in the parish; he also received his house rent, but was not to charge more than 2s per quarter for those children of burgesses who learned music—a very cheap rate indeed! (Miller 1844:460.) Gray continued in his post until at least 1683 (his name appears in a charter dated 24 November that year; Anderson 1899:No. 2818). By December 1685, however, Gray was minister in Garvald parish within the presbytery of Haddington (FES i:363). He retired from this charge in 1702 and died in 1719, aged about 67 (FES i:363).

We have two short references to post-Reformation music teaching in Dunbar. In 1621 the teacher of the English and music school was paid £100 (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* ii:43). By 1679 there no longer appears to have been a separate music school in the town, as Grant (1876 i:379) states that music was then being taught for one hour a day around lunch time in the grammar school.

⁵⁸This may be a contractual phrase which was repeated over the years since Durkan notes that teaching “men and bairns” had been one of the master’s duties in 1610. (I am very grateful to Dr John Durkan for this information from his forthcoming book *Early Schools and Schoolmasters in Scotland, 1560–1633*.)

⁵⁹Perhaps, during the seventeenth century, men sang harmony parts more often than is supposed. This may well be true of the ‘high kirks’ (*i.e.* those where the magistrates and burgesses worshipped) in each of the main Scottish towns, such as Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and others. Four men in addition to the precentor are known to have helped lead the psalm-singing in Glasgow’s High Kirk as early as 1587 (see p.213).

The administrative centres of the country (*i.e.* those towns where the court spent most of its time) were all situated in central Scotland. Even after the Union of the Crowns in 1603, Edinburgh remained the focus of intellectual and artistic endeavours. Consequently the towns in this area most readily display the tastes of royalty, courtiers and of the emerging upper classes, as well as the latest trends from England and overseas. Throughout the period there was a growing interest in and appreciation of instrumental playing. Several music teachers in Edinburgh are recorded as having taught a wide range of instruments: keyboard, string (plucked and bowed) and woodwind. Furthermore, there is a large number of extant manuscripts dating from the seventeenth century containing instrumental music (see the collections of instrumental music described by Elliott (1959:355ff)). Music and, specifically, the provision of musical education also came to be seen as something of a status symbol during the seventeenth century. Since the 1580s the capital could boast an ever-increasing number of schools which offered musical training. Other towns could not hope to emulate this level of success, but a complete lack of music teaching (as there was in Stirling and Leith at times) dissuaded the gentry from having their sons educated in such towns. This was seen as a definite impediment to any burghal status and was quickly rectified by the town councils concerned. At various times steps were also taken to improve the quality of church music. One of the earliest and most notable examples of this occurred in Linlithgow in the early 1540s. Such efforts continued throughout the period, culminating in the work of Louis de France at Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh where, in 1684, he taught the boys so that they might "assist [the precentors] and bear up the true melodie ... of the psalmes".

Louis de France was one of the foremost musicians to have worked in this area. Others included John Fethy, James Lauder, Andrew Blackhall, Andrew and John Buchan, David Cuming and the Hendersons of Edinburgh. Several of these men, and many others mentioned in this chapter, worked in various towns at different times of their careers. The town of Leith appears to have been pivotal for many musicians who worked in other towns before going there and then leaving to work elsewhere (*e.g.* James Sanderis who came from Aberdeen and Alexander King who went to Elgin). Several foreigners, often Frenchmen, also worked in central Scotland during this period, particularly in Edinburgh: [?] Ellie, Claud Buccellis, Louis de France, Jacques du Canton and Henry

Crumbden. This situation presaged the influx of foreign musicians, especially Italians, during the next century.

The West and South of Scotland

Glasgow was the most important centre of population in the West of Scotland, followed closely by Ayr. To judge from its levels of taxation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Glasgow was not as wealthy a royal burgh as the important trading towns of Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen, but it grew in size and importance during this period, to become Scotland's second city (McNeill & MacQueen 1996:310).

Pre-Reformation

References to music in pre-Reformation Glasgow centre on the city's cathedral and two song schools, one attached to the cathedral and the other to the Collegiate Church of St Mary and St Anne in the Trongate (near the present-day Tron Theatre). A cemetery surrounded the latter church, and its song school was situated to the west of this (Marwick 1894 i:dxvii, lx). At its foundation (1525), one of the prebendaries of the church was required "to be learned and expert in playing on the organ, and to perform on it daily" as well as being in charge of the song school (Marwick 1894 i:lx; Cowan & Easson 1976:221f). The choir of St Mary and St Anne comprised at least three choristers in 1548 (Renwick 1908a:243). Sadly, nothing else is known of the song school attached to this church. It was not reopened following the 1579 'Act of tymous remeid' and in 1588 the council found it necessary to sell the building in order to finance the measures it had taken to avoid spread of the plague (Marwick 1894 i:lx).

A document dated 10 August 1564 lists eighteen men as "stallarios chori ecclesie metropolitane Glasguensis" (RMS iv:No. 1629, see p.209¹). No such complete list exists for the pre-Reformation period. It is highly unlikely that further choral prebends were endowed after 1560; thus we may infer that, at least immediately prior to the Reformation, there had been provision for up to eighteen singing men at the cathedral. Documents dated 1503–6² mention the boys of the cathedral choir, of which there were six (Donaldson & Macrae 1942 i:263). Another document (1506) makes provision for the six boys who have lost their "boyish voice", by granting them a prebend of the cathedral (Bain & Rogers 1875:No. 175).

¹ I am indebted to my colleague, Dr Elaine Moohan, for this information.

² ALHT ii:365; iii:145, 331.

As in other Scottish cathedrals, the principal musicians held the posts of precentor and succentor. The incumbents of these offices are listed by Watt (1969:156–160, 169f). Some of these men are worthy of note in that they may have had connections with other Scottish establishments. James Silver, succentor (c. 1497–c. 1505), may be the same man who later moved to the Chapel Royal in Stirling where he is listed as archdeacon in 1507 (see Appendix A). One of his relatives, William Silver, may also have worked as succentor at Glasgow (1505–8, Watt 1969:169; Bain & Rogers 1875:No. 310) before moving to the Chapel Royal (1508, see Appendix A). Musicians who did not hold high office in the cathedral were normally designated vicars of the choir. One such man was Sir Alexander Panter. He was a vicar of the choir at Glasgow around 1512 (Bain & Rogers 1875:No. 595). He is almost certainly the same man who had earlier held a prebend of the recently elevated Chapel Royal in Stirling in 1506 (see Appendix A). The same Chapel Royal prebend was presented to William Murray in 1516, following Panter's resignation: it is now clear that Panter resigned to go to Glasgow Cathedral. John Panter, very probably related to Alexander, was already working at the cathedral.

The earliest record of John Panter³ at the cathedral is in 1508, around which time he was one of the six choirboys (Bain & Rogers 1875:No. 317). His musical talent seems to have been recognized at an early stage, for the same document granted Panter 10 merks *p.a.* over and above that which the other boys received. After a period of musical study away from Glasgow, Panter took up a prebend of St Mary's Collegiate Church in Hamilton⁴ (Donaldson & Macrae 1942 i:263, Durkan 1959a:69). Later Panter returned to Glasgow cathedral where he was organist and master of the song school (Marwick 1894 ii:44; Mackintosh 1968:13). A charter dated 5 November 1539 mentions prayers "for the saulis of Jhonn Paniter [and] Sir Alexander Paniter ...", so both men must have died some time before this date (Renwick 1894 iv:118)⁵. Before his death Panter requested that his successor as master of the song school should continue the daily singing of a *gloriosa* at compline in the aisle of St Mary the Virgin "in the lower church of

³ Sometimes spelled Painter or Paniter.

⁴ Panter would most likely have been in charge of the music at this church. Thus it may have been under his guidance that three men were contracted for seven years to sing for the soul of John, Earl of Lennox at St Mary's from 1530 (Cowan & Easson 1976:222). (St Mary's came under the patronage of the Earl of Arran. One of Arran's close allies, James Hamilton of Finnart, murdered Lennox in 1526. Finnart then made atonement by founding Masses for his victim's soul; Lang 1900 i:504n.)

⁵ John Panter was buried in the cathedral, "besyid Byschopt Layngis" (Renwick 1894 iv:119).

Glasgow" (Marwick 1906:535). This *gloriosa* was actually composed by Panter himself: in 1539 the master of the cathedral song school was granted 40s *p.a.* "for the synging nychtlie of ane *gloriosa*, of thre partis of pryckat synging, as it wes maid and sett by Jhonne Paniter or [= before] his deceis" (Renwick 1894 iv:118). For the performance of this three-part work (possibly an *Ave gloriosa virginum*) the master was "to furnes with hyme ... nychtlie sax bairnis, or fowir at the leist, sufficient syngaris for tribull and secund tribull" (Renwick 1894 iv:118). Sadly no trace of the music survives. Six boys would have allowed two performers per part; but it seems odd to envisage four boys performing a piece in three parts. Perhaps this allowed for one singer per part with two boys sharing the performance of one of the parts. This may well have been the case if Panter's music was of the same highly florid and technically difficult style found in the three-part Mass attributed to Robert Carver (*cf. MusScot* i:240–54; see Exx.6.65–6.76, pp.438–42). It is not known who was master of the song school at this time. According to the charter drawn up by Sir Mark Jameson (Panter's nephew⁶ and executor of his will), Sir Thomas Flemyng "vicar pensioner of Glasgow in the burgh ... and his successors" were to "implement, observe and satisfy" the requirements of Panter's will, which included the nightly *gloriosa* mentioned above (Renwick 1894 iv:117)⁷.

Jamesone is first mentioned as a vicar of the choir in 1556 (Marwick 1894 i:22). In 1560 he held the vicarage of Kilspindie in the new presbytery of Perth (Haws 1972:133, *FES* viii:365). According to inscriptions in books left by Jamesone to the University of Glasgow (Durkan & Ross 1961:119), he still held the vicarage on 3 August 1590. He is once more described as vicar of the choir of Glasgow in *RMS* v:No. 1808 (confirmed 15 January 1591). He may also be the Mark Jamesone who held the vicarage of Currie in St Andrews following the Reformation; this man died before February 1594 (Haws 1972:57).

Besides the men mentioned above (and those listed in Watt 1969), the following men are also described as vicars choral or singers working at Glasgow Cathedral⁸:

⁶ Panter is described as Jamesone's "mother brother" (Marwick 1906:562).

⁷ In 1556 Flemyng received the money due for the "labours and ... prayers for the soul of the late John Paniter" (Marwick 1906:519). Flemyng was a notary public (Marwick 1894 ii:109) and is never mentioned in connection with music. It would therefore have been his duty to disburse this money to the song school master.

⁸ I am extremely grateful to my colleague, Dr Elaine Moohan, for permission to include this list of names, most of which have been drawn from her work on music in Glasgow.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Source of Reference</u>
5 June 1504	John Brakanrig	Renwick & Lindsay 1921:287
1508	Thomas Smyth	Bain & Rogers 1875:No. 310
9 January 1509	Sir Laurence Dikkeson	Bain & Rogers 1875:No. 399
25 May &		
1 June 1510	Sir John Cockburn	Bain & Rogers 1875:Nos. 459, 462
"	Sir George Cameron	Bain & Rogers 1875:Nos. 459, 462
1 June 1510	Sir Andrew Waugh	Bain & Rogers 1875:No. 463
20 July 1510	Sir Robert Crechton	Bain & Rogers 1875:No. 474
12 June 1511	Sir Thomas Coningham	Bain & Rogers 1875:No. 534 ⁹
5 October 1511	Mr William Brown	Bain & Rogers 1875:No. 557
25 May 1544	Sir Williame Smyth	RSS iii:No. 780
26 May 1544	Sir Andro Hereot	RSS iii:No. 783
13 August 1549	John Masone	Renwick 1894 i:No. 8
29 October 1549	Andrew Heriot	Renwick 1894 i:No. 8
23 April 1550	John Knox	Renwick 1894 i:No. 39
12 December 1553	John Skeocht	Renwick 1894 i:No. 174
28 Jun 1554	Sir Robert Hill	Renwick 1894 i:No. 186
10 February 1557	David Androsone	Renwick 1894 ii:No. 341
12 December 1557	Robert Hall [?Hill]	Renwick 1894 ii:No. 405
26 February 1558	David Androsone	Renwick 1894 ii:No. 422
5 June 1560	D Davide Androsoun	RMS iv:No. 2496
16 July 1560	John Masoun	Renwick 1894 v:No. 1381
27 August 1560	Christopher Knox	RMS iv:No. 2911
27 August 1560	John Nasmyth	RMS iv:No. 2911
14 April 1564	Andrew Burell	Renwick 1894 iii:No. 784
10 August 1564	William Tod	RMS iv:No. 1629
"	John Masoun	RMS iv:No. 1629
"	Andrew Nasmyth	RMS iv:No. 1629
"	Alexander Bavin	RMS iv:No. 1629
"	James Stewart	RMS iv:No. 1629
"	David Petcarnis	RMS iv:No. 1629
"	John Skeoch	RMS iv:No. 1629
"	Bartholomew Symoun	RMS iv:No. 1629
"	David Androsoun	RMS iv:No. 1629
"	Ninian Swan	RMS iv:No. 1629
"	Alexander Bell	RMS iv:No. 1629
"	Robert Hill	RMS iv:No. 1629
"	Archibald Duke	RMS iv:No. 1629
"	John Nasmyth	RMS iv:No. 1629
"	Christopher Knox	RMS iv:No. 1629
"	Andrew Burrell	RMS iv:No. 1629
"	Thomas Knox	RMS iv:No. 1629
"	William Craufurde	RMS iv:No. 1629
21 December 1566	Andrew Burrell	RSS v:No. 3140
2 February 1568	Bartholomew Simpson	Renwick 1894 iii:No. 962

⁹ Coningham was a chaplain at the "Low Church". This is very probably a reference to an altar in the cathedral crypt, sometimes referred to as "the lower church of Glasgow" (see Marwick 1906:535).

The entry in *RMS* iv (No. 1629) lists eighteen members of the choir in 1564. Of course, the choir would not have been functioning at this time, but these men continued to hold the associated prebends. This list probably gives an accurate account of the choir members just prior to the Reformation. At least seven of these men had already been working at the cathedral for some time (see above): David Androsoun, Andrew Burell, Robert Hill, Christopher Knox, John Masoun, John Nasmyth and John Skeoch. The remaining men are listed in this document for the first time: Alexander Bavin, Alexander Bell, William Craufurde, Archibald Duke, Thomas Knox, Andrew Nasmyth, David Petcarnis, Bartholomew Simpson, James Stewart, Ninian Swan and William Tod. As at other Scottish choral foundations, we can see some family connections between the various singers at Glasgow Cathedral, in particular the families of Smyth, Nasmyth and Knox.

At its foundation in 1451, the University of Glasgow¹⁰ was closely associated with the Dominican priory of Blackfriars and Glasgow Cathedral, where lectures and church services were initially held (Brown & Moss 1996:4). A new building was provided for the university in 1460 (rented from Lord Hamilton), next to the Blackfriars Church on High Street. This building would have had its own chapel, although students still 'trooped' to the Cathedral for Mass on feast days (Brown & Moss 1996:5). The services in which the students and regents participated (including those remembering Lord Hamilton and his family) were sure to have involved music, probably polyphony. Sacred music continued to be cultivated at the university after the Reformation. A note in the university muniments (1582) refers to sixteen books "or thareby of musik of sangis and messis" which had evidently (and unusually) not been destroyed at the Reformation. Secular music seems also to have played a part in university life: James Melvill talks of the "craking and pleying" of his uncle, the regent, probably meaning "gossiping and playing musical instruments", given James's musical inclinations (Innes 1854b i:518, xx).

North-west of Glasgow, the town of Dumbarton also had a pre-Reformation song school. Durkan (1959a:86) notes that the chaplain of the Rood altar in the parish church took charge of the song school and the organs. He also had to maintain two choirboys and teach the psalter and singing to the

¹⁰ I am grateful to Dr Elliott for allowing me to make use of his notes on music at the university in this paragraph.

children of the burgh.

There are no records of a song school at Paisley, but in pre-Reformation times one is sure to have been attached to the abbey there. Two slates incised with fifteenth-century music notation were found during excavations at Paisley Abbey in 1991. In a discussion of these slates, Elliott (1996c) transcribes the music and suggests the slates (being more durable than parchment) may have been used in the training of the abbey choirboys. Similar slates, possibly used for the same purpose, have been found in Ireland and England. Furthermore, Durkan (1959a:71) notes that the *Ave gloriosa* used to be sung by the “sangsters” before the Lady Altar in the chapter house.

In Ayr there had been a song school since at least 1535, probably attached to the church of St John the Baptist. On 15 May that year Robert Paterson was admitted “to play on the organis, sing in quier and to teiche ane sang scule” for which he was paid £20 *p.a.* (Boyd 1961:8). Durkan (1959a:72n) notes that Paterson had been trained by the parson of Crieff, *i.e.* a prebendary of the Chapel Royal. This man is most probably John Paterson who held the prebend of Crieff *primus* before 1532 (see Appendix A). Nothing further is known of Robert Paterson.

The burgh accounts list numerous payments to singers throughout the first half of the sixteenth century¹¹. Between 1547 and 1551 annual payments were received by Thomas Cranstoun (ranging from £6 to £8) and Alexander Henderson¹² (usually £5 6s 8d). Nicholas Scherar appears to have been more important than these two singers for, between 1548 and 1551, he received annual payments of £10, which included £2 for his additional responsibility of “keeping the knock [= clock]”. These men all disappear from the records after 1551¹³. It seems that from then on there might have been no music teaching in the town were it not for the good offices of George Cocherane, parish clerk, who offered “to teach a sang school within the burgh, instructing ‘neighbours’ bairns [*i.e.* the children of the burgh] or others whomsoever for payment” (Grant 1876 i:68). Cocherane also played

¹¹ Pryde 1937:32, 103, 106, 108, 110, 114, 119, 121, 123, 125, 128f, 132f.

¹² Possibly related to the important musical family of Hendersons in Edinburgh (see p. 166).

¹³ Alexander Henderson, however, seems to have continued his career following the Reformation. He is probably the Alexander Henderson who is recorded as exhorter at Ardrossan (1567–72), Stewarton (1571–2) and as vicar of Kilmaurs (1574–c. 1585; *FES* iii:78, 124, 112; Haws 1972:224, 130).

organ in the church. He was discharged just prior to the Reformation in May 1559 (Livingston 1864:16).

Another singer, James Dalrimple, got a single payment (similar to Cranstoun's) in 1549, but was not actually designated chorister until 1554 (following Cocherane's appointment). From then on until the Reformation he received substantial annual payments, rising from £17 6s 8d to £20. At least one other singer worked in Ayr during the 1550s, John Sinclair. He received payments similar to those of Dalrimple in 1553 and 1554. In 1558 Sinclair was accused of having neglected his duties, as a result of which he was likely dismissed. This dispute with the council rumbled on and the following year Sinclair complained that he had, in fact, been hindered in the execution of his duties through not having been provided with appropriate Mass vestments (Livingston 1864:64). Several years later (in 1573), Sinclair was involved in a financial dispute with James Dalrimple who was by that time minister of Ayr. It was resolved that Sinclair should receive £20 *p.a.* for the remainder of his life (Cooper 1883:109)¹⁴. Despite this, Dalrimple continued a distinguished career following the Reformation. He became minister of Ayr in 1568, was a commissioner to various General Assemblies, and was the recipient of several benefices (*FES* iii:5; viii:212). He died in 1580.

A song school existed in Biggar prior to the Reformation. The Collegiate Church of St Mary and St Nicholas was founded there in January 1546 (Cowan & Easson 1976:215). Of the eight prebendaries at this church, two were to be responsible for teaching—one grammar, and the other music. Documents relating to the foundation of the church give some interesting details regarding the boys. It was ordained that the four boy choristers should "have their crowns shaved, and should be dressed in 'togis blodei coloris' after the manner of the choristers of the Church of Glasgow" (Jessop 1931:29; Stuart 1852:301). Whether or not the choristers of Glasgow Cathedral had shaved crowns, it appears they did wear 'blood-red' gowns. That Lord Fleming (founder of the collegiate church) should pay careful attention to such artistic details as chorister's robes, suggests that the musical provision at Biggar may have been closely modelled on that of the cathedral, albeit on a smaller scale (there were six boys and many more

¹⁴Sinclair may have gone on to become master of the song school in Elgin (see p.85n and McQuaid 1949:296).

singing men at the cathedral). Nothing further is known of the song school at Biggar but it appears not to have been revived following the Reformation.

1560–1603

The Reformation probably caused a temporary hiatus in the provision of music education in Glasgow. The first post-Reformation reference to the town's song school occurs on 18 May 1577 when William Struthers was paid 40s for the rent of a room "to be ane sang scole" (Marwick 1876:462)¹⁵. Struthers is very likely the man who was reader at Glasgow and exhorter at Lenzie in 1569 (FES iii:481)¹⁶. As with almost all other readers, Struthers was probably also precentor in the High Kirk in 1569 and is likely to have been master of the song school, if it was in existence at this time. Struthers received a further payment for the rent of the song school in 1583 (Marwick 1876:472; Marwick 1894 i:lxvi). In 1587 Struthers is identified as "teacher of musick" and his duties are specified as singing "in the High Kirk, from the ringing of the first bell to the minister's coming in; and [to] appoint four men to sit beside him, beneath the pulpit" (Wodrow 1834 ii(ii):23). These four men undoubtedly helped lead the congregational singing. Struthers's song school pupils were no doubt also in attendance in about 1587; by March the next year their presence was obligatory (Wodrow 1834 ii(ii):23). Thus four-part psalm-singing would seem to have been practised in Glasgow around this time. There are no other references to such 'choirs' in Scottish kirks during the late sixteenth century, but Glasgow is unlikely to have been alone among burghs in cultivating such a standard of church music¹⁷. Struthers does not reappear in the burgh records, but another man of the same name (probably his son) became minister of Lenzie in 1607 and was later translated to the High Kirk in Glasgow (1612) and then Edinburgh (1614; FES iii:482, 460).

Struthers died or demitted the mastership before 15 January 1590. On this date the kirk session wrote to Sir George Maxwell, requesting that he "teiche musik in Glasgow and learn the youth to play" (Renwick 1908b:323).

¹⁵ A similar payment was made during the next financial year, this time to Duncane Fynlaye (Marwick 1876:463). Fynlaye, not mentioned elsewhere as a musician, may well have been the owner of the property in which the song school was held.

¹⁶ Another, very possibly the same, William Struthers was exhorter at Stonehouse in Hamilton in 1562 (FES iii:279).

¹⁷ Men were taught at the music school in Haddington around 1677, and probably also sang harmony in the church there (see p.203).

Maxwell is very probably the canon of the Chapel Royal who, in 1566, had been presented to a chaplainry of Glasgow Cathedral (RSS v:No. 3049). Maxwell appears not to have taken up the offer, for, at the next meeting of the session, Alexander Buchan was to be sought out “to cum to teiche musik heir in Glasgow and to play” (Renwick 1908b:323)¹⁸. Buchan also declined the offer. The want of a suitable music teacher was a matter of grave concern to the Glasgow authorities and was discussed at a meeting attended by the bailies and ministers as well as the principal and a regent of the College on 19 February 1590 (Renwick 1908b:323). However, the situation remained unresolved for a further two years.

Renwick (1908b:324) states that, around June 1592, James Burrell¹⁹ was paid 20s for precenting in the kirk. This is likely to have been his final payment as interim precentor as, in the same month, John Buchan was appointed master of the song school²⁰. Buchan moved to Glasgow from Haddington where he had been song school master since 1583 (see p.167f). His move to Glasgow had obviously been planned some time before 3 May 1592, for on this date the kirk session of Haddington addressed a testimonial in Buchan’s favour to “the Provest, Baillies, Counsall, and Ministris of Glasgw” (McQuaid 1949:208f).

Buchan first appears in the Glasgow records in 1595. His pay for precenting at the Tron Kirk (and probably including his teaching at the song school) was 80 merks *p.a.* [= £53 6s 8d]: in January 1594, two representatives of the kirk session were engaged “to pay to the Toun Thesaurer 80 merks yearly, for a sangster” (Livingston 1864:17). This compares favourably with the £60 salary of Edinburgh’s song school master in 1597 (see Appendix B and p.165). No doubt the pay was commensurate with his abilities, proven during his nine-year incumbency at Haddington. Indeed, Edward Millar, writing in 1635, described Buchan as one of the “primest Musicians that ever this kingdome had” (Preface to the 1635 Scottish Psalter). Buchan’s pay, however, decreased in value due to inflation as the years went by. To help relieve his financial burdens, obviously with respect to the good work he had done in the town, the council arranged an extra payment of 20 merks for Buchan in 1595, but this was to be no “preparative [= precedent] in tyme cuming of the lyik” (Marwick 1876:161). Despite this

¹⁸This man could be the Alexander Buchan Jnr who worked at the Chapel Royal around 1543–51 (see Appendix A). At any rate, he was clearly not resident in Glasgow.

¹⁹Possibly related to Andrew Burrell, vicar of the choir of Glasgow Cathedral in 1564 and 1566 (see above).

²⁰Elliott’s biography of John Buchan appears in NG iii:404.

disclaimer, the council arranged for further extraordinary payments to Buchan during the winters of 1595 and 1596 (Marwick 1876:174, 183). In 1597 it was agreed that a psalm should be sung before and after sermon in the Laigh Kirk (i.e. the Tron Kirk) "according to the use in the like within the High Kirk" (Livingston 1864:17). It seems odd that the musically renowned John Buchan should not have been doing this. Perhaps he was temporarily absent from his charge for a time around 1597.

In February 1596 an edict of presbytery (no less) ordained that "thair be na thing red or sung in the new [i.e. Tron] kirk be Johne Bucchane reidare thair, bot that quhilk is contenit in the word of God" (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* i:79). In this respect, Buchan has something in common with Thomas Wood of St Andrews, into whose manuscript partbooks Buchan himself had earlier copied settings of Pss 67 and 128 (see Ex7.63, p.497): Wood had been admonished to "reid onlie the prayar in the Psalme Buik, ... without ony additioun of his awin brane" (see p.128; Fleming 1889:529). The interesting point here is that Buchan had been singing music unfamiliar to his Glasgow congregation. It is possible that the texts he had sung were not "contentit in the word of God", i.e. hymns or spiritual songs not included in the Book of Common Order, after the metrical psalms; they may even have been taken from the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, which were still in use in Montrose around 1580 (see p.122). Such temerity would certainly have warranted presbyterial censorship. Alternatively, the music itself may have been sufficiently unfamiliar not to have been appreciated by the minister and elders of the Tron Kirk. One is tempted, therefore, to speculate that Buchan may have been singing (with his song school pupils) his own settings of religious texts. Unfortunately, except the two psalm-settings mentioned above, no music attributed to Buchan survives.

We do not know who was precentor at the High Kirk around at the close of the sixteenth century, but it seems his services merited some reward over and above his pay: in 1604 the kirk session bought a "sark and a bonnet, and afterwards a coat ... to him that carryes up the line in the High Kirk" (Livingston 1864:22). That he required a shirt, hat and coat suggests this precentor was not nearly as well off as his colleague John Buchan.

By 1600 Buchan's song school was busy enough to require the help of a doctor. Buchan was allowed to exact schollage of 5s per quarter from each of his pupils, and the (unnamed) doctor received 20d (Marwick 1894 i:xciii). Later the same year Buchan and his song school pupils took part in the

pageant to welcome James VI on his entry to Glasgow (Marwick 1876:211). Buchan received further special payments of £20 in 1601 and 1604 (Marwick 1876:225, 243). The second of these payments was made as a result of a petition by Buchan. In this he complained that for the past two years he had not received payment from the benefice of Maybole to which he had been presented in 1592 (Scottish Record Office, *Acts and Decrees* cxvii:201²¹; Marwick 1876:243). John Buchan continued as master of Glasgow's song school until at least 1608. In this year he received ("vpone regaird of [his] thankful service") a payment of £20 for his house rent (Marwick 1875:274). Buchan disappears from the records after this year, and so probably died around this time.

Following the Reformation, James Ramsay was reader in Ayr, 1567–80. He was presented to the parsonage and vicarage of Alloway in March 1573 (*FES* iii:1). This benefice was part of the patrimony of the Chapel Royal²². Ramsay, however, did not retain the benefice for long: it passed to James Dalrimple (with no mention of Ramsay's tenure) in August the same year (*RSS* vi: No. 2075). Also in 1573, it is recorded that the "sangstar that takis up the psalmes befoir and eftir the precheing [should be paid] ten pundis" (Cooper 1883:109). This money seems to have been paid to the (unnamed) precentor by James Dalrimple, then minister in Ayr, as part of a settlement of a state of debt in which Dalrimple had found himself.

In 1583 (probably in response to the 1579 Act of 'tymous remeid') the song school in Ayr was re-established and a new master put in place (Pagan 1897:75). His duties were specified as:

to teiche the youthe in the art of musik sufficientlie, and to learne *t*hame to sing, als to play upon the pynattis [= spinet] and uther instrumentis according to his knawledge, and to learne the barnis that singis to read and write Inglis, and sall sing in *t*he Kirk *t*he for [i.e. four] partis of music, beginning ilk Sunday at *t*he second bell (Pagan 1897:75).

Here we have a description of a typical late sixteenth-century song school where the pupils learned not only vocal and instrumental music but "Inglis" as well. As in several other burghs, the song school pupils were expected to help their master in leading the congregational singing, in this case by singing the "fo[u]r partis" of the psalms. This is one of the earliest

²¹I am grateful to Dr Elliott for this information from his forthcoming revised NG article.

²²Additionally, McQuaid (1949:249) states (without citing evidence) that Ramsay had been a musician at the Chapel Royal in 1562.

references to four-part singing in Scottish parish churches following the Reformation, and predates the 'choir' of men and children at Glasgow's High Kirk (see p. 213).

Pagan omits the new master's name, but he was Andrew Stewart, appointed on 28 August 1583²³. Around 1584/5 Stewart was replaced by William Mont (Pryde 1937:151). It is not clear how long Mont remained as master, for this is the only reference to him in the records. Another master was appointed in about 1601 so we may posit Mont's incumbency as being from about 1584 to about 1601. During this time the master's fee varied considerably: he received £17 in 1584; £5 for part of 1585; £10 for the remainder of this year; and £10 in 1586 (Pryde 1937:149, 150, 151, 153). The irregular payments recorded for 1584/5 (in particular, the two separate payments for 1585) may indicate that these were paid to two different men and that Mont was not actually appointed master until some time during 1585 (the second payment for this year specifies his name). By 1597 his annual salary had risen to £20 whilst schollage was set at 6s 8d for singing students and 13s 4d for those learning spinet (Pagan 1897:75). During 1600, at the very end of Mont's mastership, the town council made a backward educational move, characteristic of many other Scottish town councils. They agreed that it was undesirable that girls should learn reading and writing alongside boys in the grammar school of Ayr. Consequently, the girls were henceforth to be sent to the song school to learn these skills (Pagan 1897:75).

Alexander Spittell is first named as master of the song school in the burgh accounts for 1601–2 (Pryde 1937:209). He had probably been working in that capacity since Easter 1601, for the accounts specify a payment of £5 to the (unnamed) master "for singing in the kirk from Easter to Whitsunday, before he was feed" (Pryde 1937:204). This may imply some sort of probationary period during which Spittell's performance was assessed. Spittell was master of the song school until at least 1604. During this time the only information relating to the song school concerns his salary. He received £6 13s 4d as part payment for the Martinmas term in 1601, and £20 for the Whitsun term of 1602 (Pryde 1937:209). If these were the only two terms reckoned by the council then it would seem reasonable to assume that Spittell's salary had been set at £40 *p.a.*; and this sum is indeed what

²³I am very grateful to Dr John Durkan for this information from his forthcoming book *Early Schools and Schoolmasters in Scotland, 1560–1633*.

Spittell received in 1602, 1603 and 1604 (Pryde 1937:214, 218, 220, 223). During the first three years of his mastership Spittell also received additional payments which, according to the accounts for 1602, were to “support him in respect of the derth of that yeir”. In 1601 the additional sum was 20 merks [= £13 6s 8d]; the next year it was £14; and in 1603 it had fallen to just £6 13s 4d (Pryde 1937:49f, 214, 218). £14 was more than one quarter of Spittell’s ordinary fee, therefore inflation must have been quite severe during 1602.

There is very little information in printed sources relating to music in other towns in the west of Scotland around this time. Brown (1875:37) states that one of the rooms in Paisley grammar school (erected in 1586) was to serve as the town’s song school, but furnishes no other details. In Dumfries, the precentor was paid the meagre sum of 50s [= £2 10s] in 1590 and 1591 (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* ii:43).

The Seventeenth Century

Duncan Burnett is first described as a schoolmaster in Glasgow in 1614 (Scottish Record Office, *Acts and Decreets* ccxcv:51²⁴). The town council would have sought a well-qualified musician to take the place of John Buchan (last mentioned in 1608) so it seems likely that Burnett would have taught music in the town at this time.

In 1617 Burnett made some slanderous remarks about Joseph Laurie, the minister of Lenzie, now Kirkintilloch (partly quoted in *FES* iii:482). The complete presbytery record describes Burnett as “reader & musitian” without indication of place; this may be taken to imply reader and musician at Lenzie²⁵. (Scott (in *FES* iii:482) states that Burnett’s father was “perpetual vicar of the parish”, but provides no evidence for this.) The following transcript (by the present author) is taken from the original records of Glasgow Presbytery, dated 24 September 1617, with the marginal note “Mr Joseph lau[ri]e / [his?] supplicatioune”²⁶:

Q[ui]lk daye mr joseph Laurie minister at *the* kirk of
Lenzie gave in ane supplication befor *the* presbyterie, ~~alleg-~~
~~ing that the~~ gainst Duncane Birned reader & musitian

²⁴ I am grateful to Dr Elliott for this information from his forthcoming revised NG article.

²⁵ There seems to be a coincidental connection between Lenzie and Glasgow’s song school. William Struthers, the first post-Reformation master of the song school, had also worked at Lenzie before moving to the city, just as Burnett was to do (see p.213).

²⁶ Records of the Presbytery of Glasgow, Mitchell Library CH2/171/2, f.140’.

alledging *that the* said duncane suld have called him
 [· 1 ·] ane disembled hypocrite · 2 · ane whose conscience was
 so wyde *that* cairtes & waines micht go throw it 3 ane
 teacher of *the* word & that vnworthie: 4· ane beggar and
 ane beggars burd²⁷. 5 *that* he had als mekle silver as micht
 buy him from *the* gallowoes. lastlie he vowed that he wuld
 brek his head at *the* kirk of Leinzaie. ~~Confessed D.~~ Com
 peired the said Duncane and confessed all *the* foirsaid pointes. The
 presbyterie continewes to pronounce sentence heirin till *the*
 nixt presbyterie daye.

Burnett must have been aware that such colourful, if caustic, slander and, indeed, murderous threats would land him in a great deal of trouble. The cause of the acrimony between the two men has not been preserved in the presbytery minutes. However, as will be seen below, Burnett's relatives and later employers were staunch royalists who were also either episcopalian (the Burnetts of Leys and the Maxwells of Pollok) or Catholic (the Hamiltons). Joseph Laurie was the son of Blaise Laurie, Professor of Greek at Glasgow University (Sunter 1910:97). Blaise was one of the first post-Reformation regents of the university, and a member of Glasgow kirk session in 1583 (Durkan & Kirk 1977:349). Joseph Laurie was doubtless brought up a presbyterian and so he may previously have been engaged in argument with Burnett over his religious beliefs. After all, James VI and I had just visited Edinburgh a few months earlier (May 1617), advocating episcopalian forms of worship and stirring up great controversy in the process. Burnett and Laurie may have become caught up with the religious argument.

At the next meeting of presbytery on 1 October 1617 Burnett "gave in ane supplic[ation] befor the presbyterie humblie menand [= declaring] that he had spo[ken] vncharitablie & vndewtifullie" and that he was "penitent for the sinne"²⁸. The folio recording this supplication is imperfect at its right edge, but the scandal caused by Burnett seems to have been referred to the Archbishop of Glasgow for further consideration. Burnett's immediate fate is not clear. However, an entry in the Register of the Great Seal describes him as preceptor of St Nicholas's Hospital in Glasgow on 2 June 1618 (RMS vii:No. 1833). The Archbishop of Glasgow was patron of this preceptory, so it seems Burnett had been forgiven his slanderous attack of the previous year.

²⁷ = a beggar and a beggar's offspring (cf. Robinson 1985 "bird").

²⁸ Records of the Presbytery of Glasgow, Mitchell Library CH2/171/2, f.141.

Burnett appears to have stopped teaching music in or around 1626 for, on 15 July this year, the council granted to James Sanderis²⁹ the right “to instruct the haill bairnes within this burghe that is putt to his schole musick” (Marwick 1876:354). The wording here implies that Sanderis was already in charge of a ‘non-music’ school. The 1626 minute also “dischairges all vthir scholaris ... to teache musik in tyme cuming”. Schollage was set at 10s per quarter for Sanderis and 40d per quarter for “his man”, *i.e.* doctor. Twelve years later, this act in Sanderis’s favour was repealed: by 1638 the council admitted that the

musik schooll is altogidder decayit within this burgh, to the grait discredit of this citie and discontentment of sindrie honest men within the same who hes bairnes whom they wold have instructit in that art (Marwick 1876:388, quoted in Elliott 1959:352).

(Once again we see a music school featuring prominently as an aspect of civic pride.) Sanderis, obviously, had not done a very good job in running the school. (He seems to have been equally remiss in the exercise of his duties in New Aberdeen, see p.94.) The 1638 minute goes on to state that “Duncane Birnet, who sumtyme of befoir teatchit musik within this burghe, is desyrous to tak up the said schooll againe”. James Sanderis’s consent was sought (and given) for Burnett’s reappointment³⁰. Burnett was offered the same terms as those given to Sanderis in 1626.

Despite no longer having mastership of the music school, James Sanderis continued to work in Glasgow. He was precentor of the High Kirk³¹ until February 1646 (McQuaid 1949:242) and he seems to have been in charge of St Nicholas’s Hospital. Shortly before his death, which occurred between 22 October and 5 November 1653 (Marwick 1881:277, 281), Sanderis raised an action to recover 100 merks (probably of unpaid salary) due to him from the council (Marwick 1881:277). Just after his death his widow had to return to the council “the rentall and papers” belonging to the hospital—these are unlikely to have been in Sanderis’s possession unless he had been master or preceptor of the institution. Duncan Burnett had also been preceptor of the hospital, around 1618 (RMS vii:No. 1833). Since both men are known to have been musicians and preceptors of the hospital,

²⁹ Sanderis had previously taught music in New Aberdeen and South Leith, see pp.94 and 196.

³⁰ Duncan Burnett was related to the well-known Aberdeenshire family, the Burnetts of Leys. Sanderis’s first teaching post was in Aberdeen. Perhaps the two men knew (or knew of) each other.

³¹ Since Sanderis was precentor of the High Kirk, we may infer that Burnett was precentor of the other main church, the Laigh (*i.e.* Tron) Kirk during his mastership of the music school (*i.e.* from 1638), and possibly during his previous tenure (*c.* 1614–18).

it is possible that the music school was in fact held within the hospital premises during the seventeenth century; at any rate the hospital's "back almshouse" had been deserted by 1600 (Cowan & Easson 1976:180).

It is curious that James Sanderis, who allowed the music school to become "altogidder deokayit" by 1638, should have been given a monopoly on music teaching in 1626. Surely this could only have come about if Burnett (presumably a good music teacher) had found another post and was no longer available to teach. In fact, for some time during the period 1626–38, Burnett was working for Sir John Maxwell of Pollok whose family estate lay a little south of the burgh of Glasgow. Among the papers of the Maxwells of Pollok there is a letter from Duncan Burnett to Sir John, dated 13 June 1633 at Edinburgh (Fraser 1863 ii:223^{f2}). Burnett's signature on this letter matches that found in his music book.

Sir John Maxwell was favoured by King Charles for, on 9 June 1633 (just days before Burnett's letter and the king's visit to Edinburgh), Charles created Maxwell a knight baronet (Fraser 1863 ii:223). Later, Maxwell was given charge of Dumbarton castle and in 1634 he was one of those appointed to establish a High Court of Commission in Scotland. This body, although never properly constituted (Fraser 1863 i:48), was intended to advance episcopalian styles of worship and church government in Scotland. Maxwell must therefore have been a staunch supporter of the king and episcopalianism. It may be assumed that Duncan Burnett, his trusted servant³³, was similarly episcopalian and royalist.

The letter from Burnett to Maxwell contains information on the comings and goings of the nobility in Edinburgh before the king's entry to the city on 15 June. Among those people mentioned in the letter are "Sir Frederick", "My Lord Abercorne", "Lady Margaret and Lady Lucie" and "my Lady Straband", all of whom were members of the powerful family of the Hamiltons of Abercorn, who had close connections with the Maxwells of Pollok (Fraser 1863 i:x). James Hamilton, second Earl of Abercorn (to whom Burnett refers here) and Lady Margaret and Lady Lucie were all children of James Hamilton, the first Earl of Abercorn (d. 1618; Hamilton 1933:34f). Jean Gordon, Lady Strabane was the wife of Claud, Lord Strabane, another of the sons of the first Earl (Paul 1904 i:47, 50). Sir Frederick

³²I am very grateful to Dr John Durkan for informing me of references to Burnett among these papers and to Mr D Maxwell Macdonald (of Pollok & Corrour Ltd, 55 Park Walk, London) for permission to quote from these archives.

³³Burnett signs himself "Your worship's most humble servand till deathe" (Fraser 1863 ii:224).

Hamilton, a brother of the first Earl, and celebrated military leader, was granted a burgess-ship of Edinburgh in 1633 (Hamilton 1933:922).

In his discussion of Duncan Burnett's Music Book (National Library of Scotland MS 9447), Elliott (1959:350ff) notes that the book contains the signature of "lucie hamiltone", whom he suggests may be Lucy Hamilton, youngest daughter of the first Earl of Abercorn. The signature in Burnett's book matches that of Lady Lucy Hamilton in a letter to Sir John Maxwell of Pollok, dated 6 February 1639 (Fraser 1863 ii:268), thus confirming this identification. The date of Lucy's birth is not known but must be before 23 March 1618, as Paul (1904 i:48) states that her father (who died on this date; Hamilton 1933:34) contracted her in marriage "when very young" to Randal, Lord Dunluce³⁴. Thus, at the time of Burnett's letter to Maxwell in 1633, Lady Lucy must have been in her late teens or very early twenties. We can establish, therefore, that Burnett personally knew Lady Lucy during her youth. Since her signature appears in his music book, it seems highly likely that Burnett was her private music tutor and, quite possibly, that he had been tutor to her elder siblings (Lucy was the youngest of eight children). Burnett, as his letter suggests, was employed by Maxwell of Pollok; but he is unlikely to have been music tutor to the family since Maxwell's only child, Isobell, was deaf and dumb (Fraser 1863 i:49). However, the following postscript to a letter from Sir Alexander Hamilton (one of Lucy's brothers) implies that Lucy and her sister Marion³⁵ did for a time stay with the Maxwells of Pollok. The letter is addressed to Sir John Maxwell of Pollok and is dated "the St. Androes day 1632":

Sir, I hop ye will sho my sister Lucie and Marion that I am weall, and wold hewe wrytin to them, bot I had no tym ; for I did wryt this in tym that the Paket wes a klossing : and sho them I will wryt at mor lenth of all particulares. ... (Fraser 1863 ii:219).

We have no indication of how long Lucy and her sister had been living with the Maxwells, but their stay lends further support to the conjecture that Burnett, Maxwell's "humble servand", was their music tutor whilst at Pollok.

Even after his reappointment as music teacher in Glasgow in 1638, Burnett retained his connections with the Maxwell family. A curious

³⁴Lord Dunluce reneged on the marriage contract in about 1627 and Lady Lucy, a devout Catholic, never married (Paul 1904 i:48).

³⁵Neither Paul (1904 i:48) nor Hamilton (1933:34f) list "Marion" as one of the children of the first Earl of Abercorn. But Lucy herself refers to "my sister Marione" in a letter to Maxwell dated 6 February 1639 (Fraser 1863 ii:268).

notarial instrument, dated 26 April 1646, mentions "Duncane Burnett scholemaster in Glasgow" who was one of the witnesses "speciallie called and requyred to the premisses [*i.e.* Maxwell's estate of Netherpollok]" (Fraser 1863 i:336f). Burnett's signature on this document matches that on the letter to Maxwell (1633) and those in his music book. The instrument makes much of the fact that Maxwell rode to the church and back unaided:

[he] came doun staires vpon his awin feit to the gate of Netherpolloke, and thair, at the ordinarie place of on lowping, mounted himselffe on horsbake without any helpe, and from thence did ryde alongst to the kirk of Eistwood ... (Fraser 1863 i:336f).

Maxwell died later the following year, on 1 November 1647 (Fraser 1863 i:49). As already noted, Maxwell had no male issue and so, under the terms of a settlement drawn up on 17 November 1645, his estate of Nether Pollok passed to George Maxwell of Auldhouse, son of John Maxwell, the minister of Eastwood kirk (Campbell 1902:61; Fraser 1863 i:49). Auldhouse was not a large estate, but Pollok was the principal family seat. Perhaps this curious notarial instrument was intended to scotch a rumour that John Maxwell of Pollok had died, thereby leaving his estate and baronetcy to his kinsman.

Fraser (1863 i:49) remarks that Maxwell of Pollok "does not appear to have been actively engaged in the civil and ecclesiastical struggles which took place during the latter portion of his life". However, in 1644, at the request of the Committee of Estates, he lent £4000 to supply armies sent to England and Ireland. We may suppose the money was advanced reluctantly, given Maxwell's earlier royalist views. The Covenanters, however, claimed a decisive victory over Montrose at Philipshaugh in September 1645 and Charles surrendered to the Scottish army at Newark in the month after the above document was drawn up. Now that the Covenanters had won their fight for supremacy, Maxwell, and other royalists, were faced with the prospect of having to attend presbyterian worship. So perhaps the above document was intended to prove that Maxwell had indeed, of his own free will, attended a presbyterian service, however reluctantly³⁶.

Burnett's will³⁷ describes him as "Musician in glasgow" and states that

³⁶John Maxwell of Auldhouse, the minister of Eastwood Kirk at the time, had previously been described as a "non-Covenanter" (Campbell 1902:55). He left Scotland for Ireland about 1640 but returned to Eastwood in 1645, having subscribed to the National Covenant.

³⁷The will, referred to by Elliott (NG iii:488), is dated 26 May 1652 (Grant 1901:77) and is preserved in the Scottish Record Office, reference CC 9/7/31, p.642f.

he died in October 1651 “being seik in bodie bot hail in spirit & mynde”. His wife, Marie Cockburne, was probably related to “dame Margaret Cockburne[,] Lady Sinkclare”, also mentioned in the will. Lady Sinclair is very likely Margaret Cockburn, eldest daughter of Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston, Lord Justice Clerk. Margaret married Patrick, eighth Lord Sinclair (d. 1615 or 1617; Cockburn-Hood 1888:141, 147; Paul 1904 vii:576). At the time of Burnett’s death, he appears not to have had any surviving children, as the main beneficiary of his will was his nephew, John Burnett of Craigour.

Duncan Burnett’s Music Book was probably one of the many books which belonged to him at the time of his death. It is preserved in the National Library of Scotland (MS 9447) and contains all Burnett’s surviving music: three pavans, variations on a ground bass and two song arrangements, all for keyboard³⁸. The manuscript also includes keyboard music by William Kinloch and William Byrd (1543–1623)³⁹ as well as consort music by John Black (*fl.* 1546–87) and 44 settings of proper psalm tunes by Andrew Kemp (*fl.* 1560–70). Black and Kemp had both taught at the prestigious music school in New Aberdeen and it is very likely that Burnett copied their music from an Aberdeenshire source since he himself was related to an Aberdeenshire family, the Burnets of Leys (Elliott 1959:352f). Much, if not all, of this music would have been used by Burnett in his teaching at the music school in Glasgow.

Following James Sanderis’s demission or dismissal as precentor of the High Kirk in 1646, John Cant was appointed precentor and, significantly, master of the music school—he must, therefore, have replaced Duncan Burnett at this time. Cant took up these positions from Whitsunday [17 May] 1646, although the appointment was not actually confirmed until 12 September (Marwick 1881:96). Cant was contracted for a period of five years as precentor at the High Kirk on Sundays and at Blackfriars church at weekday sermons. He was to be paid £40 *p.a.* from the council for his duties as precentor and music school master. Sanderis had previously been paid 160 merks [= £106 13s 4d] from the kirk session. Cant was recommended to receive 40 merks over and above this sum (making a total of £133 6s 8d in

³⁸Certain of these pieces have been edited by Elliott in *Early Scottish Keyboard Music* (Stainer & Bell, 1958, rev. 1967) and will all appear in a forthcoming volume of *Musica Scotica*. The manuscript book itself has been described by Dart (1954:101–103) and its contents have been discussed by Elliott (1959:350ff).

³⁹Purser (1998) makes various speculative comments on this manuscript and, in particular, the music of Kinloch and Byrd.

addition to the £40 from the council) "he alwayes teaching the tounes bairnes vocall music for [schollage of] 30s in the quarter and both vocall and instrumentall musick for 40s ilk quarter" (Marwick 1881:96).

In January 1648 the magistrates of Glasgow met to appoint a new reader (and, presumably, precentor) for the "New Kirk" (*i.e.* the Tron Kirk; Wodrow 1834 ii(ii):23). If, as suggested above, Duncan Burnett had been reader and precentor here, he must have demitted this post some time before 13 January 1648. Hew Young was appointed precentor in this church, and in February the next year he was paid £40 for precenting here (Marwick 1881:159). Young did not remain long in this position⁴⁰ as he was replaced by Gilbert Wilsoune⁴¹ in August 1649 (Marwick 1881:172). Wilsoune had been precentor at Blackfriars Church since Martinmas 1647, where he received 20 merks for approximately six months' service [= £26 13s 4d *p.a.*] (Marwick 1881:149). In August 1649 Wilsoune was paid £27 10s for one year's service (presumably at Blackfriars) before moving to the New Kirk (Marwick 1881:172). Wilsoune's successor at Blackfriars was to have been James King, but his name is not found elsewhere in the records⁴². In October 1650 Wilsoune was once again paid for precenting at Blackfriars—this time only £20 (Marwick 1881:195). This would imply almost nine months' service there, so perhaps James King left this position shortly after being appointed.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, Glasgow's ever-growing population necessitated the setting up of a new congregation within the city. To this end, in 1648 the nave of the cathedral was fitted up as a parish church serving the eastern part of the city. The nave became known as the Outer High Kirk; as opposed to the choir, sometimes known as the Inner High Kirk. The first minister of the Outer Kirk was Patrick Gillespie (FES iii:462). On 20 May the same year, the council minutes record that John McClay was "to be tryit for raising the psalmes in maister Patrik Gillespees kirk" (Marwick 1881:133). At the same time McClay was to be tested for his suitability to teach "young ones in Hutchesounes Hospitall". McClay was evidently found suitable for both posts: he became the first master of the school at Hutcheson's and was appointed for one year on 28 October 1648. At the same time he was paid 20 merks "for his bygane

⁴⁰ Young was also a doctor in the town's grammar school. His will is dated 21 July 1656 (Grant 1901:543).

⁴¹ Possibly related to David Wilson, precentor in Stirling 1681–85 (see p.174).

⁴² He may be the James King who in 1655 was appointed "to haw ane schoole in [Hutcheson's] Hospital" (Marwick 1881:321).

service"; he had probably worked at Hutcheson's for a few months before his formal appointment (Marwick 1881:153).

By 1653 the annual salary of the precentor in the Outer Kirk had risen to £40 (Livingston 1864:22). The "quarter fiall [= wages]" of another unnamed Glasgow precentor was £26 13s 4d in the same year (Livingston 1864:22). This makes an annual sum of £106 13s 4d, equal to that paid to James Sanderis by the session of the High Kirk around 1646. This substantial "quarter fiall" was therefore that earned by the precentor of the High Kirk, who was not only responsible for his own church but also for precenting at the town's other churches during the week, as well as being master of the music school. By 1656 this precentor's salary had risen to 200 merks *p.a.* [= £133 6s 8d] (Wodrow 1834 ii(ii):23). Since John Cant, Sanderis's successor in 1646, was recommended to receive 200 merks *p.a.*, these figures suggest that Cant no longer held this post in 1653, and that a new precentor had been appointed by 1656. According to a council minute John Bogill was paid £20 "for his service" at Blackfriars Church in 1653–4 (Marwick 1881:289). He may well have been the precentor and presumably replaced Gilbert Wilsoune; but Bogill was himself replaced by John Andersoun in about 1654.

Andersoun may be the John Andersoun who had earlier been master of the music school in New Aberdeen, 1587–1589/90 (see p.82). He is described as a school doctor in Glasgow in 1655 (McQuaid 1949:236⁴³), though this does not necessarily imply music teaching. He was precentor at Blackfriars Kirk (c. 1653–55; Marwick 1881:345) and at the Laigh Kirk (c. 1655–60; Marwick 1881:345, 448). Andersoun's pay as precentor was £20 *p.a.* according to these council minutes.

Around 1660 Robert Forrest was precentor to the west parish of the city⁴⁴. However, his conduct incurred the censure of Glasgow Presbytery that year: it was found that he had read, *sung* and prayed "publicly to the congregation, contrary to the Directory for Public Worship" (Wodrow 1834 ii(ii):23). We cannot be sure how Forrest's singing was contrary to the Directory, which states that "the voice is to be tunably and gravely ordered"

⁴³McQuaid (1949:236) states that a Glasgow council minute of 20 April 1642 records a payment of £108 8s to Patrick Bell and John Andersoun "teacher and musician". That the two men received such a payment is true, but neither is described as teacher or musician in the manuscript council minutes in Glasgow City Archives. Since both names appear throughout the burgh accounts it is reasonable to assume they refer to bailies of the town.

⁴⁴This congregation presumably met in the Inner High Church, as the east parish occupied the nave, or Outer High Church.

whilst singing "with understanding, and with grace in the heart, making melody unto the Lord". The Directory continues, "where many in the Congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the Minister, or some other fit person appointed by him ..., do read the Psalm line by line before the singing thereof" (Sprott & Leishman 1868:322f). It is conceivable that Forrest may have abandoned "lining-out", that most unmusical of practices (which persisted well into the nineteenth century; Patrick 1949:141–6), thereby incurring the disapproval of the church. Forrest must have been cleared of these allegations for, in 1663, he was permitted to keep a Scots (*i.e.* reading and writing) school within the city (Marwick 1905:23). The remainder of his career was equally turbulent. During the 1670s Forrest was precentor in the Tron Kirk, but was dismissed from this post on 23 December 1676 for unspecified misconduct (Marwick 1905:228). Forrest peaceably held the precentorship of the Outer High Kirk, at least during the period 1678–9 (Marwick 1905:502; Marwick 1906:374). But on 4 September 1690, he was suspended from his post as schoolmaster at Hutcheson's Hospital "for some speeches spoken be him against the government" (Marwick 1905:458).

In January 1663 the council sanctioned a payment of £5 to
 ane young man that com from Aberdein to be precentor heir, and
 that for defraying of his charges afeild and bak againe (Marwick
 1905:4).

Unfortunately the young man is not named, but perhaps he had been a pupil of Thomas Davidson, then master of the prestigious music school in New Aberdeen. Here again is evidence of close musical links between Aberdeen and Glasgow. Whoever he was, he did not receive the Glasgow appointment. A few months later, on 18 April, two bailies of Glasgow (Patrick Bell and Frederick Hammiltoun) arranged to meet with and "try" Robert Inglis "who offered himselfe to teach musick within this burgh" (Marwick 1905:12⁴⁵). It may be assumed that Inglis was in due course appointed one of the precentors to the town, and master of the music school for, on 29 October 1664, the council recommended that he should be 'promoted' to the precentorship of the High Kirk (Marwick 1905:46).

The burgh records furnish a good deal of fairly detailed information

⁴⁵McQuaid (1949:236) fancies the examination was conducted in Edinburgh by Patrick Bell "musician". However, the original minute of Glasgow council (extant in Glasgow City Archives, the Mitchell Library) makes no claims as to Bell's status or the location of the test.

relating to precentors' pay during the seventeenth century. However, during the 1660s payments are no longer recorded for individually named precentors. In June 1663 (*i.e.* for the year ending Whitsunday 1664) £160 was to be paid to "the thrie precentoris or reiders" (Marwick 1906:334). Inglis, as the recently appointed fourth precentor, cannot have been included in this calculation⁶. The following year (Whitsunday 1664–5) a payment of £200 is recorded for "the precentoris and him who keeps the musick school" (Marwick 1906:340). Inglis's pay has evidently been included in this sum and amounts to £40 *p.a.*. His salary is unlikely to have been different from the other 'ordinary' precentors, therefore we can safely assume that three precentors each received £40 *p.a.* and that the fourth, who was also master of the music school, received £80 *p.a.*. Similar combined payments of £200 are recorded for the years ending at Whitsunday 1666, 1667 and 1668 (Marwick 1906:347, 349, 353).

Unfortunately, there is one anomaly amongst all these payments. For the year ending at Michaelmas (29 September) 1666, Robert Inglis was paid £80 from the council as the "tounes musitiane" (Marwick 1905:492). By this time Inglis was probably precentor at the High Kirk in Glasgow and very likely also master of the music school. But the normal payments for these posts are included in the usual Whitsunday accounts for this period, so there is no obvious reason for the extra £80 paid to Inglis at Michaelmas.

Inglis's term in office as master of the music school ended before 14 August 1669. On this day the council met and bemoaned the lack of "ane musitian for instructing the youth in the airt of musick" (Marwick 1905:120). As an incentive to potential candidates, the bishop had agreed to allow £100 to whomever might be the next master; this was probably intended to include his salary for precenting. In the end, the council consented to pay 350 merks [= £233 6s 8d] annually to the new master. This is a very significant increase from the previous regular council payments of £80. It is not clear from the minute, but the bishop's £100 may have been intended to form part of this large sum, so the actual increase in council expenditure would have been only £53 6s 8d.

By February 1671 Archibald Dennestoun had been appointed precentor of the Outer High Kirk (Marwick 1905:496). He held this position for at least

⁶Inglis did not initially work at the High Kirk, since he was 'promoted' to this post in 1664 (see above). Therefore the "thrie precentoris or reiders" are those of the High Kirk plus two of the three remaining churches: the Outer Kirk, the Laigh Kirk and Blackfriars Kirk.

one year (Candlemas 1671–2) for which he was paid the usual sum of £40. He probably continued in this post until his death in about 1674; his will, which describes him as schoolmaster, is dated 26 March 1674 (Grant 1901:137). Archibald Dennestoun may be identified with one of two other men of the same name: one who was minister of Campsie (in the presbytery of Glasgow) in 1649 (*FES* viii:286); and another who was a schoolmaster in Greenock in 1664 (*RPC* iii/i:691).

In 1673 and 1674, notices of the precentors' pay reverted to the old system of combined payments "to the precenters of the Kirkis and maisteris of the Musick Schooles" (Marwick 1906:361, 363). In both these years the payments are recorded as £400, double what had been paid during the mid 1660s. The important difference is, of course, that by now there was more than one music school operating in the town under the jurisdiction of the town council. Thus the £400 included payments to two music schoolmasters who were also precentors, and to two other precentors⁴⁷. At the Tron Kirk, James Birscat replaced Robert Forrest as precentor on 23 December 1676 (Marwick 1905:228). Forrest's misconduct (alluded to above) must have been grave, for Birscat was required to take up the position the very next day and was paid £20 "for his incurragement" to do so. Birscat was known to the council and had already proved his worth in civic affairs: the previous year he went to Holland on their behalf to have the "meikle bell in [the] Briggait"⁴⁸ recast. The cost of the work, and Birscat's expenses, came to £463 4s, reimbursed to him by the council in October 1675 (Marwick 1905:227).

The next master of the music school is not named, but he may well have been William Innes, whose will (dated 6 August 1678) describes him as precentor of the High Church (Grant 1901:246). Innes probably replaced Robert Inglis who was precentor of the High Kirk until 1669 (see p.228). However, the council records for 1678 name George Adam⁴⁹ as precentor of the "Inner Hie Church", receiving a salary of £200 (Marwick 1905:502). Adam, therefore, must have been acting as precentor and music school master since some time the previous year. Innes may well have been ill or in some way incapacitated during this year for, following Innes's death,

George Adam was formally "admittit and receavit" as precentor and music
⁴⁷Subdivision of the £400 cannot be estimated, although it is likely that the two non-teaching precentors received £40 each in line with Dennestoun's salary of 1672 (see above).

⁴⁸The Briggait, the present-day Bridge Gate, led north from the bridge across the Clyde to Walkergait (the present-day Saltmarket).

⁴⁹Possibly related to John Adam, musician in Lanark about 1676, see p.234.

teacher (Marwick 1905:261). Adam must have been held in high regard as his salary was increased from £200 in 1678 to £240 the next year (Marwick 1906:374). He continued as precentor and music school master until his death in about February 1691 (Grant 1901:2). Adam's fellow precentors around 1678 were Robert Forrest at the Outer High Kirk and Walter Watsoune at the Laigh Kirk, each of whom received £40 *p.a.* (Marwick 1905:502; 1906:374). Watsoune was the son of Alexander Watsoune (Marwick 1906:374) and had been a student at Glasgow University where he was in receipt of a bursary during the session 1677–8 (Marwick 1905:501). The fourth precentor (of Blackfriars) is not named around 1678, but he must have been responsible for teaching at the other music school in the town.

In 1682 Hugh Muir is described as a precentor, without designation of church. He had been appointed second doctor of the grammar school in October 1676 (Marwick 1905:227), but in 1682 complained of “the fewnes of schollars” at the school (thereby directly affecting his income) and his “small cellary” as precentor (Marwick 1905:309). The council beneficently granted him an additional £30. Perhaps Muir remained dissatisfied with the pay and conditions; at any rate, by 1688 his wanton disregard of responsibilities merited the attention of the archbishop, who sought to have him removed as doctor of the grammar school (Marwick 1905:412). The archbishop complained that Muir “deserts his charge sometymes for one day, sometymes for two ...” as well as committing “several other insolencies”. The council granted the archbishop's request to have Muir dismissed from the post; he very likely lost his job as precentor at the same time. Muir had probably been precentor of the Barony Kirk. This church, erected in 1595 to serve the parish of the Barony of Glasgow, was established on land belonging to the archbishopric. It is probably significant, therefore, that the archbishop requested Muir's dismissal in 1688. Furthermore, when Muir subscribed to the Test Act⁵⁰ in 1683, he was listed under the Barony Parish of Glasgow (RPC iii/viii:644).

Following George Adam's death in early 1691, Glasgow was without a principal music teacher. The magistrates still had not found a successor by September and it was at this time that the council decided to approach the famous French musician Louis de France (Renwick 1908a:36). Louis is last known to have been working in Edinburgh around October 1685, after

⁵⁰The Test Act, passed by Parliament in 1681, required all office bearers to swear an oath recognizing royal supremacy within the Church.

which time his council pay was discontinued (see p.190). His subsequent whereabouts are not known, but he was evidently in Scotland during September 1691 when two bailies of Glasgow were appointed to meet with him "and try if they can agree with him to teach the inhabitants in toune to sing musick" (Renwick 1908a:36). Two weeks later, on 24 September, the bailies reported that Louis "very willinglie condescended" to do so. The terms agreed were that he should

take onlie 14s per moneth, for ane hour in the day, from these that comes to the schooll, and 14s for wryting the threttein comon tunes and some psalmes, the schollars furnishing bookes (Renwick 1908a:37).

In return Louis was to be paid £100 *p.a.* and no other music schools were to be allowed in the town. No doubt Louis bargained hard with the bailies for favourable terms, but the agreed £100 salary was much less than he had ever received before from a Scottish town council. The contract with Louis de France may have fallen through as there is no record of his ever actually having taught in Glasgow.

The "14s for wryting the threttien comon tunes ..." doubtless refers to the fee exacted of those pupils who copied out settings of the common tunes under Louis's guidance. By the late seventeenth century, Scottish congregations had become used to singing psalms to a limited number of common metre tunes. In central Scotland (and Aberdeen) the twelve or thirteen most 'common' tunes comprised the original dozen which first appeared in the 1615 Scottish psalter. Settings of these tunes were published by John Forbes in Aberdeen in 1666 (without words) and this volume passed through five editions, the last appearing in 1720 (Cowan 1921:28f). These tune books contain four-part settings of the original twelve common tunes⁵¹ along with *Bon-Accord Tune*, and the first three editions have a setting of the proper tune for Ps 25. *Bon-Accord* is frequently designated a common tune, though in fact it is a setting of Ps 12 ("Help Lord, for good and godly men") in reports⁵². Thus the "threttein comon tunes" to be taught in Glasgow almost certainly comprise the original dozen and *Bon-Accord* (see p.317f).

Nine four-part settings of these twelve common tunes, and the treble

⁵¹However, the 1666 edition (and its subsequent revisions) replaces the tune *Glasgow* with *Elgin* (which first appeared in the 1625 Psalter).

⁵²It is placed among the common tunes in the 1625 and 1633 Scottish Psalters, but appears as one of the psalms in reports in the 1635 Psalter.

part of *Bon Accord*, appear in Louis de France's Music Book⁵³. Louis doubtless owned other music books and would also have had access to printed psalters (particularly from Aberdeen where he had taught for a time); and the Glasgow students would have been expected to copy out the settings in his possession.

Louis must have become rather disheartened by the state of Scottish church music during the late seventeenth century: a nation which knew only twelve or thirteen psalm tunes cannot have inspired such a prominent musician as he. Thus the proviso that his pupils should copy "some psalmes" as well as the thirteen common tunes may refer to his teaching of the proper psalm tunes, by now unknown to all but the oldest members of church congregations. Indeed, Louis himself may even have stipulated their inclusion in his music school curriculum. If Louis de France did take up the post of Glasgow's music teacher, then he did not remain for long. In December 1695 the council minutes mention "the want of a sufficient number of these who teaches music, sewing and other airts and sciences" (Renwick 1908a:187). As an incentive to teachers of these subjects the council agreed to waive their "stents", i.e. taxes.

The following December, William Marshall, one of the doctors of the grammar school⁵⁴, is described as precentor of one of the town's churches (Renwick 1908a:223). This was probably the Tron Kirk, where he was precentor around 1700 (Renwick 1908a:298). Marshall's salary in 1696 was the usual annual sum of £40. His contemporary at the Barony Kirk was Symon Kellie: in August 1699 Kellie was paid £14 12s 8d for three years' precenting at this church (≈£4 17s 7d *p.a.*; Renwick 1908a:288). Compared with the salaries received by the other Glasgow precentors, this was very small indeed. William Marshall was replaced as precentor of the Tron Kirk by James Ellis in March 1700 (Renwick 1908a:298). Five years later Ellis is described as "musicianer in this burgh", a term which frequently implies teaching music (Renwick 1908a:390). Before his appointment in Glasgow, Ellis had tried for the precentorship of Stirling in 1699 (see p.175) and it is to that town that he returned in 1708 as precentor and music teacher. Ellis

⁵³ *Bon-Accord* is not listed as such, but rather under the correct title for Ps 12, "Help Lord, ..." (Elliott 1959:344). Three of the nine common tune settings are the same as those in the 1635 Psalter, the others are similar to settings published in the Aberdeen Psalters of 1625 and 1633 (Elliott 1959:345).

⁵⁴ In August 1694 provision had been made for the third doctor of the grammar school to be a precentor in one of the town's churches, "provydeing he be qualified for that effect" (Renwick 1908a:132).

died in 1717.

There are very few references to music in Paisley for the period under discussion⁵⁵, but the music school was obviously very closely connected with the town's grammar school. One of the rooms of the grammar school seems to have functioned as a music school around 1586 (see p.218). In October 1618, mention is specifically made in the council records of a master of the music school: he was ordained to collect quarterly schollage of 6s 8d from each of his pupils (Brown 1875:43). Five years later the music school had been moved to other premises, for the rooms in which it had been taught were granted to Robert Park (master of the grammar school) as a dwelling-house (Brown 1875:43).

In 1648 John Tannahill, a doctor at the grammar school, was also teacher of the music school (Brown 1875:55). However, prior to the regular visitation of the grammar school in December that year, the council had some concerns about Tannahill's teaching ability. The inspectors seem to have remained unimpressed by his performance and Tannahill was evidently dismissed, for within three months he was replaced by Robert Young (Brown 1875:55). Five years later (8 May 1654) Walter Buchanan was appointed doctor in the grammar school and it is likely that Buchanan also taught music and acted as precentor (Brown 1875:57f).

In Lanark, music was taught at the grammar school during the seventeenth century. Thomas Lamb, "borne in Dunbar", was appointed doctor of the school in 1615 and as part of his duties he was to "instruct sict barnis as sall be presentit to him in the airt of musik" (Renwick 1893:122). His teaching salary and schollage was set by the town council and he received £10 from the "Session box" (presumably for precenting), but he was to "tak fra thais that leirnis the airt of mussik sict ane soume as hie thinkis maist expedient" (Renwick 1893:122). The council obviously trusted him to charge an appropriate fee.

The town's common good accounts for 1627 and 1628 refer to the "Scholemaister that teichis the musick", presumably still at the grammar school. In each of these years this unnamed teacher was paid £66 13s 4d (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* ii:47). The same accounts for the years

⁵⁵There are no references to music in the published extracts from the council records covering the period 1594-1620 (Metcalf 1902).

1633 and 1634 describe “the mwsichioner of the burgh” who received 100 merks [= £66 13s 4d] *p.a.*, *i.e.* the same pay as the school doctor who taught music in 1627–8. Thus the term “mwsichioner” must here be taken to mean ‘music teacher’ and (since the music teacher normally led the church psalmody, as Lamb did around 1615) ‘precentor’. The burgh’s educational provision was given a secure financial backing in 1662 by a mortification⁵⁶ of James, Lord Carmichael (1579–1672; Paul 1904 iv:584f). He granted a total of £3320 to support the town’s schoolmaster, five poor schollars and the burgh’s “musioner” (Renwick 1893:187).

John Adam was doctor (in the contemporary sense of assistant to the master) and music teacher in Lanark in 1676; he was also a burghess of the town (Renwick 1893:200). On 9 March this year he was reprimanded for having “mast uncristianlie and ungodlie railed [=uttered invective or abuse]” upon one of his superiors, a magistrate of the town. As punishment for this temperamental outburst, he was stripped of his freedom of Lanark, discharged from the school and ordered to spend 24 hours in prison (Renwick 1893:200). However, by 23 March Adam had satisfied the authorities of his penitence for the crime, and was reinstated to the school doctorship (Renwick 1893:201).

Thomas Howieson was appointed precentor in Lanark in 1680 (Renwick 1893:203). He would very likely also have been the burgh’s “musicianer”, *i.e.* the doctor of the grammar school responsible for teaching music. On 22 November 1683, the council appointed William McGie as doctor of the town’s school and “maister of the musick schoole”, with the same terms and conditions that applied to previous doctors (Renwick 1893:220). This is the first use of the term ‘music school’ in Lanark, but McGie probably taught his music pupils at the grammar school. McGie applied to be precentor in Stirling late in 1685. He was successful, and took up his new position there at Candlemas (2 February) 1686 (Hutchison 1904:245, see p.174).

We have no references to a music school in Peebles at any time, but psalmody played an important part in the daily routine of the town’s school during the seventeenth century. Contracts for three of the town’s schoolmasters all make exactly the same requirements regarding the daily singing of psalms: the master is to say morning prayers and [sing] psalms at 6 *a.m.* each day; and the school day was to finish at 5.45 *p.m.* with a prayer, a

⁵⁶ A disposition of property for charitable or public purposes.

bible reading and a sung psalm (Chambers 1872:68, 386; Renwick 1910:30). These details are specified in the contracts for masters appointed in 1631, 1649 and 1655; it is almost certain that the other seventeenth-century masters would have been subject to the same conditions. Peebles is unlikely to have been alone among Scottish burghs in insisting upon daily worship in school.

Robert Taitt worked as precentor and music teacher in Lauder towards the end of the seventeenth century. He compiled a music book (c. 1676–89)⁵⁷ inside the cover of which there is an inscription to the effect that he took up the precentorship of the town's church on 7 January 1677 (Rubsamen 1961:260). He evidently taught music in the town, for much of the book is taken up with didactic material copied from John Forbes's "Songs and Fancies" (first published at Aberdeen in 1662). Taitt, in common with many other well qualified musicians, also taught music to the nobility: another entry in the book refers to musical rudiments "Begun at the Castle, on the 21 of October, 1676" (Rubsamen 1961:261). The castle was Thirlestane Castle, then the home of John Maitland, first Duke of Lauderdale (1616–82). The sacred contents of Taitt's manuscript amount to a complete copy of Edward Millar's 1635 Scottish Psalter (Rubsamen 1961:271). Like his contemporary, Louis de France, Taitt seems to have been concerned with preserving the proper psalm tunes which were no longer in common usage. Taitt's name does not appear elsewhere.

Early in the seventeenth century, Ayr's burgh accounts record a payment of £18 (under the "wine and hospitality" section) for "lodging Robert Dalyell's two sons on their visit anent the Music School" (c. 1604, Pryde 1937:220). This is a very unusual payment and certainly has no parallel among any of the other Scottish burghs studied. Dalyell may well have been one of the local landed gentry, considering sending his sons to Ayr for their musical education. At any rate, £18 was a very substantial sum at this time, when one considers that the rent of the music school and master's house was £26 13s 4d for a whole year in 1615 (Pryde 1937:262). Therefore, that the council should pay for the board of two boys on an extended visit to the

⁵⁷The manuscript has been described by W H Rubsamen (1961). He believes it to have been compiled by C (or E) Raitt, but later writers refer to it as the Robert Taitt manuscript (cf. Shire 1969:255 and MB xv:200). The book is preserved in the Clark Memorial Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

music school emphasizes their importance (or rather that of their family) and, indeed, the music school. Alexander Spittel (see p.217f) had been in charge of the school since 1601 and may well have been its master at the time of Dalyell's sons' visit.

In 1605 Ayr council ordained that "all maill children are to be taichit only in *the* Grammar Scule, except sic as plesis to learn musik at *the* music-scule" (Pagan 1897:75). This tacitly implies that all girls should be taught reading and writing (and music) at the music school, and harks back to an earlier council policy of segregating girls and boys whilst at school (see p.217).

Alexander Fiddes was engaged as precentor in 1610. The burgh accounts describe him as "musicioner" which, as has already been noted, often had the added implication of music teacher⁵⁸. However, Fiddes's appointment was only temporary: he was paid £13 15s 8d "for singing psalms in the kirk *while here*" (Pryde 1937:249, McQuaid 1949:263). Fiddes, evidently not normally resident in Ayr, is not found in burgh records elsewhere.

From 1612 the burgh accounts record regular payments for the rent of the music school building (£20 *p.a.*) and for the house occupied by the school's master (£6 13s 4d *p.a.*). These payments are listed for 1612 (house only), 1615, 1616 and 1623 (house and school combined), and 1617 (house and school separately; Pryde 1937:252, 262, 265, 268, 281). It is normal to find a council paying for the rent of school buildings, but only some councils offered to pay the schoolmaster's house-rent as part of his terms and conditions. Indeed, Ayr council even covered the maintenance costs of the house by paying for the repair of a glass window in 1615 (Pryde 1937:258).

According to McQuaid (1949:271, quoting the manuscript burgh records) James Laurie was appointed music teacher and precentor in Ayr on 12 January 1613. Initial payments to him were made in 1613, one in particular records that Laurie was bought a "suit of clothes", promised to him by the council, worth £20 (Pryde 1937:256). Laurie must have been quite poor at the time of his appointment. The burgh accounts for 1614–16 record payments to the master of the music school of £80, the last specifying "[for his] stipend, and for singing the psalms in the kirk" (Pryde 1937:57, 257, 260). It appears, then, that Laurie received £40 for music teaching and a similar sum for precenting. This is borne out by payments made to him in

⁵⁸The grammar school doctor of Lanark is regularly described as "muisitioner" during the seventeenth century (see p.234).

about 1614. The first specifies that Laurie, as master of the music school, received £39 13s 4d “in complete payment” of his stipend (from 12 January 1613, see above) until Martinmas [*i.e.* 11 November], and part-payment for the session 1613–14 (Pryde 1937:254). This seems to indicate a rounded annual figure of £40 for teaching music. Furthermore, McQuaid (1949:271) notes that on 7 January 1614 Laurie was paid £39 6s 8d. The sum of this amount plus the preceding payment comes to almost £80 for two years’ teaching. The burgh accounts for 1616–17 note that the music school master was paid only £40 (Pryde 1937:263). Although no further details are furnished, this is almost certainly the last payment received by Laurie, who left Ayr for the Chapel Royal around September 1617 (see pp.59f and 68f).

Laurie was replaced by William Smith who moved to Ayr in September 1617. In the same way that Laurie had been promised a suit of clothes as an incentive to take up the post, so the council paid the considerable sum of £40 for “the carriage of Mr William Smyth ... and his gear to this burgh” (Pryde 1937:262⁵⁹). But Smith had been teaching at the music school since the beginning of August: he was paid £23 6s 8d for “his services” from 1 August until 10 November (Pryde 1937:268). This payment works out at an average annual salary of around £83, in line with Laurie’s former pay for teaching and precenting. During the session 1619–20, Smith’s pay was increased to £100 as master of the music school (Pryde 1937:272), and the following year it is specified that he received 50 merks [= £33 6s 8d] from the kirk session (presumably for precenting), over and above the council’s £100 (Pryde 1937:274). In June 1620 Smith made what appears to have been a short visit to Edinburgh, for which he was reimbursed his expenses of £13 6s 8d (Pryde 1937:272). In view of this reimbursement, it may be the case that Smith travelled to the capital on business for Ayr burgh council. The burgh accounts for 1621–22 describe Smith as “reader” for which he was paid £10 (Pryde 1937:282). The final reference to Smith in Ayr occurs in the accounts for 1623–4 where, once again, he is found as “music-master and reader”. This year he received another payment of £13 6s 8d in addition to his unspecified stipend (Pryde 1937:281).

⁵⁹McQuaid (1949:271f) suggests Smith may have come from Edinburgh, which town he visited in 1620 (see below). He also suggests (1949:298) this man is the musician named as “Smith” by Edward Millar in his preface to the 1635 Psalter. However, since the other musicians in this list were all active during the immediate post-Reformation period, it is unlikely that “Smith” can be William Smith of Ayr and Edinburgh, active from 1617 till about 1623. Rather, it seems more likely that Millar’s “Smith” is Alexander Smith, teacher at the song school of St Andrews, c. 1560–74 (see p.125ff).

Ayr's common good accounts for 1627, 1633 and 1634 note that the master of the song school and precentor received "10 bollis of victuall⁶⁰ and £13 6s 8d of silver" (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* ii:41⁶¹). These payments in kind are the first recorded for a master of a music school and likely reflect the hardships of the local economy at this time. William Smith, accustomed to a salary of around £133, is unlikely to have remained as master of Ayr's music school under these conditions. The accounts for these years also list the rent of the music school (no mention of the master's house) as £8. This is considerably less than the £20 paid by the council during the period 1615–23, suggesting the school had moved to new premises around 1627. The names of the music school masters after William Smith are not recorded in the burgh accounts. The last reference to the school occurs in 1679 when Pagan (1897:75) notes that the master's salary was by this time £60 *p.a.*.

In common with many other smaller towns (*e.g.* Lanark and Peebles), music appears to have been taught at the grammar school in Irvine about 1628. An entry in the common good accounts records an unspecified payment to the town's "Doctour and Musiciner" this year (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* ii:45). In 1633 this man was paid £100 (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* ii:45). Similarly, music was taught in the town school in Dumbarton about 1621. The schoolteacher there received £100 in 1621 (Dauney 1838:362).

Thomas Mure was appointed precentor in Kilmarnock on 2 December 1647. He was also a doctor in the local school (M'Kay 1909:154). Later, but some time before 1654, a grant was made by the eighth Lord Boyd for provision of a schoolmaster in Kilmarnock "quho may also serve as musician in the ... Old Kirk in all tyme coming" (M'Kay 1909:153).

The kirk session records of the small parish of Mauchline note the names of several precentors around 1673. John Gray was interim precentor this year, between the incumbencies of William Reid and James Borland, the new precentor (*Extracts from the Session Records of Mauchline* 1669–1695:3). William Reid may well be the man who was later precentor

⁶⁰ 10 bolls ≈ 1451 litres (319 gallons) of wheat, peas, beans, meal *etc.* (Robinson 1985:818).

⁶¹ Dauney (1838:362) states the amount of silver for 1627 as £42. This is probably an error given the repetition of the above figure in 1633 and 1634.

and schoolmaster in South Leith in 1687 (see p.201).

Further south in Wigtown, the precentor there also taught in the town's grammar school; his salary for this combined post was 300 merks [= £200] in 1633 (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* ii:50). However, the session records of a neighbouring small parish, Penninghame (surrounding Newton Stewart), illustrate what may well have been a more common state of affairs in many rural parishes near the end of the seventeenth century. A session minute of 1696 laments the parish's lack of a session clerk, precentor and schoolmaster (Paton 1933 i:1). In December 1700, Michael McTaggart was appointed schoolmaster and precentor, although for some reason he was not to hold the office of session clerk, as was customary (Paton 1933 i:59). The following year a payment is recorded to "the praecentor at the Communion ... £2" (Paton 1933 i:76). This strongly suggests the parish did not have a regular precentor and that one had to be specially employed for this important service. Communion was celebrated very infrequently in most rural parishes, in many cases only once or twice a year⁶². Thus, due to their infrequency, communion services established themselves as important events in the parish calendar, necessitating well-led psalm-singing. Dumfries, on the other hand, could boast having its own music school around 1633, the master of which was paid £80 that year (*Miscellany of the Maitland Club* ii:43).

Taking a broader view of church music in the west and south of Scotland during this period, several important facts emerge. In common with other important Scottish musical centres, Glasgow had several connections with the Chapel Royal, particularly during the first half of the sixteenth century. The musicians James and William Silver and Alexander Panter seem to have worked at both Glasgow Cathedral and the Chapel Royal in Stirling. Even after the Reformation, the burgh council sought the services of George Maxwell, a musician who had formerly worked at the Chapel Royal.

After 1560, however, the town seems to have had stronger musical connections with Aberdeen. John Andersoun succeeded John Black as master of the music school at New Aberdeen in 1587; and in 1610 the master of the same school was James Sanderis. Both Andersoun and

⁶²In the early 1700s Communion appears to have been celebrated once a year only in Penninghame, around the end of July (Paton 1933 i:55, 69, 93).

Sanderis later worked as musicians in Glasgow. Duncan Burnet, probably the most eminent musician to have worked in Glasgow, also had several strong ties with Aberdeen: his relationship to the Burnets of Leys; the fact that his music book contains compositions by Andrew Kemp and John Black, both former masters of the Aberdeen music school; and his association with James Sanderis in Glasgow who, as noted, had also taught in Aberdeen. Later in the seventeenth century, Glasgow council invited a "young man ... com from Aberdein" to become musician in the town; and, later still, this post was offered to Louis de France, the famous teacher who had previously worked in Edinburgh and Aberdeen.

As already noted in other Scottish towns, the provision of good musical education seems to have been a factor in the perceived relative status of burghs throughout the realm. Examples of such burghal pride in music abound in the west and south of Scotland, e.g. the modelling of the collegiate choir at Biggar on the choral establishment of its metropolitan church, Glasgow Cathedral; and in Ayr the importance attached to the musical education of two young boys visiting the town's music school. The quality and upkeep of music education was a particular concern of Glasgow council, particularly following the Reformation. Whenever the post of musician fell vacant in the town, meetings attended by dignitaries and high-ranking officials were held to decide on the next incumbent. More often than not, it was decided to approach musicians already known to the council, *i.e.* having proven skills. This was the case in 1590 (prior to the appointment of John Buchan in 1592), 1663 (the young man from Aberdeen) and 1691 (the invitation to Louis de France).

The church in Ayr seems to have led the way in terms of the development of psalmody following the Reformation. It was normal practice for most congregations to sing the psalms in unison, but in Ayr we have a reference to pupils of the song school singing four-part harmonizations of the psalms as early as 1583. Typically, Glasgow was not far behind in this innovation, and from the late 1580s the precentor was accompanied by his song school pupils and another four men. This 'choir' would presumably have sung in four-part harmony.

If smaller towns could not match this state of development, then at least music was not abandoned altogether. Song schools were attached to most collegiate churches during the early sixteenth century, and even to some parish churches, as at Dumbarton. After the Reformation, music became a

subject taught within the grammar school in those towns where there was no separate music school. However, it seems that rural parishes generally fared less well, as in the case of Penninghame, where a trained precentor had to be specially hired for the parish's annual communion service.

The Music of Robert Carver

Of Carver's five surviving Masses and two motets, only two works have been both signed and dated by him: the Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium* (the date of which has been altered from 1506 to 1508/11/13 at various times) and the Mass *Pater Creator omnium* of 1546. Carver appended his signature only to the remaining works, which have been the subject of several studies during the past forty years. The following table summarizes the datings proposed by the three authors of the most in-depth Carver studies: Kenneth Elliott (1959, 1960b and *MusScot* i), Isobel Woods (1984) and D James Ross (1993, 1998, 1999).

<u>Work</u>	<u>Suggested Datings</u>		
	<u>Elliott</u>	<u>Woods</u>	<u>Ross</u> ¹
Mass <i>Dum sacrum mysterium</i> (à10)	1513	p. 1508, a. 1513	1506
Mass for six voices	[c. 1514] ²	p. 1508	1506–11
<i>Gaude flore virginali</i> (à5)	c. 1515	p. 1508, a. 1513	1506
Mass <i>L'Homme armé</i> (à4)	c. 1520	p. 1508	c. 1506
<i>O bone Jesu</i> (à19)	early 1520s	p. 1503, a. 1513	1506
Mass <i>Fera pessima</i> (à5)	mid 1520s	1548	1543–68
Mass for three voices ³ (attrib.)	1520s	p. 1548	mid 1540s/ early 1550s ⁴
Mass <i>Cantate Domino</i> ⁵ (à6) (attrib.)	c. 1525	—	1543–68
Mass <i>Pater Creator omnium</i> (à4)	1546	1546	1543

In general these scholars agree that Carver's earliest works are: the Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium*, the Mass for six voices and the motets *Gaude flore virginali* and *O bone Jesu*, probably written in that order between 1506

¹ These datings are to be found in Ross's latest biography of Carver (1998:10). In some cases they differ considerably from those proposed in his 1993 publication. Therein the following datings are suggested: Mass for six voices 1511, *Gaude flore virginali* 1513, *O bone Jesu* a. 1513, and Mass *Fera pessima* mid 1540s. Ross (1993:54) agrees with Elliott's view that the Mass *Cantate Domino* is a reworking of the Mass *Fera pessima* which Ross (in 1993) dated to the mid 1540s. He suggests the former work was composed some time during "the fifteen years up to the Reformation".

² Elliott (*MusScot* i:vi) suggests this work was written next after the Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium*.

³ Attributed to Carver by Elliott (*MusScot* i:ix) and Ross (1993:51).

⁴ Ross's most recent articles make no mention of this work. This dating has been taken from his 1993 book.

⁵ This work is found in the Dowglas-Fische[ar] Partbooks and is therefore not discussed by Woods in her study of the Carver Choirbook. It has been attributed to Carver by Elliott (1964:231, *MusScot* i:ix) and Ross (1993:52).

and the early 1520s. In this group of works the most contentious issue has been the dating of the Mass *L'Homme armé* (c. 1506/p. 1508/c. 1520). The later works are accepted as the Mass *Fera pessima* and the two attributed Mass-settings. At issue here is the length of time that elapsed after *O bone Jesu* before their composition. Elliott suggests these three works were written during the 1520s, in the years following the nineteen-part motet. However, Woods and Ross propose they were written around thirty years after *O bone Jesu*, shortly after the Mass *Pater Creator omnium* of 1546. These issues will be addressed below, in discussion of the works and their styles. (The following discussion relates to Kenneth Elliott's edition of Carver's works in *MusScot i*).

Some features of the splendid large-scale Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium* are common to most of Carver's music, whilst others enable us to trace his stylistic development, even within the course of this one work. The Mass is constructed upon a *cantus firmus*, the Magnificat antiphon for the feast of St Michael (29 September). In his later Masses Carver allows the *cantus firmus* to permeate the texture of the music, but in this early work it is simply stated once in each movement in long note-values in T₃ (with the exception of a slow hoquet-like presentation between T₃, T₂ and T₁ in the final *Agnus Dei*, bb.107–123).

Another unifying device favoured by Carver is that of the head-motif. The beginnings of the *Gloria* and *Credo* are identical⁶, but Carver makes some changes to the head-motifs of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*, which are both almost the same. This device of distinguishing the head-motifs of the *Gloria* and *Credo* from those of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* can also be seen in another early work, the Mass for six voices. It is a technique also used by Thomas Ashwell in his Mass *Ave Maria* (à6; EECM i:61ff). However, all the movements of Carver's later Mass *Fera pessima* and the two attributed Mass-settings begin with identical head-motifs⁷.

Carver's Mass movements generally seem to follow a pattern of sections scored for soloists alternating with those for full choir, although these

⁶ The head-motifs can incur rhythmic changes necessitated by word-setting, and sometimes the vocal parts are swapped.

⁷ The Masses *L'Homme armé* and *Pater Creator omnium* do not make use of head-motifs. The idea of pairing Mass movements in this way was not new: it can be seen in the Old Hall Manuscript of a century earlier, although there the *Gloria-Credo* pairs are quite unrelated to the *Sanctus-Agnus* pairs (Reese 1959:39).

distinctions are not specified in the manuscript⁸. The solo sections vary in texture from passages of simple syllabic homophony to those which are highly florid and melismatic, similar to music in the Eton Choirbook (Ex.6.1⁹). The solo sections also demonstrate Carver's considerable ability to vary and juxtapose contrasting vocal sonorities (Ex.6.2). His predilection for contrasting high and low voices is particularly evident in the *Credo* where "Et incarnatus est" is set to a combination of high voices (with a bass), immediately followed by dark-sounding lower voices for "Crucifixus etiam", suitably reflecting the sentiments of the text (Ex.6.1)¹⁰. (This contrast is also seen in the works of other composers including Taverner's *Masses Mater Christi* and *Western Wynd*, although in general Taverner adopts the contrast low/high voices for these sections.) Carver also delights in making full use of the voice ranges at his disposal, even within a single phrase (Ex.6.3, T.; and Ex.6.4, B).

The full sections of the Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium* consist mainly of massive slow-moving chords, mostly F major/G minor. These monolithic harmonies are decorated by a welter of filigree vocal writing, frequently incurring technical errors (*MusScot* i:vi), e.g. the clashing passing notes and parallel motion in bb.67–8 of the *Gloria*, Ex.6.5. (The nine-part sections of Wylkynson's *Salve Regina* are in a similar style to Carver's full sections, but show none of these technical flaws.) Woods (1984 i:209ff) has remarked that these sections give the impression of having grown out of a type of large-scale improvisation, *decupla resortis* ('ten-part *sortisatio*')¹¹, which may have been cultivated in Scotland around the early sixteenth century.

Dissonance treatment in this Mass has much in common with that of the older Eton composers like Horwood (Benham 1977:66, 75). Unaccented passing and auxiliary notes are very common; but there are also examples of changing notes, *échappées* and appoggiature (Ex.6.1), dissonances

⁸ In this and his other Masses, Carver's apparent distribution of full and solo sections broadly corresponds with that employed by contemporary English composers, as described by Benham (1977:41).

⁹ The musical examples accompanying this chapter may be found in Appendix C (volume ii) beginning on p.387.

¹⁰ This is also true of the Masses *L'Homme armé* and *Fera pessima*.

¹¹ This term is used by Gavin Douglas in his poem *The Palice of Honour*:

Accompanyit lustie zonkeirs with all,
Fresche ladyis sang in voice virgineall
Concordis sweet, divers entoned reportis, ...
Sesqui altera and decupla resortis ...

Woods (1984 i:209f) gives the meaning of "decupla" as "ten-fold". She suggests "resortis" may derive from the term "sortisatio"—a type of improvisation upon a plainsong *cantus firmus* common around the early sixteenth century.

"virtually eliminated" by the later Eton composers.

The distribution of dissonant suspensions¹² throughout the Mass shows a definite change in style during the later movements, suggesting the Mass may have been composed in two stages. In the *Gloria* and *Credo*, dissonant suspensions are mostly of the 4–3 type and occur mainly at V–I cadences (e.g. *Gloria*, bb.21, 50, 63f (Ex.6.5), 92). Of the nine 4–3 suspensions in these two movements, six are made even more dissonant by the simultaneous sounding of the resolution note in another voice (e.g. *Gloria*, bb.63 (Ex.6.5), 92 and *Credo*, b.115); this happens in both full and solo sections. Taken together, the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* present 17 examples of 4–3 suspensions, ten 7–6 suspensions and even one 9–8 suspension (*Agnus Dei*, b.14, Ex.6.7, A₁). The majority of these have decorative resolutions involving auxiliary notes (Ex.6.2, bb.60–2). Only one dissonant suspension is, unusually, sounded on a weak beat, resolving on a strong beat (*Sanctus*, b.152, Ex.6.13, T₁). The difference is clear: the last two movements have more frequent and more varied dissonant suspensions with a marked preference for decorative resolutions. Furthermore, there are five 4–3 suspensions with simultaneous resolutions in the *Sanctus*, but these only occur within dense full-voice passages, already full of passing dissonances, rather than being found in solo sections, as earlier in the *Gloria* (cf. *Gloria*, bb.19, 63 (Ex.6.5), 92 and *Sanctus*, bb.106, 109, 174, 175, 178).

Despite these stylistic advances, the Mass as a whole shows a few examples of irregular dissonance treatment, quite apart from the clashing semiquavers already mentioned: *Gloria*, b.102 (A₁ first note, unprepared dissonance), b.117–8 (T₁, unresolved dissonance, Ex.6.6¹³) and *Agnus Dei* bb.33 (B₁, last note), 43 (A₂, last note), and 96 (S₂, last note; all unprepared and unresolved dissonances). Dissonant suspensions resolving by leap are not found in Carver's other early works, but there are three examples in the *Agnus Dei* of the ten-part Mass: the double suspension in b.14 (A₁ and T₁ on the second-last quaver, Ex.6.7) and one in b.31 (S₂, third quaver). The third quaver of b.14 also presents a rare example of a six-five chord (the sixth resolving by downward step in A₁, Ex.6.7).

Of the structural cadences in this Mass, most (thirty) are of the more modern V–I type and half of these are decorated by 4–3 suspensions (Ex.6.5,

¹² As opposed to the consonant progression of the suspended sixth falling to the fifth above the bass, which is a very common progression in sixteenth-century music.

¹³ This part is carrying the last note of the *cantus firmus* here, so a resolution is impossible; but Carver could easily have curtailed the length of this note.

b.63f). The remaining cadences are VIIb–I (seven examples, of which three have 7–6 suspensions; e.g. *Gloria*, b.118f, Ex.6.6), Vb–I (*Credo*, b.77, Ex.6.8) and IV–I (*Credo*, b.149, Ex.6.9). Without exception, all cadences come to rest on G, thus the Mass never departs from the Dorian mode on G.

A common feature of Carver's music is his use of 'detail imitation': the (sometimes haphazard) imitation of short and frequently decorative motifs from the middle of phrases (e.g. in b.10 of the *Gloria* where the descending motif in A₁ is followed by T₁ then A₂, Ex.6.10). This type of imitation was also a feature of English music (e.g. Wylkynson's *Salve Regina* à9, bb.215–7, Ex.6.11, *passim*). Carver seems to have begun to experiment with structural imitation during the period of composition of this Mass. There are some cautious attempts at this technique in the *Credo* and *Agnus Dei*¹⁴, though none in the *Gloria*. However, the *Sanctus* contains several passages of more confident structural imitation (bb.76–81 (Ex.6.12), 93–95 and 114–5), as well as a very long (almost strict) canon at the lower ninth between A₁ and B₁ (bb.48–73). (Canon was a technique much employed by Josquin (Reese 1959:231, 256) but used less often by contemporary English composers.) Even the detail imitation of this movement is more organized (see bb.157–161, Ex.6.13). Given that Carver appears to have worked on the Mass over a period of some seven years (1506–13), it seems likely that the *Sanctus* (or at least the solo sections of the *Sanctus*), with its more advanced style of imitation, was the last movement to have been completed. This movement also contains passages of more advanced harmony (see the treatment of suspensions above), in particular bb.152–6 (Ex.6.13) contain many dissonant suspensions—correctly (and strictly) treated according to strong and weak beats—ending on an unusual A-flat chord. The use of such "exotic" chords is taken one stage further in Carver's motet *Gaude flore virginali* (e.g. bb.58–78 and 130–140 (Ex.6.25)) where there are even D-flat chords.

In some respects this work seems like something of a demonstration piece: it contains a number of isolated passages which have little or no bearing on the rest of the work, but which reveal Carver's assimilation of other styles. These passages include the long canon and passage of suspensions just described, as well as a few bars of antiphonal polychoral exchanges (*Credo*, bb.49–54, Ex.6.14; also seen in the work of Josquin (e.g. the motets *Pater noster, que es in caelis* and *Beati quorum remissae sunt*

¹⁴ E.g. *Credo*, bb.89–90 and 94–7 (Ex.6.1); and a fleeting example in the *Agnus Dei*, bb.64–6.

iniquitates) and Ludford (e.g. the Mass *Christi virgo*)), and a single example of a delayed entry of the *cantus firmus*, anticipated in two other voices (*Credo*, bb.37–40, Ex.6.15, S, T, T; a technique also used by Josquin¹⁵, Browne and Taverner¹⁶). Above all, the Mass demonstrates Carver's skilful handling of vocal groupings. It is inconceivable that such an ambitious work was the first to be written by this young composer (Carver was probably only 21 during part of 1506, *MusScot* i:xi). If the work was begun in Aberdeen (where he had been presented to a chaplainry by James IV in 1505)¹⁷, it, along with his earlier works, must have gained Carver considerable distinction—distinction which would not have gone unnoticed at James IV's recently endowed Chapel Royal in Stirling. The *Gloria* of the Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium* may have served as evidence of the young composer's achievement and promise, admitting him into the royal court where the work was completed in 1513.

The Mass for six voices (SAAATB) is stylistically very similar to the ten-part Mass (albeit on a smaller scale) and thus presumably contemporaneous. There is apparently the same contrast between full and solo sections, although the solos of the *Gloria* and *Credo* are less highly decorative than those of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*. The full sections of this Mass rely less on detail imitation and more on faster harmonic rhythm to propel the music forward. The music is a good deal more syllabic than the earlier Mass and Carver pays greater attention to speech rhythms (e.g. at "Gratias agimus", *Gloria*, b.16ff, Ex.6.16).

There are a few passages of structural imitation in this Mass (*Gloria*, bb.85–6; *Credo*, bb.21–3 (Ex.6.20b), 61–2, 80–2; and *Agnus Dei*, bb.100–5, Ex.6.17), but only the last of these bears comparison with the sustained imitation seen in the later sections of the ten-part Mass. It seems likely, therefore, that Carver wrote this setting before completing the ten-part Mass¹⁸. In addition to these imitative passages, the decorative solo sections display some passages of canonic writing (e.g. *Sanctus*, bb.46–8, S/A, Ex.6.18) and harmonic sequences (*Sanctus*, bb.100–2, Ex.6.19). This last passage is particularly interesting since the initial phrase is five beats long, thus the

¹⁵ Reese 1959:237.

¹⁶ Benham 1977:50.

¹⁷ *MusScot* i:xi.

¹⁸ Coincidentally, in both these Masses, Carver sets the *Gloria* complete and omits the same short passage from the *Credo* ("Et in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum ... Confiteor unum baptismum in remissionem peccatorum"). In his later Masses (apart from the Mass *L'Homme armé*) Carver was to omit gradually longer passages from the *Credo* and, eventually, even portions of the *Gloria*.

sequence cuts across the prevailing duple meter of the passage. This technique is similar to that employed by Isaac in the *Benedictus* of his Mass *Misericordias Domini* (Reese 1959:215).

A new departure in the six-part Mass, necessitated by the absence of a *cantus firmus*, is the permeation of the texture by various recurring motifs. The most prominent motif is a descending five-note scale, the first note of which is dotted (or tied, e.g. *Gloria* bb.66–7, T, Ex.6.20a). This motif appears many times throughout the Mass and is frequently the subject of imitation: *Credo*, bb.21–3 (in diminution, Ex.6.20b), 80–2; *Sanctus*, “Pleni sunt caeli”, bb.103–6 (Ex.6.19) and bb.136–7; *Agnus Dei*, bb.25–31, 100–4 (Ex.6.17); it also appears in an inverted form (sometimes modified), e.g. *Sanctus* bb.83–6 (Ex.6.20c), 117–8, 130, 147–9 and *Agnus Dei* b.54. Other motifs appearing occasionally throughout the Mass include that at “Domine Deus” (*Gloria*, b.22f, B, Ex.6.21a; b.29f, bb.85–8 etc.) and some quaver changing-note and auxiliary-note figures (e.g. *Gloria*, b.49 A, *Agnus Dei* bb.99–100, Ex.6.17; and *Credo* bb.50–6) as well as repeated leaps of fourths (e.g. *Gloria*, bb.58–9, T; *Credo*, b.102, B; *Sanctus*, bb.48–50, Ex.6.18, etc.).

A prominent feature of this Mass, right from the outset (and particularly at cadences), is the outlining of triadic shapes in the melodic lines, constantly affirming the work’s bright-sounding modality—Mixolydian transposed to C (Ex.6.21b). Most structural cadences in the Mass are perfect, but there are almost as many older style cadences where the bass note falls a step to the root of the final chord (i.e. VIIb–I, II–I; e.g. *Credo*, b.40 (Ex.6.23), *Gloria*, b.95). Carver begins to explore the possibilities of varying cadence degrees in this work: while most come to rest on C, several end on B-flat as well as a few on G, D, E and F (e.g. *Credo* bb.48 (Ex.6.23), 80, 97, 118; *Agnus Dei* b.52). Jeppesen (1992:82) notes that cadences on B-flat and E are relatively uncommon within the Mixolydian mode transposed to C.

Carver makes greater use of dissonant suspensions in this work, particularly 4–3 and 7–6 (sometimes preceded by an *échappée* e.g. *Gloria* b.69, Ex.6.20a; *Credo* b.117), and all but one are correctly treated according to strong/weak beats (see *Credo* b.108, Ex.6.22). There are still a few clashing passing notes (e.g. *Gloria*, b.14), but *échappés*, changing notes (*Sanctus* bb.8 and 26 etc.) and forays into distant flat keys (e.g. *Credo* b.40ff, Ex.6.23) are now more common.

The motet *Gaude flore virginali* (for SATTB) is a setting of a Marian text much favoured by the composers of the Eton Choirbook, which originally

contained eleven settings of this text. Carver's setting shares many features in common with his earlier ten- and six-part Masses. There is much of the detail imitation seen in the ten-part Mass, and some passages have a very slow harmonic rhythm (e.g. bb.40–51, Ex.6.24), also recalling the latter work. In general, however, the harmonic rhythm is more like that of the six-part Mass.

Other features also link *Gaude flore* more closely with the six-part Mass, particularly the predominantly syllabic texture, declamatory rhythms, and triadic vocal lines. Furthermore, both works contain fewer of the decorative solo passages seen in the ten-part Mass. There are only two such passages in *Gaude flore*: bb.135–140 (à2, Ex.6.25) and bb.145–172 (à3). Interestingly, both these passages contain short sections of canonic writing (also seen in the six-part and ten-part Masses): bb.134–7 (S/A, Ex.6.25), bb.149–152 (T₁/T₂) and bb.166–170 (T₁/T₂). These canons, however, are so short (and inexact) as to have no bearing on the overall structure of the solos.

The motet displays only two short examples of what might be considered structural imitation (bb.205–9 and 215–9 (Ex.6.26a and b); *MusScot* i:viii). Both these passages are based on a motif Carver had already used in the six-part Mass, the descending five-note scale, seen elsewhere in the motet at b.31f (T₂) and in imitation at bb.175–8 (Ex.6.27).

Harmonically, *Gaude flore* is the most advanced of the three works so far discussed. It is composed in the Lydian mode on F, and the inherent tritone from F to B is used as a structural element in the work (see below). The motet displays several passages in flat keys, including D-flat chords (e.g. bb.58ff and 130ff (Ex.6.25)); such modulations are also seen in the music of Obrecht (e.g. his Mass on *Maria zart*, Reese 1959:195). There are very few clashing passing notes and consecutive octaves or fifths, as observed in the ten-part Mass (see p.244). Given these developments in Carver's harmonic style, and his previous propensity for dissonant suspensions, it seems very odd indeed that, in the whole of *Gaude flore virginali*, there should be only three dissonant suspensions, at bb.69, 77 and 108. Structural cadences in *Gaude flore virginali* are mostly either plagal (of which there are four) or perfect (three examples), but there are still some of the older style VIIb–I cadences, and II–I forms the final cadence.

Figure 6.1 presents a brief analysis of the motet's structural cadences. All of these occur at the end of a stanza, or exactly in the middle of one (at the

last word in the third of each six-line verse) and all (except that at the end of stanza 6) are followed by a significant change in vocal texture. In a work mainly given over to transitions towards flat keys, Carver imparts great emphasis to the line “quod haec septem gaudia” (the middle of stanza 7, b.203f, Ex.6.26a) by setting the first three of these words to the chord of B minor—an augmented fourth away from F, the *finalis* of the motet. This is the second (and last) B minor chord in the whole work, the first appearing at the cadence on “splendiferum” (stanza 1, b.14)—the first word sung by all five voices. These two cadences on B underpin the symmetrical form of the whole work: the flat passages, mostly near the middle of the piece in stanzas 3–5, are framed by stanzas 1–3 (with a movement from F to B to G and then F) and 5–7 (with the corresponding opposite movement from F to G to B and then F, see Fig.6.1). Notice too that stanzas 2 and 6 (*i.e.* the second and second-last) do not have cadences in the middle.

<u>bar no.</u>	<u>structural cadence on ...</u>	<u>position within text</u>
[1	F	beginning of stanza 1] ¹⁹
13	B	middle of stanza 1
29–30	A	end of stanza 1
55–6	E	end of stanza 2
77–8	G	middle of stanza 3
93–4	F	end of stanza 3
108–9	A	middle of stanza 4
122	B-flat	end of stanza 4
139–40	F	middle of stanza 5
171–2	G	end of stanza 5
193	A-flat	end of stanza 6
203	B	middle of stanza 7
226	F	end of stanza 7

Fig.6.1: The structural scheme of *Gaude flore virginali*

The B minor chord at “quod haec septem gaudia” is yet more significant in that it highlights the Seven Joys of Mary. Here, in this Marian motet, Carver is indulging in the medieval fascination for mystic numbers—it is hardly coincidental that the structural cadences listed above come to rest on no less than seven different pitches; and the text itself, though not of Carver’s devising, has seven stanzas²¹.

¹⁹This is evidently not a cadence, but is included here for the sake of clarity in assessing the symmetrical structure of the work.

²¹Blume 1898 xxxi(4):198.

Whereas *Gaude flore virginali* has much in common with the six-part Mass, Carver's monumental motet *O bone Jesu* has most in common with the ten-part Mass, although it is evidently later than that work. The most tangible connection between the two works is the fact (noted by Ross 1993:37) that in the motet Carver quotes two sections of music from the Mass: bb.152–64 and 165–74 are taken almost verbatim from the *Credo* (bb.94–106) and *Agnus Dei* (bb.54–63, Ex.6.2) respectively. As Ross rightly remarks, these are passages of “exceptional expressiveness and beauty”. These are not the only such passages; the very opening is the most sublime example of Carver's imaginative vocal scoring, taking fully seven bars to introduce all nineteen voices before ending in the first of thirteen fermata-marked settings of the name “Jesu”, Ex.6.28. This work was undoubtedly written for the large complement of singers employed at the Chapel Royal (see Chapter 1).

The style of the motet is very similar to that of the Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium*, especially in the wide variety of vocal textures employed. There is even a brief passage of antiphony (bb.12–6, Ex.6.28), not unlike that found in the Mass (*Credo*, bb.49–54, Ex.6.14). The predominantly syllabic texture and occasional homorhythmic declamations (e.g. b.39, Ex.6.29; and b.52f, Ex.6.32) are features drawn from the earlier motet and six-part Mass.

O bone Jesu has many examples of detail imitation, the most intricate being that at the very beginning, Ex.6.28: T_6 is imitated by S_2 and by T_{10} , T_{11} , T_9 , T_4 and T_7 in augmentation; S_1 is imitated by B_2 then B_1 , and all these details are derived from the opening T_{10} phrase. The reduced-voice sections display several passages of structural imitation (bb.27–33 (Ex.6.30), 34–8, 132–5, 138–42 (Ex.6.33)), all rather similar in style to those found in the *Sanctus* of the ten-part Mass. Another passage (bb.58–61, Ex.6.31), has some imitation but, more importantly, makes use of a three-note stepwise ascending motif (T_4). This motif reappears later in the same passage (bb.66f, S_2 and B_1) but does not inform the rest of the work (although it does appear isolated at b.130, T_{10}). Carver was to return to this simple motif in his later Mass *Fera pessima* (cf. *Gloria* b.14f, T_1 , Ex.6.52, etc.).

The nineteen-voice sections, like the full sections of the ten-part Mass, have a slow harmonic rhythm and consist mainly of rhythmically animated chords (Elliott in *MusScot* i:viii). However, the voice-leading of the motet is patently more assured than that of the Mass: there are now far fewer clashing semiquaver passing notes, and fewer consecutive octaves

and fifths, which Carver artfully avoids by the insertion of rests or by employing syncopated rhythms (e.g. bb.23–4, S₂/A₃; and b.10 T₁/B₁, Ex.6.28). Unlike the previous works, there are no passages in extreme flat keys.

O bone Jesu has a greater variety of cadence types than the other works: most are perfect or plagal, but there are several cadences where the bass note of the first chord either falls or rises a step to the root of the final chord (e.g. bb.8f (Ex.6.28), 90f, 144f). In addition, there is also one example each of Vb–I (b.23f) and IVb–I (b.51f, Ex.6.32) and two unusual cadences formed by one chord rising a third to the next (bb.55f (Ex.6.32), 72f). Whilst *O bone Jesu* seems to be a later work than the ten-part Mass, it nevertheless has some curious cadences.

It has been noted above that *Gaude flore virginali* makes symbolic use of the number seven. A parallel situation emerges in the motet *O bone Jesu* with the number five. Carver has musically divided the prose text into five sections, producing a symmetrical form: the first, third and last sections (bb.1–26, 96–128, 175–97) are for full choir (with some bars for fewer voices); the second and fourth sections are scored for various combinations of soloists. The structural cadences of this work (in the Ionian mode transposed to F) come to rest on five different pitches: F, G, A, D and B-flat²². Furthermore, prepared dissonance treatment in this work is limited to just five dissonant suspensions (bb.79, 86, 94, 140 and 173), including a bass suspension (b.140, Ex.6.33) and one six-five chord (b.94, the fifth is prepared and resolved by step in S₂, Ex.6.34). Seven symbolized Mary's seven joys in the earlier Marian motet. In this motet on the Name of Jesus, five may well represent Christ's five wounds.

As other commentators have remarked, Carver's Mass *L'Homme armé* is a "technical *tour-de-force*" (*MusScot* i:vii). If the ten-part Mass is a demonstration piece, then the present Mass is demonstrably a showpiece²³. Both works employ a wide variety of musical styles but Carver's writing is very much more assured and confident in the four-part setting which displays a more homogeneous style throughout. The two Masses have many features in common, including their mode—Dorian transposed to G. Consequently, their cadence degrees and cadence types are also similar: all

²² It should be noted, however, that the two "perfect" cadences on B-flat (bb.125 and 194) are followed by F major chords, thus ultimately becoming plagal cadences on F. Nevertheless, the B-flat chords are very prominent. Carver has avoided cadencing on C, a relatively common cadence degree within the Ionian mode transposed to F (Jeppesen 1992:82).

²³ This view is not held universally. Jenkins (1988:256) regards this Mass-setting as "clumsy" compared to the ten-part Mass.

except one come to rest on G and most are of the type V–I or VIIb–I (however, few are decorated by dissonant suspensions, a common feature of the earlier Mass). The cadence at “sabaoth” (*Sanctus*, b.41f, Ex.6.35) closes on D with an octave leap in the bass highlighting a very prominent B-flat²⁴.

Features typical of Carver found in this Mass include the apparent distinction between full and solo sections (the solos are often highly virtuosic, e.g. *Sanctus* bb.120–40, Ex.6.36); the use of sequence, short canons and detail imitation within these decorative passages (e.g. *Credo* bb.111–4, b.142f, Ex.6.39; *Sanctus* bb.135–7, T/B, Ex.6.36); and the use of large vocal ranges and long melismas. The instances of structural imitation in this Mass tend to be rather short and are often limited to just two voices, especially in passages where the *cantus firmus* is present (e.g. *Gloria* b.1f (A/S, Ex.6.37), *Credo* b.1 (S/A) etc.). However, there are a couple of more extended passages (e.g. *Credo* b.93f, Ex.6.38; b.100f). Detail imitation now appears to be much more systematically organized (e.g. *Gloria* b.61f, *Credo* b.142f, Ex.6.39).

The Mass displays several curiously archaic features as well as elements which demonstrate Carver’s acquaintance with the polyphonic style of his Continental contemporaries. Particularly old-fashioned is Carver’s use of octave-leap²⁵ and “under-third”²⁶ cadences (e.g. *Sanctus* bb.41f, Ex.6.35; *Agnus Dei* bb.10f, 70f; and *Gloria* bb.26f (Ex.6.40), 31f, 137f, etc.). The latter had been common since the fourteenth century (Reese 1959:44); but by the sixteenth century both were being supplanted by the newer forms of cadence found elsewhere in Carver’s music (V–I and IV–I). The hocket-like passage in the *Sanctus* (bb.45–8 and 52, Ex.6.41) is another old-fashioned feature, as is the passage of faburden combined with compound rhythm in the *Gloria* (b.89f, Ex.6.42). Metrical complexity, a style much favoured by fifteenth-century composers, is common in this Mass (e.g. the syncopations

²⁴This anomalous cadence places emphasis upon the Hebrew noun “Sabaoth”. The Art of Music (f.95) singles out “all nounis barbar[ous] or [H]ebrew” for special treatment, leading Ross (1993:23) to speculate that here Carver may be deferring to some earlier tradition. Ross fails to mention that the treatise describes this special rule only in connection with the composition of plainsong-based faburden (Maynard 1961 i:128, ii:283f). Nevertheless, Carver may possibly have employed the same idea (with a different application) in his polyphonic music. Carver seems to place similar emphasis on the same word in his Mass *Fera pessima*.

²⁵Here, the lowest voice leaps up an octave at the cadence, thus avoiding consecutive fifths (Reese 1959:44, 95f). It was common in three-part writing but Carver uses it twice in four-part passages.

²⁶Here (in modern terms), the leading-note in an upper voice falls a step before rising a third to the root of the final cadence chord (Reese 1959:44).

in T (*Sanctus*, b.89f, Ex.6.43) and the simultaneous use of different metres, especially in the final *Agnus Dei*).

More modern in style are the antiphonal exchanges in the *Credo* (bb.96ff (Ex.6.38) and 122ff), reminiscent of the antiphonal passage in the early ten-part Mass. (The oscillation of F major and G minor chords here also recalls the latter work.) Carver's use of pedal point in the *Sanctus* (b.134–9 (Ex.6.36), initially in T, then decorated in A) recalls Josquin's use of this technique (Reese 1959:248).

The most progressive aspect of this Mass is Carver's treatment of the *cantus firmus*. The *L'Homme armé* tune was frequently used as a *cantus firmus* by Continental composers, but Carver's is the only known British Mass-setting to use this tune. Elliott (1959:29ff and *MusScot* i:303) has detailed the *cantus firmus* appearances throughout the work. This Mass is significant in that it appears to be the first of Carver's extant compositions to exhibit a "migratory" *cantus firmus* (i.e. one that is not limited to a single chant-bearing voice). This technique had been in use by other Continental and English composers including Obrecht, Agricola and even Fayrfax (in his *Missa Albanus*; Reese 1959:193, 196, 775). The *cantus firmus* is also occasionally transposed—a feature of Obrecht's Mass-settings (*super Maria zart* and Mass *L'Homme armé*, Reese 1959:193, 197). The remaining texture of the work is permeated by references to the *L'Homme armé* tune, e.g. *Gloria* bb.34–7 (S, Ex.6.44), and *Credo* b.5f (A). This is a new development in Carver's style, which he probably encountered in the works of Josquin, de la Rue and Mouton (see Reese (1959:236, 241f, 268, 284) for a discussion of this technique in Continental music).

Dissonance treatment in the Mass *L'Homme armé* is also slightly different to that in the earlier works. As in most of Carver's music, dissonant suspensions are usually correctly treated, and in this work only one has a simultaneous resolution (*Sanctus* b.31, A, Ex.6.45). There are, however, more 7–6 suspensions (many decorated), some 4–3 and 9–8 suspensions, and eleven 2–3 bass suspensions—a new departure in Carver's harmonic style. Four dissonant suspensions resolve by leap (e.g. *Gloria* b.63, S). Another new feature of Carver's style is his occasional use of chains of suspensions (e.g. *Gloria*, bb. 67, 128; *Credo* bb.17, 92, (Ex.6.38)). Carver also makes use of a new figure in this work, apparently an *échappée* which steps up to its resolution (e.g. *Gloria* b.3, A, Ex.6.37; b.41, A). Due to the small number of voices, there are very few clashing passing notes as

seen in, for example, the ten-part Mass.

Given this wide range of harmonic innovations, it is tempting to suppose a significant lapse in time between the composition of *O bone Jesu* and this Mass. The motet is closer in style to the earlier works and, although it cannot be dated precisely, I would suggest a date earlier than 1520 for its composition, perhaps c.1515–17. The Mass *L'Homme armé* seems to date from the early 1520s (see the tables at the beginning and end of this chapter).

The five-part Mass *Fera pessima*²⁷ (for SATTB) seems to be a later work based on phrases taken from the matins responsory for the third Sunday in Lent, *Videns Jacob vestimenta Joseph*: “Fera pessima devoravit filium meum Joseph”, Ex.6.46²⁸. This work occupies an entirely different sound-world to that of Carver’s earlier music. The style is still patently that of Carver, but his use of the minor-sounding Phrygian mode imparts an almost brooding quality to the music, heightened by the all-pervasive plangent semitones of the *cantus firmus* (Elliott 1997:6) and, indeed, the relatively narrow range of each vocal part.

This Mass contains the usual hallmarks of Carver’s style, in particular the virtuosic decorative lines and detail imitation (e.g. passages of the *Sanctus*, Ex.6.59), but this style is no longer predominant. Instead, the melodic lines are now more restrained, shapely and flowing, and rhythms consist mostly of crotchets and quavers (in modern notation, Ex.6.47). These simpler rhythms are reminiscent of the six-part Mass, as is the occasional use of interlocking fourths (e.g. *Credo*, b.97f, Ex.6.48).

Structural imitation, a technique which Carver had used occasionally in previous works, features rather more prominently in the present work. However, his handling of this formal device is not yet as assured, nor as rigorously employed, as in the works of his Continental contemporaries. Probably the best examples of Carver’s use of imitation in this work are: *Gloria*, bb.120–5, Ex.6.49; *Credo* bb.116–20, 137–9 (including sequence); *Sanctus* bb.144–6, Ex.6.59; *Agnus Dei*, bb.105–9 (Ex.6.50), 133f, 179–83, 197–200. Other imitative passages are a little weaker in effect because of inexact pitch or rhythmic imitation (*Credo* b.134–6, Ex.6.51; *Agnus Dei* b.137–46).

²⁷ Woods (1984 i:36), unaware of the work’s *cantus firmus*, refers to this Mass as “*Missa a pestilentia*”.

²⁸ “An evil beast hath devoured my son Joseph” (Genesis 37:33). The source of the plainsong was identified by Professor Ludwig Finscher (*MusScot* ixii n14).

The present Mass displays Carver's most advanced application of *cantus firmus* technique to date. Rather than a straightforward presentation of the tune in one (or more) voices, Carver has made repeated use of short motifs drawn from the *cantus firmus*. These pervade the entire texture of the Mass, sometimes transposed and sometimes inverted. In this respect the *cantus firmus* no longer has the effect of a scaffold upon which the other 'free' voices are built. In particular, three short motifs predominate (see Ex.6.46)²⁹. The first of these (f) is the most commonly found and appears at the very start of each movement as part of the five-bar head-motif (Ex.6.47, T₂). Its simple, poignant semitone forms the basis of one of the finest imitative passages in the Mass, at the beginning of the final *Agnus Dei* (b.105, Ex.6.50). The second motif (p) is frequently found in the manner of a head-motif at the beginning of sub-sections of each Mass movement, often (but not exclusively) in the topmost voice (e.g. *Gloria*, bb.14 (Ex.6.52), 19, 57, 90, 106, 120 (in imitation, Ex.6.49), 132 (long note-values in T₂) etc.). The third principal motif (j) occurs as part of the head-motif (*Gloria* b.3f, S, Ex.6.47) and also at the ends of sections (e.g. *Gloria*, b.42f, S, Ex.6.53) and elsewhere in the texture. Elliott (1997:5f) notes further appearances of these motifs and refers to the presence of other motifs also found in the attributed Mass *Cantate Domino*.

The Mass is written in the Phrygian mode transposed to A. Most (but not all) cadences end on A minor chords³⁰, many with the Phrygian semitone (B-flat-A) in the lowest voice (i.e. VIIb-I and II-I cadences). Two unusual cadences are worthy of particular note. The cadence at the end of the "sabaoth" melisma (*Sanctus*, b.48, Ex.6.54) closes on an arresting A major chord—the only A major chord in the entire work. (Here Carver seems to be intentionally highlighting the Hebrew noun, just as he had done earlier in the Mass *L'Homme armé*.) The cadence at b.36–7 of the *Agnus Dei* (at the end of "qui tollis peccata mundi") ends on E minor—an unusual cadence degree within the transposed Phrygian mode (Jeppesen 1992:82).

Analysis of Carver's dissonance treatment shows an unusual distribution of dissonant suspensions throughout the Mass. The *Gloria* and

²⁹Elliott (1997:5) identifies two motifs which he labels (d) and (b). I have relabelled these (f) and (p) respectively, corresponding to the words with which they are associated in the original chant. The third motif appears to be related to the word "Joseph" and is labelled (j) accordingly.

³⁰Ross's assertion (1993:47) that "at each cadence the music is drawn inexorably back to ... [an] A minor chord" is incorrect.

Agnus Dei each contain, on average, one dissonant suspension every four or five bars. However, the *Credo* has a much smaller proportion (eleven in 144 bars) and the *Sanctus* has fewer still (five in 174 bars). The *Agnus Dei*, with its very extended petition for peace and frequent points of imitation, seems to have been composed in a different style from the rest of the Mass. This movement (or the latter portion of it) may have been written later than the rest of the work. Perhaps, after completing this movement, Carver returned to the *Gloria* and revised it in keeping with the newer style. At any rate, it is difficult to account for the paucity of dissonant suspensions in the inner two movements.

Pedal points and chains of dissonant suspensions, which had received some tentative experimentation in the Mass *L'Homme armé*, become more developed features of Carver's style in the present work. Two short pedal points occur in the *Credo* (bb.24–5 in B, and 26–8 in T₁) but there is a much more extended, indeed structural, pedal in the middle of the texture throughout the "Pleni sunt caeli et terra" (*Sanctus* b.49–65, Ex.6.55). Some short but telling passages of dissonant suspensions in close succession occur in the *Gloria* (bb.60f, 93, Ex.6.56) and *Agnus Dei* (b.73–5, Ex.6.57). Two further types of harmonic innovation can be seen in this work. Carver adds the 7–8 retardation to his vocabulary of dissonant suspensions; e.g. *Gloria* bb.47 (T₂) and 128 (S, Ex.6.49). He also makes some use of double suspensions, e.g. *Gloria* bb.24 (S, A), 65 (A, T₁); *Credo* b.57 (S, A); *Agnus Dei* bb.166 (T₁, T₂), 169 (S, T₁, Ex.6.58). All of these dissonances are 7–6/4–3, except the last which, unusually, is 7–6/7–6.

In his earlier compositions Carver generally observed the need for dissonances to fall on stressed beats. However, when this principle is applied to the final petition of the *Agnus Dei* of the Mass *Fera pessima*, the music requires several changes of time-signature to accommodate the changing stresses implied by the dissonances. Given Carver's usual harmonic propriety, the effect is indeed "curiously clumsy" (Elliott in *MusScot* i:vii). In general Carver manages to avoid the harmonic clashes observed in his earliest works, although there are still some harshnesses (e.g. *Sanctus* b.146, first beat, Ex.6.59).

The passages of structural imitation and the harmonic innovations of the Mass *Fera pessima* show it to have been composed in a style more advanced than that of the Mass *L'Homme armé* and so suggest a lapse of several years between the two works. Ross and Woods date the work to the

1540s. However, a lapse of around 25 years between these two works seems inordinately long. Given the relatively steady advances in Carver's style witnessed so far, one might expect that, had he composed a work on this scale in the 1540s, his use of imitation (in particular) would be much more refined, in keeping with the trend of pervasive imitation which by that time had become established on the Continent. Sadly, Carver's only surviving work from the 1540s is the *Mass Pater Creator omnium*, a very short Mass mostly in faburden style with little scope for pervasive imitation. Other works by Carver are presumed lost. The types and amount of imitation found in the *Mass Fera pessima* suggest this work may have been an interim stage in Carver's likely development of pervasive imitation dating, perhaps, from the mid to late 1520s.

The latest extant work by Carver is the *Mass Pater Creator omnium* (for ATTB) of 1546. Ross (1993:40), however, reads the date as 1543 and gives an elaborate argument for the performance of this Mass at the coronation of Mary, Queen of Scots on 9 September that year. Indeed, 1543 fits better with the other dates in Carver's biography since, according to the rest of the inscription appended to this Mass, he was in his fifty-ninth year at the time of its composition, giving a birth year of 1484/5, thereby agreeing with other recently found evidence (*MusScot* i:v, xi; see p.23 of the present study). However, the fact remains that Carver himself dates the work 1546 (see facsimile of the inscription on f.5v of the Carver Choirbook in *MusScot* i:xvi). Furthermore, one would imagine that the coronation of a queen, however hastily arranged, would be accompanied by the performance of a suitably splendid Mass, surely more elaborate than the predominantly faburden style of the *Mass Pater Creator omnium*.

The Mass is something of an anomaly in Carver's *œuvre* in that it relies almost entirely upon plainchant *cantus firmi*. In particular, the Mass includes a polyphonic setting of the first part of a troped *Kyrie* ("Pater Creator omnium", Ex.6.60), as well as the *Benedictus* trope "Mariae filius". All of the movements are constructed upon the appropriate Sarum plainchants for the Ordinary of the Mass. The chants appear in T₂, except in the *Credo* where they are taken by A. There are, however, some freely composed sections: the final section of polyphony in the *Kyrie*, the "Pleni sunt caeli" and "in nomine Domini" (*Sanctus* b.15-9, 34-43), and the second petition of the *Agnus Dei*, Ex.6.62. These sections are scored for reduced (presumably solo) voices (*i.e.* without the chant-bearing voice T₂)

and, as in Carver's early works, they are highly decorative and melismatic.

The Mass is incomplete. Quite apart from the fact that there is a folio missing (requiring the reconstruction of A and T₂ of the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*), only the first part of the *Kyrie* and the beginnings and endings of the *Gloria* and *Credo* have been set by Carver. The remaining text of these movements may have been sung in plainchant or improvised in a simple faburden style, similar to the extant parts of the *Credo* (Ex.6.61; *MusScot* i:ix, Woods 1984 i:141)³¹.

The surviving music of this Mass-setting is in a style far removed from the rest of Carver's works. Most easily recognizable are the virtuosic solo passages mentioned above. However, even these passages show marked differences from their early counterparts: Carver has made no use of canon or sequence and there is almost no detail imitation. Indeed, Carver shuns imitation almost completely in this work³²—a decidedly regressive trait in a composer who had (c. eighteen years?) earlier written the Mass *Fera pessima*. The setting is particularly notable for the predominance of syllabic writing (melismas tend to be reserved for the penultimate syllables of sections) and for the extraordinary declamatory style of the *Credo* (Ex.6.61). Robert Richardson (author of *Commentary on the Rule of St Augustine* (1531) and advocate of simpler church music) would surely have found little cause for complaint in this Mass-setting. Carver would undoubtedly have been aware of Richardson's criticisms, and may also have been mindful of the measures to simplify church music being proposed by the Council of Trent (1545–63, Reese 1959:448f).

The musical phrases of this Mass tend to be very short and all end with fermata-marked chords. As might be expected, dissonance treatment is not so varied as in Carver's earlier works. Most dissonant suspensions are of the type 4–3, but there are a few 7–6 suspensions and one 7–8 retardation (against a simultaneous resolution, *Agnus Dei*, b.12, A, Ex.6.63). The only real progressive feature of this Mass is Carver's almost exclusive use of the perfect cadence (usually ending on G; Ex.6.60, b.7) and his occasional use of what is apparently an imperfect cadence (e.g. *Gloria*, bb.4 (Ex.6.64), 18). Sometimes the perfect cadence is decorated by a 4–3 suspension (as had been common in his early music) and on two occasions it is approached by a six-five chord with a prepared and resolved fifth (*Sanctus* b.42f; *Agnus Dei*

³¹This style has formed the basis of Elliott's reconstruction of the *Credo* in *MusScot* i.

³²Two short and rather weak passages of imitation are worthy of some note, given the otherwise complete absence of this technique: *Kyrie*, b.15; *Agnus Dei*, b.18, Ex.6.62.

b.20f, Ex.6.62, A), showing a true sense of harmonic purpose.

This huge shift in style (partly necessitated by the constraints of a faburden Mass setting) is disconcerting—we must assume a gap in Carver's creative output or, more likely, that the work of the intervening years has been lost. But the change in style should not be altogether surprising, for by now Carver was an old man. One cannot expect him to have remained at the forefront of Scottish composition throughout his long life. The tropes indicate that the Mass was composed for a particular occasion, but surely not a splendid one. The predominant simple faburden style and the omission of large portions of the *Gloria* and *Credo* suggest the Mass may have been composed hastily, with little time for rehearsal, or for performance by less accomplished singers. This setting may be one of Carver's final commissions, perhaps from his religious house at Scone where the choir is unlikely to have been of the same high standard as that at the Chapel Royal³³.

Two anonymous Mass-settings have been attributed to Robert Carver by Elliott (1964:231, *MusScot* i) and Ross (1993:51f): the Mass for three voices (also found in the Carver Choirbook) and the Mass *Cantate Domino* (à6, in the Dowglas-Fische[ar] Partbooks). The Mass for three voices (SSA) has several remarkable features, including the large vocal ranges (characteristic of Carver's music) and high tessiture of each voice (*MusScot* i:x)³⁴. The setting is very short since the *Gloria* and *Credo* omit substantial portions of text; the *Sanctus* (102 bars long with extended melismas) thus seems disproportionately long³⁵. Unusually, the Mass includes an untroped setting of the *Kyrie*. Each movement opens with a three-bar head-motif, the top two parts of which are reversed in the *Credo* and *Agnus Dei* (Ex.6.65).

Several hallmarks of Carver's earlier style can be seen in this work, supporting his suggested authorship. In particular, the Mass consists largely of the florid decorative writing seen in the solo sections of Carver's early works. These virtuosic passages contain an abundance of detail imitation, frequently canonic and/or sequential. Of the many examples of this texture, that in the *Gloria* at bb.14–5 is worthy of note (Ex.6.66). The decorative melisma in *S*₂ is treated in canon at the lower fourth in *A*; the same

³³Bowers (1999:10) suggests that, during the 1540s, Carver may have "returned to the cloistered world of Scone in semi-retirement ..."—an idea which accords well with the undemanding nature of this work. The more virtuosic solo sections of this piece may even have been performed by visiting soloists, perhaps from the Chapel Royal.

³⁴The following discussion is based upon Elliott's edition of the work in *MusScot* i:240–54.

³⁵Long *Sanctus* movements are a feature of Scottish Mass-settings, see Chapter 7, p.273f.

melisma is found in the *Sanctus* (bb.11–2, Ex.6.67) but this time in canon at the upper second. The close sequential imitation between all three voices in one passage of the *Sanctus* (bb.29–31, Ex.6.68) resembles the opening of a round. Several other passages make much use of unison canons, e.g. that at bb.78–81 (*Sanctus*, Ex.6.69), all three voice parts of which are immediately repeated down a step. Carver, if he is the composer, has made highly economical use of sequence, repetition and imitation in the polyphonic construction of this movement. A fine example of this style can be seen in bb.87–94 of the *Sanctus*, Ex.6.70. The imitation in the top two voices over a free part in bb.87–8 is immediately repeated a step higher (with the top two parts exchanged). The imitation of b.90 is sequentially repeated twice over a free part, ending with a very short unison canon between the top two voices. As in Carver's music, the imitation is rarely exact, displaying slight melodic embellishments or rhythmic variations. There is an impressive use of sequence at the end of the *Credo* (bb.35–9, Ex.6.71); the same motif (in diminution) forms the basis of the imitation at the very end of the Mass (*Agnus Dei*, bb.46–50, Ex.6.72; Elliott 1994b)—a veritable riot of sequential imitation worthy of Taverner or Isaac.

Despite the proliferation of sequence and detail imitation, the use of truly structural imitation is, at best, tentative. Passages worthy of note are: *Gloria*, bb.11–3, Ex.6.66; *Sanctus*, bb.13 (rhythmic, Ex.6.67), 22–3, 34, 68–70 (triadic, Ex.6.75); *Agnus Dei* bb.35–7 (triadic, Ex.6.73). (Triadic motifs, which are fairly easy to imitate, recall the music of Carver's early six-part Mass and the Mass *L'Homme armé*.) Other imitative passages are weaker in effect because they occur in the middle of melismatic passages: *Sanctus*, bb.75–6, 85–6, 90–1 (Ex.6.70).

Most cadences in this Mass-setting (in the Mixolydian mode) are V–I, frequently decorated by 4–3 suspensions, and most come to rest on G. In the *Credo*, three cadences (including, unusually, the final cadence) come to rest on D and A (bb.12, 25, 40 (Ex.6.71)). All three are VIIb–I cadences and the last two have Phrygian semitone movement in the lowest voice. Three cadences in this work have the archaic under-third progression in an upper voice (*Credo*, b.11; *Sanctus*, b.52; *Agnus Dei*, b.50f, Ex.6.72). Dissonant suspensions are of three types: 4–3 and 2–3 mostly, with some 7–6. Two noteworthy passages in the *Credo* contain chains of suspensions (bb.7–8, Ex.6.76; and b.35, Ex.6.71). All of these harmonic features can be found in Carver's music, as well as the alternation of two triads a tone apart

(e.g. *Kyrie*, bb.11–3, Ex.6.74) with occasionally slow harmonic rhythm (*Sanctus*, bb.68–73, Ex.6.75); and clashing passing notes (*Kyrie*, b.8; *Sanctus*, b.14, Ex.6.67).

From Figure 6.2, which attempts to estimate the amount of use of various compositional techniques in this work, there emerges some sense of a chronological development of style, beginning with the *Kyrie* and ending with the *Sanctus/Agnus Dei*.

	use of ...			
	<u>canon</u>	<u>sequence</u>	<u>imitation</u>	<u>dissonant suspensions</u>
<i>Kyrie</i>	none	none	little	4–3
<i>Gloria</i>	very little	very little	little	4–3 (only 2 examples)
<i>Credo</i>	none	little	some	4–3, 2–3, 7–6, and chains of suspensions
<i>Sanctus</i>	much use	some	more	4–3, 2–3, 7–6
<i>Agnus Dei</i>	some	much use	some	4–3, 2–3, 7–6

Fig.6.2: The chronological development of style in the Mass for three voices

The stylistic features of this Mass, outlined above, are very close indeed to aspects of Carver’s compositional style and I concur with Elliott and Ross in attributing this work to Carver. Particular stylistic features seem to link this Mass-setting with the Mass *L’Homme armé*. Both works are showpieces with extensive passages of florid melismas. Both works make somewhat anachronistic use of under-third cadences. It has been noted above that 2–3 bass suspensions become a new feature of Carver’s style around the time of composition of the Mass *L’Homme armé*; the three-part Mass has many examples of this type of dissonance. The latter work displays some chains of suspensions (e.g. *Credo*, bb.7–8 (Ex.6.76), b.35 (Ex.6.71)). These also first occur in the Mass *L’Homme armé* (e.g. *Credo*, b.15–7, Ex.6.77, etc.), although the examples in the three-part Mass are closer in style to similar passages found in the Mass *Fera pessima* (*Gloria*, bb.60f, 93 (Ex.6.56)). Both the Mass for three voices and the Mass *L’Homme armé* are tentative in their use of imitation; this technique is certainly not as developed in the former work as it is in the Mass *Fera pessima*. It seems reasonable, therefore, to date the composition of the Mass for three voices to the early 1520s, contemporary with, or slightly later than, the Mass *L’Homme armé*, with an attribution to the same composer (see also Elliott

1994b).

The Mass *Cantate Domino* for six voices (SATTTB) is recorded in a set of six partbooks known as the Dowglas-Fische[ar] Partbooks³⁶. These books may be linked with the collegiate church at Lincluden in Dumfriesshire and were compiled around the 1550s (Elliott 1964:231f)³⁷. The second bassus volume of the set is missing and other parts of this Mass become fragmentary towards the end. The following discussion is based on Elliott's reconstruction of the work in *MusScot* i:255–95.

Each of the four movements (there is no *Kyrie*) opens with the same six-bar head-motif (Ex.6.79). The Mass is constructed upon a *cantus firmus* (as yet unidentified) which appears solely in T₃ (Ex.6.78)³⁸. There are frequent references to the *cantus firmus* in the other voices (Elliott 1997:4). In particular, the motifs labelled (a), (b) and (c) make regular appearances and often form the subject of imitative entries (e.g. *Gloria* bb.55–7, Ex.6.80 (a); *Credo*, bb.17–9, Ex.6.81 (a); *Sanctus* bb.130–2, Ex.6.82 (c)). Motif (a) is identical to motif (j) used by Carver in his Mass *Fera pessima* (cf. *Gloria* of the latter work, bb.3–5 (S, Ex.6.47), bb.41–4 (S, Ex.6.53) etc.).

The Mass lends itself to the normal contemporary practice of alternating sections for full choir and solo voices. There is a good deal of decorative melismatic writing (particularly in those sections apparently for solo voices, e.g. much of the *Sanctus*), and syllabic writing (e.g. *Gloria*, b.19–26, Ex.6.83), dramatically offset by occasional passages of declamation (*Credo*, b.70f, Ex.6.84) and antiphony (*Credo*, b.76–9, Ex.6.84).

The most notable feature of this Mass, compared to those already discussed, is its very frequent and well organized use of structural imitation. Of the many examples in this setting, probably the best occur in the *Sanctus* (bb.32–6, bb.86–91 (Ex.6.85), bb.130–2 and bb.154–7 (Ex.6.86)); but there are also prominent passages in the other movements (e.g. *Gloria* bb.7–12, Ex.6.79; *Credo* bb.62–3, *Agnus Dei* bb.63–6, etc.). The imitative entries tend to be evenly spaced, often by several beats, and successive entries may start on different pitches, yet preserving the intervals of the subject (notable in this respect are the entries of *Osanna II* (*Sanctus* b.154ff, Ex.6.86). There is very little detail imitation of short decorative motifs. The only significant example is that in the *Sanctus* (bb.79–82, Ex.6.87). Other

³⁶Edinburgh University Library MS 64.

³⁷Jenkins (1988:78ff) suggests they originate from St Giles's Collegiate Church in Edinburgh. Further evidence is required to clarify the books' provenance.

³⁸Ex.6.78 is taken from Elliott 1997:3 with slight modifications. The motif identified by Elliott as (a) has been extended by one note.

passages of detail imitation are organized so as to resemble structural imitation (e.g. *Credo*, b.86f, Ex.6.88; *Sanctus*, b.149f).

The Mass *Cantate Domino* has a harmonic feature in common with Carver's motet *Gaude flore virginali*: both works are in the unusual Lydian mode (in the case of the Mass-setting, the Lydian mode transposed to B-flat). Most structural cadences within the Mass come to rest on B-flat, F and D although there is one cadence on A (*Agnus Dei*, b.33) and two on C (*Gloria* b.59, Ex.6.80; *Sanctus* b.46–7). Most of the cadences are either perfect or plagal, as in the motet. Most dissonant suspensions are of the type 4–3 or 7–6. There are relatively few 9–8, 7–8 or 2–3 suspensions.

All of the above stylistic features can be seen in the music of Robert Carver. But the Mass *Cantate Domino* displays another compositional technique which links it with the Mass for three voices, described above. (This is not surprising if, as suggested by Elliott (1997 and *MusScot* i), both works are indeed by Carver.) Both Mass-settings contain short passages of polyphony which are repeated sequentially higher or lower. Most of these passages occur in the *Sanctus* of the Mass *Cantate Domino*: bb.40–2, Ex.6.89; bb.115–6; b.110 is repeated (with some variation) in bb.112–3 and 113–4, Ex.6.90; bb.118–20 is repeated a fourth lower/fifth higher (slightly modified) in bb.121–2.

The style of this work bears a close affinity with the music of Robert Carver. If he is indeed the composer, we may attempt to date this work according to the chronology of Carver's music suggested above. The musical texture of the Mass is permeated by motifs drawn from the *cantus firmus*. This is a particular feature of Carver's Masses *L'Homme armé* and *Fera pessima*. The melodic motif (a) is, significantly, shared by the Mass *Fera pessima*, linking it closely with that work (*MusScot* i:x). But the quantity and quality of structural imitation in the Mass *Cantate Domino* show it to be stylistically much more advanced than the five-part Mass (Elliott 1997:6). The latter work may date from the mid to late 1520s, therefore the Mass *Cantate Domino* would seem to date from the late 1520s or early 1530s.

Based on the foregoing stylistic analyses, the following table presents a suggested chronology and dating for Carver's works, and the two attributed Mass-settings:

<u>Work</u>	<u>Suggested Dating</u>
Mass <i>Dum sacrum mysterium</i> (à10)	1506–13
Mass for six voices	<i>p.</i> 1506, <i>a.</i> 1513
<i>Gaude flore virginali</i> (à5)	<i>c.</i> 1514–15
<i>O bone Jesu</i> (à19)	<i>c.</i> 1515–17
Mass <i>L’Homme armé</i> (à4)	early 1520s
Mass for three voices (attributed)	early 1520s
Mass <i>Fera pessima</i> (à5)	mid to late 1520s
Mass <i>Cantate Domino</i> (à6, attributed)	late 1520s/early 1530s
Mass <i>Pater Creator omnium</i> (à4)	1546

The Development of Scottish Church Music

Pre-Reformation

Twelve complete Mass-settings are extant in Scottish manuscript sources of the sixteenth century. Of these, five are by Carver and two have been attributed to him—these have been discussed in Chapter 6. The other Masses are Dufay's Mass *L'Homme armé* (found in the Carver Choirbook) and four anonymous settings: the Masses *Felix namque* (in the Dowglas-Fische[ar] Partbooks), *Conditor Kyrie omnium* (in *The Art of Music*), and *Deus Creator omnium* and *Rex virginum* (both in the Carver Choirbook). The four anonymous settings may be the work of Scottish composers and are therefore discussed below.

In addition to these complete settings there are a number of extant Mass fragments, including the tenor part of the Mass *Jesu Christe*, by the Englishman Thomas Ashwell¹ (in the Dowglas-Fische[ar] Partbooks), "The Osanna of ane Italian messe" (of c. 1525–50, in Thomas Wood's Partbooks²) and textless bassus parts of five anonymous (possibly Scottish) Mass sections are found in David Melvill's Bassus Partbook³ (British Library Add. MS 36484). Two of these five textless fragments have matching cantus parts in Alexander Forbes's Cantus Partbook⁴ and one of these cantus parts also appears in another seventeenth-century source, Robert Edwards's *Commonplace Book*⁵. Intriguingly, these five Mass fragments are all in the same mode (Mixolydian on G) and three share similar melodic motifs, suggesting they may originally have formed part of the same Mass-setting. Several anonymous texted Mass fragments are also extant in *The Art of Music*: the opening of a troped *Gloria* (f.38v) and truncated *Credo* (f.39v–40)⁶; a three-part *Pleni sunt celi* (f.88v–89) based on a plainchant *cantus firmus*; a five-part example which may be a *Kyrie* since its *cantus firmus* is underlaid with the incipit of the *Kyrie* trope "Deus Creator

¹ Elliott 1959:178f.

² Elliott 1959:244.

³ Elliott 1959:274f.

⁴ Library of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge MU.MS 687; Elliott 1959:289.

⁵ National Library of Scotland MS 9450; see Shire 1961 and Elliott 1961b for a discussion of this source.

⁶ The *Gloria* and *Credo* fragments (both à3) may form part of the same canon Mass, since they share the same mode and appear on consecutive folios in the manuscript (Maynard 1961 i:67ff).

omnium" (f.92v–93); a simple three-voice faburden setting of *Kyrie eleison qui precioso sanguine mundum* (f.96v); and a four-part faburden setting of *Deo gracias* (f.111v–112).

Of the four complete anonymous settings, the oldest in style are the Masses *Deus Creator omnium* and *Rex virginum*⁷ for four voices (STTB and ATTB respectively). The overwhelming stylistic similarities between the two works seem to confirm Elliott's suggestion (1959:19) that they come from the pen of the same composer. Both works have been dated to the late fifteenth century on stylistic grounds (Elliott 1959:27, Woods 1984:221), particularly the prevalence of under-third cadences and the use of the contratenor (octave-leap) cadence even in four-part writing⁸ as well as the copious use of ligatures and complex cross-rhythms (Ex.7.1⁹).

The Mass *Deus Creator omnium* is based on an as yet unidentified tenor *cantus firmus* which is stated once identically in each movement (an isorhythmic feature typical of fifteenth-century compositions, Ex.7.2¹⁰). Both Masses have troped *Kyries* and both are cyclic compositions: each Mass movement opens with the upper two voices presenting identical four-bar head-motifs (Ex.7.3). A particular feature linking both compositions is the unusual cadence at the end of each head-motif: the final chord is a third, apparently the upper two notes of the "dominant" chord in the relevant mode¹¹ (Ex.7.3). Both Mass-settings comprise well-defined sections for solo voices and full voices (where the upper parts tend to predominate); there are often slight overlaps between sections (Ex.7.4). One of the most notable features of these works is the rigidity of their formal structures—all movements within each Mass follow the same sequence of voice combinations and time signatures, with only minor variations:

⁷ I am grateful to Dr Elliott for the use of his unpublished edition of the Mass *Deus Creator omnium*, to which reference is made in the following discussion. (This edition reconstructs two voice parts throughout the *Kyrie*, necessary due to a missing folio in the choirbook.) Dr Elliott's edition of the Mass *Rex virginum* appears in MB xv (No.2).

⁸ See p.253 and note.

⁹ The musical examples accompanying this chapter may be found in Appendix D (volume ii) beginning on p.453.

¹⁰ Benham 1977:47.

¹¹ Jeppesen (1992:71n) uses the term "dominant" to refer to the fifth degree of the scale in the "polyphonic" ecclesiastical modes, as opposed to the variable melodic dominant of the plainsong modes.

Fig.7.1a: The structural scheme of movements of the Mass *Deus Creator omnium*

Fig.7.1b: The structural scheme of movements of the Mass *Rex virginum*¹²

Another feature of both Mass-settings is the occasional appearance of what are essentially cadential extension phrases: short two-voice phrases which continue beyond a four-part cadence in otherwise four-voice sections (e.g. *Mass Rex virginum*, *Credo* bb.84–6 *et passim*, Ex.7.5).

Both Masses are very similar in style to Mass-settings by the late

¹³ There are many more V-I cadences than VIIb-I cadences in the Mass *Rex virginum*, again suggesting a slightly later date for this work.

fifteenth-century English composers John Plummer, Richard Cox and Walter Frye¹⁴. The Mass *Deus Creator omnium* has some very unusual text omissions from the *Credo*. Woods (1984:138) notes that (apart from the missing reference to the incarnation, which is rare) the same deletions are found in only two other Mass-settings, one an anonymous work in the MS San Pietro B 80 (f.65v), and the other the Mass *Nobilis et pulchra* by Walter Frye (fl. c. 1450–75)¹⁵. Indeed, the latter work uses the *Kyrie* trope, “Deus Creator omnium”¹⁶, the wording of which agrees closely with the anonymous setting (Woods 1984:137). All but one of the stylistic features discussed above are present in Frye’s extant music¹⁷, making it a closer match with the anonymous pieces than the music of Plummer or Cox. In particular, Frye’s four-part Mass *Flos regalis* (CMM xix:62–83, EECM xxxiv:75–117) is very close in style to the two anonymous Masses in the Carver Choirbook.

Therefore, on grounds of stylistic evidence, and the admittedly circumstantial evidence of Frye’s trope usage and *Credo* omissions, we are faced with the tantalizing possibility that the two anonymous Masses may in fact be the work of Walter Frye. Little is known about Frye’s life, but he is assumed to have worked on the Continent at some time, just as his contemporary compatriot Robert Morton worked at the Burgundian Court (Trowell, NG vi:877, Reese 1959:95; Fallows, NG xii:596). Woods (1984:138, 143) has noted the possibility that all three Masses of fascicle 3 of the Carver Choirbook (*i.e.* the two anonymous settings and Dufay’s Mass *L’Homme armé*) may have been copied from the same Continental source about the same time. All three of Frye’s known Mass-settings are found in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 5557, alongside the music of Busnois, Ockeghem, Regis and others, and Dufay’s Mass *Ecce ancilla Domini*. It is therefore quite

¹⁴ Masses by these composers are extant in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 5557 (EECM xxxiv).

¹⁵ Woods (1984:137f) refers to Hannas (1952). In fact, of these two Masses, the deletions from Frye’s Mass *Nobilis et pulchra* correspond most closely (but not exactly) with those in the anonymous Mass *Deus Creator omnium*. Like its companion piece, the *Credo* of the Mass *Rex virginum* also omits any reference to the incarnation. Apart from this unusual omission, its deletions correspond almost exactly with those in the Mass *sine nomine* by the late fifteenth-century Englishman Henry Petyr. Petyr’s work has not been studied by the present author, but it is significant that both anonymous Masses discussed above have *Credo* deletions similar to those found in works by late fifteenth-century English composers.

¹⁶ This trope seems to have been favoured by English composers. It occurs in four of the nine fifteenth-century Masses edited in EECM xxii and xxxiv.

¹⁷ Frye’s known Mass-settings do not exhibit the curious cadence (described above) at the end of their head-motifs.

possible that two Masses by Frye once existed side-by-side with Dufay's *L'Homme armé* setting in a now lost Continental manuscript from which this fascicle of the Carver Choirbook may have been copied¹⁸.

The two remaining anonymous Masses, *Felix namque* and *Conditor Kyrie omnium*, may be the work of David Peebles (Elliott in NG xiv:333; see below). Therefore, before discussing them, it seems expedient to examine the style of Peebles's only extant identified pre-Reformation work, the motet *Si quis diligit me*¹⁹. Apart from two Masses by Carver, this is the only other dated piece of pre-Reformation Scottish church music. According to Thomas Wood (who copied it into his partbooks), Peebles composed this motet "about the zeir of god [1530]" "and presentit the sam to kyng Iamis the fyft ..." "& being a musitian, he did lyke It verray weill"²⁰. That Peebles was known to the eighteen-year-old king around this time shows that he was a composer of some achievement. This motet may therefore be regarded as an example of the musical styles current in Scotland c. 1530.

The motet for four voices (SATB) uses as its *cantus firmus* the antiphon for the Vigil of Pentecost (see discussion in Elliott 1959:63f). The plainchant occurs in long note-values in T (Ex.7.9). The original chant, in the Phrygian mode, has been transposed up a fourth to A and, in keeping with the chant, a cadence on the final is avoided until the very end of the work. Other cadence degrees are F, G, D and C and most cadences are either IV–I or V–I. Peebles's functional harmony flows very smoothly throughout the piece (Ex.7.9). In occasional passages of slower harmonic rhythm (e.g. bb.27–8, Ex.7.10) the music is kept alive with quicker rhythms in the upper parts. Peebles has made use of relatively few dissonant suspensions (mostly 4–3 or 7–6; there is only one example each of 9–8 and 2–3) and all are treated carefully. Only one such suspension has a decorative resolution (the *échappée* in b.21, A, Ex.7.11) and there are no chains of dissonant suspensions. However, Peebles makes frequent use of crotchet passing notes (both accented and unaccented) in crotchet time (e.g. bb.44 (Ex.7.12), 49 and 59 (Ex.7.14)). There are also several passages of euphonious writing in parallel thirds or sixths (e.g. bb.16–7, S/A,; bb.28–9, S/B, Ex.7.10).

The general style of the motet is one of free counterpoint (e.g. bb.83–92, Ex.7.13) with, elsewhere, a good deal of imitation (Exx.7.9–7.12), though the

¹⁸ The relative length of the *Sanctus* in these Masses also seems to indicate a provenance outwith Scotland; see below, p.274.

¹⁹ The following discussion is based on Elliott's edition in MB xv:No. 8.

²⁰ TWQ, p.30; TWC₁, p.176; TWT, p.165.

imitation is not yet as pervasive as that seen on the Continent around this time (e.g. in the music of the post-Josquin generation of composers). Most points of imitation begin with an anacrusis of three crotchets (frequently of the same pitch) and the imitation rarely continues for any length of time beyond this. In this respect, Peebles's use of imitation is rather tentative, one might even say experimental. However, Peebles does allow the imitation to pervade even the *cantus firmus* on three occasions (bb.12 (Ex.7.9), 50, 61 (Ex.7.14)), though it is not thoroughly worked out.

Peebles's vocal lines (especially S) are beautifully crafted (e.g. bb.52–62, S (Ex.7.14), *passim*). They are predominantly syllabic, with occasional melismas on penultimate syllables and the rhythms generally follow the natural accentuation of the text (however, there are no declamatory or homorhythmic passages).

Thomas Wood tells us that Francy Heagy added a fifth part to this motet (i.e. A₁ in Elliott's edition, MB xv:No. 8 and Exx.7.9–7.14). Heagy was, according to Wood, "sum time ane noueice in the abbay of Sanctandrous ... a trim playar vpon the organs and also, ane dissciple to dauid pables" (TWC, p.176; Hutchison 1957 i:191). But for this short biographical reference we would have no knowledge of this Scottish musician. Heagy's added part shows some evidence of being the work of a student: while it adds several successful points of imitation (notably bb.2–4, Ex.7.9), it nevertheless causes some unprecedented dissonances, including several unprepared six-five chords (e.g. bb.20 (Ex.7.11), 41, 44 (Ex.7.12), 76).

Heagy added the fifth part "ane lytill before pinky", that is before the Battle of Pinkie on 10 September 1547. Why should Heagy have resurrected and expanded a piece by his master around seventeen years after it had first been composed? An answer may well lie in contemporary events. If Heagy had added his fifth part during the first five months of 1547, then the revised version of *Si quis diligit me* would have been ready in time for performance on the Vigil of Pentecost, Saturday 28 May that year. Significantly, this date was also the eve of the first anniversary of Cardinal Beaton's murder (29 May 1546). St Andrews Castle had been held by his murderers, the "Castilians", since then. John Knox, later to become Scotland's leading Reformer, had entered the castle on Easter Day (10 April) 1547 and had begun preaching from various pulpits in the town. The words and music of *Si quis diligit me* may have served Heagy as a prayerful plea to his fellow inhabitants of St Andrews not to "observe the words" of

Knox:

If anyone loves me he observes my words, and my Father will love him; and we will visit him and make our abode beside him.
Alleluia.²¹

Perhaps these words also offered some reassurance of the salvation of the cardinal's soul. At any rate, the castle fell to a French siege two months later on 31 July.

Various commentators have drawn attention to the stylistic similarities between David Peebles's motet *Si quis diligit me* and the anonymous Mass *Felix namque* (Elliott 1959:64, Jenkins 1988:353f, Ross 1993:77²²). This Mass, perhaps dating from the 1530s (Elliott 1959:55), is a cyclic setting for six voices (SAATBB) including, unusually, an untroped *Kyrie* and the *Benedictus* trope "Mariae filius"²³. The work is based on a *cantus firmus*, the Offertory for the Vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Comparison of the Roman and Sarum versions of this chant (*Liber Usualis*, p.1271; AS v:498, 572) clearly shows that this Mass is, unusually, based upon the Roman version (Ex.7.15). Elliott (1959:44ff) discusses the *cantus firmus* treatment. To summarize: the chant appears mostly in T, but occasionally migrates to the other voices. Most *cantus firmus* statements consist of no more than the first seven notes of the chant and the statements appear in various rhythmic guises. The original chant is in the Dorian mode, but is found only in transpositions on A and E in the Mass, which is in the Phrygian mode. Indeed, the *cantus firmus* treatment appears to be somewhat at odds with the overall modal structure of the work²⁴. In the migration and transposition of the *cantus firmus*, this Mass bears comparison with Carver's Mass *L'Homme armé*, but the composer of Mass *Felix namque* does not share Carver's healthy respect for modal unity and logical presentation of the *cantus firmus*.

The work's head-motif is unusually long and is practically the same at each appearance (Ex.7.17). Elliott (1959:47) notes and discusses eight themes, (a)–(h), which pervade the contrapuntal texture of the Mass (Ex.7.16). Theme (b), although it does not form part of the *cantus firmus*, can be found at two places in the original plainsong *Felix namque* (see Ex.7.15).

²¹ Translation from the sleeve notes accompanying *Sacred music for Mary Queen of Scots* Cappella Nova directed by Alan Tavener (Academy Sound and Vision Recordings: 1993) CD GAU 136.

²² Ross also alludes to aural similarities with music by Carver and attributes this Mass to Carver in his latest writing (1998:10).

²³ The following discussion is based on Elliott's edition in MB xv (No. 4) which reconstructs the missing second bass part throughout (necessary due to a missing partbook).

²⁴ Jenkins (1988:358–61) elaborates upon the composer's apparent ignorance of the modal properties of the *Felix namque* chant in relation to the work's structural cadences.

Similarly, phrases approximating Elliott's themes (f) and (g) can also be traced in later portions of the plainchant (Ex.7.15). This technique of pervading the texture with elements derived from plainchant is similar to that employed by Carver in his Mass *Fera pessima* (see p.256). In that work there is no structural statement of a *cantus firmus* as such; rather the music is littered with references to three short motifs drawn from the chant.

Cadences in this Mass are almost exclusively IV–I or V–I, typical of works in the Phrygian mode (*cf.* Carver's Mass *Fera pessima* (Chapter 6) and Peebles's motet *Si quis diligit me*, above). Most dissonant suspensions are either 4–3 or 7–6; there are comparatively few 9–8 suspensions and only a handful of 2–3 bass suspensions—a similar ratio of dissonance types is found in Peebles's two surviving motets, *Si quis diligit me* and *Quam multi, Domine* (MB xv:No. 9). Dissonant suspensions are generally treated carefully in the Mass (as in Peebles's motets), although a few have simultaneously sounding notes of resolution and there is a certain propensity for suspensions to resolve by downward leap, or to be decorated by a downward leap—technical features not observed in Peebles's music (Ex.7.17, b.2 (A₁), b.6 (A₁)). About a third of all dissonant suspensions have some form of decorative resolution and there are many examples of chains of suspensions and a few examples of double suspensions and even of retardations (*e.g.* *Sanctus*, bb.75 (S) and 79 (S/T), Ex.7.18). Despite the apparent maturity of dissonance treatment, there are some relatively long stretches of music with no dissonance at all, *e.g.* *Credo*, bb.71–89; *Sanctus*, bb.176–93, 207–18 (Ex.7.19); *Agnus Dei* bb.155–86—later music (such as Patrick Douglas's *In convertendo*, see below) tends to have a more even distribution of dissonant suspensions. There is a strong sense of harmonic direction about the work. Only two passages of slow harmonic rhythm bear any comparison with that found in Carver's early works: *Credo*, bb.57–61 (“[et incarnatus est ...] ex Maria virgine, et homo factus est”) and *Agnus Dei*, bb.167–84 (Ex.7.20); the latter passage shows a marked slowing down of the otherwise continuous rhythmic momentum. There are occasional technical flaws in the piece, *e.g.* clashing passing notes and consecutive octaves and fifths (*e.g.* *Sanctus*, bb.138, 142 (Ex.7.21); *Agnus Dei*, b.179 (Ex.7.20)); but these are not on the same scale as in Carver's music. The composer shows a predilection for crotchet passing notes and auxiliary notes in crotchet time, a feature already noted in *Si quis diligit me*.

The *Sanctus* of this Mass is by far the longest of the five movements; in

fact, at 235 bars, it is the longest movement of any extant Scottish Mass. With only one exception²⁵, the *Sanctus* is always the longest movement in Scottish Mass-settings²⁶. The Scottish Church evidently focussed its attention on this central and canonical part of the Mass, where the people on earth join with the company of heaven singing a hymn to God's glory. Comparison with *Sanctus*-settings from England and the Continent reveal a different attitude towards this movement. In a random selection of 49 Continental Masses, the *Sanctus* was the longest movement in only eighteen (around a third of cases)²⁷. This proportion is even less in English settings: the *Sanctus* was the longest movement in only seven of the 25 Masses studied. In the case of the anonymous Masses *Rex virginum* and *Deus Creator omnium*, however, the *Credo* is the longest movement in each, lending further weight to the argument that they are not of Scottish provenance.

Another feature of the *Sanctus* of Mass *Felix namque* (and of the *Kyrie* and *Agnus Dei*) is the frequent repetition of text—gone are the long ornate melismatic passages seen in the music of Carver. The composer has paid great attention to clarity of word-setting, especially in the predominantly syllabic setting of the *Gloria* and *Credo* texts, from which there are several omissions (e.g. *Gloria*, b.10–55, including a striking passage of homorhythmic declamation at b.24–6, Ex.7.22). The composer may well have borne in mind the criticism of unintelligible text setting made by Robert Richardson in 1530 (Elliott & Rimmer 1973:20).

One of the most prominent features of this Mass is its use of structural imitation, evident right from the opening of the head-motif (Ex.7.17). The short *Kyrie* best exemplifies this technique: each phrase of text has its own well-defined point of imitation. Apart from its head-motif, the *Gloria* displays only one instance of rather weak rhythmic imitation (b.17–8, Ex.7.22). The *Credo* and, particularly, the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* have many fine passages of structural imitation (Exx.7.18, 7.19, 7.21, 7.23). However, this technique is not as consistently applied as in the music of

²⁵ The longest movement of Carver's Mass *Fera pessima* is its *Agnus Dei*, which may well have been extended or revised by the composer. Carver's Mass *Pater Creator omnium* is not included in this comparison because of its incomplete *Gloria* and *Credo*.

²⁶ Jenkins (1988:361) regards this an "entirely Scottish characteristic".

²⁷ It is also interesting to note that, in the majority of Continental *Sanctus*-settings, the composer does not set *Osanna II*, directing instead that *Osanna I* be repeated after the *Benedictus*. (My statistics take account of these repetitions.) This does not happen in any of the English and Scottish Masses I have studied. British composers seem to have accorded this movement greater respect than their Continental contemporaries.

contemporary Continental composers, though it is comparable with that found in the *Mass Cantate Domino* (in the same set of partbooks). There is none of the detail imitation so common in Carver's music. Other structural features of the *Mass Felix namque* include melodic sequence (*Sanctus*, bb.56–60, Ex.7.24) and the sequential repetition of polyphonic passages (*Agnus Dei*, all parts (except B₁) of bb.46–8 are immediately repeated down a step, Ex.7.23; similarly in bb.61–4).

The structural imitation in the *Mass Felix namque* is, as Elliott notes, more clearly worked out than in *Si quis diligit me*, suggesting the motet predates the Mass-setting. The style of dissonance treatment is also rather more advanced in the Mass-setting; however, other stylistic similarities suggest the two pieces may well be by Peebles (to whom Elliott attributes *Mass Felix namque*; NG xiv:333). A date somewhere in the mid to late 1530s for the *Mass Felix namque* would accord well with its companion piece in the Dowglas-Fische[ar] Partbooks; the *Mass Cantate Domino*, in a slightly older style, seems to date from the late 1520s or early 1530s.

The *Mass Conditor Kyrie omnium* for four voices (SATB) is found in rough score format in *The Art of Music* (British Library Add. MS 4911)²⁸. This treatise dates from the mid to late 1570s, around which time the song schools were beginning to reopen. Its illustrative material (mostly anonymous) is drawn from various sources, including the music of Josquin, La Rue, Isaac and Ockeghem as well as post-Reformation psalm-settings, most likely by Scottish composers, and other pieces (Elliott 1959:265ff). After a discussion of rudiments and canons there are some "rewlis of counterling" including an examination of various styles of faburden. The present Mass serves as an example of the fourth kind of faburden:

The ferd [= fourth] kynd of faburdoun is of four partis. Quhair the Baritonant is sett in thridis fyvftis Octawis beneth *the* plane sang. Or in vnisons with *the* plane sang. The tribill is sett all in saxttis abone *the* plane sang. The Counter is all sett in ferdis abowne *the* plane sang. And *the* plane sang is modulat in *the* propir sortt²⁹.

As we have seen, these rules were used by Robert Carver in his *Mass Pater*

²⁸ The present discussion is based upon the edition of this work by Maynard (1961 ii:310–24) who, rather unconventionally, quarters the note values of the original and fails to provide bar numbers. In this discussion, therefore, bar numbers have been counted from the beginning of each movement, including any initial incomplete bar, and counting all barlines thereafter, whether or not each bar is complete.

²⁹ *The Art of Music*, f.104v, quoted from *MusScot* i:ix.

Creator omnium. Carver employed two different interpretations of these rules. First, there is the severe chordal style seen in the extant fragments of the *Credo* (Ex.6.61). Here, the *cantus firmus* (the Sarum *Credo* plainchant) is found unembellished in equal note-values in the top voice, harmonized note-against-note according to the above rules. Second, there is the more contrapuntal style where the plainsong, in unequal note-values with occasional embellishment, is surrounded by decorative melodic lines which touch upon the essential faburden notes (Ex.6.60).

The Mass *Conditor Kyrie omnium* strikes a balance between these two opposing styles. The appropriate Sarum chants (written in black plainsong notation on a four-line staff) are found exclusively in T, realized in equal note-values (crotchets in modern notation)³⁰; the other parts observe the faburden rules but introduce non-harmony notes (passing notes and dissonant suspensions *etc.*) quite freely, creating a pleasing contrapuntal texture (Ex.7.25). This texture is constant—there are no passages of free counterpoint (without the plainchant) as in Carver's setting. The Mass derives its name from the plainchant associated with the *Kyrie* trope used in that movement, although the *Kyrie* text itself is not troped³¹.

The Mass is composed in the Mixolydian mode. Other works in this mode have, predominantly, perfect cadences (*cf.* the Masses for three and six voices, discussed in Chapter 6). However, in the present work, the possibility of varied cadences is extremely limited due to the necessity of harmonizing the plainchant. The last few chant notes of each section are frequently Gs, therefore most cadences are limited to IV–I on G. To avoid monotony, the composer has introduced alternative cadences (usually VIIb–I on C) whenever possible (Ex.7.26).

A feature of this work is the composer's use of dissonant suspensions as a means of achieving forward momentum—a good example for any

³⁰ Except for the slow-moving chordal passage at "Et homo factus est", *Credo*, bb.31–4 (Ex.7.27), where T moves in minims in Maynard's transcription. The Sarum chants are listed by Maynard (1961 i:143).

³¹ Following the *Agnus Dei* of the Mass *Conditor Kyrie omnium*, there is an untexted four-part setting of *Salva rex glorie* and a faburden setting of *Deo gracias*. The former piece, perhaps some part of a Mass Proper, appears to be more advanced in style than the Mass and is set in a different mode. It may well be Scottish since it uses the same tenor as Andrew Blackhall's *Adeu, O desie of delyt* (Maynard 1961i:143ff; ii:325ff). The latter Mass movement (*Deo gracias*) is the final, though rarely set, portion of the Mass Ordinary. Maynard (1961 i:144) groups it with the preceding Mass-setting, however this seems unlikely. Despite stylistic similarities with the Mass, there are three important points of difference: the tenor *cantus firmus* is given in mensural notation, the music is in triple meter and the mode is Aeolian, not Mixolydian.

student who may be tempted to produce an academic application of the faburden rules, thereby arriving at a bland succession of euphonious chords. Dissonant suspensions are of three types (4–3, 7–6 and 9–8) and are limited to the top two voices only³². (It is impossible to effect a quaver suspension in the chant voice; but it is interesting to note that the composer has not attempted any 2–3 bass suspensions.) More than half the dissonant suspensions form suspension-resolution chains, and around a fifth of all suspensions have decorative resolutions (e.g. *Sanctus*, bb.22–3, Ex.7.28; *Agnus Dei*, b.16, Ex.7.29). In addition there are five double suspensions (see Ex.7.29 for three of these). (Ex.7.28 (bb.21–2) is, in fact, a repetition of a passage found earlier in the *Sanctus* (bb.4–5, Ex.7.30); and both these passages have similar counterparts in the *Credo* (bb.14–5) and *Gloria* (bb.12).) But for the limited cadences, this piece serves as an ideal model of High Renaissance harmony, containing only a few minor technical flaws: an irregular resolution (*Credo*, b.27, A, Ex.7.31) and some parallel motion (*Sanctus*, bb.35 (Ex.7.32) and 42).

A strict application of faburden technique rules out any possibility of imitation. Yet the composer of this Mass has striven to achieve some degree of imitation (e.g. *Gloria*, b.14 (Ex.7.33); *Sanctus*, bb.3–4 (Ex.7.30), 10; *Agnus Dei*, b.22, *passim*) and even sequence (*Credo*, bb.9–10, S, Ex.7.34). From these passages and the proliferation of dissonant suspensions noted above, one gains the distinct impression of a composer of some merit trying hard to make the best of a very constricting compositional style. This calls to mind Lord James Stewart's post-Reformation commission to David Peebles to make four-part psalm-settings in a style "plane and dulce", a task for which "the said Daudid ... was not earnest". The psalm-settings are, of course, even less sophisticated than this Mass-setting, but the Mass does bear some stylistic resemblances to Peebles's motet *Si quis diligit me* and the Mass *Felix namque*, attributed to him (see p.275). The chordal passages of the Mass and motet are similar to the general style of the Mass *Conditor Kyrie omnium*. Also, the dissonance treatment is somewhat similar in all three works (though the present Mass is the most refined in this respect); in particular, they make little or no use of 2–3 suspensions, and the Mass-settings show a marked preference for decorative resolutions and chains of suspensions. Furthermore, all three pieces make some use of crotchet

³² Maynard (1961 i:145) incorrectly refers to the use of retardations in this piece—his examples are all of dissonant suspensions with *échappée* decorations.

passing and auxiliary notes in crotchet time³³; and there are some longish passages without any suspended dissonance (e.g. *Mass Conditor Kyrie omnium, Credo*, bb.31–7, Ex.7.27). The *Mass Felix namque* may date from the mid to late 1530s. If the *Mass Conditor Kyrie omnium* is by the same composer (possibly Peebles), it would be reasonable to date this work somewhere in the 1540s, roughly contemporary with Carver's faburden *Mass Pater Creator omnium* of 1546.

Another factor which may have a slight bearing on the dating of this Mass is its omission of text from the *Gloria* and *Credo*. The *Gloria* of this Mass is the most truncated of any of the extant Scottish settings and the *Credo* text omissions are equally substantial. Text omissions such as these are a feature of later Scottish Mass-settings and the scope of these deletions seem to imply a date rather later than the *Masses Cantate Domino* and *Felix namque*.

Other works representative of pre-Reformation Scottish church music are the anonymous motet *Descendi in hortum meum*, Robert Johnson's *Laudes Deo* and *Ave Dei patris filia*, and Patrick Douglas's psalm-motet *In convertendo*.

Descendi in hortum meum for four voices (SATB) is a setting of text from the Song of Solomon and is found in Thomas Wood's Partbooks³⁴. The style of this piece is indicative of a period earlier than that of *Si quis diligit me* (Ex.7.35). Elliott (1959:61f) alludes to the composer's use of I⁶⁻⁵ progressions as a feature of early sixteenth-century harmony (e.g. Ex.7.35, b.4), and further notes two features which may indicate a Scottish provenance for the piece (the abrupt change to C major at b.26 (Ex.7.36) and the cadential figure at bb.36–8 (Ex.7.37)).

The relaxed contrapuntal lines flow effortlessly and combine to produce a very consonant texture. The style is far removed from Carver's decorative virtuosic displays; rather the refined textures, shapely melodic lines and balance between syllabic and melismatic word-setting recall the music of Continental composers of the early sixteenth century (Ex.7.36). Other features of this piece are the composer's use of sequence (bb.48–50, combined with cross-rhythm, Ex.7.38) and, particularly, short antiphonal passages where the upper two voices are answered by the lower two voices (or *vice versa*), the second pair repeating the melodic material of the first

³³ Quavers in quaver time in Maynard's edition of *Mass Conditor Kyrie omnium*.

³⁴ The following discussion is based on Elliott's edition in MB xv:No.6.

(bb.54–60, 69–75, Ex.7.39). Elliott (1959:62) has pointed out that these antiphonal exchanges (suitably illustrating the text, “revertere, revertere”) are the most modern feature of this piece. They bear close resemblance to the antiphonal duets employed by Josquin in, for example, his motets *Tu solus, qui facis mirabilia* and *De profundis clamavi ad te*. However, *Descendi in hortum meum* displays none of the chordal or structurally imitative passages present in either of these two pieces by Josquin. The composer has taken some tentative steps in the direction of structural imitation (e.g. bb.19–21, S/A; 27–8, A/T, Ex.7.36; 46–7, B/T, Ex.7.38; 78–80, A/S; 82–3, S/B; 87–8, B/A) but these are little more than fleeting glimpses of a style that was yet to be developed in Scotland³⁵. Canon, another Continental trait and one frequently seen in Carver’s writing (particularly in passages à2), is avoided in this motet.

A remarkable feature of *Descendi in hortum meum* is its distinct lack of dissonance: in the whole piece there are no crotchet passing dissonances, and only six dissonant suspensions and one six-five chord (b.90, Ex.7.40) with the fifth treated like a suspension. Another factor which may one day help to identify the composer of this piece (in the happy event that more manuscripts of Scottish music come to light) is the composer’s propensity for *échappée*-decoration of dissonant suspensions (b.90, Ex.7.40, *et passim*)³⁶. *Descendi in hortum meum* cannot be dated precisely but, given its stylistic similarities to the later music of Josquin it seems this piece may well date from the second decade of the sixteenth century; at any rate its style is not so advanced as that of *Si quis diligit me* of c. 1530.

Robert Johnson is an important Scottish composer who has not hitherto been mentioned. This is principally because we have very little information regarding his life and there are no references to a musician of this name in contemporary records (other than the manuscript sources of his music). Elliott’s biography of Johnson is given in NG ix:680f. Thomas Wood tells us that Johnson was born in the borders town of Duns, became a priest and, having been accused of heresy, fled to England long before the Scottish Reformation of 1560³⁷. He knew the Hudson family of violars from York (who came north to the Scottish Court in 1565, see Chapter 1). Nothing is known of his life in England although a late sixteenth-century

³⁵ These examples hardly constitute the “regular and taut imitation” that Ross (1993:67) sees in this piece.

³⁶ See below (p.282n) for a possible attribution of this work to Robert Johnson.

³⁷ Information from various of Wood’s Partbooks; Hutchison 1957 i:180f, 183.

source describes him as ‘peticanon of Windsor’. Only two pieces by Johnson are extant in Scottish sources: *Deus misereatur nostri* (Psalm 67 à4)³⁸ and one of his two settings of *Domine in virtute tua* (Psalm 21 à5)³⁹. According to Thomas Wood, both these pieces were composed by Johnson during his time in England, between nine and twelve years before the Reformation (i.e. c. 1548–51). The remainder of Johnson’s considerable output (consisting of Latin motets, English anthems and service music, secular songs and instrumental consorts) is extant only in English sources, but some of the Latin church music at least is likely to have been written in Scotland before his flight south. Among these works are *Laudes Deo* and *Ave Dei patris filia*⁴⁰.

Laudes Deo is a setting for two solo tenors of a troped lesson (Isaiah 9:2, 6, 7) for Christmas Midnight Mass (Elliott 1996d)⁴¹. The piece is an alternatim setting: beginning and ending with polyphony, the work comprises ten polyphonic sections each interspersed with plainchant (but sections five and six run consecutively):



Fig.7.2: The formal structure of *Laudes Deo*
(P = Polyphonic section; C = Plainchant)

As can be seen from Fig.7.2 this produces a symmetrical structure and it is interesting to note that the most progressive-sounding section (see below) is section 6, which occurs at the halfway point. Appropriately, this central climax lists the names by which Christ will be called: “Messiah, Saviour, Emmanuel, Sabaoth, Adonai”.

Laudes Deo is essentially, and appropriately for Christmas, a display piece. Every section contains passages of elaborate decorative music and long melismas; indeed, all 23 bars of section 7 form a single melisma on the one word “Deus” (Ex.7.41). The decorative vocal lines and elaborate rhythms of this piece recall the early music of Robert Carver and of the Eton

³⁸ See Elliott’s edition in *MB* xv:No. 7. This piece is extant in Wood’s Partbooks, and the first eighteen bars survive in *The Art of Music* (there without title, text or attribution, Elliott 1959:267).
³⁹ This particular piece will appear as the first of Johnson’s two settings of this text in the forthcoming volume of *Musica Scotica* devoted to the music of Robert Johnson. It survives in Thomas Wood’s Partbooks and the bass part only in David Melvill’s Bassus Partbook.
⁴⁰ I am grateful to Dr Elliott for the use of his editions of these two works.
⁴¹ The Sarum chant accompanying this lesson may be found in Sandon 1986:43–5.

Choirbook.

Whilst some of the music is in a free contrapuntal style, much of it is tightly organized using repetition (e.g. bb.44–6, Ex.7.42), sequence, canon and structural imitation. Sequence (bb.73–80, 120–36 (Ex.7.41), 196–9 *passim*) is frequently combined with canon to produce exhilarating flights of fancy (e.g. bb.95–101, Ex.7.43). Canon (at the fifth, fourth, unison or octave) can be short and sometimes inexact (bb.14–5, 47–8, Ex.7.42) or long and structural (bb.167–71, Ex.7.44). Structural imitation is a feature throughout this piece and is evident right from the outset: each phrase of section 1 begins with its own point of imitation (Ex.7.45).

Despite the limitations of two-voice polyphony, Johnson has made occasional use of dissonant suspensions, particularly 2–3 and 7–6 suspensions and occasional 4–3 and 9–8 suspensions. Of the twelve dissonant suspensions, five have decorative resolutions (Ex.7.45, b.6, also an example of one of the two chains of suspensions in this piece). All structural cadences come to rest on G (the piece is in the Mixolydian mode) and all but one are of the usual two-voice type, VIIb–I. There is one example of an under-third cadence (b.157).

The progressive sound of section 6 has been alluded to above. Johnson has achieved this through the use of tonal sequence, producing a quick-moving harmonic progression in bb.106–8 (Ex.7.46). The two melodic lines here imply the following progression of chords: G major followed by C major, A minor, D major, G major, C major, finally cadencing briefly on G in b.108 (Ex.7.46). This section is also the most syllabic, the only one with word repetition⁴², and the only one to end with a V–I cadence (b.112).

In its use of canon, sequence and structural imitation (and even the anachronistic under-third cadence), *Laudes Deo* is very close in style to Carver's Mass *L'Homme armé* and, particularly, the Mass for three voices attributed to Carver. (However, Johnson's piece has a greater concentration of these techniques and his canonic writing is generally longer and more exact than in either of these Masses.) Both Mass-settings probably date from the early 1520s and it would be reasonable to date Johnson's piece similarly.

Ave Dei patris filia is a large-scale votive antiphon for five voices (SATTB) and seems to date from around the same period. The work has a well balanced formal structure, following the seven stanzas of the text:

⁴² Apart from the repetitions of "Amen dicant omnia" at the very end of the work.

stanza:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
metre:	3/4→			4/4→			
voices:	SAT ₁	T ₂ B+T ₁	FULL	FULL	AT ₂ B	ST ₁ T ₂ +A	FULL/SAB/FULL

Fig.7.3: The formal structure of Robert Johnson's *Ave Dei patris filia*
 ("FULL" indicates full choir, the other sections are solos;
 "+" indicates the next voice enters mid-stanza).

Apart from differences in the scoring of solo sections, this is exactly the same formal structure employed in settings of this text by Fayrfax, Taverner and Merbecke⁴³; the solo section in the middle of stanza 7 accompanies the words "Esto nobis via recta ad aeterna gaudia" in all cases too. Johnson uses different groupings of solo voices in each of the solo sections. The full-voice sections demonstrate an equally fluid attitude to voice-groupings, e.g. in stanza 3, after the initial chordal "Ave", the full five voices do not come together again until twelve bars later (Ex.7.47a). Stanza 4 also begins with a few bars of chordal writing ("Ave Jesu", Ex.7.47b). (The settings by Fayrfax, Taverner, Tallis⁴⁴ and Merbecke also have chordal writing at either or both these places.) There is a short passage of antiphony in the same stanza: the upper two voices have a brief imitative phrase at "Christe Dei tui" (bb.87–8) which is answered immediately by the three lowest voices (Ex.7.48). Here, interestingly, T₁ and T₂ repeat the previous imitative phrase, this time over a free bass part. This is a similar application of antiphony and repetition to that already observed in *Descendi in hortum meum*⁴⁵.

Apart from these brief sections of chordal and antiphonal writing (Exx.7.47, 7.48), the texture is freely contrapuntal, giving way to imitation and, on two occasions only, canon (exclusively in two-voice writing, viz. the passage noted above at "Christe Dei tui" (Ex.7.48) and in bb.25–9, Ex.7.49). The paucity of canon and sequence (e.g. bb.185–6, S) shows this piece to be later in style than *Laudes Deo*.

Although imitation is a fairly frequent device in *Ave Dei patris filia*, it is not yet as pervasive nor as consistently applied as in later music. Most

⁴³ Vide CMM xvii(2):36ff, TCM iii(2):61ff, TCM x:215ff. Fayrfax's version at least was current in Scotland in the Carver Choirbook.

⁴⁴ Vide TCM vi:162ff.

⁴⁵ Given this stylistic similarity and Johnson's propensity for *échappée*-decoration of dissonant suspensions (see below)—another feature of *Descendi in hortum meum*—it is tempting to suggest the latter work may be a youthful piece by Robert Johnson. However, since only a handful of pieces survive by identified Scottish composers of this period, any attribution must remain tentative.

imitative points are limited to the first four notes or so of a phrase (Ex.7.47a); bb.99–106 (Ex.7.50) display the most thoroughly worked passage of imitation. However, Johnson makes a resourceful application of imitation in stanzas 1, 2, 3 and 5. These stanzas follow a pattern whereby the first word of lines 2, 3 and 4 is the same in each:

- [1] Ave Dei patris filia nobilissima,
Dei filii mater dignissima,
Dei spiritus sponsa venustissima,
Dei unius et trini ancilla subjectissima.
- [2] Ave summae aeternitatis filia clementissima,
summae veritatis mater piissima,
summae bonitatis sponsa benignissima,
summae trinitatis ancilla mitissima.⁴⁶

Johnson underlines this structural feature by using the same or similar points of imitation at the beginning of lines 2, 3 and 4, with each occurrence of the repeated word (see stanza 3, Ex.7.47a). This ingenious technique does not feature in the music of stanzas 4, 6 and 7, the texts of which do not display these word repetitions. Nor is this technique characteristic of the English settings of this text (although, in most of these, including Johnson's, "Domini" (stanza 5, Ex.7.51) is set to repeated notes).

The piece generally exhibits a strong sense of harmonic purpose. The fairly frequent use of F-sharp, E-natural and B-natural within the Aeolian mode on G imparts a modern, major sound to the music⁴⁷, similar to that seen in Taverner's Mass *Gloria tibi Trinitas* (Benham 1977:148, 139). There are occasional adventurous chromaticisms, particularly the F minor chord in b.68 (Ex.7.47a), and the A-flat major chord in b.113 (Ex.7.51). There are also some A major chords near the end which take the music to D major, before the final conclusion on G major (bb.201, 210 (Ex.7.52)). The work has a variety of cadence degrees, including G, B-flat and C (normal for this mode), but there are frequent cadences on D and F which Jeppesen (1992:82) considers to be less common or rare within this mode. Most cadences are the usual VIIb–I, V–I or IV–I, less commonly II–I. But there are also some unusual cadences, apparently V–Ib, IV–Ib and VI–I (e.g. bb.8–9, 40–1, 82–3 (Ex.7.47b)) and one interrupted cadence (bb.60–1, Ex.7.47a). Johnson's handling of dissonant suspensions is always careful; these are either 4–3,

⁴⁶ Stanzas 1 and 2, from Elliott 1996d.

⁴⁷ Elliott's edition transposes the piece up a fourth. All pitches mentioned in this paragraph refer to Johnson's original notation.

7–6 or 9–8 (there are no 2–3 bass suspensions). Half of the 35 suspensions in the piece have decorative resolutions and almost all of these involve *échappées*. There are four chains of suspensions (e.g. bb.207–10, Ex.7.52, S) and two six-five chords with the fifth treated like a prepared suspension (bb.24 (Ex.7.49, S) and 160).

Johnson's inconsistent application of imitation is similar to that observed in Peebles's *Si quis diligit me* of 1530; but the more energetic rhythms and decorative melodic lines of *Ave Dei patris filia* recall earlier Scottish and English music. However, the style of the piece is later than *Laudes Deo*; so *Ave Dei patris filia* would seem to date from the mid to late 1520s.

In convertendo, by Patrick Douglas, is a setting for five voices (STTTB) of Ps 126⁴⁸. It is in the style of the mid-sixteenth century and, although it exists only in English manuscripts, may well have been composed in Scotland (Douglas appears not to have left Scotland until 1565, see p.156f). The work is divided into two sections, in the manner of many other psalm-motets of this period.

The texture throughout is that of pervasive imitation (Ex.7.53). This is relieved once only at bb.48–51 (Ex.7.54): the most oft-repeated phrase of text in the whole work, "et lingua nostra exultatione" ("and our tongue [was filled] with singing"), is immediately contrasted with chordal declamation, suitably reflecting the words "tunc dicent inter gentes" ("then said they among the heathen"⁴⁹). Even the brief passage of quasi-antiphonal writing at bb.116–21 is subject to a small degree of imitation (Ex.7.55). The style of imitation is now quite different from that of earlier Scottish music: the points are much longer (frequently around eight notes long) and these are generally imitated in their entirety between all five voices (very often in the order ST,T,BT, Ex.7.53). Each phrase of text has its own rhythmically animated and, usually, distinct imitative point. However, some of these points bear resemblances to others. It is surely no coincidence that the phrase opening the second section of the motet ("Convertere, Domine") has a similar, but differently worked, imitative point to that opening the first section ("In convertendo Dominus", cf. Exx.7.53 and 7.56).

Douglas's use of harmony is very functional and assured, despite

⁴⁸ The following discussion is based on the edition prepared by the present author, published as part of the *Musica Scotica* miscellaneous pieces series (Glasgow University Music Department Publications, 1998).

⁴⁹ Translations from the Authorized Version.

occasional technical flaws (*viz.* the consecutive fifths and octaves in bb.60 (Ex.7.57), 75 and 94). His dissonance treatment, too, is very carefully handled. There is a greater concentration of dissonant suspensions than in earlier music: 64 in 149 bars, mostly 4–3 and 7–6 suspensions, and a handful of 9–8 and 2–3 suspensions. However, only six have decorative resolutions. This is in keeping with mid-century English sacred music, as Benham (1977:174) notes: “Since the suspension is now valued more for its tension and pungency than as decoration, ornamental resolutions which minimise the effect of the dissonance proper are used much less”. However, apart from three examples of double suspensions (*e.g.* b.115, Ex.7.55, S/T), Douglas does not indulge in the techniques Benham lists for intensifying dissonance, *e.g.* the simultaneous sounding of the note of resolution. Despite this mid-century fondness for suspended dissonance, the piece exhibits only eight chains of two suspensions each (*e.g.* Ex.7.58, bb.144–5, S). The Mass *Conditor Kyrie omnium* (possibly dating from the 1540s) has a similar concentration of suspended dissonance but considerably more (and longer) chains of suspensions and double suspensions (Exx.7.28 and 7.29).

The work is in the Dorian mode on G. Most cadences are either V–I or IV–I on G or D; however, there are still a few older style VIIb–I and II–I cadences (*e.g.* bb.73, 115; Exx.7.59 and 7.55). Douglas employs cadences typical of mid-century English and Flemish music at the ends of the two sections of this work. The final (perfect) cadences of each of the two sections effectively occur in bb.77–8 and 145 (Ex.7.58). However, in each case the music continues for some bars beyond this, around a tonic pedal, eventually closing in a plagal cadence.

Other features of this piece are Douglas’s occasional use of diminished chords in first inversion (*e.g.* bb.118, Ex.7.55), and his use of sequence (*e.g.* b.69f, Ex.7.59) and repetition (bb.39–46 (Ex.7.54) are an almost exact repetition of the previous eight bars; similarly in bb.52–4 and 56–8). *In convertendo* is full of beautifully crafted flowing lines and Douglas has paid great attention to speech rhythms and syllable accentuation (including the careful use of syncopation).

The finely wrought imitation in this piece resembles the style of the Franco-Flemish composers Gombert and Crecquillon and has some affinity with the Latin motets of William Mundy, whose music is found in the Baldwin Partbooks, one of the sources of *In convertendo*. These partbooks

date from the late sixteenth century; however the mid-century style of *In convertendo* suggests a date for this work somewhere in the late 1540s or 1550s. Douglas's music is also similar in style to some of Robert Johnson's later music, which appears to date from the mid sixteenth century (Elliott 1959:46; NG ix:680f), and resembles other English two-section psalm-motets of the same period (e.g. those of Robert White).

Besides the music discussed above, a number of other Latin-texted works are extant in Scottish sources, some complete, others more or less fragmentary. The Carver Choirbook contains a number of English Magnificats and other Marian pieces similar in repertory to the Eton Choirbook. Identifiable works include music by Nesbett, Lambe, Cornysh and Fayrfax (Elliott 1960b and Woods 1984 i). The Choirbook also contains some anonymous pieces which may be of Scottish authorship: *Vos quoque sancti patriarche* (a large-scale six-part litany); *Anima mea liquefacta est* (a large-scale five-part motet); and a short, untexted *Miserere* (for STB). All three works (transcribed in Woods 1984 ii:223–7, 216–22 and 297–8) are in a decorative style somewhat similar to Carver's early works and the music of the Eton Choirbook.

Apart from the Mass-settings discussed above, the Dowglas-Fische[ar] Partbooks contain anonymous but identifiable Continental sacred music from the second quarter of the sixteenth century; the composers represented are Certon, Lupi, Claudin, Josquin, Jacquet and Willaert (Elliott 1964).

Having completed his aim of transcribing all the psalm tunes and canticles and their settings, Thomas Wood set about trying to preserve the music of the Old Church in his partbooks: "notwithstanding of this travell I haue takin [i.e. transcribing church music old and new] I can not vnderstand bot musike sall pereishe in this land alutterlye"⁵⁰. Besides *Si quis diligit me* and the motets by Peebles and Johnson discussed above, Wood copied Peebles's post-Reformation motet *Quam multi, Domine* (discussed below) and Continental and English pieces by Tye and Clemens non Papa (as well as secular music by Tallis, Festa, Lassus and Arcadelt, among others; Elliott 1959:185ff).

The Art of Music contains many anonymous musical examples, some of which are identifiable as the work of Continental composers, others may be Scottish or English. (Of those with text or text incipits, several are *Magnificat* sections; other examples include more or less fragmentary

⁵⁰ Note appended to the tenor part of *Descendi in hortum meum*; TWT, p.166.

settings of *O lux beata trinitas*, *Salvator mundi*, *Da pacem Domine*, *Christe qui lux es et dies* and *Salva festa dies*.) In addition, the treatise contains a number of post-Reformation pieces, some of which are discussed below.

Seventeenth-century sources contain a number of anonymous fragmentary items of Latin church music which may well be of Scottish authorship: David Melvill's Bassus Partbook, Alexander Forbes's Cantus Partbook, the Rowallan Cantus Partbook (Edinburgh University Library MS La.III.488), Robert Edwards's Commonplace Book, and Louis de France's Music Book (Edinburgh University Library MS La.III.491)⁵¹. The first three of these sources also contain fragments of a piece by Tye, and the first two contain parts of a piece by Arcadelt (Elliott 1959:281, 289, 297).

1560–1603

With the Reformation of 1560 came the abolition of the Mass and all things perceived as papistical—including ornate music and the use of organs. Three particular ideals of the Reformed Church had a profound effect on the development of church music in Scotland. First, worship was henceforth to be conducted in the vernacular. Second, congregations were to be encouraged to take an active part in worship, particularly with the introduction of congregational singing. Third, all sung material should be biblical, *i.e.* psalms and paraphrases of scriptural passages. This completely new approach to worship required a new liturgy, accessible to the people. And so the Scottish Kirk adopted the liturgy drawn up by John Knox and others whilst in exile on the Continent, "The forme of prayers and ministration of the Sacraments, &c. used in the Englishe Congregation at Geneva", first published in 1556. A Scottish version was printed in 1562, followed by another edition two years later containing the liturgy and the first complete Scottish Psalter in metre, with tunes.

The genesis of the Scottish Psalter has been well documented by other writers, particularly William Cowan (1913, 1921), Millar Patrick (1949) and Maurice Frost (1953). The state of the first Scottish Psalter may be summarized briefly. A remarkable variety of metres was represented

⁵¹ See Elliott 1959:274ff for lists of contents. Edward Millar's Music Book (National Library of Scotland MS 9477), John Squyer's Music Book (Edinburgh University Library MS La.III.490) and the McKinnon Manuscript (Library of King's College, Aberdeen) contain settings of *Ecce novum gaudium*, a chordal Christmas carol possibly dating from the second half of the sixteenth-century.

therein, thirty in all⁵², and the texts were supplied with 105 different tunes. Each psalm was directed to be sung to one particular tune, its so-called "proper" tune. These statistics compare favourably with the first complete English Psalter of 1562 which contained only 62 tunes and had much less metrical variety, though it did include a number of "spiritual songs" which only later appeared in Scottish psalters. The tunes (all in a simple style with only one syllable per note) came from various sources: some were French, others English or German and a few appear for the first time in the 1564 Psalter and may therefore be Scottish⁵³ (see the tenor parts of Exx.7.60, 7.61b and c, 7.62b, 7.63–5). The composers of these tunes cannot be identified with any certainty but they are likely to have been written by respected composers of the old regime who had early accepted Reformed principles. Thus possible composers include John Angus, Andrew Blackhall, John Buchan and Andrew Kemp⁵⁴ (McQuaid 1949:18f).

The leading Reformers who commissioned the publication of the Psalter (John Knox, Christopher Goodman and Lord James Stewart, later Regent Moray) would have been aware of the volume's intended format, *i.e.* text and tunes only. It was immediately apparent that the lack of anything more advanced than unison psalm-singing would be detrimental to Scottish church music. It is perhaps for this reason that Lord James Stewart, Prior of St Andrews, commissioned David Peebles to harmonize the psalm tunes in four parts in a plain style. In the words of Thomas Wood: "my lord commandit the said dauid to leaue the curiosity of musike; and sa to make plaine and dulce"⁵⁵. Despite Peebles's well-known

⁵² Patrick (1949:50) claims there were 27 different metres. Ninety-nine of the psalms were in common metre or double common metre.

⁵³ According to Frost (1953, and see Elliott 1959:71f), tunes making their first appearance in the 1564 Scottish Psalter are those for Pss 66, 108, 116, 140 and 145 (Frost 1953:Nos. 81, 121, 128, 162, 170). Another group of tunes are Scottish adaptations of earlier foreign tunes (Frost 1953:Nos. 91, 98, 120, 168, 177). All of these new tunes (except that for Ps 108) and adaptations are found only in Scottish psalters. The remaining tunes were taken from foreign sources. Whilst most tunes would have been specially composed, others are reminiscent of folk song (*e.g.* Frost 1953:Nos. 47, 69) and some have even been traced back to plainchant origins (*e.g.* Frost 1953:Nos.118, 148; see also Reese 1959:360f and Douen 1878 i:679ff). As the years progressed, more new Scottish proper tunes and adaptations appeared uniquely in Scottish psalters: Frost (1953) Nos. 115, 140 (new tunes); 56, 75, 92 (Scottish adaptations of foreign tunes). Elliott (1959:72) lists another eighteen tunes found only in manuscript sources which are probably also of Scottish origin.

⁵⁴ It has been suggested that Blackhall either partially edited or composed some psalm-tunes (Elliott 1994a:272). Kemp is thought to be the composer of at least nine psalm-tunes of which only he appears to have made settings (Elliott 1959:74). Additionally, John Black is thought to be the composer of "Mr. Black's toone" which appears in the addenda to Thomas Wood's Partbooks (Elliott 1959:74).

⁵⁵ TWT, p.167; Hutchison 1957 i:3, 194.

reluctance, he eventually completed 106 settings of proper tunes which were copied into duplicate sets of partbooks by Wood, between 1562 and 1566 (see Elliott 1961a:18f and Hutchison 1957 i:135, 192). Manuscript copies of these psalm-settings (with the tune in the tenor part, according to contemporary practice) doubtless spread to other towns, indeed Wood tells us he actually sent his manuscripts to John Angus in Dunfermline, to Andrew Blackhall in Musselburgh and lent them to John Buchan (Hutchison 1957 i:194, 133; TWT, p.167; TWC, p.94).

The composers of the extant corpus of sixteenth-century psalm harmonizations are David Peebles, Andrew Kemp, Andrew Blackhall and John Buchan. In addition, Edward Millar's 1635 edition of the Scottish Psalter anonymously incorporates the work of these composers as well as settings by John Angus, John Black, Alexander Smith, Sharp⁵⁶ and unidentified others. There are also anonymous settings, including four in *The Art of Music*.

The settings of proper tunes by Peebles, Kemp, Blackhall and Buchan display the same general characteristics (Exx.7.60–3). They are similar to the chordal settings of Bourgeois, Goudimel and other mid-century French composers (Douen 1878 ii:83f) and to harmonizations by English composers such as Tye (Frost 1953:No. 302), Tallis (Frost 1953:Nos. 187, 309–17), Thomas Causton (Frost 1953:Nos. 72, 105, 112, 159, 166, 167) and William Parsons (NG xv:368). The tunes (which are almost always in the tenor part) are harmonized chordally using mostly root position chords, with occasional first inversion chords to allow for smoother part-writing. The settings also display an emerging sense of major/minor tonality, although the flattened seventh of the modal system is generally retained. Cadences are now mostly perfect, plagal or imperfect (Ib-V, IVb-V, II-V, IIb-V *etc.*); there are fewer of the old VIIb-I or II-I cadences. Harmony takes on a new sense of purpose, especially at the cadence, with chord roots moving in fourths or fifths and, occasionally, progressions such as II⁷b-V⁽⁴⁻³⁾-I or Ic-V-I (to use anachronistic but convenient terms). Very few settings remain in the tonic "key" throughout; most have at least one phrase where the music modulates to a cadence on the dominant or relative minor or even the supertonic minor or subdominant (to use modern terms). The settings tend to be homorhythmic throughout, except for occasional syncopations and quaver passing notes.

⁵⁶ The composer Sharp has so far eluded attempts at identification.

Elliott (1959:74, NG ix:859) has noted that Kemp's settings of proper tunes vary in style according to the type of tune being harmonized; in particular, his settings of tunes of French origin tend to have more interesting rhythms and dissonance treatment. The same is also true of Peebles's settings of proper tunes. Analysis of a random selection of 31 settings by Peebles⁵⁷ reveals that his simplest settings are almost all of tunes with English or Anglo-Genevan origins⁵⁸ (see Fig.7.4a, overleaf; Ex.7.60a). These settings have very few dissonant suspensions and tend to be entirely homorhythmic.

The settings listed in Fig.7.4b (overleaf) are more advanced in style and it will be seen that most of these are settings of tunes with French origins. These settings demonstrate a more varied approach to dissonance treatment (in particular the use of 9–8 suspensions and chains of suspensions) and tend to have greater rhythmic variety between the parts (*e.g.* Ps 124, MB xv:No. 25 (Ex.7.60b and c); this psalm also includes a rare example in Peebles's psalm-settings of a double suspension). Peebles's psalm-settings demonstrate his very careful handling of dissonant suspensions; he always observes the need for the dissonance to be prepared and resolved. Peebles uses 4–3 suspensions most frequently, and very often in the soprano part; there are comparatively few 9–8 suspensions (all in S, and most forming chains of suspensions). There are very few 7–6 suspensions (occurring only in A or T); and there are no bass suspensions. Around 70% of suspensions involve syncopated rhythm. Interestingly, Peebles seems to reserve the more modern cadential progressions alluded to above (II⁷b–V–I and Ic–V–I) for use in what are otherwise settings in an apparently simpler style (see Fig.7.4a). A particular feature of Peebles's style is his complete avoidance of passing notes and quavers.

⁵⁷ I am very grateful to Dr Elliott for allowing me to study his unpublished transcriptions of psalm-settings by Peebles, Kemp and Buchan. The corpus of manuscript and printed Scottish psalmody is planned for publication in a future volume of *Musica Scotica*, edited by Dr Elliott and the present author. Editions of proper-tune settings are already published in MB xv, Elliott 1960a, 1961a and 1994a.

⁵⁸ The 31 settings by Peebles which have been examined comprise three with Scottish tunes, three with German tunes, eleven with tunes of French origin, and fourteen with tunes which first appeared in English or Anglo-Genevan psalters (Frost 1953:Nos. 128, 162, 170; 125, 168, 180; 47, 58, 67, 69, 107, 114, 120, 134, 136, 139, 144; 14, 17, 21, 13, 39, 49, 51, 62, 85, 94, 101, 127, 157, 175).

Psalm Source of tune⁵⁹ Stylistic features

3	AG 1556	no suspensions ⁶⁰ , entirely homorhythmic, II ⁷ b-V-I
43	AG 1556	no suspensions, entirely homorhythmic
112	German 1539	no suspensions, entirely homorhythmic, Ic-V-I
145	Scottish 1564	no suspensions, entirely homorhythmic
1	AG 1556	1 suspension, almost entirely homorhythmic
6	AG 1556	1 suspension, Ic-V-I
30	AG 1558	1 suspension, entirely homorhythmic, Ic-V-I
68	AG 1558	1 suspension, entirely homorhythmic
137	AG 1556	1 suspension, only one first inversion chord, all cadences are perfect on C
149	AG 1558	1 suspension, entirely homorhythmic, all root-position chords
29	AG 1556	2 suspensions
50	FG 1547	2 suspensions, almost entirely homorhythmic, II ⁷ b-V-I, Ic-V-I
78	AG 1556	2 suspensions, II ⁷ b-V-I
143	Scottish 1564 ⁶¹	2 suspensions, Ic-V-I

Fig.7.4a: Simple psalm-settings by David Peebles

<u>Psalm</u>	<u>Source of tune</u>	<u>Stylistic features</u>
140	Scottish 1564	8 suspensions, including two 9-8s and two chains
120	FG 1547	8 suspensions, including one 9-8 and two chains
107	FG 1547	7 suspensions
124	FG 1551	6 suspensions, including one 9-8, one chain and one double suspension
100	FG 1551	5 suspensions, including two 9-8s and two chains
21	AG 1556	5 suspensions, including two 9-8s and two chains
27	FG 1551	5 suspensions, including one 9-8 and one chain
125	FG 1551	5 suspensions, including one 9-8 and one chain
116	Scottish 1564	5 suspensions, including one 9-8
18	English 1561	4 suspensions, mostly homorhythmic
82	AG 1556	4 suspensions, mostly homorhythmic
115	AG 1556	4 suspensions, mostly homorhythmic
36	FG 1551	3 suspensions, including two 9-8s and one chain
88	FG 1551	3 suspensions, including one 9-8 and one chain; psalm-tune in S
113	German 1526	3 suspensions, including one 9-8
121	FG 1551	3 suspensions
47	FG 1551	3 suspensions, entirely homorhythmic

Fig.7.4b: More advanced psalm-settings by David Peebles
[AG=Anglo-Genevan Psalter; FG=French-Genevan Psalter]

Andrew Kemp’s psalm-settings are rather more advanced than those of David Peebles. Of Kemp’s 44 proper-tune settings preserved in Duncan Burnett’s Music Book⁶², two are settings in three parts and nine present the psalm tune in the top voice. Furthermore, nine settings have tunes untraceable elsewhere which may well be the work of Kemp himself. Kemp supplies tunes for Pss 2, 4, 5, 12, 22 and 56—psalms without their

⁵⁹ Earliest source listed by Frost (1953). (In some cases the Scottish version of a tune is an adaptation of an earlier foreign version.)
⁶⁰ For “suspension(s)” in this figure, read “dissonant suspension(s)”.
⁶¹ After earlier German tune; Frost 1953:No. 168.
⁶² National Library of Scotland, MS 9447.

own proper tunes in the 1564 Psalter. Kemp also wrote new tunes for Pss 6 (Ex.7.61a), 23 and 107, although the first two of these are much simpler than the proper tunes found in the 1564 Psalter. In whichever church they were written to be used⁶³, it seems the congregation may not have been up to the challenge of learning the proper tunes appointed for these psalms. (A similar situation must have prevailed throughout Scotland at this time.) Only four of the nine tunes by Kemp are in common metre.

Kemp's simplest settings (with less than three dissonant suspensions and which are predominantly homorhythmic) are settings of Scottish and German tunes, a few settings of English tunes, and six settings of the tunes probably by Kemp himself (Ex.7.61a). These comparatively simple harmonizations account for only fourteen of his 44 settings. It is immediately apparent that the proportion of settings with three or more dissonant suspensions is much higher in Kemp's output than in Peebles's. The differences in style between the two composers may be summarized as follows. Kemp's settings contain a greater number and variety of dissonant suspensions (*e.g.* 9–8 suspensions occur in various voice parts, not just S). There are also more double suspensions and chains of suspensions (in either S or A) in Kemp's settings (*e.g.* Pss 37 (Ex.7.61b), 52, 78; 27 (Ex.7.61c), 121) and there is even a 2–3 bass suspension in Kemp's version of Ps 37 (but this comes about only because the tenor psalm-tune is the lowest voice of a three-part setting, Ex.7.61b, b.6). Neither composer makes use of decorative resolutions of suspensions. Around two-thirds of Kemp's dissonant suspensions involve syncopated rhythm (roughly the same proportion as found in Peebles). Kemp's harmony is apparently more advanced than Peebles's, with a much higher proportion of first inversion and seventh chords. Each composer's cadence formulae are broadly similar, but Kemp favours the (by now old-fashioned) VIIb–I progression, decorating it on two occasions with a double 7–6/4–3 suspension (Pss 27 (Ex.7.61c, b.5), 149). Interrupted cadences feature in Kemp's music (Pss 36, 47, 59, 104), as do crotchet and quaver passing notes (sometimes in parallel thirds or sixths) and dotted crotchet-quaver rhythms occur frequently (*e.g.* Ps 4). Kemp's settings are marred by occasional technical flaws such as consecutive fifths (Pss 4, 22, 43, 66) and the simultaneous sounding of a dissonance and its resolution (Ps 22, 52, 121, 149)—harmonic imperfections avoided by Peebles.

⁶³ Kemp worked in St Andrews during the 1560s and in Aberdeen during the early 1570s. He probably compiled his psalm-settings during his time at Aberdeen (see p.81).

Undoubtedly Kemp's settings of French tunes are his most accomplished in this genre.

Only three proper-tune settings have survived by Andrew Blackhall: Pss 68 and 121 (Ex.7.62a) are found in Thomas Wood's Partbooks and an attributed setting of Ps 130 is found in *Some helpes for young Schollers*, a didactic publication dating from 1602 and the first example of printed part music in Scotland (see Elliott 1994a). The tune used for Ps 130 is not found elsewhere and may be the work of Blackhall himself; the setting is anonymous, but Elliott has established a compelling case for its ascription to Blackhall (Ex.7.62b). It is not feasible to assess Blackhall's style of psalm-setting on the evidence of three short harmonizations, but there are some clear points of difference from that of Peebles and Kemp. Blackhall's handling of dissonant suspensions is broadly similar to these two men; however, there is one example of a genuine 2–3 bass suspension in Ps 121 (Ex.7.62a, b.6), and Ps 130 has an *échappée* decoration of a 7–6 suspension (Ex.7.62b, b.9). Cadences are also similar, with a marked preference for the $V^{(4-3)}-I$ progression; on several occasions this is decorated with a passing seventh in another voice—a dissonance not found in Peebles or Kemp. Finally, Blackhall makes occasional use of quaver passing notes, a feature of Kemp's settings, but not seen in Peebles's.

The only extant pieces identified as the work of John Buchan are settings of Pss 67 and 128 which he himself copied into Thomas Wood's Partbooks⁶⁴. These harmonizations are in a simpler style than those of Blackhall. There is only one type of dissonant suspension (4–3), but Buchan uses occasional quaver passing notes and passing sevenths at $V^{4-3}-I$ cadences (Ex.7.63, b.4). Peebles's proper-tune settings date from 1562–66; Kemp's settings probably date from the late 1560s or early 1570s. Blackhall was a generation younger than Peebles and Kemp and his psalm-settings are in a later style—Ps 130 was published in 1602 when the composer was aged 66 or 67. His other settings were copied by Thomas Wood, work which must have been completed before the latter's death in 1592. Therefore Blackhall's settings seem to date from the last decades of the sixteenth century. Buchan's two harmonizations were probably copied (of Thomas Wood's "vnwitting"⁶⁵) between 1562 and 1566 since Peebles did not write harmonizations of these tunes. Buchan died in or around 1608 and was a much younger composer

⁶⁴ Traces of at least one other psalm tune probably by Buchan are extant in the Rowallan Cantus Partbook (Elliott 1959:297).

⁶⁵ Baxter 1997:5; Hutchison 1957 i:133f; TWC₁, p.94

than Peebles, hence the more forward-looking stylistic features noted above.

Similar in style to the proper-tune settings are the settings of canticles by John Angus. Angus contributed twelve canticle-settings to Thomas Wood's Partbooks. These present the proper tune in the tenor part and, as with the proper-tune settings discussed above, they vary in style according to the source of the tune employed. Angus's simplest settings are of those tunes with English or German origins, e.g. his settings of the metrical versions of The Lord's Prayer, "All my belief"⁶⁶ (Ex.7.64) and the *Magnificat* (MB xv:Nos. 13 and 14, Elliott 1960a:26f; Frost 1953:Nos. 180, 181 and 4). These straightforward four-part examples contain relatively few dissonant suspensions, predominantly root-position chords and occasional quaver passing notes. By contrast, Angus's settings of the *Nunc Dimittis* (Ex.7.65, originally a French tune⁶⁷) and *Da pacem Domine* (originally a German tune⁶⁸) exhibit more dissonant suspensions (9–8 and 4–3, sometimes decorated by notes of anticipation), occasional chains of suspensions and there is even a double suspension in the latter piece. Angus favours the progression $V^{(4-3)}-I$ (occasionally preceded by Ic and/or decorated with a passing seventh) at cadence points in these settings. Angus's settings of "All my belief" (Ex.7.64) and *Da pacem Domine* are noteworthy in that each phrase of text does not begin simultaneously in all parts: either or both upper voices begin one crotchet after the lower two. This feature, coupled with the decorative nature of the vocal parts, contributes to a style which seems more contrapuntal than homophonic (NG i:435).

Andrew Kemp's setting of the *Te Deum* is entitled (in its source, Thomas Wood's Partbooks) "The Sang of Ambrose in four pairtis, voluntary, set in verray dulce musike ..."⁶⁹. This piece is a setting of the English prose text of the *Te Deum* which Wood believed not to have been based upon a pre-existent tune (hence "voluntary"). It is, in fact, a harmonization of a version of the Sarum *Te Deum* plainchant. (I am grateful to Dr John Caldwell for alerting me to this fact. The chant used by Kemp is similar to fragments of the *Te Deum* found in the roughly contemporary Scottish treatise *The Art of Music*, f.97^v–98^r. This, in turn, follows the Sarum form as found in, for example, the Hyrdmanston

⁶⁶ A metrical version of the Creed, subtitled "The xii Articles of the Christian Fayth" in Thomas Wood's Partbooks.

⁶⁷ Elliott 1960a:28, Frost 1953:No. 179.

⁶⁸ Frost 1953:No. 183. I am grateful to Dr Elliott for the use of his unpublished edition of this piece.

⁶⁹ TWT, p.126f; Hutchison 1957 i:164. This canticle is published in MB xv:No. 12.

Breviary (f.221^{v2}) of c. 1300[†].) Kemp has harmonized the chant according to the principles of faburden, as set forth in *The Art of Music* (f.104^v, see p.275 of the present study). The *Te Deum* chant is in the top voice, but these rules still apply. (This technique exactly matches that used by Robert Carver in the surviving fragments of the *Credo* of his Mass *Pater Creator omnium*, of twenty years earlier.)

Wood states that this work was composed in 1566⁷⁰ and Elliott (1959:86) notes that its style is similar to settings found in John Day's *Certaine notes set forth in fowre and three parts*, published in 1560 and reprinted in 1565. Kemp's setting is entirely chordal and follows closely the normal speech rhythms of the prose text, making fairly frequent use of quavers and dotted rhythms (Exx.7.66, 7.67). This lends special prominence to the contrasting threefold setting of "Holy art thou" (bb.23–30, Ex.7.66), set in minim block chords.

[p.295 continues]

⁷⁰ TWB₂, p.170, MB xv:205.

[†] I am grateful to my colleague Dr Greta-Mary Hair for advice on this source.

From the beginning of the work until b.25, the musical phrases cadence alternately on A and G, thus following closely the phrase structure of the original chant. The next phrase (bb.26–7, the second statement of “Holy art thou”, Ex.7.66) concludes with the first of only two cadences on E—the second is at the very end of the piece, consistent with other music in the Phrygian mode where cadences on the final are generally avoided until the end. Most of Kemp’s cadence progressions are of the more modern $V^{(4-3)}-I$ type, with a few $VIIb-I$ and $IV-I$ cadences (the latter typical of the Phrygian mode). A significant number of cadences (around 30%) end with chords consisting of a bare fifth. There are several examples of interrupted cadences in this piece (also seen in Kemp’s psalm-settings): these generally occur in the middle of long text phrases (e.g. bb.40–1, 75–6 (Ex.7.67), 81–2). The dissonant suspensions in this piece are predominantly 4–3, with some 7–6 and 9–8 suspensions—almost all of these are syncopated and occur in S. In line with Kemp’s tendency towards relatively simple settings of his own psalm-tunes, this piece exhibits only two chains of suspensions (bb.128–9 (Ex.7.68, S) and 134) and one double suspension (b.128, Ex.7.68, S/T), and quaver passing notes are rare. The piece as a whole combines Kemp’s talent for text setting with simple but effective and shapely melodic lines. Kemp contributed three more canticle-settings to Thomas Wood’s Partbooks: *Come, Holy Ghost* (dated 5 December 1566), *We praise thee, God* (dated 8 January 1567) and *Where righteousness doth say* (a setting of “The complaint of ane Sinnar”, undated). These are in the style of his psalm-settings with the appropriate proper tune in the tenor part. Andrew Blackhall also contributed a chordal canticle-setting to this collection, *O Lord, of whom I do depend* (a setting of “The Humble Sute of a Sinnar”).

Despite the Reformed church’s eschewal of polyphony, more elaborate forms of psalm-setting were eventually cultivated by Scottish composers. Psalms in reports are more or less imitative pieces based on proper psalm tunes⁷¹. Only one of the extant psalms in reports is identified as the work of Andrew Blackhall: Ps 137 (à4) is recorded among the addenda to Thomas Wood’s Partbooks and in the Rowallan Cantus Partbook⁷² (Ex.7.71). Another reports setting, Ps 18 à5 (SATTB, extant in *The Art of Music* and later printed in the 1635 Scottish Psalter), is very similar in style and has been

⁷¹ The term may derive from the French “rapporter” (Patrick 1949:68).

⁷² Edition in Elliott 1960a:22–4.

attributed to Blackhall by Elliott (1959:90f, MB xv:No. 20, Ex.7.69)⁷³. Both settings are based on the proper tunes appointed for these psalms (Frost 1953:Nos. 157 and 36). The tune is presented continuously in one part (T₂ in the case of Ps 137; S in Ps 18) around which the other parts weave a consistent contrapuntal texture. In this respect they are similar to psalm-settings by Claude Goudimel (Douen 1878 ii:125f and Expert 1895). His report-style settings may well have been current in Scotland since one (a setting of Ps 68) later appeared anonymously in the 1635 Psalter (there as a setting of Ps 113; Elliott 1961a:23, Expert 1895 i:20–3). William Daman's report settings (Frost 1953:Nos. 45, 129, 165) may also have found their way north of the border. These were published in 1591 and two are based on very short simple tunes⁷⁴. Daman places the psalm tune in the top voice of these four-part settings. They appear to have been conceived as contrapuntal pieces from the outset, for each line of the tune is separated by rests of varying length, and part of the last line of each stanza must be repeated in all voices (including the "church part").

Treating the psalm tune in the manner of a *cantus firmus*⁷⁵, Blackhall has striven hard to achieve as much imitation as possible: almost every line of text is accompanied by a new point of imitation and each point is based upon the corresponding phrase of the psalm tune (Ex.7.69). (Proving this point, T₂ in Ps 18 is exactly the same as the psalm tune (in S) throughout the whole setting, but for a few added rests and a handful of altered pitches⁷⁶.) In harmonic terms, Blackhall's report-settings are very similar to his proper-tune settings. Most dissonant suspensions are of the 4–3 type with occasional 7–6 and, notably, 2–3 suspensions (the latter are conspicuous by their absence from the music of other post-Reformation Scottish composers). Dissonant suspensions are occasionally decorated by notes of anticipation or *échappées* and many are syncopated. The majority of cadences are V^{4–3}–I and one of these (in Ps 18, Ex.7.69, b.17) is decorated with a passing seventh, also typical of Blackhall.

⁷³ Besides the complete extant psalms in reports, discussed here and in the next section, there are traces of what appear to be three other report-settings: Ps 3 (using the tune of Ps 47, in David Melvill's Bassus Partbook and Alexander Forbes's Cantus Partbook; Elliott 1959:274f, 289), and Pss 51 and 67 (in the Rowallan Cantus Partbook; Elliott 1959:297f).

⁷⁴ Ps 25 uses a short metre tune; Ps 116 uses a common metre tune (which became known as *Dundee* in later Scottish psalters); and Ps 142 uses a double common metre tune.

⁷⁵ But note that the psalm tune does not enter at the beginning of Ps 18, as it does in Ps 137; this allows for some initial imitation of the tune (Elliott 1959:90).

⁷⁶ Elliott (1959:90) notes that this coincidence "has probably led some (including [the editor of the 1635 Psalter]) to state that the tune was in fact in the tenor, according to the prevailing custom of the time".

The anonymous four-part setting of Ps 6 in reports (extant in the 1635 Scottish Psalter and the Rowallan Cantus Partbook, Ex.7.70)⁷⁷ is somewhat similar in style to these two settings, but quite different from the other report-settings in the 1635 Psalter⁷⁸. Elliott suggests Blackhall may be the composer of this piece (NG ii:769f). As before, the psalm tune (Frost 1953:No. 21) is presented continuously (in T) but beyond this there seem to be several points of difference with Blackhall's settings. First, there is less imitation in this piece, and the points are generally less well worked out than in the previous two settings. In fact, the piece opens in block chordal style (Ex.7.70). Second, the dissonance treatment is much more limited than in Blackhall's style: there are only four dissonant suspensions and all are of the type 4-3; none are decorated, and none form chains of dissonance or double suspensions. Third, the cadence types are rather more varied than in Blackhall's music: there are only two V⁴⁻³-I cadences (one decorated with a passing seventh), the remainder include VI-V, IV-V, I-V and the rather old-fashioned II-I. This setting of Ps 6 may be contemporary with Blackhall's settings but, comparing its harmonic style with the music already discussed, it seems more likely to be the work of Blackhall's older contemporary, John Angus. Elliott (1959:74) remarks upon the contrapuntal texture observed in some of Angus's canticle-settings, "essentially decorative but in a way approaching the style of psalms in reports". Psalm 6 in reports bears all the stylistic features noted in his simpler canticle-settings and could easily be viewed as an extension of Angus's style of proper-tune setting.

An interesting point arises from these report-settings. The sources for Pss 6 and 18 have no text underlay. (This is also true of report-settings found in the seventeenth-century printed psalters.) It is a simple matter to add words to the "church part" (i.e. the psalm tune), but the other imitative parts occasionally require the repetition of one or two words and, in order for these parts still to retain syntax, the repeated word(s) will not necessarily correspond to the same syllables in each stanza. To achieve a respectable performance, these pieces would require some degree of rehearsal, therefore we must assume that the imitative parts were not intended for congregational participation. Report-settings may well have been performed at the Chapel Royal (we would recall that Blackhall was a

⁷⁷ Edition in MB xv (2nd and 3rd revised editions):No. 24.

⁷⁸ These are simpler in style (see below) and appear to date from the early seventeenth century (Elliott 1961a:23).

composer favoured by James VI) or in private chapels or even in a domestic context. However, since the church part posed no underlay difficulties, it would have been entirely possible for a congregation to sing these presumably well-known psalm tunes whilst song school pupils held forth the other parts. Such an audacious experiment in congregational psalmody would have required the consent (and preferably support) of a minister well-disposed towards music, as well as the skills of an accomplished musician to lead the singing. Blackhall himself was well placed in both respects; he may well have organized the singing of his own music in his charges, particularly in Musselburgh where, from 1589, there was a song school of royal foundation (see p.167). Other church musicians may have followed suit.

Even more elaborate than psalms in reports are various extant anthems and a motet: one by Kemp, three by Blackhall and a Latin motet by David Peebles. All are recorded in Thomas Wood's Partbooks and none makes use of proper psalm tunes, being "voluntary". The earliest of these appears to be Kemp's four-part *Have mercy God* (for SATB)⁷⁹. Wood states that

The letter of this sang wes geuein be maister gudman sum tyme minister of Sanctandrous ... to Andro kempe, maister of the sang Scule, to set It in four pairtis; It is verray hard till it be thryse or four tymis weill and rych[t]ly sung. (Quoted in NG ix:859; Hutchison 1957 i:165; TWA, p.134f).

Christopher Goodman, Knox's colleague, was in St Andrews c. 1560–65 and Kemp's anthem was probably composed around this time (NG ix:859). The text may have been written by Goodman himself, although the term "geuein be" is somewhat ambiguous. In complete contrast to Kemp's psalm-and canticle-settings, the texture of this anthem is contrapuntal and consistently imitative (Ex.7.72). There is a new imitative point every four or five bars (with each new line of text) and each point is thoroughly worked among the four voices. The text-setting once again demonstrates Kemp's careful attention to speech rhythm and syllable accentuation through the judicious use of quavers, dotted rhythms and syncopations.

The penitential nature of the text is suitably reflected in Kemp's melodic lines and his use of the minor-sounding Phrygian mode. He makes frequent use of the semitones particular to that mode and there are frequent large leaps, particularly upward leaps of a minor sixth. The cadence types (mostly IV–I with some VIIb–I and II–I) and cadence degrees (E, A and G)

⁷⁹ I am grateful to Dr Elliott for the use of his transcription of this piece.

are typical of the Phrygian mode, but there is one cadence on F, which is rare for this mode (Jeppesen 1992:82). This cadence (b.52–3) highlights the phrase “let me not cry in vane”—a phrase which is immediately repeated in S to a single reiterated note (Ex.7.73). Besides the usual crotchet and quaver passing notes, there are also crotchet accented passing notes (b.4, A, Ex.7.72; b.15, S). Most dissonant suspensions are 4–3 with some 7–6s and 9–8s and there are three examples of suspended sevenths which resolve by downward leap (bb.3 (A, Ex.7.72), 57 (S) and 61 (T)). (Might this be one reason for Wood’s description of the piece as “verray hard”?) There is only one example each of a decorated suspension (b.76, S) and double suspension (b.43, Ex.7.73), but there are six chains of suspensions (Ex.7.73). Three dissonant suspensions are intensified by the simultaneous sounding of the note of resolution (also a feature of some of Kemp’s psalm-settings) and on two occasions the suspension is prepared by a dissonance (bb.24 and 48, Ex.7.73). Aside from the syllabic nature of the setting, this anthem can be viewed as a smaller-scale post-Reformation successor to the style of Patrick Douglas’s *In convertendo* of, perhaps, ten years earlier.

David Peebles’s motet *Quam multi, Domine* is a setting of the Vulgate version of Ps 3 for four voices (SATB; MB xv:No. 9). Thomas Wood says of this piece that it was composed “at the command of ane venerable Father in God, Robart Commendatour of Sanctandrous, 1576”⁸⁰. Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness and (from 1578–80) Earl of Lennox, was apparently one of the first reforming bishops in Scotland (Donaldson 1987:53–67). Nevertheless, his musical associations with Peebles and James Lauder (Catholic servitor to Mary, Queen of Scots) suggest Stewart may have continued to hold Catholic sympathies. At any rate, Peebles must have relished the prospect of writing a Latin psalm-motet under the noses of Scotland’s leading Reformers⁸¹, particularly one with such emotive language:

Lord, how are they increased that trouble me! many are they that rise up against me ... I will not be afraid of ten thousands of people, that have set themselves against me round about ... ⁸².

The motet is cast in four main sections: stanzas 1–4 (bb.1–50); 5–7a (bb.51–79); 7b–8 (bb.80–112); and, finally, a doxology (bb.113–27). The texture throughout is a fluid mixture of homophony (which predominates) and

⁸⁰ TWT, p.149; Hutchison 1957 i:173; quoted in MB xv:205.

⁸¹ Ross (1993:72 and note 12) suggests the motet may have been commissioned as a response to the hard-line presbyterianism advocated by Andrew Melville around this time.

⁸² Translation from the Authorized Version.

imitative counterpoint (Elliott 1959:67). Imitative entries can be well spaced over a number of bars (as at bb.35–8 (Ex.7.74), 57–60 *etc.*) or packed very tightly together (e.g. bb.51–2 (Ex.7.75), 66–7, *etc.*); very often these are immediately and dramatically offset by a passage of homophonic declamation (e.g. bb.41f (Ex.7.74), 55f (Ex.7.75)). Imitation is used as an effective tool for word-painting (Elliott 1959:67f), for example at “*Serva me, Deus mi*” (“Save me, O my God”, bb.80–5, Ex.7.76) where each voice entry (B, T, A, S) introduces a dissonant suspension on “*serva*”, adding a sense of urgency to the plea for help. Elsewhere, the shape of the melodic lines reflects the meaning of the text, e.g. the angular imitative point accompanying “*adversum me*” (bb.70–3, Ex.7.77). The text-setting is almost entirely syllabic, in keeping with contemporary music, and Peebles pays careful attention to speech rhythms and accentuation, particularly in the triple-time doxology (Elliott 1959:67, Ex.7.79). The style of this motet, in particular its imaginative word-setting, has much in common with contemporary Continental music, particularly the madrigalian motets of Lassus (e.g. *Timor et tremor*, *Tristis est anima mea*, *Scio enim quod Redemptor*, all published in the mid 1560s; NG xiv:333).

These new styles of imitation and text-setting constitute the main differences with Peebles’s motet *Si quis diligit me* of around forty years earlier. Otherwise, there is the same use of functional harmony (evident in the “circle of fifths” progression in bb.45–50, Ex.7.74), similar passages of parallel thirds and sixths (e.g. bb.15f, S/T; 118f S/A, Ex.7.78), and crotchet passing dissonances (e.g. b.110). However, the harmonic rhythm is quicker than before. The cadences are almost entirely V^{+3} –I or IV–I (notably, plagal cadences are used to close each of the four main sections, Ex.7.74); and the main cadence degrees (A, G, D and C) reinforce the Aeolian mode of the work. There are only two cadences on E (unusual for this mode) which seem to accentuate the corresponding phrases “*non est certa illi*” (“There is no help for him [in God]”, b.14f) and “*Serva me*” (Save me [O my God]”, b.86f, Ex.7.76)—two phrases that underline the sentiment of the whole psalm. Nor has Peebles’s dissonance treatment changed much over the years. The same types of dissonant suspensions (mostly 4–3, some 7–6 and 9–8) are handled just as carefully as ever; and there are only isolated examples of chains of suspensions, double suspensions and decorated suspensions.

Despite the high quality of the music, this piece must be regarded as an

isolated achievement⁸³. It demonstrates Peebles's assimilation of contemporary Continental styles (Elliott 1959:69) but, (due to the circumstances of its composition, and particularly its use of Latin) *Quam multi, Domine* had little influence on the development of Scottish church music at large. Elliott (1959:69) suggests this piece may have been intended for private devotional use—it is certainly highly unlikely to have been performed in public.

Blackhall's three anthems are *Of mercy and of judgement both, Blessed art thou* and *Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord*, each set for five voices. According to Thomas Wood they were composed in 1569; 1575 and 1578 respectively, the last two as the result of commissions from the nobility.

Of mercy and of judgement both is a setting for SSTTB of the metrical version of Ps 101⁸⁴. The anthem is cast in two sections (rather like the psalm-motets of the pre-Reformation era): stanzas 1–5 (bb.1–73) and 6–8 (bb.74–124). This piece bears some resemblance to Peebles's *Quam multi, Domine*. In particular, both pieces exhibit the same fluid mixture of homophony and imitative counterpoint, though there is more imitation in Blackhall's music (Ex.7.79). In general, the first half of each quatrain begins with a new imitative point, and the second is declaimed homophonically.

Thomas Wood tells us that this anthem was "giffin in propyne [*i.e.* as a gift] to the kyng"⁸⁵ (now two or three years old) and Elliott (NG ii:769f) suggests the piece may have been "a bid for royal favour on the part of the composer" at a time when arrangements were being made for the king's education. The text certainly seems to justify such a hypothesis: "I will my ways with wisdom guide, till thou my state erect" (bb.16–23). In this context, Blackhall expertly employs dramatic changes of texture to underscore two particular passages of text which may be construed as criticisms of other, possibly over-confident, advances towards the king's advisers at this time. Stanza 4 is declaimed homophonically throughout, and stanza 5 begins with an unprecedented example of very close imitation (Ex.7.80):

[4] The frawart heart may take his leave,
 such sall nocht with me dwell,
 As for the proud and wicked man
 I will with with force expel.

⁸³ Peebles may, of course, have written other Latin motets in a similar style, but these are no longer extant.

⁸⁴ I am grateful to Dr Elliott for the use of his manuscript edition of this anthem.

⁸⁵ TWQ, p.5; Hutchison 1957 i:167.

[5] Whoso his neighbour doth backbite
 that man will I destroy,
 and whoso hath ane proud high look,
 this same will I annoy.

Blackhall's harmonic style in this anthem is consistent with that observed in his psalm- and report-settings. Most dissonant suspensions are 4–3s, with a few 7–6s and 2–3s, but only two 9–8s. A handful of suspensions have decorative resolutions (mostly *échappées*, Ex.7.80, bb.46 and 47) but there are only two double suspensions and one chain of suspensions. Almost all cadences in this anthem are $V^{4-3}-I$ and around half of these are further decorated by passing sevenths. Of the remaining cadences, four are $VIIb^{7-6}-I$ and one is an unusual $IV-I$ decorated by a double 9–8 suspension (b.51f, Ex.7.80). This anomalous cadence occurs at the end of stanza 4 and serves further to emphasize this passage of text (see above). The majority of cadences close on F major chords, but there is a definite sense of emerging tonality in Blackhall's modulations to other closely related keys (C and B-flat majors and D minor).

According to Wood, *Blessed art thou* (MB xv:No. 10) was "set & send be blakehall to my Lord mar at his first mariadge with my Lord of angus sister" in 1575*. However, as Elliott (1994a:267) notes, these facts do not add up. John, sixth Earl of Mar, was not married to an Angus; he died in 1572. His son, also John (the seventh earl), was only a minor in 1575. He married twice: first in 1580 and for the second time in 1592—again neither wife was an Angus (Paul 1904 v:615f, 621). It is possible that Wood, writing some time after the event, has inadvertently exchanged the names of the two noble families involved. He may, in fact, be referring to the first marriage of Archibald, eighth Earl of Angus, to Lady Mary Erskine, sister of John, seventh Earl of Mar (Paul 1904 i:196). However, this wedding took place on 13 June 1573, not in 1575. Lady Mary was the only daughter of the sixth Earl of Mar, who had been Regent of Scotland from 5 September 1571 until his death in October the following year. Her marriage, which took place in the High Kirk of Stirling (*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents*:334), would have been a grand occasion for which Blackhall's anthem would have been eminently suitable.

Appropriately, *Blessed art thou* (for SATTB) is a setting of the wedding psalm, Ps 128. The work is cast in one continuous movement and is more

* TWQ, p.7; TWC, p.174 and other of Thomas Wood's Partbooks; Hutchison 1957 i:170.

consistently contrapuntal than Blackhall's earlier anthem: almost every line of text has its own imitative point; only towards the cadences does the music become more homophonic (Ex.7.81). Occasionally, pairs of voices take imitative entries (e.g. bb.46–8, Ex.7.82). Blackhall cleverly employs word-painting at "Lyke frutefull vynes on the house sydes so shall thy wyff spring out" (bb.25–8, Ex.7.83): the twisted ascending imitative entries perfectly illustrate the vines. This passage is immediately followed by block chordal writing on the same words (bb.30–5, Ex.7.83), serving further to emphasize this text. The final twelve bars of the anthem are notable for their lack of imitation; although not homorhythmic, they are basically chordal in nature (Ex.7.84). As Elliott (1959:84) notes, these bars do not really constitute an effective end to the piece—there is no sense of culmination. The dissonance treatment and cadence progressions of *Blessed art thou* are very similar to those found in Blackhall's earlier anthem.

Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord (MB xv:No. 11) is a setting for SATTB of the metrical version of Ps 43. This anthem was commissioned from Blackhall by the Earl of Morton "quho presentit the sam [to] kyng Jamis the saxt at stirling in the moneth of february ... zeir of god, [1578]" (TWB, p.168). Morton had recently been deposed as Regent of Scotland, and was suspected of conspiring in the murder of James VI's father, Lord Darnley (see Elliott in NG ii:769f). Morton's plea for consideration of his cause is further enhanced by Blackhall's use of the *Miserere* plainsong as a *cantus firmus* for this anthem (see AS ii:6, 101). The chant is stated six times continuously in T₂ (Elliott 1959:84; in minims or repeated crotchets), one statement per stanza of metrical text (Ex.7.85). Blackhall preserves the original structure of the melody by underlaying its second half with the text of the second half of each quatrain. The texture throughout this piece is contrapuntal; there are no passages of homophony or declamation as seen in the earlier anthems. Due to the presence of a *cantus firmus*, Blackhall's use of imitation is less consistent and less well worked out than in the earlier pieces; however, he has involved the *cantus firmus* in the imitative texture at the beginning (which recalls the opening of Ps 18 in reports, Ex.7.85), and at bb.9–13 (Ex.7.85) and 21–5 (Ex.7.88; Elliott 1959:84f).

As Elliott (1959:85) notes, Blackhall's part-writing is less successful here than in his other music, undoubtedly due to the limiting presence of a *cantus firmus*. The *cantus firmus* also occasionally leads to some rather

awkward dissonances (e.g. bb.49 (Ex.7.86), 58), and other passages of complicated dissonance treatment (b.53, Ex.7.86). There are also some clashing quaver passing notes (b.70, Ex.7.87). Other features of this anthem include Blackhall's use of auxiliary and passing notes as well as his melodic use of *échappées* (these are no longer used simply to decorate dissonant suspensions, e.g. bb.22, A (Ex.7.88); 27, B; 74, B). Blackhall's use of dissonant suspensions and cadence progressions is consistent with his earlier style.

Blackhall's anthems are fine examples of an imaginative compositional technique. His use of simple rhythms, shapely melodic lines and fluid textures owes much to the influence of English styles and recalls music by Tye (e.g. *Give almes of thy goods*), Tallis (e.g. *If ye love me*), Mundy (e.g. *O Lord, the maker of all things*) and Morley (e.g. *Nolo mortem peccatoris*).

Although not strictly church music, the instrumental music of John Black deserves some mention here. Lessons on the psalms are contrapuntal consort pieces which present the proper psalm tune in the tenor register. (This part may possibly have been sung in performance, the other parts being taken by viols or even a keyboard instrument.) At least one of these pieces is known to be by Black (MB ix:No. 30), and three others are in a similar style (including MB xv:Nos. 81 and 82, edited from *The Art of Music*). These pieces were evidently intended for domestic performance and would also have formed part of the curriculum of the song schools where instruments were taught.

The Seventeenth Century

Congregations could not participate in the more advanced music discussed above. Indeed, some are sure to have found difficulty in learning the proper tunes for the psalms, which is not surprising given the large number of these tunes and their wide metrical variety. If ministers and precentors had contented themselves with the few proper tunes which we may suppose congregations to have learnt, then only a small proportion of psalms would have been available for use during worship. In an attempt to vary the diet of psalms, the practice began of using well-known tunes in equivalent metres as alternatives to the given proper tunes. Most of the psalms and tunes were in common or double common metre. The shorter, and therefore more easily memorable, common metre tunes quickly

established themselves as the most popular—common to the majority of psalms, as well as to congregations. As early as 1574, the churches in Edinburgh had found it necessary to instruct their precentors to “sing the salmis on the preching dayis in sic touns [= tunes] as ar maist colmoun for the kirk” (see p.160). This is the first reference to tunes in “common” use and comes just ten years after the publication of the first Scottish Psalter.

The growing use of such common tunes during the late sixteenth century is not documented in Scotland, though they make frequent appearance in English psalters of the period. The first collective appearance of twelve common tunes in the 1615 Scottish Psalter (published by Andrew Hart in Edinburgh) is testimony to their widespread use in Scottish churches. In this book, one of the twelve tunes is called “Old Common”⁸⁷. It had first appeared (untitled) in the 1564 Psalter (as the proper tune for Ps 108, Ex.7.89), but its 1615 name clearly indicates that it had been in use as a common tune for some time. Fig.7.5 (see next page) lists the common tunes found in seventeenth-century Scottish psalters. (Note that the tunes are not listed in order of appearance within each psalter, rather the entries in each row of the table represent the same tune, even if they have different names, as in the case of tunes 13, 14 and 19.) *Old Common* is of Scottish origin, as are all the common tunes in the 1615 Psalter, except *English* and *Dundie*, both of which first appeared in English publications by William Daman (Frost 1953:Nos. 19 and 129). These twelve tunes made up the nucleus of all subsequent Scottish psalters⁸⁸; seven of the twelve are still in use today⁸⁹.

Common tunes (without harmonies) continued to appear in editions of the psalter after 1615 (Cowan 1913:88ff). It should be noted that the rhythm of the tune itself (and, consequently, that of the harmony parts in later editions) was subject to some degree of variation between editions (*cf.* the versions of *French* and *Abbay*, Exx.7.90 and 7.91). However, several tunes bear the same rhythmic pattern for each of their four phrases (in the present

⁸⁷ The custom of naming common tunes dates from the late sixteenth century (Este applied names to some of the tunes in his 1592 Psalter; Frost 1953:25). The names served as a useful means of identifying the proliferation of tunes of the same length, having no connection with any particular psalm. The majority are named after towns, possibly the centres of activity of their composers, although some tunes were known by various names.

⁸⁸ However, tune 12 was replaced by tune 14 in the 1633 publication and in all publications from 1666 onwards.

⁸⁹ *The Church Hymnary* (third edition, 1973) Hymn Nos. 139, 543, 127, 101, 136, 635, 377, 663, 73, 393, 457, 7, 107, 242, 670; and *The Scottish Psalter* (1929) Tune Nos. 50, 61, 146, 52, 51, 24, 86.

edition): minim—six (or four) crotchets—minim. Minim-rests were frequently used to indicate barlines at phrase-ends in early editions of the psalters. These were replaced by barlines in the editions of 1635 and 1666.

	1615 Psalter	1625 Psalter	1633 Psalter	1634 Psalter	1635 Psalter	1666 Collection	No. in Frost
1	Old Common	Old Common	OldeCommon	Old Common	Old Common	Old Common	121
2	Kings	Kings	Kings	Kings	Kings	Kings	202
3	Dukes	Dukes	Dukes	Dukes	Dukes	Dukes	203
4	English*	English*	English*	English*	English*	English*	19
5	French	French	French	French	French	French	204
6	London	London	London	London	London	London	42b
7	Stilt	The Stilt	Stilt	The Stilt	Stilt	Stilt	205
8	Dumfermling	Dumfermling	Dumfermling	Dumfermling	Dumfermling [a5]	Dumfermling	206
9	Dundie*	Dundie*	Dundie*	Dundie*	Dundie*	Dundie*	129
10	Abbey	Abbay	Abbay	Abbay	Abbay	Abbay	207
11	Martyrs	Martyrs	Martyres	Martyrs	Martyrs	Martyrs	209
12	Glasgow	Glasgow		Glasgow	Glasgow		208
13		Montrose*	Glasgow*		Monros*		111
14		Elgin	Elgin	S. Johnstoun	Elgin	Elgine	210
15		Bon Accord†	Bon Accord†		[Ps 12 in Reports]†	Bon Accord†	211
16			Montrose†		[Ps 21 in reports]†		212
17				Cheshire*	Cheshire*		172a
18				Culros	Culros [a5]		213
19				Galloway	Glaston		214, 215
20					Wigton		216
21					Innernes		217
22					Iedburgh		218
23					Couper		219
24					Glenluce		220
25					Irving		221
26					Newtoun		222
27					Galloway		—
28					Melros		223
29					Dumbar		224
30					Maxtoun		225
31					Cathnes		226
32					Durhame*		236
33					Winchester*		103
34						Psal XXV‡	44

Fig.7.5: Common tunes in Seventeenth-century Scottish Psalters
†= report-setting of a common metre tune;
‡= proper-tune setting, included among the common-tune settings;
*= common tune of English origin (the remainder are Scottish).

The next stage in the development of common tunes was their publication in four-part harmony. Published harmonizations of common metre tunes had been current in England since the 1590s. Scottish psalters naturally followed their lead (and in some cases borrowed English settings). The first two Scottish psalters to contain harmonized common tunes were issued in 1625 and 1633. Both works were published in Aberdeen "by Edward Raban, for David Melvill" (Elliott 1961a:22). David, a bookseller in the town, was the brother of Andrew Melvill, who was then a teacher at St Nicholas's song school in Aberdeen. Elliott (1961a:22) has therefore suggested Andrew Melvill as the likely editor of the music contained in these two books (but see below).

The common tune settings of the 1625 Psalter are all anonymous, although they are preceded by the following advertisement:

Heere follow the Common Tunes / in foure parts in more perfect
/ forme than ever heere-to-fore: / together with the tunes to the /
whole Psalmes, diligently / revised and amended, / by the most
expert / musicians in / Aberdene⁹⁰.

In this edition (and those of 1633 and 1634) the four voice parts are presented one below the other on the same page, though not in score layout. Three new tunes are added to the nucleus of twelve common tunes: *Montrose*, *Elgin*, and *Bon Accord*. *Montrose* is identical to the setting of this tune by Richard Allison in Este's 1592 English Psalter (there named "Kentish"; Elliott 1961a:23, Frost 1953:No. 111). *Elgin* is a new tune and setting and therefore possibly the work of one of the "expert musicians in Aberdene", i.e. Patrick Davidson (master of the song school) or Andrew Melvill (doctor at the song school). *Bon Accord* is, more properly, a report-setting of a common tune and is therefore discussed below. The title of this tune is the motto of the city of Aberdeen; this setting is therefore almost certainly a local work.

The common tune settings in the 1625 Psalter recall the simplest of the proper tune settings of the previous century. The majority of chords are in root position; all the settings are homophonic and homorhythmic, except for occasional passing notes (including accented passing notes and passing sevenths); and quaver harmony notes are cleverly used to avoid

⁹⁰ Copies of the 1625 Psalter consulted: National Library of Scotland F.6.b.6 and Glasgow University Library F.f.5 (lacking this notice). The notice is also quoted in Livingston 1864:19 and Frost 1953:39.

consecutive fifths or octaves (see Ex.7.91a). Most cadences are perfect or imperfect; one is approached by a cadential six-four chord and another forms the progression II^7b-V-I (Ex.7.90a). There are relatively few dissonant suspensions: all are 4–3 and all occur in T, except for two in S in *Montrose*, the setting of which is by Richard Allison. Another characteristic of two of these settings is the decoration of the final cadence by a descending quaver scale in S (*Dumfermling* and *English*; see Ex.7.93a). This feature is found in English music of this period, e.g. that of Gibbons (Ex.7.93f, b.11, S₂).

The alto part of *Dumfermling* is set extremely low—regularly below the tenor and often more than an octave beneath the soprano (Ex.7.93). This is a very curious feature of all the seventeenth-century printed editions of this tune. The psalter editors must have realized that placing the alto part an octave higher, and the soprano an octave lower, achieves a much more satisfactory arrangement of vocal lines. However, it may be the case that the original setting of *Dumfermling* was actually in five parts, not four, for this is how it appears in the 1635 Psalter (Ex.7.93d). Either the quintus part had been lost or omitted and then recovered by Edward Millar for the 1635 Psalter, or this additional part was Millar's attempt at improving the vocal balance of this setting.

The 1633 Psalter is based on the earlier publication⁹¹. The contents of the two volumes are the same except for the omission of tune 12, the renaming of tune 13 and the addition of a new common-tune report-setting (discussed below). The settings in each psalter are broadly similar: the tenor parts (i.e. the tunes) are almost identical, the other parts have a handful of different notes per setting. The settings of *Kings, Dukes, French* (Ex.7.90) and *Glasgow* [= 1625 *Montrose*, Ex.7.92] are the most dissimilar. There are, however, some more striking differences between the two editions. The common tune settings of the 1633 Psalter have far fewer first inversion chords, no six-four chords, no six-five chords, no quaver motion of any kind, and only one 4–3 suspension (in T, *Abbay*, Ex.7.91b). Furthermore there appear to be only three printing errors in this edition (compared with around fifteen in the earlier publication). The 1633 Psalter seems to be a very pure “distilled” form of the 1625 Psalter. The puritanical deletion of passing notes and dissonant suspensions suggests the later volume is the work of a different editor. Patrick Davidson and Andrew Melvill were the foremost musicians in Aberdeen around this time (see pp.93f, 96). Others

⁹¹ Copy consulted: Glasgow University Library Bl6–1.22.

were Patrick Walter (who is unlikely to have edited either psalter since he appears to have been less than satisfactory in his duties, see p.87) and Gilbert Ross (1628 to c. 1641, see p.87f). Davidson was probably the better musician, for he had been educated in Italy (Guthrie Wright 1900:122–3, see p.93). As master of the song school he is the likely editor of the 1635 Psalter. Davidson is last mentioned in 1633/4, by which time he was of an “old decrepit age” (Stuart 1852:150). The 1633 Psalter is therefore more likely to be the work of Andrew Melvill, brother of David Melvill, the bookseller for whom the volume was printed.

Another interesting fact presents itself in relation to this book. A practice had begun in 1601 of presenting the prose text of the psalms in the margin alongside the metrical text⁹². The prose text used in every edition of the Scottish Psalter was that of the Geneva Bible, except in the case of the 1633 edition where the prose is taken from the 1611 King James Authorized Version (McMillan 1931:86). There may possibly be a link between this psalter and royal events that year. 1633 was the year in which Charles I visited Scotland for his coronation; and the Anglican Church, of which he was the head, was by now using the Authorized Version in its services (Gee 1912). Although it appears that Charles did not visit Aberdeen after the coronation, it is interesting to note that the Bishop of Brechin officiated at the ceremony (Hutchison 1945:211) and that Aberdeen was at this time a stronghold of Episcopalianism. Perhaps the bishop presented Charles with the psalter as a small gift from his loyal northern shire⁹³.

The psalters of 1634 and 1635 were published in Edinburgh by the “heires of Andro Hart” (Hart himself had published the 1615 Psalter, the first to contain a group of common tunes). The 1634 Psalter⁹⁴ has the same musical contents as the 1615 Psalter with the addition of *Elgin* (called “S. Johnstovn”⁹⁵), *Cheshire*, *Culros* and *Galloway*. This is the first appearance in print of *Culros* and *Galloway*. The former tune and/or setting may be the work of Edward Millar as it first appears in a set of manuscript psalm-settings by Millar dated 1626 (Cowan 1913:89)⁹⁶. (Sadly,

⁹² Cowan (1913) lists such an edition of the Scottish Psalter which had been printed at Dort (now Dordrecht), Holland, in 1601. The practice seems to have originated in Holland (McMillan 1931:86).

⁹³ This speculation may account for the thorough editing of the 1633 Psalter, containing only three printing errors in the part-music.

⁹⁴ Copy consulted: National Library of Scotland Hall.149.k.

⁹⁵ St. Johnstone is another name for Perth, but all other printed psalters call this tune “Elgin”.

⁹⁶ 1634 *Culros* is published in Elliott 1960a.

the manuscript now appears to be lost; Elliott 1961a:24.) The setting of *Cheshire* is nearly identical with that by John Farmer in Thomas Este's 1592 edition of the English Psalter (Elliott 1961a:23, Frost 1953:No. 172a). There are no report-settings of common tunes in the 1634 Psalter.

A conspicuous feature of this Psalter is the blandness of its rhythms: as in the 1633 edition, there is no quaver motion at all and almost every phrase of each of the sixteen settings has the rhythm: minim—six (or four) crotchets—minim. The more subtle rhythms of earlier psalters appear to have been “ironed out by the deadly hand of Presbyterianism Triumphant” (Elliott & Rimmer 1973:32). However, compared with earlier editions, there are more first inversion chords, $\text{II}^{\flat}\text{b}-\text{V}-\text{I}$ progressions, and 4–3 suspensions (in T, A and S) in the 1634 Psalter (but note that there are no cadential six-four chords).

The third phrase of *French* (Ex.7.90c) is unusual in that A suddenly drops below T, leaving a large and incongruous gap between the upper parts. S and A here resemble a reversal of the upper parts of the same phrase of the 1633 setting (although the other phrases are not so similar, Ex.7.90b). This rather poor instance of editing anticipates Edward Millar's 1635 Psalter, where psalm-settings appear to have been pieced together from various different sources (see below).

Glasgow (Ex.7.92b) is worthy of note in that it displays a fleeting example of detail imitation. The curious upward leap of a seventh at the end of the tune's third phrase is anticipated by B earlier in the phrase, and then immediately imitated by B and S (Ex.7.92b, b.3f). Two of these leaps do not occur in earlier printed settings, so it appears the editor has given some thought to musical interest here.

The 1635 Psalter is also known as the “Great Psalter”, being the pinnacle of seventeenth-century Scottish psalmody”. It presented in print, for the first time, harmonizations of 104 proper tunes, 31 common tunes and 8 psalms in reports. The psalter was edited by Edward Millar, then Director of Music at the Chapel Royal of Scotland. Here is part of the first section of Millar's preface “To the Gentle Reader”:

... there is added [to This book of Psalmes] the sweet ornament of Musick, in four or mo parts throughout the whole Psalmes:
Besides a great many Common Tunes, some grave, some light,

⁷⁷ Neil Livingston produced a study of this volume in 1864. His lavish book comprises a “facsimile” reproduction of the 1635 Psalter (with the parts in original notation in score layout) supplemented by various essays. Livingston's volume was reprinted (without the essays) in Terry (1935). Original copy consulted: Glasgow University Library Mu41-h.36.

fitting diverse dispositions: As also some Psalmes in reports, for the further delight of qualified persons in the said Art. ... The motives moving mee hereunto, are chiefly GODS glorie, the advancement of this Art, the saving of paines to Teachers hereof; the incitation of others to greater acts of this kind, the earnest desire of some well affected, the imployment of my poor talent; together with an abuse observed in all churches, where sundrie Tribles, Bases and Counters set by diverse Authors, being sung upon one, and the same Tenor, do discordingly rub each upon another, offending both Musicall, and rude, ears, which never tasted of this art: which unhappie fault I thought might happily bee helped, and the church Musick made more plausible by publishing this Booke. I acknowledge sinceerely the whole compositions of the parts to belong to the primest Musicians that ever this kingdome had, as *Deane John Angus, Blackhall, Smith, Peebles, Sharp*⁹⁸, *Black, Buchan* and others famous for their skill in this kind ... The first copies of these parts were doubtlesly right set down by these skilfull Authors, but have beene wronged and vitiat [= interfered with] by unskilfull copiers thereof, as all things are injured by tyme: and heerin consisted a part of my paines, that collecting all the sets I could find on the Psalmes, after painfull tryall thereof, I selected the best for this work, according to my simple judgement⁹⁹.

Following this, Millar embarks upon a very long diatribe admonishing others not to criticize his labours unjustly. He also acknowledges that the editing and proof-reading of the music are entirely his own work; he did not involve his colleagues at the Chapel Royal "for it beseemeth not Eagles to catch flies, and their braines are reserved for higher straines"!

Millar's comments regarding the common tunes seem to imply that tunes (grave or light) should be chosen to suit the mood of the text (or perhaps of the occasion). The common tunes are laid out quite differently from the previous psalters, in tablebook format with the "Tenor" and "Contra[tenor]" printed on the left-hand page, and the "Treble" and "Bassus" upside down on the right-hand page.

As can be seen from Fig.7.5 (p.306), the 1635 Psalter presents the most complete collection of Scottish common-tune settings, including fourteen new to Scottish publications¹⁰⁰. Twelve common tunes new to this edition, possibly the work of Millar himself, are: *Wigton, Innernes, Iedburgh*,

⁹⁸ The composer Sharp remains unidentified (original italics).

⁹⁹ The full preface can be found in Livingston (1864:xvi) and Terry (1935:xvi).

¹⁰⁰ The tunes known as *Bon Accord* and *Montrose* appear among the collection of psalms in reports in this edition of the psalter.

Couper, Glenluce, Irving (Ex.7.94), *Newtoun, Galloway*¹⁰¹, *Melros, Dunbar* (Ex.7.95), *Maxtoun*¹⁰² and *Cathnes*. However, it is not clear to what extent these new tunes were ever considered “common” for they do not reappear in later publications and seldom in manuscripts. The settings of *Winchester* and *Durhame* are by Thomas Ravenscroft from his psalter of 1621 (Elliott 1961a:23)¹⁰³.

Just as the two Aberdeen psalters are closely related in terms of content and harmony, so too are the two Edinburgh psalters of 1634 and 1635. Of the sixteen common-tune settings found in both these collections, most are substantially the same but for the addition of quaver (and even semiquaver) passing, changing and auxiliary notes, *échappées* and some dotted rhythms. Only three tunes have significantly different settings: *Dukes, Stilt* and *Abbay* (Ex.7.91d). Some phrases appear to resemble settings from other sources (e.g. many of the decorative notes in *Glasgow* recall the 1625 setting of this tune, Ex.7.92a and c). Millar appears to have corrected the fault in 1634 *French* where A suddenly stoops quite low in phrase three—not by reversing the parts, but by keeping S and rewriting A (Ex.7.90c and d). The settings of *Culros* and *Dumfermling* are practically identical in both sources, but a fifth part has been added to each (between S and A) in 1635 (Ex.7.93c and d).

Old Common (Ex.7.89e) displays an interesting instance of retrograde motion: the third phrase is in fact an identical reversal in all parts of the first phrase (with the addition of an F#). The harmonies are no different from those in 1634, but the upward leap of an octave in B of the first phrase brings about the required change. This is the first occurrence of the leap in a printed edition, so we can assume that Millar changed this note on purpose.

The common-tune settings in this edition contain roughly the same

¹⁰¹ Frost (1953:42) states incorrectly that 1635 *Galloway* is taken from the 1634 Psalter. I have not encountered this tune or setting elsewhere and Frost does not quote it under an alternative name. Compounding the error, Frost (1953:262) claims that *Glaston* is new to the 1635 Psalter when, in fact, its tune and harmonies are practically identical to those of *Galloway* in the 1634 Psalter. *Glaston* is a village in Leicestershire, but it seems unlikely that Edward Millar would rename a Scottish tune after a small settlement so far south of the border. Perhaps “*Glaston*” is a misprint for “*Galston*”, a town in Ayrshire, 4 miles east of Kilmarnock.

¹⁰² Maxton is a village 7 miles south-west of Kelso. It is interesting to note the high proportion of tunes named after towns in the borders and west of Scotland in this list: *Irvine, Wigtown, Glenluce, Galloway, Melrose, Maxton, Dunbar* and possibly *Galston/Glaston* (see previous note). “*Newtoun*” may refer to any of a number of different towns and villages in Scotland (see Munro 1973:271f).

¹⁰³ Likewise, the setting of *Cheshire* is almost identical to John Farmer’s setting of this tune in Este’s 1592 Psalter.

proportion of first inversion chords as the 1634 edition (around 7–8% of all chords). There are also some $\text{II}^{\flat}\text{b-V-I}$ and Ic-V-I cadence progressions. Dissonant suspensions are still mostly 4–3, though these are found equally in T and S now, and there are two in A. In addition, there are a handful of 7–6 suspensions (in S and A), and one 9–8 suspension (in A). There is even an example of a chain of quaver suspensions (Ex.7.94) and one double suspension (Ex.7.95, b.1, S/A). These statistics show that the dissonance treatment in these settings is a good deal more varied than in the earlier collection. This suggests the volumes were edited by different men (this proposition is supported by the appearance of more lively rhythms in the later edition). If this is the case, then Patrick Henderson, master of St Giles's song school in Edinburgh, would seem the most likely editor of the 1634 volume. (Henderson was a hard-line Presbyterian, Millar an avowed Episcopalian—the musical differences between the settings may reveal more than simply differences in musical taste. Perhaps Andrew Melvill, the most likely editor of the musically puritanical 1633 Psalter, was an equally pious Presbyterian.)

As Millar himself suggests in his preface, his standard of editing is occasionally somewhat deficient: witness the consecutive fifth in b.2 of *French* (S/A, caused by the introduction of a passing note, Ex.7.90d), and the irregular resolution of a suspended seventh in b.3 of *Culros* (A, Ex.7.96); similar weaknesses are found elsewhere in the settings of common and proper tunes. The setting of *Glasgow* provides a first rate example of Millar's bizarre editing technique (Ex.7.92c). The setting is basically the same as that in the 1634 Psalter, but *that* version has two errors in b.1 (A; cf. the 1625 version). Rather than correct these mistakes, Millar has inserted passing and auxiliary notes, resulting in some awkward dissonances—presumably he was more interested in achieving imitation between A, B and S. Then, curiously, the incorrect fifth soprano note in the same bar has been left uncorrected. Finally, the remaining quaver motion found in this setting is taken almost verbatim from the 1625 setting.

The following table lists the eight psalms in reports found in this psalter. None of the voice parts is underlaid with text. All are laid out in tablebook format.

<u>Psalm in reports</u>	<u>No. of voices</u>	<u>Church part in ...</u>	<u>Composer</u>
6	4	T	[John Angus?]
12	4	S	[Patrick Davidson?]
18	5	S	[Andrew Blackhall?]
21	4	S	[Andrew Melvill?]
113	4	T	[Claude Goudimel]
116	4	T	[Edward Millar?]
120	4	S	[Edward Millar?]
137	4	T	[Andrew Blackhall]

Pss 113 and 137 date from the sixteenth century; Pss 6 and 18 are similar in style and all have been discussed in the previous section. Pss 12 and 21 first appeared in the Aberdeen psalters of 1625 and 1633 where they were known as *Bon Accord* and *Montrose* respectively (see Fig.7.5; Exx.7.97, 7.98). They may well be the work of the editors of these volumes (possibly Davidson and Melvill). Pss 116 and 120 are new to the 1635 Psalter and so may be the work of Edward Millar (Elliott 1961a:23; Exx.7.99, 7.100). Millar's preface makes it clear that these pieces were intended for performance by trained musicians, whilst the whole book was written for "the saving of paines to Teachers [of music]". Psalms in reports were undoubtedly sung by song school pupils up and down the country.

The settings of *Bon Accord* (Ps 12 in reports, Ex.7.97) are basically the same in each of the four editions in which this tune appears (although Millar has added some more passing and auxiliary notes in the 1635 edition, as well as a repeat of the second half). The setting is very simple: the music begins and ends homophonically, while the second half of each stanza begins with imitation of the psalm tune. *Montrose* (Ps 21 in reports, Ex.7.98) follows exactly the same pattern—even the imitative point is similar to that in *Bon Accord*. However, the syncopated rhythms in this setting make it more interesting, and the composer has even attempted to continue the imitation one stage further than normal by repeating the descending scale in the middle of the S phrase (b.8). The long rest in the middle of S (the "church part") is quite unlike other psalms in reports, where the tune continues uninterrupted save for occasional minim rests at the end of each half stanza. This suggests both pieces may originally have been conceived as contrapuntal entities, rather than being constructed upon a pre-existent proper psalm tune in the manner of the other psalms in reports. (The same is also true of William Daman's report-settings in his 1591 publication, see p.296.)

Ps 120 in reports (Ex.7.100) is similar in style to the last two settings, but has barely any imitation at all (see bb.6–8)¹⁰⁴. The tune appears to be in S¹⁰⁵ (since this part involves no text repetition) but it is not the same as the proper tune given for Ps 120 in any psalter listed by Frost (1953). Ps 116 in reports (Ex.7.99) presents the Scottish proper tune (Frost 1953:No. 128) in T with the addition of a few passing notes. The setting is largely homophonic but the composer (Millar?) has managed to introduce a little imitation based upon each phrase of the tune, generally by using note-values quicker than those of the tune itself. The harmonic style of Pss 12, 21, 116 and 120 in reports is somewhat simpler than that of Andrew Blackhall. As Elliott (1961a:23) notes, these settings are much less contrapuntal and more decorative than the Scottish report-settings of the late sixteenth century; they are also much simpler in style than the report settings by William Daman of 1591 (*cf.* Frost 1953:Nos. 45, 129, 165).

The 104 harmonizations of proper tunes in the 1635 Psalter are all anonymous¹⁰⁶. There are two settings of Ps 124, the first a setting of the usual Anglo-Genevan tune (Frost 1953:No. 139), the second (much simpler) setting is of a tune not found elsewhere (Ex.7.101). This second version is probably the work of Edward Millar since it also appears in a collection of manuscript psalm-settings by him (Cowan 1913:89). Ps 62 is in five parts. Individual psalm-settings in this psalter can be identified from manuscript sources as the work of David Peebles (*e.g.* Pss 78, 85, 107), Andrew Kemp (Pss 52, 66, 69, 82, 146) and John Buchan (Ps 67). In his preface Millar acknowledges the remaining music to be the work of these men as well as John Angus, Andrew Blackhall, Alexander Smith, Sharp, John Black “and others”. However, it seems unlikely that we shall ever be able accurately to identify these composers’ contributions since, as Elliott (1961a:28f) has shown, some harmonizations appear to be composite settings, cobbled together out of settings by various different composers. In seeking to redress the “abuse observed in all churches” (see preface), Millar too has lost sight of the original harmonizations.

¹⁰⁴ The original part names “Treble” and “Contra” appear to have been interchanged in the 1635 edition. Frost (1953:290) corrects this fault (without comment) by transposing the original 1635 Treble up an octave so that it lies above (rather than below) the Contra. The edition by the present author (Ex.7.100) retains all the original pitches but corrects and modernizes the part labels. See Elliott 1961a:27n for further errors in Livingston (1864), Terry (1935) and Frost (1953).

¹⁰⁵ *I.e.* S in the present edition (Ex.7.100).

¹⁰⁶ Elliott’s editions of Pss 1, 18, 113 and 124 [i] appear in MB xv; Pss 1, 100 and 110 appear in Elliott 1960a; and Ps 88 appears in Elliott 1961a.

As observed in Millar's editions of the common tunes, the proper-tune settings feature many passing and auxiliary notes making attractive harmonizations. Many settings are of high quality (e.g. Pss 1 (MB xv: No. 17), 7, 16 (Ex.7.102), 76 (Ex.7.103) and those identified as the work of Peebles, Kemp and Buchan). Some settings suffer from poor editing, exhibiting occasional consecutive octaves or fifths (which had been so assiduously avoided by Peebles) and other printing errors. (By far the worst edited example is Ps 50, Ex.7.104, b.5f; relatively few of the harmonizations have more than two or three errors each.)

Seventeenth-century psalmody was also current in manuscript form. Elliott (1959:257ff) has discussed the contents of the following manuscripts: the addenda to Thomas Wood's Partbooks (of c. 1620) contain settings of common tunes in four and five parts, copied in a later hand; Duncan Burnett's Music Book (c. 1610) contains three common-tune settings (besides Kemp's proper-tune settings); the Rowallan Cantus Partbook (c. 1627–37; Edinburgh University Library MS La.III.488) contains twelve common tunes and the treble parts of three seventeenth-century report settings and various proper tunes; Lady Anne Ker's Music Book (c. 1625–35; National Library of Scotland MS 5448) contains seventeen common tunes; William Stirling's Cantus Partbook (c. 1639; National Library of Scotland Adv. MS 5.2.14) contains eighteen proper tunes, ten common tunes and fourteen common-tune settings; Edward Millar's Music Book (dated 1643) contains 53 proper tunes and fifteen four-part common-tune settings¹⁰⁷. Robert Edwards's Commonplace Book (c. 1630–65; National Library of Scotland MS 9450) contains parts of thirteen proper-tune settings and the upper three voices of twelve five-part common-tune settings (Elliott 1961b:54). All of the psalm-settings contained in these manuscripts rely to a greater or lesser degree on the printed psalters so far discussed. The circulation of psalm-settings in manuscripts obviously belonging to amateur musicians suggests the part-singing of psalms also took place outside church, in a domestic context. This practice seems to have been commonplace by the mid-seventeenth century as it is specifically mentioned in the prefatory matter of the 1650 Psalter (discussed below). (Although outwith the scope of the present study, mention should also be made here of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century songs with (sometimes

¹⁰⁷ Another manuscript, also compiled by Millar and dated 1626, was described by Cowan (1913:89) but now appears to be lost. This book probably contained the groundwork for the 1635 Psalter.

alternative) religious or moralizing texts, which were also intended for private performance, e.g. MB xv:Nos. 31, 36, 37, 48, 62, 69; MusScot ii:Nos. 7, 10, 12, 18, 23, 25, 43, 54; and the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, see pp.115, 121f.)

Scottish church music suffered a marked decline during the second half of the seventeenth century. A new version of the psalms in metre was authorized for exclusive use in Scotland by the General Assembly in 1649. This psalter was published in 1650—without music—and remains the psalter in use today. All the psalms had been made into common metre, although a handful also appeared in an alternative metrical guise¹⁰⁸. The reduction in the number of different metres from thirty to only six rendered redundant at least 26 proper tunes and two psalms in reports, almost overnight. Very few of the remaining proper tunes are likely to have survived this extraordinary purge. Indeed, proper tunes and settings were omitted altogether from all editions of the psalter after 1650. Instead, separate collections of harmonized common tunes were published. The first of these dates from 1666 and was printed by John Forbes in Aberdeen. Thomas Davidson, master of the music school (and the son of Patrick Davidson) had edited a collection of secular songs for Forbes in 1662 (*Songs and Fancies, To Thre, Foure, or Five Parties*). It seems likely that he would also have edited the 1666 collection of psalm tunes (Elliott 1961a:22).

The 1666 psalm tune collection¹⁰⁹ contains twelve common tunes, as well as *Bon Accord* and a setting of the double short metre proper tune for Ps 25—the inclusion of this tune suggests this psalm was a particular favourite, at least of Aberdeenshire congregations (Ex.7.106)¹¹⁰. Its setting is very similar to the harmonization of Ps 25 in the 1635 Psalter. The settings of the common tunes and *Bon Accord* are practically identical to those found in the 1633 Aberdeen Psalter. The biggest difference is in the setting of *Elgin*: S, T and B of this edition are almost the same as those of the 1633 edition, but A is quite different and unlike any other printed edition. Thomas Davidson (if he is the editor) seems to have taken this part from another source but with disastrous results, for it creates seven consecutive

¹⁰⁸ There are two versions of each of the following psalms, one in common metre, the other in the metre indicated in brackets: Pss 6, 100, 102, 145 (long metre); Pss 25, 45, 50, 67, 70 (short metre); Ps 124 (10 10 10 10 10); Pss 136, 148 (6666 88); Ps 143 (6666).

¹⁰⁹ Copy consulted: facsimile (in Dr Elliott's possession) of an original copy in the Henry E Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

¹¹⁰ It is one of the thirteen psalms which appeared in two different metrical versions in the 1650 Psalter (see footnote 108). It seems to have remained popular elsewhere too, for Patrick (1949:111f) relates the story of one Margaret Wilson who sang this psalm at her execution by drowning in the Water of Bladnoch (near Wigtown).

octaves or fifths (Ex.7.105b). Similarly, the remaining music of this psalter has been less well edited than that of its impeccable predecessor. The 1666 tune collection was reprinted four times in Aberdeen between 1671 and 1720 (Cowan 1921:28-9). The setting of Ps 25 was dropped from the last two editions.

Various late seventeenth-century manuscripts also contain psalm-settings. John Squyer's Music Book (c. 1699-1701) contains two proper tunes: one for Ps 119, the other accompanies both Pss 136 and 148¹¹¹ (Elliott 1959:347). Louis de France's Music Book (c. 1680) contains nine four-part common-tune settings and the treble of Ps 12 in reports (Elliott 1959:341f). These items are similar to the settings of the 1625, 1633 and 1635 Psalters. Various other notebooks dating from the late seventeenth century also contain psalm tunes and harmonizations, e.g. Colin Campbell's Notebooks and Walter Ponton's Notebook (both of which rely heavily on the 1666 and 1635 publications) and National Library of Scotland Wodr. MS.xix and Adv MSS 5.2.11 and 5.2.16. The Borthwick Manuscript (a similar type of notebook containing lecture notes and musical rudiments dating from around 1670)¹¹² contains thirteen four-part settings of common tunes. The settings therein resemble the music of the 1666 collection of psalm tunes.

¹¹¹ Pss 136 and 148 were two of the thirteen psalms with alternative metrical versions in the 1650 Psalter.

¹¹² Presently in the possession of Mr Larry Hutcheson, bookseller, Dunfermline.

Conclusion

The present study has attempted to show the extent to which the local cultivation of church music in Scotland was affected by the three vital aspects of Scottish society outlined in the Introduction: the Crown, the Church and the People.

Relatively little is known of the state of church music in Scotland during the fifteenth century—unfortunately there is no extant identifiable Scottish music from this period. However, the extent of musical education can be deduced from the attachment of song schools to cathedrals and collegiate churches; the singing boys and men formed the choirs of these establishments. Only six collegiate churches had been founded before 1400; almost four times this number were endowed during the fifteenth century, and around twenty more were established during the first half of the sixteenth century (McNeill & MacQueen 1996:346). The growth in number of these musical establishments and their spread from central Scotland to more outlying areas undoubtedly inspired the setting up of song schools attached to parish churches. Even relatively remote towns such as Inverness and Kirkwall could boast song schools during the early sixteenth century.

At this time the Church took great pride in its music. Musicians at cathedrals and collegiate churches were well provided for with benefices and pay for additional duties. Parish song schools and their teachers were usually supported by the burgh council. The song school curriculum mainly consisted of instruction in plainsong, pricksong, figuration, faburden, descant, countering and, in some places, organ playing (see p.74). In addition, reading, writing and grammar were also taught at song schools. Their purpose was primarily to meet the elaborate musical demands of the liturgy whilst also preparing boys for a university education (possibly followed by entry to the priesthood).

The Crown, too, played its part in the advancement of church music. By far the largest collegiate church to be endowed in Scotland was that at Stirling Castle—the Chapel Royal, reorganized by James IV in 1501. This large and important body of musicians undoubtedly provided the impetus for greater musical endeavours. Tragically, zealous Reformers consigned much of the nation's musical heritage to the fire; but, from the little extant music of this period, it is clear that Robert Carver emerges as the foremost Scottish composer of his generation.

Scottish church music of the first half of the sixteenth century shows a shift away from the elaborate decorative style of Carver's early music (and that of the Eton Choirbook) to a more refined and gradually more structurally imitative High Renaissance style, as seen in the music of Patrick Douglas. Carver's music (preserved in the Carver Choirbook), along with that of Robert Johnson, David Peebles, Patrick Douglas and other anonymous composers, displays characteristics which may be Scottish as well as showing the influence of contemporary English and Continental sacred music. Scotland, far from being insular, was an important trading nation in northern Europe and benefited greatly from cultural exchanges with England and France in particular. Testament to this is the large amount of sacred music by English and Continental composers extant in Scottish manuscripts. The Carver Choirbook contains music by Nesbett, Lambe, Cornysh and Fayrfax as well as two Mass-settings which may be the work of Walter Frye; the music of Tye and Tallis is found in Thomas Wood's Partbooks, and seventeenth-century manuscripts¹; and part of a Mass by Thomas Ashwell is recorded in the Dowglas-Fische[ar] Partbooks. This last collection comprises mainly Continental music, including works by Certon, Lupi, Claudin, Josquin, Willaert and Jacquet. The Art of Music (dating from the late sixteenth century) contains a good deal of Continental music from the first half of the century. Besides the composers already mentioned, this treatise includes music by La Rue, Isaac and Ockeghem. Dufay's Mass *L'Homme armé* is recorded in the Carver Choirbook; music by Clemens is found in Thomas Wood's Partbooks; and music by Arcadelt was also known in Scotland (preserved in David Melvill's Bassus Partbook and Alexander Forbes's Cantus Partbook).

Music by these Scottish and foreign composers formed the repertoire of the cathedrals and larger collegiate churches. However, small parish churches, with limited musical resources, cultivated simpler polyphonic music, such as the faburden processional of the Inverness Fragments (Allenson 1989) and the Mass *Conditor Kyrie omnium* (discussed in Chapter 7).

Meanwhile, the People were beginning to play their part in the unfolding of the nation's turbulent history. Protestant heresy had been spreading through Scotland since the 1520s. The transmission of

¹ David Melvill's Bassus Partbook, Alexander Forbes's Cantus Partbook and the Rowallan Cantus Partbook.

Lutheranism gained additional momentum with the publication sometime during the 1540s or 1550s of the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*. This book, containing translations of German hymns and religious versions of popular songs, went through several reprints and remained popular throughout the sixteenth century. Although never sanctioned for official use by the Kirk, some of its songs were used by local congregations.

The Reformation came as a huge blow to the arts in Scotland, particularly music—after all, the Church had previously been the most important patron of this art form. The severe Calvinist regime allowed nothing but simple metrical versions of the psalms sung in the vernacular by the whole congregation in unison, led by a precentor. More ambitious polyphony may have been practised in collegiate establishments and certainly at the Chapel Royal; but, with the enforced absence of ornate music, there was now no need for organs or choirs, and still less need for song schools in which to train choristers. Consequently, song schools were closed (except, curiously, in Edinburgh and St Andrews—the main centres of Reformation activity) and the level of the nation's musical accomplishment declined to a deplorable level.

The intervention of the Crown eventually halted and reversed this trend. The 'Act of tymous remeid' of 1579, ensured the provision of a song school with a qualified master in every main burgh. The act had an almost immediate effect. In the space of just four years at least five new song schools had opened and we have references to at least ten more before 1633². Those burghs without a song school often made provision for music teaching in their grammar schools.

Most of the new song schools, their masters and doctors (assistant teachers) were supported by the local burgh councils. Masters were expected to teach the rudiments of music and singing as well as reading and writing. During the seventeenth century, song schools were often called music schools, reflecting a subtle change in their curricula which by now included instrumental tuition (keyboard and stringed instruments). In contrast to the pre-Reformation period, parents were bound to pay fees (schollage) for their children's education. These were paid directly to the masters and

² Besides those mentioned in the main text, there were also post-Reformation song schools "of varying duration and quality" in Kiltarn (Ross-shire), Alford and Fraserburgh (Aberdeenshire), Cullen (Banffshire), Crail (Fife), Crichton, Dalkeith and Newbattle (Midlothian), and Rothesay (Bute). (I am very grateful to Dr John Durkan for this information from his forthcoming book *Early Schools and Schoolmasters in Scotland, 1560–1633*.)

formed part of their pay and conditions, which varied greatly from one school to another. More and more, music schools were regarded with pride as evidence of a burgh's status on a local and even national level. Accordingly, large and important burghs (and those which sought to be regarded in these terms) were able to offer large salaries in order to attract the best musicians to work in their music schools. Thus some musicians are found as music school masters in various towns at different times during their careers.

Although they were no longer attached to specific churches (through the necessity of providing choral music), song and music schools nevertheless retained their former ecclesiastical connections. The master of the school was expected to lead the congregational singing by acting as precentor in the church. Gradually, song school pupils were also drafted in to assist the master's precenting in arrangements which constituted nothing short of parish choirs—an aspect of pre-Reformation worship which one might have assumed to have been utterly and forever abandoned by the Reformers. The "music master" as precentor was subsidized by the kirk session, therefore his appointment was often a joint procedure of the burgh council and kirk session—at least the latter had the power to ratify or veto the council's decision. Council and church also collaborated on the increasingly regular inspection of schools during the seventeenth century. Song school masters also fulfilled various other church duties, for which they received additional perquisites: most were clerks to the kirk session, some kept registers of births, deaths and marriages and others received additional fees for providing music at funeral wakes.

The musical forms associated with the new Reformed liturgy were largely imported from England and the Continent. In particular, the psalm tunes used by the English congregation at Geneva (under Knox) were brought over to Scotland. A handful of tunes were written by Scottish composers and manuscript four-part harmonizations of the tunes (e.g. those by David Peebles and Andrew Kemp) circulated throughout the country over the next seventy years or so. Psalm harmonizations were also written by John Angus, Andrew Blackhall, Alexander Smith, John Black and John Buchan and all of these men (except Angus) are known to have been connected with song schools. Settings of canticles were also made by Angus, Blackhall and Kemp; and more ambitious polyphony (psalms in reports, anthems and at least one post-Reformation motet) were composed

by Blackhall, Kemp and Peebles. Psalm harmonizations by other unidentified arrangers exist in seventeenth-century manuscripts; other post-Reformation music manuscripts have probably not withstood the ravages of time.

The advent of printed music in Scotland during the early seventeenth century coincides with the rise of Episcopalianism. The song schools also flourished around this time and masters' wages were generally high (see Appendix B). The printed psalters of 1625 and 1633 were connected with the music school in New Aberdeen; that of 1634 may be linked with Edinburgh's song school; the 1635 Psalter was edited by Edward Millar, Director of Music at the recently reordered Chapel Royal.

Following the exile of Mary, Queen of Scots, the Chapel Royal had seen a marked downturn in its fortunes, quite literally, for its benefices had been siphoned off to many non-musicians. James VI's return visit to Scotland in 1617 occasioned a brief flurry of activity at the Chapel; but it was only during the 1630s that the Chapel attained something of its former glory. Under the directorship of Edward Kellie, the musicians performed music from all over continental Europe, England and Scotland. The coronation of Charles I (1633) marked the high point of the Chapel's history. Two years later the publication of the 'Great' Psalter, edited by Edward Millar (Kellie's successor), marked the high point in the history of Scottish psalmody.

However, Charles I's disastrous attempt to impose the use of the Anglican-inspired Scottish Prayer Book in 1637 met with overwhelming opposition. His ill-received policy effectively sealed the fate of Scottish church music in two ways. First, there was an immediate backlash against anything seen as even vaguely Anglican. This led to the abolition of the Chapel Royal in 1638. With the demise of this important body of musicians, there was no longer a national focus for the development of church music. And, in any case, any attempts to introduce more elaborate music would likely have been rejected as contrary to the ideals of reformed worship. Second, the opposition to the Prayer Book galvanized itself in the National Covenant of 1638. This eventually led to the civil strife of the 1640s and to the attempts of the Westminster Assembly to reach ecclesiastical unity between Scotland and England. This body of clerics produced a new version of the psalter which was authorized for use throughout Scotland. It was published in 1650—without music. By the end of the seventeenth century only the original twelve common tunes seem to

have been at all well known, and in the Highlands and other remote areas we can be fairly sure that only a handful of these would have been used regularly.

Recent years have seen a huge upsurge in interest in early Scottish music; more and more performances have been given and these have attracted increasingly large audiences. Several books and articles have been written touching this subject during the last decade. The editions of *Musica Scotica* were launched in 1996 with the publication of the complete works of Robert Carver. This series aims to provide editions of the music which are both scholarly and practical. Scottish church music will feature in future volumes dedicated to the works of Robert Johnson, early Scottish plainchant, and the extant repertory of post-Reformation psalmody. Work is also in progress to publish a volume of studies which will chart the history of Scottish church music up to 1603. It is hoped that the present study, alongside this wealth of recent and forthcoming scholarship, will stimulate further interest in Scotland's rich musical and cultural heritage, and in particular encourage performers to bring the music to life.



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Scottish Church Music and Musicians, 1500–1700

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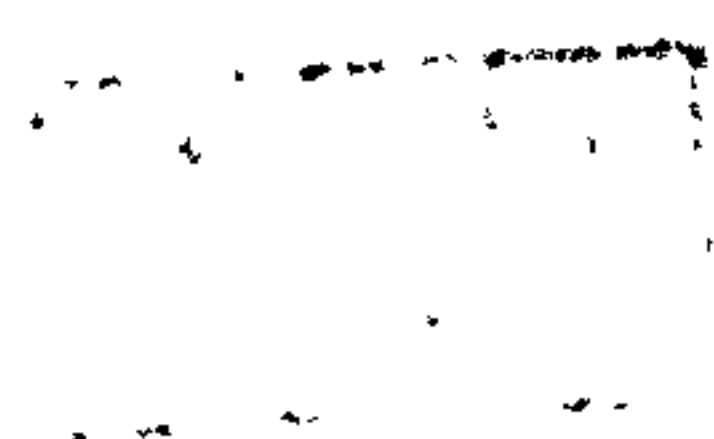
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Appendix A

Chronological list of personnel at the Chapel Royal, 1500–1700

The following list cannot claim to be exhaustive, but it is hoped it may prove a useful tool to future researchers who may well be able to add further information to it. The list of names from 1501 to 1567 is drawn from Woods (1984 i:235–241) with some further additions and changes (marked †). The names of dignitaries (from Watt 1969) have been included as sometimes these positions were held by known musicians. I have found no references to musicians of the Chapel later than 1638: the institution was effectively disbanded following the unsuccessful attempt to impose the use of the Prayer Book in Scotland. The names of men who held the offices of Dean and Subdean after 1638 are included for the sake of completeness.

“x”, whether in the second or fourth columns, means “not earlier than the earliest point of time implied by” the preceding date and “not later than the latest point of time implied by” the succeeding date. This convention has been used by Watt (1969) and other writers, and has been used here in a similar manner.

The first source mentioned in column five provides evidence for the entries listed in column three (“Year”) and column six (“Date of Document”). Dates in the fourth column are derived from further evidence in the “Source” column, or from the latest entry of that person’s name in the table.

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
David Trail	1499	x1501 Watt 1969:335				Provost
Alexander Buchan	1500	-1530 RSS i:No. 591	Nov 11, 1500	£20 yearly until he is promoted to a prebend		clerk and singer
James Allardyce	1501	-1504 Watt 1969:335; RSS i:No. 878				Dean
Alexander Buchan	1501	-1502 ALHT ii:61, 63, 65, 66, 67, 100, 154				appears in list of known chapel personnel; also singer at Court ^r
John Craufurd	1501	-1504 ALHT ii:65, 94, 129, x1509 334, 335				
Simon Cunnyghame	1501	ALHT ii:94, 137				
Thomas Dalrumpill	1501	-1502 ALHT ii:61, 63, 66, 67				
John Elnwand	1501	-1504 ALHT ii:50, 322, 63, 65, 94, 334, 352, 373, 403				Dean [?']
John Goldsmyth	1501	-1504 ALHT ii:94, 117, 125, 334, 353, 456, 463				"of the chapell", mentioned four times in connection with the transporting of organs

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
John Jacson	1501	-1504 ALHT ii:63, 66, 67, 420			
Thomas Lindesay (I)	1501	ALHT ii:61, 63, 66			
Alane Marschael	1501	-1502 ALHT ii:61, 63, 66, 67, 119, 129, 132			
Patrick Newlandis	1501	-1502 ALHT ii:61, 63, 66, 67			also worked at Linlithgow 1540-1'
David Ostyan	1501	-1502 ALHT ii:61, 63, 66, 67			
John Silver	1501	-1504 ALHT ii:141, 334, 455			Organist, mentioned in close proximity to other known members of the Chapel Royal
Ninian Spottiswod	1501	-1502 ALHT ii:63, 65, 66, 67, 146			singer
William Stirret (Sterheid, Sterrat, Stirhed)	1501	-1502 ALHT ii:61, 63, 66, 67, 119, 129, 132			
David Trail	1501	-1507 ALHT ii:66-8, etc.; iii:57 etc.; iv:72 etc.;			Sacristan (payments mostly for washing clothes, covering books and transporting chapel gear)

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
Robert Wemyss	1501	-1503 ALHT ii:61, 63, 66, 67, 119, 129, 132, 136, 334				
David Abercrombie	1502	-c. 1517x ALHT ii:68, 69, 334, 379, 409; iv:39; 1531				Subdean
Nicholas Abernethy	1502	-1507 ALHT ii:94, etc.; iii:117, etc.; iv:68, etc.;				
Alexander Buchan	1502	RSS i:No. 878	Oct 25, 1502	Strathbran	(new erection)	
Thomas Clerk	1502	-1512 ALHT ii:127, 334; iii:137, 326; iv:68, 268, 441				singer at Court, 1501 ⁺
John Elnwand	1502	Watt 1969:337				Cantor
Thomas Gabreth	1502	-1504 ALHT ii:92, 94, 97, 334, 353				
John Graham	1502	ALHT ii:67				"Schir Johne Grym"
William Halkirston	1502	-1504 ALHT ii:94, 334, 335,				

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
William Symson [†]	1502	Woods 1984 i:42 (RSS i:No. 875; ALHT ii:67)	Sep 16, 1502	Castellaw	(new erection)	also worked at Stirling Parish Church (Woods 1984 i:42) 1524, 1528, 1529, 1535, 1540, 1541
David Abercrombie	1503	-c. 1517x 1531				Subdean
James Beaton	1503	-1509 Rogers 1882:35, 58				rector of Kirkinner
Ambrose Muncrief	1503	-1504 ALHT ii:52, 150, 316, 427				boy
[?] Drummond	1504	ALHT ii:427				boy; [possibly William Drummond (I) who received <i>Ayr quartus</i> in 1535]
George Vaus	1504	-1508 Watt 1969:335				Dean
[?] Dundas	1505	-1506 ALHT iii:179				"to Dundas of the College of Strivelin, 1.5 unicornis and tua ducats; summa ... 58s, quhen he passit in England"
John Aysoun	1506	-1509 Renwick 1884:189	Mar 26, 1506			also worked at Stirling Parish Church (Woods 1984 i:42) 1506
John Craufurd	x 1506	-1507 Watt 1969:339 x1509				Treasurer

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
John Goldsmyth	1506	-1507 ALHT iii:326; iv:41, 68, 268, 441				
John Murray	1506	ALHT ii:125, 126, 326;				possibly also singer in Aberdeen, 1514 ⁺
Alexander Panter	1506	-1516 RSS i:No. 1240, 2688	Mar 23, 1506	£40 of Ayr [<i>primus</i>]	(new erection)	resigned Ayr <i>primus</i> by 22 Jan 1516
Robert Wemyss	1506	-1507 ALHT ii:187, 325, 326, 328, 378; iv:68				involved with children who played shawms
Robert Wemyss	1506	Watt 1969:340				Succentor; also worked at Stirling Parish Church (Woods 1984 i:42) 1506, 1520, 1525
William Aytoun	1507	-1527 RSS i:No.1431	Feb 15, 1507	£24 canonry and prebend	(new erection)	
Thomas Jarvy	1507	RSS i:No. 1564; iii:No. 2984	Oct 25, 1507	£20 of Castellaw	(new erection)	also worked at Stirling Parish Church (Woods 1984 i:42) 1524/5; d. before 6 Oct 1548
Alexander Makeson	1507	-1513 ALHT iv:69, 268, 528				
James Silver	1507	- x1509 Watt 1969:341; RSS i:No. 1863				?Archdeacon; prebendary of Balmaclellan, d. before 1 May 1509

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
John Silver	1507	-1508 <i>ALHT</i> iv:70, 97, 107				
David Arnot	1508	-1526 Watt 1969:336; RSS ii:No. 3028				Bishop; (d. before 19 May 1539)
James Beaton	1508	-1509 Watt 1969:336				Bishop
Alexander Shaw	1508	-1514 Watt 1969:337				Cantor
William Silver [†]	1508	RSS i:No. 1705	Jul 16, 1508	Crieff <i>secundus</i>		[Woods gives Silver's date as 1502, and lists <i>RSS</i> and <i>ALHT</i> as evidence. I have found no reference to Silver in <i>ALHT</i> .]
William Silver [†]	1508	RSS i:No. 1705	Jul 16, 1508	Crieff <i>secundus</i>		
William Stewart	x 1508	RSS i:No. 1765				lately prebendary of Southweik, demitted by now [date given as Nov 1508]
John Wardlaw	1508	RSS i:No. 1646	Mar 31, 1508	£20 from Castellaw	(new erection)	
Robert Wemyss	1508	RSS i:No. 1765		Southweik	demission of William Stewart	[date given as November 1508]; also worked at Stirling Parish Church (Woods 1984 i:42) 1531 where he was excommunicated (Renwick 1887:266)

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
John Aysoun	x 1509	RSS i:No. 1863	May 1, 1509	Balmaclellan	death of James Silver	also worked at Stirling Parish Church (Woods 1984 i:242) 1520, 1525
William Fraser	x 1509	RSS i:No. 1861	Apr 30, 1509	pension of £10 <i>p.a.</i>		already prebendary of the King's chapel
John Major	1509	-1525 Watt 1969:339				Treasurer
Alexander Levingston	1510	RSS i:No. 2041	Apr 11, 1510	chaplaincy of St Michael in the Castle		
Nicholas Abernethy	1511	-1512 ALHT iv:268, 440				d. before 7 October 1522 (ALHT ii:84, ER xiv:334, 443)
Thomas Clerk	1511	-1512 ALHT iv:268, 441				
Simon Cunnyghame	1511	-1512 ALHT iv:268, 441				
William Fraser	1511	-1512 ALHT iv:268, 380, 441				
John Goldsmyth	1511	-1512 ALHT iv:268, 441				also at Aberdeen (1522-59)?†

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
William Stirret	1511				[Woods gives source as <i>RSS</i> [i]. I have been unable to verify this reference.]
David Trail	1511	-1513 <i>ALHT</i> iv:321, 322, 347, 373, 407			Sacristan
David Abercrombie [†]	1512	Watt 1969:341			Official
James Merchiston	1512	-1514 Watt 1969:338 x1515			Chancellor
Ninian Spottiswod	1512	-1537 Watt 1969:341 x1543			Archdeacon
William Aytoun	1515	<i>RSS</i> i:No.2635	Oct 8, 1515	death of Thomas Richardson	
Simon Cunnyghame	1515	-1517 <i>ALHT</i> v:75, 123, 128, 149, 153,			
James Inglis	1515	-1529 Watt 1969:338			Chancellor
Thomas Richartsoun x	1515	<i>RSS</i> i:No. 2635	Oct 8, 1515		lately prebendary of <i>Ayr tertius</i> , dead by now

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
William Murray (I)	1516	RSS i:No. 2688	22 Jan 1516	<i>Ayr primus</i> (Coylton)	future resignation of Alexander Panter	
Alexander Kow	x 1517	-1525 RSS i:No. 2863	8 Feb 1517			lately prebendary of Castellaw, demitted by now
Duncan Stewart	1517	RSS i:No. 2863	8 Feb 1517	£20 from Castellaw	demission of Alexander Kow	
Thomas Aysoun'	x 1518	RSS i:No. 3040	4 Jun 1518			chaplain of St Michael
Robert Cristeson'	1518	RSS i:No. 3040	4 Jun 1518	chaplaincy of St Michael in the Castle	future resignation or demission of Thomas Aysoun	also worked at Stirling Parish Church (Woods 1984 i:42) 1523/4
Andrew Dury	1520	Watt 1969:339				Treasurer
David Abercrombie'	1522	Renwick 1887:16	6 Oct 1522			Subdean
Alexander Paterson	1524	- x1546 RSS i:No. 3308	28 Oct 1524	pension of 100 merks <i>p.a.</i>		Organist and singer; "familiar to the king"
Alexander Kow	1525	-1531 Renwick 1884:196	16 Nov 1525			

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
James Inglis	1526	ALHT v:310			Chancellor
Henry Wemyss	1526	-1541 Watt 1969:336			Bishop
William Aytoun	1527	RMS iii:No. 1340	Jun 13, 1527		prebendary
James Campbell	1527	Rogers 1882:98; RSS ii:No. 3751	May 1, 1527	singer in King's chapel	to be paid £20 <i>p. a.</i> until he is promoted to a benefice of £100
Ninian Spottiswod	1527	ALHT v:328			Archdean
Robert Galbraith	1528	-1532 Watt 1969:339			Treasurer
John Cantuly	1529	-1538 Watt 1969:337			Cantor
John Paterson (I)	1529	- x1532 ii:No. 1206 x1551		Crieff <i>primus</i>	[no date given]; resigned Crieff <i>primus</i> by 9 Apr 1532
John Scrymgeour	1529	Watt 1969:337			Cantor

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
William Stirret	x 1529	RSS i:No. 4120				prebendary of Crieff <i>primus</i> [no date given]
Alexander Wood	1529	-1531 Watt 1969:338				Chancellor
Alexander Buchan	1530	RSS ii:No. 496	Jan 7, 1530			legitimization of his three sons Andrew, Alexander and Jasper
Thomas Cowttis	x 1530	RSS ii:No. 499	Jan 8, 1530			lately prebendary of Balmaclellan, dead by now
John Dennistoun	1530	-1531 RSS ii:Nos. 499, 926	Jan 8, 1530	Balmaclellan	death of Thomas Cowttis	
Alexander Kyd [†]	x 1530	-1531 RSS ii:No. 786, 787; Renwick 1887:266	Jan 2, 1531	Strathbran <i>primus</i>	exchange with John Lambert	previously prebendary of Ayr <i>sextus</i> ; also worked at Stirling Parish Church (Woods 1984 i:42) 1530, 1531; Succentor of Aberdeen 1533–63 [†]
John Letham	1530	Watt 1969:341				Commissary
Michael Dysert (I)	1531	RSS ii:No. 926; ALHT v:432	May 31, 1531	Balmaclellan	demission or resignation of John Dannistoun	
William Erskine	1531	RSS ii:No. 852	Mar 18, 1531	Balmaclellan	future demission of John Dannistoun	

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
Robert Hamilton	1531	-1534 Watt 1969:340; x1535 RSS ii:No. 1703				Subdean, demitted office by 23 June 1535
John Lambert	x 1531	- RSS ii:No. 786, 787, x1539 2899	Jan 2, 1531	Ayr <i>sextus</i>	exchange with Alexander Kyd	previously prebendary of Strathbran; also worked at Stirling Parish Church (Woods 1984 i:42) 1524; demitted prebend of Ayr through infirmity by 28 Feb 1539
Walter Stewart	1531	-1541 Watt 1969:339				Treasurer; also worked at Stirling Parish Church (Woods 1984 i:42) 1511; also Precentor of Ross (RSS ii:No. 1104) [†]
George Couttis [†]	1532	ALHT vi:92, 205, 207				"boy that sings"; singer at Court 1532 and 1534 [†]
James Gordon [†]	1532	- RSS ii:No. 1206; x1566 v:No. 2662	Apr 9, 1532	Crieff <i>primus</i>	resignation of John Paterson	died before 27 Feb 1566
Henry Hunter	1533	- Renwick 1884:198 x1544	May 6, 1533			
John Paterson (I)	1533	Renwick 1884:198	May 6, 1533			styled "Sir"
George Clappartoun	1535	-1574 RSS ii:No. 1703; Watt 1969:340	Jun 23, 1535	Subdeanery	resignation and demission of Robert Hamilton	Subdean

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
Robert Dannistoun	x 1535	RSS ii:No. 1704, 1891	Jun 23, 1535	Ayr <i>tertius</i>	resignation and demission of George Clappartoun	prebendary of Ayr <i>quartus</i>
William Drummond (I)	1535	RSS ii:No. 1891	Dec 26, 1535	Ayr <i>quartus</i>	future resignation of Robert Dannistoun	
John Lambert	1536	-1537 Rogers 1882:cxlvi, lvi	Dec 1, 1536			keeper of the Chapel Register, and prebendary
David Arnot	x 1539	RSSii:No. 3028	May 19, 1539			lately Vicar, dead by now
Richart Carmichael	1539	Knox 1949:19				also singer at Court 1534 ⁺
James Nicholson ⁺	1539	-1557 RSS ii:No. 3028	May 19, 1539	Vicar	death of David Arnot	
Alexander Scott Snr	1539	RSS ii:No. 2899	Feb 23, 1539	Ayr	inability of John Lambert	
Thomas Cragy	1540	ALHT vii:308				"for painting of the armes, furnesing of cammes, and uthir stuff thairto at the baptyme of my lord prince ..."
James Mont	x 1540	- x1543 RSS ii:No. 3564	Jun 12, 1540			prebendary of Strathbran

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
Duncan Nicholl	1540	RSS ii:No. 3564; x1546 iii:No.1610, 1611	Jun 12, 1540	Strathbran [<i>quintus</i>]	future surrender or demission of James Mont	resigned Strathbran <i>quintus</i> by 6 Apr 1546
Andrew Dury	1541	–1558 Watt 1969:336				Bishop
Alexander Paterson	1541	–1542 ALHT viii:46, 53				[Sacristan] payments for carriage of the chapel gear
James Mont	1542	–1543 RSS ii:No. 4519; iii:No. 513	Mar 6, 1542	Ayr <i>tertius</i>	resignation of William Mortoun	
William Mortoun	x 1542	RSS ii:No. 4519	Mar 6, 1542			lately prebendary of Ayr <i>tertius</i> , resigned by now
Robert Arnot	1543	–1551 RSS iii:No. 359	Jul 13, 1543	Ayr <i>sextus</i>	resignation [<i>etc.</i>] of Alexander Swyntoun	also worked at Stirling Parish Church (Woods 1984 i:42) 1516, 1518, 1527, 1540–44; and at St Nicholas's in Aberdeen, 1505
Alexander Buchan [Jnr?†]	x 1543	–1551 RSS iii:No. 513, 514	Nov 4, 1543	Dalmellington (Ayr <i>tertius</i>)	future resignation or demission of James Mont	previously prebendary of Castellaw <i>tertius</i> [probably son of Alexander Buchan]
Walter Farny	x 1543	RSS iii:No. 476	Sep 24, 1543			prebendary of Ayr <i>primus</i>

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
John Hamilton (I) [†]	x 1543	RSS iii:No. 476, 475	Sep 24, 1543	Ayr <i>primus</i>	future resignation or demission of Walter Farny	designated "Dominus", had been prebendary of Strathbran <i>quartus</i>
John Hamilton (II) [†]	1543	-1546 RSS iii:No. 475, 1611; McQuaid 1949:267	Sep 24, 1543	Strathbran <i>quartus</i>	resignation or demission of Dominus John Hamilton	also worked at Stirling Parish Church (Woods 1984 i:42) 1555; resigned prebend of Strathbran <i>quartus</i> by 6 Apr 1546; possibly Succentor of Glasgow, 1551-70 [†]
William Hamilton	1543	-1554 Watt 1969:341				Archdeacon
Alexander Swyntoun	x 1543	RSS iii:No. 359	Jul 13, 1543			lately prebendary of Ayr <i>sextus</i> , resigned by now
David Yair	1543	- x1547	Nov 4, 1543	Castellaw <i>tertius</i>	resignation or demission of Alexander Buchan	died before 30 Nov 1547
John Brown [†]	1544	- x1545	Oct 30, 1544	Strathbran <i>tertius</i>	death of [Henry] Hunter	resigned prebendary by 29 June 1545
Michael Dysert (I?)	x 1544	RSS iii:No. 933	Oct 28, 1544			lately prebendary of Southweik, dead by now
James Hamilton	1544	RSS iii:No. 933	Oct 28, 1544	Southweik	death of Michael Dysert	

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
Henry Hunter	x 1544	RSS iii:No. 934	Oct 30, 1544			lately prebendary of Strathbran <i>tertius</i> , dead by now
John Fethy	1545	-1566 Watt 1969:337				Cantor; also worked in Aberdeen (1544–46) and Edinburgh (c. 1546–1551)*; held prebend of Yarrow 1545–66 (Haws 1972:249)
James Wycht	1545	- RSS iii:No. 1232; x1549 iv:No. 503	Jun 29, 1545	Strathbran <i>tertius</i>	resignation or demission of John Broun	[Woods gives his the first entry of his name as “John” Wycht]; demitted Strathbran <i>tertius</i> by 21 Nov 1549
William Alexander	1546	- Renwick 1884:199; x1548 RSS iii:No. 2664	Jul 12, 1546			also worked at Stirling Parish Church (Woods 1984 i:42) 1527; held unspecified altarage of Chapel Royal until some time before 5 Mar 1548
Andrew Arnot	x 1546	-1547 RSS iii:No. 2012, 2013, 2373	Nov 24, 1546	Castellaw <i>quartus</i>	resignation of Henry Arnot	Archdean; previously prebendary of Ayr <i>secundus</i> ; resigned prebendary of Castellaw <i>quartus</i> by 7 Aug 1547
Henry Arnot	x 1546	RSS iii:No. 2012, 2013	Nov 24, 1546	Ayr <i>secundus</i>	resignation of Andrew Arnot	previously prebendary of Castellaw <i>quartus</i>
David Forrestar	1546	-1557 x				[Woods gives Renwick 1884 as the source of the 1546 reference. I have been unable to verify this reference.]
James Haldane	1546	-1554 RSS iii:No. 1610; iv:No. 2436	Apr 6, 1546	Strathbran <i>quintus</i>	demission of Duncan Nichol	demitted Strathbran <i>quintus</i> by 28 Feb 1554
John Paterson (I)	1546	Renwick 1884:199	Jul 12, 1546			styled “Sir”

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
John Paterson (I)†	x 1546	RSS iii:No. 1816	8 Aug 1546		future resignation and demission of John Paterson	prebendary of Crieff <i>primus</i> ; styled "Dominus"
John Paterson (II)†	1546	RSS iii:No. 1816	8 Aug 1546	Crieff <i>primus</i>	future resignation and demission of Dominus John Paterson	
Alexander Paterson	1546	RSS iii:No. 1815	8 Aug 1546			Sacristan
James Paterson	1546 – x1565	RSS iii:No. 1815	8 Aug 1546	Sacristan	future resignation and demission of Alexander Paterson	
James Haldane	1547	RSS iii:No. 2547	30 Nov 1547	Castellaw <i>tertius</i>	death of David Yair	
James Paterson	1547	RSS iii:No. 2373	9 Aug 1547	Castellaw <i>quartus</i>	demission of Andrew Arnot	
Andrew Duncan	1548	RSS iii:No. 2664	5 Mar 1548	£20, altarage in Chapel Royal	resignation or demission of William Alexander	
James Nicholson†	1548	RSS iii:No. 2664	5 Mar 1548			mentioned as Vicar
Henry Yair	1548 – x1566	RSS iii:No. 2984; v:No. 3047	6 Oct 1548	Castellaw <i>quartus</i>	death of Thomas Jarvy	Musician, demitted Strathbran <i>quartus</i> by 3 Sep 1566

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
John Abercrommy	1549	RSS iv:No. 503	Nov 21, 1549	Strathbran <i>tertius</i>	démission of James Wycht	
Thomas Erskine	1549	-1550 Watt 1969:341				Commissary
James Gordon	1549	RSS iv:No. 479	Nov 4, 1549			prebendary of Crieff; resigns this to James, Adam, Patrick and/or Robert Gordon, sons of George, Earl of Huntly
George Gray	1549	RSS iv:No. 510, 1637	Nov 26, 1549	Castellaw <i>secundus</i>	death of James Lennox	resigned Castellaw <i>secundus</i> to Alexander Forgy on 26 June 1552, but still in possession in 1569
James Lennox	x 1549	RSS iv:No. 503, 510	Nov 21, 1549			lately prebendary of Castellaw <i>secundus</i> and Strathbran <i>tertius</i> , dead by now
Alexander Scott Snr	x 1549	RSS iv:No. 505	Nov 21, 1549			legitimization of John and Alexander his sons; also worked in Edinburgh [†]
William Stirling	1549	RSS iv:No. 457	Oct 23, 1549	Castellaw <i>primus</i>	death of James Lennox	
Robert Arnot [†]	1551	Scottish Record Office MS RH6/1533B				
Alexander Buchan [Jnr?']	1551	Scottish Record Office MS RH6/1533B				

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
Andrew Buchan	1551	Scottish Record Office MS RH6/1533B				also worked in Edinburgh [†] ; [probably son of Alexander Buchan and brother of Alexander Buchan Jnr]
Hugh Currie	1551	-1574 RSS iv:No. 1447, 1448; vi:No. 2578	Dec 23, 1551	Crieff <i>primus</i>	resignation, surrender or demission of John Paterson	resigned by 9 Jul 1574
Michael Dysert (II)	1551	-1551 Watt 1969:338 x1552				Chancellor
James Haldane (Haldran)	1551	Scottish Record Office MS RH6/1533B				
John Paterson (I)	x 1551	RSS iv:No. 1447, 1448	Dec 23, 1551			previously prebendary of Crieff <i>primus</i> , resigned by now, presented to priory of Strathfyllane
Alexander Forgy [†]	1552	RSS iv:No. 1637	Jun 26, 1552	Castellaw <i>secundus</i>	resignation or demission of George Gray	[Wood lists his name as "Andrew" Forgy]
Robert Lamont	1552	-1555 Watt 1969:338 x1558				Chancellor
David Smart [†]	1552	-1578 RMS v:No. 11	Dec 1, 1552			
John Aytoun [†]	1554	-c. 1574 RSS iv:No. 2437; vi:No. 2706; viii:No. 2087	Feb 28, 1554	Strathbran <i>quintus</i>	demission of James Haldane	had died by 15 Oct 1574

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
Michael Dysert (II)	1554	-1558 Watt 1969:338				Chancellor
Thomas Erskine	x 1554	RSS iv:No. 2391	Feb 13, 1554			lately prebendary of Strathbran <i>secundus</i> , dead by now
Matthew Forestar	x 1554	RSS iv:No. 2875	Dec 12, 1554			lately prebendary of Kells, resigned by now
Andrew Gray	1554	RSS iv:No. 2875	Dec 12, 1554	Kells	resignation, surrender or demission of Matthew Forestar	also worked in New Aberdeen, 1556 ⁺ ; d. before 1605 (Rogers 1882:cii)
James Haldane	1554	RSS iv:No. 2391	Feb 13, 1554	Strathbran <i>secundus</i>	death of Thomas Erskine	
William Myrtoun	1554	-1558 Watt 1969:339 ?				Treasurer; see under William Mortoun (1564)
James Nicholson ⁺	1556	-1557 Renwick 1884:200, 78, 88, 198	Feb 5, 1556			Vicar; also worked at Stirling Parish Church (Woods 1984 i:42) 1536/7, 1541, 1556
David Forrestar	1557	RSS v:No. 59	Feb 16, 1557	Castellaw	demission or resignation of John Paterson	
David Methven	1557	Watt 1969:340				Subdean

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
John Paterson (I)	x 1557	RSS v:No. 59	Feb 16, 1557			lately prebendary of Castellaw, demitted by now
James Haldane	1558	RMS iv:No. 1290				[year only given]
Thomas Duncanson	x 1559	RSS v:No. 652	Aug 19, 1559			lately prebendary of Castellaw <i>secundus</i> , demitted by now; also worked at Stirling Parish Church (Woods 1984 i:42) 1525, 1532
Alexander Gordon	1559	-1575 Watt 1969:336				Bishop
John Stoddard	1559	-1566 RSS v:No. 652	Aug 19, 1559	Castellaw <i>secundus</i>	resignation or demission of Thomas Duncanson	also worked at Stirling Parish Church (Woods 1984 i:42) 1556, 1563, 1566
Arthur Erskine	1561	Chalmers 1818 i:54				
James Ramsay (I)	1562	McQuaid 1949:249				musician at Chapel Royal this year
John Fethy	1563	Watt 1969:341				Succentor [in error for Cantor]
William Myrtoun [†]	x 1563	RSS v:No. 2528, 2388	Mar 14, 1563			lately Preceptor and Treasurer; dead by now; see James Castellaw, 1566

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
Archibald Crauford [†]	1564	Watt 1969:336				Bishop
William Mortoun	x 1564	Watt 1969:339 (confuses Mortoun and Myrtoun)				Treasurer
James Paterson	1564	RSS v:No. 1569	Feb 12, 1564			Sacristan
George Ross	1564	-1565 Watt 1969:339 x1584				Treasurer; Preceptor of the "sex bairnis" ^{††}
John Angus [†]	1565	-1589 RSS v:No. 1884; McQuaid 1949:160	Jan 4, 1565	Sacristan, Kirkinner and Kirkcowan	resignation, surrender or demission of James Paterson	Sacristan [†] , also worked in Dunfermline
William Angus [†]	x 1565	- RSS v:No. 2238 x1566	Aug 4, 1565			already canon of the Chapel Royal [prebendary of Coylton? see 1566]
John Fethy [†]	1565	-1566 RSS v:No. 2042, 2691	May 6, 1565			presently Precentor
George Gray [†]	1565	RSS v:No. 2042; Watt 1969:337	May 6, 1565	Precentorship, St Mary of the Lowes	John Fethy	Gray to receive office of Cantor upon resignation, surrender, demission, or death of Fethy
James Paterson [†]	x 1565	RSS v:No. 1884	Jan 4, 1565			lately Sacristan, resigned by now

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
George Ross	x 1565	RSS v:No. 2388	Oct 24, 1565	Preceptory, St Mary of the Lowes		presently Treasurer
William Angus	x 1566	RSS v:No. 2662, 2675	Feb 27, 1566	parsonage and vicarage of Crieff	death of James Gordon, Chancellor of Moray	lately prebendary of Coylton, demitted Coylton before 5 Mar 1566
John Beir	1566	RSS v:No. 3047	Sep 3, 1566	Strathbran <i>quartus</i>	death of Henry Yair	
Andrew Burgane	1566	RSS v:No. 1670	Apr 18, 1564			already prebendary of Dalmellington, sue for non-payment of church dues for 1561
James Castellaw (Snr)	x 1566	-1618 RSS v:No. 2528	Jan 3, 1566	"maister and techear of sex bairnis"	death of William Myrtoun	Castellaw in "peceable possessioun" of this benefice (the "ferd [=fourth] part" of St Mary of the Lowes) since 14 Mar 1563
Robert Fraser	1566	x1567 RSS v:No. 2675	Mar 5, 1566	half Coylton	demission of William Angus	"sone to oure soveranis familiare and dailie servitoure Robert Fraser, ischear of thair majesteis chalmer"
David Gibson	1566	RSS v:No. 3049, 3070	Sep 6, 1566			presently prebendary of Ayr <i>primus</i>
George Gray	1566	RSS v:No. 2691	Mar 20, 1566			presently canon?; has not yet succeeded to Precentorship

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
William Kemp	1566	RSS v:No. 2691	Mar 20, 1566	parsonage and vicarage of Balmaclellan	resignation of George Gray	"lauchfull sone to Johnne Kempt, oure soveranis dailie servitoure"; Kemp to receive parsonage when Gray has taken up Precentorship
George Maxwell	x 1566	RSS v:No. 3049	Sep 6, 1566			presently canon of the Chapel Royal, receives prebend of Ayr <i>primus</i> and chaplainry of St Michael's altar within Glasgow Cathedral
John Stoddard	1566	RSS v:No. 3021	Aug 7, 1566			confirmation of gifts of: Castellaw <i>secundus</i> , chaplainry of Rood Altar in Stirling Parish Church; allowed to study "learning and sciences" abroad
William Younger	1566	-1567 ER xix:350, 393				chaplain of the Chapel Royal
Robert Fraser	x 1567	RSS v:No. 3213	Feb 6, 1567			resigned his half prebendary of Coylton <i>secundus</i> ; had been Precentor of Brechin†
Alexander Scott Jnr	1567	- RSS v:No. 3213; x1581 viii:No. 180, 256	Feb 6, 1567	half parsonage and vicarage of Coylton <i>secundus</i>	resignation of Robert Fraser in favour of Scott	died between 1580 and 1582 (MacQueen 1970:xliv); died before 27 Mar 1581 (RSS viii:No. 180, 256)
John Duncanson	1568	-1574 RSS vi:No. 200; x1575 vii:No. 19	Mar 17, 1568	vicarage of Chapel Royal	death of William Youngar	demitted vicarage by 25 Jan 1575 at latest

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
John Gordon	1568	Watt 1969:336				Bishop
William Younger	x 1568	RSS vi:No. 200	Mar 17, 1568			lately Vicar of Chapel Royal, dead by now
George Gray	1569	RSS vi:No. 645	Jun 6, 1569			presently prebendary of Castellaw; raised letters for non-payment of St Mary of the Lowes
George Ross	x 1569	RSS vi:No. 645	Jun 6, 1569			presently prebendary of Castellaw; raised letters for non-payment of St Mary of the Lowes
Andrew Buchan	1571	RSS vi:No. 1232; – x1582 viii:No. 1923	Aug 8, 1571			presently prebendary of Dalmellington, sue for non-payment of dues for the year 1561; died before 1 Aug 1582 (Marwick 1882:239)
William Drummond (II)	1571	RSS vi:No. 1242	Aug 26, 1571	parsonage and vicarage of Alloway	death of Henry Arnot	son of Robert Drummond of Carnok, knight; "for his sustentation at the scolis quhill he be of the aige of xxvi yeris" to study for the ministry Chancellor
Thomas Buchanan	1572	Watt 1969:338				
James Carswell	1572	Watt 1969:338				Chancellor

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
James Ramsay (I)	1573	FES iii:1; RSS vi:No. 1918		parsonage and vicarage of Alloway	death of Henry Arnot	
Archibald Sinclair	1573	Watt 1969:338				Chancellor
James Castellaw (Snr)	x 1574	Rogers 1882:ci	Apr 11, 1574			"Preceptor to the sex barnes"
John Charteris	1574	RSS vi:No. 2419; vii:No. 188	Mar 27, 1574	Castellaw [blank]	deprivation of George Maxwell for non-conformity	d. before 18 May 1575
Alexander Darroch	1574	RSS vi:No. 2706	Oct 15, 1574	a prebend of Chapel Royal	death of John Aytoun	son of William Darroch, burghess of Stirling; gift for 7 years' study at Stirling grammar school; next incumbent also to be student
John Duncanson	1574	RSS vi:No. 2468; Watt 1969:340; Rogers 1882:xcv	May 8, 1574	Subdeanery	death of George Clappertoun or "be ressoun [that] David Methven, pretendit successour to the ... subdenerie" was a non-conformist; Duncanson d. 4 August 1601
George Maxwell	x 1574	RSS vi:No. 2419	Mar 27, 1574			lately prebendary of Castellaw [blank], deprived before now for non-conformity
William Murray (II)	1574	RSS vi:No. 2578; Rogers 1882:cxix	Jul 9, 1574	Crieff <i>primus</i>	resignation of Hugh Currie	son of Sir William Murray of Tullybardin
James Duncanson	1575	RSS vii:No. 188; Rogers 1882:cxix	May 18, 1575	a prebend of the Chapel Royal [Castellaw?]	death of John Charteris	son of John Duncanson "minister of oure soverane lordis hous"; gift for 7 years' study of grammar; prebendary of Castellaw in 1617

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
John Gordon	1575	-1586 Watt 1969:336				Bishop
Richard Wrycht	1575	RSS vii:No. 19	Jan 25, 1575	vicarage of Chapel royal	demission of John Duncanson	
George Gray	x 1577	RSS vii:No. 1174	Sep 9, 1577			lately prebendary of part of St Mary of the Lowes, dead by now
William Scott	1577	RSS vii:No. 1174	Sep 9, 1577	part of St Mary of the Lowes	death of George Gray	son of Walter Scott of Goldilandis; "now scolare actualle at the scuillis", gift for his lifetime
Roger Gordon	1578	-1579 Watt 1969:336 x1587				Bishop
David Smart	1578	RSS vii:No. 1367	Jan 1, 1578			parson and Vicar of Dalrumpill
Thomas Sinclair	1579	RSS vii:No. 1492	Feb 27, 1579	Balmaclellan	death of William Kemp	for his support "at the sculis and uthirwayis" for life
Andrew Aisone	1580	RSS vii:No. 2499	Sep 7, 1580	Castellaw <i>tertius</i>	death of Robert Aisoun (his father)	for 7 years' study of grammar at Stirling grammar school
Robert Aisone	x 1580	RSS vii:No. 2499	Sep 7, 1580			lately prebendary of Castellaw <i>tertius</i> , dead by now

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
James Brysoun	1580	RSS vii:No. 2398	Jun 21, 1580	parsonage of Ayr	death of James Dalrimple	Succentor of Glasgow, 1579–1601, possibly son of Alexander Brysoun, the previous Succentor of Glasgow (RSS vii:No. 2082; FES ii:382)
John Porterfield	1580	RSS vii:No. 2045	Jul 26, 1580	parsonage of Alloway	death of James Dalrimple	
Thomas Lindesay (II)	1581	RSS viii:No. 180	Mar 27, 1581	Coylton <i>secundus</i>	death of Alexander Scot	student, gift for his lifetime
Matthew Wylie	1581	RSS viii:No. 256	May 3, 1581	parsonage and vicarage of Coylton <i>secundus</i>	death of Alexander Scot	
William Gulen	x 1582	RSS viii:No. 2743, 2087	Apr 16, 1582			held a prebend of Strathbran, dead by now
Alexander Ruthven	1582	RSS viii:No. 2743	Apr 16, 1582	the prebend of Strathbran	death of William Gulen	brother-in-law of William Ruthven of Ardonquhy; gift for 7 years [study?]
John Buchan	1584	RSS viii:No. 1923; McQuaid 1949:166	Mar 13, 1584	parsonage of Dalmellington	death of Andrew Buchan	also worked in Haddington (1584) and Glasgow (1592) and possibly in Ayr (1554–9); [probably son of Andrew Buchan]
David Cumming	1584	McQuaid 1949:122	Nov 12, 1584	prebend of Easter Kells		
Robert Makcawlay	1584	RSS viii:No. 2087	May 24, 1584	two prebends of Strathbran	deaths of John Aytoun and William Gulen	

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
Matthew Ross	1584	-1584 Watt 1969:339 x1587				Treasurer
John Gib	1586	-1619 Rogers 1882:ciii, cxxxii	Feb 9, 1586	Dalmellington	death of Andrew Buchan	groom of Privy Chamber; in 1619: "his Majesties servant, ... titular. no attendance"
George Gordon	1586	-1588 Watt 1969:336				Bishop
Thomas Hudson	1586	-1592 Rogers 1882:xcviii				Master
Robert Hudson	1587	-1587 Watt 1969:339 x1597				Treasurer
Thomas Hudson	1587	Craigie 1941				Treasurer
Patrick Dunbar	1588	-1623 McQuaid 1949:138				also received a prebend of Restalrig Collegiate Church (1587); <i>not</i> the Patrick Dunbar who worked in Haddington (1610-1614)
John Gib	1588	Rogers 1882:ciii	Sep 14, 1588			prebendary

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
Patrick Dunbar	1592	RPC i/iv:709	Jan 4, 1592			
Thomas Hudson	1592	Rogers 1882:xcviii				confirmed as Master
John Angus	1595	FES v:42				described as parson of Crieff, November 1595
William Angus	1595	FES v:42				described as parson of Kirkinner, November 1595
William Hudson	1597	Watt 1969:339				Treasurer
Thomas Gray	1599	McQuaid 1949:142		Crieff <i>secundus</i> ; parsonage and vicarage of St Mary of the Lowes	death of John Angus (Crieff <i>secundus</i>)	Musician
John Ross	1600	-1617 McQuaid 1949:119				Musician; also in St Andrews, 1595-97
William Chalmer	1601	Rogers 1882:ci	May 14, 1601			"lwter of the Chapel Royal"; granted further benefices from the king in 1605 (Rogers 1882:ci-cii)
Thomas Gray	1603	- 1619x Watt 1969:339; Rogers 1882:cxxxi, cxxxiii, cxxxv, cxxxvii				Treasurer "non resident, never comis to the chapel"; held prebend of Crieff [<i>secundus</i>] c. 1619

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
William Scott	1603	-1619 Watt 1969:337; x1624 Rogers 1882:xxxxi, cxxxv			Cantor "can not serve nor will not reside"; lives in the Borders
John Gib	1605	Rogers 1882:ciii	Feb 18, 1605		made receiver and administrator of chapel rents
Gavin Hamilton	1605	-1612 Watt 1969:336			?Bishop
Symeoun Ramsay	1605	Rogers 1882:cii		death of Andrew Gray	"for better sustentatioun and intertenement at the scuillis, and to encourage him to contiw in the studie of letters and exerceis musick"
John Gib	1610	Rogers 1882:cvi	Apr 15, 1610		to receive all chapel rents
John Gordon	1610	Watt 1969:336			?Bishop
William Birnie	1612	-1614 Watt 1969:336 (?)			Dean
James Castellaw (Snr)	1612	Rogers 1882:xxxxv	Dec 31, 1612		"Maister of the sax bairnis"

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to ... upon ...	Notes
John Gib	1612	Rogers 1882:cix	Jul 3, 1612		made Factor and Commissioner for settling all tacks and assedations connected with the Chapel Royal
James Gray	1612	Rogers 1882:cxv	Dec 31, 1612		Master and Commissioner of Chapel Royal; also worked in Edinburgh, 1593
William Birnie	1614	d. 19 Jan 1619 Rogers 1882:cxii-cxvi	Jun 16, 1614		presented to parsonage and vicarage of Alloway
William Cowper	1615	-1619 Watt 1969:336			Bishop; d. 15 February 1619 (Rogers 1882:cxxix)
James Castellaw (Snr)	1617	Rogers 1882:cxvii, cxxix	Apr 2, 1617		Maister of the bairnis
John Chrainthall	1617	Rogers 1882:cxix	Apr 2, 1617		prebendary of Kells
Andrew Cowper	1617	-1623 Rogers 1882:cxix, x1634 cl; Watt 1969:340	Apr 2, 1617		prebendary of Kirkinner, Subdean
Patrick Dunbar	1617	Rogers 1882:cxix	Apr 2, 1617		holds one of the prebends of Strathbran
James Duncanson	x 1617	Rogers 1882:cxix			prebendary of Castellaw

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
John Ross	x 1617	Rogers 1882:cxxxix	Apr 2, 1617			prebendary of Strathbran
James Castellaw (Snr)	1618	Laing 1851 ii:571	Aug 10, 1618			"unmeet, through age" demitted office in favour of his son who is musically qualified
James Castellaw (Jnr)	1619	Rogers 1882:cxxxi-cxxxiii				Master of the bairnis "attendis dayly"; holds part of the prebend of Coylton and a prebend of Castellaw
Andrew Cowper	1619	Rogers 1882:cxxxi				titular Subdean and Sacristan; brother of late Bishop of Galloway; also holds prebend of Ayr <i>primus</i>
James Cowper	1619	Rogers 1882:cxxxii				child, cannot serve; nephew to the late Bishop of Galloway
Thomas Cowper	1619	Rogers 1882:cxxxii				child, cannot serve; nephew to the late Bishop of Galloway
Patrick Dunbar	1619	Rogers 1882:cxxxii, cxxxiii				"parson of Balmaclellan, titular, attendis and is skilfull" also holds one of the five prebends of Strathbran
William Duncanson	1619	Rogers 1882:cxxxiii				"that dwelleth into pole" [<i>i.e.</i> that lives in Poland] holds one of the prebends of Castellaw
John Gib	1619	White 1972 i:217				no attendance

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
James Keith	1619	-1623 Rogers 1882:cxviii				holds two prebends of Castellaw, "attendis and is skilfull"
Andrew Lamb	1619	-1621 Watt 1969:336				Dean
Bernard Lindsay	1619	- x1629 Rogers 1882:cxvii				cannot attend; "chamber chield" of James VI (Rogers 1882:cxvii); also held prebend of Restalrig Collegiate Church
Henry Mow	1619	White 1972:217				child, [musician?]
Andrew Sinclair	1619	-1636 Rogers 1882:cxvii				"person of dalrumpill ... attendis and is skilfull"
Stephen Tullidaff	1619	-1638 Rogers 1882:cxviii				holds four of the prebends of Strathbran
Adam Bellenden	1621	-1635 Watt 1969:337				Dean
James Castellaw (Jnr)	1623	Rogers 1882:cl	Aug 5, 1623			
Patrick Dunbar	1623	Rogers 1882:cl	Aug 5, 1623			

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
Alexander Hay	1623	-1632 Rogers 1882:cl	Aug 5, 1623		
James Keith	1623	Rogers 1882:cl	Aug 5, 1623		also worked in Edinburgh, 1618 (McQuaid 1949:268)
James Laurie	1623	x Rogers 1882:cl; RPC 1634 ii/v:601	Aug 5, 1623		also worked in Ayr, 1612-17 (McQuaid 1949:271); reader at Holyroodhouse Kirk in 1634
James Law	1623	Rogers 1882:cxlix, cl	Aug 5, 1623		?Treasurer
Robert Ross	1623	Rogers 1882:cl	Aug 5, 1623		
Walter Troup	1623	-1634 Rogers 1882:cl	Aug 5, 1623		worked in Edinburgh, 1616-22
Stephen Tullidaff	1623	Rogers 1882:cl	Aug 5, 1623		worked in Dunfermline 1626-30 and in Edinburgh from 1630
Humphrey Watsoun	1623	-1634 Rogers 1882:cl	Aug 5, 1623		
John Watsoun	1623	-1636 Rogers 1882:cl	Aug 5, 1623		

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
Robert Weir	1623	Rogers 1882:cl	Aug 5, 1623			
James Weland	1623	Rogers 1882:cl	Aug 5, 1623			also worked in Stirling, 1603 and 1623
Robert Wynram	1623	Rogers 1882:cl	Aug 5, 1623			Albany Herald
Robert Wynram	1624	-1624 Watt 1969:337; x1628 Rogers 1882:clii	Jul 7, 1624			appointed "ordinary musitianer" (Cantor)
Edward Kellie	1628	-1634 Watt 1969:338				Cantor; also held a prebend of Strathbran in 1633 (RMS viii:No. 2200)
Edward Kellie	x 1628	Rogers 1882:clxi	Mar 17, 1628	part of St Mary of the Lowes	death of Sir George Gray and deprivation of William Scott and Robert Wynram	appointed prebendary and musician; "ane of the ordinar musitianes ... this lang tyme bygane"
Edward Kellie	1629	-1631 Rogers 1882:clxii	Nov 29, 1629			Receiver of chapel rents, Director of Music

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
Bernard Lindsay	x 1629	Watt 1969:340			Subdean
Andrew Ramsay	1629	-1649 Watt 1969:340			Subdean [and Sacristan] [†]
Alexander Hay	1630	RPC ii/iv:12, 34, 35			Musician
Edward Kellie	1630	RPC ii/iv:12, 34, 35,			
Andrew Sinclare	1630	RPC ii/iv:12, 34, 35			Musician
Alexander Hay	1632	RPC ii/iv:474			also worked at South Leith, 1678–82
Edward Kellie	1632	RPC ii/iv:479, 480			
Andrew Sinclare	1632	RPC ii/iv:408, 474, 481			Organist in Edinburgh, 1633
Stephen Tullidaff	1633	RMS viii:No. 2200	Jul 20, 1633		held four prebends of Strathbran and Glenshee

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc Presented to ... upon ...	Notes
John Castellaw	1634	– x1649 RPC ii/v:408; APS vi(ii):482		
Robert Colquhoun	1634	–1635 RPC ii/v:408; ii/vi:110		
James Creichtoun	1634	–1636 RPC ii/v:408; ii/vi:166		also worked in Edinburgh, 1617
George Fergusoun	1634	RPC ii/v:408		
Francis Marchell	1634	–1636 RPC ii/v:408; ii/vi:166		
Eleazer McKiesoun	1634	–1636 RPC ii/v:408; ii/vi:3, 110, 166		
Edward Millar	1634	–1636 RPC ii/v:408; ii/vi:110, 166; Watt 1969:338		Cantor; also in Edinburgh, 1624–7
Robert Ross	1634	RPC ii/v:408		
Martine Thomesone	1634	RPC ii/v:408		

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
Walter Troup	1634	RPC ii/ v:408			
Stephen Tullidaff	1634	RPC ii/ v:408			
Humphrey Watsoun	1634	RPC ii/ v:408			
John Watsoun	1634	RPC ii/ v:408			
William Mercer	1635	RPC ii/ vi:110	Sep 22, 1635		Musician in Edinburgh in 1631, involved in Chapel Royal pay dispute in 1635
Edward Millar	x 1635	Rogers 1882:clxxxvii	Feb 15, 1635		
Andrew Sinclare	1635	-1636 RPC ii/ vi:110, 160, 161, 166			
Stephen Tullidaff	1635	-1636 RPC ii/ vi:110, 166			
John Watsoun	1635	-1636 RPC ii/ vi:110, 166			
James Wedderburn	1635	-1638 Watt 1969:337			Dean

Name	Year	Source	Date of Doc	Presented to	... upon ...	Notes
James Creichtoun	x 1636	RPC ii/vi:166				
Alexander Lewis	1638	RMS x:No. 850	Jul 31, 1638			also worked in South Leith, 1649; holds one prebend of Strathbran and Glenshee
Stephen Tullidaff	1638	RMS ix:No. 850	Jul 31, 1638			holds four prebends of Strathbran and Glenshee
Andrew Ramsay	1655	-1658 Rogers 1882:ccix				Subdean
Robert Leighton	1661	-1669 RMS xi:No. 141; Rogers 1882:ccxii	Dec 12, 1661	Dean and Bishop of Dunblane		presently principal of Edinburgh University
Archibald Turner	1663	-1681 Rogers 1882:ccx				Subdean
James Ramsay (II)	1673	-1684 Rogers 1882:ccxvii				Dean
John Hamilton (III)	1681	-1686 Rogers 1882:ccxviii				Subdean
Robert Douglas	1684	-1689 Rogers 1882:ccxvii				Dean
John Mackqueene	1688	-1689 Rogers 1882:ccl				Subdean

Appendix B

Wages of Scottish church musicians and song school masters, 1500–1700

Before 1603 the value of the pound Scots fluctuated against that of the pound sterling. From 1603 until 1707 the exchange rate was fixed: the pound Scots was equal to one-twelfth of the pound sterling (Gibson & Smout 1995:xv). For ease of comparison, all sums of money are quoted in pounds, shillings and pence (£ s d) Scots. The merk (equal to two-thirds of a pound) was the common unit of account throughout the period; sums of merks have been converted into pounds for this appendix. All payments are for a period of one year, unless otherwise specified.

<u>Decimal coinage</u>	<u>Imperial coinage</u>
£1 = 100 pence	£1 = 20 shillings
	1 shilling = 12 pence

The Table (pp.374–384)

The following table and figures are concerned with musicians working at parish level. The information contained in the table is based upon evidence presented in the main body of the present study: each entry is supported by a reference to the appropriate page of the main text. To facilitate comparison, entries have been listed under the geographical headings of Chapters 2–5, *viz.* the North-East and North of Scotland, the East of Scotland, Central Scotland and the West and South of Scotland. The table includes information on the wages of precentors, song school masters and doctors and, for the pre-Reformation period, singers and organists; along with notes on payment in kind (*e.g.* food, clothing or house rent).

The Figures (p.385f)

The figures are based upon some of the data in the table. They plot the rise and fall of song school masters' wages for the period 1530–1603 and during the seventeenth century. The wage levels charted here (and in the table) must be considered as basic levels of pay in each case, since song school masters' wages were invariably augmented by the schollage of their pupils and additional fees for acting as session clerks (*e.g.* for keeping registers), for precenting and for other occasional musical engagements (*e.g.* funerals and

civic entertainments). These perquisites often substantially increased the master's basic wage (e.g. the "compensation" allowed to the song school master in New Aberdeen (1644) some time after he had had his right to perquisites withdrawn). Furthermore, the duties of song school masters changed during the period of this study, and from area to area (e.g. most taught reading and writing, but not all taught instrumental music). It is therefore very difficult to establish exact parity between wage levels at different times and in different places. Nevertheless the data presented in the figures do show consistent general trends in wage patterns throughout the period.

Figure 1: Song School Masters' Wages, 1530–1603¹

The chart on p.385 shows that, during the pre-Reformation period, song school masters' wages were no higher than £20, even in large and important towns like New Aberdeen and Edinburgh. The lack of data for the period 1560–76 is a tangible reflection of the disruption caused by the Reformation. Very few song schools continued operating during this period, consequently we have scarcely any information regarding them. The increase in data during the 1580s and 1590s is a direct result of the 1579 'Act of tymous remeid': several new song schools were set up during this period. Furthermore, the Act's stipulation that masters should be musically qualified led to substantial wage increases: the relatively few men who were suitably qualified were highly sought after and were attracted to one burgh or another by the promise of better pay. It is conceivable that, by the end of the sixteenth century, well-paid song school masters probably held significant social status within their communities.

It is not clear why the master's wage in Ayr should have dropped during the mid-1580s, although a new master was appointed in 1584/5. A new master was appointed at Edinburgh's song school in 1582, possibly occasioning a reduction in pay. However it seems odd that the wage of the capital's song school master should have been the last to be affected by the general increases seen during the last fifteen years of the century. During the 1590s the sharpest wage increases occurred in New Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Dundee—the three wealthiest burghs at the time—and in Elgin. Elgin was only the thirteenth wealthiest Scottish burgh in 1583

¹ Notes: No data have been collected for the period 1500–1534. The Edinburgh wages for 1579, 1580 and 1582 were supplemented by rent-free housing. The song school master in Ayr was granted additional payments (not shown) in 1601–3.

(McNeill & MacQueen 1996:310, 315), but the song school master's wage was funded from a royal benefaction. The anomalously low wage in New Aberdeen in 1598 was received by an interim song school master.

To provide an interesting comparison of contemporary wages, the data in this figure may be compared with charts produced by Gibson & Smout in their study of prices, food and wages in Scotland (1995:361). Gibson & Smout's Figure 9.3 estimates the weekly income of masons (*i.e.* skilled craftsmen) and unskilled labourers working in Edinburgh, 1550–1780². Comparison of these statistics must be done with caution for several reasons: prices and wages varied from one area to another and masons and labourers almost certainly did not work 52 weeks of the year (Gibson & Smout 1995:345). Furthermore, as noted above, the song school masters' wages charted in Figures 1 and 2 are basic wage levels: masters could expect to receive additional pay from various perquisites, varying from town to town. However, general trends can be described from the figures.

For the period 1553–9, Edinburgh's song school master received a basic wage less than that of an unskilled labourer, yet enough to sustain a single man's estimated cost of living. New Aberdeen's song school master received roughly the equivalent of the Edinburgh labourer. By the late 1570s, the Edinburgh labourer's wage was somewhere between that received by the song school masters in Dundee and Edinburgh. By the mid 1580s the masters in New Aberdeen, the Canongate and Ayr earned slightly less than the Edinburgh labourer. During the early 1590s the Edinburgh labourer earned around two-and-a-half times more than the basic wage of the capital's song school master—the widest and most surprising discrepancy in wages during the sixteenth century. Hereafter the wages of song school masters may more easily be compared with those of skilled masons—evidence of their recently acquired “professional” status.

At the close of the sixteenth century, the master's wages in Edinburgh, New Aberdeen and Dundee were slightly less than that of the Edinburgh mason. The song school masters in Perth (1593) and Elgin (1603) must have enjoyed a very comfortable standard of living, earning around one-and-a-half times as much as the Edinburgh mason in each of these years. The master's wage in Ayr at the beginning of the seventeenth century lagged well behind his east-coast contemporaries, being roughly equivalent to that

² Gibson & Smout's figures presents masons' and labourers' wages as amounts of shillings per week, requiring a similar conversion of data from Figure 1 and the table.

of the Edinburgh labourer³.

Figure 2: Song School Masters' Wages, 1600–1700⁴

The following analysis refers to the chart on p.386. We have considerably more data for the seventeenth century, almost all of which describe the same general trend. The wages of song school masters rise (dramatically in some cases) during the first thirty to forty years of the century. Wages reach their zenith with that received by Perth's master in 1617. The high points of other masters' wages occur in 1616 (Edinburgh), 1621 (Ayr), 1628 (Dundee), 1636 (Stirling), 1639 (Linlithgow), 1646 (Glasgow), 1648 (Old Aberdeen) and 1652 (Elgin⁵). The first (and most dramatic) rise at Perth in 1617 coincides with James VI's return visit to Scotland, during which he travelled to that town. Most of the other wage high-points are reached during the 1620s and 1630s, contemporary with other significant events in church music history, particularly the rise of Episcopalianism (a cause advanced by Charles I on his visit to Scotland in 1633), the revitalization of the Chapel Royal (1631) and the publication of the harmonized psalters (1625–35). Other pay rates apparently remained level during this period (£200 in St Andrews, 1626–33; £80 in New Aberdeen, 1607–36⁶; and £66 13s 4d in Lanark, 1627–34).

We have fewer data for the 1650s and 1660s⁷, but the surviving evidence shows a marked downward trend in wages during this period. The paucity of information and the decline in pay may in part be accounted for by the years of civil war during the 1640s and the probable need of burghs to regain some economic stability thereafter. The most dramatic fall in wage occurs in Dundee (1652) and this was certainly a direct result of General Monk's

³ Ayr was ranked seventh among the wealthy burghs in 1583 but became gradually poorer during the seventeenth century, to judge by the town's tax assessments (McNeill & MacQueen 1996:310f).

⁴ Notes: In order to avoid cluttering the chart with too much data, this figure does not include information for certain song schools: those at Tain, Inverness, Kirkhill (near Inverness), Banff, Dunfermline, Cupar, the Netherbow (Edinburgh), South Leith, Haddington, Dunbar and Irvine; there are less than four references to masters' wages at these schools during the seventeenth century (for which, see the table). The following wages were supplemented by rent-free housing: Old Aberdeen (1604), Perth (1605), Dundee (1621, 1622). The New Aberdeen wage for 1624 was supplemented by an additional sum of £20 (not shown). The Linlithgow wage for 1691 was supplemented by an unspecified sum from the kirk session.

⁵ Note that this high point is only achieved after a fall in the master's wage c. 1622.

⁶ The anomalously low wage of £20 at New Aberdeen in 1634 was paid to the master "be resone of his old decrepit age", implying, perhaps, that he was no longer undertaking all his former duties.

⁷ We have little or no information concerning wages in Edinburgh, New Aberdeen, Linlithgow, Ayr and Perth.

invasion the previous year (see p.136).

Following the nadir of the 1650s and 1660s, Dundee, Glasgow, Stirling, Edinburgh and New Aberdeen show an upward trend in wages, though this tails off somewhat towards the end of the century (*cf.* Stirling, 1694–1700). Masters' wages in Old Aberdeen⁸ and Linlithgow similarly fall around this time. The master's wage in Elgin appears to remain constant during the later part of the century. There is insufficient data to allow analysis of wages in Perth and Ayr around this time. The highest paid music teachers in Scotland at the close of the seventeenth century were George Adam (Glasgow, 1679), Louis de France (Aberdeen, 1675 and Edinburgh, 1678) and William McGie (Stirling 1694). We know a good deal about Louis de France but relatively little about Adam and McGie, which is a great pity for, to judge by their wages, they must have been his equals in musical accomplishment.

There was certainly a wide fluctuation in wages during the seventeenth century. Some of the data may be compared, again cautiously, with the earnings of masons and labourers (see above). Gibson & Smout (1995:362, Figure 9.4) estimate the wages of a Glasgow mason to be around 60s–63s per week [\approx £156–£163 16s *p.a.*] from the 1630s onwards; and that of a Glasgow labourer to be around 36s per week [\approx £93 12s] from the late 1650s onwards. (These are the highest levels for the century and remain constant for the remainder of the century.) The figures for Edinburgh are a little lower than these, respectively *c.* 53s per week [\approx £137 16s *p.a.*] and 33s per week [\approx £85 16s *p.a.*]. Comparison with Figure 2 shows that, before the decline of the 1650s (noted above), song school masters in Perth, Edinburgh, Dundee and St Andrews were paid considerably more than masons. The masters in Stirling (1626–44), Old Aberdeen (1646–8), Glasgow (1646) and Elgin (1652) were paid wages comparable with those of masons. During the early part of the century, song school masters in other areas received wages more closely approximating those of labourers. From the 1670s onwards only Glasgow, New Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Stirling and Dundee could afford to pay masters the equivalent of, or more than, masons. Around the same time song school masters' wages in other towns appear to have been appallingly low, frequently less than those of labourers. One must assume they were

⁸ The anomalous wage of £40 received by the master in Old Aberdeen in 1681 was prompted by the master's complaint that his salary (previously only £10) "hath been deminished considerable besides that q[ui]ch was payed formerlie". Considering his £10 salary was the second lowest received by any song school master during this two-hundred year period, he must have felt particularly aggrieved.

supplemented in some way by schollage and dues for acting as session clerks.

Period	Area	East of Scotland	Central Scotland	West and South of Scotland
	North-East and North of Scotland			
1500s	1508: New Aberdeen, St Nicholas's: Organist and Choirmaster £7 8s (p.76)			
1510s	1510: New Aberdeen, St Nicholas's: Singer £10 (p.76)			
	1514: New Aberdeen, St Nicholas's: Singer £6 13s 4d (p.76)			
1520s	1521: New Aberdeen, St Nicholas's: Singer and Organist £2 and "meat circualie" (p.76)			
	1527: Old Aberdeen, King's College: Organist £4 (p.75)			
1530s				1535: Ayr: Song School Master £20 (p.211)
1540s	1544: New Aberdeen: Song School Master £20 (p.78)		1540: Linlithgow: Chaplain and Singer £4 (p.150)	
1550s		1553: Dundee: Singer £6 13s 4d (p.115)	1553: Edinburgh: Singer £5 for one term (p.156)	

			1553: Edinburgh: Song School Master £10 (p.155)	
			1554: Edinburgh: Singer £13 6s 8d (p.156)	
			1554: Edinburgh: Song School Master £10 (p.155)	
			1555: Edinburgh: Song School Master £10 (p.155)	
			1555: Edinburgh: Singer £13 6s 8d (p.156)	
			1556: Edinburgh: Song School Master £10 (p.155)	
			1557: Edinburgh: Song School Master £10 (p.155)	
			1558: Edinburgh: Song School Master £10 (p.155)	
			1559: Edinburgh: Song School Master £10 (p.155)	
		1555: New Aberdeen: Singers: 8s and £4 (p.79)		
		1558: New Aberdeen: Song School Master £14 13s 4d (p.79)		
		1559: New Aberdeen: Song School Master £14 13s 4d (p.79)		
1560s				

1570s	1576: New Aberdeen: Song School Master £14 13s 4d; Doctor £4 (for clothes) (p.82)		1577: Edinburgh: Precentor 10s per week [= £26 p.a.] (p.161)	1573: Ayr: Precentor £10 (p.216)
			1579: Edinburgh: Song School Master £13 6s 8d + house rent (p.161)	
1580s		1580: Dundee: Song School Master £20 (p.123)	1580: Edinburgh: Song School Master £13 6s 8d + house rent (p.162)	
		1581: Cupar: Song School Master £6 13s 4d (p.132)	1582: Edinburgh Song School Master £10 + house and lands rent free (p.162)	
			1584: Canongate: Precentor £10 (p.162)	1584: Ayr: Song School Master £17 (p.217)
			1585: Canongate: Song School Master £20 (p.162)	1585: Ayr: Song School Master payments of £5 and £10 (p.217)
	1587: New Aberdeen: Song School Master £20 (p.82)		1586: Edinburgh: a Precentor £6 13s 8d (p.163)	1586: Ayr: Song School Master £10 (p.217)
1590s			1590: Edinburgh: Song School Master £10 (p.a.?) (p.163)	1590: Dumfries: Precentor £2 10s (p.218)
	1595: Elgin: Song School Master £80 (p.85)	1593: Perth: Song School Master £100 (p.125)	1592: Edinburgh: Song School Master £10 (p.a.?) (p.163)	1591: Dumfries: Precentor £2 10s (p.218)
	1597: New Aberdeen: Song School Master £80 (p.82)			1594: Glasgow, New (Tron) Kirk: Precentor £53 6s 8d (p.214)

	1598: New Aberdeen: interim Song School Master £13 6s 8d (p.84)		1597: Edinburgh: Song School Master £60 (p.165)	1597: Ayr: Song School Master £20 (p.217)
1600s	1600: New Aberdeen: Precentor £3 6s 8d (p.84)	1602: Dundee: Song School Master £80 (p.123)		1601: Ayr: Song School Master £40 (and additional £13 6s 8d) (p.217f)
				1602: Ayr: Song School Master £40 (and additional £14) (p.217f)
	1603: Elgin: Song and Grammar School Master £133 6s 8d (p.106)	1603: Dundee: Song School Master £80 (p.123)		1603: Ayr: Song School Master £40 (and additional £6 13s 4d) (p.217f)
	1604: Old Aberdeen: Song School Master c. £13 5s + house rent (p.87)			1604: Ayr: Song School Master £40 (p.217f)
	1607: New Aberdeen: Song School Master £80 (p.93)	1605: Perth: Song School Master and Precentor £80 + house rent (p.137)	1605: Stirling: Precentor £40 (p.168)	
		1609: Dundee: Song School Master £133 6s 8d (p.134)	1609: Edinburgh: Song School Master £200 (p.165)	
1610s		1612: Dundee: Song School Master £200 (p.134)	1616: Edinburgh: Song School Master £300 (p.179)	1614: Ayr: Song School Master and Precentor £80 (p.236f)
		1613: Dundee: Song School Doctor £10 (p.135)	1616: Edinburgh, Netherbow: Song School Master £133 6s 8d (p.179)	1615: Ayr: Song School Master and Precentor £80 (p.236f)
		1617: Perth: Precentor and Song School Master £340 (p.138)	1618: Stirling: Precentor £6 13s 4d (p.168)	1616: Ayr: Song School Master and Precentor £80 (p.236f)

			1619: Stirling: Precentor £6 13s 4d (p.168)	1617: Ayr: Song School Master and Precentor £80 (p.237)
1620s	1620: Elgin: Song School Doctor £3 6s 8d (p.106)	1621: Dundee: Song School Master £200 + house rent (p.135)	1620: Stirling: Music Teacher and Precentor £20 (p.169)	1620: Ayr: Music School Master £100 (p.237)
	1620: Banff: Grammar School Master and Precentor £53 6s 8d (p.111)	1622: Dundee: Song School Master £200 + house rent (p.135)	1620: Stirling: Music Teacher and Precentor, a total of £46 13s 8d (p.170)	1621: Dumbarton: Schoolteacher £100 (p.238)
	1622: Elgin: Song School Master £100; Doctor £1 6s 8d (p.106)		1621: Dunbar: English and Music School Master £100 (p.203)	1621: Ayr: Music School Master £100 + £33 6s 8d for precenting? (p.237)
	1624: New Aberdeen: Song School Master £80 (p.96f) and £20 (supplementary?)	1626: St Andrews: Song School Master and Precentor £200 (p.141)	1626: Stirling: Music Teacher and Precentor £133 6s 8d (p.171)	
	1625: Elgin: Song School Master £100 (p.106)	1627: St Andrews: Song School Master and Precentor £200 (p.141)		1627: Lanark: Music Teacher £66 13s 4d (p.233)
	1628: Tain: Song School Master £100 (p.112)	1627: Cupar: Song School Master £100; Doctor £26 13s 4d (p.141)		1628: Lanark: Music Teacher £66 13s 4d (p.233)
	1628: Inverness: Song School Master £36 (p.112)	1628: Cupar: Song School Master £100; Doctor £26 13s 4d (p.141)		
	1629: New Aberdeen: Song School Doctor £10 13s 4d supplementary (p.97)	1628: Dundee: Song School Master £266 13s 4d (p.135)		
1630s	1634: Old Aberdeen: Precentor £60 (p.88)	1632: St Andrews: Song School Master and Precentor £200 (p.141)	1632: Falkirk: Schoolmaster, Session Clerk and Precentor £40 (p.175)	1633: Irvine: Musician £100 (p.238)

	1634: New Aberdeen: Song School Master £20 (p.94)	1633: St Andrews: Song School Master and Precentor £200 (p.141)	1633: Linlithgow: Song School Master and Precentor £66 13s 4d (p.176)	1633: Wigtown: Grammar School Teacher and Precentor £200 (p.239)
	1634: Tain: Song School Master £100 (p.112)	1634: Dundee: Song School Master £266 13s 4d (p.135)		1633: Lanark: Music Teacher £66 13s 4d (p.234)
	1634: Inverness: Song School Master £36 (p.112)			1634: Lanark: Music Teacher £66 13s 4d (p.234)
	1636: New Aberdeen: Song School Master £80 (p.100)	1637: Dundee: Song School Doctor £10 and £100 for precenting (p.135)	1636: Stirling: Music Teacher and Precentor £160 (p.171)	
			1637: Linlithgow: Song School Master £66 13s 4d (p.177)	
			1638: Linlithgow: Song School Master £80 (p.177)	
			1639: Linlithgow: Song School Master £106 13s 4d (p.177)	
1640s	1644: New Aberdeen: Song School Master's compensation £53 6s 8d (p.96)	1646: Dunfermline: Precentor 4 dollers [= £12] (p.145)	1643: South Leith: Precentor and Music Teacher £200 + house rent (p.196)	1646: Glasgow: Precentor/Song School Master £106 13s 4d (p.224)
	1646: Old Aberdeen: Song School Master £133 6s 8d (p.89)		1644: Stirling: Music Teacher and Precentor £160 (p.172)	1646: Glasgow, High Kirk: Precentor/Song School Master £173 6s 8d (p.224f)
	1648: Old Aberdeen: Song School Master £166 13s 4d (p.90)		1647: Edinburgh: Precentor £20 (p.185)	1648: Glasgow, Blackfriars: Precentor £26 13s 4d (p.225)

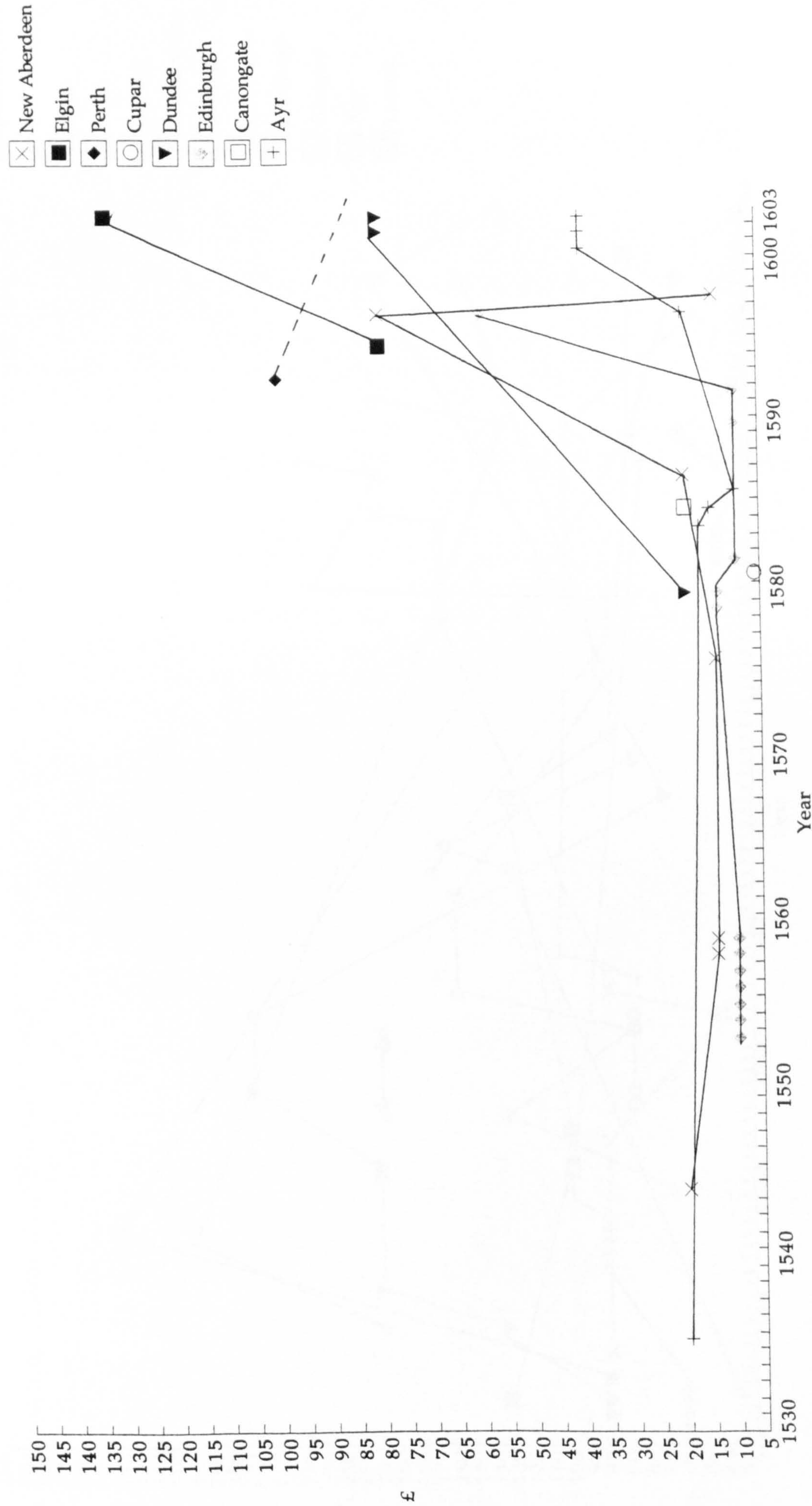
					1649: Glasgow, Blackfriars: Precentor: £27 10s (p.225)
					1649: Glasgow, New Tron Kirk: Precentor £40 (p.225)
1650s	1652: Elgin: Song School Master £133 6s 8d (p.107)	1652: Dundee: Song School Master £50 (p.136)	1650: Stirling: Precentor (and Music Teacher?) £160 (p.173) p.225)		1650: Glasgow, Blackfriars: Precentor £20 (nine months only?; p.225)
					1653: Glasgow, Outer High Kirk: Precentor £40 (p.226)
					1653: Glasgow, High Kirk: Precentor £106 13s 4d (p.226)
					1654: Glasgow, Blackfriars: Precentor £20 (p.226)
	1655: Old Aberdeen: Song School Master £66 13s 4d (p.90)				1655: Glasgow, Blackfriars: Precentor £20 (p.226)
					1656: Glasgow, High Kirk: Precentor £133 6s 8d (p.226)
	1657: Elgin: Song School Master £80 (p.108)		1657: South Leith: Precentor and School Master £133 6s 8d (p.198)		1656: Glasgow, Laigh Kirk: Precentor £20 (p.226)

1660s	1662: Dundee: Song School Master £83 6s 8d (p.136)	1662: Stirling: Music Teacher and Precentor £80 (p.173)	1660: Glasgow, Laigh Kirk: Precentor £20 (p.226)
	1663: Dundee: Song School Master £83 6s 8d (p.136)	1665: Edinburgh: Main Precentor £266 13s 4d (p.187)	1664: Glasgow: Three Precentors £40 each (p.228)
	pre-1665: Dunfermline: Song School Master £80 (p.145)	1665: Edinburgh: Second Precentor £200 (p.187)	1665: Glasgow: Three Precentors £40 each (p.228)
	1665: Dunfermline: Song School Master £60 (p.146)	1665: Edinburgh: Four lesser Precentors £133 6s 8d each (p.187)	1665: Glasgow: Precentor/Music School Master £80 (p.228)
	1666: New Aberdeen: Song School Master £166 13s 4d (p.96)		1666: Glasgow: Three Precentors £40 each (p.228)
			1666: Glasgow: Precentor/Music School Master £80 (p.228)
			1666: Glasgow: Musician £80 (p.228)
			1667: Glasgow: Three Precentors £40 each (p.228)
			1667: Glasgow: Precentor/Music School Master £80 (p.228)
			1668: Glasgow: Three Precentors £40 each (p.228)

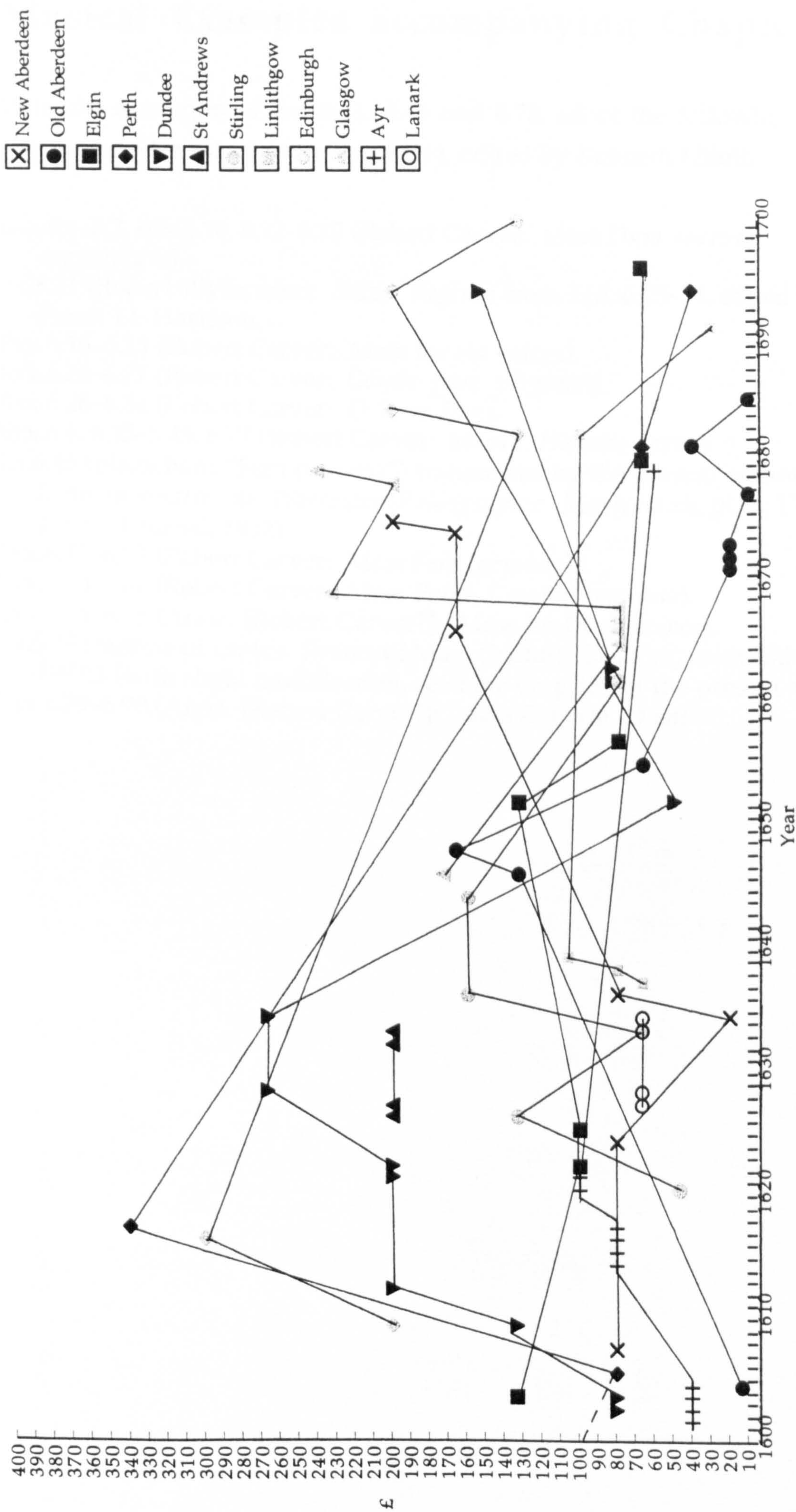
					1668: Glasgow: Precentor/Music School Master £80 (p.228)
					1669: Glasgow: Precentor/Music School Master £233 6s 8d (p.228)
					1672: Glasgow, Outer High Kirk: Precentor £40 (p.229)
				1674: South Leith: Precentor and Session Clerk £133 6s 8d (p.199)	1678: Glasgow, Inner High Church: Precentor/Music School Master £200 (p.229)
				1674: South Leith: Precentor £6 13s 4d (p.200)	1679: Glasgow, Inner High Church: Precentor/Music School Master £240 (p.230)
				1675: Edinburgh: all new Precentors £100 each (p.188)	1679: Glasgow, Laigh Kirk: Precentor £40 (p.230)
				1677: Haddington: Music School Master £100 + house rent (p.203)	1679: Glasgow, Outer High Kirk : Precentor £40 (p.230)
					1679: Ayr: Music School Master £60 (p.238)
				1680: Stirling: Precentor £200 (p.174)	
				1681: Perth: Music School Master and Precentor £66 13s 4d (p.140)	
1670s	1671: Old Aberdeen: Song School Master £20 (p.91)				
	1672: Old Aberdeen: Song School Master £20 (p.91)				
	1673: Old Aberdeen: Song School Master £20 (p.91)				
	1674: New Aberdeen: Song School Master £166 13s 4d (p.103)				
	1675: New Aberdeen: Song School Master £200 (p.104)				
	1675: Banff: Song School Master £13 6s 8d (p.111)				
	1677: Old Aberdeen: Song School Master £10 (p.91)				
1680s	1680: Elgin: Song School Master £66 13s 4d? (p.108f)				

	1680: Banff: Song School Master £53 6s 8d (p.111)		1682: Edinburgh: Music School Master £133 6s 8d (p.188)	
	1681: Old Aberdeen: Song School Master £20 increased to £40 (p.91)		1682: Linlithgow: Song School Master £100? (p.177)	
	1681: Elgin: Precentor £12 (p.109)			
	1682: Kirkhill (near Inverness): Song School Master £20 and a chaldar of victuall (p.112)			
	1683: Banff: Song School Master £33 6s 8d from kirk (and same again from council?) (p.111)		1684: Edinburgh: Music School Master £200 (p.189)	
	1685: Old Aberdeen: Song School Master £10 (p.91)		1687: Edinburgh: Music Master £266 13s 4d (p.191)	
		1688: Dunfermline: Precentor £14 10s (p.146)	1687: South Leith: Meeting House Precentor £33 6s 8d (p.201)	
			1689: Edinburgh: Precentors £100 (p. 191)	
1690s			1691: Linlithgow: Song School Master £30 + money from kirk session (p.178)	
			1692: South Leith Precentor £6 13s 4d (p.201)	

		1694: Dundee: Song School Master £153 6s 8d (p.137)	1692: South Leith Precentor and Clerk £80 (p.202)	
		1694: Perth: Music School Master £40 (p.140)	1694: Stirling: Music Teacher and Precentor £200? (p.174)	1696: Glasgow, Tron Kirk?: Precentor £40 (p.232)
	1696: Old Aberdeen: Reader, Precentor, Session Clerk £53 6s 1d (p.93)			1696: Glasgow, Barony Kirk: Precentor c. £4 17s 7d (p.232)
	1696: Elgin: Song School Master £66 13s 4d and £20 as Session Clerk (p.109)		1699: Edinburgh: Free School Teacher £120 (p.192)	
			1699: Linlithgow: Song School Master's pay stopped (p.178)	
1700s		1709: Perth: Music School Master £40 (p.140)	1700: Stirling: Music Teacher £133 6s 8d (p.175)	
1710s			1716: Linlithgow: Music Teacher £30 (p.178)	



Appendix B, Fig.B.1: Song School Masters' Wages, 1530–1603



Appendix B, Fig.B.2: Song School Masters' Wages, 1600–1700

Appendix C

Musical Examples accompanying Chapter 6

With the exception of Exx.6.11, 6.46 and 6.78, all of the following musical illustrations are taken from *MusScot* i, edited by Kenneth Elliott.

Exx.6.1–6.3, 6.5–6.10, 6.12–6.15 (Robert Carver: Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium*).

Ex.6.11 (Robert Wylkynson: *Salve Regina*) from MB xi:25–31, edited by Frank Ll. Harrison.

Exx.6.16–6.23 (Robert Carver: Mass for six voices).

Exx.6.24–6.27 (Robert Carver: *Gaude flore virginali*).

Exx.6.28–6.34 (Robert Carver: *O bone Jesu*).

Exx.6.4, 6.35–6.45, 6.77 (Robert Carver: Mass *L'Homme armé*).

Ex.6.46 (plainchant “*Fera pessima*”) transcribed by the present author from *L'Antiphonaire de Worcester* (*Paléographie Musicale* xii, pl.96; Desclée & Co., Tournai, 1922).

Exx.6.47–6.59 (Robert Carver: Mass *Fera pessima*).

Exx.6.60–6.64 (Robert Carver: Mass *Pater Creator omnium*).

Exx.6.65–6.76 (Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass for three voices).

Ex.6.78 (outline of *cantus firmus* of Mass *Cantate Domino*) from Elliott 1997:3 (with slight modification, see note on p.263 of the present study).

Exx.6.79–6.90 (Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass *Cantate Domino*).

Ex.6.1: Robert Carver: Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium, Credo*

80 SOLO

S₁ de Spi - ri - tu San - cto ex Ma - ri -

S₂ SOLO Et in - car - na - tus est de Spi - ri - tu San - cto ex Ma - ri -

A₂ SOLO Et in - car - na - tus est de Spi - ri - tu San - cto ex

B₁ SOLO Et in - car - na - tus est de Spi - ri - tu San - cto ex Ma - ri -

85

- a vir - gi - ne. Et ho - mo fa -

- a vir - gi - ne. Et ho - mo

Ma - ri - a vir - gi - ne. Et ho - mo fa - ctus

- a vir - gi - ne. Et ho - mo fa - ctus

90

- ctus,

fa - ctus

Ex.6.1 cont.

Score for voices S₁, S₂, A₂, T₂, T₄, B₁, and B₂. The lyrics include "fa - - ctus est.", "Cru - ci - fi - xus", and "est.".

Score for voices A₁, T₁, T₂, T₄, and B₁. The lyrics include "Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro", "Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis sub Pon-ti -", "e - ti - am pro no - - - bis sub Pon - ti - o", and "e - ti - am pro no - - - bis sub Pon - ti - o".

Ex.6.2: Robert Carver: Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium, Agnus Dei*

SOLO

50

T₁ A - gnus De

T₂ A - - - gnus De

T₃ A - - - - gnus

B₂ A - - - - - gnus De

SOLO

SOLO

SOLO

SOLO

T₁ i,

T₂ i,

T₃ De i,

B₂ i,

S₁ qui

S₂ qui

A₁ qui

A₂ qui

Ex.6.2 cont.

55

S₁ tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun

S₂ — tol - lis pec - ca - - ta mun

A₁ tol - lis pec - ca - - ta mun

A₂ tol - lis — pec - ca - ta mun

60

. di:

. di:

. di:

. di:

Ex.6.3: Robert Carver: Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium, Sanctus*

43

S₁ [Saba]-

S₂ [Saba]-

A₁ [Saba]-

A₂ [Saba]-

T₁ [Saba]-

T₂ [Saba]-

T₃ [Saba]-

T₄ [Saba]-

B₁ [Saba]-

B₂ [Saba]-

Ex.6.3 cont.

This musical score consists of ten staves, all in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth, sixteenth, and thirty-second notes, as well as rests. A measure number '45' is positioned above the first staff. The final measure of each staff concludes with a fermata and the abbreviation 'oth.'.

Ex.6.4: Robert Carver: Mass *L'Homme armé*, Gloria

This musical score is for a vocal ensemble, with four parts: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The Soprano part begins with a measure number '45' and includes the lyrics '[Filius] Pa'. The Alto part includes the lyrics '[Pa]'. The Tenor part includes the lyrics 'Fi li us'. The Bass part includes the lyrics '[Pa]'. The notation features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

Ex.6.5: Robert Carver: Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium, Gloria*

60

S₁ A - gnus De

A₂ [De]

T₂ [De] . . . us, A - - gnus De

T₃ [A] . . gnus De i, _____ Fi *FULL*

T₄ [Deus] - A - gnus De

B₁ [De]

Ex.6.5 cont.

65

FULL

S₁ - i, Fi - li-us Pa

FULL

S₂ Fi - li-us Pa

FULL

A₁ Fi - li-us Pa

FULL

A₂ - i, Fi-li-us Pa

FULL

T₁ Fi - li-us Pa

FULL

T₂ - i, Fi - li-us Pa

FULL

T₃ li us Pa

FULL

T₄ - i, Fi - li-us Pa

FULL

B₁ - i, Fi - li-us Pa

FULL

B₂ Fi - li-us Pa

Ex.6.6: Robert Carver: Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium*, Gloria

120

S₁ [A] men.

S₂ [A] men.

A₁ [A] men.

A₂ [A] men.

T₁ [#][A] men.

T₂ [#][A] men.

T₃ [#][A] - men, a men.

T₄ [A] men.

B₁ [A] men.

B₂ [A] men.

Ex.6.7: Robert Carver: Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium, Agnus Dei*

15

A1
[Dei]

T1
[Dei]

T2
[Dei]

T4
[Dei]

B1
[Dei]

Ex.6.8: Robert Carver: Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium, Credo*

75

S1
[cae] lis.

S2
[cae] lis.

A1
[cae] lis.

A2
[cae] lis.

T1
[cae] lis.

T2
[cae] lis.

T3
de cae lis.

T4
[cae]

B1
[cae] lis.

B2
[cae] lis.

Ex.6.9: Robert Carver: Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium*, Credo

150

S₁ [A] men.

S₂ [A] men.

A₁ [A] men.

A₂ [A] men.

T₁ [A] men.

T₂ [A] men.

T₃ [A] men.

T₄ [A] men.

B₁ [A] men.

B₂ [A] men.

Ex.6.10: Robert Carver: Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium*, Gloria

10

A₁ [volunta]

A₂ [vo] lun - ta

T₁ [volunta] vo - lun - ta

T₄ [volunta]

B₁ [vo] lun - ta

Ex.6.11: Robert Wylkynson: *Salve Regina*

215

Q sal

Tr [Mari] - - - a, sal

M [Mari]-a, sal

C₁ sal

C₂ sal

T sal

C₃ [Mari]-a sal

B₁ sal

B₂ sal

Ex.6.12: Robert Carver: *Mass Dum sacrum mysterium, Sanctus*

SOLO 80

S₂ glo - ri - a

A₁ SOLO glo - - ri - a

T₁ SOLO glo - - ri - a

T₂ SOLO glo - ri - a tu -

B₁ SOLO glo - ri - a

Ex.6.12 cont.

Ex.6.12 cont. is a musical score for five staves. The first staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The second staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and the lyrics "tu . . .". The third staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and the lyrics "tu . . .". The fourth staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and the lyrics "tu . . .". The fifth staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and the lyrics "tu . . .".

Ex.6.13: Robert Carver: Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium, Sanctus*

Ex.6.13: Robert Carver: Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium, Sanctus* is a musical score for five staves. The first staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and the lyrics "[Do] . . . mi . . . ni,". The second staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and the lyrics "Do . . . mi .". The third staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and the lyrics "[Domi] . . . ni, Do . . .". The fourth staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and the lyrics "[Domi] . . .". The fifth staff is a bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and the lyrics "[Domi] . . .". The number 155 is written above the first staff.

Ex.6.13 cont.

Score for voices and instruments (S₂, A₁, A₂, T₂, T₄, B₁) with lyrics: Do mi

Continuation of the score, starting at measure 160. The lyrics for the final measure are: ni.

Ex.6.14: Robert Carver: Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium, Credo*

50

S₁

S₂

A₁
SOLO
De-um de De - o, lu-men de lu - mi - ne,

A₂
[saecu] - la.
SOLO
De-um de De - o, lu-men de lu - mi -

T₁
SOLO
De-um de De - o, lu-men de lu - mi - ne,

T₂
SOLO
De-um de De - o, lu-men de lu - mi - ne,
De-um de De - o, lu-men de lu - mi -

T₃
[saecu] - la.

T₄
SOLO
De-um de De - o, lu-men de lu - mi -

B₁
SOLO
De-um de De - o, lu-men de lu - mi - ne,

B₂
SOLO
De-um de De - o, lu-men de lu - mi -

Ex.6.14 cont.

SOLO

S₁ De-um ve - rum de De-o ve - ro.

SOLO

S₂ De-um ve - rum de De-o ve - ro.

A₁

A₂ - ne.

T₁ De-um ve-rum de De - o ve - ro.

T₂ - ne. Ge -

T₃ Ge -

T₄ - ne.

B₁ De-um ve - rum de De-o ve - ro.

B₂ - ne. Ge -

Ex.6.15: Robert Carver: Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium, Credo*

Musical score for Robert Carver's Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium, Credo*. The score is written for a choir with parts for Soprano 1 (S₁), Soprano 2 (S₂), Alto 1 (A₁), Alto 2 (A₂), Tenor 1 (T₁), Tenor 2 (T₂), Tenor 3 (T₃), Tenor 4 (T₄), Bass 1 (B₁), and Bass 2 (B₂). The lyrics are: [omni] - um. Et in u - num Do - mi-num Je - sum Chri-.

The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The word **FULL** is written above several measures, indicating a full choir or organ accompaniment. The lyrics are written below the corresponding musical staves.

Lyrics: [omni] - um. Et in u - num Do - mi-num Je - sum Chri-

Ex.6.15 cont.

40

- stum, Fi - li-um De - i u - ni-ge-ni-tum.

— Chri-stum, Fi - li - um De - i u - -

Chri-stum, Fi - li-um De - - i

- - sum Chri - stum, Fi - - li -

- stum, Fi - li - um De - i u - ni-

- - stum, Fi - li - um De - - i

FULL

Je - - - - - sum

- num Je - sum Chri-stum, Fi-li-um De - -

- sum Chri-stum, Fi - - li -

- sum Chri-stum, Fi - li - um De - i

Ex.6.16: Robert Carver: Mass for six voices, *Gloria*

18

S Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi pro - pter ma - gnam

A₁ Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - - - bi pro - pter ma - gnam glo - ri - am

A₂ Gra - ti - as a - gi - - mus ti - bi pro - pter ma -

A₃ a - - gi - - mus _____ ti - bi pro - pter ma - gnam

T as a - gi - mus ti - - bi pro - pter ma - gnam

B te. Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi pro - pter ma - -

Ex.6.17: Robert Carver: Mass for six voices, *Agnus Dei*

100

[pa] -

[pa] -

[pa] -

[pa] -

[pa] -

[pa] -

Ex.6.17 cont.

105

This musical score consists of six staves. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It contains a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some measures featuring beamed sixteenth notes. The second staff continues the melody with similar rhythmic patterns. The third staff features a more complex rhythmic pattern with many beamed sixteenth notes. The fourth staff continues the melodic line. The fifth staff shows a continuation of the eighth-note melody. The sixth staff, which is a bass line, features a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The number '105' is printed above the first staff.

Ex.6.18: Robert Carver: Mass for six voices, *Sanctus*

S
[ter]-

A₁
[ter]-

B
[ter]-

50

This musical score is for three voices: Soprano (S), Alto 1 (A₁), and Bass (B). Each voice part begins with the syllable '[ter]-'. The Soprano and Alto parts are written on treble clefs, while the Bass part is on a bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The Soprano and Alto parts feature a melodic line with many beamed sixteenth notes, creating a rapid, rhythmic texture. The Bass part provides a harmonic foundation with a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes. The number '50' is printed above the first staff of the Soprano part.

Ex.6.19: Robert Carver: Mass for six voices, *Sanctus*

100

A₂ [Benedi]-ctus qui _____ ve - - -

A₃ [Benedi]-ctus qui _____ ve - - -

T qui _____ ve - - -

105

Ex.6.20a: Robert Carver: Mass for six voices, *Gloria*

[no] - - - - - stram.

[no] - - - - - stram.

Qui

Qui se - .

[no] - - - - - stram.

Qui se - des

Ex.6.20b: Robert Carver: Mass for six voices, *Credo*

Pa - - tre na - tum an - - te o - mni - a sae -

tre sae - - - cu - la.

Pa - tre na - tum an - - te o - mni - a.

et ex Pa - - tre. De -

Pa - tre na - tum an - te o - mni - a sae - - cu - la. De -

et ex Pa - tre na - tum an - te o - mni - a sae - cu - la.

Ex.6.20c: Robert Carver: Mass for six voices, *Sanctus*

85

in ex - - - - - cel - - -

[excel]

[excel]

[excel]

[excel]

[excel]

Ex.6.21a: Robert Carver: Mass for six voices, *Gloria*

23

[tu]-am. Do - - mi - ne De - -

Do - mi-ne De - us, Rex

[tu]-am. Do - mi - ne De - us,

[tu]-am. Do - mi-ne De -

[tu] . . am. Do - mi-ne De -

[tu]-am. Do - mi - ne De - us,

Musical score for six voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, Bass 1, Bass 2) in 4/4 time, Gloria. The score features six staves with lyrics in Latin. The tempo is marked *FULL*. The lyrics are: *ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo -* (Soprano), *Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo -* (Alto), *Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo -* (Tenor 1), *Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo -* (Tenor 2), *Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo -* (Bass 1), and *Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo -* (Bass 2). The score includes a fermata over the word *pax* in all parts.

Ex.6.22: Robert Carver: Mass for six voices, Credo

Musical score for Soprano (S) and Bass (B) in 4/4 time, Credo. The score features two staves with lyrics in Latin. The tempo is marked *105*. The lyrics are: *ven - tu - rus est cum glo - ri - a ju - di - ca - re vi - vos et mor - tu - os,* (Soprano) and *[ven] - tu - rus est cum glo - ri - a ju - di - ca - re vi - vos et mor - tu - os, cu -* (Bass). The score includes a fermata over the word *est* in both parts.

Ex.6.23: Robert Carver: Mass for six voices, Credo

40

SOLO

Qui pro-pter nos ho - mi-nes et pro - - pter no - .

SOLO

Qui pro-pter nos ho - mi-nes et pro-pter_____no-

[facta]_____sunt.

SOLO

Qui pro - pter nos ho - mi-nes_____et_____pro - .

[fa] - cta sunt.

[facta]_____sunt.

45

FULL

- stram sa - - lu - tem de -

FULL

- stram sa - - - - lu - tem de - . . .

FULL

de - - - scen - dit

FULL

- pter no - stram_____sa - lu - tem de .

FULL

de - - - scen - dit_

FULL

de - - - scen - dit

Ex.6.24: Robert Carver: *Gaude flore virginali*

40 45

S di - - e - i so - lis da - tur lu-mi-ne

A [di]-e - - i so - lis da - tur lu - mi - ne sic

T₁ di - - e - i so - lis da - tur lu - mi - ne sic tu

T₂ [lux]. di - - e - - i so - lis da - tur lu - mi - ne sic tu

B [di] - e - i so - - lis da - - tur lu - mi - ne sic

50

sic tu fa - - cis or - bem ve - - re tu - - ae pa - -

— tu fa - cis or - bem ve - - - re tu - ae pa - - cis

fa - cis or - bem ve - - re tu - - ae pa -

fa - - cis or-bem ve - re tu - ae pa - cis re - splen -

tu fa - - cis or - - bem ve - re tu - ae pa - - cis

Ex.6.25: Robert Carver: *Gaude flore virginali*

S
se - ro - rum qui - a pa - ter sae - cu - lo - rum da -

A
rum qui - a pa - ter sae - cu - lo - rum da - bit

T
mi - se - ro - rum

S
- bit te co - len - ti bus

A
te co - len - ti bus

Ex.6.26a: Robert Carver: *Gaude flore virginali*

S
quod haec sep - tem non ces -

A
cu - ra quod haec sep - tem non

T
ra quod haec sep - tem gau - di - a

B
ra quod haec sep - tem non

S
sa - bunt nec de - cre -

A
ces - sa - bunt nec de - cre - scent

T
non ces - sa - bunt nec de -

B
ces - sa - bunt nec de -

S
non ces - sa - bunt nec de - cre - scent

Ex.6.26b: Robert Carver: *Gaude flore virginali*

215

[flore] - scent per ae - ter - - na sae - cu - la.

per ae - ter - - na sae - cu - la.

[flo] - re - scent per ae - ter - - na sae - cu -

[florescent] - per ae - - ter - na

[florescent] - per ae - ter - - na sae - cu - la.

A -

- la.

sae - cu - la.

A -

Ex.6.27: Robert Carver: *Gaude flore virginali*

Musical score for *Gaude flore virginali* by Robert Carver, measures 175-184.

The score is written for five staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, and Bass) in 4/4 time, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat).

Measures 175-184 lyrics:

ma - - - ter Chri - sti qui -
Gau - - de vir - go ma - ter Chri - - - sti qui -
Gau - - - de vir - go ma - ter Chri - - - sti
Gau - - de vir - - - go ma - ter Chri - - -
Gau - - de vir - - - go ma - - - ter Chri - - -

Measures 185-190 lyrics:

- - - a so - - la
- a so - la me - -
qui - - - a
- sti qui - a so - -
- sti qui - - - a

Ex.6.28: Robert Carver: *O bone Jesu*

Score for *O bone Jesu* by Robert Carver, featuring 14 vocal parts (S1, S2, A1, A2, A3, T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10, T11, B1, B2, B3) in 3/4 time. The score includes lyrics and musical notation with various ornaments and phrasing marks.

Lyrics for S1, A3, T10, and B3:

O bo . . . ne_ Je . . .

O bo . . . ne_ Je . . .

O bo . . . ne_ Je . . .

O bo . . . ne_ Je . . .

Ex.6.28 cont.

[illegible]

Ex.6.28 cont.

15

The musical score consists of 15 staves. The first 14 staves are vocal parts, and the 15th staff is a bass line. The lyrics are: "O pi - is - si - me Je - su, -". The melody is in G major, with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The time signature is 4/4. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and slurs. The lyrics are written below the staves, with some words appearing on multiple staves.

O pi - is - si - me Je - su, -

- is - si - me Je - su, -

O pi - is - si - me Je - su, -

- is - si - me Je - su, -

Je - su, -

Je - su, -

Je - su, -

Je - su, -

Je - su, -

Je - su, -

Je - su, -

Je - su, -

Je - su, -

Je - su, -

Je - su, -

O pi - is - si - me Je - su, -

- is - si - me Je - su, -

Je - su, -

O pi - is - si - me Je - su, -

Ex.6.29: Robert Carver: *O bone Jesu*

40

T₁ O dul - cis Je - - su,

T₂ O dul - cis Je - - su,

T₄ O - dul - - cis Je - - su,

T₁₀ O dul - cis Je - - su,

B₃ O dul - cis Je - - su,

Ex.6.30: Robert Carver: *O bone Jesu*

30

T₁ O Je - su fi - - li

T₂ O Je - su fi - - li vir - - gi - nis Ma-

T₄ O Je - su fi - - li vir-gi - nis Ma - ri - ae

T₁₀ O

B₃ O Je - su fi - - li vir -

vir - - gi - nis Ma-ri - - ae ple -

ri - - ae ple - - nus

ple - - nus pi -

Je - su fi - - li vir - gi - nis

gi - - nis Ma-ri - - ae

Ex.6.31: Robert Carver: *O bone Jesu*

60

S₁ De - pre - cor te, per il -

T₂ san - gui-nem pre -

T₃ san - - gui-nem pre -

T₄ De - pre - cor te, per il - lum san-gui-nem

B₃ De - pre - cor te, per il - lum san - gui-nem

Ex.6.32: Robert Carver: *O bone Jesu*

55

S₁ O cle-men-tis - - si - me Je - su.

S₂ O cle-men-tis - si - - me Je - su.

A₁ O cle-men - - tis - - si-me Je - su.

T₁ [tuam] mi-se-re-re me - - i, O cle - - men-tis-si - - me Je - su.

T₂ [tuam] O cle - men-tis - si - - me Je - su.

T₄ [tu] - am, O cle-men-tis - si - - me Je - su.

T₉ O cle-men - - tis - si - - me Je - su.

T₁₀ mi - se-re-re me - i, O cle-men - tis-si-me Je - su.

B₃ mi - se-re-re me - i, O cle-men - tis - si - - me Je - su.

Ex.6.33: Robert Carver: *O bone Jesu*

T₃

140



[peri] - am_____da - mna ri

T₁₀



et ne per - - mit - tas_____me da - mna - ri

B₃

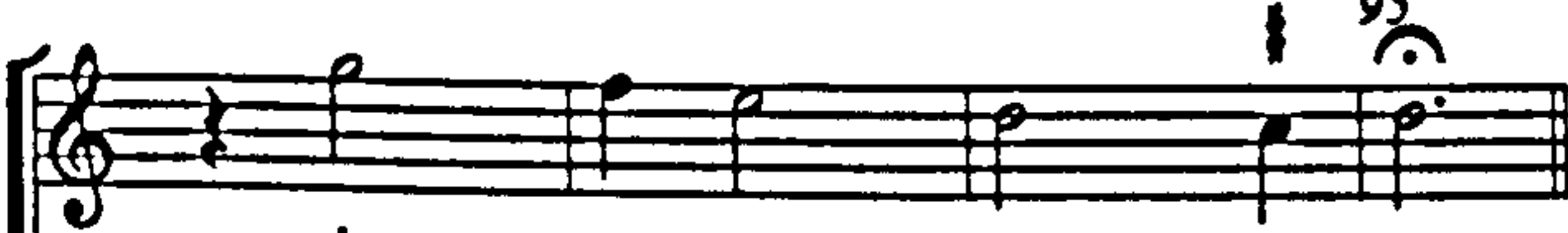


[periam]_____et ne per - - mit - tasme da - mna . ri quem

Ex.6.34: Robert Carver: *O bone Jesu*

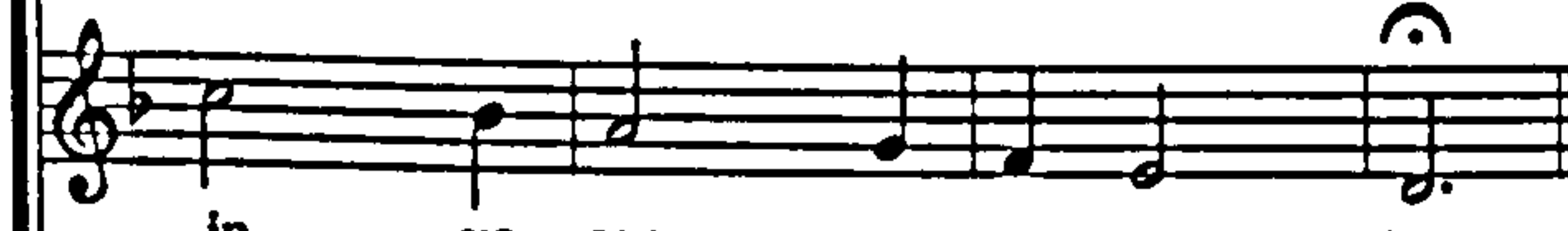
S₂

95




in . . vo - can tem:

A₂



in . vo - can tem:

T₃



in . vo . can tem:

Ex.6.35: Robert Carver: Mass *L'Homme armé, Sanctus*

40

S
[saba] oth.

A
[saba] oth.

T
[saba] oth.

B
[saba] oth.

Ex.6.36: Robert Carver: Mass *L'Homme armé, Sanctus*

120
SOLO

A
In no - mi - ne

T
SOLO
In no - mi - ne Do mi -

B
SOLO
In no - mi - ne Do mi

125

Do-mi

Ex.6.36 cont.

130

The musical score consists of three systems of three staves each. The first system starts at measure 130. The second system continues the piece. The third system starts at measure 135 and ends at measure 140. The notation includes various musical symbols such as treble and bass clefs, time signatures (4/4 and 5/4), notes, rests, and slurs. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The piece concludes with the word 'ni.' written below each staff at the end of measure 140.

135

140

ni.

ni.

ni.

Ex.6.37: Robert Carver: Mass *L'Homme armé*, Gloria

Musical score for Ex.6.37: Robert Carver: Mass *L'Homme armé*, Gloria. The score is for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and includes the lyrics: "Et in ter-ra pax ho-mi-ni-bus bo-nae vo-lun-ta-tis". The tempo is marked "FULL".

Ex.6.38: Robert Carver: Mass *L'Homme armé*, Credo

Musical score for Ex.6.38: Robert Carver: Mass *L'Homme armé*, Credo. The score is for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and includes the lyrics: "[factus] est. Cru-ci-fi-xus e-ti-am pro no-bis sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to, pas-sus et se-pul-tus est. Et re-sur-re-xit ter-ti-a". The tempo is marked "SOLO".

Ex.6.39: Robert Carver: Mass *L'Homme armé*, Credo

A

con - glo - ri - - fi - ca

T

[ado] - ra tur et _____ con - glo - ri - - fi - ca .

B

[ado] - ra - tur et con - - - glo - - ri - fi - ca . . .

145

tur.

tur.

tur.

Ex.6.40: Robert Carver: Mass *L'Homme armé*, Gloria

27

tu . . . am.

[glori] - am tu . . am. Do-mi - ne

[tu] - am. Do - mi - ne De -

ma-gnam glo-ri - - am tu - - am.

Ex.6.41: Robert Carver: Mass *L'Homme armé, Sanctus*

SOLO

45

S

Ple . . . ni sunt . . . cae - li et ter . . .

SOLO

A

Ple . . . ni . . . sunt . . .

SOLO

T

Ple . . . ni . . . sunt . . . cae . . .

50

cae . . . li . . . et ter . . .

li

Ex.6.42: Robert Carver: Mass *L'Homme armé, Gloria*

FULL

90

no . . .

FULL

no . . .

FULL

no . . .

FULL

no . . .

Ex.6.43: Robert Carver: Mass *L'Homme armé*, Sanctus

Musical score for Ex.6.43: Robert Carver: Mass *L'Homme armé*, Sanctus. The score is for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and includes the lyrics: O - san - na in - ex -

The score is written for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. Each part is marked 'FULL'. The tempo is 90. The lyrics are: O - san - na in - ex -

Ex.6.44: Robert Carver: Mass *L'Homme armé*, Gloria

Musical score for Ex.6.44: Robert Carver: Mass *L'Homme armé*, Gloria. The score is for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and includes the lyrics: u - ni - ge - ni - te Je - su Chri - ste.

The score is written for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The tempo is 35. The lyrics are: u - ni - ge - ni - te Je - su Chri - ste.

Ex.6.45: Robert Carver: Mass *L'Homme armé*, Sanctus

Musical score for Ex.6.45: Robert Carver: Mass *L'Homme armé*, Sanctus. The score is for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and includes the lyrics: [sa] - ba -

The score is written for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The tempo is 31. The lyrics are: [sa] - ba -

Ex.6.46: Fera pessima plainchant and three motifs drawn therefrom

(f) (p)

fe - - ra pes - - si - ma de - vo - ra - - vit

fi - li - um me . . . um Jo - seph

Ex.6.47: Robert Carver: Mass *Fera pessima*, Gloria

SOLO

S ho - - mi - ni - bus,

SOLO

A Et in ter - - ra pax ho - - mi - ni bus,

T₁

SOLO

T₂ Et in ter - - ra pax,

SOLO

B ho - - mi - ni - bus

Ex.6.48: Robert Carver: Mass *Fera pessima*, Credo

98

S [factus]

A [factus]

T₁ [factus]

Ex.6.49: Robert Carver: Mass *Fera pessima*, Gloria

[Chri] - ste; cum San - cto Spi - ri -

[Chris] - ste; cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu

[Christe] — cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu

cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu, Spi . . .

cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu

125 SOLO
- tu in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris.

SOLO
in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris.

- ri - tu

SOLO
in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris,

Ex.6.50: Robert Carver: Mass *Fera pessima*, *Agnus Dei*

110

A - - - gnus De-

A - - - gnus De

A - - - gnus De

A - - - gnus De-

A - - - gnus De - i

Ex.6.51: Robert Carver: Mass *Fera pessima*, *Credo*

135

[resurre] - cti - o - - - nem mor - tu - o - rum.

[resu] - re - cti - - - o - - - nem mor - tu - o - - - rum.

[resurrectio] - nem mor - - - tu - - - o - - - rum.

[resu] - re - sur - re - cti - o - - nem mor - tu - o - rum. Et vi - tam

mor - - - tu - - - o - - - rum. Et vi - tam ven -

140

Et vi - tam ven - tu - ri sae - cu -

Et vi - tam ven - tu - ri sae - - - cu - li.

Et vi - tam ven - tu - ri sae - cu - li. A -

ven - tu - ri sae - cu -

- tu - ri sae - cu - li. A - - - -

Ex.6.52: Robert Carver: Mass *Fera pessima*, Gloria

15

SOLO

Lau - da - mus te.

Be -

Lau - da - mus te.

Ex.6.53: Robert Carver: Mass *Fera pessima*, Gloria

45

o - mni - po - tens.

o - mni - po - tens.

SOLO

[o] - mni - po - tens.

SOLO Do mi-ne Fi-li

o - mni - po - tens.

SOLO Do mi-ne Fi - li

[o] - mni - po - tens.

Do - mi-ne Fi - .

Ex.6.54: Robert Carver: Mass *Fera pessima*, Sanctus

48

[saba] oth.

[saba] oth.

[saba] oth.

[saba] oth.

[saba] oth.

[saba] oth.

Ex.6.55: Robert Carver: Mass *Fera pessima, Sanctus*

50 SOLO

S Ple . . . ni . . . sunt . . .

A SOLO Ple - ni . . . sunt . . . cae . . .

T₁ SOLO Ple . . . ni . . . sunt . . .

B SOLO cae . . .

55

cae . . . li et ter . . .

. . . li et . . .

cae . . . li . . . et . . .

. . . li et ter . . .

60

ra . . .

ter . . . ra

ter . . . ra

ra

Ex.6.56: Robert Carver: *Mass Fera pessima, Gloria*

90 SOLO

S Qui tol - lis pec - - ca - - ta mun - - di,

SOLO

A Qui tol - lis pec - - ca - ta mun - - di,

Ex.6.57: Robert Carver: *Mass Fera pessima, Agnus Dei*

75

T₁ [mun] di:

T₂ [mun] di:

B [mun] di:

Ex.6.58: Robert Carver: *Mass Fera pessima, Agnus Dei*

170

do - na no bis pa cem,

pa - cem, pa

[pa]cem, pa cem, pa cem,

[pa] cem, pa

[pa] cem,

Ex.6.59: Robert Carver: Mass *Fera pessima, Sanctus*

145

[Domi]

[Domi] - ni.

[Domi]

ni.

SOLO

mi

[Domi]

Ex.6.60: Robert Carver: Mass *Pater Creator omnium, Kyrie*

FULL

A

Pa - ter Cre - a - tor o - - - mni - - - um,

FULL

T₁

Pa - ter _____ Cre - a - tor _____ o - - mni - - um, _____

FULL

T₂

Pa - ter Cre - a - tor o - mni - um, _____

FULL

B

Pa - ter _____ Cre - a - - - tor o - mni - - - - - um,

5

tu The - os _____ y - mon _____ no - stri _____ pi - - e, e - lei - - son.

tu The - - os y - mon _____ no - stri pi - e, e - lei - son.

tu The - os y - mon no - stri pi - e, e - - - lei - - son.

tu _____ The - - os y - mon no - stri pi - e, e - lei - - son.

Ex.6.61: Robert Carver: Mass *Pater Creator omnium, Credo*

Musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) in 4/4 time, featuring the text: [Pa - - trem o - mni - po - ten - tem.] fa - cto - rem cae - li et ter - - rae.

The score is divided into two systems. The first system contains the first four staves, and the second system contains the next four staves. Each staff is marked "FULL". The lyrics are: [Pa - - trem o - mni - po - ten - tem.] fa - cto - rem cae - li et ter - - rae.

The second system continues the text: vi - si - bi - li - um o - mni - um et in - vi - si - bi - li - - um.

The score includes a measure number "10" above the first staff of the second system.

[Dr John Caldwell has suggested the first phrase of this extract might have been sung in plainchant.]

Ex.6.62: Robert Carver: Mass *Pater Creator omnium, Agnus Dei*

A
mi . . . se - re - re no . . .

T₁
mun . . . di, mi . . .

B
[pecca]-ta mun . . . di, mi se . . .

20

. . . bis.

. . . se - re . . . re no . . . bis.

. . . re no . . . bis.

Ex.6.63: Robert Carver: Mass *Pater Creator omnium, Agnus Dei*

SOLO 12

A . . . gnus De . . . i,

SOLO

T1 . . . gnus De . . . i,

SOLO

B . . . gnus De . . . i,

Ex.6.64: Robert Carver: *Mass Pater Creator omnium, Gloria*

FULL

Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -

FULL

Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -

FULL

Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -

FULL

Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo -

Ex.6.65: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass for three voices, *Kyrie*

Musical score for Ex.6.65: Kyrie. The score is for three voices: Soprano 1 (S₁), Soprano 2 (S₂), and Alto (A). The time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are: Ky - ri - e e - - lei - -.

Ex.6.66: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass for three voices, *Gloria*

Musical score for Ex.6.66: Gloria. The score is for three voices: Soprano 1 (S₁), Soprano 2 (S₂), and Alto (A). The time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are: Ad - o - ra - mus te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - - mus. The score includes a repeat sign and a measure rest (15) before the final phrase: Gra - ti - as.

Ex.6.67: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass for three voices, *Sanctus*

Musical score for Ex.6.67: Sanctus. The score is for three voices: Soprano 1 (S₁), Soprano 2 (S₂), and Alto (A). The time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are: [san] ctus Do - mi - nus De - - us. The score includes a measure rest (15) before the final phrase: Do - mi - nus De - - us sa -.

Ex.6.68: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass for three voices, *Sanctus*

et ter

[ter]

[ter]

This musical score for Ex.6.68 shows three staves of music. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody starts on a half note G4, followed by a series of eighth and sixteenth notes. The lyrics 'et ter' are written below the first two measures. The middle and bottom staves also begin with treble clefs and one flat, and their lyrics are '[ter]'. The music continues for nine measures, ending with a final cadence.

Ex.6.69: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass for three voices, *Sanctus*

[Domi]

[Domi]

[Domi]

This musical score for Ex.6.69 shows three staves of music. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody starts on a half note G4, followed by a series of eighth and sixteenth notes. The lyrics '[Domi]' are written below the first measure. The middle and bottom staves also begin with treble clefs and one flat, and their lyrics are '[Domi]'. The music continues for nine measures, ending with a final cadence.

Ex.6.70: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass for three voices, *Sanctus*

Ex.6.70: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass for three voices, *Sanctus*. The score shows measures 85 to 90. It is a three-part setting for voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor) in G minor (one flat). The time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are "Domini Deus Sabaoth". The music features intricate melodic lines with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and frequent rests. Measure 90 ends with a key signature change to G major (one sharp).

Ex.6.71: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass for three voices, *Credo*

Ex.6.71: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass for three voices, *Credo*. The score shows measures 35 to 40. It is a three-part setting for voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor) in G minor (one flat). The time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are "Deo vero A men." The music features intricate melodic lines with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and frequent rests. Measure 40 ends with a key signature change to G major (one sharp).

Ex.6.72: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass for three voices, *Agnus Dei*

[pa]

[pa]

[pa]

cem.

Ex.6.73: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass for three voices, *Agnus Dei*

[mun] di: do - - na no - bis pa -

[mun] di: do - - na no - bis pa -

do - - na no - bis pa -

cem.

Ex.6.74: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass for three voices, *Kyrie*

Chri - ste

Chri - ste

Chri - - ste

cem.

70

in no-mi-ne Do-mi - - - - -

in no-mi-ne Do-mi - - - - -

in no-mi-ne Do-mi - - - - -

8

0 -

[celi] et ter - rac, vi - si - bi - li - um

ter - - rac, vi - si - bi - li - - um.

18

S
o - mni

A
o - mni

T
[visibili]-um o - mni

B

Ex.6.78: The outline of the tenor *cantus firmus* of Mass *Cantate Domino* and important motifs used in the Mass

Ex.6.78 displays the outline of the tenor *cantus firmus* for the Mass *Cantate Domino*. The notation is presented on two staves. The first staff contains motifs (b) and (c), while the second staff contains motif (a). The motifs are indicated by dashed lines above the notes.

Ex.6.79: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass *Cantate Domino*, Gloria

Ex.6.79 shows the Gloria section of the Mass *Cantate Domino*, featuring solo parts for Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor 1 (T₁), Tenor 2 (T₂), Tenor 3 (T₃), and Bass (B). The lyrics are: "Et in ter-ra pax ho-mi-ni-bus". The notation includes the word "SOLO" above the solo parts. The lyrics are: "Et in ter-ra pax ho-mi-ni-bus".

Ex.6.79 cont.

5

ho - - mi - ni - bus

bo-nae vo-

bo - nae vo-lun-ta - -

bo - nae - - vo -

bo-nae vo - lun-ta

- ni - - bus bo - nae vo - lun-ta - - - tis,

bo - nae vo - lun - ta - - -

FULL

FULL

FULL

FULL

FULL

10

- lun-ta - tis,

bo - - nae vo - lun-ta

- lun - ta - - - tis,

bo - nae vo - lun - - ta -

bo - nae vo - lun-ta - - - - - tis,

bo - nae vo - lun-ta - - - - - tis,

Ex.6.80: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass *Cantate Domino, Gloria*

55

[unigenite] Je - su Chri - - - ste.

[Do] - mi - ne Fi - - li u - ni-ge-ni - te Je - su Chri - - - ste.

[Fi] - li u - ni-ge-ni - te Je - su Chri - - ste.

[Fili] u - ni-ge-ni-te Je - su Chri-ste.

u - ni-ge-ni-te Je - - su Chri - - - ste.

[u] - ni - ge-ni-te Je - su Chri - - - ste.

Ex.6.81: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass *Cantate Domino, Credo*

S

[visibilium] o - mni - um

SOLO o - mni-um et

o - mni-um

[visibili] - um o - mni - um

Ex.6.82: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass *Cantate Domino, Sanctus*

130 SOLO

T₁ in no - mi-ne

T₂ SOLO in no - mi - ne Do - - mi -

T₃ SOLO in no - mi-ne

B SOLO in no - mi - ne Do - mi -

Ex.6.83: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass *Cantate Domino, Gloria*

SOLO 20

S Lau - da-mus te. Be - ne-di - ci-mus te.

A SOLO Lau - da - mus te. Be - ne-di-ci - mus te. Ad -

T₁ SOLO Lau-da - mus te.

T₃ SOLO Ad - o -

25

Ad-o - ra-mus te. Glo-ri-fi - ca-mus

- o - ra - mus te.

Be - ne - di-ci-mus te. Ad - o - ra - mus

- ra - mus te. Glo - ri - fi - ca -

Ex.6.84: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass *Cantate Domino*, Credo

70

sunt.

[facta]. sunt. Qui pro-pter nos ho-mi-nes et pro-pter no-stram sa-lu - - tem. —

sunt. Qui pro-pter nos ho-mi-nes et pro-pter no-stram sa-lu - -

sunt. — Qui pro-pter nos ho-mi-nes et pro-pter no - stram sa-lu - tem

sunt. Qui pro-pter nos ho-mi-nes et pro-pter no-stram sa-lu - tem de -

sunt. Qui pro-pter nos ho-mi-nes et pro-pter no-stram sa-lu - - tem

75

de-scen-dit de cae-lis. — Et vi-tam

Et vi-tam

-tem de-scen - dit de cae - - - lis. —

de - scen - dit de — cae - - lis. —

- scen-dit de cae - lis. — Et vi -

de - scen - dit de cae - lis. — Et vi-tam

Ex.6.84 cont.

80

ven-tu - ri sae-cu-li. A - - - - -

ven-tu - ri sae-cu-li, _____ et vi-tam ven-tu -

Et vi-tam ven-tu - ri sae-cu-li. A - - - - -

Et vi-tam ven-tu - ri sae-cu-li. A - - - - -

-tam ven-tu - - - ri _____ sae - - - - - cu - li.

ven-tu - ri sae-cu-li, _____ et vi-tam ven-tu -

Ex.6.85: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass *Cantate Domino, Sanctus*

Musical score for *Mass Cantate Domino, Sanctus*, Ex.6.85. The score is written for six voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, Bass 1, Bass 2) and includes a basso continuo line. The tempo/mood is marked **FULL**. The lyrics are: "O - san - na in ex - cel -".

The score is divided into two systems. The first system contains measures 1 through 6, and the second system contains measures 7 through 12. The lyrics are distributed across the staves as follows:

- Staff 1 (Soprano): O - san - na in
- Staff 2 (Alto): O - - san - na
- Staff 3 (Tenor 1): O - - san - na in
- Staff 4 (Tenor 2): O - - san - na
- Staff 5 (Bass 1): O san na
- Staff 6 (Bass 2): O - san - na in ex - cel -
- Staff 7 (Basso Continuo): ex - cel
- Staff 8 (Soprano): in ex-cel
- Staff 9 (Alto): ex - cel
- Staff 10 (Tenor 1): in ex - cel
- Staff 11 (Tenor 2): in ex cel
- Staff 12 (Bass 1): in ex cel

Ex.6.86: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass *Cantate Domino, Sanctus*

Musical score for Ex.6.86, featuring six staves of music. The lyrics are: O - san - na in ex - cel - - - - .

The score is marked *FULL* at the beginning of each staff. The tempo is marked 155.

Staff 1: O - san - na in ex - cel - - - - .

Staff 2: O - san - na - - - - -

Staff 3: O - san - na - - - - -

Staff 4: O - san - na - - - - -

Staff 5: O - - san - - - na in

Staff 6: O - san - na in ex - cel - - - - .

Ex.6.87: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass *Cantate Domino, Sanctus*

Musical score for Ex.6.87, featuring four staves of music. The lyrics are: [tu]

The score is marked 80.

Staff 1 (T₁): [tu]

Staff 2 (T₂): [tu]

Staff 3 (T₃): [tu]

Staff 4 (B): [tu]

Ex.6.88: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass *Cantate Domino, Credo*

[A] men.

[A] men.

[#][A] men.

[#][A] men.

[#][A] men.

[A] men.

Ex.6.89: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass *Cantate Domino, Sanctus*

⁴⁰[saba]

[saba]

[saba]

[saba]

[saba]

[saba]

Ex.6.90: Anon. [Robert Carver?]: Mass *Cantate Domino*, Credo

110

S
[benedi]

A
[benedi]

T₂
[benedi]

T₃
[benedi]

Appendix D

Musical Examples accompanying Chapter 7

Except in the case of Exx.7.15, 7.25–7.34, 7.53–7.59, 7.60c and 7.89–7.106 (see below), all of the following musical examples are taken from editions prepared by Kenneth Elliott.

- Exx.7.1a, 7.2, 7.3a, 7.4 (Anon: Mass *Deus Creator omnium*) from an unpublished edition.
- Exx.7.1b, 7.3b, 7.5–7.8 (Anon: Mass *Rex virginum*) from MB xv:No. 2.
- Exx.7.9–7.14 (David Peebles/Francy Heagy: *Si quis diligit me*) from MB xv:No.8.
- Ex.7.15 (Plainchant “Felix namque”) transcribed by the present author from LU, p.1271.
- Ex.7.16 from Elliott 1959:47.
- Exx.7.17–7.24 (Mass *Felix namque*) from MB xv:No. 58.
- Exx.7.25–7.34 (Anon.: Mass *Conditor Kyrie omnium*) from an edition by Judson Maynard (1961 ii:310–24).
- Exx.7.35–7.40 (Anon.: *Descendi in hortum meum*) from MB xv:No.6.
- Exx.7.41–7.46 (Robert Johnson: *Laudes Deo*) from forthcoming volume of *MusScot*.
- Exx.7.47–7.52 (Robert Johnson: *Ave Dei patris filia*) from forthcoming volume of *MusScot*.
- Exx.7.53–7.59 (Patrick Douglas: *In convertendo*) from an edition by the present author (Douglas 1998).
- Ex.7.60a (David Peebles: Ps 1) from MB xv:No.15.
- Ex.7.60b (David Peebles: Ps 124) from MB xv:No. 25.
- Ex.7.60c (David Peebles: Ps 107) from transcription by Hilda Hutchison (1957).
- Exx.7.61a, b, c (Andrew Kemp: Pss 6, 37, 27) from unpublished editions.
- Ex.7.62a (Andrew Blackhall: Ps 121) from Elliott 1960a.
- Ex.7.62b ([Andrew Blackhall?]: Ps 130) from Elliott 1994a.
- Ex.7.63 (John Buchan: Ps 128) from an unpublished edition.
- Ex.7.64 (John Angus: *All my belief*) from MB xv:No. 14.
- Ex.7.65 (John Angus: *Nunc Dimittis*) from Elliott 1960a.
- Exx.7.66–7.68 (Andrew Kemp: *Te Deum*) from MB xv:No. 12.
- Ex.7.69 ([Andrew Blackhall?]: Ps 18 in reports) from MB xv:No. 20.
- Ex.7.70 (Anon.: Ps 6 in reports) from MB xv:No. 24.
- Ex.7.71 (Andrew Blackhall: Ps 137 in reports) from Elliott 1960a.
- Exx.7.72–7.73 (Andrew Kemp: *Have mercy God*) from an unpublished edition.
- Exx.7.74–7.78 (David Peebles: *Quam multi, Domine*) from MB xv:No. 9.
- Exx.7.79–7.80 (Andrew Blackhall: *Of mercy and of judgement both*) from an unpublished edition.
- Exx.7.87–7.84 (Andrew Blackhall: *Blessed art thou*) from MB xv:No.10.
- Exx.7.85–7.88 (Andrew Blackhall: *Judge and revenge my cause O Lord*) from MB xv:No. 11.
- Ex.7.93f (Orlando Gibbons: *Hosanna to the Son of David*) from an edition by Anthony Greening in Morris 1978:99–112.
- Exx.7.89–7.93e and 7.94–7.106 (Seventeenth-century printed psalmody) from unpublished editions prepared by the present author.

Ex.7.1a: Anon.: Mass *Deus Creator omnium, Agnus Dei*

S
[pa] cem. 125

T₁
pa cem.

T₂
[pa] cem.

B
[pa] cem.

Ex.7.1b: Anon.: Mass *Rex virginum, Agnus Dei*

A
SOLO
A . . . gnus 100 De -

T₁
SOLO
A . . . gnus

B
SOLO
A . . . gnus

A
i,

T₁
De . . . i, qui

B
De . . . i,

Ex.7.2: Anon.: Mass *Deus Creator omnium, Gloria*
[T₂ only: the opening of the unidentified isorhythmic *cantus firmus*]

20 25 30 35 40

Ex.7.3a: Anon.: Mass *Deus Creator omnium, Gloria*

SOLO S Et in ter - ra pax

SOLO T₁ Et in ter - - ra pax

Ex.7.3b: Anon.: Mass *Rex virginum, Gloria*

SOLO A Et in ter - - ra pax

SOLO T₁ Et in ter - - ra pax

Ex.7.4: Anon.: Mass *Deus Creator omnium, Gloria*

60 T₁ [Fili] - us Pa - - - - -

B [Fili] - us Pa - - - - -

65 S FULL Qui tol - - - lis pec - -

T₁ FULL tris, Qui tol - lis

T₂ FULL [Qui tol - - - lis pec - -

B FULL tris, Qui tol - lis

Ex.7.5: Anon.: Mass *Rex virginum*, Credo

Ex.7.6: Anon.: Mass *Rex virginum*, Sanctus

Ex.7.7: Anon.: Mass *Rex virginum*, Credo

115

A [iudica] - re vi - vos et mor

T₁ [iudica] - re vi-vos et mor - tu

B vi-vos et mor - tu

Ex.7.8: Anon.: Mass *Rex virginum*, Sanctus

15

A [san] ctus, san

T₁ [san]

ctus,

ctus,

FULL Do - mi -

FULL Do . .

Ex.7.9: David Peebles: *Si quis diligit me*

5

S Si _____ quis

A₁ Si quis di - - - li - git me ser -

A₂ Si _____ quis di - - li - git me _____

T Si _____ quis _____

B Si quis di - - li - git me, si quis di -

10

di - - - li - git me ser - mo - nem

- mo - nem me - - - - - um, ser - mo - nem me -

_____ ser - mo - nem me - - - - - um,

_____ di - - - li - - git _____ me _____

- li - git _____ me _____ ser -

15

me - - - um, ser - mo - nem me - - - - - um,

- um, ser - mo - nem me - - - - - um, ser - mo -

ser - mo - nem me - - - - - um, ser - mo - nem me - - - - -

ser - mo - nem me - - - - - um _____

- mo - nem me - - - - - um, ser - mo - nem me - - - - -

* A₁ added by Francy Heagy

Ex.7.10: David Peebles: *Si quis diligit me*

30

[me] - us, et pa - ter me - us, et pa - ter me - - us, et pa - ter [serva] - bit et pa - ter me - - - us, et pa - ter [pater] me - - - us.

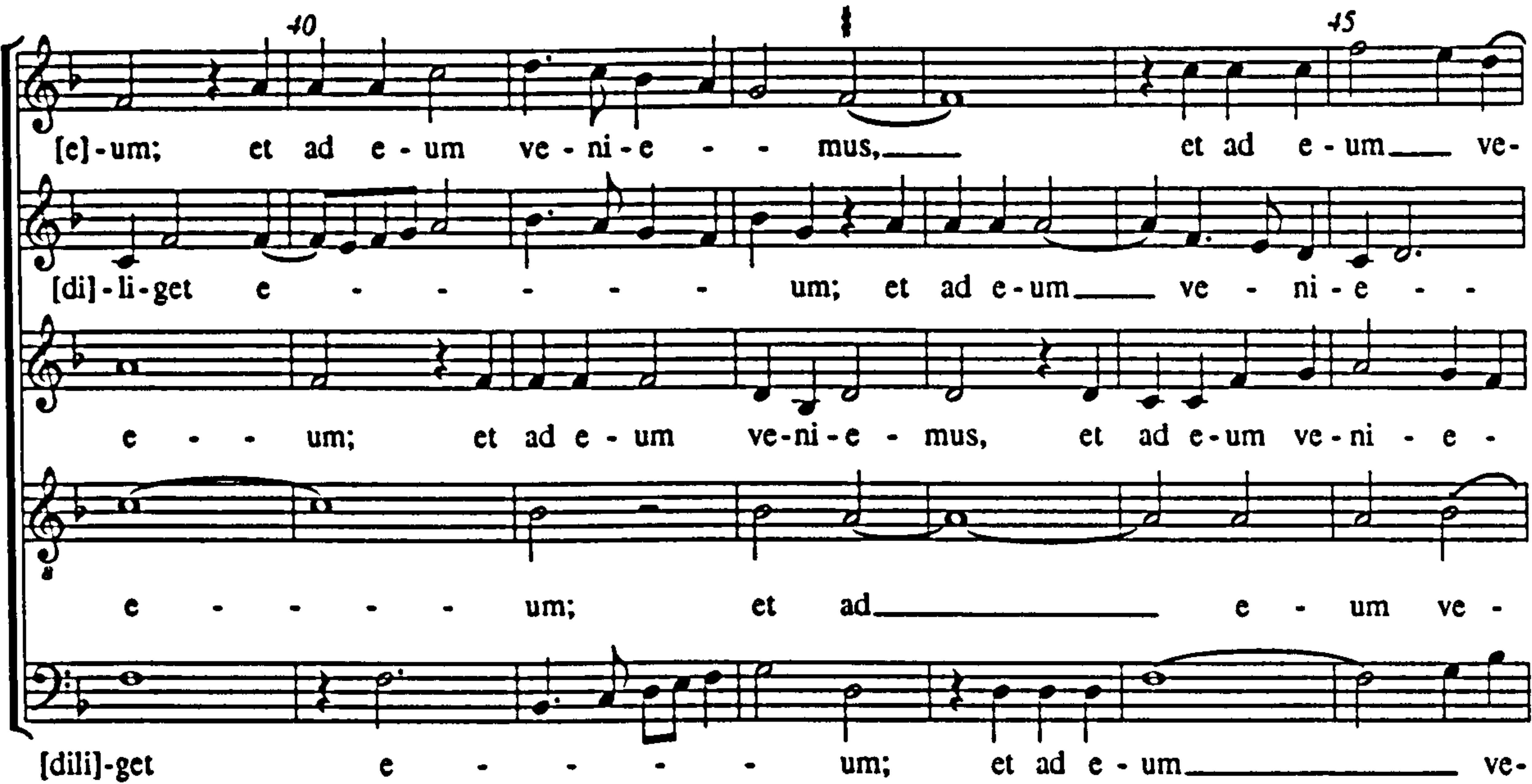
Ex.7.11: David Peebles: *Si quis diligit me*

20

[ser]-mo-nem me - um ser - - va - - bit [me] - - um ser - va [me]-um, ser - mo - - nem me - - - um ser - va - ser - - - va - - bit [me]-um ser - va

Ex.7.12: David Peebles: *Si quis diligit me*

40 45



[e]-um; et ad e - um ve - ni - e - - mus, et ad e - um ve -
[di]-li-get e - - - - - um; et ad e - um ve - ni - e - -
e - - - - - um; et ad e - um ve - ni - e - - mus, et ad e - um ve - ni - e -
e - - - - - um; et ad e - um ve -
[dili]-get e - - - - - um; et ad e - um ve -

Ex.7.13: David Peebles: *Si quis diligit me*

85 90



[Allelu]-ja, al - - le - - lu - - - - - ja, al - le - lu -
[allelu] - - - - - ja, al - le - lu - ja,
[al] - le - - lu - ja, al - le - lu - - - - - ja, al -
[facie] - - - - - mus. Al - - - le
[facie]-mus. Al - - - le - lu - - - - - ja, al - - - le - lu -
- - - - - ja, al - le - lu - - - - - ja.
al - le - lu - ja.
lu - - - - - ja.
ja.

Ex.7.14: David Peebles: *Si quis diligit me*

55

et man-si - o nem a - pud

[mansi] - o-nem, et man-si - o - nem a - - pud e -

[mansio] - nem a - pud e um,

[mansio] - nem a - - - pud e

[mansio] - nem, et man-si - o

Detailed description: This block contains the musical notation for measures 55 through 59. It features five staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody consists of eighth and sixteenth notes. The lyrics 'et man-si - o nem a - pud' are written below the first staff. The second staff continues the melody with the lyrics '[mansi] - o-nem, et man-si - o - nem a - - pud e -'. The third staff has the lyrics '[mansio] - nem a - pud e um,'. The fourth staff has the lyrics '[mansio] - nem a - - - pud e'. The fifth staff, which is a bass line, has the lyrics '[mansio] - nem, et man-si - o'. Measure numbers 55, 56, 57, 58, and 59 are indicated above the first staff.

60

e - - um, a - pud e um,

. . um, et man - si - o nem a - pud e -

a - - pud e um,

. . um, a - pud e - um,

. . nem, et man - si - o nem a -

Detailed description: This block contains the musical notation for measures 60 through 64. It features five staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody consists of eighth and sixteenth notes. The lyrics 'e - - um, a - pud e um,' are written below the first staff. The second staff continues the melody with the lyrics '. . um, et man - si - o nem a - pud e -'. The third staff has the lyrics 'a - - pud e um,'. The fourth staff has the lyrics '. . um, a - pud e - um,'. The fifth staff, which is a bass line, has the lyrics '. . nem, et man - si - o nem a -'. Measure numbers 60, 61, 62, 63, and 64 are indicated above the first staff.

Ex.7.15a: Felix namque plainchant

Fe lix nam que es,

sa - cra Vir go Ma

. ri a et om ni lau de

di gnis-si ma: qui - a ex te or tus est

sol jus ti - ti ae,

Christ tus De us no ster

Ex.7.15b: The *cantus firmus* of the Mass *Felix namque*

Ex.7.16: Themes found in the Mass *Felix namque*

Ex.7.17: Anon. [David Peebles?]: Mass *Felix namque*, Kyrie

5

S

A₁

A₂

T

B₁

B₂

Ky - ri - e e - lei - - - son, Ky .

Ky - ri - e e - lei - - -

Ky - ri - e e - lei - - son, e - - lei - -

Ky - ri - e e - - lei - - - son, e - lei - - -

[Ky - ri - e e - lei - - son,

Ky - ri - e e - - lei - - - son.

- ri - e e - lei - - - son.

son, Ky - ri - e e - - lei - - - son.

- son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - - - son.

son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son.

Ky - ri - e e - lei - - - son.

Ex.7.18: Anon. [David Peebles?]: Mass *Felix namque, Sanctus*

75

S [glori] - a, glo

A₁ [tua,] - tu a, glo .

A₂ [tu] - a, tu a,

T [glo] ri - a tu

B₂ glo ri - a

80

- ri - a tu a,

. ri - a tu

glo ri a tu

. a, glo ri - a tu .

- tu - a, glo ri - a tu

85

glo ri - a,

a, glo ri - a

a, tu a, glo-

.

a, tu a,

Ex.7.19: Anon. [David Peebles?]: Mass *Felix namque, Sanctus*

[illegible]

Ex.7.20: Anon. [David Peebles?]: Mass *Felix namque*, *Agnus Dei*

170

This system contains five staves of music. The first staff is in treble clef and begins with a [pa] marking. The second, third, and fourth staves are in treble clef and each begins with a sharp sign followed by a [pa] marking. The fifth staff is in bass clef and begins with a [pa] marking. The music consists of various note values including eighth, quarter, and half notes, with some measures containing rests.

175

This system contains five staves of music. The first staff is in treble clef. The second, third, and fourth staves are in treble clef. The fifth staff is in bass clef. The music continues with various note values and rests, maintaining the melodic and harmonic structure of the previous system.

Ex.7.20 cont.

180

cem, _____ do . . . na no - bis _____

cem, do -

cem, _____

cem, _____

185

- cem, do . na no . . bis _____ pa . . cem. _____

cem, do . na no . bis pa . . cem.

pa cem. _____

na no . . . bis pa cem.

pa cem. _____

do . na no . . bis pa cem.]

Ex.7.21: Anon. [David Peebles?]: Mass *Felix namque, Sanctus*

S [fili] - us qui ve - - - - -

A₁ [filius] - - - - - qui ve - - - - -

A₂ - - - - - qui - - - - -

T [fi] - li - - - - us qui ve - - - - -

B₂ - - - - - qui ve - - - - - nit,

140

- - - - - nit, qui ve - - - - -

- nit, qui ve - - - - -

ve - - - - -

- - - - -

qui - - - - - ve - - - - - nit,

Ex.7.22: Anon. [David Peebles?]: Mass *Felix namque, Gloria*

20

S te, glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te, glo - ri - fi - ca . . .

A₁ te, glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te, glo - ri - fi - ca . . .

A₂ te, glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te, glo - ri - fi - ca . . .

B₂ te, glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te, glo - ri - fi - ca . . .

25

- mus te, gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi pro -

- mus te, gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi,

- mus te, gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi pro -

Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi

Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi

- mus te, gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi pro -

-pter ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu am,

-pter ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu - am,

glo - ri - am tu - am,

pro - pter ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu - am,

-pter ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu - am.

Ex.7.23: Anon. [David Peebles?]: Mass *Felix namque, Agnus Dei*

45

[no] . . . bis, _____ mi -

[no] . . . bis, mis - se - re . . . re

mi - se - re - re no

[no]

mi - se - re - re no . . . bis, mi -

[misere] . . . re, mi - - se -

50

- se - re . . . re, mi - se - re . . . re, mi - se - re . . .

no . . . bis, _____ mi -

- bis, mi - se - re . . . re, mi - se - re . . . re no -

. . . bis, _____ mi

. . . se - re . . . re, mi - se - re . . . re,

. - re . . . re no . . . bis, mi -

Ex.7.23 cont.

55

re, mi - se - re re no

se - re . . . re, mi - se -

bis, mi - se - re

se . . . re

mi - se - re . . . re no . . . bis,

se - re - re

Detailed description: This block contains the musical notation for measures 55 through 60 of Ex.7.23. It features five staves. The first staff is a vocal line with lyrics 're, mi - se - re re no'. The second staff continues the vocal line with 'se - re . . . re, mi - se -'. The third staff has lyrics 'bis, mi - se - re'. The fourth staff has lyrics 'se . . . re'. The fifth staff has lyrics 'mi - se - re . . . re no . . . bis,'. The notation includes various note values, rests, and slurs.

60

bis, mi - se - re re,

re . . . re, mi - se - re re

re, no

mi - se - re re

Detailed description: This block contains the musical notation for measures 60 through 65 of Ex.7.23. It features five staves. The first staff has lyrics 'bis, mi - se - re re,'. The second staff has lyrics 're . . . re, mi - se - re re'. The third staff has lyrics 're, no'. The fourth staff has lyrics 'mi - se - re re'. The notation includes various note values, rests, and slurs.

Ex.7.24: Anon. [David Peebles?]: Mass *Felix namque, Sanctus*

60

S ter ra,

A₂ [celi] et ter . . . ra, et ter

T [et] ter - ra, et ter ra,

B₁ ter ra,

B₂ [celi] et ter - ra, et ter . . . ra, et ter

Detailed description: This block contains the musical notation for Ex.7.24, 'Mass Felix namque, Sanctus'. It features five staves for Soprano (S), Alto 2 (A₂), Tenor (T), Bass 1 (B₁), and Bass 2 (B₂). The lyrics are: S: 'ter ra,'; A₂: '[celi] et ter . . . ra, et ter'; T: '[et] ter - ra, et ter ra,'; B₁: 'ter ra,'; B₂: '[celi] et ter - ra, et ter . . . ra, et ter'. The notation includes various note values, rests, and slurs.

Ex.7.25: Anon. [David Peebles?]: Mass Conditor Kyrie omnium, Kyrie

The musical score for Ex.7.25 is written for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are "Ky - ri - e" and "e - - - le - y - - son." The score is divided into two systems. The first system contains the first two staves (S and A), and the second system contains the last two staves (T and B). The lyrics are underlaid in all voices.

* See note on p.275 regarding bar numbers in this edition. The text is underlaid in all voices, in the original (though this is not the case in Maynard's transcription).

Ex.7.26: Anon. [David Peebles?]: Mass Conditor Kyrie omnium, Gloria

The musical score for Ex.7.26 is written for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are "Gra-ci - - as a - gi-mus ti - - bi prop - ter ma - gnam" and "glo - - riam tu - am. A - - - men." The score is divided into two systems. The first system contains the first two staves (S and A), and the second system contains the last two staves (T and B). The lyrics are underlaid in all voices.

Ex.7.27: Anon. [David Peebles?]: Mass Conditor Kyrie omnium, Credo

Et ho - mo - fa - - ctus est. A - - - - men.

Ex.7.28: Anon. [David Peebles?]: Mass Conditor Kyrie omnium, Sanctus

[in] ex - - - - cel - - - -

sis.

Ex.7.29: Anon. [David Peebles?]: Mass Conditor Kyrie omnium, Agnus Dei

15

[peccata] mundi: miserere

no . . . bis.

Ex.7.30: Anon. [David Peebles?]: Mass Conditor Kyrie omnium, Sanctus

San . . . ctus, san . . .

5

ctus, san . . .

Ex.7.31: Anon. [David Peebles?]: Mass Conditor Kyrie omnium, Credo

25

Et in - car - na - tus est de Spi - - ri - - tu

Ex.7.32: Anon. [David Peebles?]: Mass Conditor Kyrie omnium, Sanctus

35

Ho - - - - - san - - na

Ex.7.33: Anon. [David Peebles?]: Mass Conditor Kyrie omnium, Gloria

15

[Adoramus]

[Adoramus]

Ex.7.34: Anon. [David Peebles?]: Mass Conditor Kyrie omnium, Credo

10

[in] - - vi - si - - bi - li - - - um.

Ex.7.35: Anon.: Descendi in hortum meum

S

De - - scen - - - - -

A

De - - scen - - di, de - -

T

De - - scen - - di - - - in hor - -

B

De - - - - - scen - - - - - di

10

- di - - - in hor - - - - - tum me -

- scen - di in hor - tum - - -

- - - - - tum - - - me - - - - - um

in hor - - - - - tum - - - me -

Ex.7.36: Anon.: *Descendi in hortum meum*

25

[po]-ma, ut vi-de-rem po - ma con-val - - li-um, con - val - - li - .
ut vi - de-rem po-ma con-val-li-um, con - val - li-um
po . . . ma con-val-li - um, con-val-li-um et
po . . . ma con - val - - li - um, con - val - li-um

Ex.7.37: Anon.: *Descendi in hortum meum*

35

[inspi] . . . ce - rem
et in - spi - - ce - rem
[inspi] . . . ce . . . rem
[inspi] . . . ce . . . rem

Ex.7.38: Anon.: *Descendi in hortum meum*

50

[viniae]
[viniae]
et ger-mi-nas sent ma - la
et ger-mi-nas sent ma - la pu - ni-

Ex.7.39: Anon.: *Descendi in hortum meum*

70 75

[Sunamitis,]_ re - ver te - re, re - ver - te - re ut

[Sunamitis,]_ re - ver - - te - re, re - ver - te - re

[Sunami] - ris, re - ver - te - re, re - ver - te - re ut_

[Sunamitis,]_ re - ver - te - re, re - ver - te - re ut

Ex.7.40: Anon.: *Descendi in hortum meum*

90

ut in - tu - - - e - a - - - mur te.

[in] - tu - e - a mur te.

[intuea] mur te._____

[intuea] mur te._____

Ex.7.41: Robert Johnson: *Laudes Deo*

120

De

125

130

135

us

us

Ex.7.42: Robert Johnson: *Laudes Deo*

Ful - se

Ful - se

runt et

im - ma - ni

45

runt et im - ma - ni a no - cte me - di

a no - cte me - di

Ex.7.43: Robert Johnson: *Laudes Deo*

95

[e]

100

jus

jus

Ex.7.44: Robert Johnson: *Laudes Deo*

ju - di-ca

ju - di-ca

170

re sae - cu lum,

re sae - cu lum,

Ex.7.45: Robert Johnson: *Laudes Deo*

SOLO

Lau - des De - o di - cam per sae - cu - la, qui me plas - ma -

SOLO

Lau - des De - o di - cam per sae - cu - la, qui

5

vit in ma - nu dex - ter - ra,

me plas - ma vit in ma - nu dex - ter - ra,

Ex.7.46: Robert Johnson: *Laudes Deo*

105

Mes-si - as, Mes-si - as, So-ther, Em-ma - nu-el, So-ther, Em - ma - nu-el, Em -

Mes-si - as, Mes-si - as, So - ther, Em-ma - nu-el, Em - ma - nu-

- ma - nu-el, Em-ma - nu-el, Em - ma - nu-el, Em-ma-nu - el, Sa-ba-oth, A-do-na - i,

- el, Em - ma - nu-el, Em - ma - nu - el, Em-ma - nu-el, Em-ma-nu - el, Sa-ba-oth, A-do-na - i,

Ex.7.47a: Robert Johnson: *Ave Dei patris filia*

FULL 50

A - ve ae - ter - nae ca-ri-ta - tis fi-li - a de - si-de-ra -

A - ve ae - ter - nae ca-ri-ta - tis fi - li - a de-si - de-

A - ve

A - ve ae - ter - nae ca-ri-ta-tis fi - li-a de -

A - ve

-tis-si - ma, ae - ter - nae sa-pi-en - ti-ae ma-ter gra-tis -

- ra - tis-si ma,

ae - ter - nae sa-pi-en - ti-ae ma - ter gra-tis - si-ma, ma-

- si - de-ra - tis-si - ma, ae - ter - nae sa-pi - en - ti - ae ma-ter gra-

ae - ter - nae sa - pi - en - ti - ae ma - ter gra-tis -

Ex.7.47a cont.

60



- si - - ma, ae - ter - - nae spi - ra - - ti - o - -

ae - ter - nae spi - ra - ti - o - -

- ter gra - tis - si - ma, ae - ter - - nae spi - ra - - ti - o - -

- tis - si - - ma, ae - ter - - nae spi - ra - ti - o - nis

- si - ma, ae - ter - - nae spi - ra - ti - o - -

65

- o - nis spon - - sa sa - cra - tis - - si - ma,

- nis spon - sa sa - cra - tis - - si - ma,

- nis spon - sa sa - cra - tis - - si - ma, co - ae -

spon - sa sa - cra - tis - si - - ma, co -

- nis spon - sa sa - cra - tis - - si - - ma,

Ex.7.47b: Robert Johnson: *Ave Dei patris filia*

80



A - - ve Je - - su

A - ve Je - - su

[sincerissi] - - ma. A - - ve Je - - su

[since] - ris - si - - ma. A - - ve Je - - su

[sincerissima] A - - ve Je - - su

Ex.7.48: Robert Johnson: *Ave Dei patris filia*

90

Chri - sti De - i tu - i

Chri - sti De - i tu - - i

Chri - sti De - i tu - - i

Chri - sti De - i tu - - i

Chri - sti Dei - i tu - - - - i

Ex.7.49: Robert Johnson: *Ave Dei patris filia*

25

[subjectissi] ma.

[subjectissi] ma.

[subjectissi] ma.

SOLO

SOLO A - ve sum - mae ae - ter-ni - ta - tis fi-

A - ve sum - mae ae - ter-ni - ta - tis

Ex.7.50: Robert Johnson: *Ave Dei patris filia*

100

ses - si - o - ni pro - xi

an-cil - - la, an-cil - la ses - si - o - ni pro - xi

ses - si - o - ni pro - - xi ma,

ses - si - o - ni pro - xi ma,

an - - cil - la ses - si - o - ni

Ex.7.50 cont.

105

ma, pro - xi - - ma.

- ma, pro - xi - - ma.

ses - si - o - ni pro - xi - - ma, pro - xi - - ma.

ses - si - o - ni pro - xi - - ma, pro - xi - ma.

pro - - xi - - ma, ses - si - o - ni pro - xi - - ma.

Ex.7.51: Robert Johnson: *Ave Dei patris filia*

115

A [singu] - la - ri - - ter ge - ne - ro

T₂ ge - ne - ro

B [singulari] - ter ge - ne - ro - - sa, ge - ne - ro

sa, Do - mi - ni ma -

sa, Do - mi - ni ma - - ter

sa, Do - mi - ni ma - - ter

Ex.7.52: Robert Johnson: *Ave Dei patris filia*

First system of musical notation for *Ave Dei patris filia*. It consists of five staves. The lyrics are: a - - - men, a - - - - .

[a] - - - - men, a - - - - men, a -

[a] - - - - men, a - - - - men,

[a] -

[a] - a -

Second system of musical notation for *Ave Dei patris filia*. It consists of five staves. The lyrics are: - men, a - - - men, a - - - .

- men, a - - - men, a - - - - - men, - - - -

a - - men, a - - - - - men, - - - - -

- men, a - - - - - men, a - - - - - men,

- men, a - - - - - men, a - - - - - men,

S
In con - - ver - ten - do Do - mi-nus____ cap - - ti - vi - ta -

T₁
In con - ver - ten - do Do - mi-nus cap -

T₂

T₃
In

B

10
- - tem Si - - - on, in____ con - ver - ten - - -

- ti - vi - ta - tem Si - - on, cap - ti - vi - ta - tem Si - - on,

In con - - ver -

con - - ver - ten - do Do - mi-nus cap - ti - vi - ta - tem Si - -

In con - - ver - ten - do Do - mi-nus cap -

Ex.7.54: Patrick Douglas, *In convertendo*

40

[ex] - - ul - ta - ti - o - ne, et lin - gua nos - tra ex - - ul - ta - ti -
nos - - tra ex - - ul ta - ti - o - - ne, et lin - - gua nos -
et lin - gua nos - - - tra, et
et lin - gua nos - - tra ex - ul - ta - ti - o -
[lin]-gua, et lin - gua nos - - tra ex -

45

- o - ne, et lin - gua nos - tra ex - ul - ta - ti - - o -
- tra ex - ul - ta - ti - o - - ne, ex-ul - ta - ti - o - - -
lin - gua nos - tra ex - ul - ta - ti - - o - - ne, ex - ul - ta - ti - o -
- ne, et lin - gua nos - - tra ex - ul - ta - ti - o -
- ul - ta - ti - o - ne, ex - ul - ta - ti - o - - -

50

- ne: tunc di - cent in - ter gen - - tes,
- ne: tunc di - cent in - - ter gen - tes,
- ne: tunc di - cent in - ter gen - tes, Mag - ni - fi -
- ne: tunc di - cent in - - ter gen - tes,
- ne: tunc di - cent in - - ter gen - tes, Mag -

Ex.7.55: Patrick Douglas, *In convertendo*

115

[exul] - ta - ti - o - ne me - tent. E - un - tes i - bant et fle - bant, mit-

[exultatio]-ne me - tent. E - un - tes i - bant et fle - - bant,

ex - ul - ta - ti - o - ne me - tent. E - un - tes i - bant et fle -

ex - ul - ta - ti - o - - ne me - tent. E - un - tes i - bant et fle - -

me - - - tent. E - un - tes i - bant et fle -

120

- ten - tes se - mi - na su - - - - a,

mit - ten - tes se - mi - na su - - - - a,

. . . . bant, mit - ten - tes

- bant, mit - ten - tes se - mi - na su - -

- bant, mit - ten - tes se - mi - na su -

Ex.7.56: Patrick Douglas, *In convertendo*

80

Con - ver - te-re, Do . . . mi-ne, con-ver-te-

Con-ver-te-re, Do -

Con - ver - te-re, Do - mi-ne, con-ver-te-re, — Do - mi -

Con - ver - te-re, Do - - mi-ne, con -

Con - ver - te-re, Do - - mi-ne,

85

- re, Do - - mi-ne, con-ver-te-re,

- mi-ne,

- ne, con-ver-te-

- ver - te-re, Do . . .

con-ver-te-re, Do -

Ex.7.57: Patrick Douglas, *In convertendo*

60

[face] - re cum e - - is, mag - ni-fi-ca - - vit

mag - ni-fi-ca - vit Do - - mi - nus fa - ce-re

[Domi]-nus fa-ce-re cum e - is. Mag - ni-fi-ca - - vit Do - mi-

cum e - is. Mag - ni-fi-ca - - vit Do - mi - nus fa -

[face] - re cum e - - is. Mag - ni-fi-ca - - vit Do - mi-nus, Do - mi-

Ex.7.58: Patrick Douglas, *In convertendo*

145

[manipu] - los su - - - os.

por-tan-tes ma-ni-pu-los su - os, ma - ni-pu-los su - os.

[ma] - ni - - pu - los su - os, por-tan-tes ma - ni-pu-los su - os.

[portan]-tes ma - ni-pu - los su - os, por - tan-tes ma-ni - pu-los su - - os.

[portan] - tes ma-ni - pu-los su - - - - os, su - - - - os.

Ex.7.59: Patrick Douglas, *In convertendo*

70

Ex.7.60a: David Peebles: Psalm 1 [Tune in T]

5

S
A

The man is blest that hath not bent to wick-ed red his eare Nor led his

T
B

10 15

life as sin-ners do nor sat in scor-ners chaire, 2 But in the Law of God the Lord doth

20

set his whole de - light, And in that law doth ex - er - cise him-selfe both day and night.

Ex.7.60b: David Peebles: Psalm 124 [Tune in T]

S
A

Now Is - ra - el may say, and that true - ly, 2 If that the Lord had

T
B

not our cause main - teinde, If that the Lord had not our right sus -

- teinde, When all the worlde a - gainst us fu - rious -

- ly Made their up - roars, and said we should all dye.

5

10

15

20

Ex.7.60c: David Peebles: Psalm 107 [Tune in T]

S
A



T
B




Give thanks un - to the Lord our God for gra - ci - ous is hee,



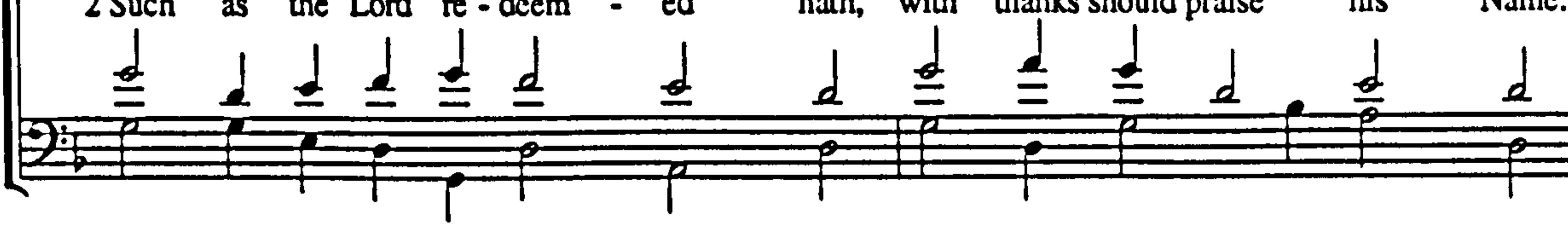
And that his mer - cie hath none end, all mor - tall men may see.



5



2 Such as the Lord re - deem - ed hath, with thanks should praise his Name:



And shew how they from foes were freed, and how hee wrought the same.



Ex.7.61a: Andrew Kemp: Psalm 6 [Tune in T]

S
A

T
B

Lord in thy wrath re - prove me not, though I de - serve thine ire:

Ne yet cor-rect me in thy rage, O Lord I thee de - sire.

Ex.7.61b: Andrew Kemp: Psalm 37 [Tune in T]

S
A

T

Grudge not to see the wick - ed man in welth to flou - rish still.

Nor yit in-vie such as to ill have bent and set their will. For as greene grasse and flou-rishing herbs

are cut and wither a-way So shall thaire great pros - per - i - tie sone passe, fade and de-cay.

Ex.7.61c: Andrew Kemp: Psalm 27 [Tune in T]

S
A

T
B

The Lord my light and health will be, For what then should I be dis - maide?

S
A

T
B

My strength and life al - so is he, Of whom then should I be a - fraide?

S
A

T
B

2 When that my foes (men vile and vain) Ap-proach-ed neare my flesh to eat:

S
A

T
B

They stum-bled in the selfe-same train, which they for me laid by de - ceit.

Ex.7.62a: Andrew Blackhall: Psalm 121 [Tune in S]

S
A

I lift mine eyes— to Si - on hill, From whence I do at - tend That

T
B

5

10

suc - cour God me send: 2 The might - y God me— suc - - cour will, Who

15

hea - ven and earth fram - ed, And— all things there - - in na - med.

Ex.7.62b: [Andrew Blackhall?]: Psalm 130 [Tune in T]

S
A

Lord in great grief I call to thee, and say, Lord heare my cry: vn -

T
B

5

10

- to the voice of my re - quest, thine eares with speede ap - - ply.

Ex.7.63: John Buchan: Psalm 128 [Tune in T]

S
A

5

Bless - ed art thou that fear - est God, and walk - est in his way:

T
B

10

2 For of thy la - bour thou shalt eat, hap - pie art thou I say. 3 Like fruit - full

15

vines on thine house sides, [thus] doth thy wife spring out: Thy chil - dren

stand like o - live plants Thy ta - ble round a - bout.

Ex.7.64: John Angus: *All my belief* [Tune in T]

5

S All my be-lief and con - fi - dence Is in the Lord of might, The

A All my be - lief and con - fi - dence Is in the Lord of might, The

T All my be - lief and con - fi - dence Is in the Lord of might, The

B All my be - lief and con - fi - dence Is in the Lord of might, The

10

Fa - - ther whiche all things hath made, The day and the the night, The__

Fa - - ther whiche all_____ things hath made, The day and the the night, The hea-

Fa - - ther whiche all things hath made, The day and eke the night, The

Fa - - ther_____ whiche all things_____ hath made, The day and the the night, The

15

__ hea-vens and the fir - ma-ment And al - so__ ma - ny__ a star, The

- vens and the fir - - ma-ment And al - so ma - - ny a star, The

hea - - vens and the fir - ma-ment And al - - so ma - ny a star, The

hea - vens and the fir - - ma-ment And al - - so ma - ny a star, The

20

earth and all that is there - - in, Whiche__ passe__ man's rea-son farr.

earth and all__ that is there - in, Whiche__ passe man's rea-son farr.

earth and all that is there - in, Whiche__ passe man's rea-son farr.

earth and all that is_____ there - in, Whiche passe man's rea - son farr.

Ex.7.65: John Angus: *Nunc Dimittis* [Tune in T]

S
A

Now suf - fer me, O Lord, as thou didst once ac - cord, Hence

T
B

to de - part in thy peace, Since I have had the sight

10

of thy great sav - ing might, Which shall our sins all re - - lease.

Ex.7.66: Andrew Kemp: *Te Deum*

S
A

To thee Che - ru - bin and Se - ra - phin con - tin - u - al - ly do cry:

T
B

20

25

Ho - ly art thou, ho - ly art thou, ho - ly art

30

thou, Lord God of Sa - ba - oth.

Ex.7.67: Andrew Kemp: *Te Deum*

75

When thou took - est u - pon thee to de - ly - ver man thou didst not ab - horr the vir - gin's wombe.

Ex.7.68: Andro Kemp: *Te Deum*

128

O Lord, have mer - cy u - pon us,

Ex.7.69: [Andrew Blackhall?]: Psalm 18 in reports [Tune in S]

5

S [O

A [O God, my strength and for - ti - tude of force I must love thee:

T₁ [O God, my strength and for - ti -

T₂ [O God, my strength and for - ti - tude of force I

B [O God, my strength and for - ti - tude of force I

10

God, my strength and for - ti - tude of force I must love thee: Thou art my

Thou art my cas - tel and de - fence,

- tude of force I must love thee: Thou art my cas - tell

must love thee: Thou art my cas - tell and de -

must love thee: Thou art my cas - - tell and de - fence, in

Ex.7.69 cont.

15

cas-tell and de-fence, in my ne-ces-si-tie. 2 My God, my rock, in
in my ne-ces-si-tie. 2 My God, my rock,
and de-fence, in my ne-ces-si-tie. 2 My God, my rock, in whom,
- fence, in my ne-ces-si-tie. 2 My
my, nec-ces-si-tie, ne-ces-si-tie. 2 My God, my rock in whom I trust,

20

whom I trust, the wor-ker of my wealth: My re-fuge,
my rock, in whom I trust, the wor-ker of my wealth: My re-fuge, buck-ler, and my
in whom I trust, the work-er of my wealth:
God, my rock, in whom I trust, the work-er of my wealth: My
the work-er of my wealth: My re-fuge, buck-ler,

25

buck-ler, and my shield, the home of all my health.]
shield, the home of all my health.]
My re-fuge, buck-ler, and my shield, the home of all my health.]
re-fuge, buck-ler, and my shield, the home of all my health.]
and my shield, the home of all my health.]

Ex.7.70: [John Angus?]: Psalm 6 in reports [Tune in T]

S [Lord in thy wrath re - prove me not, though I de - serve thine

A [Lord in thy wrath re - prove me not, though I de - serve thine ire:

T [Lord in thy wrath re - prove me not, though I de - serve thine

B [Lord in thy wrath re - prove me not, though I de - serve thine

30
ire: Ne yet cor - rect me in thy rage, thy rage, O Lord, I

Ne yet cor - rect me in thy rage, O Lord, I thee de - sire.

ire: Ne yet cor - rect mee in thy rage, O Lord, I thee

ire: Ne yet cor - rect mee in thy rage, O Lord, I thee

10
thee de - sire. 2 For I am weake, there - fore, O Lord, of mer -

2 For I am weake, there - fore, O Lord, O Lord of mer - cie me for -

de - sire. 2 For I am weake, there - fore, O Lord, of mer -

de - sire. 2 For I am weake, there - fore, O Lord, O Lord, of mer -

Ex.7.70 cont.

15

- cie mee for - bear: And heale me Lord, for
- - bear: And heale mee, Lord, for why thou know'st
- cie mee for - bear: And heale mee, Lord, for
- cie mee for - bear: And heale mee, heale mee, Lord, and
why thou know'st my bones doe quake for _____ feare.]
my bones doe quake, doe quake _____ for feare.]
why thou know'st my bones doe quake for feare.]
heale mee, Lord, for why thou know'st my bones doe quake for feare.]

Ex.7.71: Andrew Blackhall: Psalm 137 in reports [Tune in T]

5

S When-as we sate in Ba - by-lon, the ri - - vers round a -
A When-as we sat in Ba - by lon, the ri - vers _____ round a - bout.,
T When - as we sat in Ba - by - lon, the ri - vers round
B When - as we sat in Ba - by - lon, the ri - vers

Ex.7.71 cont.

10

- bout, And in re - mem - brance of Si -

And in re - mem - brance of Si - on the tears for grief, for grief.

a - bout, And in re - mem - brance of Si - on the tears

round a - bout, And in re - mem - brance of Si - on the tears for grief

15

- on the tears for grief, for grief burst out. 2 Wee hang'd our

burst out. We hang'd our harps and in - - - - - stru -

for grief burst out. 2 Wee hang'd our harps and in - - - - - stru -

burst out. 2 Wee hang'd our harps and in - - - - - stru -

20

harps and in - stru - ments the wil - low trees u - pon: For in that place men for -

- ments the wil - low trees u - pon: For in that place men for their

- ments the wil - low trees u - pon: For in that place men

- ments the wil - low trees u - pon For in that place men for their

25

their use had plant - ed ma - ny one.

use had plant - ed ma - - - ny one.

for their use had plant - ed ma - - - ny one.

use had plant - ed ma - - - ny one.

Ex.7.72: Andrew Kemp: *Have mercy, God*

S Have mer - cy God for thy great mer - cies sake. O God my God un -

A Have mer - cy God for thy great mer - cies sake, —

T Have mer - cy God for thy great mer -

B Have mer - cy God for thy — great mer - cies sake.

- to my shame I say, O God my God un - to my shame I say be - ing

— for thy great mer - - cies sake, O God my God un - to my

- cies sake. O God my God un - to my shame I

O God my God un - to my shame I say,

Ex.7.73: Andrew Kemp: *Have mercy, God*

45

sound a - gain That scarce _____ I dar thy mer - cy sound a -

that scarce I dar _____ great mer - cy sound a - gain

scarce I dar thy _____ mer - cy sound a - gain _____ but

I dar thy mer - cy sound _____ a - gain but mer - cy

50

- gain but mer - cy Lord yet suf - fer me to crave Mer - cy

but mer - cy Lord yet suf - fer me to crave Mer - cy is

mer - cy Lord yet suf - fer me to crave Mer - cy is thine let

Lord yet suf - fer me to crave Mer - cy is thine let me...

55

is thine let me _____ not cry in vain, let me _____ not cry in vain. Thy

thine let me not cry in vain Thy great mer - cy for my great

me not cry in vain Thy great mer - cy for _____ my great

— not cry in vain Thy great mer - cy for

Ex.7.74: David Peebles: *Quam multi, Domine*

35

S Et ex - tol - lens ca - put

A Et ex - tol - lens ca - put me - um, et - ex - tol - lens ca -

T Et ex - tol - lens ca - put me - um ca - put me -

B Et ex - tol - lens ca - put me - um, ca - put me - - -

40

me - um vo - ce me - a ad Do - mi-num cla - ma - vi;

- put me - um vo - ce me - a ad Do - mi - num cla - ma - vi;

- um vo - ce me - a ad Do - mi-num cla - ma - - - vi;

- um vo - ce me - a ad Do - mi-num cla - ma - - - vi;

45

et ex - au - di - vit me de mon - te san - cti - ta - tis su - ae.

et ex - au - di - vit me de mon - te san - cti - ta - tis su - ae.

et ex - au - di - vit me de mon - te san - cti - ta - tis su - ae.

et ex - au - di - vit me de mon - te san - cti - ta - tis su - ae.

Ex.7.75: David Peebles: *Quam multi, Domine*

55

E - go ia - cu - i et dor - mi - vi; sur - re - xi quo - ni - am

E - go ia - cu - i et dor - mi - vi; sur - re - xi

E - go ia - cu - i et dor - mi - vi; sur - re - xi quo -

E - go ia - cu - i et dor - mi - vi; sur - re - xi quo - ni - am

Ex.7.76: David Peebles: *Quam multi, Domine*

80 85

Ser - va me, De - us mi, ser - va me,

Ser - va me, De - us mi, ser - va me,

Ser - va me, De - us mi, ser - va me,

Ser - va me, De - us mi, ser - va me,

Ex.7.77: David Peebles: *Quam multi, Domine*

72

[se] - se ad - ver - sum me.

[se] - se ad - ver - sum me, ad - ver - sum me

[se] - se ad - ver - sum me, ad - ver - sum me.

[se] - se ad - ver - sum me, ad - ver - sum

Ex.7.78: David Peebles: *Quam multi, Domine*

120

si-cut e - rat in prin-ci - pi - o

si-cut e - rat in prin-ci - pi - o

si-cut e - rat in prin-ci - pi - o

si-cut e - rat in prin-ci - pi - o

Ex.7.79: Andrew Blackhall: *Of mercy and of judgement both*

S₁ Of mer - cy and of judge-ment both, of mer - cy

S₂

T₁ Of mer - cy and of judge-ment both, O Lord my

T₂ Of mer - cy and of judge-ment

B Of mer - cy and of

5

and of judge-ment both O Lord my song shall be,

Of mer - cy and of judge-ment both O Lord my song shall be, and

song shall be, of mer - cy and of judge-ment both O Lord my song shall be,

both, of mer-cy and of judge-ment both O Lord my song shall be, and it so

judge - ment both, O Lord my song shall be,

Ex.7.80: Andrew Blackhall: *Of mercy and of judgement both*

45

The fra - wart heart may take his leave, such sall nocht with me dwell, as

The fra - wart heart may take his leave, such sall nocht with me dwell, as

The fra - wart heart may take his leave, such sall nocht with me dwell, as

The fra - wart heart may take his leave, such sall nocht with me dwell, as

The fra - wart heart may take his leave, such sall nocht with me dwell, as

50

for the proud and wick-ed man I will with force ex - pel.

for the proud and wick-ed man I will with force ex - pel. Who-so his neigh-bour doth back-

for the proud and wick - ed man I will with force ex - pel. Who - so his neigh-bour

for the proud and wick - ed man I will with force ex - pel. Who -

for the proud and wick-ed man I will with force ex - pel.

55

Who - so his neigh - bour doth back-bite that man will I de - stroy,

- bite, who - so his neigh-bour doth back-bite that man will I de -

doth back-bite, who - so his neigh - - bour doth back - bite that man will

- so his neigh-bour doth back-bite, who - so his neigh-bour doth back-bite that

Who - so his neigh - bour doth back-bite, who - so his neigh-bour doth back-

Ex.7.81: Andrew Blackhall: *Blessed art thou*

5

S Bless - ed art thou that fear - is God and walk - est in his way,

A Bless - - ed art

T₁ Bless - ed art thou that fear - is God and walk - est in his way,

T₂ Bless - ed art thou that fear - is

B Bless - ed art thou that

10

bless - ed art thou that fear - is God and walk - est in his

thou that fear - is God and walk - est in his way, bless - ed art thou that fear - is

bless - ed art thou that fear - is

God and walk - est in his way, bless -

fear - is God and walk - est in his way, bless - ed art thou that fear - is

way, For of

God and walk - est in his way,

God and walk - est in his way,

- ed art thou that fear - is God

God and walk - est in his way,

Ex.7.82: Andrew Blackhall: *Blessed art thou*

48

[a]-bout. Thus art thou blest that fear - is God,
[a]-bout. Thus art thou blest that fear - is God, thus
[a]-bout. Thus art thou blest that fear - is God, thus art thou
[a]-bout. Thus art thou blest that fear - is God,
[a]-bout. Thus art thou blest that

Ex.7.83: Andrew Blackhall: *Blessed art thou*

25

[hap]-py art thou, I say. Lyke frute-full vynes on the house sydes so shall thy wyff spring
thou, I say. Lyke frute-full vynes on the house sydes so shall thy wyff spring out,
Lyke frute-full vynes on the house sydes so shall thy wyff spring
[hap]-py art thou, I say. Lyke frute-full vynes on the house
thou, I say. Lyke frute-full vynes on the house sydes so shall thy wyff spring
out, lyke frute-full vynes on the house sydes so shall thy wyff spring out, so shall thy wyff spring out;
lyke frute - full vynes on the house sydes so shall thy wyff spring out, so shall thy wyff spring out;
out, lyke frute-full vynes on the house sydes so shall thy wyff spring out, so shall thy wyff spring out;
sydes, lyke frute-full vynes on the house sydes so shall thy wyff spring out, so shall thy wyff spring out;
out, lyke frute-full vynes on the house sydes so shall thy wyff spring out, so shall thy wyff spring out;

Ex.7.84: Andrew Blackhall: *Blessed art thou*

[in]-crease, And lyke-wyse grace on Is - - ra - ell, and lyke-wyse grace on
joys in - crease, And lyke-wyse grace on Is - ra - ell, pros - pe - ri - ty and
joys in - crease, And lyke-wyse grace on Is - ra - ell, and lyke-wyse grace on Is -
thy great joys in - crease, to thy great joys in - crease, And lyke-wyse grace on Is - ra -
[in] - - crease, And lyke-wyse grace on Is - ra - ell, and lyke-wyse grace

75

Is - ra - ell pros - pe - ri - ty and peace, pros - pe - ri - ty and _____ peace, _____
peace, and lyke-wyse grace on Is - - ra - ell, and lyke-wyse grace on Is - - ra -
-ra - ell pros - pe - ri - ty and peace, and lyke-wyse grace on Is - - ra -
-ell _____ pros - pe - ri - ty and peace, pros - pe - ri - ty and
on Is - ra - ell pros - pe - ri - ty and peace, and lyke-wyse grace on Is - - ra -

80

_____ pros - pe - ri - ty _____ and _____ peace.
-ell, pros - pe - ri - ty and _____ peace.
-ell, pros - pe - - ri - ty and peace.
peace, pros - pe - ri - ty and peace.
-ell pros - pe - ri - ty and _____ peace.

Ex.7.85: Andrew Blackhall: *Judge and revenge my cause*

5

S Judge and re - venge my cause, O

A Judge and re - venge my cause, O Lord, from

T₁ Judge and re - venge my cause, O Lord, from them that e - vill be;

T₂ [Miserere]

B Judge and re - venge my cause, O Lord, from them that

10

Lord, from them that e - vill be; From wick - ed and de - ceat - full

them that e - vill be; Judge and re - venge my cause, O Lord, from them that

Judge and re - venge my cause, O Lord, from them that e - vill be; From wick - ed and de -

- venge - my cause, O Lord, from them that e - vill be; From

e - vill be; Judge and re - venge my cause, O Lord, from them that e - vill be;

men, O Lord, de - ly - ver me, O

e - vill be; From wick - ed and de -


- ceat - full men, From wick - ed and de - ceat - full men,

wick - ed and de - ceat - - full men, O

From wick - ed and de - ceat - - full men, O Lord, de -

Ex.7.86: Andrew Blackhall: *Judge and revenge my cause*

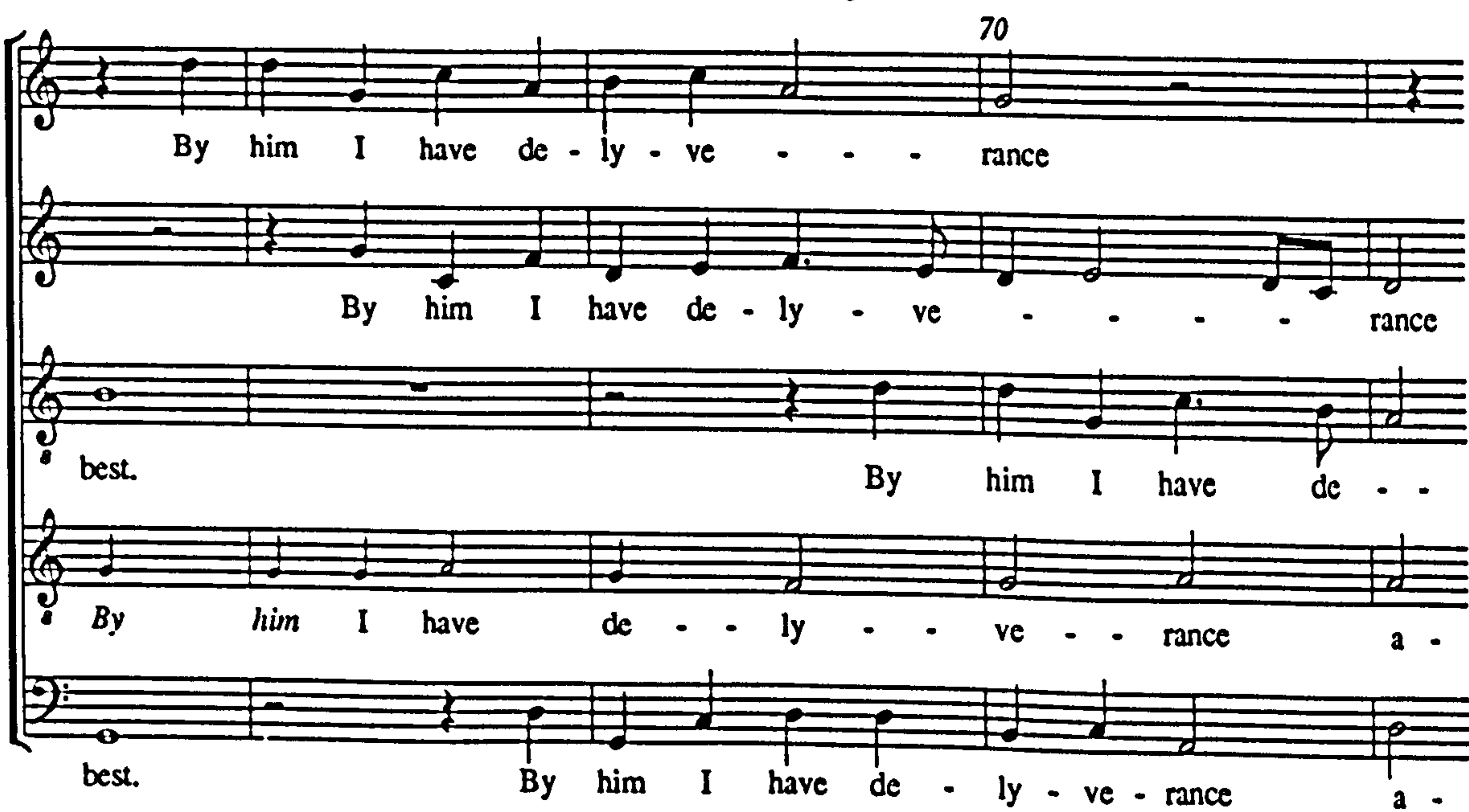
50



of God my joy and cheir, my joy and cheir, And on my harp giff thanks to
joy and cheir, And on my harp giff thanks to thee, O
joy and cheir, my joy and cheir, And on my harp giff
joy and cheir, And on my harp giff thanks to thee,
[and] cheir, And on my harp giff thanks to thee, And on my harp giff
thee, O God, my God most deir.
God, my God most deir. Why
thanks to thee, O God, my God most deir.
O God, my God most deir.
thanks to thee, O God, my God most deir.

Ex.7.87: Andrew Blackhall: *Judge and revenge my cause*

70



By him I have de - ly - ve - - - rance
By him I have de - ly - ve - - - - - rance
best. By him I have de - -
By him I have de - - ly - - ve - - - rance a -
best. By him I have de - ly - ve - rance a -

Ex.7.88: Andrew Blackhall: *Judge and revenge my cause*

25

And why walke I so hea - - - va - ly, ____

And why walke ____ I so ____ hea - va - ly, op -

why puts thou me thee fro? And why walke I so

[putt] - is thou me thee fro? And why walke I

thou me thee fro? And why walke I so hea - - - va - -

Ex.7.89a: Psalm 108 [later known as *Old Common*], 1564 Psalter



Ex.7.89b: *Old Common*, 1625 Psalter*



Ex.7.89c: *Old Common*, 1633 Psalter



Ex.7.89d: *Old Common*, 1634 Psalter



Ex.7.89e: *Old Common*, 1635 Psalter



Ex.7.89f: *Old Common*, 1666 Collection of Psalm Tunes



* Tune in T in all common-tune settings unless otherwise stated.

Ex.7.90a: *French*, 1625 Psalter



Ex.7.90b: *French*, 1633 Psalter



Ex.7.90c: *French*, 1634 Psalter



Ex.7.90d: *French*, 1635 Psalter



Ex.7.90e: *French*, 1666 Collection of Psalm Tunes



Ex.7.91a: *Abbay*, 1625 Psalter



Ex.7.91b: *Abbay*, 1633 Psalter



Ex.7.91c: *Abbay*, 1634 Psalter



Ex.7.91d: *Abbay*, 1635 Psalter



Ex.7.91e: *Abbay*, 1666 Collection of Psalm Tunes



Ex.7.92a: *Glasgow*, 1625 Psalter



Ex.7.92b: *Glasgow*, 1634 Psalter



[original errors retained]

Ex.7.92c: *Glasgow*, 1635 Psalter



[original errors retained]

Ex.7.93a: *Dumfermling*, 1625 Psalter

The musical score for Ex.7.93a consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a melody of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a figured bass line with various accidentals and note stems, typical of early keyboard or lute tablature notation.

Ex.7.93b: *Dumfermling*, 1633 Psalter

The musical score for Ex.7.93b consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a melody of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a figured bass line with various accidentals and note stems, typical of early keyboard or lute tablature notation.

Ex.7.93c: *Dumfermling*, 1634 Psalter

The musical score for Ex.7.93c consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a melody of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a figured bass line with various accidentals and note stems, typical of early keyboard or lute tablature notation.

Ex.7.93d: *Dumfermling*, 1635 Psalter

The musical score for Ex.7.93d consists of four staves, each labeled with a letter on the left: S, Q, A, and T. Each staff contains a melody line of eighth and sixteenth notes. The staves are arranged vertically, with S at the top and T at the bottom. The key signature is one flat (B-flat).

Ex.7.93e: *Dumfermling*, 1666 Collection of Psalm Tunes

The musical score for Ex.7.93e consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a melody of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a figured bass line with various accidentals and note stems, typical of early keyboard or lute tablature notation.

Ex.7.93f: Orlando Gibbons: *Hosanna to the Son of David*

10

S₁ Ho - san - na to the Son of Da - - - vid.

S₂ to the Son of Da - vid, of Da - - vid.

A₁ [Son] of Da - vid, of Da - - - vid.

A₂ [Ho] - san - na to the Son of Da - - - vid.

T Da - - vid, of Da - - vid. Bless-

B Bless-

Ex.7.94: *Irving, 1635 Psalter*

Ex.7.95: *Dumbar, 1635 Psalter*

Ex.7.96: *Culros, 1635 Psalter*

Ex.7.98: Psalm 21 in reports [Montrose], 1635 Psalter [Church Part in S]

5

S O Lord, how joy-full is the King_____ in thy strength and thy power!

A O Lord, how joy-full is the King_____ in thy strength and thy power!

T O Lord, how joy-full is the King in thy__ strength and thy power! How vehe-ment -

B O Lord, how joy-full is the King in thy strength and thy power! How

10

How vehe-ment - lie doth hee re-joyce, in thee his_ Sa - vi - our!

How vehe-ment - lie doth hee__ re - joyce, in_____ thee his Sa - - vi - our!

- lie doth hee re - joyce, doth hee__ re - joyce, in thee his Sa - - vi - our!

vehe-ment - lie doth hee re - joyce, How vehe-ment - lie doth hee re-joyce, in thee his Sa - vi - our!

Ex.7.99: Psalm 116 in reports, 1635 Psalter [Church Part in T]

5

S I love the Lord be - cause my voice and pray - er_ heard hath hee.

A I love the Lord be - cause my_ voice_____ and pray-er_ heard hath hee. When in my

T I love the____ Lord be - cause my voice, and pray-er heard hath hee.

B I love the Lord be-cause my voice, and pray-er heard hath hee,

Ex.7.99 cont.

When in my dayes I cald, I cald on him, he bow'd his eare to
 dayes I cald, cald on him, he bow'd his eare to
 When in my dayes I cald on him, he bow'd his eare to
 When in my dayes, I cald on him, he bow'd his eare to

10
 mee. Even when the snares of cruell death about be set me round:
 mee. Even when the snares of cruell death about be set me round:
 mee. Even when the snares of cruell death, about be set me round:
 mee. Even when the snares of cruell death, about be set me round:

15
 When paines of hell mee caught, and when I wo and sor-row found.
 When paines of hell mee caught, and when I wo and sor-row found.
 When paines of hell mee caught, and when I wo and sor-row found.
 When paines of hell mee caught, and when I wo and sor-row found.

Ex.7.100: Psalm 120 in reports, 1635 Psalter [Church Part in S]

S
A*
T
B

In trou - ble and in thrall Un - - to the Lord I call, And

hee doth mee com-fort. 2 De - ly - ver mee, I say, de - ly - ver mee, I say, From

ly - ers lips al - way, And tongues of false re - port. port.

* See note on p.315.

Ex.7.101: [Edward Millar?]: Psalm 124 [ii], 1635 Psalter [Tune in T]

S
A

T
B

Now Is - ra - el may say, and that true - ly. 2 If that the Lord had

Detailed description: This system contains the first two staves of the musical score. The Soprano (S) and Alto (A) parts are written on a grand staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Soprano part begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and A4, then a half note G4. The Alto part begins with a half note F4, followed by quarter notes G4, A4, and G4, then a half note F4. The lyrics 'Now Is - ra - el may say, and that true - ly. 2 If that the Lord had' are positioned below the staves.

not our cause main - taind, If that the Lord had not our right sus - taind,

Detailed description: This system contains the third and fourth staves of the musical score. The Soprano part continues with a half note E4, followed by quarter notes D4, C4, and B3, then a half note A3. The Alto part continues with a half note E4, followed by quarter notes D4, C4, and B3, then a half note A3. The lyrics 'not our cause main - taind, If that the Lord had not our right sus - taind,' are positioned below the staves.

When all the world a - gainst us fu - rious - lie Made their up-roares, and said wee should all die.

Detailed description: This system contains the fifth and sixth staves of the musical score. The Soprano part begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and A4, then a half note G4. The Alto part begins with a half note F4, followed by quarter notes G4, A4, and G4, then a half note F4. The lyrics 'When all the world a - gainst us fu - rious - lie Made their up-roares, and said wee should all die.' are positioned below the staves.

Ex.7.102: Psalm 16, 1635 Psalter [Tune in T]

S
A

Lord keepe mee, for I trust in thee, and do con-fesse in-deed: Thou art my God,

T
B

This system shows the first line of the musical score for Soprano (S) and Alto (A) parts. The Soprano part is written on a treble clef staff, and the Alto part is on a bass clef staff. The lyrics are: "Lord keepe mee, for I trust in thee, and do con-fesse in-deed: Thou art my God,". The music is in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The Soprano part begins with a half note G4, followed by a series of eighth and quarter notes. The Alto part begins with a half note F4, followed by a series of eighth and quarter notes. The system ends with a double bar line.

and of my good, O Lord, thou hast no need. 2 I give my good-nesse to the Saints

T
B

This system shows the second line of the musical score for Tenor (T) and Bass (B) parts. The Tenor part is written on a treble clef staff, and the Bass part is on a bass clef staff. The lyrics are: "and of my good, O Lord, thou hast no need. 2 I give my good-nesse to the Saints". The music continues from the previous system. The Tenor part begins with a half note G4, followed by a series of eighth and quarter notes. The Bass part begins with a half note F4, followed by a series of eighth and quarter notes. The system ends with a double bar line.


that in the world do dwell: 3 And name-ly to the faith-full flock, in ver-tue that ex-cell.

S
A

This system shows the third line of the musical score for Soprano (S) and Alto (A) parts. The Soprano part is written on a treble clef staff, and the Alto part is on a bass clef staff. The lyrics are: "that in the world do dwell: 3 And name-ly to the faith-full flock, in ver-tue that ex-cell.". The music continues from the previous system. The Soprano part begins with a half note G4, followed by a series of eighth and quarter notes. The Alto part begins with a half note F4, followed by a series of eighth and quarter notes. The system ends with a double bar line.

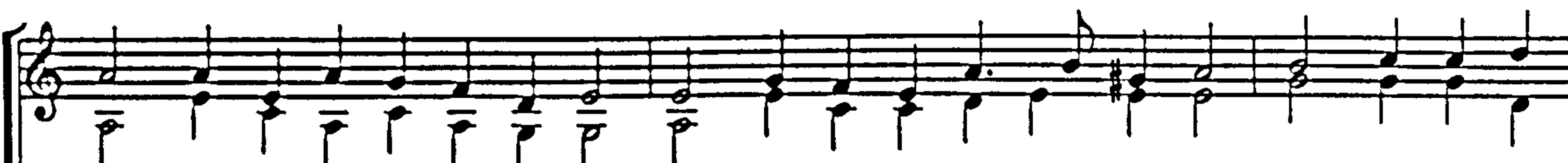
Ex.7.103: Psalm 76, 1635 Psalter [Tune in T]

S
A




In Ju - rie land God is well known, In Is - ra - el great is his Name.

T
B



2 Hee choose out Sa - lem for his own, His Ta - ber - na - cle of great fame, There - in to raise,



and Mount Sy - on To make his ha - bi - ta - ti - on. And res - i - dence with - in the same.




Ex.7.104: Psalm 50, 1635 Psalter [Tune in T]

S
A

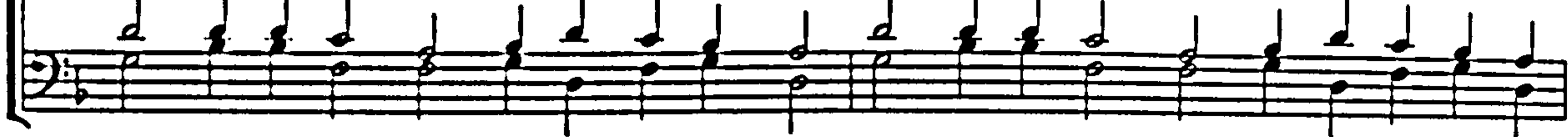


The migh-tie God, th'E - ter - nall hath thus spoke: And all the world hee will call and pro - voke,

T
B



Even from the East, and so foorth to the West: From to-ward Sion, which place him lik - eth best,



5



God will ap-pear in beau-tie most ex-cel - lent: Our God will come be-fore that long time be



[original errors retained]

Ex.7.105a: *Elgin*, 1633 Psalter



Ex.7.105b: *Elgin*, 1666 Collection of Psalm Tunes



[original errors retained]

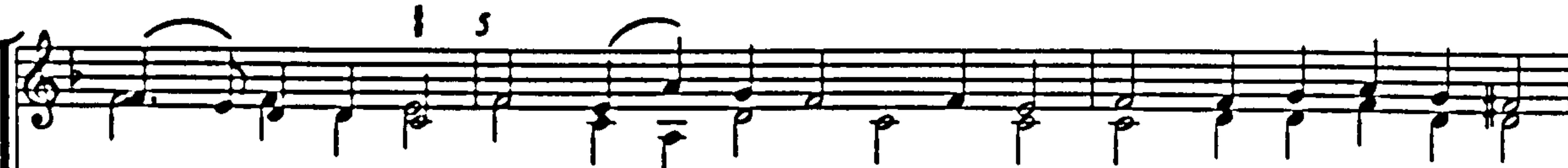
Ex.7.106: Psalm 25, 1666 Collection of Psalm Tunes [Tune in T]

S
A





To thee I lift my soul: O Lord, I trust in thee: My God, let me

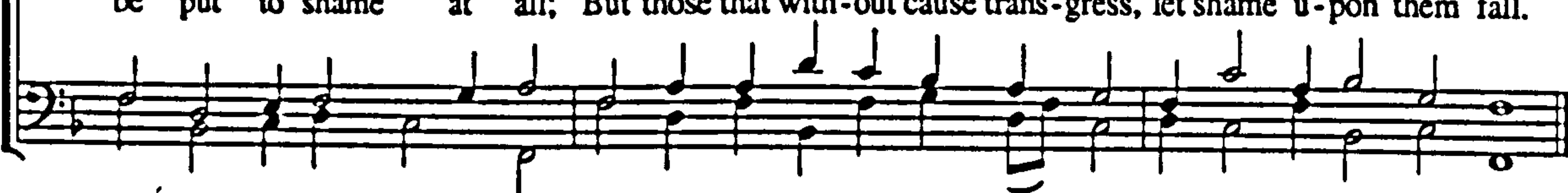
T
B



not be a-sham'd nor foes tri-umph o'er me. Let none that wait on thee



be put to shame at all; But those that with-out cause trans-gress, let shame u-pon them fall.



[original errors retained]

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