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**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON**

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Music

Volume 1 of 1

**Choral Style and Identity in Recordings of William Byrd**

by

**Caroline Amy Vince**

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

April 2016



UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

**ABSTRACT**

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

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**CHORAL STYLE AND IDENTITY IN RECORDINGS OF WILLIAM BYRD**

Caroline Amy Vince

William Byrd's choral music has appeared on record since the early 1920s and still has great currency today. His works are closely associated with the 'English choral tradition' and are frequently recorded by cathedral and collegiate choirs, yet they are equally popular among vocal ensembles operating independently of such institutional ties. The differing identities of these choirs, and the narratives that surround them, are encapsulated on recordings of Byrd's music.

This thesis establishes key distinctions in the practice, circumstance and purpose of 'institutional' and 'independent' choirs and examines how those differences manifest as different styles on record. Concentrating specifically on recordings of Byrd's *Ave verum corpus* and 'Agnus Dei' from the *Mass for Four Voices*, this thesis presents evidence from extensive close listening analysis, enriched with empirical detail generated by the computational tool Sonic Visualiser. This investigation is aligned with the wider field of recorded performance research, engaging particularly with debates concerning stylistic homogenisation across the twentieth century. While evidence of greater uniformity and expressive subtlety on record is confirmed, an in-depth focus on choral performance, in contrast to the more usual analysis of instrumental recordings, offers a more complex perspective. Recordings by independent ensembles demonstrate more variety and notable stylistic development across the recorded era, while recordings of institutional choirs are much more similar, having reached a stylistic optimum earlier in the twentieth century.

This thesis maps these findings against wider contextual narratives, arguing that similarity among institutional recordings derives from the choirs' shared identity of religious function, and that similarity is conveniently subsumed into a powerful rhetoric of tradition and stability. Independent ensembles are more associated with artistry and innovation, though there is a shared lineage for many UK choirs that brings notions of 'Englishness' and class to the fore. Finally, I argue that the identities embodied on Byrd recordings — traditional, national and spiritual — are of great value to modern consumers in the construction of their own sense of self.





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## DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, CAROLINE AMY VINCE .....

declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

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.....

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
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## Preface

The inspiration for this project stemmed from my specialist interest in choral performance practice, decisions of interpretation and nuances of style. Having sung the same sacred works of William Byrd in various choirs since school, I have regularly experienced how his music manifests differently under changing circumstances, singers and directors. This study is driven by that understanding of music as music *making* and by the wider impetus towards analysis of such practices through recordings.

I focus on the vocal repertoire of Byrd because of the composer's prominence in the choral canon during the recorded era. This popularity is particularly evident among English choirs, as John Milsom highlights: 'it is hard to imagine a time when William Byrd's Latin Masses and motets were not a cherished part of England's musical culture'.<sup>1</sup> The growing interest in Byrd's repertoire over the last century reflects a fascination with the so-called 'Golden Age' of Tudor and Elizabethan England, but also coincides with the wider revival of early music. Coupled with rapid expansion in the recording industry, Byrd's popularity is borne out in an extensive catalogue of recordings, which constitutes a rich source of data on choral performance. In this thesis, I examine recordings of two prolifically represented pieces: *Ave verum corpus* and 'Agnus Dei' from the *Mass for Four Voices*.

My analysis of recorded choral style occurs along two key parameters: comparison by era and comparison by ensemble category. I initially set out to conduct just the chronological study of style, measuring developments in choral performance over the last century against the findings of other scholars. However, I soon discovered notable stylistic distinctions between recordings by choirs affiliated to a cathedral, church or university compared to those that were not. I define these ensemble categories as 'institutional' and 'independent' in Chapter 1; the contrasts between them form the central focus of this investigation.

I am concerned not just with the sonic content of these recordings, but also with how they have been discussed, promoted and used. The choirs and their recorded products are surrounded by discourses that position them within certain cultural narratives, particularly traditionalism, nationalism, artistry and spirituality. In this wider context, choral styles and recordings become part of the representation of choral *identities*, which are available for listeners to use. In this thesis, I extend the findings from the main performance analysis to explore these broader constructions of identity. My primary research questions are:

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<sup>1</sup> John Milsom, sleeve notes to *Byrd: The Three Masses, Ave verum corpus*, Westminster Cathedral Choir, Hyperion CDA68038 (2014), 3.



## Preface

- Are there any trends in recorded choral style over time and do these reflect wider developments in twentieth-century performance?
- How do recordings by institutional and independent choirs compare and how does this relate to their choral circumstances?
- What identities are presented or expected on these recordings and why might they be useful to modern listeners?

I address the concept of identity and music in detail in Chapter 6, drawing on ideas from contemporary scholarship, but choral identity is a central theme running throughout this thesis. I examine identity in three main forms. Firstly, I identify the choirs in terms of the ensemble categories outlined above. This is based on the practical features or ‘profile’ of each choir, but also their performance purpose. Secondly, I investigate how those profiles manifest in sound, examining identity in terms of recorded performance style. Finally, I move on to consider more subjective or idealised constructions of choral identity, as projected onto the choirs via sleeve notes, album packaging, promotional websites and critical commentary. I show how the practical and stylistic actuality on one side of the recording does not always match the identities attributed to the choirs. At all stages, the main distinction between institutional and independent choirs is between identities of similarity versus variety. Similarity is routinely rebranded as tradition in the construction of institutional choral identity. The identities of independent ensembles are more complex — there are lingering links to tradition here also — but an emphasis on innovation is more prevalent with this type of group.

Initially, this study encompasses every vocal ensemble that I know to have recorded either *Ave verum corpus* or ‘Agnus Dei’ before the end of 2012. This includes various choirs from around the world and those groups form part of the statistics presented in Chapter 1. In my subsequent analysis and discussion, however, I pay special attention to choirs in the UK. This is largely because of the perceived affinity of these choirs with Byrd’s music and the depth of rhetoric surrounding the ‘British choral tradition’, but UK ensembles also represent the most significant subset within both the institutional and independent discographies for these pieces. Very few church or university choirs outside the UK have recorded either work, so discussions of the institutional category refer almost exclusively to UK cathedral and collegiate choirs. Numerous independent ensembles outside the UK have produced Byrd recordings, however, giving cause to accommodate this group more widely. I do include several examples from international independent ensembles in my analysis, particularly European choirs, but these primarily serve to demonstrate further variety against the main institutional and UK categories.

Discussions of UK nationality and identity are quickly complicated with regards to the use of the terms ‘British’ and ‘English’. These concepts are notoriously difficult to disentangle, and there

is not space to attempt the task in this thesis.<sup>2</sup> Though there are inherent dangers in using ‘British’ and ‘English’ as interchangeable descriptors, the two are frequently elided in the reviews, sleeve notes and promotional materials consulted for this study, particularly regarding the ‘British/English choral tradition’. I have, therefore, generally followed the same usage, my intention being to illustrate the commentary attached to these recordings. Though ‘British’ often denotes ‘English’ in the main, I have tended towards the former term when referring to geographical remits, while the latter carries particular associations that relate to the stylistic traits under discussion.

In Chapter 1, I establish the key distinctions between institutional and independent choirs, outlining contrasts in their vocal constitution, circumstances and performance practices. Chief among these distinctions is the responsibility of singing in regular services for institutional choirs and their affiliation with a fixed space. Chapter 2 sets out the methodology for analysing these choral practices through recordings, explaining my approach combining close listening and computational tools. I begin this chapter by exploring the wider field of recorded performance studies, highlighting trends that others have observed over the twentieth-century and debates on the effects of recording on style. My aim in Chapter 3 is to examine the sonic consequences of the latent choral characteristics outlined in Chapter 1 as they are captured on record. I assess how certain arrangements of singers, in certain locations, and under certain recording practices, create particular choral atmospheres or ‘sound worlds’ on disc. With these overarching styles established, Chapters 4 and 5 present detailed case studies of Byrd’s ‘Agnus Dei’ and *Ave verum corpus* on record, exhibiting the full findings of my main listening analysis for this project. I show how choirs of differing categories and eras convey alternative readings of the same music, drawing trends in the application of various expressive devices. From this evidence, I argue that institutional recordings display more similarity and stylistic stability, while independent recordings demonstrate greater variety and more changeability over time. In the concluding chapter, I conceptualise the distinction between independent and institutional choirs as a differing balance between art and function. I then argue that these recordings encapsulate choral identities and reflect idealised qualities, focussing particularly on constructions of tradition. These identities coincide with wider contemporary concerns for rootedness and continuity — this, I propose, is why Byrd recordings are so valuable to modern consumers.

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<sup>2</sup> I am thus aware that this is only a brief reference to complex issue that has been theorised extensively in recent decades; see, for example, Helen Brocklehurst and Robert Phillips, ed., *History, Nationhood and the Question of Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); and Thomas Hajkowski, *The BBC and National Identity in Britain, 1922-53* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).



## Chapter 1: Choral Profiles

A variety of different vocal ensembles have recorded William Byrd's sacred repertoire. Cathedral and collegiate choirs may first come to mind, or the likes of The Tallis Scholars and The Sixteen, but there are also school and university groups, small consorts and huge choruses: representing a range of amateur and professional singers in Britain and around the world. In this chapter, I outline key practical distinctions between different types of choir, having surveyed every ensemble that I know to have recorded either Byrd's *Ave verum corpus* or *Mass for Four Voices* before the end of 2012.<sup>1</sup> The varying circumstances of different ensembles directly affects their musical style; thus, my aim here is to provide the wider backdrop for subsequent performance analysis, which will then focus on UK choirs in particular.

I first define the choral categories, drawing the main comparative parameters between 'institutional' and 'independent' choirs, before exploring core distinctions in the vocal constitution and general operation of these ensembles. Overarching dialectics of stability versus flexibility and tradition versus innovation become apparent as we progress. However, I show that divisions between these categories are not straightforward, especially given the interconnections of choral practice in the UK.

### 1.1 Choral Categories

In this investigation, I delineate choral categories in order to facilitate a comparative analysis of performance style in relation to identity. Many choirs can be categorised according to their affiliation to a specific establishment or institution — a cathedral, church, school or college — such as Salisbury Cathedral Choir. Among the choirs I surveyed, a few in the USA could be classified in relation to an educational establishment alone, whereas the UK university choirs were in fact all university *chapel* or *church* choirs. This applies not only to the collegiate choirs of Oxford and Cambridge, but also those of Bristol, Durham and Glasgow universities. Moreover, the UK school choirs included here also have chapel buildings on site and regularly perform for worship there.<sup>2</sup> This means that every choir from a UK institution who has recorded these pieces is also responsible for providing music at religious services.

Understandably, vocal ensembles not affiliated to a specific institution are often labelled 'secular' by comparison. Timothy Day uses the term frequently, describing such ensembles as

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<sup>1</sup> 'Choral Profiles' were collated for each ensemble and can be found in Appendix A.1, along with a basic statistical breakdown and details of the sources consulted.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the choirs of Oakham School and Winchester College; "Choirs: Chapel Choir," Oakham School, accessed June 2014, <https://www.oakham.rutland.sch.uk/Arts/Music/Performance/Choirs.aspx>; "Chapel Choir," Winchester College, accessed June 2014, <http://www.winchestercollege.org/chapel-choir>.

'choirs singing the repertoire in concert performances and in broadcasts and recordings'.<sup>3</sup> Peter Phillips directs perhaps the most famous 'secular choir', The Tallis Scholars, and offers a candid explanation of their performances:

From what was once presented as one element in a complex act of worship...we have extracted, deracinated and put up in lights by itself for our pleasure and gain...the church is often replaced with a concert hall for access to which people must pay.<sup>4</sup>

Financial considerations are more prominent for this type of choir; the majority in this study contain paid, professional singers and directors. However, the term 'secular' should not be considered synonymous with 'professional' in this context, nor is it easy to draw categories based on money making alone. Indeed, several amateur choirs in the secular sphere have recorded Byrd's music, while T. B. Lawrence described his Fleet Street Choir as a 'professional, but non-profit making body'.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, many cathedral choirs pay lay clerks to sing in their services. Although the labels of 'sacred' and 'secular' indicate a basic distinction between the types of choir under discussion, then, they imply a dichotomy of values that could be misleading as a practical boundary. There are directors 'outside church' who aim to highlight the religiosity of Byrd's music and perform in sacred spaces, and there are cathedral choirs who give concerts and sell albums for secular consumption.<sup>6</sup>

Notwithstanding this crossover, there remains a fundamental difference in purpose between choirs who are connected to an institution and those who are freelance. Cathedral, church, school and collegiate choirs have a specific role in a specific space, and many affirm this as their primary function, as explained on the Durham Cathedral website:

Concerts, recordings and broadcasts have broadened [the choir's] reputation far afield, but its *raison d'être* remains the daily singing of choral services here in the Cathedral.<sup>7</sup>

This presents a critical distinction in performance practice. The aim of this thesis is to investigate the differences between these choirs, which I categorise as 'institutional', compared to those ensembles that I call 'independent'. (I am aware that the term 'institution' has been extensively

---

<sup>3</sup> Timothy Day, "English Cathedral Choirs in the Twentieth Century," in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. John Potter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 132. Day also uses the term in the essays "Tudor Church Music in the Twentieth Century," in *A Discography of Tudor Church Music* (London: The British Library, 1989) and "Tallis in Performance," *Early Music* 33 (2005).

<sup>4</sup> Phillips does of course go on to justify his approach and argue that 'in our version the spotlight is now squarely on the music', in "Reclaiming Crossover," *The Musical Times* 145 (2004): 88.

<sup>5</sup> T. B. Lawrence, sleeve notes to *Byrd: Mass for Four Voices*, The Fleet Street Choir, Decca LX 3046 (1951).

<sup>6</sup> Harry Christophers is particularly vocal on this subject, as will be explored in more detail later in this thesis.

<sup>7</sup> "Worship & Music," Durham Cathedral, accessed July 2014, <http://www.durhamcathedral.co.uk/worshipandmusic>.

problematised in other literature, but I am simply referring to an educational or religious organisation housed in a specific building).<sup>8</sup> Jonathan Freeman-Attwood illustrated the importance of this distinction when comparing cathedral and collegiate practice to the freelance Monteverdi Choir, who are:

...an ensemble with no fixed abode, no fixed liturgical purpose and therefore unending capacity for flexibility and renewal according to the project at hand.<sup>9</sup>

Conversely, the descriptions on many institutional websites explain that the choir is 'at the heart of the worshipping life of the cathedral'.<sup>10</sup> This immutable purpose within a fixed space presents a most interesting contrast to choirs who are not bound by such duties. Motivation, focus and identity can vary for independent groups, whereas, for 'The Choir of X Institution', it is predefined in their very name.

Many sub-categories exist within this broad institutional / independent division. I make comparisons between recordings from different eras, between cathedral and collegiate choirs, and place special attention on UK ensembles. Other groupings also emerge within the two main categories; most significant are those relating to vocal constitution and size, but there are also potential contrasts between amateurs and professionals, and between choirs based in London, 'Oxbridge' and elsewhere. I take these distinctions into account, and discuss several in this chapter, but my primary axis for comparison is institutional versus independent choral practice.<sup>11</sup>

## 1.2 Voice Type and Number

Some of the main features that define a choir 'on paper' relate to vocal constitution. Among the institutional choirs in this investigation, by far the most common arrangement is a choir of men and boys.<sup>12</sup> This applies most firmly to UK choirs, particularly cathedrals: in this survey, *all* except St. Paul's Cathedral, Dundee, still maintain a choir of men and boys.<sup>13</sup> Several choirs from other UK institutions do not contain choristers and instead consist of men and women, although this accounts for less than a quarter of those under consideration. Nearly all of

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<sup>8</sup> See, for example, Geoffrey M. Hodgson, "What are Institutions?" *Journal of Economic Issues* 40 (2006); Jon W. Mohr and Roger Friedland, "Theorizing the Institution: Foundations, Duality and Data," *Theory and Society* 37, Special Issue on Theorizing Institutions: Current Approaches and Debates (2008); "Institution," Oxford Dictionaries, accessed March 2015, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/institution>.

<sup>9</sup> Jonathan Freeman-Attwood, "The 20 Greatest Choirs," *Gramophone* (January 2011): 42.

<sup>10</sup> "Music," Wells Cathedral, accessed June 2014, <http://www.wellscathedral.org.uk/music-the-choir/>.

<sup>11</sup> A case could be made for conducting future studies along some of these other parameters.

<sup>12</sup> Twenty-eight out of forty-five UK institutions in the survey have a choir of men and boys (thirty-one out of sixty-four institutional choirs worldwide).

<sup>13</sup> There was originally a choir of men and boys at Dundee Cathedral at the time of recording Byrd's repertoire, but the current choir contains mixed adult voices.

these are college chapel choirs, made up of students from the university. This presents an interesting distinction among the institutional category — especially regarding Oxbridge colleges — between choirs of mixed, young adults and the remaining choirs of men and boys.<sup>14</sup> Choirs from schools, provincial churches, and institutions outside the UK display various combinations of men, women, boys and girls, but few such choirs have recorded the works in question. Similarly, although a growing number of cathedrals have introduced girl choristers, none made it on to the recordings under investigation here.<sup>15</sup> In this survey, cathedral choirs who permit girls are outweighed by those who still exclude girls from the main choir.<sup>16</sup> Where they are permitted, girls form parallel, not mixed, groups of choristers who alternate singing with the men.<sup>17</sup> Only Chester and Salisbury cathedrals divide the weekly services completely equally between boy and girl choristers, while at Ely, Winchester and Worcester cathedrals, girls sing only one service per week in comparison to the boys' five or six.<sup>18</sup>

There is far greater variety in vocal constitution among the independent ensembles who have recorded this repertoire and many more of these groups contain women.<sup>19</sup> Mixed independent ensembles commonly differ with regards to the voices singing alto; this part is frequently sung by male countertenors, more often by women, and sometimes by a combination of both.<sup>20</sup> In mixed institutional choirs, however, both soprano and alto parts are nearly always sung by female singers.<sup>21</sup> Some different vocal combinations do exist among the institutions in this survey, but that category is dominated by two distinct types of choir: groups of men and boys, or groups of female upper and male lower voices. In contrast, the independent category contains widespread vocal variety across a range of prominent choirs. This is increased by the presence of many all-male consorts, such as The Pro Cantione Antiqua, The Hilliard Ensemble and The King's

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<sup>14</sup> Mixed Oxbridge choirs who have recorded these pieces come from Christ's, Clare, Corpus Christi and Queen's Colleges, Cambridge, and Keble College, Oxford. Oxbridge college choirs of men and boys in the survey include: King's, St. John's and Jesus Colleges, Cambridge, and Magdalen and New Colleges, Oxford.

<sup>15</sup> Eleven cathedral choirs in this survey now include girl choristers (with Truro soon to follow at the time of writing). The only cathedral recording of *Ave verum corpus* that might possibly contain girls is from Portsmouth Cathedral; this album featured several different cathedral ensembles. Some more recent cathedral choir albums do contain girls, but none in the remit of this project.

<sup>16</sup> Of all the institutional choirs in the survey, twelve now include girl choristers, but nineteen remain purely as a choir of men and boys.

<sup>17</sup> Several cathedral choirs specify that boy and girl choristers may sing together on special occasions.

<sup>18</sup> At Rochester Cathedral, boy and girl chorister duties are nearly equal, while at Beverly Minster girls sing only one service per month.

<sup>19</sup> This is not without equal controversy; Day provides useful coverage of this wider debate, pointing to the work of David Wulstan and the Clerks of Oxenford in popularising the inclusion of women's voices for this repertoire, in "Tudor Church Music," 32-38. These issues are explored further in Chapter 4.

<sup>20</sup> Twelve mixed voice independent choirs were known to have male altos, and six included both male and female voices on this part.

<sup>21</sup> In the survey, only five mixed institutional choirs worldwide were known to have either male or a mix of male and female voices singing the alto line. Of course, institutional choirs of men and boys include countertenors singing alto.

Singers.<sup>22</sup> These groups also provide variation to the standard SATB format followed by mixed voice and all institutional choirs, instead appearing in different combinations of countertenor, tenor, baritone and bass.<sup>23</sup>

Further diversity exists within the independent category when considering ensemble type in terms of size. There are small, mixed voice quartets, such as The Quink Vocal Ensemble and The Firesign Quartet, as well as male groups featuring solo voices on each part. Then there are intimate consorts of six to eight singers, such as The Cardinal's Musick and The Parsons Affayre. Beyond this are chamber choirs ranging from a few singers per-part to larger groups of around twenty-four voices, such as The BBC Singers. Finally, there are gargantuan choruses and choral societies that number over 100 singers.<sup>24</sup>

If considering numbers alone, institutional choirs appear to range in equal measure. Some chapel choirs in this survey currently contain around sixteen voices, while at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, it is closer to fifty and the handful of school choirs can far exceed this.<sup>25</sup> Yet when compared to the independent category, this does not provide the same ensemble variety in terms of group dynamic and disposition. Among the institutions, we essentially find a 'medium-sized choir' or a 'large choir'. Day determines that most cathedral and collegiate choirs contain between twenty-two and twenty-six singers, but also references several that number closer to thirty.<sup>26</sup> My survey findings concur with this: the average number of singers is around twenty-eight in both UK cathedral and collegiate choirs.<sup>27</sup>

The vast majority of independent ensembles under examination are much smaller than this. They display a great range overall, but those based in the UK contain just eight to ten voices on average and only a quarter of the sample exceeds twenty singers.<sup>28</sup> Their European counterparts are fairly similar to this, with around twelve singers on average.<sup>29</sup> The independent ensembles in Australia and North America are slightly larger than the UK by comparison, with an average between sixteen and eighteen singers, but this is still far below the size of most institutional

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<sup>22</sup> Eleven ensembles of adult male voices have made recordings of the repertoire under investigation.

<sup>23</sup> This is with the exception of three school choirs in the institutional category for this study.

<sup>24</sup> Choirs in this survey containing over 100 singers are: The Morriston Orpheus Choir, The Mastersingers of the San Antonio Symphony and The London Choral Society. This is based on the current number of singers in the choir, however; the actual number of singers on the Byrd recordings was not given.

<sup>25</sup> See Appendix A.1 for full details of choir numbers and an explanation of why all figures should be read as an approximation.

<sup>26</sup> Day, "Tudor Church Music," 31.

<sup>27</sup> This is the median average of twenty-four church and cathedral choirs, and of thirteen collegiate choirs, for which the figures could be obtained.

<sup>28</sup> This is the median average of twenty-five UK independent choirs for which the figures could be obtained.

<sup>29</sup> This is the median average of nineteen European independent choirs, of which thirteen had fewer than twenty singers.



choirs.<sup>30</sup> The contrast becomes even more apparent when considering that nearly a third of all independent ensembles surveyed here had only six singers or fewer.<sup>31</sup>

Another important difference in number between the two types of choir concerns flexibility. Day observes that 'the size of cathedral choirs over the past century has remained more or less constant'; most institutional choirs uphold a fixed quota of singers, year-on-year, performance-to-performance.<sup>32</sup> Independent ensembles can be much more changeable and many frequently alter the number of singers. For example, sleeve notes for The Oxford Camerata's recordings explain that they usually feature twelve singers, 'but for certain projects the choir has been made up of as few as four singers and as many as forty', being 'flexible in size to meet the varying demands of such early choral works'.<sup>33</sup> I found similar statements for nine other independent ensembles in this survey, illustrating their greater propensity to adapt their choral parameters as an artistic response.<sup>34</sup> Some institutional choirs also experience fluctuating numbers or changes in their vocal constitution, but these alterations appear to result more from circumstantial factors. For example, recent funding cuts at Llandaff Cathedral mean that they can no longer sustain regular lay clerks, while St. Paul's Cathedral, Dundee, originally had a choir of men and boys but now houses a mixed adult choir.<sup>35</sup>

Some of the most significant contrasts between independent and institutional choirs relate to the balance of voices on each part. Though it is not always possible to obtain the exact figures for each section, the majority of cathedral choirs in this study contain at least five times as many trebles as altos, tenors or basses.<sup>36</sup> Cathedral choirs at Salisbury, Chester, Ely, St. Paul's (London) and Westminster Abbey contain approximately eight or ten times as many choristers as other

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<sup>30</sup> This is the median average of eighteen independent choirs from the USA, Canada, Australia and Mexico. In this survey, the average size of institutional choirs outside the UK is also much larger, at around forty-two singers, but this is only representative of ten choirs of quite varying sizes.

<sup>31</sup> This equates to nineteen out of sixty-two independent ensembles, for which the figures could be obtained.

<sup>32</sup> Day, "Tudor Church Music," 31.

<sup>33</sup> Edward Wickam, sleeve notes to *Tallis: Spem in alium, Missa Salve intermerata*, The Oxford Camerata, Naxos 8.557770 (2005), 4; sleeve notes to *William Byrd: Mass for Four Voices, Mass for Five Voices, Infelix ego*, The Oxford Camerata, Naxos 8.550574 (1992), 4.

<sup>34</sup> Those ensembles are: The Quink Vocal Ensemble, Theatre of Voices, Collegium Vocal Ghent, The Laudantes Consort, The Tallis Scholars, The Sixteen, The St. Martin's Chamber Choir, The Tudor Choir and Voices of Ascension. When listening, I detected several others who recorded with fewer than their standard number of singers, even when that was not explicitly stated in the accompanying material.

<sup>35</sup> "Llandaff Cathedral adult choir members made redundant," BBC News South East Wales, added December 20, 2013, accessed August 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-north-east-wales-25460945>.

<sup>36</sup> Nine cathedral choirs in the survey have around five times as many trebles and a further three have around six times as many (see Appendix A.1 for details). Often, just the total number of men is given, but there is generally an even distribution of those voices on the alto, tenor and bass parts. On the occasions where this information was not available, the numbers have been assumed from photographs (as specified in the appendix where this is the case), not as definitive data, but as an indication of their approximate size. There is likely to be some degree of fluctuation.

parts. Collegiate choirs of men and boys tend to be slightly more proportionate, but even those that come closest to an even balance — at Magdalen College, Oxford, and Jesus College, Cambridge — there are still approximately three times as many trebles as any other section. In contrast, the majority of independent ensembles under investigation contain an equal or near-equal balance of voices per part.<sup>37</sup> Almost a third of such ensembles are exactly equal, featuring either one or two voices on each line; no institutional choir displayed such equality. Even with ‘unbalanced’ independent ensembles, there tends to be a discrepancy of only one or two voices, and the majority have a difference between the parts of just three singers or fewer. For example, The Laudantes Consort list two extra tenors, while Vocal Appearance have one fewer tenor in comparison to the other parts. Evidently, unlike the institutional choirs, any extra weighting that does occur in independent ensembles is not always confined to the soprano section, though this remains a fairly common addition, especially in larger choirs.<sup>38</sup> However, some of the groups who list more sopranos also specify flexibility in number, such as The Sixteen and The Oxford Camerata.<sup>39</sup> Mixed institutional choirs also display more even distribution of upper and lower voices, but the vast majority of imbalances are still towards the former.<sup>40</sup>

In summary, the key contrasts between institutional and independent vocal constitution are between large and small, imbalance and evenness, the fixed and the varied.

### 1.3 Membership

The number of voices certainly affects performance, but who provides those voices and what qualities do they bring? The most basic distinction between the two choral categories concerns the singers’ ages and experience. Members of independent ensembles are adults with fully developed vocal apparatus. Most were in school choirs, sang at university or music college, and then participate in these ensembles with many years of training and varied musical

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<sup>37</sup> At least forty-two out of seventy independent ensembles in this survey are known to have performed with an equal or near-equal balance of voices. I believe there are several more, based on evidence from listening and photographs, but this could not be confirmed.

<sup>38</sup> The Fleet Street Choir, for example, were pictured with twenty women but only half as many men; photo by Studio Sun Ltd., in Rosemary Hughes, “The Fleet Street Choir,” *The Musical Times* 92 (1951): 347. Other independent ensembles that contain more noticeably varied numbers on each part are all very large choirs in the context of this category.

<sup>39</sup> Sleeve notes to *Byrd: Mass for Four Voices with the Propers for the Feasts of Saints Peter and Paul*, The Sixteen, Virgin Veritas VC 7911332 (1990); see footnote 32 for Oxford Camerata references.

<sup>40</sup> Often, only the numbers of men and women are supplied, or can be approximated from photographs, not the specifics of the four parts. Only the choirs at Queen’s and Clare Colleges, Cambridge, were pictured with a few more men than women.

experiences to draw on.<sup>41</sup> The majority of independent choirs in this study contain professional or semi-professional vocalists, many of whom have had separate freelance careers.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, several of the small consorts could be described as ‘an ensemble of soloists’, a term that Joseph Stevenson applied to The Pro Cantione Antiqua.<sup>43</sup> The Deller Consort provide another prime example of this: the accomplishments of soprano Sally le Sage include prizes at the Royal College of Music, recitals and major oratorios around Europe, and numerous solo recordings, and that is without mentioning the achievements of Alfred Deller himself.<sup>44</sup> It is not just singers from small independent ensembles who have had distinguished individual careers: The Sixteen have been styled as ‘a choir of hand-picked freelance singers’, and the biographies for those who have recorded with The Tallis Scholars reveal some very illustrious activities, particularly in international opera and concert recitals.<sup>45</sup>

Although several leading cathedral choirs contain some ‘well-respected professional singers’, the vast majority of the voices in institutional choirs are singers in training.<sup>46</sup> This applies most obviously to child choristers — whose presence explains the need for greater numbers of trebles — but also to the young students in college and university choirs. Referring to his time at King’s College, Cambridge, Sir Andrew Davis remarked that ‘the musical training one gets in that choir is incredible’, yet this statement implies that these singers are still in the intermediate stages of their vocal and musical development.<sup>47</sup> Of course, those gaining choral scholarships are undoubtedly talented young singers. Many collegiate choirs feature a combination of these members and student volunteers, though *all* of the men in King’s and St. John’s College choirs in Cambridge are choral scholars.<sup>48</sup> This could indicate an especially high level of vocal calibre, yet

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<sup>41</sup> This generalisation is based on basic biographical research of a substantial number of independent practitioners in this study, which can be found in Appendix A; it also very much concurs with Day’s assessment of a typical independent vocalist, in “Tallis in Performance,” 689.

<sup>42</sup> The Fleet Street choir began as an amateur ensemble but ‘gradually replaced’ these singers so that it could consist ‘entirely of solo-trained voices’ with ‘a high standard of musicianship’, in sleeve notes to *Byrd: Ave Verum Corpus*, The Fleet Street Choir, Decca K1081 (1942).

<sup>43</sup> Joseph Stevenson, “Pro Cantione Antiqua: Biography,” All Music, accessed June 2014, <http://www.allmusic.com/artist/pro-cantione-antiqua-mn0002268404/biography>.

<sup>44</sup> Ann Neate, “Sally Le Sage: Obituary,” *The Guardian*, January 7, 2014, accessed July 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/music/2014/jan/07/sally-le-sage-obituary>.

<sup>45</sup> Martin Cullingford, “Pilgrim’s Progress,” *Gramophone* (May 2009): 29; examples from The Tallis Scholars include: Michael Chance, “Biography,” Michael Chance, Countertenor, accessed August 2014, [www.michaelchancecountertenor.co.uk/biography](http://www.michaelchancecountertenor.co.uk/biography); and Jeremy White, “Jeremy White, Bass: Biography,” The Royal Opera House, accessed August 2014, [www.roh.org.uk/people/jeremy-white](http://www.roh.org.uk/people/jeremy-white).

<sup>46</sup> “The Cathedral Choir,” Winchester Cathedral, accessed June 2014, <http://www.winchester-cathedral.org.uk/music-choir/cathedral-choirs/the-cathedral-choir>.

<sup>47</sup> Sir Andrew Davis, “20 Greatest Choirs,” 12.

<sup>48</sup> As are most at Christ’s College; Day also puts Magdalen College Choir, Oxford into this category, in “Tudor Church Music,” 31, and in “Tallis in Performance,” 686; however, their website cites the maintenance of ‘eight singing-men’ and ‘four chaplains’, to which four ‘academical clerks’ have been added, making this case slightly more ambiguous, in “The Choir,” Magdalen College, University of Oxford, accessed June 2014, <http://www.magd.ox.ac.uk/chapel-and-choir/the-choir>.

even these two most esteemed collegiate choirs have not escaped criticism relating to their immaturity. David Fallows underlined this point when reviewing a Byrd recording by King's in 1979 and later said the same of St John's choir:<sup>49</sup>

...it is difficult to avoid noticing that they are all young and relatively inexperienced...Of course their voices are also audibly less mature and have certain unevennesses. The basses have a tendency to drag behind the beat; the altos and tenors have trouble with their high notes.<sup>50</sup>

Fallows made this assessment in direct comparison to 'the hardened veterans of Pro Cantione Antiqua'.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, in reference to a list of other independent ensembles, Day concurs that: 'the men's voices of these groups displayed a richness and maturity beyond the abilities of choral scholars'.<sup>52</sup>

Other institutional choirs do include the more mature voices of adult lay clerks.<sup>53</sup> These men often sing alongside varying numbers of choral scholars, though many prominent cathedral choirs — Liverpool, Salisbury, St. Paul's, Winchester and both Westminster institutions — consist entirely of choristers and lay clerks.<sup>54</sup> Such choirs, or those with more lay clerks than choral scholars, might bring the benefits of more experienced singers to their performances.<sup>55</sup> However, an older voice is not always a better voice. The singers in St. John's and King's College choirs may be audibly young, but they are among the most celebrated performers of Tudor choral music to date. Moreover, Day cites the encouragement of young men into cathedral choirs and the exclusion of voices that 'have deteriorated, have become looser and less focussed' as helping to raise choral standards over the last century.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Fallows noted that 'the singers are all young and many of them immature', in David Fallows, record review, *Gramophone* (June 1979): 93.

<sup>50</sup> Fallows, record review, *Gramophone* (March 1987): 1309.

<sup>51</sup> Jeremy Noble also 'immediately realized the difference between these mature voices and the choral scholars' when comparing the Pro Cantione Antiqua to the choir of King's College, Cambridge, in record review, *Gramophone* (October 1972): 730; as found in Day, "Tallis in Performance," 685.

<sup>52</sup> Day is referring specifically to: The Ambrosian Singers, The Choir of the Carmelite Priory, The BBC Singers and The Louis Halsey Singers, in "Tallis in Performance," 686.

<sup>53</sup> This includes Christ Church and New College choirs in Oxford. Again, these findings concur with Day's assessment of college choirs in "Tallis in Performance," 686.

<sup>54</sup> As does Her Majesty's Chapels Royal Choir, where the men are known as 'Gentlemen-in-Ordinary'; "Choir," The Official Website of The British Monarchy, accessed July 2014, <http://www.royal.gov.uk/TheRoyalResidences/TheChapelsRoyal/Choir.aspx>

<sup>55</sup> Choirs that include a greater number of lay clerks than choral scholars include those at Hereford, Rochester, Wells, St. Edmundsbury and Chester cathedrals, and New College, Oxford, while the cathedral choirs at Portsmouth, Truro, Worcester, St. Anne's in Belfast, and Christ Church, Oxford, contain an even or unspecified mix of clerks and scholars.

<sup>56</sup> Day aligns this with the replacement of lay clerks by choral scholars in many colleges and points out that singing as a lay clerk is no longer 'a job for life', due to both financial and practical developments, in "Tudor Church Music," 31.

According to Day, the quality of institutional choirs has 'improved significantly' since the early twentieth century, but the level of attainment is not uniform.<sup>57</sup> Day's most convincing testament to general improvement is that critics now compare cathedral recordings on equal parity to those by professional groups.<sup>58</sup> Certainly, John Rutter once put cathedral and collegiate choirs under the banner of 'professional and quasi-professional', stating that 'there's no question that the standard has sky-rocketed'.<sup>59</sup> Yet Rutter went on to warn that 'the expertise has never been higher, but I think that we're watching the flowers bloom and neglecting decay at the roots'. This concern is echoed by several choral directors: David Hill concurs that the standard at the top 'is as high as it has ever been' but 'there is a gap at parish level'.<sup>60</sup> Consider, for example, the technical skill demanded by famous recording choirs such as King's College, compared to Ewell Parish Church, where 'both complete novices and experienced singers' are invited into the choir.<sup>61</sup> A major factor here is the quality of training and leadership. Hill himself has a reputation as one of England's leading choral directors, but he points out that the role is generally adopted by organists who may 'know little about singing'.<sup>62</sup> In some cases, organ scholars carry the sole responsibility for leading the choir and, as collegiate director Timothy Brown highlighted, the 'extremely severe, stringent academic demands' at Cambridge can sometimes mean that organ scholarships are not filled, leaving some choirs without a director.<sup>63</sup>

The membership of institutional choirs is clearly contingent to the wider stipulations of their establishment. Interviewer Martin Cullingford elaborated Brown's point when describing Clare College Choir:

...while some members are on choral scholarships, others are volunteers, drawn from the college's student body of less than 600. An overlooked fact is that, unlike professional ensembles which can draw on singers of any age from around the world, Cambridge choirs can only choose from those also able to meet the high academic standards required to get into the university itself.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Day, "Tallis in Performance," 685. This rise is not restricted to institutional choirs alone; the wider development in standards over the twentieth century will be explored in the next chapter.

<sup>58</sup> Day, "Tudor Church Music," 30-31, and "Tallis in Performance," 685.

<sup>59</sup> John Rutter, "From Where I Sit," *Gramophone* (November 2002): 19.

<sup>60</sup> David Hill, interview by William McVicker, "David Hill on Choir Training," *Musical Times* 131 (1990): 215.

<sup>61</sup> "Choir," St. Mary's Ewell, accessed July 2014, <http://www.stmarysewell.com/mus/choir>.

<sup>62</sup> McVicker and Hill, "Choir Training," 215-16.

<sup>63</sup> Timothy Brown, interview by Cullingford, "Choral Powerhouse," *Gramophone* (January 2007): 39; choirs in this study who have made recordings under the directorship of organ scholars include Jesus and Corpus Christi Colleges, Cambridge, Keble College, Oxford, and Durham University College; at the time of writing there is an organ scholar running the chapel choir at Bristol University.

<sup>64</sup> Cullingford, *ibid*.

Though independent ensembles have their own entry requirements, institutional practice dictates particular conditions for the pool of potential singers. These include: university standards, quotas of choral scholars and lay clerks, ages of choristers, and specific association to the fixed location where they are needed several times per week.

One of the most significant issues of institutional circumstance, noted by Cullingford and others, is the ‘high turnover of personnel’.<sup>65</sup> This affects every institutional choir to some extent — choristers reach puberty and move on, cathedral scholars pass through after a few years — but it is particularly acute in college choirs, where many singers remain only for the duration of their degree. Edward Higginbottom of New College, Oxford, emphasised that ‘in four years’ time, hardly anybody will be in the choir who was there four years ago. That’s quite unlike any other performing environment’.<sup>66</sup> He explained that the choir is ‘always in the process of reconstruction, it changes every year’. Yet membership is not as turbulent for Higginbottom as it is in choirs comprised entirely of choristers and students. New College Choir includes lay clerks, more permanent members who help to maintain group stability, as suggested on their website:

Their place in the institution goes back many years; indeed they are the successors of the clerks appointed to sing in the Choir in the late 14th century. These days they are what you might call the backbone of the Choir: singers who by their experience and vocal maturity support the work of the choral scholars, and who give the ensemble a sense of continuity and many of its values.<sup>67</sup>

This description emphasises tradition, a theme that surrounds all institutional choirs and which persists despite the yearly influx of new voices. I will return to this idea, but it is already interesting to see how this sense of continuity might be upheld by virtue of the institution itself and its cultivation of a certain practice.

The core membership in many independent choirs is relatively stable by comparison, which is curious given the variability I outlined previously.<sup>68</sup> Perhaps the most notable example is The Hilliard Ensemble, whose line-up has changed just four times since they began recording in the early 1980s, and who have existed in their current format since 1998.<sup>69</sup> Even freelance

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>66</sup> Edward Higginbottom, interview by Fabrice Fitch, “Back to Business,” *Gramophone* (June 1997): 22.

<sup>67</sup> “The Choir: Lay Clerks,” Choir of New College, Oxford, accessed June 2014, <http://www.newcollegechoir.com/lay-clerks.html>.

<sup>68</sup> Based on credits for relevant recordings and basic biographical research into all named participants of those recordings and current members of the choir; see Appendix A for details.

<sup>69</sup> Based on the credits for the recording *Byrd: Masses and Motets*, The Hilliard Ensemble, EMI Reflexe CDS 7492058 (1987), recorded in 1983, as well as “The Hilliard Ensemble: Biography,” The Hilliard Ensemble, accessed August 2014, [www.hilliardensemble.demon.co.uk/biography.html](http://www.hilliardensemble.demon.co.uk/biography.html); and Timothy Dickey, “The

independent singers tend to maintain long-standing associations to certain ensembles: for example, several current members of The Sixteen — Sally Dunkley, Chris Royall, Simon Berridge, Rob MacDonald and Tim Jones — began singing with that choir over twenty years ago.<sup>70</sup> Within that time, of course, many other singers have come and gone.<sup>71</sup> Most independent ensembles have appeared in various different manifestations and their 'line-up is necessarily a fluid thing', as Cullingford remarked when interviewing The King's Singers.<sup>72</sup> That group's website explains that: 'since 1968 there have been twenty-five King's Singers — the original six and nineteen replacements, each joining as somebody else leaves'.<sup>73</sup> By 1997, there were no original King's Singers left in the group.<sup>74</sup> Understandably, then, Cullingford questioned whether it was 'still correct to talk of a King's Singers sound?'<sup>75</sup> Two remaining singers responded in the affirmative; Philip Lawson mused that 'you almost turn into the guy you replace' because 'your job is to fit' and Christopher Gabbittas agreed that 'you just morph into a King's Singer'.<sup>76</sup> This illustrates how the gradual changes in personnel within independent ensembles helps to retain something of the group's established character.

There is, however, a paradox here. The core membership and central dynamic within most independent ensembles remains relatively stable, yet they also advocate a great deal of flexibility, adapting their line-up and appearing in various guises. By contrast, institutional choirs undergo regular alterations that replace numerous members, yet they manage to retain an aura of consistency and appear almost unchanging. For example, Wells Cathedral Choir is described as 'one of the oldest choirs in the country', part of 'a choral tradition that has remained unbroken for around 800 years'.<sup>77</sup> The significance of such epithets will be explored at length in later chapters, but here I will consider the practical ways in which continuity is engendered by institutional conditions.

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Hilliard Ensemble: Biography", All Music, accessed August 2014, <http://www.allmusic.com/artist/the-hilliard-ensemble-mn0000927445/biography>.

<sup>70</sup> "Meet the Singers," The Sixteen, accessed August 2014, <http://www.thesixteen.com/page/3102/Meet-the-singers>. Dunkley also sang with the Tallis Scholars for a considerably long time; she appears on *William Byrd: The Three Masses*, The Tallis Scholars, Gimell set BYRD 345 (1984) and over twenty years later on *Playing Elizabeth's Tune*, The Tallis Scholars, Gimell CDGIM 992 (2006).

<sup>71</sup> Cullingford noted this of The Sixteen, in "Pilgrim's Progress," 33.

<sup>72</sup> Cullingford, "Royal Family," *Gramophone* (December 2010): 44.

<sup>73</sup> 'The replacements have been one at a time, with the exception of Nigel Short and Philip Lawson who joined together'; "FAQs," The King's Singers, accessed July 2014, <http://www.kingssingers.com/faq>.

<sup>74</sup> Robert Cummings, "The King's Singers: Biography," All Music, accessed July 2014, <http://www.allmusic.com/artist/kings-singers-mn0000929562/biography>.

<sup>75</sup> Cullingford, "Royal Family," 44.

<sup>76</sup> Both describe this as an unconscious phenomenon; Philip Lawson and Christopher Gabbittas, interview by Cullingford, "Royal Family," 44.

<sup>77</sup> Caroline Gill, "20 Greatest Choirs", 39.

## 1.4 Rehearsal and Performance Practice

Understanding who is in these choirs is central to my analysis, but so too is a consideration of when and how they work together. One of the most significant features of institutional choral practice is the amount of rehearsal and contact time involved. This applies particularly to choristers, as evidenced on the website for Truro Cathedral:

The eighteen boy choristers rehearse every day before school for at least 45 minutes. On most weekdays they come straight from school to the Cathedral where they do their homework before rehearsing for another 40 minutes and singing a service at 5.30 pm.<sup>78</sup>

Different institutions naturally vary in the specifics, but the majority of institutional choirs in this study cite some form of rehearsal at least once a week.<sup>79</sup> Around two thirds of those choirs rehearse four times per week or more, with most indicating daily rehearsals, including nearly every English cathedral choir.<sup>80</sup> Much rehearsal time does involve just choristers, but numerous institutions state that the full choir rehearses before each service.<sup>81</sup> Services also occur with exceptional frequency. Almost all of the institutional choirs under examination participate in weekly services, with half of those singing in at least five services per week.<sup>82</sup> A substantial portion— again including the vast majority of English cathedral choirs — perform seven or more services each week, with Christ Church, Salisbury, Wells and Westminster cathedrals offering nine or more.<sup>83</sup> Like their rehearsals, not every service requires the full choir. Several institutions feature different choral units during the course of the week, especially where there are girl choristers to accommodate or where lay clerks can attend less often. Unlike the independent ensembles, however, these alterations are not made in direct response to repertoire; rather they are regular, practical patterns that share out the work of the institution.

It is much more difficult to obtain rehearsal information for independent ensembles, but their contact time appears to be quite different. Although Lawrence's Fleet Street Choir rehearsed every week, I can only additionally confirm this of three other independent choirs, each leaning

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<sup>78</sup> "Truro Cathedral Choir," Truro Cathedral, accessed June 2014, <http://www.trurocathedral.org.uk/day-to-day/choir.html>.

<sup>79</sup> Details on rehearsals were obtained for thirty-nine institutional choirs, including those from outside the UK: all of these indicated at least weekly rehearsals; see Appendix A for details.

<sup>80</sup> Twenty choirs rehearse daily, including all English cathedrals except for Chester and Portsmouth, who rehearse five times per week.

<sup>81</sup> This refers to at least five cathedral choirs and two colleges; many more are likely to adopt this practice but do not explicitly advertise such.

<sup>82</sup> Fifty-one out of the total sixty-four institutional choirs worldwide are known to sing at least once per week (three of these are monasteries); some of the remaining eleven do give services but not as regularly, they are often educational establishments and nearly all are outside of the UK.

<sup>83</sup> Sixteen choirs offer seven or more weekly services; Westminster Cathedral Choir actually sing twice a day, every day.



more towards the amateur end of the spectrum.<sup>84</sup> Given the plethora of activities that professional independent singers are involved with, it is likely that rehearsal time together is much more restricted for those ensembles. Kirsty Hopkins remembers that in her first performance with The Sixteen they 'didn't even sing some of the music through before the concert'.<sup>85</sup> The King's Singers provide useful insight into their rehearsal practices on their website:

Many people are surprised when we tell them that we rehearse for no longer than two hours before each performance. The reason for this is rooted partly in our education, where we learned to read music very quickly and put performances together at short notice as cathedral choristers. A point which is perhaps more important, however, is that we don't view rehearsals as the time to learn notes, but instead to hone and fine-tune performances. Each singer will spend many hours learning music alone, during rest periods at home and on tour. We then come together knowing all the notes, and spend our rehearsal time working on subtleties — or getting ahead with new repertoire for upcoming performances.<sup>86</sup>

There is still a great amount of preparation involved for each singer, but it appears that the actual time these individuals spend rehearsing together is more flexible, and perhaps less regular, in comparison to institutional choirs.

Repertoire selection is another area that is conditioned by external frameworks of requirement for institutional choirs, whereas independent ensembles are afforded more freedom. Higginbottom speaks of the institutional situation favourably, describing the 'wide eclectic repertory' that service music encompasses and the 'steep learning curve' this encourages.<sup>87</sup> However, Richard Marlow stated things more far more bluntly when directing Trinity College Choir: 'as far as repertoire is concerned, we're not in a position to specialize'.<sup>88</sup> Most independent ensembles also explore a wide range of music but, as outlined again by The King's Singers, repertoire selection in professional groups involves quite a different process:

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<sup>84</sup> Hughes, "The Fleet Street Choir", 346; the other choirs are: The London Choral Society, The Morriston Orpheus Choir and The Preston Orpheus Choir; The Pro Arte Singers also rehearse three times each week, but they present an anomaly in that they straddle the boundary between independent and institutional choir: they are the top chamber choir at the Early Music Institute of Indiana University, but their standard and activities are much more akin to that of a professional independent choir and they do not give regular services in a fixed location.

<sup>85</sup> Kirsty Hopkins, "Meet the Singers," The Sixteen, accessed August 2014, <http://www.thesixteen.com/page/3102/Kirsty-Hopkins/15>.

<sup>86</sup> "FAQs," The King's Singers.

<sup>87</sup> Edward Higginbottom, "20 Greatest Choirs", 36.

<sup>88</sup> Richard Marlow, interview by Francis Pott, "Choral Traditions," *Gramophone* (June 1991): 23.

What repertoire we choose to perform in any given concert is informed by a number of variables: where the venue is; whether we're performing as part of a series that already has a theme; what the acoustics are like in the venue; what kind of programme the presenter would like; and what music suits particularly the current line-up of the group.<sup>89</sup>

Similarly, The Hilliard Ensemble have a fixed list of 'programmes currently on offer' on their website, from which concert organisers can make a selection (though they are 'happy to consider compiling programmes to fit in with special themes where there is suitable repertoire available').<sup>90</sup> These explanations illustrate the level of control that independent ensembles have. They are not subject to the same demands as institutional choirs and can stipulate what they are willing to focus on at any one time.

With this contrast in mind, we can appreciate that institutional choirs may have more rehearsal time, but they have a considerable amount to address. Sir Andrew pointed out that, 'with services every day except for Monday, and all that music to prepare...the workload was so huge'.<sup>91</sup> Above, even The King's Singers reflected that institutional choirs have little time to spend on specific pieces, whereas their ensemble can concentrate on nuance and detail at length.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, many institutional singers are still training in choral performance and these aspects require additional attention. Hill emphasises that time management is crucial for institutional directors and recommends a specific rehearsal itinerary: he begins a practice 'with exercises dealing with specific aspects of voice production' and vocal warm-ups, before swiftly moving on to plainsong and more complex repertoire.<sup>93</sup> These concerns are inherent for the majority of institutional choirs, thus there are natural parallels in the structure of their rehearsals. Charles Cleall's account of 'Church Choir Routine' describes a similarly constructed itinerary:

On the Friday, I have my older choirboys at 6 pm for a sight-reading class; I use a Curwen modulator pinned to the inside of the music cupboard (so that no jokers can deface it in my absence), pointing to the modulator with a ruler from my private music cupboard. Each boy sings to me alone, and I grade the exercises according to their ability and experience...Finally, I use two rulers, and divide the class into two parts in counterpoint. Some book study comes into this, using the sol-fa names for notes on the stave; learning the French time names in spoken rhythmic exercises; and also using the sol-fa names for

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<sup>89</sup> "FAQs," The King's Singers.

<sup>90</sup> "Programmes," The Hilliard Ensemble, accessed August 2014, <http://www.hilliardensemble.demon.co.uk/programmes.html>.

<sup>91</sup> Davis, "20 Greatest Choirs," 37.

<sup>92</sup> "FAQs," The King's Singers.

<sup>93</sup> Hill, "Choir Training," 219.

notes pointed out by one hand on the outspread fingers of the other...this makes sight-reading really vivid.

At 6.30, the remaining boys come, and we go through the difficult hymns, and the psalms, and perhaps a setting or anthem. At 7, the men come, and we begin the full practice with a prayer: at 8, the boys go home. Before they do, we stand, close our eyes, and say together the Grace from *II Corinthians* 13.14.<sup>94</sup>

Cleall's rehearsal is not only strict in terms of schedule, but also in the construction of an extremely disciplined environment. Several elements of his commentary are symptomatic of an era in which the approach to discipline was more severe; contemporary director George Guest was also said to be very 'tough' and 'demanding'.<sup>95</sup> That said, Hill too describes his approach as 'firm and fair', instructing his choristers that choral practice 'needs hard work and disciplined concentration'.<sup>96</sup>

Considerations of discipline point to wider differences in group dynamics between institutional and independent choral practice. In the former, there is a leader in charge who holds ultimate authority, and the singers must follow their instruction. Of course, many independent choirs are also guided by the artistic direction of one individual; in these situations, however, the balance of authority and interpretative contributions can be more democratic. This certainly seemed the case for The Fleet Street Choir, as observed by Rosemary Hughes:

Even more [extraordinary] is the freedom of discussion between conductor and choir, and within the choir itself, and their power of self-criticism. If any passage presents difficulties the conductor is ready to ask their opinions, which are given shrewdly and with complete spontaneity, and if the 'human pitchfork' declares that the basses were flat, the verdict is accepted without pique and as a matter of course.<sup>97</sup>

This is a much more mutual rehearsal dynamic than the master/student arrangement described of institutional choirs. A similar sense of equality is evidenced by a modern independent ensemble, Voces 8, where leader 'Barney' Smith is described as the person 'responsible for channelling eight people's musical interpretations into one performance'.<sup>98</sup> Not all independent groups operate in this manner; unlike institutional choirs, there are various approaches and the balance of power can be different in each. Indeed, many independent ensembles are small consorts without a

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<sup>94</sup> In Cleall's rehearsals, 'even the manner of holding the books is routine', in Charles Cleall, "Church Choir Routine: 2," *The Musical Times* 104 (1963): 578.

<sup>95</sup> "George Guest: Obituary," *Gramophone* (January 2003): 17.

<sup>96</sup> Hill, "Choir Training," 221.

<sup>97</sup> Hughes, "The Fleet Street Choir," 345.

<sup>98</sup> "Singers," Voces 8, accessed August 2014, <http://www.voces8.com/web/singers>.

specific conductor. In such cases, the practice is certainly a collective effort, as former member of The Hilliard Ensemble, John Potter, explains:

Ensemble singing is a co-operative activity and it is very important that everyone's input is used to its fullest extent. This is one of the great differences between singing in a small one-to-a-part ensemble and singing in a choir. For obvious practical reasons choirs need conductors, who are expected to make creative decisions on their behalf, to motivate and inspire them. This is not the case when you have only one voice to a part: practical problems are easily resolvable and in a small ensemble you are, in effect, a very special kind of soloist with responsibility both to yourself and to your fellow singers, and the last thing you want to do is hand over creative control to one single person.<sup>99</sup>

In contrast to institutional choirs, who enact the artistic vision of one individual, the musical interpretation of small independent ensembles comes from many sources. This opens up scope for a more organic process and flexible performances.

While there is continued evidence of greater flexibility in independent choral practice, I have shown that institutional choirs function according to requirement and regularity; such trends also extend to the locations in which those practices take place. Of course, different institutional buildings certainly vary in size and shape, and critics often report the unique qualities of specific sacred spaces. Cullingford is one such writer, but it is his consideration of what it must be like 'singing daily in the same building, in the same acoustic' that is most crucial.<sup>100</sup> Some rehearsals might take place in a separate practice room elsewhere, but these fixed spaces present a vital facet of sameness and continuity for institutional choirs. Few independent ensembles divulge a specific location for their rehearsals, but they perform and record in a range of different spaces, demonstrating greater diversity and more affordance of *choice*.<sup>101</sup> The top professional groups can exercise most freedom in this respect, as this disclaimer from The Hilliard Ensemble illustrates:

Some of the sacred music programmes are only suitable for performance in a resonant church acoustic while other, secular programmes work best in a drier acoustic. Please be

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<sup>99</sup> John Potter, "Ensemble Singing," in *Companion to Singing*, 158; similarly, The King's Singers explain that they 'operate by democratic, collaborative leadership', in "FAQs," The King's Singers.

<sup>100</sup> Cullingford, "Choral Powerhouse," 43; acoustic qualities will be explored further in Chapter 3.

<sup>101</sup> Of the few choirs that are known, The Fleet Street Choir rehearsed in an 'inconspicuous brick building in Battersea' and The Morriston Orpheus Choir on a 'major industrial complex' in South Wales; Hughes, "The Fleet Street Choir," 346; "75 Years of Song," The Morriston Orpheus, accessed August 2014, <http://www.morristonorpheus.com/75-years-of-song-a-brief-history-of-the-morriston-orpheus-choir>; see Appendices A.1 and C for details of recording locations.

aware that we will have to take this into consideration when discussing with you your choice of music.<sup>102</sup>

There is not only evidence of greater autonomy here, but again the desire to make practical alterations for specific pieces of music, an option which is rarely open to institutional choirs. John Milsom made this point when comparing performances by The Tallis Scholars to those of cathedral choirs, noting that the former 'took place in carefully chosen locations, not in choir stalls laid down by centuries-old statutes'.<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, the location for independent practice continually changes, even when they are able to meet and perform together frequently. For example, Patrick Craig explained that he sang approximately fifty concerts each year with The Tallis Scholars, but 'most of them abroad', and they would often 'do "hit and run" concerts in Europe, flying there one morning and returning the next'.<sup>104</sup> This type of contact time, in varied spaces, with a fluid concert and rehearsal pattern, is highly contrasted to institutional choral practice, where the singers return with rhythmic regularity to the same building.

The cathedral or chapel is often described as an institutional choir's 'home'. This illustrates more than just an affiliation; those buildings are where the choir takes residence, where it belongs. For students living on campus, or choristers boarding at one of the twenty-one choir schools still maintained by institutions in this study, the meaning is almost literal.<sup>105</sup> Cullingford concludes his Cambridge choirs article by addressing these themes, arguing that the key to their success is:

...the sense of being an heir to a unique and prestigious history, the privilege of singing daily in beautiful chapels...even such intangible factors as living across the court or down a cloister from the chapel itself...<sup>106</sup>

The practice of chapel and cathedral choirs is defined, conditioned and housed by their institutions.

It is this type of practice that enables institutional choirs to maintain a sense of tradition and continuity. There may be new boys each year, but they begin as probationers who are nurtured by established members of a close community. Given a few weeks, they could well have sung with the choir over twenty times. Despite the regular influx of new students, or the

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<sup>102</sup> "Programmes," The Hilliard Ensemble.

<sup>103</sup> Milsom, "Eavesdropping on Evensong," *Early Music* 34 (2006): 700.

<sup>104</sup> Patrick Craig, interview by Pamela Hickman, "Pamela Hickman's Music Interviews Blog: Patrick Craig," Blog Spot, posted Tuesday, July 3 2012, accessed August 2014, <http://pamelahickmansmusicinterviews.blogspot.co.uk/2012/07/british-countertenor-patrick-craig.html>.

<sup>105</sup> This does actually include two choirs from the USA: St. Thomas' Church, New York, and Washington National Cathedral; see Appendix A.1 for the list of English choirs.

<sup>106</sup> Cullingford, "Choral Powerhouse," 43.

seemingly ground-breaking addition of female voices, these institutions outwardly display little change in their core workings over time. Freeman-Attwood made the same assessment of college and cathedral choirs, highlighting ‘traditional practices and repertoire passed down through the generations’ to argue that:

Organist-directors, boys, choral scholars and lay clerks come and go but these choirs quietly carry their quotidian torches into succeeding term and century.<sup>107</sup>

Stephen Darlington made the case more directly in the sleeve notes to a recording by Christ Church Cathedral Choir, stating that: ‘the choir exists to sing the daily services in the Cathedral, and it is this which provides the foundation for the continuity of its tradition’.<sup>108</sup>

This function of service and bond to an establishment is the most vital characteristic of institutional choirs — one that they all share. Although I have outlined many differences between institutions, this particular form of choral practice is a key overriding similarity, and often lies at the root of the main features of each choir. In contrast, the independent ensembles in this study embody various motivations, performance aims and experiences. They are afforded greater choice and flexibility by virtue of their independence, and their choral profiles are more reflective of those choices, rather than the dictates of circumstance. Before moving on to consider how these two different categories of choral practice might manifest in performance style, however, there is one final peculiarity surrounding choirs in the UK that introduces a compelling subversion to these choral boundaries.

## 1.5 Previous Associations and Crossover in Britain

The vast majority of singers and directors in this study have been involved with numerous different choirs during their career. This presents a considerable amount of overlap between the people and places under discussion.<sup>109</sup>

One area in which this might be expected is the professional progression of directors in the UK institutional sphere. Almost all of the ninety-three UK institutional directors under examination had previously been an organ scholar or assistant organist at a minimum of two

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<sup>107</sup> Freeman-Attwood, “20 Greatest Choirs,” 42.

<sup>108</sup> Sleeve notes to *Byrd: Mass for Four Voices with the Propers for the Feast of Corpus Christi*, Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Oxford, Nimbus NI5287 (1991).

<sup>109</sup> Included in my ‘People Profiles’ survey — the data set for this discussion — are: all UK directors, organists and independent singers credited on the recordings in question; plus all *current* directors, organists and independent singers (where their names were listed at the time of writing) of UK choirs who have previously recorded those pieces; see Appendix A.2 for names, basic biographies and Appendix A.1 for sources. I include just the *minimum* number of associations for each individual, to give a general overview; there are likely to be several more which were not revealed in the sources consulted for this study (i.e. summaries on choir websites).

different institutions, and many greatly exceed this number. In particular, supporting directors currently working in major UK cathedrals list multiple former posts. One such is Simon Johnson, organist and assistant director at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, who held previous roles as: head chorister at Peterborough Cathedral, organ scholar at Rochester, Norwich and St. Paul's Cathedrals, and director at All Saints' Church, Northampton, and St. Alban's Cathedral.<sup>110</sup> Like Johnson, many institutional directors were once choristers themselves; a number in this investigation have sung under other directors who also appear in the survey. For example, the current assistant at Salisbury Cathedral, John Challenger, was a chorister at Hereford Cathedral under Geraint Bowen and organ scholar at St. John's, Cambridge, under Andrew Nethsingha, both of whom have made recordings that feature in this study (though Nethsingha's was actually with Truro Cathedral Choir). Nethsingha was at St. John's under George Guest and also at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, with Christopher Robinson. Robinson himself appears in this study on recordings by Worcester Cathedral and St. John's College choirs. There is clearly a substantial amount of cross-pollination here, with people singing in the same spaces or under the same directors.<sup>111</sup> We could almost draw an institutional family tree from this circulating genealogy. This not only occurs as organ scholars move up the career ladder; a number of individuals have held positions as the main organist or director at several different establishments.<sup>112</sup> James O'Donnell, for example, is the current musical director at Westminster Abbey but has also recorded Byrd's music with Westminster Cathedral Choir.

There are key locations to which associations are most common. Unsurprisingly, the institutions of London, Oxford and Cambridge stand out as primary hubs of this choral convergence. Over half of the institutional practitioners in this survey have been associated with a religious institution in London, while seventy percent have had some experience at one or more colleges in Oxford or Cambridge, most commonly with King's, St. John's and Corpus Christi, Cambridge, and New College, Oxford.<sup>113</sup> Such findings make it tempting to imagine the UK cathedral and collegiate tradition as a collective national practice, harbouring an internal pool of musicians who develop and circulate within one institutional sphere.

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<sup>110</sup> "Cathedral Musicians," St. Paul's Cathedral, accessed July 2014, <http://www.stpauls.co.uk/Worship-Music/Choir-Musicians/Cathedral-Musicians>.

<sup>111</sup> Though the directors of the school choirs do not list quite as many other associations in comparison to those discussed above, several do still indicate previous experience at some notable cathedrals and colleges, often as organ scholars.

<sup>112</sup> Other notable examples include: Malcolm Archer, Stephen Cleobury, John Dykes Bower, Paul Trepte and William McKie.

<sup>113</sup> Of the other cathedrals, the most common associations are to choirs at: Worcester, then Salisbury and Rochester, followed by Christ Church, Oxford; all of these have produced choral recordings that feature in this investigation; see Appendix A.2 for full statistics of place associations.

In reality, many who begin in the institutional sphere later move on to direct or participate in independent ensembles. The vast majority of the 136 independent practitioners assessed in this study have been choristers or students in at least one institutional choir. (Those who have not are predominantly women; a symptom of the ‘boys only’ nature of cathedral singing that has been changing only recently). This lineage is no secret. Like The King’s Singers, many independent musicians are proud to endorse the formative experience they gained in the institutional system. Harry Christophers highlights that most of The Sixteen ‘have come through our great choral tradition’ and Stephen Layton proclaims that his choir, Polyphony, ‘was born out of the tradition in Cambridge’.<sup>114</sup> Indeed, the prestigious Oxbridge institutions account for much of that choral training, with over forty-three percent of all independent practitioners in this survey having some association with those universities. Most commonly, this is with King’s and St. John’s Colleges, Cambridge, and New College, Oxford — which parallels the findings above — but there are also frequent links to Clare College, Cambridge; a mixed university choir. In addition, nearly a third of all the individuals on the independent list have had some experience at a major London institution, particularly Westminster Abbey and St. Paul’s Cathedral. However, much of the institutional experience referred to here is as singers. Only a handful of independent conductors in this survey — Peter Phillips, Christopher Monks, Martindale Sidwell and Ryan Leslie — are known to have learned their trade as organ scholars or assistant directors at an institution. This is a notable, yet, understandable contrast to the institutional category, where nearly all the directors have risen through the ranks at religious establishments.

That said, several directors under examination have been involved with both independent and institutional choirs later in their careers.<sup>115</sup> Two of the most interesting individuals in this respect are Paul Hillier and Andrew Carwood, both of whom appear with numerous different choirs even within the context of this study. Hillier has recorded Byrd’s music as a member of The Hilliard Ensemble and as director of both The Pro Arte Singers and Theatre of Voices, and he has an array of other associations with various choirs around the world. Andrew Carwood appears as a singer on recordings by The Tallis Scholars and The Sixteen, but also as director on a recording by The Cardinall’s Musick. Moreover, he is the current musical director at both St. Paul’s Cathedral, London, and with the vocal group Alamire, in which several singers in this study participate.

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<sup>114</sup> Harry Christophers, interview by Lindsay Kemp, “Do You Need ‘Religion’ to Enjoy Great Church Music?” *Gramophone* (June 2007): 30; Stephen Layton, “20 Greatest Choirs,” 41.

<sup>115</sup> Other examples include: Bob Chilcott, David Hill, Michael Howard, John Rutter, Martindale Sidwell, David Skinner and Jeremy Summerly; a number of cathedral choir directors are also known to have involvement with secular vocal groups in their community, such as youth choirs and choral societies.



Clearly, the boundaries between independent and institutional choirs can sometimes merge, at least as far as personnel are concerned. Further evidence comes from the fact that twenty-three vocalists who are primarily listed for their association to an independent ensemble in this study are additionally known to have sung with an institutional choir in their adult life. For example, Patrick Craig of The Tallis Scholars was also a lay clerk at St. Paul's and Wells Cathedrals. For most of those twenty-three singers, however, this institutional crossover is almost exclusively confined to leading London establishments.

It appears that a substantial portion of independent vocalists who trained in institutional choirs are then drawn to London-based choral networks. Having cited the importance of the Oxbridge tradition, Layton describes this next stage of geo-choral phenomena:

The tradition is now manifest in London when one sees how many of the great choral groups have been given birth in this place: all have different conductors, different sounds, yet all share a common heritage of singers with flexibility and brilliance...<sup>116</sup>

A common pattern of professional development seems to have emerged, from cathedral to Oxbridge to London. It is the extension of the institutional choral tradition into the independent sphere; and sometimes back again. Donald Greig traces this lineage through his own career: beginning as a chorister in Westminster Abbey, he was then choral scholar at Canterbury Cathedral before he 'ended up in the early music "scene" in London' and joined The Tallis Scholars.<sup>117</sup> Greig describes this as 'a predictable though by no means preplanned life for a singer of early music'. It is interesting that he pinpoints this choral progression as common specifically with regards to performers of Renaissance music.

The London-centric nature of early music practice, and the potential specialism of the singers involved, is partly the reason why many vocalists have participated in several ensembles, even at the same time.<sup>118</sup> I found countless independent performers who had associations with at least ten different groups.<sup>119</sup> Some vocalists appear on multiple recordings in this investigation with different ensembles: George Michael features on albums by both The Pro Cantione Antiqua and The Deller Consort, while Sally Dunkley and Michael Lees have recorded Byrd's music with both The Tallis Scholars and The Sixteen. Most distinctive is Paul Elliott, who appears here on

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<sup>116</sup> Layton, "20 Greatest Choirs," 41.

<sup>117</sup> Donald Greig, "Individual Biographies: Donald Greig (baritone)," The Orlando Consort, accessed August 2014, [http://www.orlandoconsort.com/don\\_biog.htm](http://www.orlandoconsort.com/don_biog.htm).

<sup>118</sup> Stevenson infers this in his biography of Rogers Covey-Crump, whose list of ensemble associations 'is virtually a history of the London early instrument movement since the mid-1960s', in "Rogers Covey-Crump: Biography," All Music, accessed August 2014, <http://www.allmusic.com/artist/rogers-covey-crump-mn0000070628/biography>.

<sup>119</sup> This includes vocalists such as Tessa Bonner, Stephen Charlesworth, Mark Dobell, Christopher Gabbittas, Steven Harrold, Rob Macdonald, Leigh Nixon — and that is to name just the first few alphabetically.

recordings by The Pro Cantione Antiqua, The Deller Consort, The Hilliard Ensemble and Theatre of Voices, and who has also been associated with at least six other leading ensembles.<sup>120</sup> Just as particular institutions proved to be common sites of experience, there are certain independent ensembles that have attracted a great number of performers. For example, twenty-eight individuals in this study are known to have had associations with The Sixteen — though the actual figure is likely to be higher — and fifteen of those have actually been drawn into this survey as singers on recordings by a different group.

Evidently, the level of integration among the independent ensembles is just as rife as the other forms I have examined. Rutter has even admitted that The Sixteen, The Tallis Scholars, The Monteverdi Choir and The Finzi Singers are essentially ‘a lot of the same people in different combinations’.<sup>121</sup> Rutter does add that they are ‘doing all kinds of things’, but he has exposed the idea that there is a pool of independent practitioners circulating within the same network of choirs; the very impression that also seems to arise from the institutional system. When coupled with the high level of crossover between the institutional and independent spheres, it appears that independent ensembles are also ‘embedded in the solar plexus of the great choral tradition’, as Freeman-Attwood said of The Monteverdi Choir.<sup>122</sup>

Given what has been discovered in this final section, are we to believe that we are dealing with one nationalised, homogenised network of singers? Many of the people in this investigation do indeed move within a wider ‘British choral tradition’, to which every UK choir belongs in some way. Yet, in this chapter, I have uncovered some fundamental differences between the purpose, constitution and practice of those choirs depending on whether they are institutional or independent, and the intrinsic similarity or flexibility therein. The ways in which these choral phenomena might shape performance style can be investigated by comparing the manifestations of their circumstances in sound and object — their recordings.

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<sup>120</sup> He was also a choral scholar at Magdalen College, Oxford and began as a chorister at St. Paul’s Cathedral.

<sup>121</sup> Rutter, “From Where I Sit,” 19.

<sup>122</sup> Freeman-Attwood, “20 Greatest Choirs,” 42.



## Chapter 2: Choral Recordings

Sound recordings produced by the choirs outlined in Chapter 1 constitute the primary source of data for analysis in this study. I assess recordings not only as sonic documents, but as ‘culturally meaningful objects’ that exemplify various choral identities.<sup>1</sup> Scholarship on recorded music has increasingly included more of this contextual approach, yet the study of recordings in any capacity remains a comparatively marginal field of musicology, and one in which the methodological frameworks are still being developed. One of my primary aims with this thesis is to bring new work on choral performance to the table; the purpose of this chapter is to set out how. After outlining the calls for research into recordings, highlighting the gaps that I aim to address, I will explore the findings of those who have undertaken some of the most significant work in this area. This specifically focusses on the development of musical style across the recorded era and the effects that recordings themselves might have had. I then look at what it means to study recordings and the extent to which they can be understood as evidence, including vital consideration of technical aspects. Having established what recordings are, I then address the approaches to analysing and discussing them, outlining the specific methodology of this study.

### 2.1 Overview: Joining in the Discourse

In nearly every major study of recordings, authors have sought to justify and expand the work of this fledgling sub-discipline. Reading chronologically through four principal works that have informed this thesis — Timothy Day’s *A Century of Recorded Music* (2000), Robert Philip’s *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (2004), *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music* (2009) and Daniel Leech-Wilkinson’s *The Changing Sound of Music* (2009) — reveals that the situation has greatly improved since the turn of the century. Day introduced the study of recordings as a ‘neglected field notoriously difficult to cultivate’ and lamented the ‘deep-seated and unexamined attitudes towards records’ that overlooked them for academic study.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, when writing about the ‘The Future of Discography’ in 1979, Michael H. Gray recognised that this work began as a ‘hobby’ for collectors, and was thus ‘plagued by the fact that it is an informal calling’.<sup>3</sup> Philip was the first to undertake a PhD that primarily addressed recordings and is often

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<sup>1</sup> This term is borrowed from Nicholas Cook in his chapter “Methods for Analysing Recordings,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 221.

<sup>2</sup> Day, *A Century of Recorded Music: Listening to Musical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), x, 228, 231.

<sup>3</sup> Gray noted that ‘one place it certainly has not headed yet in any strength is academia’, in Michael H. Gray, “Discography: Its Prospects and Problems,” *Notes* 35 (1979): 592.

cited as a 'pioneer' for his research on *Early Recordings and Musical Style* in 1992.<sup>4</sup> He still reiterated that there was much more to be done in 2004, observing 'how recently the world has woken up to the potential of the recording archive', but at least a change in attitude appears to have occurred in academia by this time.<sup>5</sup> Five years later, the editors of the *Companion to Recorded Music* presented recordings as an underrated resource, but no longer a neglected one; the book is a practical guide that deals with issues and avenues of recorded music as a discipline beginning in earnest.<sup>6</sup>

In the same year, Leech-Wilkinson declared that 'the time to study performances through recordings has come'.<sup>7</sup> Many scholars make the link between the rise of research via this medium and a growing concern for the study of music as *performance* rather than text.<sup>8</sup> In this academic climate, recordings provide not just an alternative to scores, but a valuable means of examining musical style. This is evident in the description of the website for the Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music (CHARM), which has been an indispensable resource for my project:

...even when music does exist as a written text, performers play an essential role in creating the experience that, for most people, is the music. CHARM was established to promote a musicology that better reflects the nature of music as experienced in the twentieth century and beyond.<sup>9</sup>

Contained here is the crucial idea that a musical work only truly exists as performed sound, experienced by listeners. The extension of this is that the meaning of a piece can actually 'change through the mechanism of performance', according to José Bowen and others, hence why the investigation of performance style is so significant.<sup>10</sup> Yet the recent proliferation of research into recordings is not only the result of changing ideology, but also of technological advancements that have made it easier to find and analyse such objects.<sup>11</sup> Some of Day's main complaints were about

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<sup>4</sup> Philip says that this is true of his PhD so far as he is aware, in Robert Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 1; his 'pioneering' book was *Early Recordings and Musical Style: Changing Tastes in Instrumental Performance, 1900-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

<sup>5</sup> Philip, *Performing Music*, 231.

<sup>6</sup> Cook et al., "Introduction," in *Companion to Recorded Music*, 1-9.

<sup>7</sup> Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance* (London: CHARM, 2009), Chapter 1.3, Paragraph 34, [www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap1.html](http://www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap1.html).

<sup>8</sup> For the growth of performance studies, see John Rink, preface to *The Practice of Performance: Studies in Musical Interpretation*, ed. John Rink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), ix.

<sup>9</sup> "About CHARM," AHRC Research Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music, accessed November 2014, <http://www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/about/about.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Jose Bowen, "The History of Remembered Innovation: Tradition and Its Role in the Relationship between Musical Works and Their Performances," *The Journal of Musicology* 11 (1993): 142; Leech-Wilkinson also deals with subject this at length.

<sup>11</sup> See Cook, "Methods," 221; Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 1.3, Paragraph 35.

the practical barriers faced by scholars in this area, and many difficulties do remain, but the ever growing power of digital research and computational tools have greatly improved what can be achieved.

Recognising that the call to arms was finally being answered, Philip outlined some key questions for future research on recorded performance, including: 'What has the existence of recording done to us? Have the effects been good or bad? Where do we go from here?'<sup>12</sup> Many scholars have taken up these lines of enquiry and there is now lively, multifaceted debate in this field, particularly regarding whether recordings have 'homogenised' modern performance style. The editors of the *Companion to Recorded Music* believe that 'the jury is out on that one', but a central aim of my thesis is to present evidence in that case, directly comparing new findings to the observations of others.<sup>13</sup>

It is my focus on *choral* recordings in particular that seeks to fill a clear gap in existing research, which is heavily dominated by studies of instrumental recordings. Though there has been significant investigation of solo vocal performance on record, the choral repertoire is severely under-represented. For example, Philip says that his second book gives 'the broader picture of twentieth-century recorded performance', but the main focus is still limited to instrumental playing and only a handful of vocal groups are mentioned.<sup>14</sup> Philip acknowledges this and points to *The Grand Tradition* by J. B. Steane for discussion of vocal style on recordings. Though Steane also deals almost exclusively with soloists, he does include some interesting descriptions of choral performance and makes reference to specific moments in a selection of recordings. However, rather than constructing an argument about stylistic development, Steane conducts a 'critical survey' that offers more of an extended record review.<sup>15</sup> Similar might be said of Alan Blythe's *Choral Music on Record*, an edited book aimed at 'music lovers' attending concerts or choral societies, with each chapter addressing a different 'major' work.<sup>16</sup> The compartmentalised accounts are brief and subjective, but they do present focussed recorded histories along with some wider contextual considerations.

One author who has written in detail about the development of choral style over the last century is Timothy Day. This specialism permeates his writing in *A Century of Recorded Music*, where frequent examples from the choral sphere are brought into his wider discussion of performance style. Day refers to certain recordings but, in contrast to Steane, prefers to cite

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<sup>12</sup> Philip, *Performing Music*, 232.

<sup>13</sup> Cook et al., "Introduction," 5.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 3; some choirs are mentioned on pages 210-11.

<sup>15</sup> J. B. Steane, *The Grand Tradition: Seventy Years of Singing on Record, 1900-1970* (London: Duckworth, 1974), 1; Steane focusses on choral recordings on pages 520-33; both he and Philip focus on vocal ensembles in relation to the early music movement.

<sup>16</sup> Alan Blythe, ed., *Choral Music on Record* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), vii.

commentary from reviews and other literature instead of presenting his own analysis of the records. In his other writing on choral performance, recordings provide the means rather than the focus of Day's investigation, which is more general and comprehensive, with specific record references included intermittently as evidence. Similarly, John Potter shares a detailed understanding of the choral tradition and brings it in to explore wider theories of stylistic development in *Vocal Authority*.<sup>17</sup> Again, however, this constitutes only a brief section in what is primarily a discussion of solo performance and Potter deals with few recordings.<sup>18</sup>

At present, there is little research on the development of choral style over the last century that incorporates systematic analysis of recordings, and there are few systematic analyses of recordings that address the choral repertoire. The handful that have — studies by Uri Golomb, Dorottya Fabian and John Butt — focus mainly on the music of Bach (particularly the *B Minor Mass*) and are not exclusively choral.<sup>19</sup> The division is even more pronounced with regards to the work that has been done using technological methods. Like several others, Leech-Wilkinson has applied such tools to solo vocal performance, but he avoids ensemble recordings because of the increased difficulties with spectrographic visualisations.<sup>20</sup> I am aware of no other attempt to use computational tools extensively in the study of recorded choral style; the vital role of such methods in this investigation is one of the main contributions I hope to make.

## 2.2 Musical Style in the Recorded Era

### 2.2.1 Style and Performance Authority: Definitions

The analysis of performance style is central to this thesis and, though there is not space to discuss the concept of 'style' in full, it is important to define how I am using the term. My approach is aligned with the basic definition provided by Leech-Wilkinson: 'there's a "text" and there is elaboration of it as it is realised in sound. And the way that elaboration is done

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<sup>17</sup> Potter, *Vocal Authority: Singing Style and Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2006); the most relevant discussion with regards to choral style takes place on pages 114-16.

<sup>18</sup> Potter includes spectrograms on only one occasion in relation to Jazz singing, in *Vocal Authority*, 97.

<sup>19</sup> Uri Golomb, "Expression and Meaning in Bach Performance and Reception: An Examination of the B minor Mass on Record" (PhD diss., King's College, University of Cambridge, 2004); Dorottya Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice 1945-1975: A Comprehensive Review of Sound Recordings and Literature* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); John Butt "Bach Recordings Since 1980: A Mirror of Historical Performance," in *Bach Perspectives, Volume 4: The Music of J. S. Bach: Analysis and Interpretation*, ed. David Schulenberg, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

<sup>20</sup> For in depth analysis of solo vocal performance via these methods, see Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 4; in hoping that 'better techniques will be developed', Leech-Wilkinson still makes no reference to the application of technological methods for choral music, in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 1.4, Paragraph 45.

constitutes the performance style'.<sup>21</sup> Leech-Wilkinson later adds that style is a 'set of expressive gestures', which is reminiscent of Day's statement that 'to study musical performance is to study gestures'.<sup>22</sup> My approach to the analysis of expression is set out later in this chapter. Here, it is important to take away the idea of musical style as the performer's individual mode of response to, and transmission of, a given work; the score is what they have to say, but the *way* that they say it is a matter of style.

Of course, a musician's style is shaped by a combination of factors — taste, habit, ability, training and circumstance, as well as wider cultural influences<sup>23</sup> — yet there is space with every interpretation for the performer to attend to particular guiding principles; I refer to this as their 'performance authority'.<sup>24</sup> Essentially, I use the term 'authority' to mean the main influence, focus or motivation that informed the stylistic approach for a given performance. This is in line with Philip, who outlined three main types of performance authority in *Performing Music*: 'The Composer', 'Schools of Playing', and 'The Archaeological Approach' (historically informed performance practice).<sup>25</sup> There are several more authorities that could be added or separated from this list, including: dominant contemporary aesthetics, recordings by other musicians, interpretative precedents, personal artistic visions, and novelty.<sup>26</sup> Considering what performance authority might guide each choir is the vital step between choral style and choral identity; not just *how* choirs perform but *why*.<sup>27</sup> Given what was discovered in Chapter 1, I can already suggest that institutional circumstances present a specific kind of performance authority, with particular stipulations and purpose. In contrast, the greater flexibility of independent practice points towards the presence of more varied performance authorities, and thus more varied styles.

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<sup>21</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 8.1, Paragraph 3; he also deals directly with the question 'what do we mean by performance style?' in "Recordings and Histories of Performance Style," in *Companion to Recorded Music*, 248.

<sup>22</sup> Leech-Wilkinson unpacks his use of the term 'expressive gestures' in relation to human communication and meaning in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 8.1, Paragraph 13; Day, *A Century*, 151.

<sup>23</sup> See Leech-Wilkinson, "Recordings and Histories," 248-50; and Figure 16, "Some Determinants of Performance Style" in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 7, Paragraph 1.

<sup>24</sup> This invites links to John Potter's idea of 'authority' in *Vocal Authority*, but Potter tends to use the term to refer to dominant or 'hegemonic' stylistic trends in singing, i.e. approaches to text that gain 'authority'; my usage is slightly different.

<sup>25</sup> With 'The Composer', Philip was actually referring to sources of the composer's own style of performance, such as recordings or accounts by living students, but we could extend the idea of the composer's authority to encompass the authority of the score too.

<sup>26</sup> Day hints at a similar, additional authority in his section, "Trail-blazers", putting musicians such as Sir David Willcocks and Alfred Deller forward as influential artists to whom others may turn in formulating their interpretations, in *A Century*, 167-69.

<sup>27</sup> This was inspired by Philip's section, "On what authority do we perform?" in *Performing Music*, 250; Philip also makes the link between the search for authority and the search for identity on pages 242-43, to which I shall return in Chapter 6.



### 2.2.2 General Trends and the Influence of Recordings

Before I can examine the stylistic differences between my choral categories, I first need to establish the broader trends that unfolded across the last century and their potential causes; this is the wider picture that frames my research. Day and Philip provide valuable summaries of the main developments in performance style across the recorded era.<sup>28</sup> Their findings concur very closely and are largely accepted by others.<sup>29</sup> I have amalgamated the key trends in the list below:

- Much more literal interpretation of notes in the score.
- Tighter co-ordination and unanimity between different musicians or parts.
- Less noticeable manipulation of tempo, particularly regarding the use of *rubato*.
- Lighter rhythmic accentuation.
- Much more discreet and infrequent use of *portamento*.
- More prominent and universal vibrato.
- *Less spontaneity and emotional expression.*
- *More discipline and restraint.*

The last two points in italics are the most dominant and commonly asserted developments of the last century. In many ways, the other trends can be seen as composite parts of this overarching progression towards a more cautious performance style. Later recordings may not appear to convey such qualities in isolation, but do so in comparison to early twentieth-century performances, which display what Leech-Wilkinson called ‘an emotional-pictorial approach to understanding and communicating musical meaning’.<sup>30</sup> Characterised by a heightened and fluctuating expressivity, the earlier approach is often described as much more ‘rhetorical’. Day suggests that it was as if performers were ‘enunciating the narrative for the first time and it was important for the storyteller to ensure that the essential elements were grasped’.<sup>31</sup> Returning to the analogy of style as the way in which performers ‘say’ the text, it appears that this has undergone fundamental alteration over the twentieth century. Indeed, Potter’s central claim in *Vocal Authority* is that ‘all changes in style relate in some way to the presentation of the text’.<sup>32</sup> In

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<sup>28</sup> Day, “A summary of the changes that have been perceived,” in *A Century*, 149-52; Philip, “Trends of the century,” in *Performing Music*, 232-33.

<sup>29</sup> Leech-Wilkinson accepts these basic trends to a point, but stresses that ‘they are also grossly oversimplified’ in “Recordings and Histories,” 258; he demonstrates this position with regards to singing style in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 4, Paragraphs 12 and 16.

<sup>30</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, “Recordings and Histories,” 252; many scholars connect this style to the growth of the orchestra and rising operatic grandeur; see, for example, Steane, *The Grand Tradition*, 558.

<sup>31</sup> Day, *A Century*, 151; see also, Philip, *Performing Music*, 138.

<sup>32</sup> Potter, *Vocal Authority*, 193 (italics are mine).

contrast to the early emotional style, Philip argues that ‘much that has happened in the years since has been to reduce such inflections, elevating instead a more even level of expression’.<sup>33</sup> But *why* did performers start presenting music differently?

The afore-mentioned scholars have explored numerous causes and mechanisms for stylistic development over the last century.<sup>34</sup> Their accounts do not need repeating, but there are some key factors that can be drawn out. Perhaps the most obvious influence is the cultural impact of two world wars. As Day explains, ‘the 1920s were characterized by disillusion, by a distrust of dramatic gestures after the high-sounding rhetoric and propaganda of the Great War’, and Leech-Wilkinson has similarly observed that ‘a more restrained fashion seemed newly relevant’ after the Second World War.<sup>35</sup> Modernist aesthetics emerged in conjunction with this, which also emphasised emotional detachment and a move towards purer artistic renderings. In performance, this coincided with a focus on accuracy and ‘fidelity’ to the composer’s intentions.<sup>36</sup> It is easy to connect this to a growing concern for ‘authenticity’ and the rise of ‘historically informed performance’ (HIP) practice; the so-called ‘early’ or ‘period’ performance styles associated with this are also often characterised by purity and evenness.<sup>37</sup> My aim is not to enter into debate on any of these expansive concepts, but to be mindful of their prevailing influences when assessing styles on record.

One significant factor that I will explore is the influence that recording had on performance style.<sup>38</sup> It is largely undisputed that the technology had a dramatic impact and the effects are highly concurrent with the narratives described above. Before recording, Philip points out that it was ‘now or never’ in concert performance; the rhetorical style can be seen as reflective of a situation in which the ‘storyteller’ had only one chance to convey the piece.<sup>39</sup> However, such overt expressive gestures can eventually seem overbearing on a recording.<sup>40</sup> Day also highlights

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<sup>33</sup> Philip, *Performing Music*, 138.

<sup>34</sup> Potter and Leech-Wilkinson explain that successful stylistic modes eventually become too ‘decadent’, provoking a reaction and the development of new styles, and Leech-Wilkinson examines this topic in relation to a range of models from evolution and genealogy; Potter, *Vocal Authority*, 193; Leech-Wilkinson “Style Change: Causes and Effects,” *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 7 and “Recordings and Histories,” 256.

<sup>35</sup> Day, *A Century*, 160; Leech-Wilkinson, “Recordings and Histories,” 252; see also, Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 4, Paragraph 131; and Potter, “Beggar at the Door: The Rise and Fall of Portamento in Singing,” *Music and Letters* 87 (2006): 544.

<sup>36</sup> See also, Day “Anti-Romantic and formalist trends: neo-classical performing styles between the wars” and “Twentieth-century concepts of the musical work,” in *A Century*, 160-62, 185-86.

<sup>37</sup> Indeed, this is why scholars such as Richard Taruskin argue that such styles are in fact symptomatic of Modernist tastes; see Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); and Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 4, Paragraph 46.

<sup>38</sup> Along with Philip, Michael Chanan was among the first to explore these connections, in *Repeated Takes: A Short History of Recording and its Effects on Music*, (London: Verso, 1995); see also, Day “The influence of recording on performing styles,” in *A Century*, 156-60.

<sup>39</sup> Philip, *Performing Music*, 12.

<sup>40</sup> On two occasions, Day references Christopher Hogwood’s opinion that exciting moments which would ‘elicit cheers in a live performance’ (Day), “nearly always pall on repeated hearings” (Hogwood);

that a musician is effectively performing to a small, domestic audience via this technology, which likely encouraged musicians to 'cultivate a more intimate tone of voice'.<sup>41</sup>

Clearly, the main catalyst that recordings unleashed from the start was the possibility of repeatable performance.<sup>42</sup> Not only can this magnify emotive gestures, it also perpetuates any inaccuracies. Susan Tomes argues that human error can sometimes be a 'welcome part' of live performance but, again, it 'does not bear endless repetition on disc'.<sup>43</sup> It is easy to appreciate the connection between the growth of this technology and a more careful performance style, then, with musicians taking fewer risks on record. Another consequence of repeatability is the potential to analyse one's own performance, which has led to 'an unprecedented level of self-awareness', according to Philip.<sup>44</sup> Such increased scrutiny played a large part in raising technical standards in performance across the last century.<sup>45</sup>

The quest for greater precision is especially audible in ensemble performance. Philip argues that this area is 'at the heart of changing practices over the twentieth century' and that recordings clearly reveal the trend 'from under-rehearsed laissez-faire to modern accuracy and clarity'.<sup>46</sup> Day agrees that, by the 1990s, ensemble performance came to be characterised by a 'smooth, effortless, meticulous and precisely coordinated' style.<sup>47</sup> However, both scholars make it clear that the 'looser' early style was not just a symptom of poor ensemble integration; rather, it demonstrates a different attitude to the dynamic of group performance, in which spontaneity, flexibility and individualism were accepted as normal. Yet the scrutiny invited by recordings can cast these effects as imperfections, which encouraged a more strict and unanimous style of performance.

Since the advent of tape editing around 1950, the impeccable standards circulated on record have grown progressively more illusory. Countless authors stress that this is a crucial development in musical culture. Primarily, editing offers the potential to remove inaccuracies, but that is only the beginning. Leech-Wilkinson explains that recordings increasingly 'aimed to transmit something more perfect than a live performance', setting a standard that is unattainable

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Christopher Hogwood, interview by James Badel, "On Record: Christopher Hogwood," *Fanfare* (November / December 1985): 90-91; as found in Day, *A Century*, 54, 158.

<sup>41</sup> Day, *A Century*, 158.

<sup>42</sup> Leech-Wilkinson addresses the issue of repeatability in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 3.7, Paragraph 93; he also refers readers to Stephen Davies, *Musical Works and Performances: A Philosophical Exploration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 296-309; and Chanan, *Repeated Takes*, 118-9.

<sup>43</sup> Susan Tomes, "Learning to Live with Recording," in *Companion to Recorded Music*, 12; see also Peter Hill, "A Short Take in Praise of Long Takes," in *Companion to Recorded Music*, 14.

<sup>44</sup> Philip, *Performing Music*, 233; he deals with "Self-consciousness" as a section in more depth on pages 24 and 25; Donald Greig agrees that the recording studio is a very critical space in "Performing For (and Against) the Microphone," in *Companion to Recorded Music*, 19-20.

<sup>45</sup> Day, *A Century*, 156.

<sup>46</sup> Philip, *Performing Music*, 63, 89.

<sup>47</sup> Day, *A Century*, 145.

in practice.<sup>48</sup> When perfection is repeatedly provided, it becomes an expectation. Thus it is understandable why recorded style over the twentieth century became more refined and accurate, given the proliferation of repeatable, flawless performances. Steane warned of the ‘dangers’ in this modern style: ‘care can overburden what should be a joyful art. Precision can restrict spontaneity’.<sup>49</sup> These concerns are shared by many, and the current state of the problem remains a key debate in this field.

### 2.2.3 Attitudes to the Change in Style

As long as there have been recordings, there has been worry over their effect on musical culture. One of the earliest voices on this topic, Walter Benjamin, warned that ‘the aura of the work of art’ would ‘wither’ under such mass replication, and audiences would come to enjoy that which was normal and standardised.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, Jacques Attali later described the ‘universalized repetitiveness’ of the recorded era, in which ‘unanimity becomes the criterion for beauty’.<sup>51</sup> Susan McClary added further negativity in the afterword to Attali’s book, *Noise*, claiming that performers are trained to subdue their own personalities and ‘strive for a perfect, standard sound, for an unbroken, polished surface’.<sup>52</sup> Like Benjamin, she made the same bleak link to a degradation of music, arguing that this performance style ‘leads us to believe that there never was meaning, that music always has been nothing but pretty, orderly sound’.

In more recent literature, there are two main concerns about recording: the first is that the modern style on record is unrealistically perfect; the second is that the mass distribution of perfection has diminished diversity, causing musical style to become ‘homogenised’. The same descriptors are repeatedly applied to modern performance: globalised, clinical, sanitised, disciplined, meticulous, controlled, tidy, accurate, clear, inhuman.<sup>53</sup> Considering that ours is a creative art, many of these words have negative connotations — such has been the prevailing opinion.

Philip provides one of the most detailed and damning accounts of the impact that recordings have had. His main issue with ‘the quest for perfection’ and removal of flaws is that it

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<sup>48</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 3.3, Paragraph 56.

<sup>49</sup> Steane, *The Grand Tradition*, 564.

<sup>50</sup> Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” in *Illuminations*, rev. ed., ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (London: Pimlico, 1999), 215-16.

<sup>51</sup> Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 117, 121.

<sup>52</sup> McClary links this to the obsession with scores as ‘a direct transmission of the composer’s subjective intentions’, in Susan McClary, “Afterword: The Politics of Silence and Sound,” in *Noise*, 152.

<sup>53</sup> It is intriguing that some of these terms have also been used to describe the ‘English choral sound’, a link I return to in Chapters 3 and 6.

erases too much of the musician's human agency, which is already reduced on recordings.<sup>54</sup> Again, this is especially apparent in ensemble performance; in comparison to the 'collection of separately characterised voices' heard in the early twentieth century, Philip suggests that individual personalities seem diminished when a more tightly unified sound is favoured.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, Philip argues that 'the level of pre-determination required has greatly increased over the last century' due to expectations of ensemble perfection, which he fears has restricted creative freedom.<sup>56</sup> Much of Philip's discussion is laced with pessimism, particularly with regards to the homogenisation of musical style. He aims to show that early performances were 'extremely diverse' before the widespread availability of recordings, but argues that the technology introduced a 'steady drip of mutual influence' that 'limits the development of individual imagination'.<sup>57</sup> Again there is that same bleak proclamation that 'the basic impact of music is under threat' due to the globalisation of a predictable performance style.<sup>58</sup> Philip calls for change, but is dissatisfied with contemporary prospects for this, saying that performance is either 'smoothly predictable' or smacks of 'things being done for the sake of variety', leaving us caught in a difficult situation.<sup>59</sup>

Philip's core ideas constitute a dominant discourse on recorded performance, accepted and reinforced by the findings of others. For example, Potter notes evidence of 'increasing uniformity among singers' and their use of *portamento*, especially in comparison to the individualistic style of earlier performers.<sup>60</sup> Andrew Blake also provides an interesting perspective on standardisation in classical recordings, describing:

...the relatively unambitious soundworld of would-be high-fidelity, the attempt to be faithful to the concert performance as perceived by the listener sitting in row twelve...<sup>61</sup>

Despite the capabilities of modern technology, Blake argues that 'very few classical recordings ...actually challenge the row-twelve ideal', adding further evidence to narratives on homogenisation and illusory perfection. Nicholas Cook explicitly links this 'best seat in the hall' (BSH) recording ideology to the 'paradigm of reproduction, the discourse of fidelity' that

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<sup>54</sup> Philip, *Performing Music*, 43, 90; Leech-Wilkinson also notes that we 'proverbially recognise imperfection as an index of humanity', in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 2.2, Paragraph 47.

<sup>55</sup> Philip made these comments in reference to recordings of Stravinsky's *A Soldier's Tale*, one from Paris in 1932 and one from New York in 1954, in *Performing Music*, 135; Day describes early ensemble style in a similar manner, in *A Century*, 145.

<sup>56</sup> Philip, *Performing Music*, 139.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 22, 24, 245; Philip admits that not all musicians perform in exactly the same way, but 'the differences between them are much narrower than a hundred years ago', in *Performing Music*, 23.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 247, 252.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 250-51.

<sup>60</sup> Potter, "Beggar at the Door," 550.

<sup>61</sup> Andrew Blake, "Recording Practices and the Role of the Producer," in *Companion to Recorded Music*, 42.

continues to pervade.<sup>62</sup> In his other research on Chopin recordings, however, Cook found ‘little evidence...of the narrowing range of stylistic options which many commentators have put down to the baleful influence of recordings’.<sup>63</sup> This concurs with Dorottya Fabian’s call for studies of recorded style that look more closely at specific repertoires or performers, which she believes will nuance our perspective on standardisation.<sup>64</sup> The notion of homogenisation carries considerable weight, then, but it is clearly not a foregone conclusion that can be assumed in all cases; it requires more focussed investigations such as this.

Indeed, there are many reasons why stylistic homogenisation seems an *unlikely* consequence of recorded performance. Performers now have access to vast amounts of varied music, acquired from increasingly diverse platforms, and are likely to have cultivated a unique set of influences.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, the notion of repetitiveness jars with our general assumption that both artists and consumers value something new; Leech-Wilkinson has even said that each ‘generation insists on the necessity of finding music different’.<sup>66</sup> Philip set up an unsatisfactory either/or in this respect, but Edward T. Cone and Donald Greig have highlighted various ways in which new performances of known works inherently offer something novel.<sup>67</sup>

Greig, Day and Eric Clarke each present very balanced discussions on the wider effects of recording, with Clarke noting that there has been ‘both utopian and dystopian commentaries’.<sup>68</sup> If anything, their arguments are more positive on the whole. Day asserts that a ‘new generation of performers *has* reacted against the studied perfection and accuracy’ of commercial discs, while Clarke outlines new listening habits that counter the ‘gloomy pronouncements on the destructive effects of recordings’.<sup>69</sup> Greig even considers that ‘a recording situation allows greater freedom of expression [and] that the possibility of retakes promotes risk-taking’.<sup>70</sup> He acknowledges that the studio does impose certain parameters on expression, but says that this ‘demands a *different* approach’, not that it is *less* expressive.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Cook, *Beyond the Score: Music as Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 374, 390.

<sup>63</sup> Cook, “Methods,” 241.

<sup>64</sup> See, for example, Dorottya Fabian, “Is Diversity in Musical Performance Truly in Decline? The Evidence of Sound Recordings,” *Context: A Journal of Music Research* 31 (2006): 165-80; and, Fabian and Eitan Ornoy, “Identity in Violin Playing on Records: Interpretation Profiles in Recordings of Solo Bach by Early Twentieth-Century Violinists,” *Performance Practice Review* 14 (2009): 1-40.

<sup>65</sup> Eric Clarke makes a similar point in “The Impact of Recording on Listening,” *Twentieth-Century Music* 4 (2007): 68.

<sup>66</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, “Recordings and Histories,” 250.

<sup>67</sup> Edward T. Cone, “The Pianist as Critic,” in *Practice of Performance*, 242; Greig, “Performing For (and Against),” 28-29.

<sup>68</sup> Clarke “The Impact of Recording,” 47.

<sup>69</sup> Day, *A Century*, 196 (italics are mine); Clarke “Impact of Recording,” 68.

<sup>70</sup> By the same token, Greig suggests ‘that the concert situation, with its heightened sense of the present tense, dampens such overt demonstration’, in “Performing For (and Against),” 27.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 (italics are mine).

Leech-Wilkinson provides perhaps the most multi-faceted take on recorded style and homogenisation. In *The Changing Sound of Music* he predicts that there is 'just as much variety of approach now as there ever was', but blames over-zealous editing practices for hiding the blemishes that evidence human agency, thus conceding that 'individuality, still prized in theory, has been discouraged in practice'.<sup>72</sup> Leech-Wilkinson also agrees that, over time, styles did merge and become 'very much more uniform overall'; however, his crucial addition is that things 'remained notably varied at the micro level and continued to change rapidly'.<sup>73</sup> This is in direct contrast to Philip's statement that recording 'slowed down the process of change'.<sup>74</sup> Ultimately, Leech-Wilkinson offers a more optimistic outlook. He concurs with the idea, as insinuated by Day and Greig, that recording fostered new, more intimate forms of expression, but, in his more recent work, suggests that there has been 'a gradual reintroduction of expressivity, which is now since the millennium quite unmistakable'.<sup>75</sup> Far from deriding their influence, Leech-Wilkinson considers how this direction might be *facilitated*, not hindered, by recordings, citing the growing appreciation for historical recordings and the expressive alternatives they showcase.<sup>76</sup>

Do Byrd recordings demonstrate a downsizing in expressivity over the twentieth century? Has performance style become more homogenised? If so, is there evidence of a twenty-first century reaction against this? These are some of the questions I aim to answer.

### 2.3 Understanding Recordings

Across the literature on the study of recordings, we are repeatedly advised of the necessity to grasp what these sources actually *are* before analysing them.<sup>77</sup> Philip warns that:

...anyone who does not know something of the history of recordings as a technology and as a musical and social phenomenon and who is unaware of the ways in which the

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<sup>72</sup> Leech-Wilkinson also notes that it is much harder to hear differences in performances of our own time, in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 2.1, Paragraph 7.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, Chapter 7, Paragraph 21; Leech-Wilkinson also draws on scientific models to explore how stylistic changes might be encouraged by recordings in Chapter 7, Paragraph 25.

<sup>74</sup> Philip, *Performing Music*, 250.

<sup>75</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, "Recordings and Histories," 258; "The Emotional Power of Musical Performance," in *The Emotional Power of Music: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Musical Arousal, Expression, and Social Control*, ed. Tom Cochrane, Bernardino Fantini and Klaus R Scherer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 46; Chanan also cited scattered returns of a 'repressed freedom of inflection' in HIP performance, in *Repeated Takes*, 126.

<sup>76</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 3.5, Paragraph 88; Day also advocates the practice of listening to old recordings, in *A Century*, 195.

<sup>77</sup> See, for example: Steane, *The Grand Tradition*, 7; Clarke, "Empirical Methods in the Study of Performance," in *Empirical Musicology: Aims, Methods, Prospects*, ed. Eric Clarke and Nicholas Cook (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 88; Leech-Wilkinson, "Understanding the Sources: Performances and Recordings," in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 3; Simon Trezise, "The Recorded Document: Interpretation and Discography," in *Companion to Recorded Music*, 187.

sounds that issue from loudspeakers are likely to have got onto the disc, is easily misled when making musical judgements about the performances on them.<sup>78</sup>

Day also lists a plethora of conditioning elements that might need to be considered, including 'economic and technological and aesthetic and psychological factors'.<sup>79</sup> As I am dealing with such a vast number of recordings, however, it would be impossible to address each aspect in full for every individual disc.<sup>80</sup> That said, and though recording processes cannot be generalised, there are some core issues and developments that must be understood to guard against analytical misjudgement.

Previous major studies on recorded performance style tend to present a detailed history of the technology first and there are some key milestones that are worth listing here:<sup>81</sup>

- 1877 – phonograph invented
- 1887 – gramophone invented
- 1925 – electrical recording
- 1945 – full frequency range recording
- 1948 – vinyl long playing records (LP)
- 1950 – tape editing
- 1954 – stereo recording
- 1979 – digital recording

Each development had a major impact on both the nature of the recorded performance and the quality of sound presented to listeners. It is thus vital to bear in mind the technological era in which a recording was made, particularly those from the acoustic period, prior to 1925.<sup>82</sup>

Taking these developments into account, Simon Tresize has delineated nine 'diminutions and distortions' that recording imposed on musical performance across the last century; some of his headings provide useful points of departure here.<sup>83</sup> One of the most obvious diminutions is 'Duration'; side lengths of less than five minutes posed significant limitations for early

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<sup>78</sup> Philip, *Performing Music*, 26.

<sup>79</sup> Day, *A Century*, 255-56.

<sup>80</sup> Philip notes that it is often difficult to ascertain details about recording practices anyway, in *Performing Music*, 36.

<sup>81</sup> Dates in this list are approximate, taken from an amalgamation of the information provided in previously cited work by Philip, Chanan, Day and Leech-Wilkinson, as well as David Patmore, "Selling Sounds: Recordings and the Record Business," and George Brock-Nannestad, "The Development of Recording Technologies," in *Companion to Recorded Music*.

<sup>82</sup> Leech-Wilkinson provides a highly useful summary of the technologies, listing which aspects of performance they can and cannot reliably represent, in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 3.6, Paragraph 91.

<sup>83</sup> Tresize, "The recorded document," 193-96.



recordings.<sup>84</sup> In this project, however, I have purposefully selected repertoire that is short enough for this not to be an issue. Three distortions that *are* particularly relevant to choral music concern 'Spatial Information', 'Frequency Response', and 'Timbral Realism'. With regards to spacing, we must first appreciate that acoustic recording could involve some very awkward arrangements in order for sound to be captured. The introduction of electrical recording not only alleviated this, but Day notes that the improved technology meant that 'recordings in very distinctive acoustical settings could be attempted'.<sup>85</sup> This is very important for the choirs under consideration here. As early as 1927, HMV were 'boasting' of having made choral recordings in famous English cathedrals and Oxbridge colleges.<sup>86</sup> Stereo recording allowed this to progress further and sophisticated microphone technologies can now create all manner of auditory-spatial effects. However, even today, Tresize warns that the arrangements for recording may be quite different to how the musicians usually perform, which could affect the manner of delivery.<sup>87</sup> 'Timbral realism' and 'Frequency response' can be considered together as paramount factors in perceptions of choral tone. Recordings made before the full range of frequencies could be captured might misrepresent vocal timbre, as Day explains:

The effect of the loss of harmonics meant that a clear and pure soprano voice could sometimes sound plaintive or even ethereal, often intriguingly distant, more often distressingly weak...A rich bass might sound hollow or wooden.<sup>88</sup>

Great care must be exercised before attributing certain tonal effects in earlier recordings to the intentions of the singer. In fact, Leech-Wilkinson flatly states that recordings from the acoustic era 'cannot be used as sufficient evidence for the colour of the voice'.<sup>89</sup> This greatly improves with 78 rpm electrical discs and LPs, but we should not assume that things culminate with digital recordings presenting an exact transmission of timbre as produced by the performer.<sup>90</sup> Given the infinite possibilities of post-production editing and mixing, employed to varying degrees, it is impossible to know which effects are 'real' and which have been artificially created.

Clearly, it is not just the limitations and affordances of different technologies that we need to be aware of, but who makes the decisions about them. Recently, there has been an effort to illuminate the role of producers and sound engineers, encouraging better appreciation of their

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<sup>84</sup> Day has described the ways in which performance style might have been adapted for shorter side lengths, in *A Century*, 7-9.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Tresize, "The Recorded Document," 194.

<sup>88</sup> Day, *A Century*, 9.

<sup>89</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 3.6, Paragraph 91.

<sup>90</sup> Leech-Wilkinson does add, however, that LPs 'may or may not represent the balance of instruments / voices heard by a listener at the recording session', *ibid.*

contributions to the performances on record.<sup>91</sup> Some of this is obvious yet under credited, such as their editorial selections, but there are a multitude of potential interventions. For example, Tresize alerts us to the fact that the dynamic range of recordings in many formats may have been altered by engineers.<sup>92</sup> Albin Zak sums up just how much ‘influence over a listener’s musical experience’ these practitioners have:

Some renderings aspire to acoustic realism, others to fantasy, but whatever the case, the sound of a recording has much to do with the technical abilities and aesthetic choices of those whose hands control the signal path.<sup>93</sup>

Cook has also pointed out that subjective, technological decisions must still be made even if the aim is for a completely ‘natural’ sound.<sup>94</sup> Thus we can never really accredit the sonic qualities of a recording to the artistic vision of the performers alone.

Another area in which technical choices have a huge impact is in remastering or transferring old material onto new formats.<sup>95</sup> Blake notes that this practice ‘was repeated *ad nauseam* in the CD era’, which is certainly evident with regards to Byrd recordings.<sup>96</sup> As Leech-Wilkinson explains, the process involves ‘a lot of intervention and editing’, and Tresize reveals just how much can be altered through noise reduction, equalisation, retouching, mixing and balancing.<sup>97</sup> Consequently, the same performance could sound quite different on different formats, though this primarily applies to transfers from 78s.<sup>98</sup> The impression from Ted Kendall’s discussion, however, is that most engineers aim to give the most ‘informative sonic presentation possible’ of the original performance, just removing the excess, unmusical noise that resulted from poorer recording qualities.<sup>99</sup> He acknowledges the subjectivity involved, but this does not illegitimise reissues as sources of performance. Again, it is just crucial to be aware that the sound of any recording is the product of various contributors at multiple stages.

Given the ways in which technology can alter and condition the sound of a performance, musicologists who study style on recordings seem caught up with the same question — what are

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<sup>91</sup> See Day, *A Century*, 38; Philip, *Performing Music*, 49-62; Andrew Blake, “Recording Practices”; and Albin Zak, “Getting Sounds: The Art of Sound Engineering,” in *Companion to Recorded Music*.

<sup>92</sup> Tresize explains the process of ‘gain riding’, that is, manually reducing the volume in anticipation of louder passages, in “The Recorded Document,” 194.

<sup>93</sup> Albin Zak, “Getting Sounds,” 63.

<sup>94</sup> Cook, *Beyond the Score*, 385; Zak says ‘there are no absolutes, only aesthetic choices’, in “Getting Sounds,” 65.

<sup>95</sup> Leech-Wilkinson explains why it is easier for record companies reissue old material, in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 3.2, Paragraph 32.

<sup>96</sup> Blake, “Recording Practices,” 42.

<sup>97</sup> Leech-Wilkinson demonstrates this with different transfers of the same extract, in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 3.2, Paragraph 34; Tresize, “The Recorded Document,” 200-03.

<sup>98</sup> Leech-Wilkinson warns of this in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 3.6, Paragraph 91.

<sup>99</sup> Ted Kendall, “One Man’s Approach to Remastering,” in *Companion to Recorded Music*, 210.

these documents, and what can they really show us?<sup>100</sup> Simon Frith outlines several different approaches to understanding the recorded object, one being the idea of ‘the record as record’, documenting a musical event.<sup>101</sup> George Brock-Nannestad refers to this as the ‘traditional’ or ‘naïve’ view of recordings, adding that ‘to a large degree the general public is still under this illusion’.<sup>102</sup> The concern that recordings provide only an ‘illusion’ of performance is a key contemporary debate. This often centres on the issue that edited performances are in fact a construction of something that never actually happened. Roger Heaton makes this clear with the essay ‘Reminder: A Recording is Not a Performance’, in which he describes recordings as an ‘enormous jigsaw-like compilation’ that must be approached not as ‘a document of a concert performance’ but as ‘an idealised, irreproducible entity’.<sup>103</sup> However, it is likely that many musicians *do* feel they are giving a performance for a recording and we are regularly informed that this is the preferred approach of classical performers.<sup>104</sup> Yet Greig warns that this still does not assure ‘the recording’s subsequent documentary status’ and Blake admits that a classical recording will still be ‘a copy of a performance for which there is no original’.<sup>105</sup> This could lead the faint-hearted to believe that recordings are simply too far removed from the musical event to be used in performance analysis. But while recordings may not be documents of single, live performances, they are still documents of *style*, as Greig explains:

...it might be argued that the removal of simple errors — one of the functions of editing — potentially invalidates the documentary status of recordings. However, that is only a qualification; even if the final version presents a compilation of the ‘best bits’, it nevertheless represents a ‘vision’ (be it that of the producer, director or artists), and viewed as a montage of moments it remains a statement of a preferred performance style.<sup>106</sup>

For all the cautions and caveats, most writers assure that this ‘in no way invalidates the recording as an object for musicological study’, as Clarke maintains.<sup>107</sup> As for the question of ‘recordings falsifying the performance’, Leech-Wilkinson argues that we should not be so concerned about

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<sup>100</sup> The editors of the *Companion to Recorded Music* present this as a central debate in the field; Cook et al. “Introduction,” 3.

<sup>101</sup> The others are ‘the record as collectable’, ‘the record as acoustic device’ and ‘the record as a work of art’; Simon Frith, “Going Critical: Writing about Recordings,” in *Companion to Recorded Music*, 273.

<sup>102</sup> Brock-Nannestad, “Development of Recording Technologies,” 149.

<sup>103</sup> Roger Heaton, “Reminder: A Recording is Not a Performance,” in *Companion to Recorded Music*, 218.

<sup>104</sup> This is one of Greig’s central topics in “Performing For (and Against).”

<sup>105</sup> Greig, *ibid.*, 24; Blake, “Recording Practices,” 42; Clarke also notes that classical recording is ‘dominated by the principal of fidelity’, but still describes this as ‘artificial’ realism, in “The Impact of Recording,” 54.

<sup>106</sup> Greig, *ibid.*, 26; Tresize echoes the assertion that ‘at a key point in the chain that leads to the record, real historical performers exercised their larynxes and arms to make music’, in “The Recorded Document,” 208.

<sup>107</sup> Clarke, “Empirical Methods,” 88; Clarke even argues that listeners are able to ‘hear through’ the surface noise of older recordings and reconstruct or reimagine the performance, in “The Impact of Recording,” 60.

this because 'when we listen to a recording we listen not to its construction but to its effect'.<sup>108</sup> Essentially, as long as a recording is perceived and experienced as a performance, then it *is* a performance worth examining.<sup>109</sup>

This is the approach that I have adopted, taking all aspects of the recording into account as part-and-parcel of one sonic object being offered to listeners.<sup>110</sup> As Greig advises, I do not view recordings as representative of *concert* performance style, nor do I suggest that the performance on a recording existed that way at the time. However, it exists that way now as a recorded performance, and it is specifically *recorded performance style* that I am analysing. In many ways, this means taking the recordings at face value; I still focus on the interpretative choices of the performers, but the potential effects are assessed in terms of how these are presented on disc. Ultimately, this reflects how a choir's recorded style is projected to listeners, with all elements heard together.<sup>111</sup> To borrow a summary from Cook:

...it is not only probably undecidable but also not to the point whether a given effect was created by the performers, the producer, or the postproduction engineer: as inherently collaborative products, recordings 'are what they are', in Peter Johnson's words, and it is as what they are that they circulate and are consumed as integral elements of contemporary musical culture.<sup>112</sup>

In this thesis, I show how choral recordings are consumed as representations of cultural identity by first examining them as collaborative representations of choral style.

## 2.4 Analytical Methods and Models

Scholars who study recordings today have a range of research options available, especially with the expansion in empirical techniques.<sup>113</sup> The first section below provides an overview of existing approaches and their surrounding critiques; the general ethos of my methodology was

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<sup>108</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 3.7, Paragraphs 106-107; this approach is upheld in Leech-Wilkinson's recent work, "Emotional Power," 44, 52.

<sup>109</sup> Cook concurs with the view that 'we hear recordings as performances' and this is the basis for his discussion "The Ghost in the Machine," in *Beyond the Score*, 367.

<sup>110</sup> I thus attend to the view of a recording as 'a complex mode of representation which generates meaning in its own right', as described by Cook et. al, in "Introduction," 3; this is also the approach that Golomb adopted in "Expression and Meaning in Bach".

<sup>111</sup> Philip actually suggests that, as most listeners know little about the recording process, their understanding of a performer or ensemble's style is as it sounds on the disc, in *Performing Music*, 57-59.

<sup>112</sup> Cook, "Methods," 244; the reference is to Peter Johnson, "The Legacy of Recordings," in *Musical Performance: A Guide to Understanding*, ed. John Rink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 198.

<sup>113</sup> Clarke and Cook define empirical musicology as 'musicology that embodies a principled awareness of both the potential to engage with large bodies of relevant data, and the appropriate methods for achieving this', in "Introduction: What is Empirical Musicology?" in *Empirical Musicology*, 4.

formulated on the basis of the discourses outlined here. Subsequent sections address specific methodological processes in detail, explaining how I conducted the discographic work, close listening and computational analysis.

### 2.4.1 Empirical Balance

Much early research proceeded via detailed listening and description on the part of the author; the so-called ‘close listening’ method. The success of Philip’s work serves as a testament to the validity of this approach. Indeed, Cook maintains that ‘important musicological research has been carried out using equipment no more specialised than a record or CD player [and] a pencil’, referring to Philip directly.<sup>114</sup> Bowen also commends Philip for taking ‘a great stride from the subjective appraisal of quality’ — which could describe Steane’s earlier writing — ‘to a more scholarly interest in the analysis of the difference between styles’.<sup>115</sup> Yet Philip’s work is not without subjectivity; the main pitfall of close listening is that the findings are based wholly on the author’s personal response and can only be conveyed through their descriptive language. On one occasion, for example, Philip explains that both Kenneth Slowik and Richard Taruskin have used the word ‘sterile’ in reference to a performance by Bruno Walter; Philip disagrees, highlighting moments that he says ‘nobody could describe as sterile’, but does not give much explanation as to why he should be correct, and there is no objective way of deciding.<sup>116</sup> While many appreciate Philip’s pioneering contribution, Cook also observed that ‘the quantitative dimension of [Philip’s] research hardly goes further than tables of performed tempi’ and warned that judgements based on close listening alone can be ‘vague and impressionistic’.<sup>117</sup>

Another of Bowen’s most important criticisms is that Philip ‘did not listen to the complete recorded history for any work’.<sup>118</sup> Like Day and Steane, Philip selected examples from an incredibly broad repertoire but at best included only a handful of recordings of the same piece. In *Empirical Musicology*, Clarke and Cook express the same concern about this kind of musicological cherry picking, as it produces conclusions that ‘would not survive a systematic engagement with

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<sup>114</sup> Cook, “Methods,” 222.

<sup>115</sup> Bowen, “Finding the Music in Musicology: Performance History and Musical Works,” in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 430.

<sup>116</sup> The performance in question was the ‘Adagietto’ from Mahler’s Fifth Symphony by Bruno Walter and the Vienna Philharmonic; in Philip’s defence, his reference to sterility is not necessarily the main point here, in *Performing Music*, 160.

<sup>117</sup> Cook, “Methods,” 222; “The Conductor and the Theorist: Furtwängler, Schenker and the First Movement of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony,” in *Practice of Performance*, 108; Bowen says that Philip and David Breckbill ‘deserve recognition for the first studies of early twentieth-century performance style based on recordings’ but voices the same concerns as Cook, in “Finding the Music,” 430-1.

<sup>118</sup> Bowen, *ibid.*

the available data'.<sup>119</sup> In listening to over 100 recordings of Beethoven's Symphony No.5, Bowen was able to contradict Philip's conclusions with regards to tempo, hence his declaration that 'we need to study the recorded repertory more comprehensively'.<sup>120</sup> Moreover, like Cook, Leech-Wilkinson has additionally advocated the analysis of works through large numbers of recordings because it reminds us of 'music's essential unfixedness', which makes it a 'powerful approach to understanding style'.<sup>121</sup>

This comprehensive method encourages a more scientifically rigorous approach, but musicological empiricism can be especially aided through the use of computational tools. Cook demonstrates how such methods can 'help transform listening into analytical interpretation', thus alleviating some of the shortcomings of close listening alone.<sup>122</sup> One of the most reputable tools is 'Sonic Visualiser', which allows the user to examine different aspects of a recording through various graphics. I shall explore the use of this software in detail later, but the important point is that this technology not only facilitates analysis, the resulting visualisations also provide a means of presenting that analysis more objectively. Much deciphering is still required on the part of the author but, as Clarke observes in relation to Cook's essay on Furtwängler, it would be 'at the very least verbally cumbersome and far more open to dispute' to demonstrate particular findings without graphic evidence.<sup>123</sup> Some of the most ground-breaking work applying empirical methods to performance analysis was not specifically musicological, however. Carl Seashore's research during the 1930s was primarily concerned with psychology, while Bruno Repp — one of the first to extract data from large numbers of recordings — focussed more on the generation of data itself 'than trying to engage with the aesthetic properties of specific performances', according to Cook, and 'he was not concerned at all with issues of cultural meaning'.<sup>124</sup>

If Seashore and Repp represent one end of the analytical spectrum, then the descriptive work of Philip et al. seems to be at the opposite. Bowen addresses this gap and the scepticism surrounding either extreme, musing that 'one seems to offer no evidence (only opinion), [while] the other offers "evidence" but not of an overtly musical nature'.<sup>125</sup> Musicologists can become caught between the desire to include more empirical data and a difficulty in conveying what that data actually *means* in terms of a wider argument on performance style, as Cook observes:

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<sup>119</sup> Clarke and Cook, "What is Empirical Musicology?" 4.

<sup>120</sup> Bowen, "Finding the Music," 433.

<sup>121</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 1.2, Paragraph 20, Chapter 1.4, Paragraph 47; Cook, "Methods," 234-35.

<sup>122</sup> Cook, *ibid.*, 223.

<sup>123</sup> Clarke, "Empirical Methods," 77; Clarke is referring to Cook, "The Conductor and The Theorist".

<sup>124</sup> Cook, "Methods," 229; Clarke details Carl Seashore and Repp in his list of 'Landmarks' in empirical musicology, in "Empirical Methods," 78-79; see, for example, Carl Seashore, *Psychology of Music* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1938); and Bruno Repp's studies on tempo published in the *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* from 1992 to 1999.

<sup>125</sup> Bowen, "Finding the Music," 432.

This failing is quite general among musicologists, and the lack of well-articulated principles for the mapping between analytical and performance data results in a rather loose discourse in which tempo or dynamic graphs may not really provide the empirical support that is ascribed to them. There is also a tendency to see tempo profiles as objects of analysis in their own right...<sup>126</sup>

Thankfully, Cook highlights recent developments that mean technological analysis can be used *in* investigations, rather than marking ‘the end of the process’. Clarke wonders whether empirical research will thus shift ‘toward more focused questions relating, for instance, to specific styles, performers, or pieces’, which foreshadows theses such as this.<sup>127</sup>

Clearly, what is required in an investigation of recorded performance is balance. Bowen advises us to ‘combine the best features’ of both empirical and descriptive analyses and, notwithstanding the concerns regarding subjectivity, states that ‘the first answer is simply to listen’; this is widely echoed.<sup>128</sup> Leech-Wilkinson advocates close listening even when working with Sonic Visualiser because it is ‘all too easy to be led into hearing things one can see on a computer screen but can’t perceive without one’.<sup>129</sup> Both methods have inherent blind spots, but these can be mediated and enriched by the results of the other. In fact, the descriptive language used in relaying listening findings is ‘more than just a regrettable convenience’, as Leech-Wilkinson highlights; it can be equally useful in interpreting the meaning of other kinds of data for readers.<sup>130</sup> Moreover, in a study of style, balance is not just important between analytical methods, but between detailed results and a wider, cultural perspective. Even Clarke, who is known for meticulous empirical work, warns of becoming ‘buried in the expressive minutiae of a four-bar phrase’ and losing sight of the broader performance context.<sup>131</sup> Cook confirms most succinctly that ‘cultural analysis can be supported by empirical analysis, and empirical analysis given purpose by cultural analysis. It’s a win-win relationship’.<sup>132</sup> This approach prevails among the most recent work by scholars such as Golomb, Fabian and Cook himself.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Cook, “Methods,” 234.

<sup>127</sup> Clarke, “Empirical Methods,” 99.

<sup>128</sup> Bowen, “Finding the Music,” 432, 430; see also, Cook, “Methods,” 222; Golomb follows this advice in “Expression and Meaning in Bach,” 32.

<sup>129</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 8.2, Paragraph 20, Paragraph 25.

<sup>130</sup> Leech-Wilkinson adds that ‘metaphor is fundamental to human perception’, in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 1.2.3, Paragraph 29; Clarke and Cook similarly say that description and generalisation ‘is what turns data into facts’, in “What is Empirical Musicology?” 4.

<sup>131</sup> Clarke adds that an obsession with graphs and visualisations can turn a recording back ‘into something disturbingly like a score’, in “Empirical Methods,” 99; Cook covers similar concerns that have been expressed by scholars such as Taruskin and Carolyn Abbate, who regard this as a continuation of an object-centric musicology, in “Methods,” 242.

<sup>132</sup> Cook *ibid.*, 245.

<sup>133</sup> See, for example: Cook, *Beyond the Score*, 3; Dorottya Fabian, Renee Timmers and Emery Schubert eds., *Expressiveness in Music Performance: Empirical Approaches Across Styles and Cultures* (Oxford: Oxford

Perhaps the most significant model of these methods in practice is Leech-Wilkinson's online book, *The Changing Sound of Music*, which is worth explaining briefly here.<sup>134</sup> Leech-Wilkinson weaves acoustical data from spectrographic images into the prose, along with descriptive interpretation of what this might actually mean for the listener. His discussion moves seamlessly from sonic detail, to stylistic interpretation, to an assessment of that interpretation within a larger historical context (see, for example, his discussion of Fischer-Dieskau).<sup>135</sup> Furthermore, Leech-Wilkinson constructs a rich web of evidence, including contemporary commentary from pedagogical and critical literature, a range of tables and graphs, computer-generated visualisations, and even corresponding audio files. My thesis is not quite as 'interactive', but I aim to construct a similarly multifaceted contextual picture.

Learning from all this, to paraphrase Cook's 'win-win' statement, my investigation aims to support cultural analysis of choral identity through empirical analysis of choral recordings. That analysis will be conducted in line with best practice in contemporary scholarship; systematically engaging with a comprehensive set of data, incorporating varied and technological means of examination, but always being guided by the listening first and foremost — this human agency is the key to wider, meaningful perspective.

#### 2.4.2 Selecting and Cataloguing Repertoire

In accordance with the thinking above, I decided to limit the focus of this investigation to only two pieces and encompass their entire recorded histories.<sup>136</sup> However, in order to obtain sufficient data, there had to be a substantial number of recordings of those pieces, with a range of vocal ensembles represented. Consequently, I undertook an initial survey to ascertain which of Byrd's sacred choral works had been recorded most frequently across the last century. This was established by gathering figures from six varied sources — including online commercial databases and archive catalogues, as well as printed discographies — addressing a range of eras and mediums.<sup>137</sup> Having ranked the top ten results for each individual source, I compared those lists to

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University Press, 2014); and Uri Golomb "Expression and Meaning in Bach", which has since been published as various journal articles.

<sup>134</sup> Cook has also used Leech-Wilkinson as one of his examples of how to handle data from spectrograms, in "Methods," 226-7.

<sup>135</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 4, Paragraph 35-6; another good example appears in relation to George Henschel's sound in Paragraph 21.

<sup>136</sup> Golomb made this same judgement in "Expression and Meaning in Bach," 26.

<sup>137</sup> The sources were: iTunes Music Store, <http://www.apple.com/uk/itunes/music/>; Naxos Music Library, <https://www.naxosmusiclibrary.com/home>; Classical Archives, <http://www.classicalarchives.com>; The British Library Sound Archive Catalogue, <http://cadensa.bl.uk/uhtbin/cgisirsi>; Day, *Discography of Tudor Church Music*; and Francis Clough and G. J. Cuming, *The World's Encyclopaedia of Recorded Music* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1952; *Second Supplement*, 1953; *Third Supplement*, 1957); all websites were accessed during the period from March to November 2011.



assess which pieces consistently ranked highly across five or all six sources. The four most frequently recorded works were: *Ave verum corpus*, *Haec dies*, *Laudibus in sanctis* and *The Mass for Four Voices*, of which 'Agnus Dei' was the most recorded movement.<sup>138</sup> It was not surprising to find that the clear frontrunner among these was the famous *Ave verum corpus*.<sup>139</sup> This emotive motet affords much opportunity for interpretative variety, making it an excellent vehicle for the examination of style. I decided to select this and 'Agnus Dei' from the Mass initially on the basis of their contrasting compositional form, texture and character. This allows for more rigorous comparisons of style as each piece invites different listening focuses, as will be explained in the next section. In addition, these two pieces are of relatively short duration, meaning that they were recorded even in the early twentieth century when disc limitations were a pervading factor. The resultant merit of this particular repertoire selection is the expanse of the catalogues, providing stylistic examples that span almost the entire recorded era and continue to appear today.<sup>140</sup>

Bowen states that 'the very first stage for any project in the analysis of recorded music is a discography'; this thesis is no exception.<sup>141</sup> Initially, I generated discographies for each of the four pieces listed above, but continually updated the catalogues for *Ave verum corpus* and the *Mass for Four Voices* up to the end of 2012.<sup>142</sup> These discographies appear in Appendix B, along with more detail on the format and process. However, the general aspects of discographic research are worth discussing here.

Compiling a discography before the advent of the internet must have been especially arduous, but many of the problems outlined by Gray in 1979 still apply today. These include: difficulties in formulating and arranging the discography, in keeping up to date with new releases, and the fact that recordings have no equivalent to an ISBN number to identify them.<sup>143</sup> Thirty years later, as Leech-Wilkinson maintained, 'you won't realise just how difficult it is' to assemble discographic information.<sup>144</sup> One of the main issues modern researchers have identified is a lack of comprehensive sources to consult in the first place, and no universal reference base.<sup>145</sup> Over the last decade, the number of online resources has grown considerably, but these have caused

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<sup>138</sup> This method of determining 'popularity' could undoubtedly be improved in a study solely dedicated to such a task, but it has proved fruitful for the purpose of this investigation, which was simply to yield pieces that had a great and varied selection of recordings to examine.

<sup>139</sup> I explore the popularity of *Ave verum corpus* in more depth in Chapter 5.

<sup>140</sup> The earliest recording of *Haec Dies* was not until 1951 and *Laudibus in sanctis* in 1953.

<sup>141</sup> Bowen, "Finding the Music," 433.

<sup>142</sup> There is also a section in these two discographies that details recordings I was aware of up to the end of 2014 but, given the rate of new issues, it was necessary to impose an earlier cut-off date for analysis and discussion in this thesis.

<sup>143</sup> Gray, "Discography," 578-592.

<sup>144</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 1.2.1; Day makes the same point in *A Century*, 231.

<sup>145</sup> Leech-Wilkinson points out the absence of a 'universal discography comparable to bibliographies such as RISM, RILM, or The Music Index', in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 1.2.1, Paragraph 24.

as many problems as they have solved. Tresize notes that commercial databases can yield 'staggeringly numerous results', but also warns that they can be 'unpredictable'.<sup>146</sup> This certainly matches my experience, with slightly different search terms revealing vastly different results and items regularly absent for no apparent reason. These problems are exacerbated within the databases for large sound collections, specifically the British Library's National Sound Archive ('Cadensa'). Tresize's description of these as 'frustratingly awkward catalogues' that are 'riddled with quirks and uncertainties' is uncomfortably apt.<sup>147</sup> The information is inconsistently supplied and formatted, sometimes providing only a catalogue number; searching for one specific track was incredibly challenging. Tresize also warns that 'it is often impossible to estimate how accurate the information is' online, thus I have followed his instruction to put more trust in printed publications, taking Day's *Discography of Tudor Church Music* as my most reliable source. Yet published discographies are not without their shortcomings; in fact, Leech-Wilkinson argues that most are 'woefully inadequate for our purposes'.<sup>148</sup> The most obvious drawback is that they soon become out of date. Day's discography, for example, only includes recordings up to the mid-1980s. There also remain issues with format and ease of use; one of the main complications of Day's system is that he has omitted the more succinct album titles, instead providing a list of the key pieces only, which can make identification more laborious. Naturally, the most sensible approach to discography is to cross-reference and amalgamate the information from a wide range of sources. I began with the six used for the preliminary survey, but supplemented this with various additional directories, as well as many of the choirs' and record label's own websites and general Google searches.<sup>149</sup> However, this still presents problems where different sources provide conflicting data, as they so often do. The most reliable information is contained on the physical disc and accompanying notes; yet, as Day observes, 'records are not accessible in the way that books and musical scores are'.<sup>150</sup>

The date of recording is highly significant in a chronological study of style, but this piece of information is by far the most difficult to ascertain. Even with the disc available, details regarding the date, location and participants of the performances can be vague or commonly absent

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<sup>146</sup> Tresize does cautiously recommend the use of sources such as those that I have used, including ArkivMusic and AllMusic websites, in "The Recorded Document," 187.

<sup>147</sup> Tresize, *ibid.*, 186; Day suggests that those who index sound catalogues may not necessarily have the specialist knowledge required, in *A Century*, 247.

<sup>148</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 1.2.1, Paragraph 24.

<sup>149</sup> Further key sources include: Michael Greenhalgh, "Byrd Discography, 1995-2003," in *William Byrd: A Guide to Research*, 2nd ed., ed. Richard Turbet (New York: Routledge, 2006), 231-306; Jorge E. Salazar, "Early Music Discography," <http://www.machali.net>; Todd M. McComb, "Early Music FAQ CD Index and Directory," <http://www.medieval.org>; All Music, <http://www.allmusic.com>; and Amazon, <http://www.amazon.co.uk>.

<sup>150</sup> Day, *A Century*, 231.

altogether.<sup>151</sup> Though the year of release is regularly included, the actual recording may have taken place a long time before this, and there are few ways to tell how far apart these events were.<sup>152</sup> Day suggests that recording dates may be concealed ‘for commercial reasons’ and highlights the additional danger that ‘it may be unclear whether or not this particular disc is in fact a recording of the same performance as this other one’.<sup>153</sup> This is undoubtedly the most problematic issue with discography, as such information affects our understanding of what that recording represents. Where the specifics were not supplied, I used a combination of detective work and judgement to determine whether a recording contained new, original performances or reissues of older material. Similarly complicating are recordings by well-known choirs that have been reissued countless times in different collections; these are very complex to trace, let alone catalogue. In my discographies, reissues of previously recorded material are included as a separate entry where the programme of music has been altered — helping me to build a picture of the developing market — but reissues of near identical albums are detailed under the same entry. There is, however, a column that indicates whether each discographic entry is likely to be an original release or not.

As evident from these complexities, no discography could realistically claim to be infallibly accurate and comprehensive. I aim to be as complete as possible, but the continuous reissues and archival alterations mean that revisions would always be necessary. Ultimately, however, the purpose of compiling discographies for *Ave verum corpus* and the *Mass for Four Voices* was not an ends unto itself, but rather to facilitate the examination of performance style contained on those records.<sup>154</sup>

### 2.4.3 Listening for Expression

My primary means of analysis in this investigation was close listening. I have examined forty original versions of ‘Agnus Dei’ and seventy-eight of *Ave verum corpus* via this method, listening to most LPs at the National Sound Archive and accessing other recordings electronically or through CD purchase.<sup>155</sup> Here, I explain the specifics of that analysis.

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<sup>151</sup> Day addresses this and cites The Tallis Scholars as an example, in *A Century*, 244-46; in recent years, however, some of their information has been made available on the Gimell Website; “The Tallis Scholars,” Gimell, accessed June 2014, <http://www.gimell.com/artist-the-tallis-scholars.aspx>; Peter Phillips also sheds some light on this area in *What We Really Do* (London: Musical Times, 2003).

<sup>152</sup> Tresize makes this point in “The Recorded Document,” 192.

<sup>153</sup> Day, *A Century*, 246.

<sup>154</sup> As Bowen remarks, ‘having a *relatively* complete history in sound allows for the detailed tracking of changes in the performance tradition’, in “Finding the music,” 433 (italics are mine).

<sup>155</sup> Most are known to be original recordings, some are *suspected* to be. Where possible, I returned to hear each recording on at least two separate occasions; there are, unfortunately, some early recordings to which I have been unable to gain access.

Having previously defined performance style as ‘a set of expressive gestures’, it follows that to examine style is to examine expression. When theorising this concept, Clarke outlines the orthodox definition of expression as ‘departures from some neutral norm’, which is commonly taken to mean: ‘departures from the values (principally rhythmic and dynamic) specified in the score’.<sup>156</sup> In basic terms, expression is what performers add to the composer’s notation in performance. However, Clarke and others have sought to problematise this notion because it is still ‘too reliant of the authority of the score’, especially when definitions of expression include terms such as ‘departure’ or ‘deviation’.<sup>157</sup> Essentially, any act of performance involves a departure from notated information, leading Leech-Wilkinson to assert that ‘difference from the score is not what’s expressive; change is’.<sup>158</sup> His definition of an expressive gesture as ‘*an irregularity in one or more of the principal acoustic dimensions*’, which is ‘*introduced in order to give emphasis*’, is crucial to this investigation — my approach has been to examine these expressive changes in the musical surface.<sup>159</sup> As I am analysing vast numbers of recordings of the same piece, however, the musical text does still provide a ‘norm’ against which the type and extent of expressivity (change) might be compared between choirs, hence I do retain a focus on the relationship between expression and score. Caution must be exercised, of course, before claiming that one interpretation is ‘more expressive’ than another; rather, different performers may be *differently* expressive, or express different aspects of the work.

This, in fact, is a key point: performers can manipulate expression in order to highlight, or respond to, certain musical features. Thus my listening focussed not just on the form of expressive gesture, but how and *where* they were enacted within the context of the piece. Existing studies often outline two main interpretative approaches in this respect, one that aligns expressivity with wider compositional structures, and one that attends to the unfolding narrative of the musical surface. Cook has called these ‘structuralist’ and ‘rhetorical’ expressive focuses and — though he argues that they are not ‘mutually exclusive’<sup>160</sup> — he and others note that the former has traditionally been seen as superior or closer aligned with the composer’s work.<sup>161</sup> Cook believes that performance analysis is still preoccupied with mapping expressive choices onto

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<sup>156</sup> Clarke, under the heading “Expression in Performance: Its Definition and Analysis”, in “Empirical Methods,” 84.

<sup>157</sup> Clarke, “Expression in Performance: Generativity, Perception and Semiosis,” in *Practice of Performance*, 23; this attitude also permeates Cook’s *Beyond the Score*.

<sup>158</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 8.1, Paragraph 15.

<sup>159</sup> Leech-Wilkinson explains that there is a ‘local average’ to which the listener becomes accustomed, and audible alterations to this are perceived as expressive, *ibid.* (italics are Leech-Wilkinson’s).

<sup>160</sup> Cook, *Beyond the Score*, 130; see also, Chapter 4 of *Beyond the Score* as a whole and “The Conductor and The Theorist.”

<sup>161</sup> Cook outlines Furtwängler’s view on this in “The Conductor and The Theorist,” 106; other writers in *The Practice of Performance* confirm this notion; Leech-Wilkinson also talks of a shift in expressive attention during the twentieth century from ‘details at the note-to-note level’ to ‘higher levels, delineating formal structure’, in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 6, Paragraph 53.

compositional structure, warning that we risk ‘filtering out everything that won’t map’ and remaining shackled to the composer’s authority.<sup>162</sup> Initially, I may appear to be perpetuating this; I incorporate score analysis in this thesis, considering potential readings of the piece to assess whether the recordings show any correlation with such projections.<sup>163</sup> However, these structural assessments are again a baseline for comparison; my aim is not to assign greater meaning or value on the basis of such correlations. Moreover, I do not ‘filter out’ aspects of performance that seem neither structural nor rhetorical; taking in some of the ‘multidimensional’ theories of expressivity as advocated by Clarke, I consider the ways in which expressive gestures might contribute to ‘a host of extra-musical characterisations’, such as general atmosphere, a sense of performance context, and indications of choral identity.<sup>164</sup>

My principal approach was to listen for expressive changes, but I also constructed a set of listening criteria around specific devices so that patterns of usage and style could be identified.<sup>165</sup> The two most obvious areas for analysis are timing and dynamics. The former has dominated many existing studies of recordings, but the latter has come to bear ‘most of the expressive load’ in performance, according to Leech-Wilkinson.<sup>166</sup> In addition to addressing changes in tempo and volume, I have also assessed the approach to rhythmicity and texture, accent and emphasis, diction, *portamento* and vibrato.<sup>167</sup> The appearance of such devices may not always be directly related to the composition, however, but rather a general feature of that choir’s style. Therefore, I split the listening parameters into two focuses: one addressing the overall sound and ensemble quality of each choir, and the other examining the expressive application of the above devices in relation to specific music and text. The contrasting musical materials of the two pieces I have selected aid the investigation of these different areas. The emotion in ‘Agnus Dei’ develops over a broader scale, throwing the wider atmospheric quality into focus, and the increased level of polyphony allows the inner-workings of ensemble style to be examined in detail. *Ave verum corpus* contains many more obvious expressive cues at specific sites, providing greater scope to assess the selection and placement of expressive gestures.

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<sup>162</sup> Cook is even critical of his previous essay, “The Conductor and The Theorist”, for adopting this approach without acknowledging the ‘structuralist values’, in *Beyond the Score*, 55, 50; see also Chapter 2, “Page and Stage”, and Chapter 12, “Beyond Reproduction”, as a whole.

<sup>163</sup> Such an approach is adopted by several other scholars in *The Practice of Performance*, including Cone and Rink.

<sup>164</sup> Clarke, “Expression in Performance,” 51.

<sup>165</sup> This is in line with the suggestions of Cook, “Methods,” 241; and Golomb, “Expression and Meaning in Bach,” 33.

<sup>166</sup> Leech-Wilkinson is referring specifically to recordings from the mid-twentieth century onwards, in “Recordings and Histories,” 253.

<sup>167</sup> Other areas which might be investigated further in future include tuning and pronunciation; in formulating my methodology around expressive change, I have not focussed on those aspects in detail here.

Both my close listening analysis and corresponding notes were allied to a chronological experience of the unfolding musical narrative. Rather than focussing on each individual device discretely in the first instance, I first listened to the entire performance to gauge a sense of the overall style and standout features, doing so without a score. I then listened to small sections repeatedly, noting specific details according to the parameters above. This holistic, chronological approach is in line with Leech-Wilkinson's explanation of how 'most meaning is produced from moment to moment' for listeners, as they perceive expressivity through sonic changes.<sup>168</sup> Furthermore, it takes into account Clarke's observation that musical devices have 'little or no impact' in isolation; they must be 'considered together, and in their specific contexts'.<sup>169</sup> The next analytical stage did involve separating out the specific applications of dynamics, timing etc., in order to facilitate the comparison of style, but this was extracted from the initial assessment of their effect in conjunction with other devices, keeping sight of the broader interpretation.

This kind of approach fosters an understanding of performance style in terms of the effects that are experienced in the act of listening, but relaying those findings must be handled carefully. Writers who examine recordings often discuss 'the listener', but in actuality this refers to listeners, plural. Suggestions of expressive effect could never apply to every listener, as each individual's musical experience is unique and dependent on a great number of factors. 'The listener', then, is in fact a generalisation of audiences, consumers and receivers of sound.<sup>170</sup> This study does not attempt to examine how expressive gestures are actually perceived and assigned meaning by listeners, but rather to examine the *potential* effects which could be perceptible on a recording and the ways in which the music might thus be understood from a listener's point of view.

To alleviate some of the bias involved in these predictions of listener experience, my analysis frequently incorporates commentary from a range of other writers.<sup>171</sup> The vast majority of the record criticism I include comes specifically from reviews of the two works in question; *Gramophone* magazine has proved to be a particularly fruitful source. This commentary also helps to place the recordings in a wider cultural sphere. Leech-Wilkinson promotes the 'significance' of record criticism, but also reminds us that these writers have their own bias and potential agendas.<sup>172</sup> Similarly, Frith notes that reviewers could have financial links with the record companies, highlighting also that 'the record critic is self-appointed'.<sup>173</sup> The same caution must be

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<sup>168</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 2.1, Paragraph 29.

<sup>169</sup> Clarke, "Expression on Performance," 36; this is Golomb's attitude also, in "Expression and Meaning in Bach," 30.

<sup>170</sup> Golomb makes the same point that 'there is no single, ideal listener', *ibid.*, 32.

<sup>171</sup> This is another parallel that my thesis shares with Golomb's; see *ibid.*, 34.

<sup>172</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 1.2.2, Paragraph 25.

<sup>173</sup> Frith, "Going Critical," 282.

applied when dealing with the written material, or ‘sleeve notes’, that accompany the recordings. I make frequent reference to this valuable source of commentary, but have been vigilant in determining whether the author was involved with the ensemble or presents another external voice. I have also investigated the background of key critics and remained mindful of how this might have influenced their views. Most importantly, however, I consider these sources not as expert bearers of the truth, but just as *other listeners* who cannot detach their personal experiences from these recordings any more than I can.

### 2.4.4 Computer-Assisted Analysis

The comprehensive data set I have selected in this investigation allows me to present stylistic findings along two planes: firstly, the general trends that have been ascertained through mass close listening, and then the detailed illustration of those trends via computational analysis of specific examples.<sup>174</sup> In the following chapters, I refer to the former as the ‘wider listening analysis’ (sometimes just ‘listening analysis’), and the latter as the ‘digitised sample’, meaning the set of recordings that was examined using Sonic Visualiser. A selection of images from this work is included in Appendix C, along with details of the processes, but I shall set out some of the central issues here.<sup>175</sup>

The first concern is that tracks must be in a digital format to be imported into Sonic Visualiser, but we know that recordings may have undergone changes in the transfer process.<sup>176</sup> There are several ways in which I have tried to mediate this with broader principles. Firstly, I measure gestures in relation to other points in the context of one recording, and then compare these in *relative* terms to other recordings; I rarely compare raw values directly.<sup>177</sup> Secondly, the vast majority of recordings have been accessed in their original format when conducting the wider listening analysis, or from a transfer made by the original recording company, in the hope that the general philosophies will have been retained.<sup>178</sup> Finally, the purpose of the computational

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<sup>174</sup> There are parallels here with the analytical distinction between ‘close and distant listening’ as discussed by Cook in Chapter 5 of *Beyond the Score*.

<sup>175</sup> The aim is not to attempt a comprehensive explanation of how Sonic Visualiser functions, that has been provided by Cook and Leech-Wilkinson in “A Musicologist’s Guide to Sonic Visualiser,” (also titled, “Techniques for Analysing Recordings: An Introduction”) which is available via the CHARM website and has proved to be an indispensable tutorial for the work that takes place here; see “Analysing Recordings: Sonic Visualiser,” CHARM, [http://www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/analysing/p9\\_0\\_1.html](http://www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/analysing/p9_0_1.html).

<sup>176</sup> In so doing, I have avoided the use of MP3 files, which are a compressed, ‘lossy’ medium; all tracks are in either an original Wave file format, or were converted to Wave from an MP4 file (Apple Lossless, not AAC encoded) using ‘Audacity’.

<sup>177</sup> Cook also uses relative values within the context of a single recording, rather than comparing absolute values, in *Beyond the Score*, 140.

<sup>178</sup> This concurs with Leech-Wilkinson’s suggestions that CD reissues ‘can support conclusions about performance style with widespread validity’ but that we should endeavour to consult an original disc to confirm the findings, in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 3.2, Paragraphs 49-50.

analysis is to demonstrate findings which have already been established through initial listening; I focus on qualities that were apparent in the original, not aspects which may just be features of the transfer. It is worth noting, however, that when I did hear a recording in two different formats (i.e. LP and CD) there was generally very little that differed between them in terms of performance analysis. At any rate, it would be difficult to argue that there is one definitive sounding of any recording, even in its original format, given the vast differences in the playback situation through which listeners receive them.

With regards to the analysis of timing, the features of Sonic Visualiser have greatly improved the 'tempo tapping' method, through which I have created tempo graphs for certain extracts of *Ave verum corpus*.<sup>179</sup> However, the tool still relies on metric principles that are difficult to apply to this repertoire, as it was not composed in bars and invites varying pauses between phrases. Even where this can be overcome, the tapping method is very time consuming and the resulting graphs still display a level of human error. Therefore, in most cases, I have employed an alternative method, calculating the average tempo over a certain elapsed time and then comparing this with other extracts, which has proved successful for my purposes.

Sonic Visualiser is also able to generate graphs of volume fluctuation called 'power curves'; I use these extensively in my analysis, as dynamic application is a key site for comparison in both pieces. The main issue, however, is that different performances will have been recorded at different base levels, which raises the question of whether to normalise the tracks beforehand, bringing each recording within the same volume range.<sup>180</sup> I have opted to do so, as my purpose was to compare relative dynamic structures; normalisation facilitates this on a more even playing field. For connected reasons, I have omitted the decibel scale on the y-axis for power curves. Some decibel values are referred to in calculating relative degrees of change, but I use power curves as illustrations of dynamic contour; absolute readings are not the focus.

Particularly novel in this thesis are two power curves that were generated from synthetic, MIDI playbacks of the basic notation, which I created using 'Finale' score writing software.<sup>181</sup> The premise for this is rooted in that traditional idea of expression as addition to the raw information of the score; the artificial performances represent as close to an expressionless rendering of the music as possible, against which the expressive addition of the real performances can be compared.<sup>182</sup> Clarke has outlined similar use of synthetic models 'as a way of highlighting what it

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<sup>179</sup> Cook makes this specific point in "Methods," 231-32; he and Leech-Wilkinson detail the specific features that facilitate this in "Guide to Sonic Visualiser," 6-9.

<sup>180</sup> Normalisation is a process that boosts the volume level to the same degree across the entire recording, thus preserving the relative fluctuations within the context of that recording.

<sup>181</sup> The notation was played back using the MIDI 54 'Voice Oohs' sound and exported as a Wave file.

<sup>182</sup> Leech-Wilkinson insinuates this when he mentions that, 'thanks to MIDI, we now know what an inexpressive performance is like', in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 2.2, Paragraph 47.



is that makes human performances interesting', though he favours models that simulate more than 'the idealized flat line of the score' as a means of conceptualising expressivity more deeply.<sup>183</sup> In this investigation, however, the qualities of the actual model are not as important, so long as they provide a fixed benchmark for comparison. In fact, I would argue that it is actually preferable to have a model that represents an inhumanly simple baseline in this case.

The use of power curves can be highly effective in illustrating the overall dynamic contours of a performance, but they provide no indication of the contributions of separate voice parts, which is of particular importance in the polyphonic 'Agnus Dei'.<sup>184</sup> Thankfully, this can be analysed via spectrograms. As Cook explains, spectrograms represent sound in three ways: 'time (from left to right), frequency (from top to bottom), and intensity (by means of colour or, in black and white, shading)'.<sup>185</sup> Spectrograms have been described as 'a kind of super-score, showing not just the pitches and notational durations, but everything that the performers do in sound'.<sup>186</sup> They display not only fundamental notes, but the whole pattern of resonating harmonics and their individual levels of volume, which are perceived as different timbral qualities. These visualisations are thus extremely useful for examining vital characteristics of choral tone colour, blend and balance.<sup>187</sup> Moreover, Cook promotes the value of spectrograms for 'homing in on the details of the performance — the unnotated nuances that are responsible for so much of music's meaning'.<sup>188</sup> With some very careful dissection, this tool can be used to pinpoint different voice parts among the overall sound, affording the close examination of expressive gestures *within* the individual lines. However, there is much to be considered when interpreting the information from spectrograms. Cook and Leech-Wilkinson highlight a range of acoustical phenomena in how the brain processes sound, warning that:<sup>189</sup>

...the physical signal which the computer measures is different in many respects from what we perceive. All this means that one has to use a spectrogram in conjunction with what one hears. It's not something to be read but rather to be used as an aid to pinpointing features of which one is vaguely aware as a listener...<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Clarke, "Empirical Methods," 97, 95.

<sup>184</sup> Clarke has also made this point, *ibid.*, 89.

<sup>185</sup> Cook, "Methods," 225.

<sup>186</sup> Cook and Leech-Wilkinson, "Guide to Sonic Visualiser," 13.

<sup>187</sup> We must be even more mindful, therefore, when examining early recordings produced by technologies that could not capture the full frequency range of the sound.

<sup>188</sup> Cook, "Methods," 226.

<sup>189</sup> Cook and Leech-Wilkinson, "Guide to Sonic Visualiser," 14-17; see also, Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 8.2.

<sup>190</sup> Cook and Leech-Wilkinson, *ibid.*, 17.

Given the sheer volume of information contained on a spectrogram — not all of it from the sound of the performers — pinpointing those features can be difficult, but again the crucial point is to be guided by the ear first and foremost. There are times in this investigation where findings that were clearly audible are not easy to evidence through spectrograms (and vice versa), but the evidence of the listening analysis takes precedence.<sup>191</sup> This is concurrent with the attitude of many other scholars, as Golomb states: ‘when such contradictions occur, most researchers would be more interested in the listeners’ perception than in the computer’s analysis’, which is in keeping with my central ethos.<sup>192</sup>

Both Cook and Leech-Wilkinson encourage the use of ‘several complimentary visualisations’, in line with that multifaceted view of expressivity; I have aimed to engage with this not only through Sonic Visualiser, but with my whole methodological approach.<sup>193</sup> I have conducted my analysis chiefly as a listener, assessing the combined effects of recorded sounds and taking a holistic view of expression. Within this, I also investigate different realisations of the same compositional material by comparing changes that occur in the sonic surface as the performances unfold. I have sought to strengthen the empirical rigour of this analysis through two key measures: amalgamating an extensive amount of recorded data and foregrounding the use of technological tools. Critical perspective is equally important; thus I make frequent reference to the perceptions of other listeners and also position my findings against existing arguments concerning twentieth-century recorded performance. This thesis is a study of choral style as presented on record; my aim is to place those records within wider cultural contexts, understand them as collaborative constructions of identity, and later ask why consumers should want to use them.

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<sup>191</sup> Similarly, Leech-Wilkinson also notes that ‘not everything that one sees on the computer screen is as audible as it is visible’, in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 8.2, Paragraph 64; elsewhere, he notes the same to be true of working with graphs, such as in Chapter 4, Paragraph 43.

<sup>192</sup> Golomb, “Expression and Meaning in Bach,” 32; see also, Leech-Wilkinson’s instructions on tempo analysis, in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 8.2, Paragraph 43.

<sup>193</sup> Cook, “Methods,” 232; Leech-Wilkinson covers this in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 8.2, Paragraphs 43–50.



## Chapter 3: Choral Sound Worlds

In Chapter 1, I outlined a fundamental contrast in choral practice between institutional and independent choirs; between ritual responsibility and autonomous flexibility. This distinction is embodied in the practical features of their choral profiles, specifically the number, type and distribution of voices, and the spaces in which they sing. In this chapter, I examine how those core characteristics manifest in sound — equipped now with a methodology for investigating this through recordings — showing how contrasting choral profiles lead to different ‘sound worlds’ on recordings of ‘Agnus Dei’ and *Ave verum corpus*. I use the term ‘sound world’ to refer to the general style, timbre and atmosphere of a recording, thus this chapter sets out the overarching sonic frameworks against which the performances take shape.<sup>1</sup>

The profiles of institutional choirs are by no means uniform, but key similarities in voice and venue harbour potentially far-reaching effects for the resultant sound on disc. Indeed, institutional choral tone has been widely written about and I investigate how that rhetoric measures against the recorded sounds, extending this to consider the concept of ‘blend’. Although there are many potential sites of commonality for independent ensembles also, I show that their sound worlds are much more variable, demonstrating the sonic consequences of contrasts in independent and institutional choral practice. Remembering, however, that these effects are transmitted via the mediation of recording, I begin this chapter with an overview of the discographic landscape for the two pieces and later consider the technical choices that contribute to sound world characteristics.

### 3.1 Byrd’s Sacred Repertoire on Disc

Before exploring what these Byrd recordings sound like, there is much to be learned from the data of the discography itself and the rates of recording activity. To the end of 2012, the discographies for ‘Agnus Dei’ and *Ave verum corpus* feature seventy-five and 190 releases respectively, of which fifty-one and 123 are known or suspected to be original recordings.<sup>2</sup> The very first recordings of both works were made by The English Singers, an independent vocal consort who recorded ‘Agnus Dei’ in 1923 and *Ave verum* in 1924. According to Day, their recordings ‘won universal acclaim’ from contemporary reviewers and Milsom agrees that these

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<sup>1</sup> Melanie L. Marshall uses the term ‘sound world’ in a similar manner, in “Voce Bianca: Purity and Whiteness in British Early Music Vocality,” *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 19 (2015): 40.

<sup>2</sup> For perspective, the discographies for *Haec Dies* and *Laudibus in sanctis* contain only sixty-one and fifty-one total entries respectively.

were ‘arguably the most influential and enduring achievements’ of Byrd performance at the time.<sup>3</sup> Following what seemed like such a positive start, there was then a complete lack of recordings of these works during the 1930s and, for *Ave verum*, in the 1940s. It was not until the 1950s that these pieces were recorded at all frequently, as is evident in the graphs in Figure 3.1. With *Ave verum*, it was from this point that popularity started to grow in earnest and this continued steadily over the next few decades. ‘Agnus Dei’, however, took a little longer to exceed the levels established in the 1950s. With both pieces, there was a sharp peak in the number of releases during the 1990s, but this was followed by a lull in the first decade of the twenty-first century. This same trend was also observed in the catalogues for *Haec Dies* and *Laudibus in Sanctis*. The more up-to-date discographies of *Ave verum corpus* and ‘Agnus Dei’ then reveal a dramatic recovery in the number of releases in the present decade, which is set to reach more than double the level even of the 1990s if the current rate continues.<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, the most recent years of both discographies indicate that the number of new, *original* recordings is on the rise, though many of these actually come courtesy of numerous independent choirs, particularly outside the UK. This recent surge can be partly attributed to the ease with which a choir can now distribute a recording online. Several releases on iTunes have bypassed the need for a regular record company altogether, with the copyright simply referencing the name of the choir. Increasingly affordable and democratised accessibility into the market is likely to have boosted recording numbers even before this, with many different choirs able to produce CDs from the 1990s onwards. However, it is important to recognise that the quality of such recordings might therefore be more variable than in previous decades, when amateur choirs were less likely to make a recording that is still available today.

With these statistics at hand, we can better understand much of the discourse surrounding the Byrd catalogue. First, reviewers of the early 1950s were indeed dismayed by the lack of recordings of Tudor repertoire. Alec Robertson labelled it as one of ‘the most deplorable gaps in the catalogues of the gramophone companies’, which he said had been ‘grievous and long existent’, as is evident in the graphs prior to 1950.<sup>5</sup> Despite critical acclaim for The English Singers and the work of E. H. Fellowes in promoting this genre, Day suggests that more was not recorded in the intervening decades because ‘unaccompanied polyphony is hard to sing’ and it ‘still

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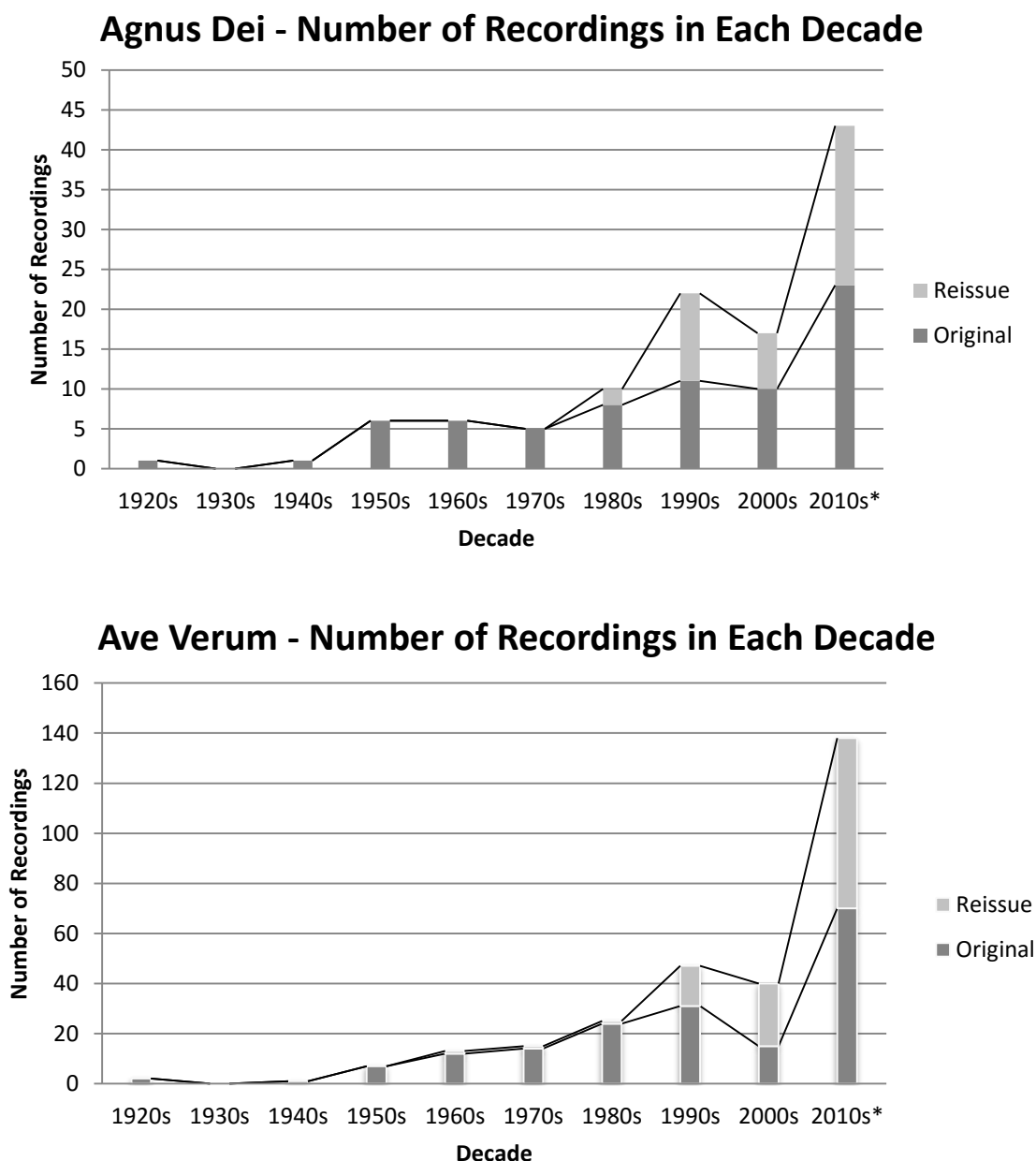
<sup>3</sup> Day, “Tudor Church Music,” 25; Milsom, “Byrd on Record: An Anniversary Survey,” *Early Music* 21 (1993): 446.

<sup>4</sup> These occasions, where I extrapolate data over the present decade, are the only times that I have drawn on the data from the incomplete 2013–2014 period of the discographies, just as an indication of how the rate of recording continues to rise; all other figures relate to the discographies as ending in 2012.

<sup>5</sup> Alec Robertson, record review, *The Gramophone* (June 1950): 9; record review, *The Gramophone* (May 1950): 227.

sounded strange to most ordinary music-lovers who brought records'.<sup>6</sup> Yet a taste for Tudor repertoire did begin grow, aided largely through radio broadcasts, and Columbia's release of *The Anthology of English Church Music* in 1950 was hailed as the first answer to the discographic drought.<sup>7</sup> As the graphs demonstrate, the floodgates soon opened. Though 'Agnus Dei' did not initially receive the same interest as *Ave verum*, by 1977 David Fallows observed that there were

Figure 3.1: Graphs to show the number of releases in each decade.



\* The discographies are complete up to 2012 and this thesis is based on that data set. However, I possess a fair amount of data on recordings up to the end of 2014. In these graphs, all available data for the years 2010 – 2014 has been extrapolated to predict what the levels for the whole of the 2010 decade could be if the minimum rate of these four years continues.

<sup>6</sup> Day, "Tudor Church Music," 23.

<sup>7</sup> This anthology contains recordings of both 'Agnus Dei' and *Ave verum corpus*.

‘enough recordings of high quality’ of both pieces and, by 1990, Tess Knighton spoke of:

...the recent rush on recordings of Byrd’s Masses; it seems this must be the bench mark against which every cathedral and college choir must test its ability in front of the microphone...<sup>8</sup>

Seventy years on from those first recordings by The English Singers, Milsom produced his ‘Anniversary Survey’ of Byrd recordings. He highlighted the recent popularity of the Masses and *Gradualia*, particularly *Ave verum corpus*, but lamented that this had been at the expense of much of Byrd’s other work.<sup>9</sup> Milsom labelled the Byrd catalogue ‘an odd, unbalanced discography’ and called for a complete recorded edition of the composer’s entire output.<sup>10</sup> Seven years later, The Cardinal’s Musick responded to this challenge, beginning their release of *The Byrd Edition*. Their claim that ‘this groundbreaking series has been warmly welcomed by critics and public alike’ is justified: Joseph Kerman mentioned many would be ‘more than grateful for the product’.<sup>11</sup>

In 1979, Elizabeth Roche carried out an extensive wider survey on ‘Early Music on Records in the Last 25 Years’ and it is useful to compare her findings to mine.<sup>12</sup> Roche did not focus on individual works — saying that ‘it would be difficult if not impossible to establish which single piece has made the most recorded appearances’ — but did predict that the ‘contenders’ for such ‘might be found among the motets of Palestrina, Victoria and Byrd’.<sup>13</sup> She also found that Byrd’s Masses came second in ‘the prize for the most recorded major work’ after Monteverdi’s Vespers and, overall, ranked Byrd at number four in the ‘21 Most Popular Early Composers’.<sup>14</sup> These findings conform to Roche’s wider observations that sacred Renaissance polyphony and post-Reformation English works had fared particularly well on record; the former always constituted ‘the largest single category’ when comparing each year’s issues by genre.<sup>15</sup> Roche also noted that Byrd records had made ‘regular appearances since the mid-1950s’, which is supported by my

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<sup>8</sup> Fallows, record review, *Gramophone* (June 1977): 83; Tess Knighton, record review, *Gramophone* (December 1990): 1243; even in 1985, Milsom was ‘surprised that the market can sustain such keen competition’ with recordings of Byrd’s Masses, in record review, *Gramophone* (May 1985): 1363.

<sup>9</sup> Milsom reckoned that ‘seventy years of Byrd on record must have given us a good 50 versions of ‘Ave verum corpus’’, in “Byrd on Record,” 450.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 446, 450.

<sup>11</sup> David Skinner, Andrew Carwood and Patrick Russill, sleeve notes to *The Byrd Edition, Volume 5: The Masses*, The Cardinal’s Musick, Gaudeamus CD GAU 206 (2000); Joseph Kerman, “The Byrd Edition: In Print and on Disc,” *Early Music* 29 (2001): 109.

<sup>12</sup> This was published as two articles; the first surveyed collections of works by one or two composers, the second addressed records dedicated to particular genres; she did not include the more varied compilations; Elizabeth Roche, “Early Music on Records in the Last 25 Years: 1,” *The Musical Times* 120 (1979); “Early Music on Records in the Last 25 Years: 2,” *The Musical Times* 120 (1979); Roche also carried out surveys on BBC broadcasts.

<sup>13</sup> Roche, “Early Music on Records: 1,” 36.

<sup>14</sup> Most popular ‘in terms of the number of recordings which have appeared devoted to their music’; *ibid.*, 35-36.

<sup>15</sup> Roche, “Early Music on Records: 2,” 215-16.

graphs in Figure 3.1.<sup>16</sup> However, some of her other observations regarding Byrd are interesting but not so easily reflected in my specific data. For example, she proposed that there may have been increased interest in this repertory during the early 1970s because of a popular BBC programme about Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, but also suggested that Byrd's music 'had a fallow period after 1968 and...only just returned to prominence' in the late 1970s.<sup>17</sup>

With regards to early music as a whole, Roche's main argument echoes something of Milsom's: the much purported 'rise of early music' was in fact 'very uneven'.<sup>18</sup> Using review data, Roche demonstrated the initial boom in the mid-1950s, followed by 'a steep rise' in 1962, with the greatest peak arriving in 1967.<sup>19</sup> However, from this point on she tracked 'a steady decline' in the numbers across the 1970s. Assessing this as a proportion of all classical music issues, she revealed 'early music's failure to capture an increasing share of the record companies' output at a time when it was thought to be enjoying a "boom"'.<sup>20</sup> Assumptions regarding the growth of this genre during the 1970s are still held today, yet Roche's alternative picture of a decline during this period, or at least stagnation, is actually more concurrent with the recording rates of *Ave verum* and 'Agnus Dei'. However, the graphs in Figure 3.1 do not drop as steeply in the 1970s as in Roche's general description; these works are part of that elite repertory that has not suffered the same lack of exposure as other music. Roche argued that such pieces had undergone 'excessive duplication', especially on compilation albums, believing that 'public enthusiasm for early music is based largely on easily assimilated anthologies' such as these.<sup>21</sup> Both *Ave verum* and 'Agnus Dei' are commonly found on such collections, which suggests why these particular works have experienced such perpetual popularity.

But who made these recordings? What is the share of interest from different choral categories? As we might expect, the vast majority of the groups to have recorded these works are based in the UK. For *Ave verum*, only thirty of the 190 releases are from North America or Australasia and nineteen from elsewhere in Europe; in total, twenty-five percent come from outside the UK. For 'Agnus Dei' the proportion of international recordings is slightly smaller at twenty percent, with just a couple more recordings coming from North America and Australia than from Europe.<sup>22</sup> The more interesting comparisons arise from the numbers of recordings by

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<sup>16</sup> Roche, "Early Music on Records: 1," 35.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.; some of the difference is because Roche took in yearly data, whereas I have amalgamated recording figures for each decade.

<sup>18</sup> Roche, "Early Music on Records: 2," 216-217.

<sup>19</sup> Roche, "Early Music on Records: 1," 34; she tabled the number of early music reviews in *Gramophone* as a determinant of relative popularity.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Roche, "Early Music on Records: 2," 216-217.

<sup>22</sup> Out of the total of seventy-five releases of 'Agnus Dei', nine are from North America or Australasia and six are from elsewhere in Europe; all of these figures are to the end of 2012 and include reissued material.



independent, cathedral and college choirs. The first pie chart in Figure 3.2 shows that a greater number of different independent choirs have recorded *Ave verum corpus*, though the share would be almost exactly equal if the cathedral and college choirs were combined as institutions.<sup>23</sup> The college choirs occupy a much larger portion of second pie chart — which shows the total number of discographic entries, including reissued material — than the first. This indicates that recordings by college choirs have been reissued most prolifically, significantly raising their share of records in the discography despite this group having the smallest number of choirs. The cause of this lies almost entirely with King's College, Cambridge. This choir are by far the most featured ensemble in the discography for *Ave verum corpus* and the recordings made by Sir David Willcocks in the 1960s have been reissued with astonishing frequency. Eric Van Tassel noted that this choir has 'a large loyal audience', but the numerous releases of King's *Ave verum* in recent years probably has more to do with easy financial gain; both Byrd's music and these fifty year-old Willcocks recordings are now out of copyright and in the public domain.<sup>24</sup> Thus, as Day explains, 'all that it is necessary for a company to do is to locate a copy, remaster it and market and distribute it' and many companies 'devote themselves to this activity'.<sup>25</sup> The added prestige of this choir makes this highly profitable. Between 2010 and the end of 2012, there were seven different issues of David Willcocks' version of *Ave verum corpus*.<sup>26</sup> This phenomenon is also evident in the bar charts in Figure 3.2; the total number of institutional releases since the turn of this century is similar to the independents, but the number of *original* institutional recordings will be dramatically lower if recent rates continue. This is especially intriguing given that institutional choirs produced more new versions of the piece between 1970 and 1990 in particular. There have, however, already been more original recordings of *Ave verum* by institutional choirs in this decade than there were in the last, indicating that the attraction to this piece has not stalled among that group. Rather, it is that the interest from independent choirs, who had previously maintained a fairly stable level since the 1980s, is set to skyrocket in comparison.

The situation is even more fascinating when we turn to the data for 'Agnus Dei' in Figure 3.3. In this discography, independent choirs dominate both as the most common type of recording ensemble and with the largest share of total releases, each to a far greater degree than was seen with *Ave verum*. Where King's College had the greatest share of any single choir in the *Ave verum* discography, for 'Agnus Dei' the college category accounts for the smallest proportion

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<sup>23</sup> The pie charts in Figures 3.2 and 3.3 were generated from the main discographic data set (to the end of 2012); again however, the bar graphs indicate future projections, and thus draw on some 2013-2014 data.

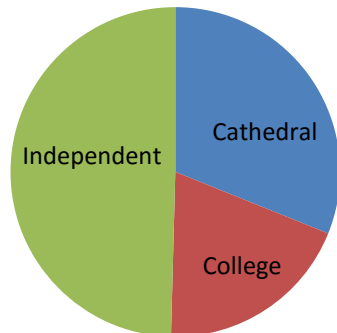
<sup>24</sup> Eric Van Tassel, "Performing Early Music on Record-1: English Church Music c.1660-1700," *Early Music* 6 (1978): 572.

<sup>25</sup> Day, *A Century*, 132.

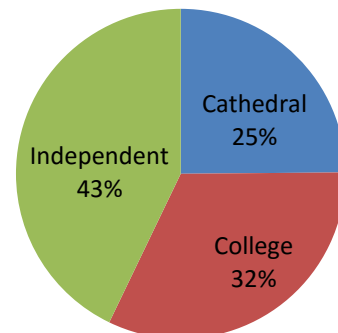
<sup>26</sup> And at least six more in the following two years; see Appendix B.

Figure 3.2: Charts of recording numbers for *Ave verum corpus*, comparing institutional and independent choirs

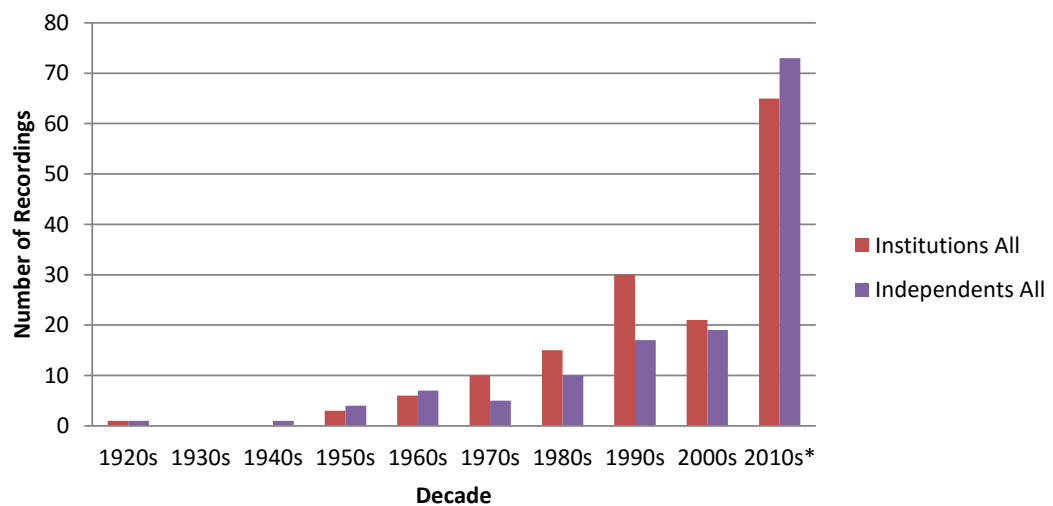
**Ave Verum - Share of Recording Choirs**



**Ave Verum - Share of Total Releases**



**Ave verum - Total Number of Releases by Category**



**Ave verum - Number of Original Recordings by Category**

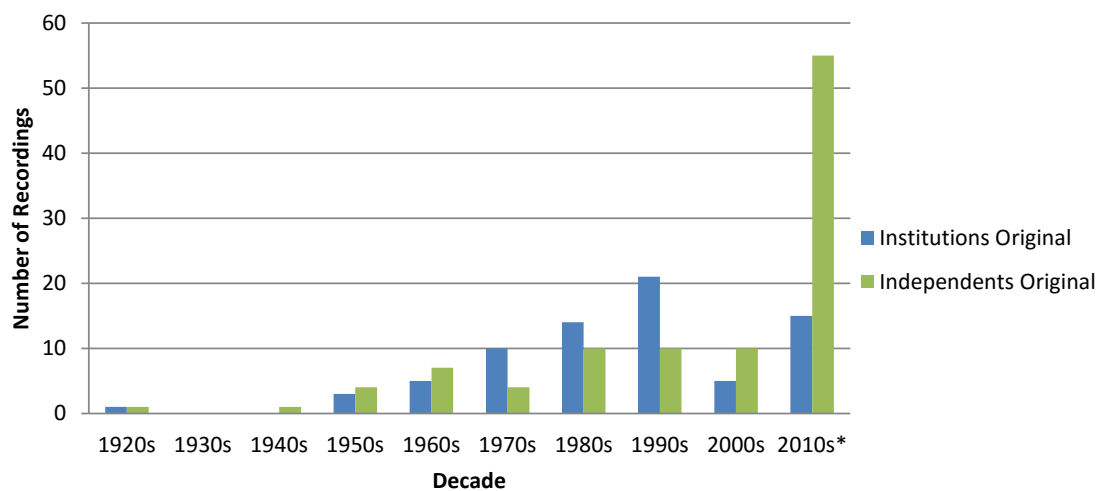
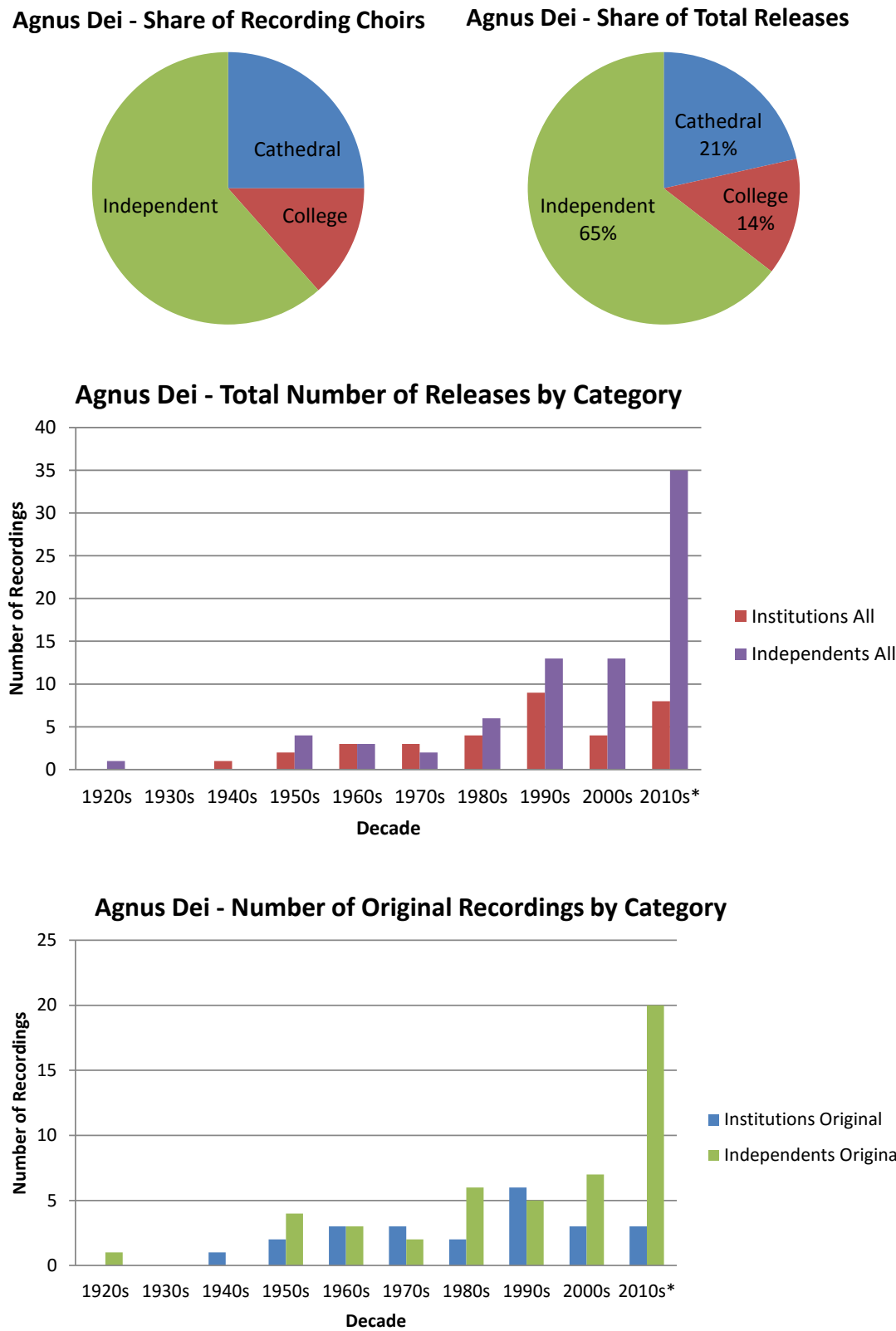


Figure 3.3: Charts of recording numbers for ‘Agnus Dei’, comparing institutional and independent choirs



of recordings. It is The Tallis Scholars who instead feature as the most recurrent choir in the 'Agnus Dei' discography; their landmark recording of *William Byrd: The Three Masses* from 1984 has had a particularly enduring presence. The second bar graph in Figure 3.3 shows that interest in recording new versions of 'Agnus Dei' has fluctuated a little more than with *Ave verum*. There is the same drop in the institutions after the 1990s but, for 'Agnus Dei', this has yet to be revived. The independent category seems to counter some of the trends I have established thus far, with a few more original recordings in the 1980s and 2000s than in the 1990s, though the institutional choirs still released their greatest number of new versions in the 1990s. However, the *total* number of independent releases did grow significantly in the 1990s, indicating that there was more reissuing of material during those years. Again, this level managed to survive the lull of the 2000s that I have observed elsewhere. The final predictive bars of the graphs, along with the pie charts in Figure 3.3, reveal the large extent to which independent choirs have exceeded institutions in recording 'Agnus Dei'. Of the four discographies I compiled for this study, this is the only one that displays such a trend. The category share in *Laudibus in Sanctis* and *Haec Dies* was much more even, like *Ave verum*.<sup>27</sup> This is intriguing given that 'Agnus Dei' is the most overtly liturgical of these pieces, coming from the Mass Ordinary. Why has there been a greater interest in recording this work from ensembles that are largely more secular in practice? I reveal further answers to this in Chapter 4, but would suggest here that it might be the different perceptions these choirs have of the Mass as 'artwork'. For independent choirs, this is an artist's masterpiece; recording all of Byrd's Masses could be a creative achievement equivalent to performing, for example, an entire set of Beethoven sonatas. For service giving choirs, however, Byrd's Mass has a different purpose and more complex connotations. Perhaps this is why fewer institutional choirs — and mainly just those who are generally more active with recording — have been inclined to see this as suitable for a commercial disc.

Behind both the recording statistics and the sound worlds I explore in this chapter are the record companies who decide what to release. Big names in this respect are Decca (now part of Universal) and EMI (now part of Warner), comprising Columbia and HMV. There is not space to address all the different labels here, however, so I will focus instead on a few smaller specialists. Perhaps the most famous of these is Abbey Records, later Alpha, and what Gordon Reynolds described as 'the wonderful pioneering work of Harry Mudd'.<sup>28</sup> Mudd was dedicated to recording a range of institutional choirs in their own buildings, broadening the scope from the main cathedrals and Oxbridge colleges, thus Reynolds applauds Mudd for providing 'an account of

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<sup>27</sup> In fact, there are actually a greater number of institutional choirs in the discography for *Haec Dies*, though this is only runs up to 2011. This would be true of *Ave verum* too, were it not for the surge of independent recordings in recent years.

<sup>28</sup> Gordon Reynolds, "Recording Reviews," *The Musical Times* 131 (1990): 169.

church music in big and little places'. Such is this legacy that over a quarter of *Ave verum* recordings by institutional choirs have been released on Abbey or Alpha records, the largest share by any single company in that discography. Two other labels focussing specifically on this genre of performance are Argo and Priory Records. Day describes the former as a 'little English company which had been taken over by Decca in 1957' but managed to 'preserve its own separate identity', while Priory Records — which was not formed until the 1980s — has been hailed as a 'magic label' by Steane:<sup>29</sup>

...in the service of which the Priorymen have themselves travelled (but in reality), seeking throughout the length and breadth of the land for choirs and organs, and thus compiling their catalogue of 500.<sup>30</sup>

This is very similar to the purpose of both Abbey and Argo. The latter was specifically formed to 'record English music by English artists' and Nicolas Soames suggests that 'the music catalogue had established the character which was so specifically Argo'.<sup>31</sup> Several other small labels could be said to display a particular character within their catalogues, especially those that have been formed directly by or for certain choirs, such as: The Cambridge Singers and Collegium, The Tallis Scholars and Gimell, and The Sixteen and Coro.<sup>32</sup> Day explains that 'Gimell for its first two decades recorded almost exclusively Renaissance unaccompanied polyphony and Collegium only English choral music'.<sup>33</sup> Not only have these various, specialist labels made vital contributions to the growing Byrd discography, the descriptions above suggest that recordings produced by the same company might contain traces of a similar approach. The potential impact of different approaches to recording on sound worlds is considered later in this chapter.<sup>34</sup>

### 3.2 Vocal Timbre

Given that vocal timbre is a unique patterning of frequency and volume, the timbral manifestations of varying choral profiles can be displayed empirically using spectrograms.<sup>35</sup> Here, I

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<sup>29</sup> Day, *A Century*, 100. Incidentally, Argo actually disappeared for a time in the 1980s before being reinstated by Decca in the 1990s; Nicolas Soames, "Argo Sets Sail Again," *Gramophone* (October 1990): 702.

<sup>30</sup> Steane, "Quarterly Retrospect," *Gramophone* (April 1998): 33.

<sup>31</sup> Soames, "Argo," 702.

<sup>32</sup> Other choirs with their own label include: Collegium Vocale Ghent, Ex Cathedra, and New College, Oxford (Novum); of course, we must remember that many of the more recent recordings have been released by the choirs themselves.

<sup>33</sup> Day, *A Century*, 135.

<sup>34</sup> Similar is also true when the same engineers appear on different recordings; Mark Brown, for example, has been credited on albums by Westminster Cathedral, Winchester Cathedral, Laudibus, The Pro Cantione Antiqua and The Sixteen; see Appendix A.

<sup>35</sup> Cook and Leech-Wilkinson explain the link between frequency patterns and timbre in "Guide to Sonic Visualiser," 16-17.

use spectrograms to assess the tonal effects of the larger forces, younger voices, and greater ratio of trebles that commonly characterise institutional choirs in comparison to independent ensembles. I also conceptualise the recorded timbres, both institutional and independent, in relation to notions of ‘English cathedral’ or ‘Oxbridge’ vocal tones.

Figures 3.4 and 3.5 contain spectrograms taken from the final passages of ‘Agnus Dei’ from six independent and six institutional recordings and reveal how much impact the different vocal profiles have on the overall sound quality.<sup>36</sup> There are some striking differences among independent sample: from the wavy brushstrokes of vibrato with The Deller Consort and the soft smudging of frequencies in the Armonico recording, to the bold, blunt lines of Quink and the dense texture of The Cardinal’s Musick. By comparison, the institutional spectrograms in Figure 3.5 display far more similarity to one another. Only New College’s recording stands out here; they were the one institutional choir to alter their usual vocal arrangement for this piece, omitting the boy trebles. These spectrograms illustrate how institutional choirs, with stronger similarities in their vocal constitutions, produce a similar sound (similar patterns of frequency/volume), whereas independent ensembles, with more variation between their profiles and vocalists’ attributes, display a much wider array of tonal colours (different patterns of frequency/volume). This may initially seem obvious, especially given that Figure 3.5 mostly contains choirs of men and boys, compared to the range of ensembles in Figure 3.4. However, even the independent groups in Figure 3.4 that *do* employ a similar vocal arrangement — such as the all-male Cardinal’s Musick and Hilliard Ensemble, the mixed quartets of Deller and Quink, and the larger mixed choirs of Armonico and Tallis Scholars — still display much greater sonic contrast than the majority of institutional extracts in Figure 3.5.

While there is more variety among the independent spectrograms as a whole, not every independent ensemble sounds completely different from all others. Spectrograms produced from recordings by The Oxford Camerata, The Sixteen and The BBC Singers bear more likeness to that of The Tallis Scholars, which in turn is the one that most resembles the institutions in Figure 3.5.<sup>37</sup> This indicates something of a ‘middle-ground’ in the sphere of choral sound. Nearly all institutional choirs display such, as do several independents, but deviance from this tone is generally only found within the independent category. The presence of a common sound, particularly among UK groups, may relate to the crossover of singers between different choirs and practices, as revealed in Chapter 1. Many involved with the independent ensembles mentioned above trained within the institutional tradition, which is primarily where this sound seems to be cultivated.

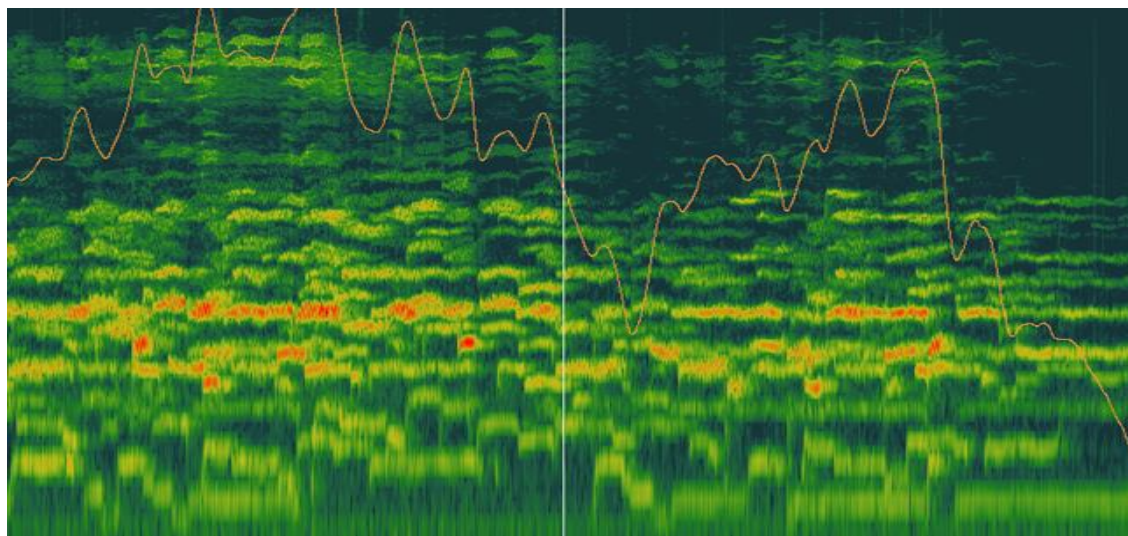
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<sup>36</sup> In all figures, numbers in parentheses are generic identification codes that correspond to the discographic entries in Appendix B (M for *Mass*; A for *Ave verum*).

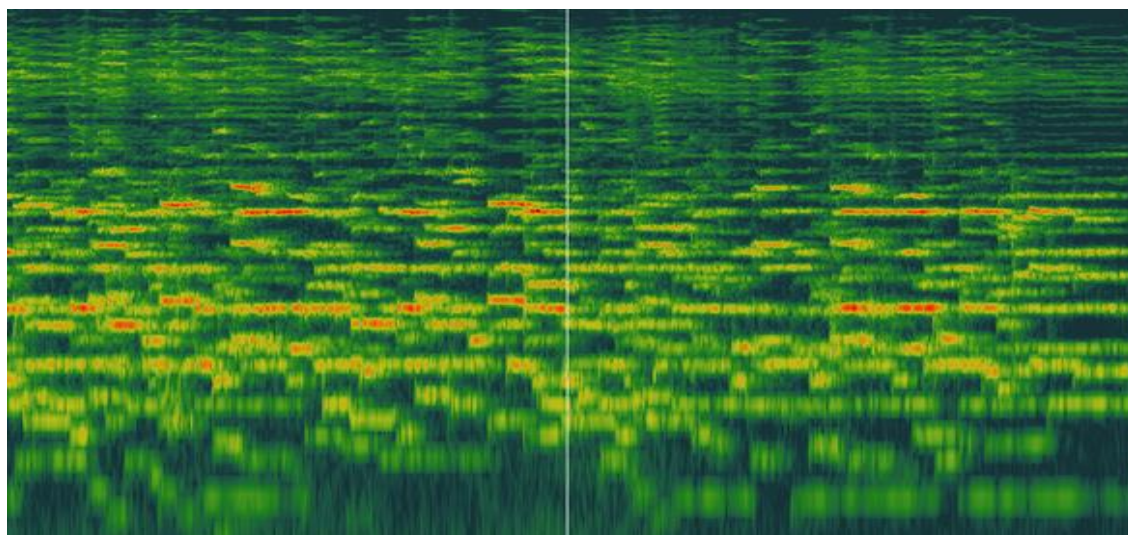
<sup>37</sup> See Appendix C.2.

Figure 3.4: Spectrograms representing frequencies and volume during 'dona nobis pacem' from 'Agnus Dei' from six independent recordings.

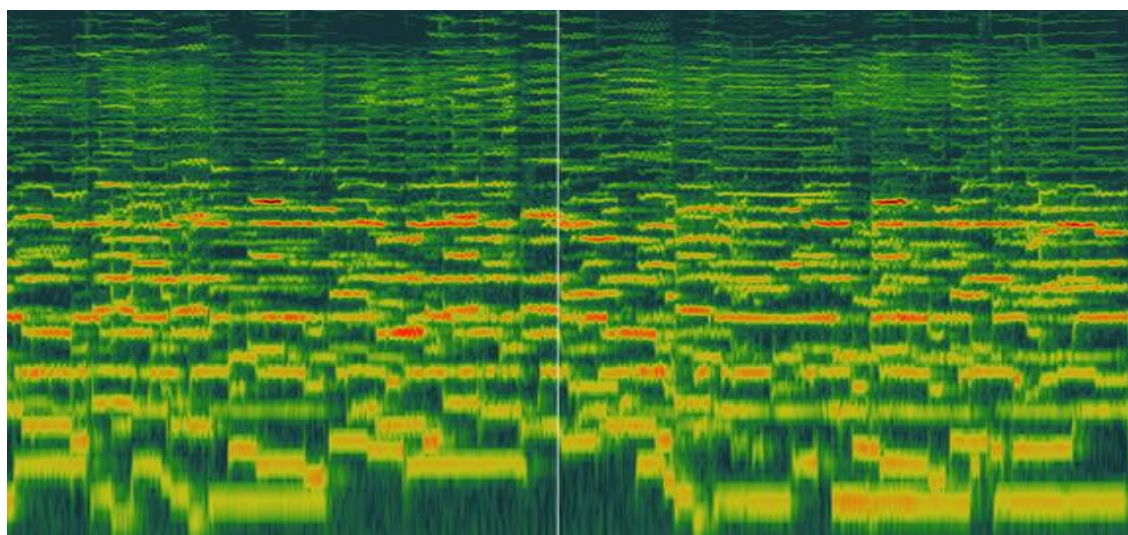
The Deller Consort (M13)



The Tallis Scholars (M23)



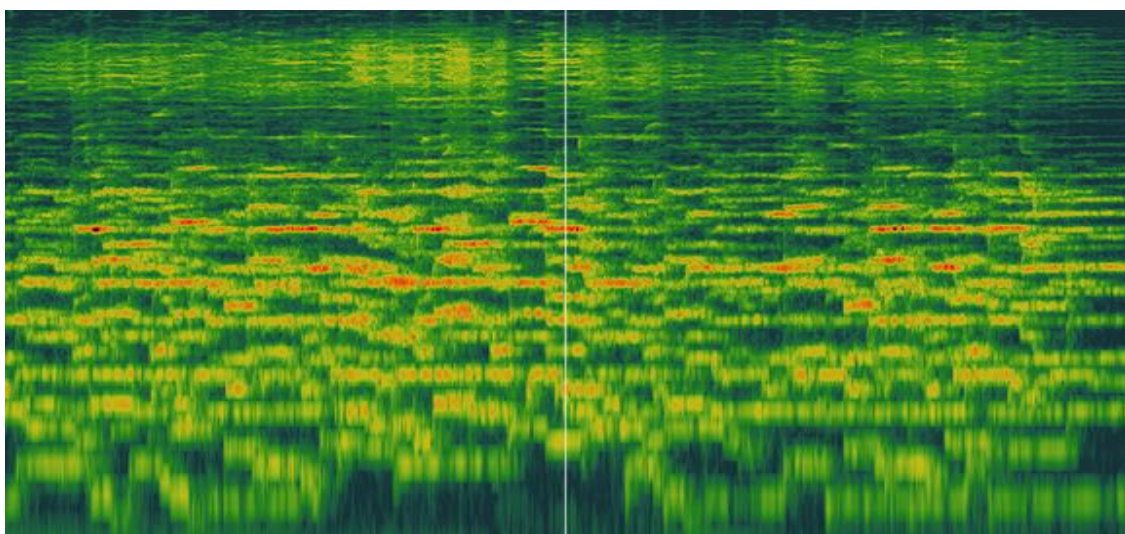
The Quirk Vocal Ensemble (M25)



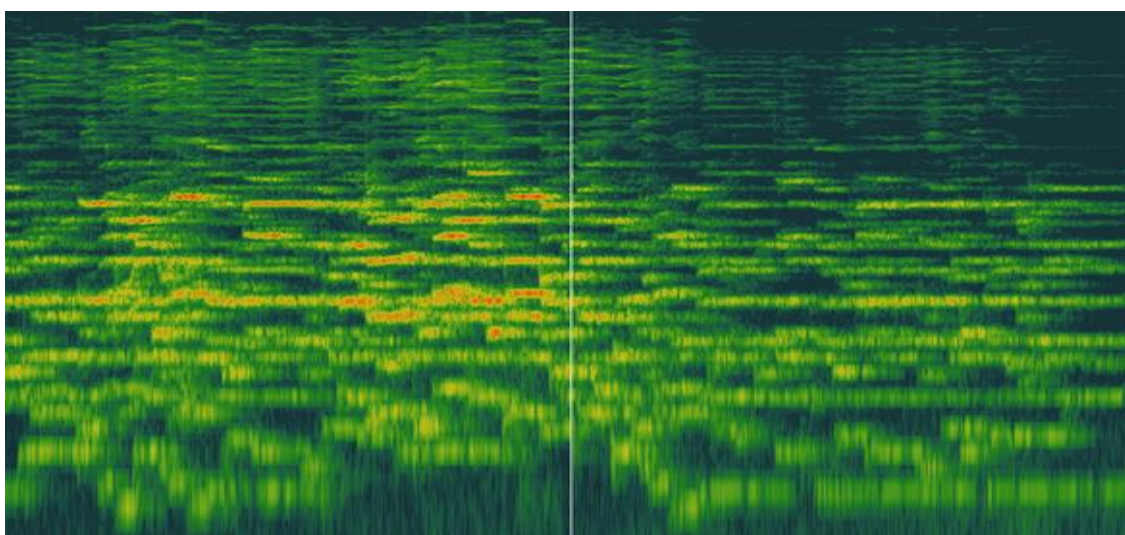


(Figure 3.4 continued)

The Cardinal's Musick (M27)



The Armonico Consort (M39)



The Hilliard Ensemble (M61)

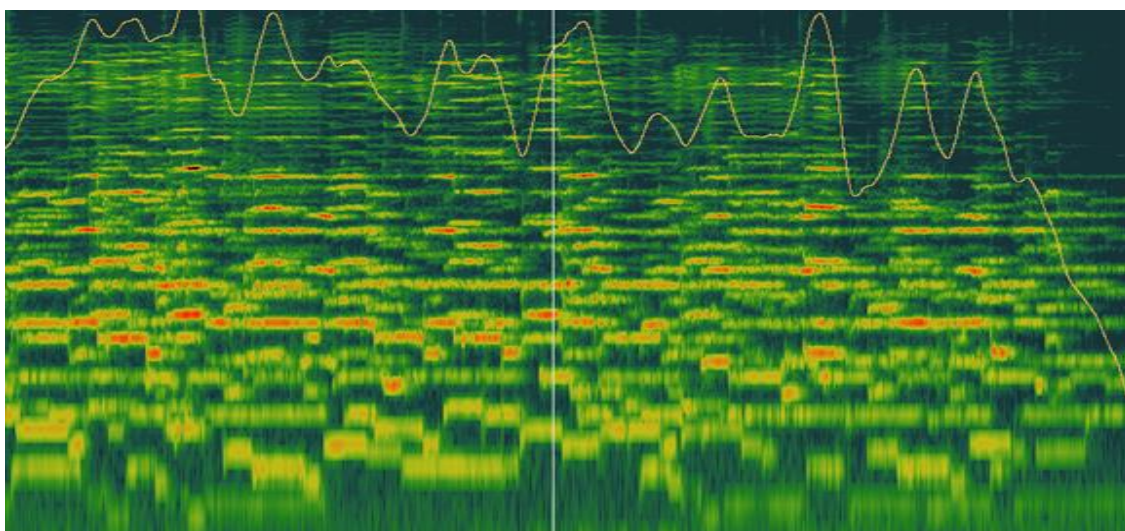
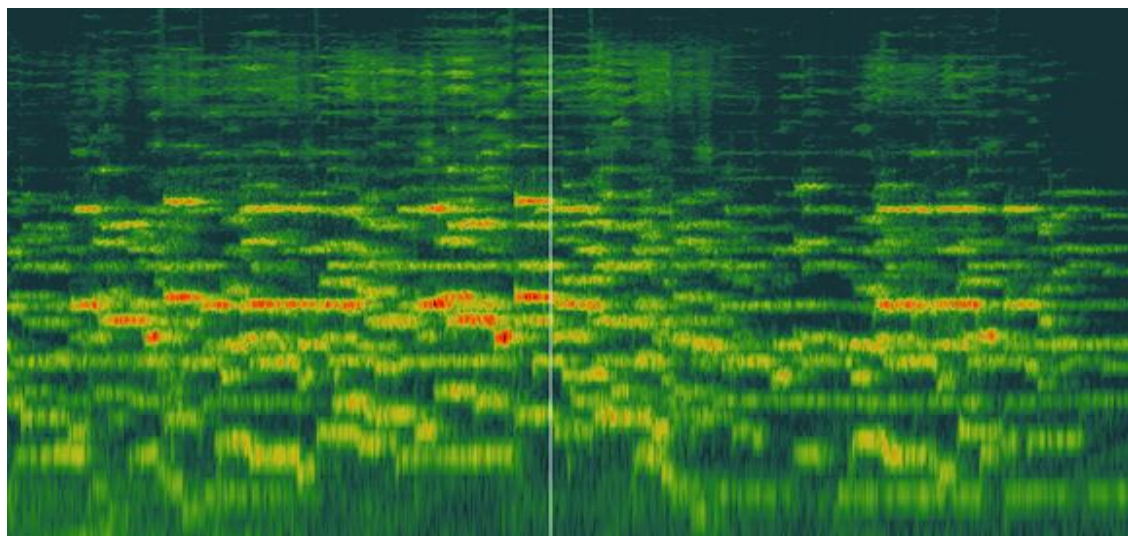


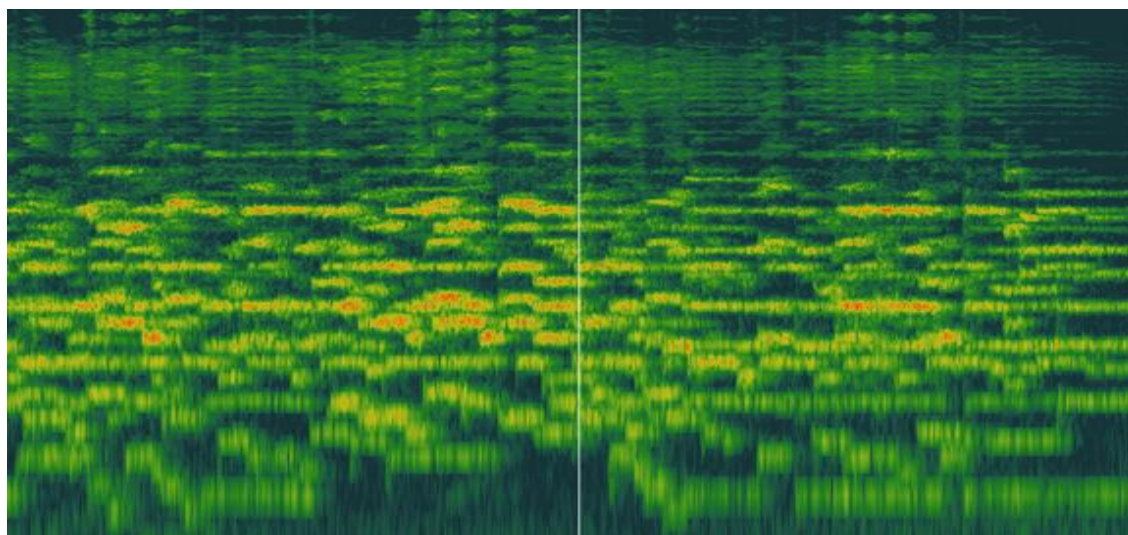


Figure 3.5: Spectrograms representing frequencies and volume during 'dona nobis pacem' from 'Agnus Dei' from six institutional recordings.

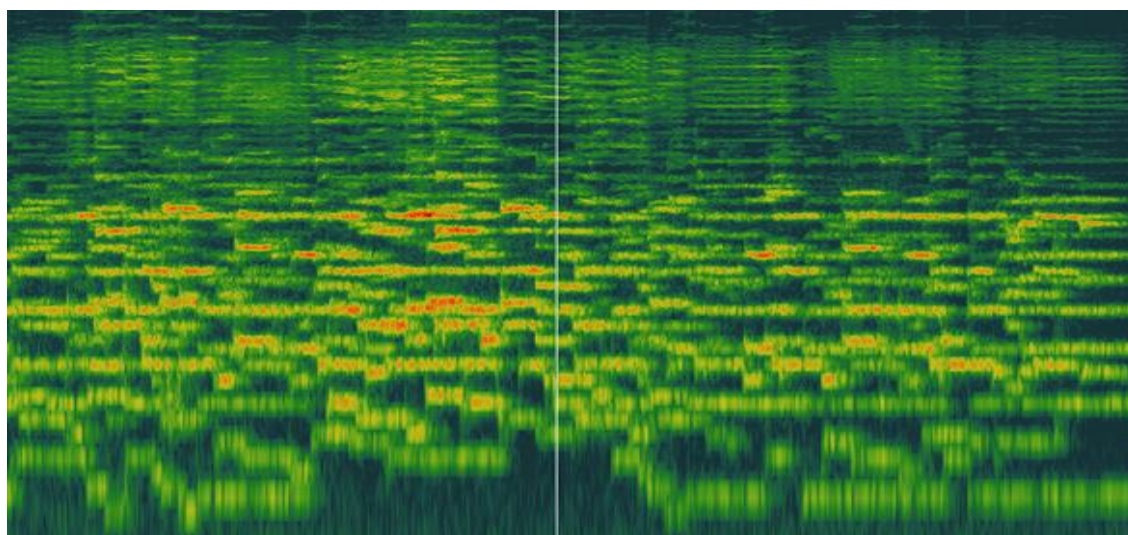
King's College Choir, Cambridge (M10)



St John's College Choir, Cambridge (M26)



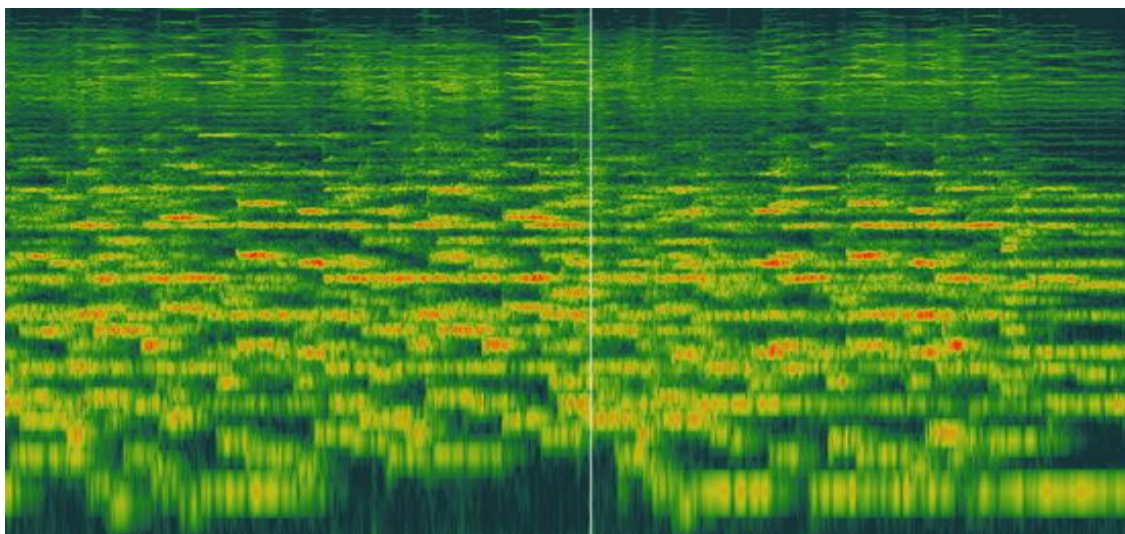
Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Oxford (M31)



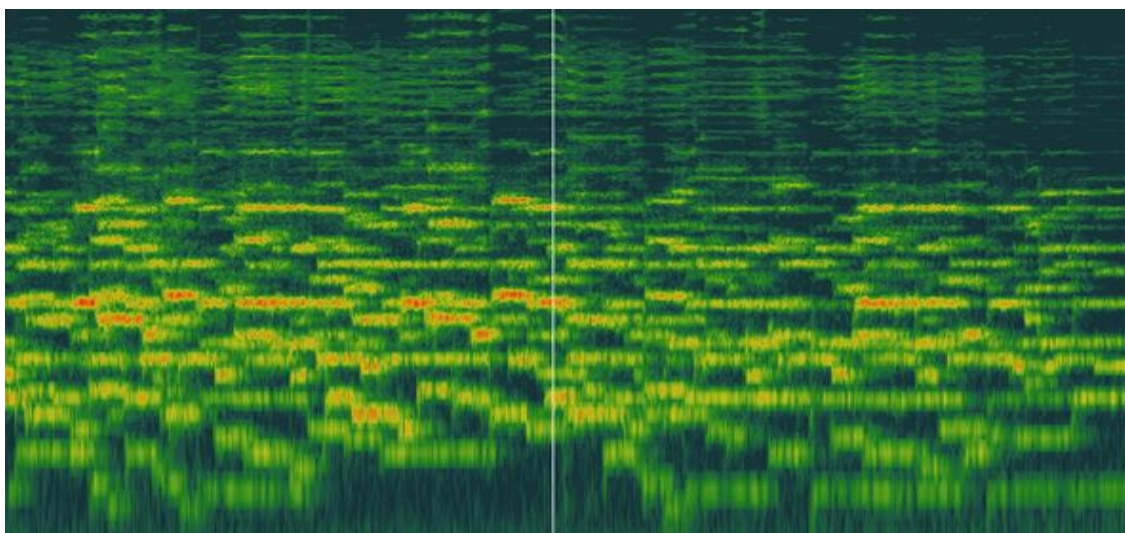


(Figure 3.5 continued)

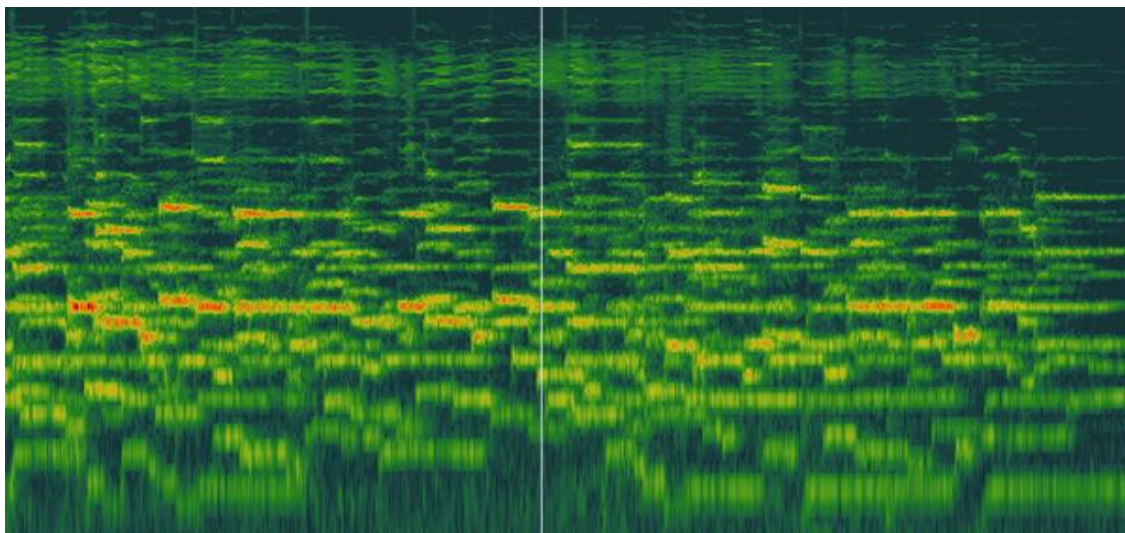
New College Choir, Oxford (M49)



Winchester Cathedral Choir (M53)



Her Majesty's Chapels Royal Choir (M65)



The idea that there is a specific type of choral sound, chiefly demonstrated by British institutional choirs, looms large in the imagination of many who address this genre. Day has written extensively on this topic:

Historians, journalists, critics and cathedral musicians themselves have been sure they can identify a style of singing peculiar to these choirs which they define by reference to purity of tone, accuracy in intonation, precision in ensemble, and an absence of rhetoric. The ‘essence’ of the cathedral choir said one authority is ‘the boy’s voice’, and its men are ‘at their best when they blend with that clean white tone’. Again and again throughout the century the same epithets have been used to characterise the singing, ‘pure’, ‘otherworldly’, ‘ethereal’, ‘impersonal’...<sup>38</sup>

These qualities are commonly referenced by the term ‘English cathedral choir sound’. Yet Day highlights that this is not some ancient, innate manner of singing church music; rather, it is a style that has evolved over time. In fact, in the 1920s, Day argues that ‘excessive smoothness and unanimity in attack and polish in execution’ would not have been ‘desirable’ to older singers.<sup>39</sup> The transition to a style which *does* emphasise these features can be understood in parallel to wider developments in twentieth-century performance, which also moved towards greater discipline and refinement.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, several of the descriptors above are reminiscent of those applied to modern, ‘perfectionist’ recorded styles, as outlined in Chapter 2.

The idiomatic language listed by Day is rife throughout the record reviews I have correlated for this investigation, but such qualities are most prolifically associated with the choir of King’s College, Cambridge. Day is not alone in suggesting that King’s ‘epitomize the sound of the English cathedral or collegiate choir’ for many listeners.<sup>41</sup> Under the leadership of Boris Ord (1929-1957) and Sir David Willcocks (1957-1973) in particular, King’s College exerted considerable influence in the choral world. Even in recent decades, critics still claim that ‘the modern style of choral singing was created at Cambridge’ during those years.<sup>42</sup> That style has been widely disseminated, as evidenced by Kings’ dominance of the Byrd discographies in this study. Moreover, John Potter

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<sup>38</sup> Day, “English Cathedral Choirs,” 123; the source Day refers to is George Dyson, “Of Organs and Organists,” *The Musical Times* 93 (1952): 492; a very similar discussion also appears in *A Century*, 170-74; interestingly, though Day discusses the sound primarily in reference to institutional choirs in “English Cathedral Choirs”, in *A Century* it is initially introduced as part of a discussion on the Tallis Scholars and The Sixteen, before comparing their sound to collegiate choirs.

<sup>39</sup> Day, “English Cathedral Choirs,” 128.

<sup>40</sup> See Chapter 2.2.2.

<sup>41</sup> Day, *A Century*, 169.

<sup>42</sup> Steane, record review, *Gramophone* (December 1998): 69.

argues that recordings and broadcasts ‘not only made [King’s] a household name but also inspired other cathedral and college choirs to adopt a more efficient and professional approach’.<sup>43</sup>

Whether in response to King’s College or evolving musical aesthetics, the trend towards a lighter, more sensitive tone can be heard on institutional recordings of *Ave verum corpus*, particularly from the 1970s onwards. Recordings of this piece made before 1960 do not display such tonal effects. This includes the King’s College recording with Ord in 1951, as well as those from St. Paul’s Cathedral Choir in 1954 and Westminster Cathedral Choir in 1929. The earliest of these conveys a weighty and dramatic approach with a particularly penetrating bass tone. Day detects the same features on early electrical recordings from Westminster Cathedral, suggesting that the men gave ‘the notes power and strength of attack’ just as they would for a distant congregation in a service.<sup>44</sup> Evidence from the *Ave verum* discography does suggest that Willcocks was the pioneer of a lighter choral sound. His recordings with King’s from 1960 and 1965 are the earliest for which I felt descriptors such as ‘youthful’ and ‘delicate’ were genuinely apt to document the sound. Moreover, comparing other institutional recordings in the 1960s to those that came after reveals a clear development. For example, unlike King’s, the sound on Ely Cathedral Choir’s 1964 recording is loud, open and forceful at times, while Douglas Guest also produced a broader, fuller tone with Westminster Abbey Choir, as demonstrated on their 1966 recording. From 1970, however, a more delicate atmospheric style appears to have disseminated. Liverpool Cathedral Choir delivered a light, pure sound on their 1970 *Ave verum* recording, the performance from New College, Oxford in 1976 was refined and sensitive, and Salisbury Cathedral Choir convey a bright, youthful tone on their recording from 1979. No institutional recording of *Ave verum* from the 1980s or 1990s is characterised by a broad, deep or loud vocal tone. Instead, the majority feature an underlying sound world akin to the light timbral qualities described above or, particularly for mixed choirs, convey a soft wash of sound.

Day explains that the most revered characteristic of the ‘English cathedral tone’ is the ‘straight, clear sound which boys are capable of producing’, yet a preference for this aesthetic is not restricted to institutional choirs.<sup>45</sup> Certainly, references to ‘pure’, ‘ethereal’ sounds are associated with institutional choirs of men and boys in particular, but these labels have also been applied to similarly straight-toned independent ensembles, several featuring female sopranos. Numerous scholars have made this observation, linking such qualities to a particular ‘early music

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<sup>43</sup> Potter, *Vocal Authority*, 114.

<sup>44</sup> Day, “Sir Richard Terry and 16<sup>th</sup>-Century Polyphony,” *Early Music* 22 (1994): 306.

<sup>45</sup> Day, “Tudor Church Music,” 33; Van Tassel similarly maintains that ‘the boy treble and the male (falsetto) alto’ are ‘two of the colours distinctive to the English cathedral tradition’, in “Early Music on Record,” 573.

style' of singing.<sup>46</sup> Again, this is something that developed over the last century, finding particular currency in the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>47</sup> The crystalline straightforwardness of tone on Byrd recordings by The Tallis Scholars and Hilliard Ensemble in this era notably contrasts with the richer, more colourful sound worlds of The Pro Cantione Antiqua and Deller Consort just a generation before. Much of the difference in sound between those ensembles relates to vibrato, the ubiquitous presence of which is a central feature of the earliest independent recordings. Conversely, the 'early music style' of singing is characterised by an absence of vibrato.<sup>48</sup> This not only creates a tone that seems more 'straight' and 'white' — befitting the modern 'HIP' aesthetic — but also one with obvious parallels to the youthful voices of boy trebles.<sup>49</sup>

It is no coincidence that several independent ensembles adopt this timbral approach to early church music; many are emulating the sonic qualities of the choral tradition they trained in. Day explains that The Clerkes of Oxenford, a mixed voice choir, modelled much of their sound on 'the vocal colour and general style' of the Magdalen College Choir of men and boys, demonstrating 'a manner of singing highly characteristic of the English cathedral tradition'.<sup>50</sup> Founded in 1964, The Clerkes provided the blueprint for 'other choirs of similar constitution and with similar ideals regarding sonority and style', according to Day, specifically The Tallis Scholars and The Sixteen.<sup>51</sup> This suggests why these mixed independent choirs display most likeness to the institutions, and to each other, in the spectrograms. It is clear that Oxford and Cambridge colleges have a significant role in fostering a particular choral style. Much like references to an 'English cathedral tone', the term 'Oxbridge sound' has been applied to independent ensembles whose membership and timbre exhibit such lineage. Timothy Dickey observes that 'an entire class of English vocal ensembles, sometimes placed under an "Oxbridge Sound" umbrella, specializes in

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<sup>46</sup> See Potter, *Vocal Authority*, 115; Day, *A Century*, 162, 170; Philip, *Performing Music*, 233; as well as, Christopher Page, "The English 'A Cappella' Renaissance," *Early Music* 21 (1991): 453-72; Greig, "Sight-Readings: Notes on 'A Cappella' Performance Practice," *Early Music* 23 (1995): 139-43; and, most recently, Marshall, who says 'that singers of early music have pure, clear voices has become a cliché', in "Voce Bianca," 36.

<sup>47</sup> As Marshall notes, 'the 1980s were a turning point away from vocal experimentation' and the 'folk-influenced' vocal style of Jantina Noorman 'toward the sound developed and popularised by [Emma] Kirkby and by the Tallis Scholars', which was often purported to be a purer sound, in "Voce Bianca," 39-41.

<sup>48</sup> See Philip, *Performing Music*, 221, 233; Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 5, Paragraph 33; Day notes the 'suppression' of vibrato 'by those attempting to imitate Baroque performing styles' as a passing caveat to the general trend towards more universal vibrato during the twentieth century, in *A Century*, 150; all three authors note that these trends apply more noticeably to string performance.

<sup>49</sup> Greig makes this same comparison and argues that the suppression of vibrato 'marks the denial of the body in the voice', linking this to notions of innocence and 'sexual neutrality', in "Sight-Readings," 141-43; these themes are central to Marshall's essay, "Voce Bianca", and have also been explored by Kirsten Yri in relation to women's voices especially, in "Remaking the Past: Feminist Spirituality in Anonymous 4 and Sequentia's Vox Feminae," *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 12 (2008): 1-21.

<sup>50</sup> Day, *A Century*, 171.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 173.

early music'.<sup>52</sup> This is a central premise in Christopher Page's essay, 'The English "A Cappella" Renaissance', in which he argues that 'the early-music scene in England' has been 'sustained almost entirely by graduates from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge'.<sup>53</sup> In tracing the same progression from college choir to early music ensemble that I explored in Chapter 1, Potter also concludes that, 'in effect, singers from the two universities have been able to establish a dominant style of their own'.<sup>54</sup> This style not only embodies a common choral upbringing, Potter also argues that 'Oxbridge singers' reflect a shared spoken accent when singing, referring to the rounded sounds of Received Pronunciation (RP).<sup>55</sup> He maintains that much early music is sung in this manner because it is seen as a 'high-status activity' and Page similarly outlines how such vocal styles reinforce class associations.<sup>56</sup> I examine these important issues of identity in Chapter 6.

The 'English cathedral' or 'Oxbridge choral' style remains underpinned by notions of refinement and discipline; this often manifests as an emphasis on ensemble unity or 'blend'.<sup>57</sup> After the unique vocal quality of boy trebles, blend is one of the most valued characteristics of institutional sound worlds. Stephen Cleobury, director of King's College Choir, acknowledged this when asked about the idea of a 'Kings' sound':

King's choir and choirs like it have traditionally placed high emphasis on blend and integration – these are high on the list of desirable attributes – so in that sense, that is a trademark of the choir.<sup>58</sup>

The importance of blend was also raised in Day's description of the cathedral choir sound. Interestingly, the 'authority' Day referenced there, George Dyson, claimed that the most successful sound was achieved specifically when the *men* blended with the tone of the *boys*. My close listening analysis of *Ave verum* tends to confirm Dyson's suggestion. Blend quality is most affected by the presence of different vocal timbres within the choir; in particular, the voices of children and men can sound very contrasted. This was especially noticeable in the 1976 recording by All Saints' Church Choir, Maidstone, and is more common among slightly more amateur groups. However, I also detected the same timbral contrasts in the New College Choir recording

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<sup>52</sup> Timothy Dickey, "The Hilliard Ensemble: Biography," All Music, accessed January 2015, <http://www.allmusic.com/artist/the-hilliard-ensemble-mn0000927445/biography>.

<sup>53</sup> Page, "The English 'A Cappella' Renaissance," 457.

<sup>54</sup> Potter, *Vocal Authority*, 116.

<sup>55</sup> Potter, *ibid.*, 118.

<sup>56</sup> Potter's own suggestion is that more natural or even vernacular forms of vocalisation could in fact be more appropriate, *ibid.*, 119-20.

<sup>57</sup> Page argues that the English choral tradition 'embodies the results of countless individual strivings for the best results in conformity to a communal discipline', in "The English 'A Cappella' Renaissance," 466; this focus on discipline also has roots in Victorian values of 'music as morality', which Potter believes is still 'very much a part of learning how to sing in a choir', in *Vocal Authority*, 81, 84.

<sup>58</sup> Stephen Cleobury, "Choral Powerhouse," 37.

from the same year and even from Christ Church Cathedral Choir in 1991. Extrapolating from Potter's explanation of singing physiology, I would argue that this audible distinction arises because boys often sing with a higher larynx position and no vibrato — like natural speech — whereas older male voices adopt the richer, lower larynx position and more prominent vibrato that develop with training.<sup>59</sup> This "'darkens" the colour of the voice' according to Potter, hence it can stand out against the 'white', childlike quality of the trebles.<sup>60</sup> I agree that blend is thus improved when the men lift their tone, but it is when the boys also compromise, adjusting the larynx to produce a slightly more mature timbre, that the sound seems most blended overall. In the later New College recording from 1989, for example, the boys adopt a more 'covered' tone, further back in the throat, while the men deliver a buoyant sound with just a subtle glimmer of vibrato; successful blend is achieved as the two converge.<sup>61</sup>

The emphasis on blend is certainly not exclusive to institutional choirs; it is a central concern of modern ensemble performance.<sup>62</sup> As outlined Chapter 2, many scholars identify greater ensemble unity as a key stylistic development over the last century. This is clearly evidenced on independent recordings of *Ave verum corpus* and 'Agnus Dei'. In the *Ave verum* discography, The Deller Consort's recordings from the 1960s provide the earliest examples of precise co-ordination as might be expected by modern standards. Good ensemble blend is then an inherent feature of all later recordings made by professional choirs. Earlier in the century, however, ensembles such as The English Singers, The Renaissance Singers, and The Bourne Singers demonstrated a very different group dynamic in which the composite parts did not form a single sonic unit so seamlessly.<sup>63</sup>

Emphasis on choral unity could also be seen as having transferred from institutional training to independent practice, yet several independent singers give more complex perspectives on blend. Christopher Gabbitas of The King's Singers reveals that 'quite often as individuals we're making sounds that make you want to wince and run a mile away!' but 'as long as the group's sound fits in it doesn't matter'.<sup>64</sup> In reference to The Hilliard Ensemble, Philip Clark also asserts that:

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<sup>59</sup> Potter, *Vocal Authority*, 53, 191.

<sup>60</sup> Potter, *ibid.*, 192; this is reminiscent of Day's assessment, included in Chapter 1, that cathedral choirs greatly improved once they began excluding loose, vibrato-laden older voices, in "Tudor Church Music," 31.

<sup>61</sup> In my analysis, inconsistencies regarding vibrato remain the most notable discrepancies between the sounds of the voices in institutional choirs.

<sup>62</sup> Day acknowledges that there are 'currently held ideals concerning blend and balance', in "Tudor Church Music," 31.

<sup>63</sup> There is some discrepancy with regards to the latter recording as to whether the group was called 'The Bourne Singers' or 'The Ambrosian Singers' for this album; see Day, *Discography of Tudor Church Music*, 103; and Appendix B.

<sup>64</sup> Christopher Gabbitas, "Royal Family," 45.

Hilliard singers have traditionally emerged from the ‘boys on top’ tradition of cathedral choirs where seamless ensemble unity continues to be prized beyond the distinctiveness of individual voices.<sup>65</sup>

John Potter is one such singer, yet while he introduces himself as ‘so-called product of the English choral tradition’ in *Vocal Authority*, his comments elsewhere suggest that the ethos on blend as described by Clark is not something that The Hilliard Ensemble have directly carried into their independent practice.<sup>66</sup>

Blend is a difficult subject, something that the Hilliard Ensemble is often asked about but which we rarely discuss. If you are listening and communicating...the blend takes care of itself. You may have to fine tune it occasionally (not always to make things more homogenous; sometimes the voice needs to be distinctly characterised).<sup>67</sup>

The point in parentheses is most pertinent, revealing how the mechanics of blend operate differently within independent ensembles. Andrew Carwood even insists that The Cardinal’s Musick are ‘not a choir! ...we don’t do choir *pianos* or “blend” — in fact I don’t think I’ve ever even used the word in rehearsal’.<sup>68</sup> The differences in blend between smaller, independent consorts versus larger institutional choirs can be likened to Philip’s distinction between instrumental chamber groups, in which ‘there are fewer people involved, but each musician is separately audible’, and orchestras, where ‘what one hears is the combined effect of what everyone in the section is doing’.<sup>69</sup> The former arrangement is ‘open to a far greater range of subtle interplay between musicians’ and ‘an element of flexibility’; such is demonstrated by many independent ensembles in this study.

Independent groups are still often admired for well-blended sounds, but their styles can also be associated with notions of uniqueness and individuality. For example, critics write of ‘that inimitable King’s Singers manner’ — once described as combining ‘madrigal-like singing with a sort of barber shop quartet’<sup>70</sup> — the Cardinal’s Musick are praised for their ‘unusual insight’ and ‘imaginative use of voices’, while Armonico Consort are said to provide a ‘small-choir sound unlike anything else of the British scene’.<sup>71</sup> These comments reflect what was exemplified in the

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<sup>65</sup> Philip Clark, “In Harmony till the End,” *Gramophone* (December 2013): 33.

<sup>66</sup> Potter, *Vocal Authority*, x.

<sup>67</sup> Potter, “Ensemble Singing,” 162.

<sup>68</sup> Andrew Carwood, interview by Peter Quantrill, “20 Greatest Choirs,” 40.

<sup>69</sup> Philip, *Performing Music*, 104.

<sup>70</sup> Cummings, “King’s Singers: Biography.”

<sup>71</sup> Iain Fenlon, record review, *The Musical Times* 118 (1977): 924; Berry, record review, *Gramophone*, (Awards 2000): 105; James Manheim, “Naked Byrd Two: AllMusic Review by James Manheim,” All Music, accessed December 2013, <http://www.allmusic.com/album/naked-byrd-two-mw0002110829>.



spectrograms: despite clear parallels in the stylistic background and constitution of several independent ensembles, their performances provide an array of distinctive vocal colours.

In contrast, institutional choirs are often associated with greater uniformity, which is not always accepted favourably by those involved. Critics commonly maintain that institutional singers are 'trained to contribute to a carefully moulded whole, with vocal individuality at a discount'.<sup>72</sup> However, several prominent cathedral and collegiate choir directors seek to challenge such preconceptions. David Hill is particularly vocal on the subject:

The notion of getting all the boys to sound the same as each other is incorrect; the object is to get a sound naturally-produced, so that then one can bring individuals together to create a particular sound and a particular balance within that sound.<sup>73</sup>

Hill acknowledges the desire for an even blend, but insists that he does not 'stop anyone from singing out'.<sup>74</sup> These sentiments are echoed by Timothy Brown of Clare College, Cambridge, who aims to:

...engage people that are interesting to me as singers and as personalities and invite everyone to bring that to the mix. And as long as everybody brings it with the same degree of intensity, one can in a general sense achieve a pretty good blend, and it's just a case of honing that. I invite people to come up rather than suppressing them into a neat box...<sup>75</sup>

These comments aim to undermine the idea that blend is valued over individuality in institutional choirs by suggesting that both can be achieved. Edward Higginbottom goes even further, proclaiming that:

...I want to build an individual's competence, so that every boy is a solo singer, who can then successfully place himself within an ensemble. I don't start by trying to get them to blend: I get them to sing as each best can. They're entirely individual. I don't think I even want blend: I want variegated colour.<sup>76</sup>

Not only do institutional directors purport the individuality of singers in their choirs, several also claim that they are trying to create a distinctive sound. Certainly, it would be a misjudgement

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<sup>72</sup> Van Tassel, "Early Music on Record," 572.

<sup>73</sup> Hill, "Choir Training," 216.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.; this is similar to the approach of Cleobury who, despite confirming that blend was an integral quality of institutional choirs, added, 'I just try to encourage people to be natural, to sing openly and freely, without inhibition but without aggression', in "Choral Powerhouse," 39.

<sup>75</sup> Brown, "Choral Powerhouse," 39.

<sup>76</sup> Higginbottom, interview by Hilary Finch, "Raiders of the Lost Art," *Gramophone* (December 2002): 29.

to suggest that institutional practitioners actively seek to emulate some universal ‘cathedral choir sound’.<sup>77</sup> For example, Christopher Robinson explains that he ‘aimed for an earthier sound’ with the choir at Windsor but ‘a warm tone, with a certain amount of vibrato’ at St. John’s College, Cambridge.<sup>78</sup> His timbral descriptions are purposefully contrasted to the pure / white / straight labels I outlined previously. However, we must recognise Robinson’s need to define St John’s Choir against their ‘traditional Cambridge rival, King’s’.<sup>79</sup> Robinson described his choir as ‘more gutsy’ and ‘less ethereally “Anglican”’ than King’s, influenced by the approach of his predecessor, George Guest, who explicitly wanted to ‘do something different’ to that other famous Cambridge choir.<sup>80</sup> Many assert that Guest himself was influenced by the ‘full-blooded, continental sonority’ that George Malcolm developed with Westminster Cathedral Choir during the 1950s.<sup>81</sup> Day regularly cites Guest and Malcolm as examples of directors who aimed for ‘contrasting styles with quite different characteristics’ to the gentile sound usually associated with English institutional choirs.<sup>82</sup>

However, that refined, ethereal sound still remains the dominant perception of English cathedral and collegiate choirs. Despite the work of Guest and Malcolm, forty years later Hill still entreated institutional choirs to ‘get away’ from traditional blend ideals and adopt a ‘more European outlook on vocal-training’, continuing to rely on Guest and Malcolm as the only real examples of this.<sup>83</sup> Moreover, in 2002, Higginbottom admitted that ‘the French Press still feels that British choirs can sound rather disembodied’.<sup>84</sup> There clearly must be something behind this prevailing orthodoxy.

Knowing this, we can reconsider the protestations of institutional directors above and detect a degree of defensiveness; a need to argue the presence of individuality or ‘earthier’ sounds in the face of continuing belief to the contrary. There is no denial of the notion of an ‘English cathedral tone’ among modern institutional practitioners, but several claim that the purported qualities of that sound are now a thing of the past; a King’s College past, specifically. For example, James O’Donnell of Westminster Cathedral maintains that ‘there’s been a move

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<sup>77</sup> In fact, Brown out-rightly states that he does not ‘have a preconceived idea about the sound’, in “Choral Powerhouse,” 39.

<sup>78</sup> Christopher Robinson, interview by Richard Wigmore, “Warmth, Fun and Precision,” *Gramophone* (April 2001): 17.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> George Guest, interview by Bernard Keefe, BBC Radio 3, BLNSA Tape B8899 (12 December 1991); as found in Day, *A Century*, 170.

<sup>81</sup> Robinson, “Warmth, Fun and Precision,” 17; this comparison also featured in George Guest’s obituary, where he is said to have ‘favoured an emotionally expressive, individual and open throated sound – similar to that which George Malcolm was trying to achieve at the time at Westminster Cathedral’, in “George Guest: Obituary,” 17.

<sup>82</sup> Day, “English Cathedral Choirs,” 131.

<sup>83</sup> Hill, “Choir Training,” 216.

<sup>84</sup> Higginbottom, “Raiders of the Lost Art,” 29.

away from the safe style of singing, all head and no voice, which was prevalent years ago. That created a rather characterless sound'.<sup>85</sup> Higginbottom also asserts that the 'cathedral hoot' does not exist much anymore, professing his dislike for 'a long-standing tradition of starting at the top voice and building it down', which he said was 'limited in colour'.<sup>86</sup> Yet limited difference in tonal colour is precisely what was evident between the institutional spectrograms in Figure 3.5, especially when compared to the independent sample. Despite testimonies that proclaim the aim for individuality within and between institutional choirs — and though notions of a specific 'cathedral sound' are obviously over-romanticised — they *do* sound much more similar than their independent counterparts.

Both this similarity and the impression of a floating, ethereal tone can be attributed to a specific characteristic of institutional choirs: the larger numbers of younger voices. This lifts the overall timbral quality by tipping the balance of frequencies more towards to the upper spectrum of sound.<sup>87</sup> By contrast, the more mature vocal constitution of independent ensembles offers a potentially wider and more balanced range of frequencies. This was evident to a degree in the spectrograms presented in Figures 3.4 and 3.5. Brighter colours on the spectrograms indicate louder pitches and there are more vivid yellows and reds at the bottom of the picture (where lower frequencies are displayed) from independent ensembles such as Quink, The Hilliard Ensemble and The Cardinal's Musick. Only New College Choir, without its trebles, displays this to the same extent for the institutions. In my full spectrographic analysis of 'Agnus Dei', many additional independent ensembles also demonstrated a wider and more even spread in harmonic intensity, including: The King's Singers, The Oxford Camerata, Voces 8 and The Firesign Vocal Quartet (see Appendix C.2). Even the independent recordings that did not immediately display this feature so overtly, when examined in detail, several still revealed more balanced relative loudness across the voices than the institutional choirs. The contributions of individual parts are harder to assess in spectrograms from the more homophonic *Ave verum corpus*. However, extracts taken from the first two phrases exhibit the same bias of intensity towards the upper frequencies among institutional choirs in comparison to the independents, as evident in Figures 3.6 and 3.7. The arced soprano line of the second phrase is clearly visible on all spectrograms (underlined in white), yet this generally stands out to a far greater degree with the institutions in Figure 3.6 than in the independent sample.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> James O'Donnell, interview by Stephen Pettitt, "A Catholic Approach," *Gramophone* (June 1994): 28.

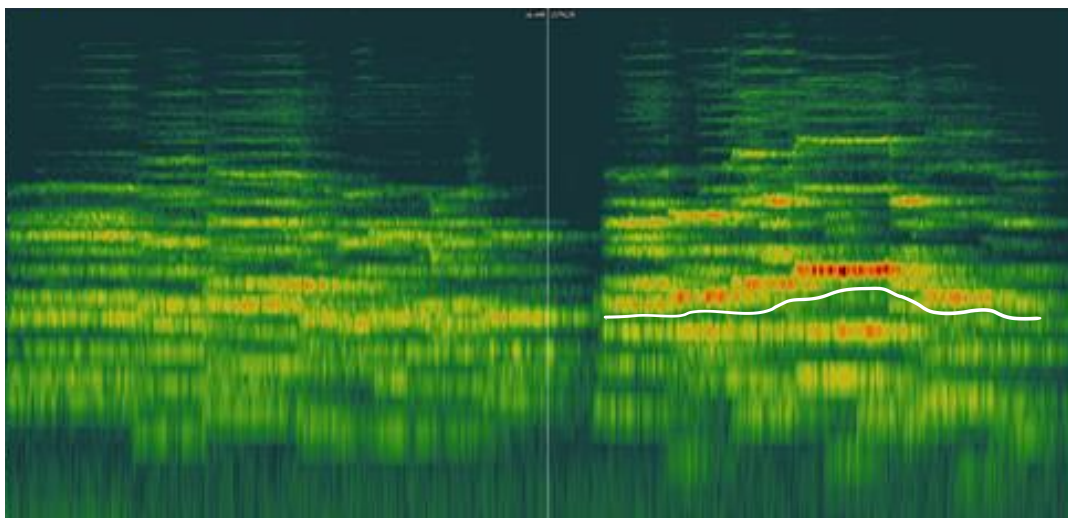
<sup>86</sup> Higginbottom, *ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Cook and Leech-Wilkinson offer useful outlines of the timbral qualities of certain frequency patterns (i.e. that stronger lower harmonics contribute to a richer, warmer tone, while louder upper harmonics create a bright, clear-edged sound), in "Guide to Sonic Visualiser," 16.

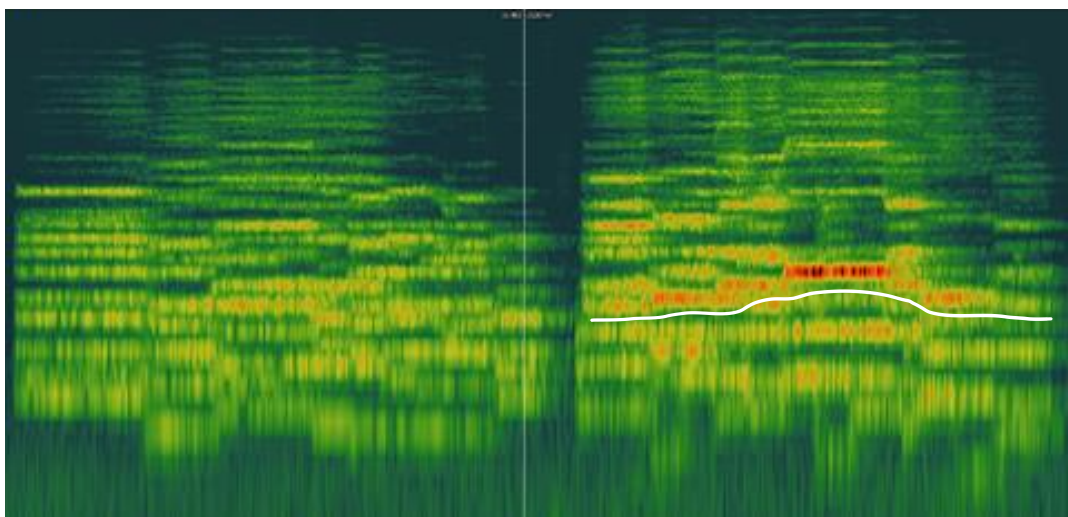
<sup>88</sup> See Chapter 5.3.1 for detailed analysis of these phrases and extracts of notation.

Figure 3.6: Spectrograms showing frequency balance in the first two phrases of *Ave verum corpus* from three institutional recordings.

Hereford Cathedral Choir (A37)



Winchester Cathedral Choir (A31)



Durham Cathedral Choir (A32)

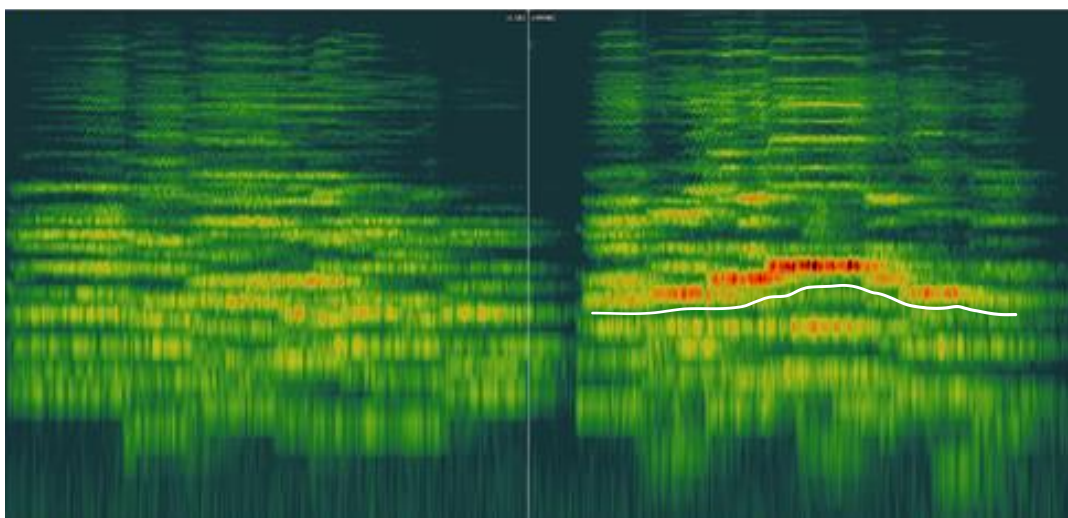
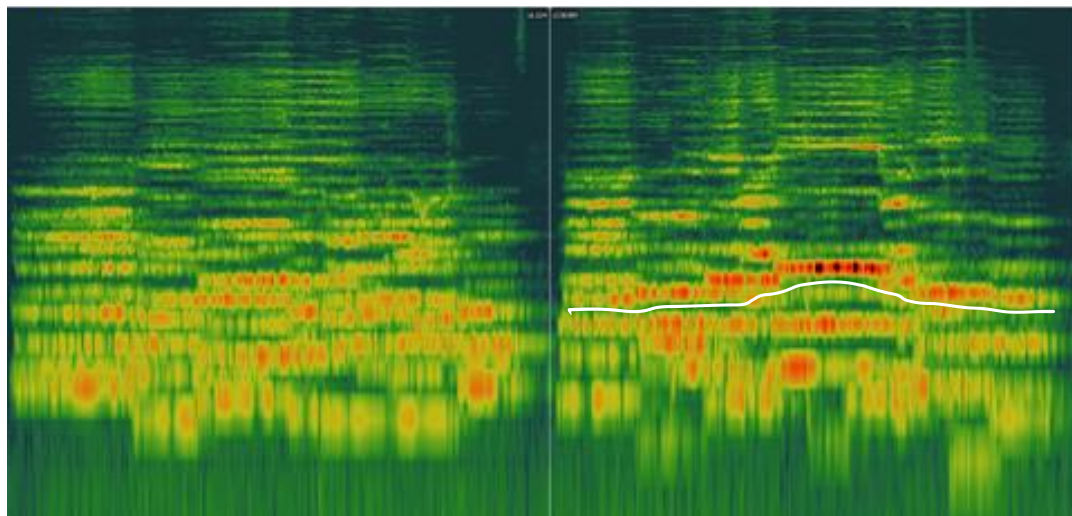
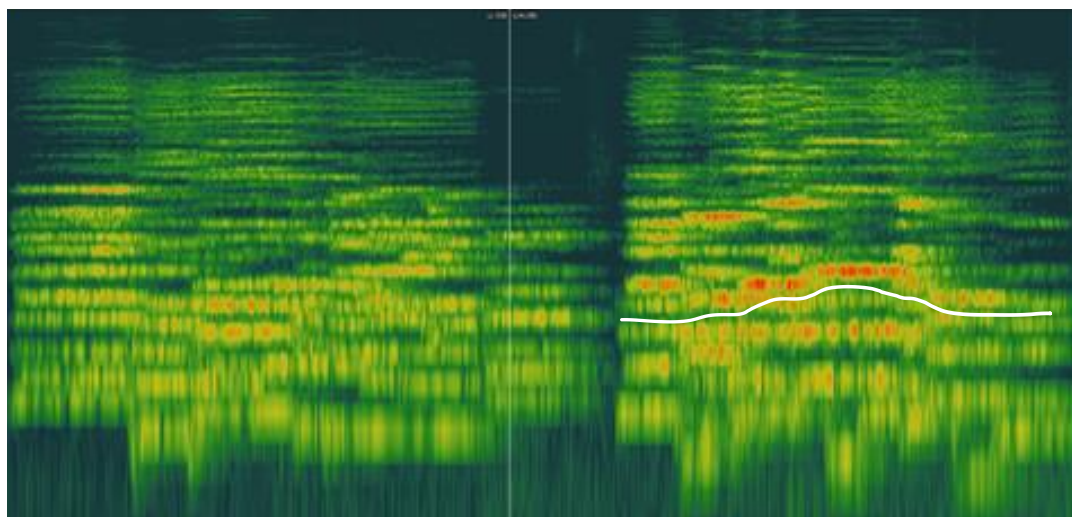


Figure 3.7: Spectrograms showing frequency balance in the first two phrases of *Ave verum corpus* from three independent recordings.

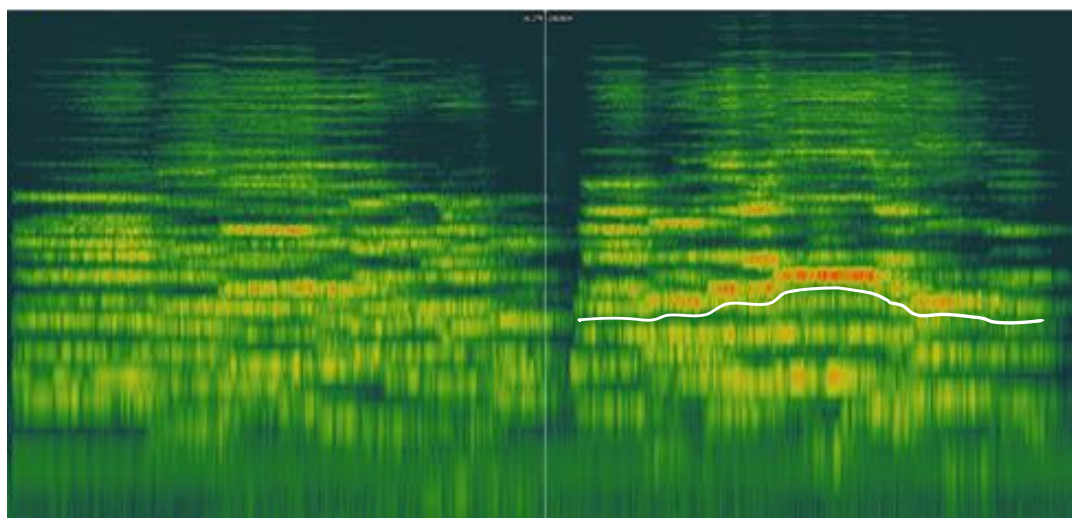
Chanticleer (A190)



The Laudantes Consort (A54)



The Sixteen (A21)





Greater range and equality across the frequency spectrum translates as a fuller, richer sound. This might be expected from deeper, all-male performances, such as those of Chanticleer and The King's Singers. Indeed, Philip Lawson believes that The King's Singers' arrangement 'gives a richness to the bottom of the sound, because you have, basically, three basses' and 'the richness of the countertenor' on top, 'not the headiness of a soprano'.<sup>89</sup> Yet the sense of a full or balanced sound is still conveyed by independent choirs who I previously presented as slightly more akin to institutional trends. This can be observed, to a certain extent, of The Tallis Scholars in Figure 3.4 and The Sixteen in Figure 3.7. Others have noted these qualities also; for example, James MacMillan remarked that The Sixteen 'seems to have the balance of that purity at the top and the depth and richness of the tenors and basses as well'.<sup>90</sup>

The vocal constitution of many institutional choirs can result in a sound that seems less grounded by comparison, which has received both positive and negative commentary. This not only has to do with the ratio of trebles and young singers, but also with how the sound might have traditionally been blended more towards to the upper voices. Steane writes favourably of that particular approach to blend, describing how, 'with youth to help, the bass line was shaded upwards towards tenor, the tenor to alto, the alto to treble: the sound became airborne'.<sup>91</sup> Steane is specifically referring to King's College in the 1950 and 1960s, yet a contemporary reviewer warned that 'the disproportionately large number of trebles and the relative immaturity of the lower voices does result in some top-heaviness'.<sup>92</sup> The existence of younger voices across the whole choir is a key factor in creating light and delicate tones, but there is a related danger of the sound seeming too weak or lacking in depth. In some cases, such as the 1995 recording of *Ave verum corpus* by Christ Church Cathedral Choir, the approach is so light that it verges on a kind of a timbral transparency; the sound feels detached and fragile. Essentially, this is the result of not being able to hear the full effects of the lower voices to ground the tone, plus issues with support all round. It is understandable why institutional vocal profiles, which often induce a bias towards higher frequencies, might have invited the kind of critical descriptions explored in this section.<sup>93</sup> In comparison to the variation and depth of independent ensemble timbres, there might indeed be grounds to claim the existence of a certain 'cathedral choir sound'.

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<sup>89</sup> Lawson, "Royal Family," 41.

<sup>90</sup> James MacMillan, interview by Cullingford, "Pilgrim's Progress," 33.

<sup>91</sup> Steane, *The Grand Tradition*, 531.

<sup>92</sup> Noble, record review, *The Gramophone* (September 1965): 68; Page similarly talks of 'the pervasive influence of boy trebles singing in high registers upon the whole choral sound', in "The English 'A Cappella' Renaissance," 468.

<sup>93</sup> In discussing the limitations of early recording technologies, Steane actually makes a similar connection between a vocal tone which is 'shorn of the full richness of its harmonics' and 'that sort of ethereal effect', in *The Grand Tradition*, 7.

### 3.3 Acoustic Atmosphere and Recording Practice

Atmospheric effect is a major feature of the sound worlds on these recordings, influenced not only by the qualities of the performance venue but by the recording practices and choices of numerous individuals. In terms of an overall ethos, there are said to be two different schools of thought within record production, which Philip delineates as ‘two extremes of simplicity and complexity’.<sup>94</sup> The latter involves more complicated microphone arrangements and full exploitation of post-production techniques, while the former aims to display minimal technological ‘interference’ and appear closer to concert performance (akin to the ‘row twelve’ or ‘BSH’ approach). In acknowledging these dialectical ‘philosophies’, Day observes that ‘in the 1980s and 90s a general trend towards simplification in recording techniques was discernible’.<sup>95</sup> However, it is often suggested that the ‘more purist approach’ is specifically favoured by those making classical recordings, ‘the aim being to capture the performance in as natural a way as possible’, according to John Borwick.<sup>96</sup> Greig explains how such a philosophy works in practice:

...the group will not so much perform to the microphones as to an imaginary audience. Indeed, the larger spaces in which classical recordings take place tend to imply the space for an audience...This also ensures minimum disruption to the tried-and-tested *modus operandi* of the group. The recording space will mimic the kind of space in which the concerts have occurred.<sup>97</sup>

It would appear that this particular ethos is widely upheld by many of the recording artists in this investigation. Joseph Jennings of Chanticleer describes their studio as ‘a huge soundstage’ where they ‘can actually sing into the room’, while Greig uses a photograph of The Tallis Scholars as his example; other than the innocuous presence of a few microphones, the picture might have been taken in a live performance.<sup>98</sup> Very similar can be said of the image included in Geoffrey Norris’ account of a recording session with Worcester College Choir, with just two microphones situated approximately ten feet in front of the singers.<sup>99</sup> One particularly detailed account of such

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<sup>94</sup> Philip, *Performing Music*, 44.

<sup>95</sup> Day, *A Century*, 25.

<sup>96</sup> John Borwick, “Abbey Road Today,” *Gramophone* (May 1995): 141; see also, for example, Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 3.7, Paragraph 98; Simon Zagorski-Thomas suggests that ‘there is greater resistance to mediation through the recording process’ in classical and folk music because ‘these musical forms pre-date recording’, in Zagorski-Thomas, “The Stadium in Your Bedroom: Functional Staging, Authenticity and the Audience-led Aesthetic in Record Production,” *Popular Music* 29 (2010): 263.

<sup>97</sup> Greig, “Performing For (and Against),” 17.

<sup>98</sup> Joseph Jennings, interview by Georgia Rowe, “Something Old, Something New,” *Gramophone* (Awards 2000): 27; Greig, *ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> Geoffrey Norris, “Session Report: Worcester College Choir,” *Gramophone* (December 2012): 14.

arrangements — and of the motivation behind them — was provided by Robert Spencer on his recording with Mark Deller in Rosslyn Hill Chapel, Hampstead:

The music is acoustically balanced; that is, one pair of microphones were positioned to record the combined sound of the musicians and singers. The only concession made to 'state-of-the-art' recording technique was the use of the DBX noise reduction system... The result is a recording which accurately reproduces the natural, uncoloured warmth and full sound of the instruments and voices to such a degree that many experts have commented that this recording, when played on good quality equipment, sounds much more like a live performance than a recording. The producers desired, from the outset, that the recording should aim to create the sound of Elizabethan Music as it would have been performed.<sup>100</sup>

Though this ethos is as subjective as any other, the claim is for the most minimal conditioning of the musicians' sound by technology. Simon Eadon, a sound engineer for Decca, has similarly maintained that his policy when recording at King's College was that 'balance problems should be sorted out by the musicians themselves' and only on very 'rare occasions the balance engineer may have to provide some subtle assistance'.<sup>101</sup> Such is the emphasis from directors and producers on presenting a 'natural' sound that insight on how technology *has* mediated the final product, particularly with regards to post-production, is regrettably rare.

One aspect of the recording process that is discussed more openly concerns the venue and its resonance. Speaking on behalf of 'the production fraternity', engineer Matthew Dilley says that 'the amount of acoustic' is 'one of the main considerations' when making a recording.<sup>102</sup> This is of particular pertinence to institutional choirs, who are nearly always recorded in the building to which they are affiliated. Despite the many parallels of institutional practice, however, to suggest that these buildings share exactly the same acoustical properties would be extremely misguided. Consider, for example, the vast expanse of Liverpool Cathedral (the largest in the UK) versus the small chapel at Magdalen College, Oxford, where they believe 'the atmosphere is more domestic and intimate'.<sup>103</sup> In his article 'Choral Powerhouse', Cullingford compares some of the college acoustics in Cambridge, describing Trinity as 'elegantly spacious, with a cool academic air', while St. John's has 'a surprising sense of intimacy' and the grand-scale of King's is 'like a mystical

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<sup>100</sup> Robert Spencer, sleeve notes to *Elizabethan Music*, Mark Deller Vocal Consort, Times Cassettes WMA 003 (1976).

<sup>101</sup> Simon Eadon, "Recording at King's," *Gramophone* (July 1998): 108.

<sup>102</sup> Matthew Dilley, "Miking Revisited," *Gramophone* (February 2014): 116.

<sup>103</sup> Liverpool cathedral is the largest in square metres, according to "The Cathedral," Liverpool Cathedral, accessed June 2014, <http://www.liverpoolcathedral.org.uk/about/cathedral.aspx>; "The Chapel," Magdalen College, University of Oxford, accessed June 2014, <http://www.magd.ox.ac.uk/chapel-and-choir/chapel-services>.



soundbox'.<sup>104</sup> Even Cleobury himself says that 'you can tell if something's been recorded there or somewhere else'.<sup>105</sup>

Some of the effects that certain institutional buildings have on the sounds within them can be observed on the spectrograms in Figure 3.8. Again taken from the closing passages of 'Agnus Dei', represented here are recordings from various college and cathedral spaces. In each spectrogram, however, there is a similar hazing of the horizontal lines; this indicates that the frequencies have reverberated for longer, exacerbating the effect of the increased number of voices in blurring the different strands of sound. The sample in Figure 3.8 covers a wide architectural spectrum, but all of these institutional recordings feature the effects of some resonance from their surroundings, displaying greater similarity to one another in comparison to the independent recordings in Figure 3.9.

The audible resonance on institutional choral recordings is no accident; it is a key feature of what these albums are offering. Dilley reveals that sound engineers 'have to consider whether the acoustic is worth capturing', but a central aim for many of the record labels I outlined earlier was to record choirs singing in specific spaces.<sup>106</sup> Indeed, one of the first reviewers of Columbia's *Anthology of English Church Music* remarked that the collection 'gains enormously in value and interest from having each choir recorded in its own place of worship'.<sup>107</sup> It is understandable, therefore, that recording engineers should seek to capture some sense of those places. In reference to institutional choirs, Eric Van Tassel has argued that:

The very spacious acoustics in which these choirs sing day after day form the natural environment for their style; their recordings do all they can to exhibit and enhance the undeniably fine results that can be produced in this way.<sup>108</sup>

Certainly, Eadon expressed his intention to exhibit such features when recording King's College Choir, positioning microphones so that he could acquire 'a good internal blend of the choir, but including an appropriate amount of that magical King's acoustic'.<sup>109</sup> Eadon acknowledges the inherent difficulties of 'an acoustic which has a very long decay: problems mainly concerned with articulation and intelligibility', but behind his approach remains a desire to showcase the sonic consequences of such institutional buildings.<sup>110</sup> Director of Wells Cathedral Choir, Matthew Owens, aims to enhance the resonance on their recordings even where this is not an overt feature

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<sup>104</sup> Cullingford, "Choral Powerhouse," 36-43.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>106</sup> Dilley, "Miking Revisited," 116.

<sup>107</sup> Robertson, record review, *The Gramophone* (June 1950): 9.

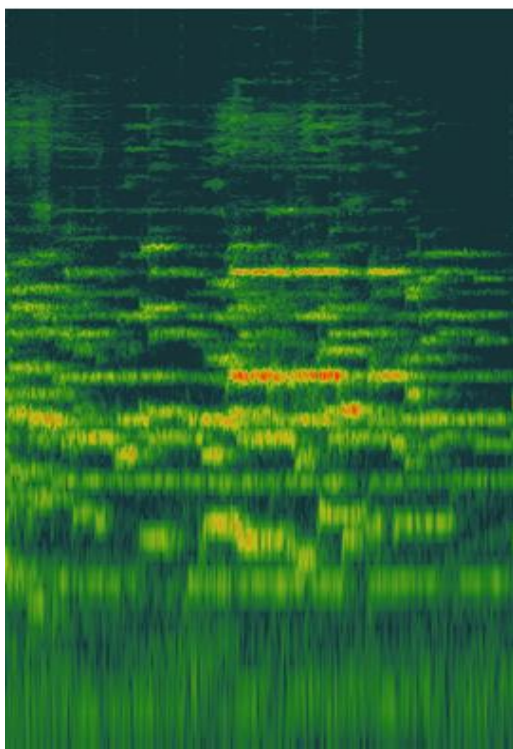
<sup>108</sup> Van Tassel, "Early Music on Record," 572.

<sup>109</sup> Eadon, "Recording at King's," 108.

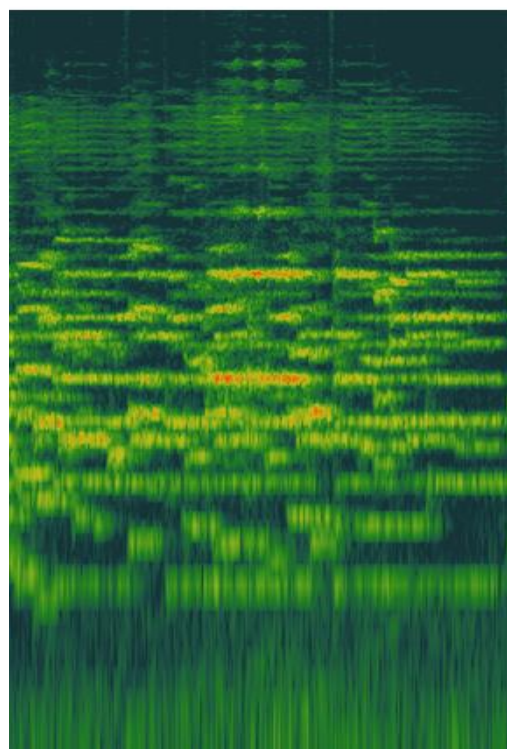
<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

Figure 3.8: Spectrograms demonstrating acoustic resonance in ‘Agnus Dei’ from two college chapel and two cathedral recordings.

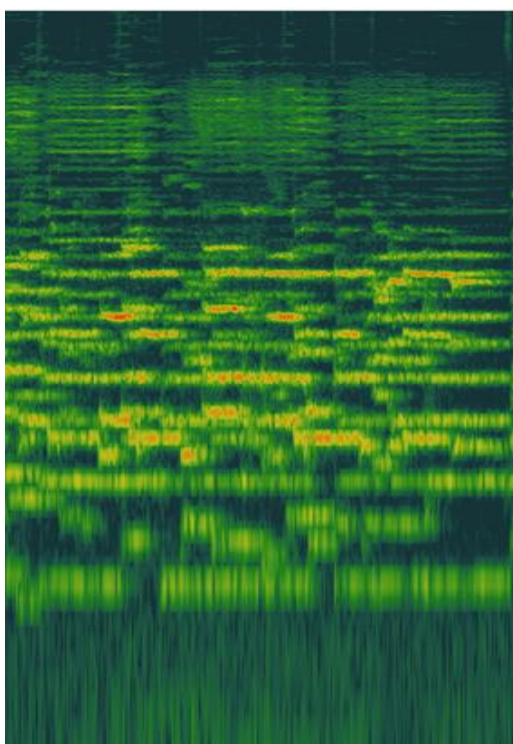
King’s College Choir, Cambridge (M10)



St. John’s College Choir, Cambridge (M26)



Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Oxford (M31)



Winchester Cathedral Choir (M53)

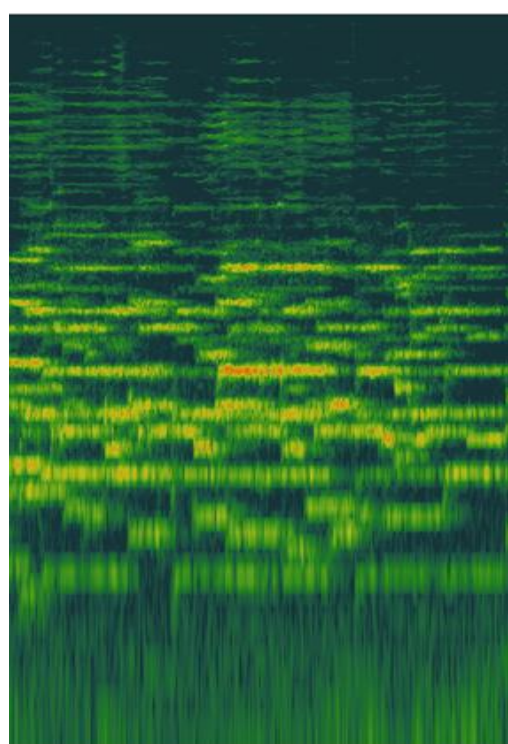
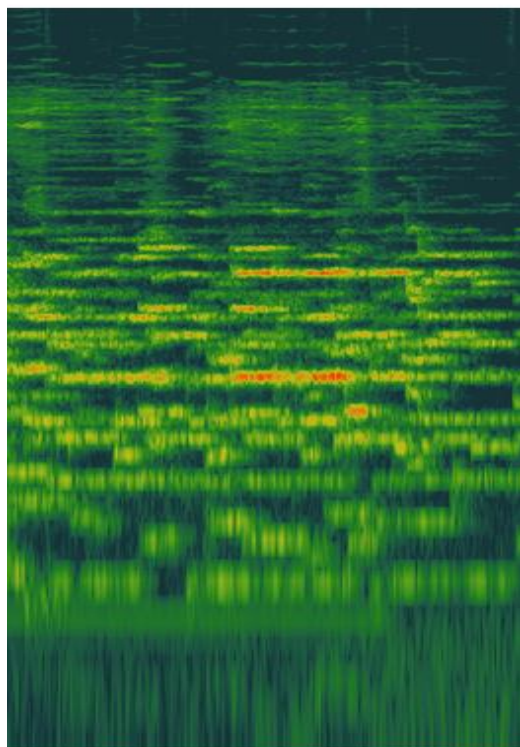
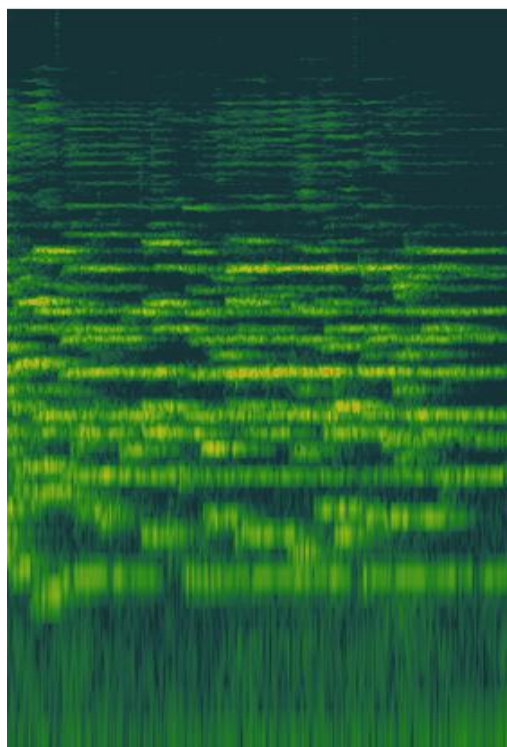


Figure 3.9: Spectrograms demonstrating acoustic resonance in 'Agnus Dei' from four independent recordings in varying locations.

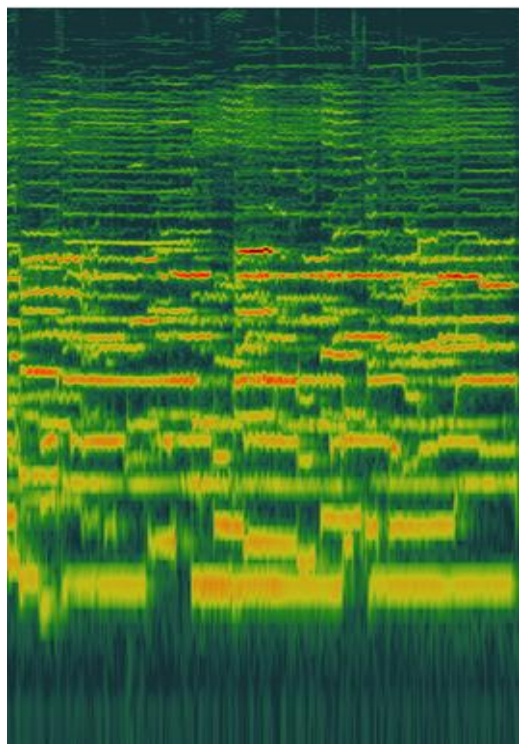
The Sixteen (M41)



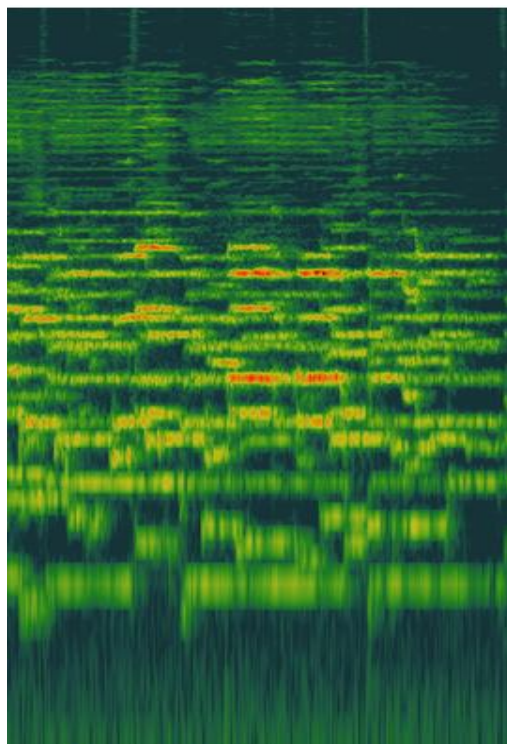
The Armonico Consort (M39)



The Quirk Vocal Ensemble (M25)



The Pro Arte Singers (M45)



of their usual performance area; in comparison to the ‘dry acoustic’ of the quire, he explains that ‘we do our recordings in the nave, where we can really let our hair down’.<sup>111</sup> Some other choirs have also been recorded in different areas of their building — including those at King’s College, Portsmouth and Winchester Cathedrals<sup>112</sup> — but most institutional recordings still demonstrate a sound world that is intrinsically wedded to the resonant features of that institution.

In comparison, independent ensembles can exercise far more choice over their recording location. As with concert venues, these spaces may be selected according to practical as well as aesthetic qualities. For example, Christophers is reported to favour the acoustic of St. Giles’ Cripplegate ‘for recordings of modern repertoire’, while The Tallis Scholars recorded both Byrd pieces in Merton College Chapel, Oxford, which Caroline Gill says has ‘long been the go-to recording (and concert) space’ for those seeking acoustic vibrancy.<sup>113</sup> Independent ensembles are also more freely able to take advantage of studio recording, should they wish, or can vary their location with each recording; even within the albums covered by this study, The Deller Consort have been recorded in All Saints’ Church, Aldeburgh Parish Church, at Studio Sofreson in Paris, and with Mark Deller directing in Rosslyn Hill Chapel.

This increased flexibility with regards to location is reflected in the varied acoustic atmospheres on independent recordings. The spectrograms in Figure 3.9 are from the same extract of ‘Agnus Dei’, but the recordings here were made in a range of different venues: Quink in a studio, The Pro Arte Singers in a recital hall, The Sixteen in a church, and The Armonico Consort in an indoor tennis court.<sup>114</sup> This presents a much wider spectrum of results than from the institutions in Figure 3.8, with increased resonance and blurring on The Sixteen and Armonico Consort’s spectrograms, contrasted with the distinct onsets and clear lines of Quink and Pro Arte. The latter imaging indicates much drier acoustics, which is not found on any institutional recording. Again, however, not all independent ensembles differ from one another in this manner. The majority of independent ‘Agnus Dei’ recordings were made in spaces that offer a light resonance — such as a chapel or church — as were twenty-one of the twenty-six independent recordings of *Ave verum corpus* that specify a location. The sample in Figure 3.9 primarily exhibits some of the alternative venues and acoustics that exist among the independent category.

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<sup>111</sup> Matthew Owens, interview by Caroline Gill, “20 Greatest Choirs,” 39.

<sup>112</sup> Eadon, “Recording at King’s,” 108; sleeve notes to *Sing to the Lord*, Portsmouth Cathedral Choir, Convivium CR001 (2010); Winchester Cathedral Choir are said to have ‘purposely sought out an enclosed space in the great cathedral to make this recording’, according to Mary Berry, record review, *Gramophone* (December 1996): 119.

<sup>113</sup> Peter Quantrill, “Session Report: The Sixteen,” *Gramophone* (November 2011): 18; Caroline Gill, “Session Report: Commotio,” *Gramophone* (February 2012): 16.

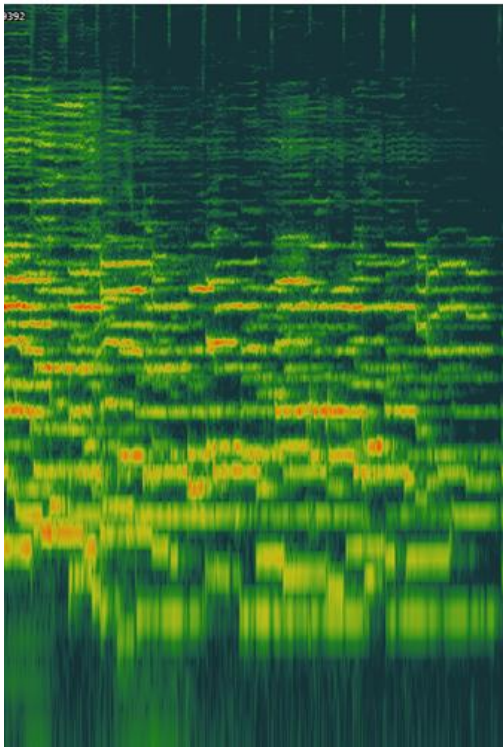
<sup>114</sup> See Appendices A and B for all details obtained from recordings.



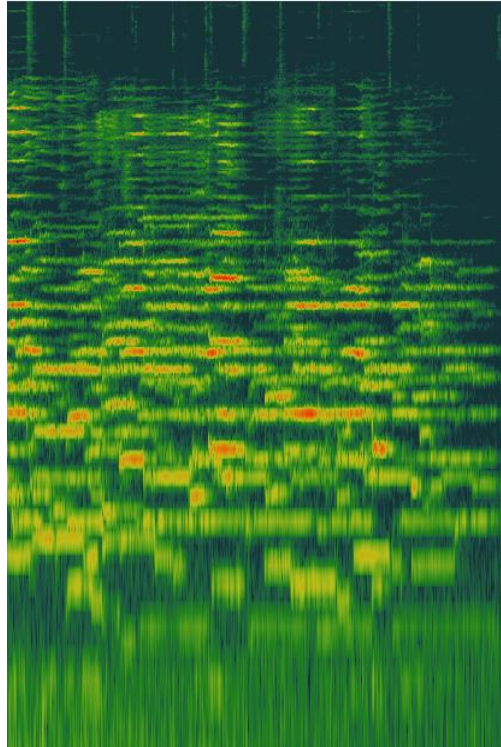
That said, in contrast to the common resonance on institutional recordings, some especially dry and intimate sound worlds can be found on independent recordings of 'Agnus Dei' in particular. The blunt closeness of the previous Quink example provides one illustration of what can be achieved in a studio environment. Here, the ensemble may have the added benefits of specific production techniques that can aid in the creation of such distinctive sound worlds. Additional examples of intimate atmospheres include recordings by The King's Singers and Hilliard Ensemble, whose spectrograms are shown in Figure 3.10. Though it is difficult to illustrate fully, the clarity of movement and minimal decay of the horizontal tones in these spectrograms indicates a lack of acoustic resonance, while the intensity across the full range of frequencies and the strength of voices suggests that these are closely recorded. However, what is particularly interesting about the recordings in Figure 3.10 is that both were in fact made in churches.<sup>115</sup> In complete contrast to the acoustical demonstrativeness of institutional recordings, it comes as a surprise to learn the location of The King's Singers' and Hilliard Ensemble's performances, as there is no audible evidence of the potential resonance of these spaces. When reviewing the Hilliard recording, Milsom shared my observation that 'the voices are relatively closely recorded, and

Figure 3.10: Spectrograms demonstrating close acoustic atmosphere in 'Agnus Dei' from two independent recordings.

The King's Singers (M44)



The Hilliard Ensemble (M61)



<sup>115</sup> The King's Singers in St. Andrew's, Toddington, and The Hilliard Ensemble in St. James', Clerkenwell; see Appendix B.

there is little resonance to support them'.<sup>116</sup> He compared this to 'the rather larger, livelier and more atmospheric performances of the Tallis Scholars' captured in Merton College Chapel. These comments not only confirm that a range of acoustical results can be found among independent recordings, but that this occurs even when those ensembles have chosen to record in similar venues. Furthermore, this reveals that resonant sound worlds are not an automatic by-product of recording in chapels and churches, suggesting evidence of the technical mediation that goes into creating these effects on disc.

Though the dominant preference is for a 'natural' sound, some independent directors are more candid about how they have capitalised on recording technology. Jennings, for example, states that he is grateful to have 'all the technical advantages of a state-of-the-art studio', while Jeremy Summerly of the Oxford Camerata writes that:<sup>117</sup>

...the recording session offers the chance to experiment musically in ways that performing live doesn't always allow. Alternative readings can be considered, appraised, and allowed to co-exist on the engineer's hard drive until the editing process forces a decision. Ideal interpretations can be attempted in the knowledge that a safe version can easily be patched together if the ideal proves unattainable.<sup>118</sup>

Peter Phillips shares this outlook: he has 'always found editing particularly fulfilling' as it is an important means of 'achieving on disc what I have wanted to hear'.<sup>119</sup> Phillips insists, however, that he and co-producer Steve Smith aim not to 'process' the sounds made by the singers and that they 'put [their] trust in the actual balance of the group'.<sup>120</sup>

Both institutional and independent choirs profess to offer the realism of a live performance for the microphone, but it could be argued that this is especially true of institutional choirs because they record the same music in the same spaces where they conduct their services. Day makes this point in relation to the earliest electrical recordings by Westminster Cathedral Choir:

These were not performances produced for the microphone; the microphone is simply eavesdropping on a performance. The men phrase and articulate and project as they would for a congregation standing 40 or 50 feet or more away from them.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Milsom, record review, *Gramophone* (May 1985): 1363.

<sup>117</sup> Joseph Jennings, interview by Georgia Rowe, "Something Old, Something New," *Gramophone* (Awards 2000): 27.

<sup>118</sup> Jeremy Summerly, sleeve notes to *Artist's Profile Series: Jeremy Summerly*, Various Artists, Naxos 8.578072 (2009); Christophers has expressed similar appreciation for session recording in comparison to recording live, in Quantrill, "Session Report: The Sixteen" 19.

<sup>119</sup> Phillips, *What We Really Do*, 11, 69.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>121</sup> Day, "Sir Richard Terry," 306.

Though much about the recording process has changed since that time, this particular philosophy seems to have endured. Perhaps the most purist assertion comes from Roger Fisher regarding Chester Cathedral Choir's recording:

It was a basic principle that the Service should be recorded complete with no retakes, giving an example of the standard of singing on an average day in Chester. The choice of music was planned long before the recording and no special preparation was undertaken, only a short balance test...<sup>122</sup>

For institutional choirs, their recordings may well reflect how they perform in their services. Or — if that assumption is too naïve — the fact that the choir is accustomed to both music and venue as part of a service might at least influence the rendition that they present for a recording. O'Donnell put forward this idea at Westminster Cathedral, saying that what 'colours our approach is that when we sing a Mass for a recording we can't dissociate the fact that we've sung it liturgically'.<sup>123</sup> Marlow at Trinity College also agreed that, though there are many benefits in making a recording, 'for us there's the liturgical context into which it all fits. The real joy is in performing these works within the service, privately and quietly'.<sup>124</sup>

Where independent recordings display atmospheric variety, institutional recordings present sonorities that are highly demonstrative of the choir's relationship to their sacred building. In Chapter 1, I outlined just how much time they spend singing in these same spaces; as Van Tassel suggests, it is therefore more likely that they will have developed a sound that accommodates or exploits the features of that space. Robinson similarly explains that the choir's sonic style is 'bound up with the chapel' and Cullingford agrees that the building's 'influence on style and tone is immense', given the frequency of performance there.<sup>125</sup> On institutional discs, a key means of evoking this relationship is through the heightened reverberation of the voices. Just as Albin Zak wonders: 'wouldn't the natural distortion provided by acoustic "liveness" make for a more accurate representation of real-world listening?'.<sup>126</sup> It is this kind of representation, of hearing the choir as they would sound in their daily services, in a resonant building, that seems to be the atmospheric aim on most institutional recordings.

It is important to remember that these recorded sounds — natural, resonant or otherwise — are the result of joint enterprise between many individuals at several different stages. A recurring observation in *Gramophone's* 'Session Reports' on choral recording is the close

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<sup>122</sup> Roger Fisher, sleeve notes to *Choristers of Chester Cathedral at Evensong and Rehearsal*, Chester Cathedral Choir, Vista VPS 1008 (1973).

<sup>123</sup> O'Donnell, "A Catholic Approach," 28.

<sup>124</sup> Marlow, interview by Pott, "Choral Traditions," 23.

<sup>125</sup> Robinson, "Warmth, Fun and Precision," 17; Cullingford, "Choral Powerhouse," 43.

<sup>126</sup> There are parallels here with Cook's 'BSH' ideal discussed in Chapter 2; Zak, "Getting sounds," 74.

collaboration between director, producer and sound engineer. Peter Quantrill, for example, writes that The Sixteen's recordings 'bear out the enthusiasm of conductor and producer for their work', while Richard Lawrence describes the joint musical leadership of producer Freeman-Attwood and director Andrew Carwood when recording The Cardinal's Musick.<sup>127</sup> Lawrence was 'struck by the prevailing geniality, the consequence of experience and mutual respect'. Indeed, there are numerous other accounts of producers demonstrating and involving their own, high levels of musical knowledge when recording *a cappella* choirs.<sup>128</sup>

Producers and engineers also make major contributions to sound worlds because it is they who negotiate the practicalities of recording in specific acoustics. As Eadon explains, his primary responsibility was to assess 'the repertoire, the artists and the characteristics of the venue' and then select equipment 'which will best serve and blend these three elements'.<sup>129</sup> This is no mean feat. A common difficulty when recording outside the studio is the risk of external noise: Norris described a take that was 'ruined by a peal of bells from St Giles' Cathedral and then by a helicopter whirring' and Alfred Deller recalled that his consort once 'had to do 17 takes of one song because of aeroplanes going overhead' at All Saints' Church in Kent.<sup>130</sup> Retakes are often the only solution here, but Eadon highlights a far trickier aspect of the engineer's domain by drawing attention to the control room:

...the control room at King's is the Director of Music's office. The acoustic problems with this room are potentially far more difficult than the acoustic of the Chapel! It contains a lot of wood panelling which absorbs bass like a sponge absorbs water. Most recordings are in fact made in far from ideal monitoring conditions.<sup>131</sup>

Like the role of engineers themselves, the activity that occurs in control rooms needs greater consideration. Interestingly, Norris remarked that Worcester College Choir sounded 'gorgeous' from where he listened in the choir stalls, but added that 'the control room has a much better aural perspective'.<sup>132</sup> In the musical director's office at Trinity College, they have even installed 'a

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<sup>127</sup> Quantrill, "Session Report: The Sixteen," 19; Richard Lawrence, "Another Master's Musick (Session Report: The Cardinal's Musick)," *Gramophone* (March 2011): 46-47.

<sup>128</sup> See, for example, Norris' description of producer and engineer Adam Binks, in "Session Report: Worcester College Choir," 15; and Gill's account of producer Adrian Peacock's work, in "Session Report: Commotio," 17.

<sup>129</sup> Eadon acknowledges that all this careful judgement may not count much in the end, 'knowing that playing back any recording in a hundred different domestic rooms will yield a hundred different results', in "Recording at King's," 108.

<sup>130</sup> Norris, "Session Report: Worcester College Choir," 15; Alfred Deller, interview by Mike Ashman, "Alfred Deller," *Gramophone* (August 1979): 311; Lawrence reports identical issues for The Cardinal's Musick when recording in the Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel, in "Another Master's Musick," 46.

<sup>131</sup> Eadon gives other examples of control rooms full of robes, or with collapsing floorboards, or even a 'ladies powder room', in "Recording at King's," 108.

<sup>132</sup> Norris, "Session Report: Worcester College Choir," 15.



state-of-the-art surround sound system linked directly to the chapel next door', according to Cullingford.<sup>133</sup> Clearly, steps have been made to try to overcome the problems outlined by Eadon, yet Dilley maintains that the control room facilities in numerous venues are still 'extremely compromised' and many decisions 'are therefore best left to the post-production suite'.<sup>134</sup>

Decisions made by individuals in those final stages of post-production, mixing and editing seal choral sound worlds as listeners come to know them. Though there are few published accounts of the interventions that occur here, Dilley outlines that 'there is a choice of outcomes' from any recording session. Indeed, not all choirs record using just a few microphones; when working with the choirs of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and King's College London, producer Paul Baxter said his approach was to 'get together all your best Neumanns and put them everywhere!', explaining that he could 'choose which mic signals to use afterwards in order to most faithfully represent what was going on in the room at the time'.<sup>135</sup> Aural perspective is just one of many aspects that may be adjusted in post-production, but Andrew Keener observes that — where 'artists of previous decades tended not to involve themselves in the sonic side of things' — this technical conditioning is now another area of close collaboration between director, producer and engineer.<sup>136</sup>

### 3.4 Summary: Institutional versus Independent Sound Worlds

Though no two institutional choirs are identical, I have shown that several of the overarching traits that they do share have a significant effect on their recorded sound worlds, causing them to display much more similarity in comparison to independent ensembles. The key traits are: the timbre and balance of young voices, the expectations of blend, the resonance of their surroundings, and a proclivity to exhibit these attributes on disc. My argument that the paired features of voice and venue have an overriding influence on the institutional sound is exemplified in Milsom's review of a Byrd album by Hereford Cathedral Choir:

The other tracks suffer from two factors, neither of which is really within the control of the choir or its director, Geraint Bowen. First, a large team of boys has to be balanced against only nine adult men, creating major problems in pieces where the altos or tenors (or both) have to divide. Thus, on several tracks, a solo tenor valiantly tries to make himself heard against the pack of choirboys holding the treble line. And second, the

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<sup>133</sup> Cullingford, "Choral Powerhouse," 41.

<sup>134</sup> Dilley, "Miking Revisited," 116.

<sup>135</sup> Paul Baxter, interview by Andrew Mellor, "Session Report: Choirs of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and King's College London," *Gramophone* (July 2013): 17.

<sup>136</sup> Andrew Keener, "Miking Revisited," 117.

cathedral's atmospherically resonant interior blurs the polyphony of the lower voices—which means that the men effectively have to battle on two fronts at once, in order to be heard properly. Other recordings are available of all of the anthems and Latin-texted pieces included here, made by forces (and in buildings) that better suit them.<sup>137</sup>

My discussion in Chapter 4 addresses many of the criticisms that Milsom raises here, but what is particularly important is the notion that these features are consequences of the choir's inherent characteristics, not something that the director can easily overcome, or where record producers readily intervene. Essentially, the sound world of an institutional choir is largely pre-determined, and the dominant qualities of that sound result directly from the innate features of their choral profile. In contrast, independent ensembles that also appear very similar 'on paper' — in terms of vocal arrangement, 'Oxbridge' background, or venue choices — manage to create notably varied sound worlds on disc. Where the features and flexibility of independent choral profiles allow such variation, the features of institutional profiles can override variation.

Given what I have uncovered here, it is clear that these differing sound worlds carry certain affordances and boundaries for performance, affecting both the delivery and perception of Byrd's music. In the next chapter, I explore the implications of such choral conditions on 'Agnus Dei', revealing how these sonic backgrounds and circumstances shape the style of the interpretation.

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<sup>137</sup> Milsom, "Eavesdropping on Evensong," 700; the album in question features *Ave verum corpus*, it is *William Byrd: Anthems, Motets & Services*, Hereford Cathedral Choir, Griffin GCCD 4048 (2005).



## Chapter 4: Style Case Study I - ‘Agnus Dei’

Commentaries on Byrd’s *Mass for Four Voices* are notably permeated by superlatives. It has been lauded as ‘one of the greatest masterpieces in the whole history of English liturgical music’ and expert Joseph Kerman proclaimed that the ‘Agnus Dei’ was among the ‘most incandescent’ music Byrd ever wrote.<sup>1</sup> The popularity of ‘Agnus Dei’ was evident in Chapter 2, but the affinity with this Mass extends far deeper than that which is represented by the recorded catalogue, as Tess Knighton explains:

Byrd’s Masses for four and five voices form the bedrock of the English choral tradition: every cathedral or college chorister will know them like the back of his hand by the time he’s in long trousers, and should he hear or sing them again later in life, they will be as familiar as old friends.<sup>2</sup>

It is important to understand the canonical status of ‘Agnus Dei’ within the English cathedral and collegiate tradition, yet it has been recorded more frequently by independent choirs: how is this ‘old friend’ treated by different combinations of singers, in different surroundings?

The core purpose of this chapter is to investigate how Byrd’s musical composition is communicated, or could be perceived, when it operates within different choral frameworks. I will first consider the effects of those overarching contributors to sound worlds — voices and acoustic — but later move on to address the stylistic features that arise within the performance itself. The interim section deals with how ‘Agnus Dei’ is programmed on disc; another aspect of presentation that frames how the work could be understood.

In terms of what might specifically be being effected or perceived in these interpretations, my main concerns are: the structural qualities of the polyphony, and the sense of the work’s context or meaning. These aspects command considerable attention in the surrounding literature, thus they can be understood as key features of the experience of ‘Agnus Dei’. Value judgements are often related to how a choir handles the polyphony, and many critics are forthright with their demands for clarity and linear integrity; ‘the real spirit of polyphonic singing,’ argued Denis Stevens, is that ‘all voices are equal, but some are (momentarily) more equal than others’.<sup>3</sup> My aim is not to add to such judgements, but I do base many comparisons against this prominent interpretative ideal. There are additional considerations when it comes to the special nature of

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<sup>1</sup> Sleeve notes to *IV Research Period. The High Renaissance (16th Century). Series M: The Elizabethan Age*, Westminster Abbey Choir, DG Archiv PM 14301 (1964); Joseph Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 214.

<sup>2</sup> Knighton, record review, *Gramophone* (September 1990): 586.

<sup>3</sup> Denis Stevens, record review, *The Gramophone* (February 1957): 336.

Byrd's writing in the Masses, which has been described as 'much more "economical" — a terser, more functional style' than his earlier work.<sup>4</sup> It is widely agreed that Byrd adopted this frugality in response to his situation as a recusant Catholic and there is a fascination with this context as if it were a famous legend. Album sleeve notes frequently tell of secret Mass celebrations for which Byrd courageously provided illegal music in the name of his faith. Clearly, these works 'represent something most personal in his musical output', as Andrew Parker says, and they are thus imbued with an extra layer of emotional interest.<sup>5</sup> As his first realisation of the Ordinary, there is significant consensus with Kerman's assessment that 'the Four-Part Mass is the most intense, personal and highly coloured' of the three Masses and that the closing 'Agnus Dei' emerges as the pinnacle moment, as David Trendell explains:<sup>6</sup>

...there is that sense of extreme expression here, whether it be desperately seeking the Lord's attention in dramatic homophonic outbursts or a perpetual yearning for peace in the 'dona nobis pacem.' That yearning for peace which Byrd and his fellow Catholic practitioners simply did not possess...<sup>7</sup>

It is unlikely that a choral director would be ignorant of these central features, but how are they conveyed on record?

## 4.1 Effects of Sound Worlds

### 4.1.1 Vocal Forces

There are fundamental differences in vocal constitution between institutional and independent choirs and this has the most immediate influence on how the music takes shape in performance. Not only do different vocalities create different ambiances and structural readings, but the size and type of ensemble can also have deeper connotations given the context of this repertoire.

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<sup>4</sup> David Trendell, "Byrd's Masses in Context," in *A Byrd Celebration: Lectures at the William Byrd Festival, Portland, Oregon, 1998-2008*, ed. Richard Turbet (Richmond: Church Music Association of America, 2008), 95; these qualities had previously been observed by Kerman, in *Masses and Motets*, 194; and Philip Brett, preface to *The Byrd Edition, Volume 4: The Masses* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1981); they are also echoed in various sleeve notes; see, for example, Wickham, sleeve notes to *William Byrd: Mass for Four Voices, Mass for Five Voices, Infelix ego*, 3.

<sup>5</sup> Andrew Parker, sleeve notes to *Byrd: The 3 Masses*, Winchester Cathedral Choir, Argo 4301642 ZH (1990), 6; this personal quality is deepened by the fact that Byrd's Masses are freely composed responses to the text, rather than adopting a model (though Brett suggests that the four-part Mass might be based on a Taverner ground plan, in the preface to *The Byrd Edition, Vol.4*, vii-viii); see Kerman, *Masses and Motets*, 193-4; and William Peter Mahrt, "The Masses of William Byrd," in *A Byrd Celebration*, 90, 93.

<sup>6</sup> Kerman, *Masses and Motets*, 198.

<sup>7</sup> Trendell, "Byrd's Masses in Context," 98.

The appropriate number of voices is a particularly pertinent issue with regards to Byrd's Masses. Kerman points out that the composer was noticeably scaling down by writing for four voices, 'rather than for his customary choir of five or six', and suggests that this was to accommodate 'the reduced forces available at the clandestine services' taking place in Catholic country houses.<sup>8</sup> This view has found favour with numerous independent practitioners, who are able to align their ensemble's smaller size with this historical context.<sup>9</sup> The theory is also acknowledged in the sleeve notes for several institutional recordings, but there is less scope for those choirs — with *circa* twenty-six singers based in large chapels and cathedrals — to be likened to the small domestic groups who reportedly sang this music originally. Perhaps in an effort to justify institutional performance, some writers have challenged the potential incongruence by arguing that there would have been very few households that could risk or afford to muster the necessary forces for such works, thus 'Byrd could only realistically have regarded his Catholic music at this time as an ideal, rather than as a practical medium for frequent use'.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, the idea of this Mass being sung with minimal voices has widely taken hold.<sup>11</sup>

Historical issues aside, the number of singers on each part directly affects the rendering of Byrd's structural features. Firstly, having fewer voices carries natural advantages with regards to contrapuntal clarity, as Joseph Stevenson noted of the *Pro Cantione Antiqua*:

Since polyphony is an interplay of truly independent lines, the individuality of the singers on each part enhances the performance and helps guide the listener through the complex part-writing.<sup>12</sup>

In larger choirs, by comparison, there is increased chance of discrepancy between voices singing the same part; this can alter the intelligibility of the distinctive polyphonic threads. Secondly, Herbert K. Andrews suggests that manipulation of vocal density was Byrd's 'chief means of achieving variety, contrast and shape in the structure of a movement'; this is especially integral to

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<sup>8</sup> Kerman, *Masses and Motets*, 200; this is also suggested by Peter Phillips, sleeve notes to *William Byrd: The Three Masses*, The Tallis Scholars, Gimell CDGIM 345 (1985).

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Robert Hollingworth, sleeve notes to *The Caged Byrd: Music for voices, viols & harpsichord, from a time of persecution, by William Byrd, Vol. 2*, I Fagiolini, Chandos CHAN0609 (2006), 8.

<sup>10</sup> Parker, sleeve notes to *Byrd: The 3 Masses*, 5; see also, Skinner, sleeve notes to *Byrd: Mass for Four Voices with the Propers for the Feast of Corpus Christi*, Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Oxford, Nimbus NI 5287 (1991).

<sup>11</sup> Fallows pointed out that 'scholarly opinion nowadays seems to be leaning towards the likelihood that the works were originally performed with solo voices', in record review, *Gramophone* (May 1986): 1440.

<sup>12</sup> Stevenson, "Pro Cantione Antiqua: Biography"; single voices were also preferable with early recording technologies, as one reviewer said of the English Singers: 'these records are in some ways the most successful, as only one voice is used for each part, with a distinct gain in the matter of clearness and balance', in Alec Robertson (as N. P.), "Early Church Music," *The Gramophone* (April 1925): 424.

'Agnus Dei'.<sup>13</sup> William Peter Mahrt explains that the whole Mass is based on duets between the upper and lower voices; however, in the second petition of 'Agnus Dei' (see Figure 4.1), the soprano re-joins:

...causing the listener in surprise to re-evaluate the composer's strategy: instead of a texture of paired duets — two high voices answered by two lower voices—there is now a texture of increasing voices — two voices answered by three voices.<sup>14</sup>

Key to this feature is the interplay of vocal balance, thus the differences in the number of voices per part that we know to exist between independent and institutional choirs has significant repercussions here. Most institutional choirs contain vastly more trebles than tenors or basses, which means there are differences in vocal density already present within the choir. Despite the strength of the lower voices, this can incur variations in volume between certain vocal

Figure 4.1: 'Agnus Dei,' bars 8-12 (Astor, ed.).<sup>15</sup>

The image displays a musical score for 'Agnus Dei' by William Byrd, arranged for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The score is presented in two systems of staves. The first system covers bars 8-12, and the second system covers bars 15-18. The lyrics are in Latin and English. The Soprano part re-joins in the second system.

**System 1 (Bars 8-12):**

- Soprano (S):** se - re - re, mi - se - re - re no - - - - bis. Ag - nus
- Alto (A):** re - mi - se - re - re, mi - se - re - re no - - - - bis.
- Tenor (T):** A - gnus De - - - i,
- Bass (B):** A - gnus De - - -

**System 2 (Bars 15-18):**

- Soprano (S):** De - - - i, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di: mi - se - re - re
- Alto (A):** qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di:
- Tenor (T):** qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - - - di, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di: mi -
- Bass (B):** i, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - - - - di: mi - se - re - re - no -

<sup>13</sup> Herbert K. Andrews, *The Technique of Byrd's Vocal Polyphony* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 257.

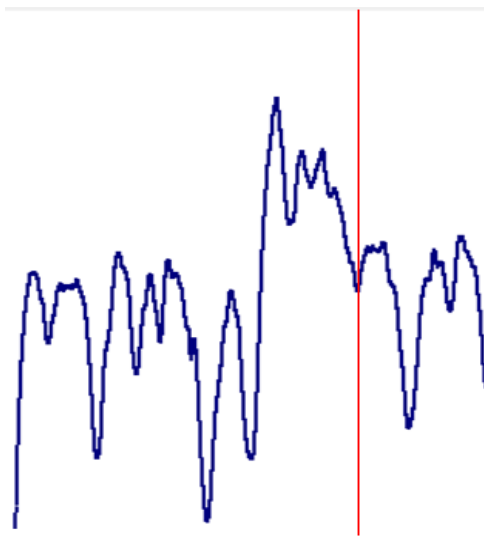
<sup>14</sup> Mahrt, "Masses of William Byrd," 91-92.

<sup>15</sup> The musical edition used in this chapter is Miguel Astor, ed., "Agnus Dei" (Choral Public Domain Library, 2002), available at "Mass for Four Voices (William Byrd)," CPDL, [http://www0.cpdll.org/wiki/index.php/Mass\\_for\\_Four\\_Voices\\_\(William\\_Byrd\)](http://www0.cpdll.org/wiki/index.php/Mass_for_Four_Voices_(William_Byrd)). Bar numbers are used purely for reference and to aid navigation.

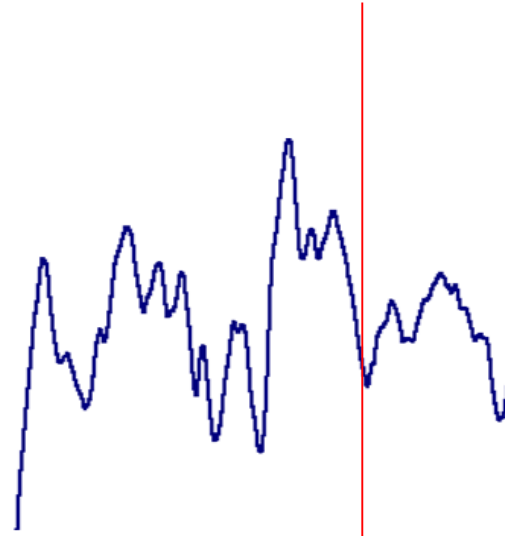
combinations that are extra to those implied by Byrd’s scoring. I have found that the inherent increase from two to three voices, and the surprise that Mahrt describes, is often less effective from recordings by institutional choirs because the addition of the men’s voices does not have the same impact against the level already set by the trebles.<sup>16</sup> This is evident in graphs of volume (‘power curves’) produced from the recordings included in Figure 4.2. The red line marks the entry of the lower voices with the second ‘Agnus Dei’ and, on each graph, the general volume following

Figure 4.2: Power curves from ‘Agnus Dei’, bars 1-16 (Astor, ed.), from four institutional recordings.

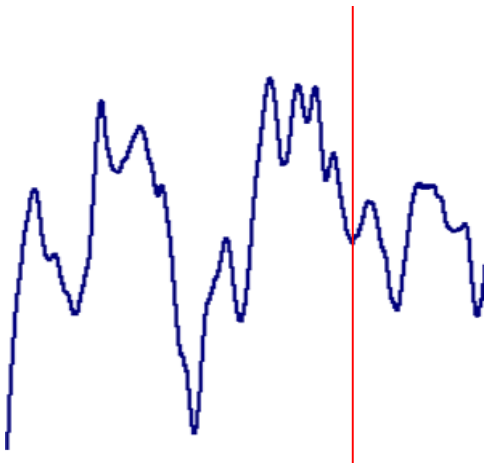
King’s College Choir, Cambridge (M10)



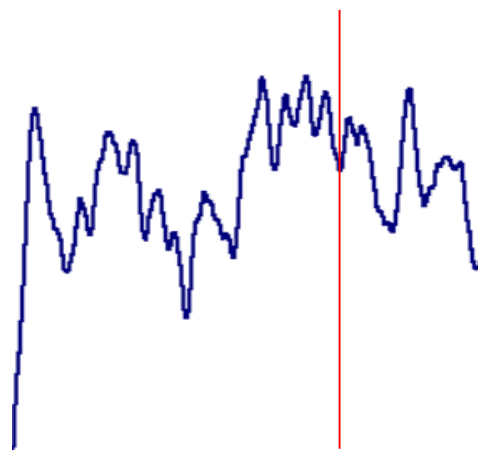
Winchester Cathedral Choir (M53)



Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Oxford (M31)



Her Majesty’s Chapel Royal Choir (M65)



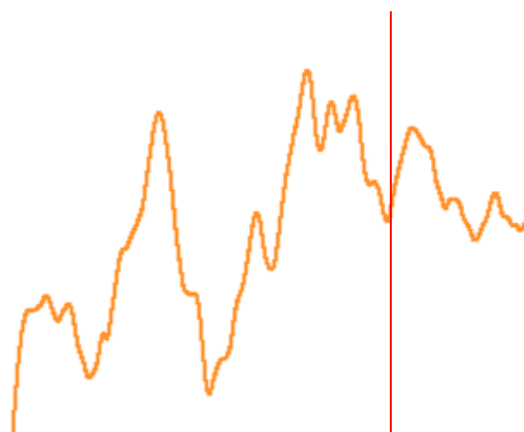
<sup>16</sup> This increase can also be seen on the synthetic performance of this piece, which will be examined later.



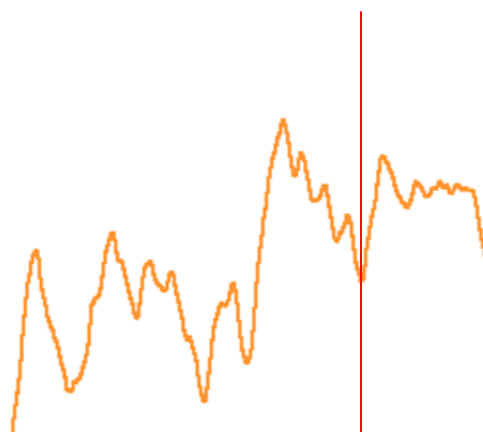
this moment bears little difference to that which was heard in the opening phrases.<sup>17</sup> Though the picture from the independent ensembles does vary, a far greater proportion of their recordings features a more noticeable rise in volume at the second petition of ‘Agnus Dei’ in relation to the first, as can be seen in the sample of graphs in Figure 4.3.<sup>18</sup> The lower voices may not quite match the peak from the rising ‘miserere nobis’ phrases that precede their entry, but the fact that the words ‘Agnus Dei’ arrive at a louder level than they were previously heard highlights the increase in vocal texture more perceptibly than if the volume returned to that which was initially established, as it does with the institutions. The ensembles in Figure 4.3 are both smaller and

Figure 4.3: Power curves from ‘Agnus Dei’, bars 1-16 (Astor, ed.), from four independent recordings.

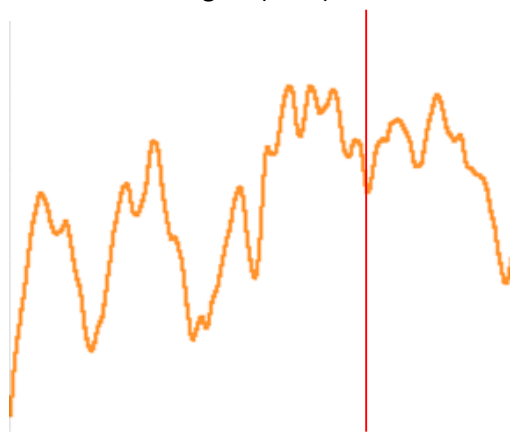
The Quink Vocal Ensemble (M25)



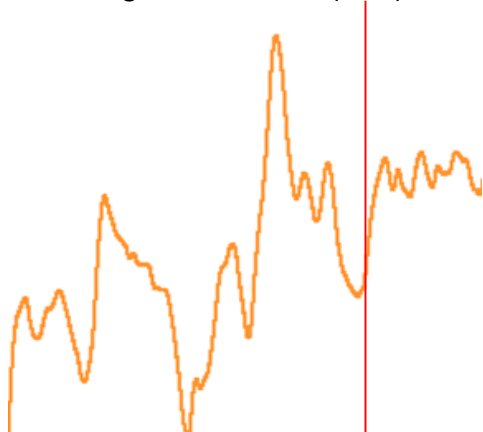
The Armonico Consort (M39)



The Pro Arte Singers (M45)



The Firesign Vocal Quartet (M64)



<sup>17</sup> In the digitised sample of institutional recordings, only St. John’s College Choir display a louder volume level at the start of the second ‘Agnus’, though still not as loud as the preceding ‘miserere’ phrases from the upper voices; see Figure 4.11 in this chapter.

<sup>18</sup> Over half of the independent recordings in digitised sample feature a clear difference in the general volume level between the first and second ‘Agnus’ phrases.

more evenly balanced than those in Figure 4.2; these are the results of that balance in action.<sup>19</sup>

There is some question over whether it is appropriate to perform the start of ‘Agnus Dei’ with reduced forces, a pre-Reformation technique that Byrd may have been referring to.<sup>20</sup> Both Kerman and Philip Brett permit the idea, and Alec Robertson said it was ‘certainly effective’ when the strategy was used on a recording by Westminster Abbey Choir.<sup>21</sup> This could indeed enhance the structural transitions of Byrd’s music, but some are less keen to exaggerate these aspects, as Andrew Parker protests:

I feel that this is to mask the sublimity of Byrd’s skill in his creation of texture, since it over-emphasises the contrasts of sonority that such sections of reduced scoring achieve.<sup>22</sup>

Recorded evidence suggests that the practice is not widely adopted, but this debate serves as a reminder of the impact that different choral distributions can have.

A factor which elicits comparable sonic influence, and perhaps greater controversy, is the type of voice within the choir. Day gives a good account of the general dispute over boy’s versus women’s voices, citing Sir Sydney Nicholson as an example of the traditional view that church music, ‘was written for boys and men and cannot produce the effect intended by the composers if rendered by any other voices’.<sup>23</sup> However, the peculiar context of Byrd’s Masses justifies alternative interpretations. There is a shared awareness that they are likely to have been sung using whatever voices were available at the time and Sally Dunkley suggests that such occasions could have included women too, which is important given that the majority of independent ensembles do.<sup>24</sup> There are many who would argue that this arrangement is actually preferable, and one reviewer noted the ‘trend of favouring straight but technically mature female sopranos to boys’ in the performance of this repertoire.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Both Quink and Firesign are vocal quartets, Armonico Consort contains ten voices, and The Pro Arte Singers, who normally number around twenty-three, were heard with significantly fewer voices on this recording; see Appendix A.1 for details.

<sup>20</sup> See Trendell, “Byrd’s Masses in Context,” 99.

<sup>21</sup> Kerman, *Masses and Motets*, 198; Philip Brett, editorial notes to *The Byrd Edition, Vol.4*, xiv; Robertson observed that a smaller group had been used ‘up to the last petition’ in Westminster Abbey Choir’s recording, in record review, *The Gramophone* (April 1964): 469.

<sup>22</sup> Parker, sleeve notes to *Byrd: The 3 Masses*, 6.

<sup>23</sup> Day, “Tudor Church Music,” 33-37; Day refers to Sydney Nicholson, “Of women’s versus boy’s voices,” in *Cathedral Music Today and Tomorrow* (London: The Cathedral Organists’ Association and The Church Music Society, 1941), 46.

<sup>24</sup> Sally Dunkley, sleeve notes to *Ceremony and Devotion: Music for the Tudors*, The Sixteen, Coro COR16077 (2009), 7; see also Skinner, Carwood and Russill, *The Byrd Edition, Vol.5: The Masses*; and Timothy M. Morris, sleeve notes to *Renaissance Masterpieces, Volume 1: Great Britain, Byrd and Tallis*, The Clerks of New College Choir, Collins Classics 14872 (1996), 6.

<sup>25</sup> Knighton, “Critics Choice,” *Gramophone* (December 1989): 1088.

The main source of contention in this area has to do with the problematic vocal ranges in this Mass. In the Preface to his landmark edition, *The Collected Vocal Works of William Byrd*, E. H. Fellowes revealed that the original scoring ‘presents a considerable difficulty to an Editor preparing the text for use in modern conditions’, particularly with regards to the inner parts, but offered a solution:

...it has seemed best to transpose the music down a tone, and suggest interchanging the second and third voice parts in two passages; by this means a practicable version of this very important work is rendered available for the usual combination of four voices.<sup>26</sup>

Fellowes made these allowances so that this recently revived music could be disseminated as widely as possible, though the alteration of Byrd’s part-writing did not sit comfortably with all.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, editors such as Henry Washington and Frederick Hudson followed suit in printing the *Mass for Four Voices* down a tone in F rather than G, and the vast majority of choirs surveyed for this study perform ‘Agnus Dei’ at this pitch, maintaining their SATB set up.<sup>28</sup> However, in *The Byrd Edition*, Brett advises that this Mass should be transposed down a fourth if necessary, adding that performance ‘in this manner for men’s voices will indeed solve the problem raised by the extreme range of the inner parts’.<sup>29</sup> This precise option can be heard on recordings by The Cardinall’s Musick, The Hilliard Ensemble, The King’s Singers and the Clerks of New College Choir, Oxford. In the sleeve notes to the first of these, Andrew Carwood and David Skinner explain their decision in direct reference to Brett’s suggestion, arguing that ‘while the Mass for Four Voices is normally performed SATB, this conventional layout is rarely satisfactory’.<sup>30</sup> Interestingly, this is echoed on the album by New College Choir, where the use of men’s voices purportedly ‘brings about the most satisfying match of voice to part; seriously challenging the notion that the setting

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<sup>26</sup> Edmund H. Fellowes, “Preface to The Three Masses,” in *The Collected Vocal Works of William Byrd, Volume 1: Masses, Cantiones Sacrae (1575)* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1937), vi.

<sup>27</sup> Michael Howard lamented that ‘more regard has not been given to authenticity’ when describing Fellowes’ editorial practices, in “Gramophone Notes,” *The Musical Times* 91 (1950): 306; Kerman, however, argued that Fellowes’ editions ‘were always directed as much to singers, the choristers and amateurs of this time, as to scholars — as much, or more so’, in “The Byrd Edition: In Print and on Disc,” 111.

<sup>28</sup> Henry Washington, ed., *William Byrd: Mass for Four Voices* (London: J and W Chester, 1959); Frederick Hudson, ed., *William Byrd: Mass for Four Voices* (London: Eulenberg, 1967); as found in Brett, “Handlist of Complete Modern Editions,” in *The Byrd Edition, Vol.4*, 122; this list shows that Fellowes was actually following suit also, as Rockstro and Squire transposed the Mass down a tone for their edition, *Missa ad Quartuor Voces Inaequales* (London: Novello, 1890); of the twenty-two recordings obtained digitally, eighteen are around F (though the recordings of Winchester Cathedral Choir and The Armonico Consort are nearer to F sharp and Her Majesty’s Chapels Royal Choir are nearer to E), none are in G.

<sup>29</sup> Brett explains that these are ‘the characteristic intervals associated with the particular clef-combinations in question’, in editorial notes to *The Byrd Edition, Vol.4*, xiii; the original ranges of the middle voices are: Tenor, d-c<sup>2</sup>, and Alto, f-e<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Skinner, Carwood and Russill, sleeve notes to *The Byrd Edition, Vol.5: The Masses*.

belongs to the SATB repertory’.<sup>31</sup> These two groups have altered their usual line-up to record ‘Agnus Dei’ in this arrangement, acknowledging the importance that vocal choices have in the perception of this unique work.<sup>32</sup> This effect not only extends to the tessitura of the voices; the all-male versions suffuse the piece with a totally different atmosphere. One reviewer, when comparing recordings by six choirs of varying constitutions, described how the ‘close, low texture’ and transposition of Carwood’s interpretation gave ‘a fitting sense of gravity to the performance’.<sup>33</sup> During my listening analysis, I similarly found the alternative characterisations arising from different voice types to be a key point of distinction between these recordings.

The contrasting vocal constitutions between independent and institutional choirs create different timbral balances, which in turn has repercussions for the audibility of Byrd’s polyphony. One example of this occurs during the second petition of ‘miserere nobis’ (see Figure 4.4) where the soprano, tenor and bass voices are present. Figures 4.5 and 4.6 contain spectrograms from three institutional and three independent recordings of this extract, with the fundamental pitches of the upper voice underlined in white. Though this voice is often the source of the most prominent sounds in all recordings — particularly with the high entry at the end of bar 24 — this part stands out far more distinctly in the institutional spectrograms, while in the independents there are a greater number of occurrences from the other parts which match the brightness of the soprano. This reinforces previous observations, but the extension here is that several of these instances are actually the harmonic overtones of the lower voices, resonating at a similar pitch to the fundamental of the soprano notes. This is most evident towards the end of the extract, where

Figure 4.4: ‘Agnus Dei,’ bars 22-27 (Astor, ed.).

The image shows a musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) in SATB format, covering bars 22 to 27. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The Soprano part (S) begins with a high note in bar 22, followed by a melodic line. The Alto part (A) is mostly silent, with a few notes in bar 24. The Tenor part (T) enters in bar 22 with a lower melody. The Bass part (B) provides a harmonic foundation with a lower melody. The lyrics are: 'no - - - bis, mi - se - re - re no - - - bis.' for Soprano and Tenor, and 'bis, mi - se - re - re no - - - bis.' for Bass. The Alto part has no lyrics. The score is attributed to Astor, ed.

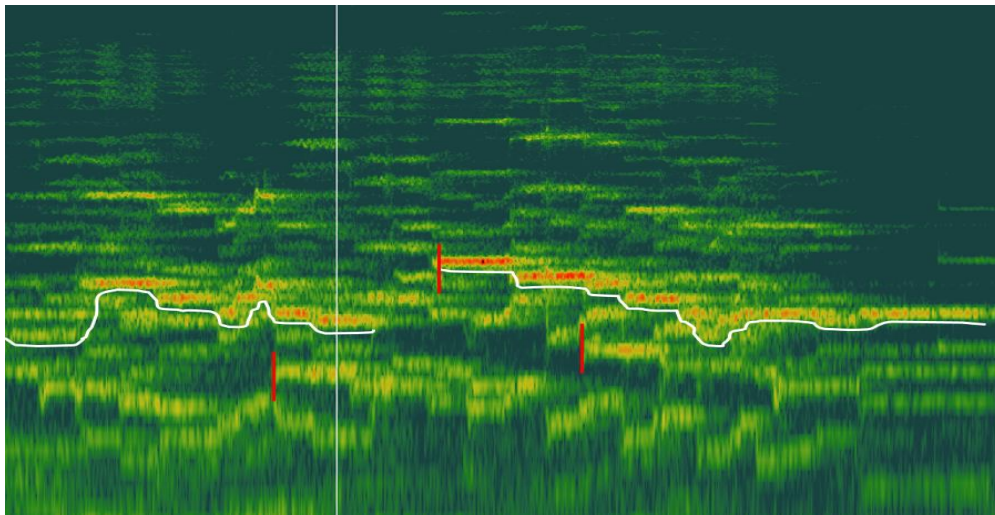
<sup>31</sup> Morris, sleeve notes to *Renaissance Masterpieces, Volume 1*, 4.

<sup>32</sup> The three sopranos from The Cardinal’s Musick do appear on the other tracks on that album, so this is a choice for the *Mass for Four Voices* specifically, whereas the whole New College Choir album features just the Clerks.

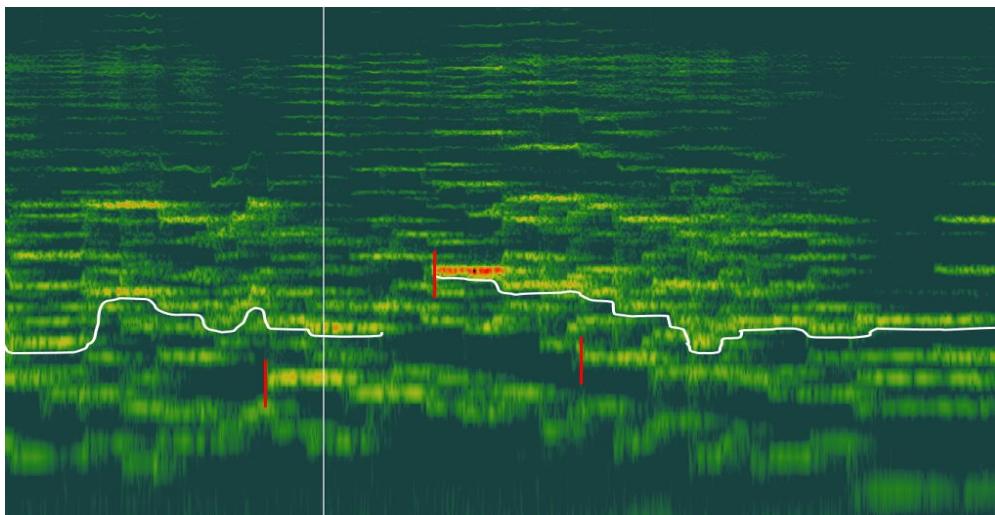
<sup>33</sup> Berry, record review, *Gramophone* (Awards 2000): 106.

Figure 4.5: Spectrograms comparing loudness of the upper voice in 'Agnus Dei', bars 22-27 (Astor, ed.), from three institutional recordings.

King's College Choir, Cambridge (M10)



Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Oxford (M31)



Her Majesty's Chapels Royal Choir (M65)

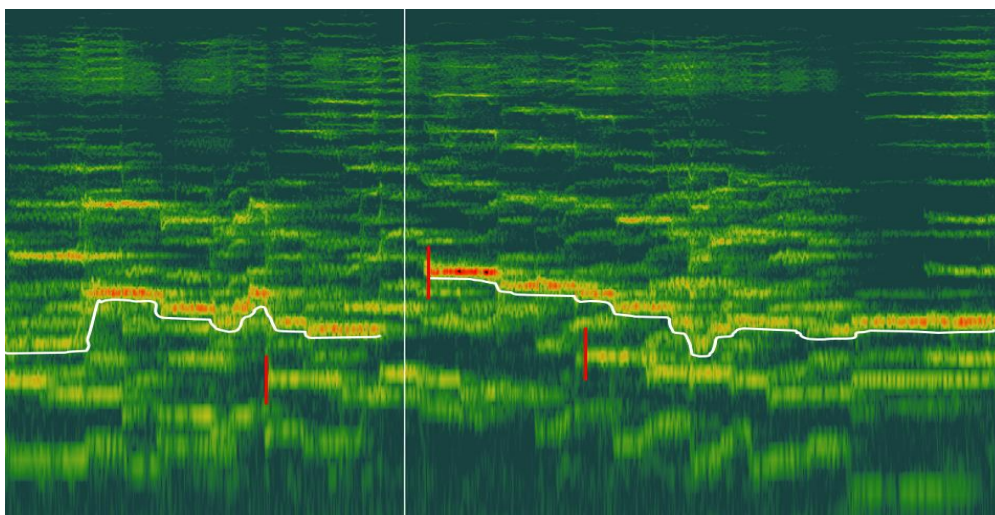
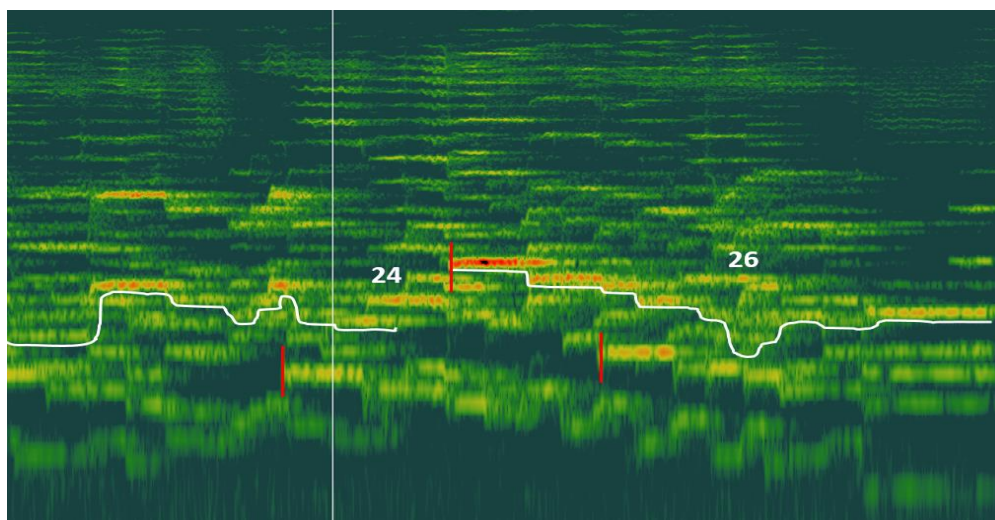


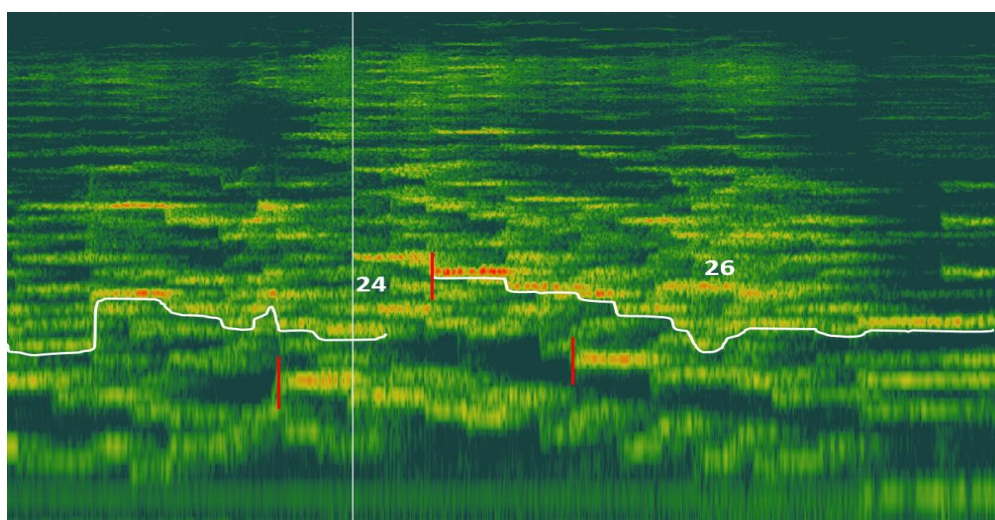


Figure 4.6: Spectrograms comparing loudness of the upper voice in ‘Agnus Dei’, bars 22-27 (Astor, ed.), from three independent recordings.

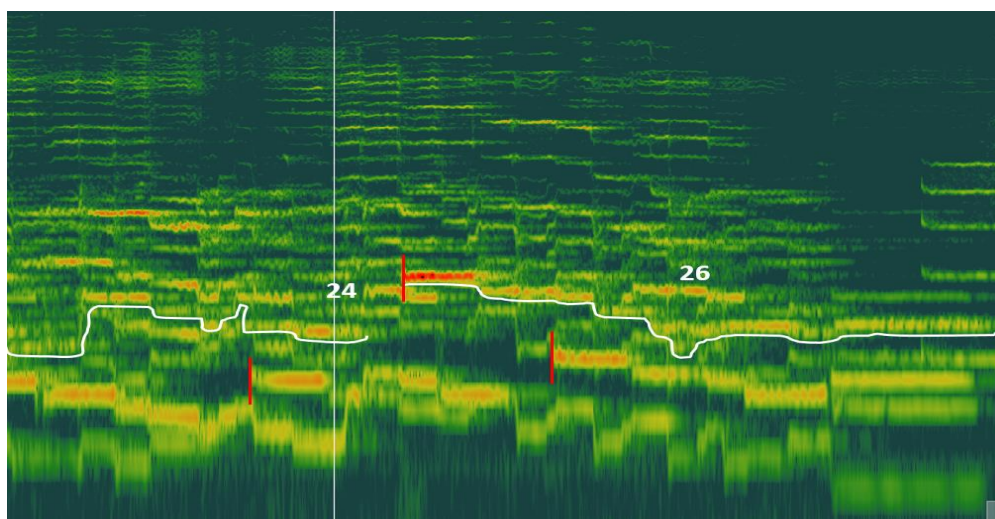
The Tallis Scholars (M23)



The Sixteen (M41)



The King's Singers (M44)



the melismatic ‘*no-bis*’ in the upper voice at bar 26 coincides with the descending tenor line. In each of the independent examples, the brightest frequency at this point is actually the second harmonic from the tenor voice, ringing out at the octave as they repeat their note on ‘*mi-se-re-re*’, a pitch which is higher than the fundamental of the soprano. These resonances do not occur to the same extent in the institutional examples. In the wider sample for this study, the soprano line was often less easy to pinpoint on the spectrograms from independent recordings as the images are crowded with the resonances of upper partials from other voices. However, the audible result is far from blurred: the more perceptible harmonics produced by each voice transmits as a stronger sound, reinforcing the prominence of individual lines as well as contributing to overall fullness. Of course, this also has to do with the maturity of independent singers in comparison to institutional choirs. Fallows described the potential effects of the resulting contrast in a Byrd recording by King’s College:

...the inner voices are decidedly weak, with the consequent considerable loss of many of the details. Even with the score in front of me there were several important features of the part writing which I simply could not hear.<sup>34</sup>

I made this same assessment on several occasions during my close listening analysis; imbalances in vocal strength can notably alter the perception of Byrd’s scoring, with certain contrapuntal features disproportionately masked or enhanced. Further evidence of this can be observed in Figures 4.5 and 4.6 with regards to the potential compositional highlights that occur here. The main entries of each voice have been marked with a red line, indicating the bass, soprano and tenor in succession. As the first voice to enter with these higher repetitions of ‘*miserere*’, we would arguably expect the bass to be the main feature going from bar 23 to 24, and the tenor line also warrants attention as it leapfrogs over the lower voice, while the soprano is simply winding their first phrase to a close. On the whole, the independent spectrograms reflect these musical roles more strongly, with harmonic resonances from the interplay of the bass and rising tenor line maintaining a comparable level of loudness to that which had been heard previously from the soprano. However, in the spectrograms from the institutional choirs, there is far less to rival the intensity that comes from the treble line and the ear is thus drawn predominantly to that part.

As is evident in the Christ Church spectrogram, however, there are some relatively strong bass voices to be found on several institutional recordings; it is the audibility of the *inner* voices that often presents the main issue, as Fallows suggests. This has most significant implications for the ‘*dona nobis pacem*’ section, which Kerman described as ‘one of Byrd’s darkest and most

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<sup>34</sup> Fallows, record review, *Gramophone* (June 1979): 93.

unforgettable passages’.<sup>35</sup> Many agree that this is the most emotive moment in the piece, identifying the ‘unbearably poignant dissonances’ and ‘intense and pleading suspensions’ as the key source of that emotion.<sup>36</sup> In his analysis, David Trendell observes that a figure of imitation ‘circles around with a suspension on just about every available beat’ in this section, rising in pitch and tension, and that Byrd employs ‘the most dissonant intervals — the semitone and the major seventh’.<sup>37</sup> Kerman made the same assessment, counting five of each interval.<sup>38</sup> Yet only one of those ten dissonances is between the soprano and bass voices; all others rely on at least one of the middle voices and half of them are between the alto and tenor. Recordings that display any unevenness in the strength of the inner voices may therefore not produce as clear a picture of these compounding suspensions, potentially altering the musical narrative of such vital passages.

Varying vocal contributions can also affect the shape of the main climax in this final section. The loudest moment on most recordings is instigated as the soprano imitates the bass and clashes with their highest ‘*pa-cem*’, seen in bars 48-49 of Figure 4.7. Spectrograms overlaid with power curves for the surrounding extract are displayed in Figures 4.8 and 4.9, taken from four institutional and four independent recordings. The red line indicates the start of ‘*pa-cem*’, sung simultaneously by the soprano and bass in bar 50. In the institutions, there is a notable peak in volume here which can be even louder than that arising from the densely dissonant texture of the preceding bar, again demonstrating the overriding influence of the trebles. More importantly, the dynamic level then declines swiftly after this point, tracing the descent of the soprano and bass lines despite subsequent entries from the middle voices. The independent spectrograms tell quite

Figure 4.7: ‘Agnus Dei,’ bars 47-53 (Astor, ed.).

The image displays a musical score for the 'Agnus Dei' section, bars 47-53, from the Astor edition. It features four vocal parts: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The music is in 3/4 time and includes Latin lyrics: 'do - na no - bis pa - - - cem, do - na no -'. The Soprano part has a red line above bar 50. The Bass part has a red line below bar 50. The Alto and Tenor parts have red lines above bar 50. The score shows a complex texture of dissonances and suspensions.

<sup>35</sup> Kerman, *Masses and Motets*, 204.

<sup>36</sup> Richard Jones, sleeve notes to *Byrd: Mass for Four Voices, Mass for Five Voices*, St. John's College Choir, Cambridge, EMI EMX 2104 (1987); sleeve notes to *A Choral Tapestry*, Voces 8, Signum Classics SIGCD283, (2012).

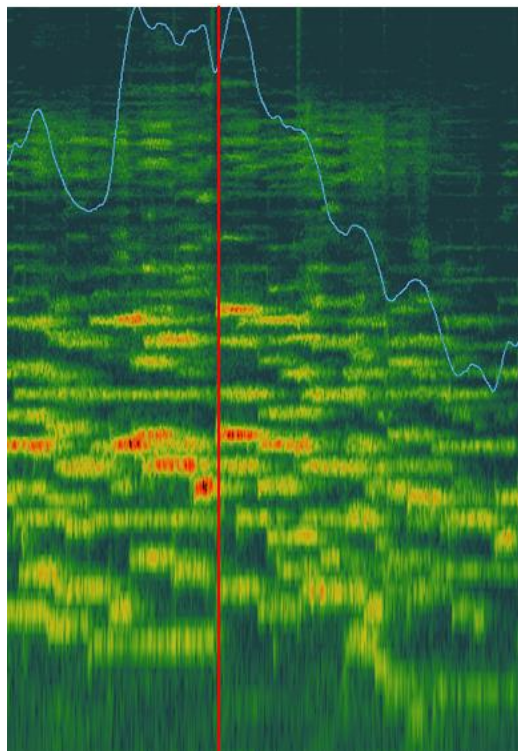
<sup>37</sup> Trendell, "Byrd's Masses in Context," 98.

<sup>38</sup> Kerman, *Masses and Motets*, 204.

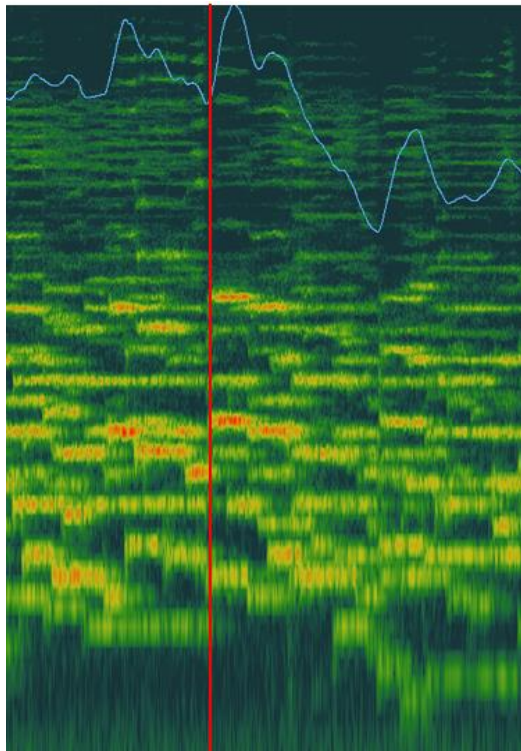


Figure 4.8: Spectrograms and power curves showing peaks and decline following bar 50 of 'Agnus Dei' (Astor, ed.) from four institutional recordings.

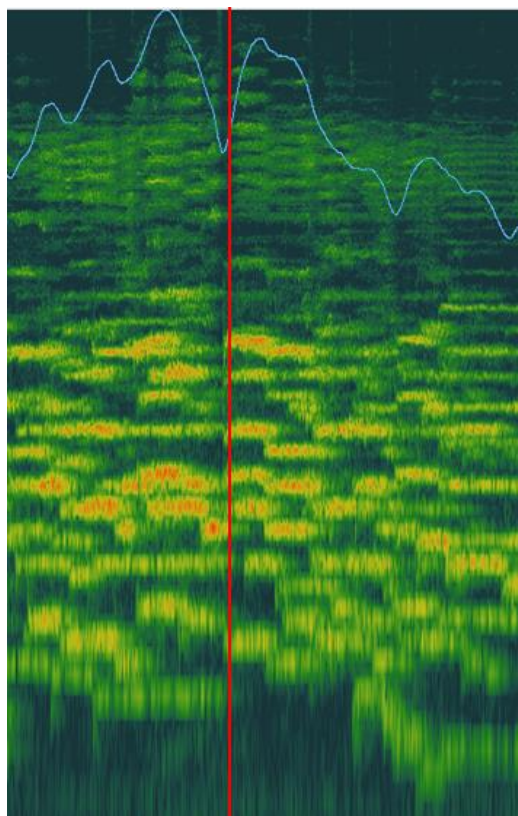
King's College Choir, Cambridge (M10)



Winchester Cathedral Choir (M53)



St. John's College Choir, Cambridge (M26)



Her Majesty's Chapels Royal Choir (M65)

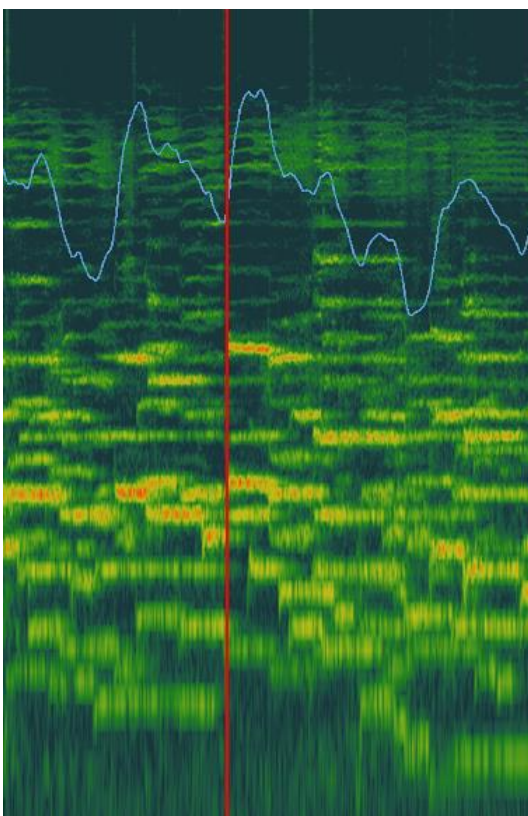
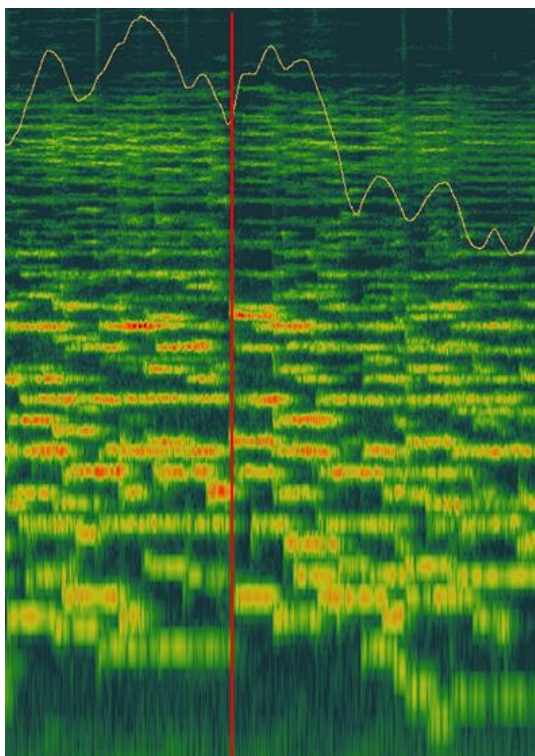


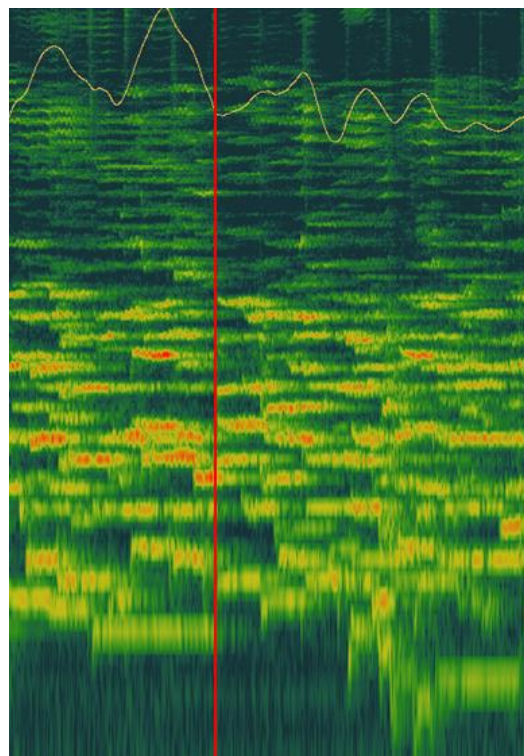


Figure 4.9: Spectrograms and power curves showing peaks and decline following bar 50 of ‘Agnus Dei’ (Astor, ed.) from four independent recordings.

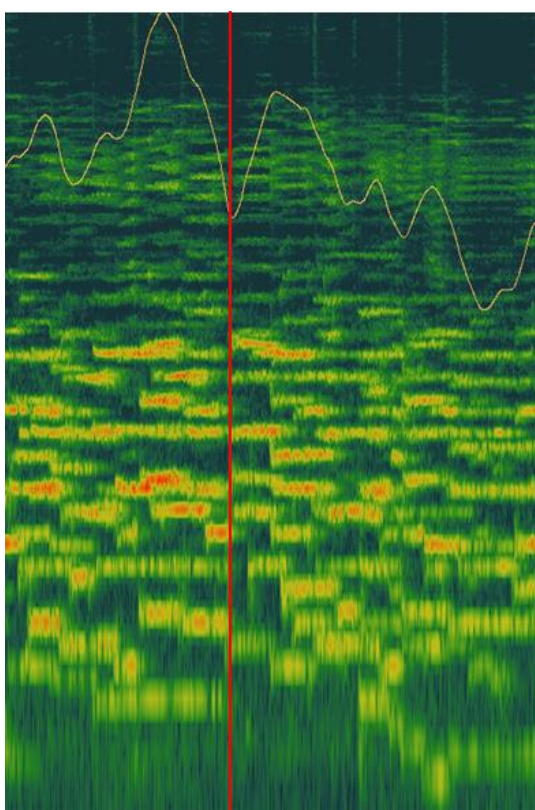
The Oxford Camerata (M50)



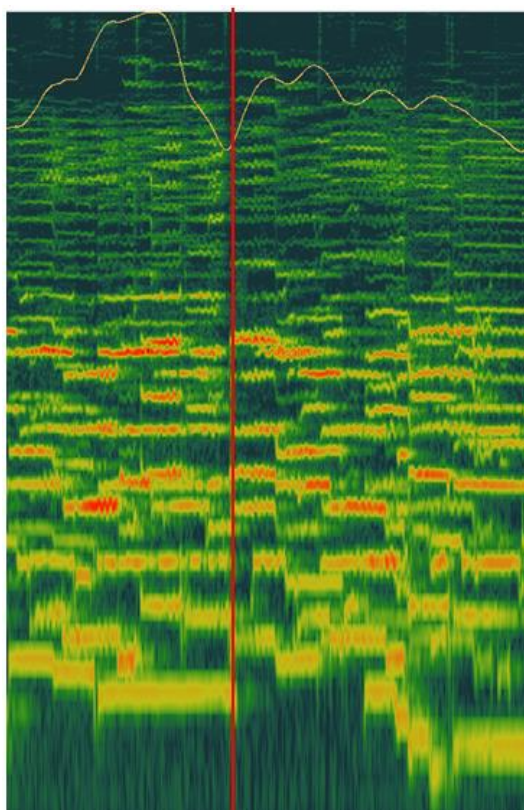
The Firesign Vocal Quartet (M64)



The BBC Singers (M28)



The Quink Vocal Ensemble (M25)



different and varying stories. Their main peaks do not directly coincide with that onset of 'pacem' at bar 50, but can rise slightly later with the addition of the alto and tenor. Moreover, the dynamic is then shaped in different ways across the following bars rather than immediately descending, with the Quink and Firesign ensembles actually maintaining a similar level of volume for quite some time.

I have demonstrated how the particular constitution of institutional choirs can result in interpretations that reflect more of what the soprano (and bass) are singing, rather than Byrd's music as a whole, whereas the differing independent combinations are able to affect more varied yet balanced structural readings. Furthermore, it is clear that the contrasting vocalities embodied by these choirs can shade 'Agnus Dei' with different contextual meanings. Several argue that this music is actually 'unsuitable' for traditional 'treble-dominated' chapel choirs, referring not only to their vocal arrangement but to issues of historical propriety; this becomes even more pertinent as we consider where those recordings took place.<sup>39</sup>

#### 4.1.2 Acoustic

The acoustic atmospheres outlined in Chapter 3 exert considerable influence over the characterisation of 'Agnus Dei'. As with vocal forces, different performance spaces have as much bearing on contextual framing as with musical intelligibility, even on disc.

A great majority of these performances were recorded in religious buildings. Naturally, many commentators from the institutional sphere stress the importance of hearing sacred works in such spaces. On an album from Durham Cathedral, for example, one speaks of 'rehabilitating [Byrd's] music to its natural home', which 'puts back the dimension that can be lacking in the concert hall or recording studio'.<sup>40</sup> Eighteen independent recordings of 'Agnus Dei' are also known to have been made in this type of venue, with several practitioners agreeing that this approach is most appropriate, as Cullingford recounts from Harry Christophers:<sup>41</sup>

And just as a religious painting conceived for a particular chapel loses something when hung in a municipal gallery, so it is with religious music. The music of Tallis, Byrd, Tye and Victoria was designed to soar to the summit of the great ecclesiastical edifices of their day...to be at one with the buildings in glorifying God...<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Hollingworth specifically said that performance by such choirs was 'unsuitable both in terms of text, vocal ranges (at whatever pitch you perform it) and overall balance', in sleeve notes to *The Caged Byrd, Vol.2*, 8.

<sup>40</sup> Sleeve notes to *Motets of William Byrd*, Durham Cathedral Choir, Priory PRCD 801 (1988).

<sup>41</sup> Of the original independent recordings for which the locations are known, fourteen specify a church or chapel and a further four list a priory, abbey or cathedral.

<sup>42</sup> Cullingford, "Pilgrim's Progress," 29.

Christophers may be more concerned with the aesthetic package offered by these buildings, but this shows that choirs of all kinds can benefit from the acoustical qualities and even the implied spirituality of such spaces.

However, questions of an appropriate context for ‘Agnus Dei’ are again complicated by the unique nature of its original conception. Both Trendell and Peter Phillips challenge the ‘irony’ of Byrd’s Masses being performed by choirs of Anglican chapels and cathedrals, ‘the very institutions that would have been least likely to have sung them in Byrd’s lifetime’.<sup>43</sup> Aside from this clear denominational incongruity, the nature and size of those buildings also contrasts with the idea of these compositions being for intimate, domestic worship. This is acknowledged on an album by Theatre of Voices, where the approach is refreshingly pragmatic:

...we might better understand [the Masses] as vocal chamber music. It seems very likely that the performances which Byrd knew had few and maybe just one singer to a part, and took place amongst the furniture and tapestries of a country house. We are not obliged to replicate these exact conditions(!), but it is certainly worth bearing them in mind...<sup>44</sup>

Some independent practitioners have specifically selected a location that reflects the historical atmosphere of Byrd’s music. The main example is Skinner’s *Byrd Edition*, recorded in a ‘private family chapel’ in Arundel Castle, which ‘may well have been known to Tallis and Byrd’ and ‘remarkably, has remained Catholic despite the turmoils of the mid 16th-century Reformations’, thus fulfilling many criteria.<sup>45</sup> One or two institutional choirs have also made the effort to bring their performances closer to this context. In a review of Winchester Cathedral Choir’s *Mass for Five Voices*, for example, Mary Berry observes that:

Winchester Cathedral Choir have purposely sought out an enclosed space in the great cathedral to make this recording, so that the sound captures something of the immediacy of singers performing in a small hidden room...<sup>46</sup>

Such instances, however, are comparatively few. As I have argued, the atmosphere offered by most institutional recordings is of that choir in that building; this is not something which they readily alter.

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<sup>43</sup> Phillips, sleeve notes to *William Byrd: The Three Masses*; Trendell adds that this was ‘a state religion that actively connived in the persecution of the original audience for these works’, in “Byrd’s Masses in Context,” 101; these issues are explored further in the final chapter.

<sup>44</sup> Paul Hillier, sleeve notes to *William Byrd: Motets and Mass for Four Voices*, Theatre of Voices, ECM New Series 4391722 (1994).

<sup>45</sup> Skinner, sleeve notes to *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae 1575*, Alamire, Obsidian CD706 (2011).

<sup>46</sup> Berry, record review, *Gramophone* (December 1996): 119.

A key feature of institutional sound worlds is the presence of greater resonance, while the majority of independent recordings of 'Agnus Dei' lean towards a light or sometimes dry acoustic. The potential contrast in the audibility of Byrd's polyphony is obvious and was actually evident on some of the spectrograms in Chapter 3; where the institutions instil a wash of sound, merging the lines together, independent ensembles often render the contrapuntal movement with greater clarity.<sup>47</sup> The effect of these qualities for listeners is much written about. One reviewer described 'the serenely flowing performances of the Byrd Masses' by King's College, while another felt that Tallis Scholars' version was 'crisp, lithe and forthright, and the contrapuntal lattice clearly defined' within their chosen acoustic.<sup>48</sup> Several critics express concern for intelligibility where there is notable resonance, but Denis Arnold weighs this up against the alternative:

In a resonant cathedral, much of the detail...will be lost. Recorded more closely, the detail is clearer, yet there are too many noisy sibilants and little sense of atmosphere.<sup>49</sup>

It appears that many would prefer to compromise on musical detail before atmosphere, as one of the most frequent complaints of recording quality is when there is 'no acoustic ambience' or 'too studio-like an acoustic'.<sup>50</sup> Reviewers seem particularly frustrated if atmosphere is lacking when a choir is known to have recorded in a specific space, as Fallows writes of an album from St. John's College: 'the engineers have entirely failed to capture any of the atmosphere of the building: they could have been recording in a studio, for all that can be heard here'.<sup>51</sup> Hugh Keyte made the same accusation, almost word-for-word, of an earlier recording by Christ Church Cathedral Choir.<sup>52</sup> Within these kinds of narrative, the audibly resonant readings of 'Agnus Dei' take on a certain kind of value; this is particularly pertinent to the location-based institutional choirs and is a notion that I shall return to.

Notwithstanding the overarching trend towards greater acoustic neutrality, it must be remembered that much variety was shown to exist among the independent sound worlds. In contrast to the description of The Tallis Scholars above, Lindsay Kemp detects that the aim of The Sixteen, 'seems to have been for gentle homogeneity of sound rather than contrapuntal clarity'

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<sup>47</sup> For example, refer back to Figure 3.6 of Chapter 3.

<sup>48</sup> Ivan March, "Collector's Corner," *Gramophone* (February 1997): 120; Milsom, record review, *Gramophone* (May 1984): 1303.

<sup>49</sup> Denis Arnold, record review, *Gramophone* (June 1977): 83; Fenlon also complained that this was 'closely recorded and finely balanced but lacks essential resonance', in record review, *The Musical Times* 118 (1977): 924.

<sup>50</sup> Stevens, record review, *The Gramophone* (October 1962): 201; Noble, "Sixteenth-Century Music on Records. I: Sacred Music," *Music and Letters* 39 (1958): 155.

<sup>51</sup> Fallows, record review, *Gramophone* (March 1987): 1309.

<sup>52</sup> The recording was in fact made in Merton College Chapel; Hugh Keyte, record review, *Gramophone* (April 1977): 1582.

and the same could be said of The Armonico Consort.<sup>53</sup> The atmosphere on some independent recordings is notably light, resonant and fluid, while others are rich, warm and intimate, and this creates some very different manifestations of Byrd’s polyphony. Institutional recordings, however, share the effects of an ambient legato that smooths the music together in a similar way.

It is evident that different acoustic settings can foster alternative impressions of what ‘Agnus Dei’ *is*, musically, and what it might be *for*, historically and/or religiously. However, the contextual framing of this work on record is not just affected through sonic representation, bringing us to the question of how it is situated within the album programme.

## 4.2 Effects of Programming

The decision of how to programme ‘Agnus Dei’ is complicated by its relationship to both a larger liturgy and a set of Byrd Masses. The discography reveals four main approaches to this: the first, and by far the most common programme, features all of the movements from the *Mass for Four Voices* consecutively; the second joins this with another of Byrd’s Masses, or all three together; other approaches try to emulate some sort of liturgy, inserting Propers or other pieces in between the movements of the Ordinary; the final option includes just ‘Agnus Dei’, independent of the other Mass items or from Byrd’s work altogether. Not every choir had the same choices available, of course, given the technical limitations of different eras. It was not until the advent of the CD that all three Masses could truly appear together without interruption. But any way that ‘Agnus Dei’ is positioned against other music has definite implications for the understanding of its compositional function.

The first option above allows listeners to experience the *Mass for Four Voices* as a unified whole. Many scholars have noted Byrd’s use of head-motifs in this work and Mahrt explains that these were employed ‘in the absence of the usual borrowed material to integrate the five movements’.<sup>54</sup> Andrews admires the ‘great skill and artistry’ that Byrd demonstrated in doing so, and there is even reference to the importance of this ‘recurrent unifying device’ on some sleeve notes.<sup>55</sup> Placing the Mass movements in direct succession increases the potential for these thematic relationships to be perceived. This is extended within the second option above, where the *Mass for Four Voices* appears as part of a larger set. Many choirs have released original recordings of one or two of Byrd’s Masses together, but only five independent ensembles and one

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<sup>53</sup> Lindsay Kemp, record review, *Gramophone* (January 1991): 1399.

<sup>54</sup> Mahrt, “Masses of William Byrd,” 91.

<sup>55</sup> Andrews, *Byrd’s Vocal Polyphony*, 267; Carol Chidsey, sleeve notes to *Music of Five Centuries*, The Montreal Bach Choir, Vox DL 880 (1962).

institution, Winchester Cathedral Choir, issued all three together from the outset.<sup>56</sup> Tess Knighton believes that such programming is beneficial because 'the listener can compare Byrd's three settings as hermetic pieces', thus appreciating his skill in writing for the different vocal textures, and Fallows also argues that 'there is an obvious need' for such issues 'because the evidence all seems to suggest that he conceived the three together as part of a single creative effort'.<sup>57</sup> In Brett's Preface to *The Masses* in print, however, we are reminded that it was primarily 'aesthetic and spiritual' principles that guided this creative effort; it is important to understand Byrd's compositions not just as technical masterpieces, but as meaningful expressions of faith.<sup>58</sup>

Some programmes aim to address this religious function more directly, interspersing the Mass with other liturgical pieces to reflect how it might have been performed originally, or is used today.<sup>59</sup> The Sixteen are the only independent choir to attempt this, and just three cathedral recordings do so with the four-part work, though quasi-liturgical presentations of Byrd's other Masses do exist.<sup>60</sup> Berry feels that these are an 'excellent idea', likening the experience of listening to such constructions as being transported 'back in time' to 'a live celebration of Mass in one of the great houses of the Catholic nobility'.<sup>61</sup> While this strength of feeling is likely derived from Berry's background as a nun, hearing the Mass in this format could certainly illuminate the movements in a different way.<sup>62</sup> Kemp offers an analysis of why such programming has advantages over the above alternatives:

...the understandable treatment of these great masterpieces of the 1590s as a self-contained set means that it is easy to lose sight of the larger scheme in which the composer placed them, namely the provision of a sizeable body of liturgical music that would be of practical use to those still adhering to the Roman faith (of whom the

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<sup>56</sup> Those independent ensembles are: The Tallis Scholars, The Hilliard Ensemble, The Pro Arte Singers, The Cardinal's Musick and Parthenia XIV; some other choirs have offered similar collections but compiled from previous recordings, including The Deller Consort, King's College Choir and Christ Church Cathedral Choir.

<sup>57</sup> Knighton, record review, *Gramophone* (December 1990): 1243; Fallows, record review, *Gramophone* (June 1979): 88; Andrews also argues that 'the close similarity between these recurrent figures in all three masses is worth noting', in *Byrd's Vocal Polyphony*, 269.

<sup>58</sup> Brett observes that 'thematic inter-relations applied in a schematic manner like Taverner's could only have undermined the subtlety of Byrd's musical rhetoric, and...run contrary to his belief in the generating musical power of the words themselves', in the preface to *The Byrd Edition, Vol. 4*, vii, vi.

<sup>59</sup> Reference to the liturgical use of this music in Byrd's time is suggested by Brett, *ibid.*; and Guy Protheroe, sleeve notes to *William Byrd: Mass for Five Voices, Mass for Four Voices*, Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Oxford, Argo ZRG 858 (1977); Nicholas Kenyon addresses the concept of liturgical concert programming in a wider sense and compares it to alternatives, in "Liturgy in Concert," *Early Music* 7 (1979): 2-3.

<sup>60</sup> For example, Winchester Cathedral Choir later released *The Mass for Five Voices with the Propers for the Feast of Corpus Christi*, Hyperion CDA 66837 (1996).

<sup>61</sup> Berry, record review *Gramophone* (Awards 2000): 105; record review, *Gramophone* (December 1996): 119.

<sup>62</sup> "Sister Mary Berry: Obituary," *The Telegraph*, May 27, 2008, accessed January 2016, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/2039131/Sister-Mary-Berry.html>.

Catholic Byrd knew many). It is good, therefore, to see The Sixteen taking this broader view and combining the Four-part Mass with sumptuous six-part music for the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, taken from the *Gradualia* of 1607.<sup>63</sup>

By simultaneously positioning ‘Agnus Dei’ as part of a Mass, a Feast, and a complex liturgical corpus, this kind of programming highlights multiple planes of potential meaning: musical, spiritual, historical and practical. However, there is actually considerable debate as to whether these Masses would have been used liturgically during Byrd’s lifetime. Curiously, this is acknowledged on albums by Winchester and Christ Church cathedral choirs, who have both offered such programmes at some point. On the latter choir’s *Mass for Four Voices with the Propers for the Feast of Corpus Christi*, David Skinner explains that Byrd’s *Gradualia* was ‘more of a meditation upon his own beliefs and convictions than any real attempt to provide a practical musical outline for religious foundations’, yet he does add that the record allows the listener to ‘experience the Mass setting in relief, as Byrd might have intended’.<sup>64</sup> A review of this programme in *Early Music* was far less favourable:

This is an interesting idea, but there is no evidence to suggest that Byrd ever intended this or any of his settings of the Ordinary to be heard within a liturgical framework, and it seems an unlikely possibility, given that over 12 years separated the two publications. The listener may even find disconcerting the constant shifts between the style of the Ordinary, which looks back to the *Cantiones* and, indeed to Tudor music of a much earlier period, and that of the Propers, which are in many respects more modern in sound. It therefore seems a little disingenuous to offer this concoction as an integrated religious or artistic experience....I prefer to hear the Propers of the *Gradualia* in the form in which they make most musical sense, i.e. in their respective uninterrupted cycles.<sup>65</sup>

The opinions of this reviewer contrast completely with Kemp’s assessment, but both share a concern for how the programmatic experience might shape an audience’s understanding of ‘Agnus Dei’, demonstrating the extent to which it can do so.

A few choirs have concocted more novel arrangements of the *Mass for Four Voices* on disc, aiming to cast the movements in a new light or draw attention to alternative meanings. One example is the deceptively titled *William Byrd: Motets and Mass for four voices* by Theatre of

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<sup>63</sup> Kemp, record review, *Gramophone* (January 1991): 1394.

<sup>64</sup> Skinner, sleeve notes to *Mass for Four Voices with the Propers for the Feast of Corpus Christi*; like Skinner, Parker questions what these works would have been used for originally, in the sleeve notes to *Byrd: The 3 Masses*, 5.

<sup>65</sup> David Mateer, “Review,” *Early Music* 19 (1991): 669; Potter similarly feels that liturgical reconstruction on the grounds of historical context extends to ‘dishonesty’ in performance, in *Vocal Authority*, 165.



Voices, in which ‘the Mass is interleaved with introspective keyboard works’ and ‘kneels so humbly at the album’s center’.<sup>66</sup> ‘Agnus Dei’ is hidden away at track seventeen of twenty amongst works that might otherwise seem unrelated, but that is the intention of this programme: ‘such a fragmentary approach emphasizes [the Mass’s] permeability, its invisibility (the work was believed lost from 1822 to 1888)’. A bolder approach comes courtesy of The King’s Singers’ album *1605, Treason and Dischord: William Byrd and the Gunpowder Plot*, which emphasises the composer’s political activities. This unusual project combines Byrd’s Mass, Catholic motets, Protestant anthems and spoken word, aiming to ‘illuminate the dangers of hearing the Mass in secret, of conspiracy and downfall, and of Protestant relief and celebration’.<sup>67</sup> Placing ‘Agnus Dei’ at the end of this conglomeration imbues the piece with a plethora of complex connotations.

Byrd’s entire *Mass for Four Voices* is rarely programmed with other music in this way, but it is common to see ‘Agnus Dei’ alone amongst collections of other works, especially on reissues and compilation albums.<sup>68</sup> Aside from the 78rpm issues, where this piece was the only feature, there are twelve albums in the discography that appear to contain *new* recordings of ‘Agnus Dei’ independently of the rest of the Mass; five from independent groups and seven from institutional choirs. This is most common in the present century. A prominent example is The Sixteen’s album *Renaissance: Music for Inner Peace*, which amalgamates pieces that are meant to ‘touch the heart of our emotions, whether in prayer, hope or exultant praise’.<sup>69</sup> Hearing ‘Agnus Dei’ in this context may not reveal its relationship to frameworks of liturgy or Mass, but could enhance the perception of its emotional character and mood. Higginbottom was asked about this concept in reference to his collection of various ‘Agnus Dei’s, and responded that:

Problems might arise if there is too great a tension between pieces on the same disc, or if the effect of certain selections is to cancel out others. But far more destructive to the listening process, in my opinion, is playing, say 12 Purcell trio sonatas in one go.<sup>70</sup>

Playing all three of Byrd’s Masses in one go would not warrant the same criticism, but removing ‘Agnus Dei’ from the context of the Mass does allow for greater flexibility in its effect as part of a broader emotional experience.

There are many levels of meaning inherent in ‘Agnus Dei’ and varying opinions as to which of these should be prioritised. The way it is positioned on a recorded programme clearly has the

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<sup>66</sup> “William Byrd: Motets and Mass for Four Voices,” Theatre of Voices, accessed March 2014, <http://theatreofvoices.com/recordings/william-byrd-motets-and-mass-for-four-voices/>

<sup>67</sup> “Shop / 1605: Treason and Dischord,” The King’s Singers, accessed March 2014, <http://www.kingssingers.com/p/cds-aand-dvds/1605:-treason-and-dischord/cd20.html>

<sup>68</sup> I explore the use of this piece on compilation albums in the final chapter.

<sup>69</sup> Christophers, sleeve notes to *Renaissance: Music for Inner Peace*, The Sixteen, Universal 4764592 (2004).

<sup>70</sup> Higginbottom, “Back to Business,” 22.

capacity to influence listeners’ perceptions of those meanings, particularly with regards to its compositional function and relationship to Byrd’s Mass, Masses, and *Gradualia*. Though few institutional choirs have reconstructed liturgical programmes on disc, it should be remembered that this is how they are most accustomed to performing this piece; O’Donnell explained that this association ‘colours’ their approach to recording.<sup>71</sup> Many independent vocalists will also be familiar with this kind of performance, but Christophers confirms that they now present this music ‘out of the context of the service’, which ‘puts a different light on how [they] perform’.<sup>72</sup> The ‘colours’ and ‘lights’ suggested here may not be directly reflected in their recorded programmes, but it alludes to how these different modes and purposes of performance might shape their recorded interpretations.

### 4.3 Effects of Stylistic Devices

Thus far, this chapter has centred on the effects of overarching parameters that are set in place before the performance begins. I will now address more of the stylistic events and choices that unfold as the piece is sung. In addition to considering how the character of ‘Agnus Dei’ is shaped, my examination of musical devices here starts to reveal more about expressive distinctions, both between the choral categories and over time, preparing for the full exploration of those aspects in Chapter 5.

#### 4.3.1 Tempo

Tempo affects the entire performance of ‘Agnus Dei’ and how its structure, character and mood are conveyed.<sup>73</sup> This is evidenced most immediately by two recordings at either end of the spectrum. The longest version, by Her Majesty’s Chapels Royal Choir, is distinctly slow; this has repercussions for the synchronisation of the polyphonic lines and can also make certain musical details, such as the descending sequences, feel rather laboured. The Quink Ensemble’s version, on the other hand, is exceptionally quick, which could seem at odds with the pensive sobriety inherent in this work, as suggested in the following criticism:

...the slick performance of Quink, who canter here like young colts to the last chord without a trace of emotion, every note precisely in its place, with a perfect blend in utter

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<sup>71</sup> As referenced in Chapter 3; O’Donnell, “A Catholic Approach,” 28.

<sup>72</sup> Christophers, “Do You Need ‘Religion’,” 30.

<sup>73</sup> The tempo relations between the different movements of the Mass would also be an intriguing area for study, especially given the programmatic variations described above, but this is beyond the scope of this investigation on ‘Agnus Dei’.

clarity, but missing entirely one essential dimension: an understanding of what it all means and in what context it was composed.<sup>74</sup>

Though extreme, these two recordings are indicative of wider trends in tempo that were observed between the choral categories in the digitised sample for 'Agnus Dei'.<sup>75</sup> Table 4.1 compares tempo in beats per minute for the whole performance.<sup>76</sup> Given that the versions by Her Majesty's Chapels Royal and Quink are isolated from the other results in their groups by twelve and twenty beats per minute respectively, I also show what the values would have been had these anomalies been excluded:

Table 4.1: Table comparing overall tempo in recordings of 'Agnus Dei'.

	<b>INSTITUTIONS</b> Overall tempo in bpm	<b>INDEPENDENTS</b> Overall tempo in bpm
Slowest tempo	42 (54 excluding HMCR)	58
Quickest tempo	66	95 (75 excluding Quink)
MEAN average tempo	56 (59 excluding HMCR)	67 (66 excluding Quink)
MEDIAN average tempo	56	68
RANGE in tempo	24 (12 excluding HMCR)	37 (17 excluding Quink)

It is clear in this data that independent choirs present 'Agnus Dei' at much faster tempos than most institutions; by twelve beats per minute based on the median average of this sample. Even the quickest institutional recording, Christ Church Cathedral Choir at sixty-six beats per minute, was still just below the average speed of the independent choirs, while the slowest independent recording, The Armonico Consort at fifty-eight beats per minute, was still faster than the average institution.

Similar conclusions emerged from my wider listening analysis and other listener's descriptions reflect this assessment. Berry asserted that The Tallis Scholars' performance was 'clean and lively' and The Oxford Camerata had 'boundless energy', whereas she noted of King's College that 'the slower tempo helps to bring out the beauty of the suspensions in the *Agnus Dei*'.<sup>77</sup> This displays an appreciation for both approaches to speed, but there is sometimes a

<sup>74</sup> Berry, record review, *Gramophone* (Awards 2000): 105-6.

<sup>75</sup> The digitised sample for 'Agnus Dei' contains six institutional and twelve independent recordings; this weighting is reflective of the recording share in that discography as a whole.

<sup>76</sup> This was calculated by measuring the duration of each performance in seconds against the number of beats; the median average has been included to give a fairer picture in light of the two extreme recordings; see Appendix C.3 for details.

<sup>77</sup> Berry, record review, *Gramophone* (July 1993): 74.

notion that slower tempos are more befitting of institutional choirs. The recording by St. John’s College Choir, for which I calculated a tempo of around fifty-seven beats per minute, has been described as ‘the most traditional version, bold and with steady tempos’, yet the performance at sixty beats per minute by The Hilliard Ensemble was deemed ‘excessively slow’, despite this being faster than most institutions in the sample.<sup>78</sup>

Although the idea of an ‘appropriate’ tempo is subjective, it is understandable why slower speeds might be taken as representative of the institutional situation. Given the inherent breadth of their acoustics and forces, musical textures can transmit more successfully when the tempo allows space for them to come to effect. However, these circumstantial implications can sometimes tip the balance from a pace that seems measured and contemplative to one that could be interpreted as restrictive and bland; such is the criticism of Christ Church Cathedral Choir’s recording of Byrd’s five-part Mass:

...here we have the archetypal English sound and approach from the Choir of Christ Church Cathedral – that is, the sound that you might expect to hear today if you stepped inside almost any Anglican cathedral up and down the country...I would describe it as a ‘lazy’ sound, not because the members of Christ Church Cathedral Choir are not making an effort (indeed, they are clearly singing their hearts out), but because it is slow to speak, swift to fade and, at times...fails to gather the sense of momentum that can make this exquisite polyphony so compelling.<sup>79</sup>

Particularly interesting here is not just the suggestion of a lethargic sound, but that this might be symptomatic of cathedral choirs in general, which concurs with my theories regarding similarity in institutional sound worlds.

Independent ensembles are generally smaller and thus more nimble in comparison to institutional choirs, opening up the possibility for more sprightly tempos. However, the characteristics of this condensed choral format are not without potential limitations concerning speed. The implications for breath control when there are fewer voices responsible for supporting each line can render certain tempos more manageable than others.<sup>80</sup> Knighton suggests that this is why Quink might have adopted such a brisk pace and describes the effect:

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<sup>78</sup> Kemp, record review, *Gramophone* (January 1991): 1394; Van Tassel, “Vocal Ensembles,” *Early Music* 13 (1985): 463.

<sup>79</sup> Knighton, record review, *Gramophone* (December 1990): 1243.

<sup>80</sup> Arnold makes this very point in relation to The King’s Singers recording of Byrd’s motets, arguing: ‘with a consort of single voices, the sometimes long phrases are difficult to manage, so the tendency will be...to adopt a brisk pace’, in record review, *Gramophone* (June 1977): 83.

...the tempos are generally faster than the English tradition had made us used to: the moments we like to savour in the Agnus Dei (which here takes almost half the time of the St John's College Choir version) are passed over quickly, the sweep of the lines broken by the need of the individual singer to breathe...<sup>81</sup>

This sense of slight interruption can feel all the more exposed within the closer acoustic of independent recordings such as this, without the added resonance to smooth over the gaps. Though it may only be very subtle, this was a feature of several independent recordings in my listening analysis. Incidentally, Knighton was almost exact with regards to the respective performance durations, with St. John's clocking 4:00 minutes and Quink a snip at 2:23, and it is interesting to find slower tempos again referenced as characteristic of the English choral tradition.

Tempo is not often manipulated to a large degree *within* 'Agnus Dei' given the nature of the polyphonic lines; however, nearly all the recordings heard in this investigation demonstrated some loss in speed across the piece. In the digitised sample, I split the performances into seven units in line with Byrd's textural structure and calculated the tempo in beats per minute for each unit.<sup>82</sup> The results confirmed that there is a reduction in speed between at least three units in every recording, with the vast majority featuring their most audible slowing for 'dona nobis pacem' in comparison to the stretto-like entries of the preceding 'qui tollis' section. Kerman highlights that 'the last phrase of the Mass is also the most extended', especially given Byrd's frugal treatment of earlier passages, and this descriptor has filtered down onto numerous sleeve notes. On Rochester Cathedral Choir's album, for example, Barry Ferguson even suggests that the 'extended cry for peace (dona nobis pacem), strikes a particularly poignant note at this time of war in the Gulf'.<sup>83</sup> A slower pace could perhaps enhance both the emotive connotations and the implicit lengthening by Byrd in this closing passage. Indeed, when the tempo of the 'dona nobis' unit was compared with a section near the beginning of the piece, 'miserere' I, many choirs displayed a notable reduction in speed. However, comparing the extent to which they have slowed is most revealing. All the institutional choirs feature a tempo in the 'dona nobis' unit that is at least six beats per minute slower than in 'miserere' I, with the average difference being around ten beats per minute. The same average figure for the independent recordings is just shy of this at eight beats per minute, but those ensembles display a far greater degree of variance in their individual reductions of tempo between the two units. Their results range from a barely negligible loss of one beat per minute from Quink, to a huge reduction of twenty-three beats per

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<sup>81</sup> Knighton, record review, *Gramophone* (September 1990): 589.

<sup>82</sup> See Appendix C.3 for full table of results.

<sup>83</sup> Kerman, *Masses and Motets*, 203, 199; Barry Ferguson, sleeve notes to *Music from Rochester Cathedral 3*, Rochester Cathedral Choir, Alpha CACA 918 (1991); Morris also uses the term 'extended' in the sleeve notes to *Renaissance Masterpieces, Volume 1*, 6.

minute from The King’s Singers. These are *not* polar anomalies; The Armonico Consort are four beats per minute slower, The Tallis Scholars eleven, and The Pro Arte Singers eighteen, showing that all gradations exist. In comparison, institutional recordings display much greater similarity in the extent to which they have slowed by this point, with a range of only eight beats per minute separating New College Choir’s modest reduction of six beats per minute and Her Majesty’s Chapels Royal Choir at fourteen. This is additionally interesting considering that the institutional choirs did vary a fair amount in terms of their overall tempo value for the piece. They may not adopt the same general pace, then, but institutional choirs demonstrate a similar treatment of tempo during the course of the performance.

Another area where this similarity is particularly evident is in the use of *ritardandos* at the end of a phrase; a feature of a great many institutional recordings. Naturally, this is most apparent during the final notes of ‘Agnus Dei’, where the extent of the slowing can be extreme in some cases. There are several institutional choirs — such as Rochester, Winchester, and Christ Church Cathedrals — who begin their final *ritardando* even earlier than this, elongating the last moments of the piece. Interestingly, noticeable *ritardandos* are far less common in the independent category; fewer of these ensembles make a feature of slowing at the end and, if they do, it is generally more subtle. The greater proclivity for momentary closures in pace from institutional choirs, and a comparable deceleration across the performance, can be likened to their tendency towards slower overall tempos; it is symptomatic of their sound worlds.

The use of *ritardandos* has been noted by reviewers of Christ Church, Winchester and St. John’s recordings, but there is a general unease regarding the manipulation of tempo within this Mass. Keyte and Fallows both express the desire to hear the musical structure realised through a steady pace, though Fallows does admit that most conductors ‘prefer to change tempo when the mood changes’.<sup>84</sup> Considering the developing taste towards rhythmic accuracy in the twentieth century, it is telling that these concerns appeared between the late 1970s and 1990.<sup>85</sup> Earlier commentators were more encouraging of expressive adjustments in speed, as evident in this review of King’s College from 1950:

Perhaps a little more variety of tempo would have added to the emotional intensity of the performance, and this might have helped to combat a rather too exquisite slenderness in the quality of the voices.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Keyte, record review, *Gramophone* (April 1977): 1582; Fallows, record review, *Gramophone* (March 1987): 1309; see also, Knighton, record review, *Gramophone* (December 1990): 1243; though unusual, it is Simon Preston’s alteration of tempo with Christ Church Cathedral Choir that is the source of most disconcertation in these reviews.

<sup>85</sup> See Chapter 2.2.2.

<sup>86</sup> Howard, “Gramophone Notes,” 306.

Chronological differences will be examined fully in the next chapter, but these comments show that there are potential benefits to both steady and varied tempos. In general, the recordings in the digitised sample display a balance between the two approaches; there is relatively little fluctuation across most of the performance (section to section, the tempo tended to differ only by about three beats per minute on average) but there is a slowing that coincides with the plaintive ‘dona nobis pacem’. It is this final passage that draws the most potential for expressive variation; a pattern that is reflected in the application of other musical devices.

### 4.3.2 Dynamics

There is the potential for adjustments in intensity occur on many levels in ‘Agnus Dei’ and I deal with each in turn in this section: the overall range and approach, dynamic architecture — of the whole piece and also of ‘dona nobis’ in focus — and nuance at phrase level. The different interpretations of Byrd’s compositional features become especially apparent here.

Consensus among the recordings appears to be that ‘Agnus Dei’ does not require overt gestures or sudden contrasts in volume. On the whole, the recordings lean towards a *mezzo piano* level and any deviations from this tend to be subtle or gradual. It is likely that this is deemed appropriate to the prayerful decorum of the piece, though it has also been suggested in some pedagogy that ‘conductors will want to restrain or limit’ volume in order to ‘make it more in keeping with the Renaissance sound’.<sup>87</sup> The only exceptions to this mostly appear earlier in the discography, particularly from independent groups such as The English Singers (1923), The Renaissance Singers (1957) and The Deller Consort (1968). Among the institutions, the first recording to feature by King’s College Choir (Boris Ord, 1950) also contains more overt dynamic manipulation, but those that appear next chronologically demonstrate more refined use. By 1977, the striking alterations in volume on Simon Preston’s Christ Church Cathedral Choir recording present an anomaly in the institutional category. Preston was accordingly chastised by critics for ‘a fussy approach to dynamics’ that was ‘mannered and condescending’, and Keyte lamented the ‘constant striving after effect’ because ‘the music is quite capable of speaking for itself’.<sup>88</sup>

This certainly seems to be the case on most recordings of ‘Agnus Dei’, where dynamic interpretations reflect the latent expressivity of Byrd’s structure. There is no ambiguity in the gradual increase laid out by the composer, as Richard Jones describes: ‘Agnus Dei is cumulative: a duet for upper voices; a trio, in which the plea for mercy is intensified; and a tutti, leading to the

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<sup>87</sup> Robert L Garretson, *Choral Music: History, Style and Performance Practice* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1993), 12; I examine the different views expressed in such guides more directly in the next chapter.

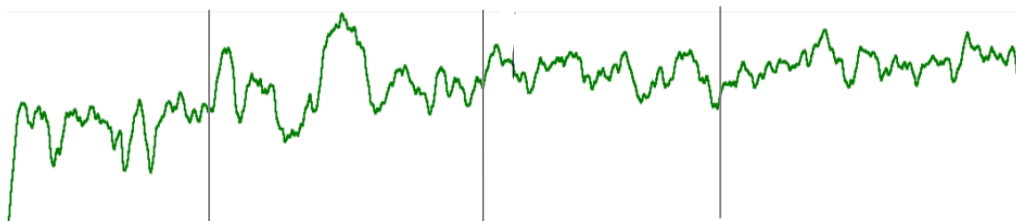
<sup>88</sup> Fenlon, record review, *The Musical Times* 118 (1977): 825; Keyte, record review, *Gramophone* (April 1977): 1582.

incomparable “dona nobis pacem””.<sup>89</sup> Kerman offers a more detailed account, explaining the augmentation of expressive interest as well as vocal texture:

The duo that constitutes Agnus I extends its bland gestures much farther than the parallel duos at the beginning of the Gloria and Credo; but Agnus II, a trio, grows more expressive, especially with the unusual repeated-note motive (C B  $\flat$  B  $\flat$  A, etc.) for ‘miserere nobis’...The opening of the Agnus III is more expressive yet; a beautifully crafted imitative sequence *a 4* makes the last approach to the Lamb the most emotional.<sup>90</sup>

Though the final section attracts most attention, Peter Phillips agrees that ‘in reality Byrd has been preparing us for this climax on every page’ with this implicit escalation.<sup>91</sup> In fact, the dynamic would still increase to some extent even if each singer managed to remain at a constant level. This is something that can be modelled through a synthetic playback of Byrd’s notation. Figure 4.10 displays the power curve that was generated from a MIDI ‘performance’ of ‘Agnus Dei’, with lines demarcating each of the three petitions and final ‘dona nobis’ unit:

Figure 4.10: Whole piece power curve of ‘Agnus Dei’ produced from a synthetic performance.



Though it is quite subtle, the graph depicts the gradual rise that occurs across the average level of the first three units purely as a result of the increasing density in vocal texture; Byrd’s music certainly does ‘speak for itself’.<sup>92</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that the majority of recordings reflect a similar pattern; underneath the ebb and flow of individual fluctuations, the general dynamic centre of each successive petition is progressively higher than the last.

The real choirs elaborate the inherent contours of the music, of course, and the graphs from their recordings reveal their individual expressions of dynamic architecture. The six institutional power curves in Figure 4.11 are representative of what was heard from this category

<sup>89</sup> Jones, sleeve notes to *Byrd: Mass for Four Voices, Mass for Five Voices*.

<sup>90</sup> Kerman, *Masses and Motets*, 203.

<sup>91</sup> Peter Phillips, sleeve notes to *William Byrd: The Three Masses*.

<sup>92</sup> Though it does not add expressive dynamics, the MIDI voice sounds do replicate some of the increase in intensity that comes from pitches which are higher in each of the respective vocal ranges, hence the peak which protrudes from the middle of Agnus II is where the parts are sustaining some of their highest notes in the whole piece, particularly the tenor.



across the eras of the discography: the volume rises very gradually towards 'qui tollis' of the third petition but most sink down again for the start of 'dona nobis', which is marked by a vertical line on each graph. (Christ Church and King's provide examples of some institutional choirs who raise the level during the final section). Incidentally, this approach is very similar to the expression markings suggested in Fellowes' 1922 edition of the *Mass for Four Voices*. Beginning *piano* but moving to *mezzo forte* at Agnus III, Fellowes then prescribes a *diminuendo* on the last 'qui tollis peccata mundi' so that the 'dona nobis pacem' can return to *piano*, with the penultimate phrases *pianissimo*.<sup>93</sup> It has been difficult to ascertain which choirs used Fellowes' version of the Mass, but several institutional recordings do concur with this particular dynamic application.<sup>94</sup> A great many independent recordings demonstrate similar architecture across the piece; however, in my listening analysis, alterations occurring *prior* to the third petition could be quite noticeable from some independent ensembles, whereas this was rarely heard on institutional recordings. The key difference is that independent recordings provide many more instances where wider dynamic shapes are more obviously crafted, or can be perceived more clearly. Though some institutional choirs also audibly enhance Byrd's wider structure — King's College, for example, have been heard 'rising to a climax and then sinking gently to a close'<sup>95</sup> — it is only among the independent category that we find any noteworthy alternatives in the dynamic architecture of this piece. Some of these different interpretations are exemplified in Figure 4.12: the Deller and Armonico consorts heighten the typical rise across Agnus I, II and III, while the BBC and Pro Arte Singers maintain more consistency in volume throughout the movement; The Quink Ensemble and King's Singers actually reduce the dynamic where all four voices enter at Agnus III, but steadily build a notable *crescendo* from then on, with Quink sustaining this right to the end.

Once again, the closing prayer for peace is the source of most expressive potential. The choirs differ most during 'dona nobis pacem', both from each other and from the basic template of the inhuman model in Figure 4.10, which remains at a constant level from the entry of all four voices until the end. We have already encountered readings of Byrd's 'dona nobis pacem' as a quiet prayer, a lamenting plea, and a musical climax, but the nature of the climax in this piece by no means implies 'loud'. On the majority of recordings, as represented by Figure 4.11, the dynamic level at the start of this section is actually slightly quieter than the preceding music. The overall level then tends to grow to a similar volume as was heard in Agnus III, though several cathedral recordings exhibit a somewhat quieter ending. As demonstrated in Figure 4.12, however, a number of independent ensembles have adopted alternative stances, presenting

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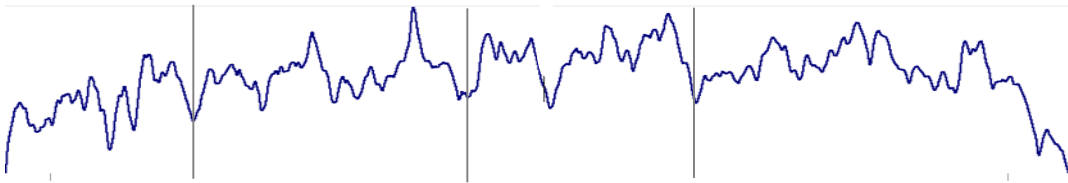
<sup>93</sup> Edmund H. Fellowes, ed., *William Byrd: Mass for Four Voices* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1922).

<sup>94</sup> I examine questions of editions and influence in more depth with relation to *Ave verum corpus*.

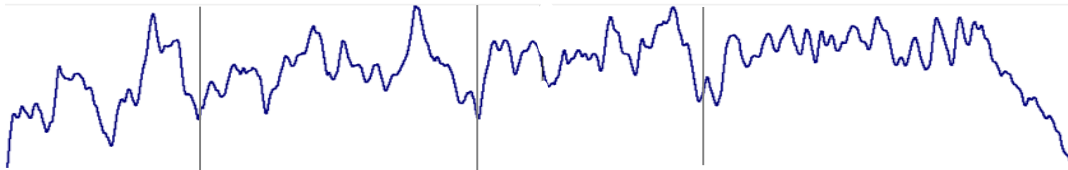
<sup>95</sup> Berry, record review, *Gramophone* (July 1993): 74.

Figure 4.11: Whole piece power curves of ‘Agnus Dei’ from six institutional recordings.

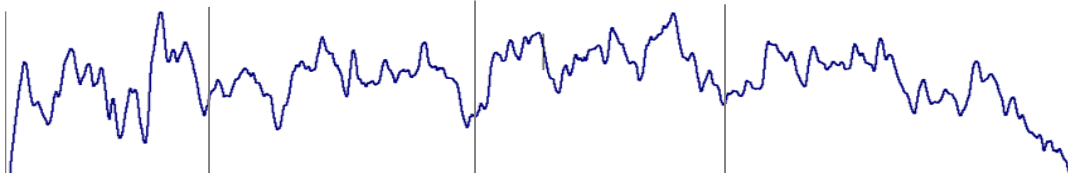
St John’s College Choir, Cambridge (M26)



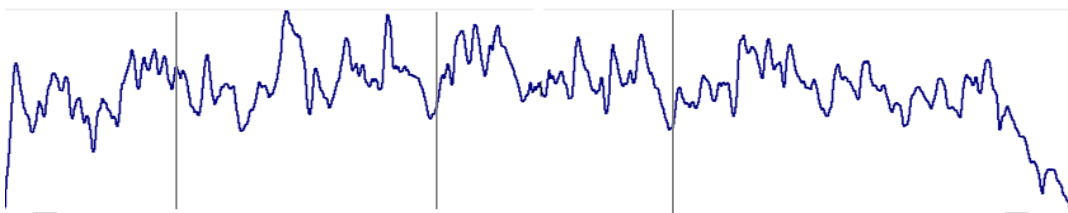
New College Choir, Oxford (M49)



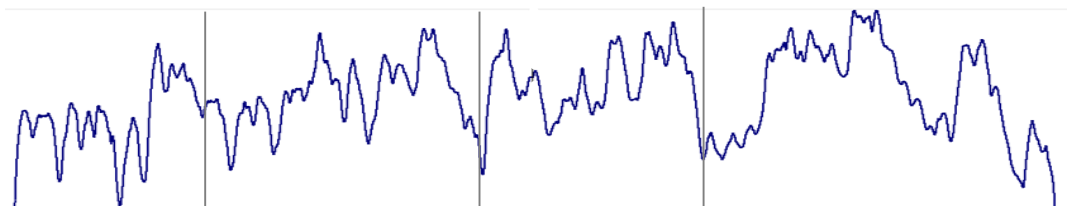
Winchester Cathedral Choir (M53)



Her Majesty’s Chapels Royal Choir (M65)



King’s College Choir, Cambridge (M10)



Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Oxford (M31)

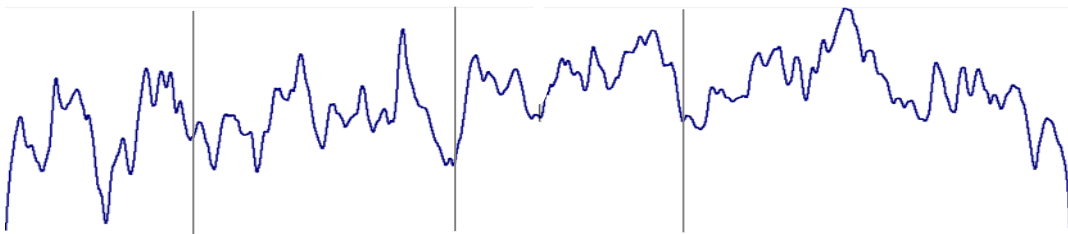
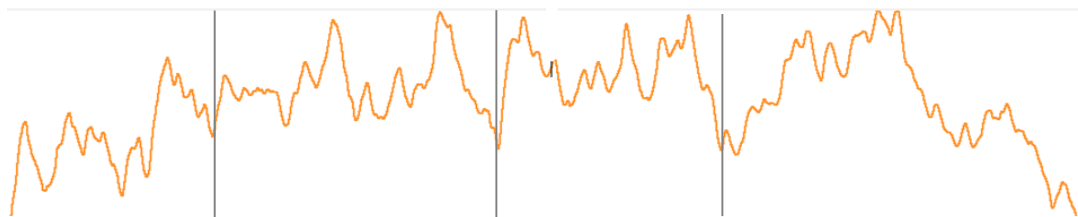
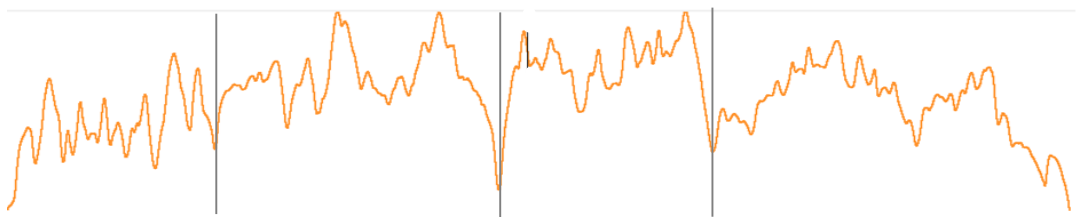


Figure 4.12: Whole piece power curves of 'Agnus Dei' from six independent recordings.

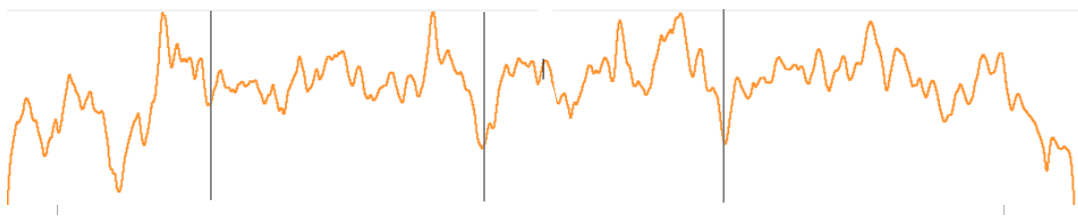
The Armonico Consort (M39)



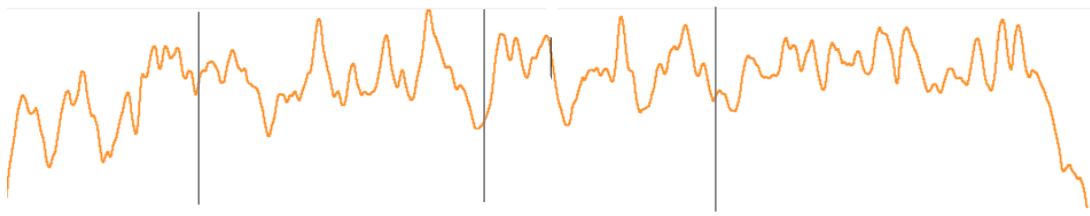
The Deller Consort (M13)



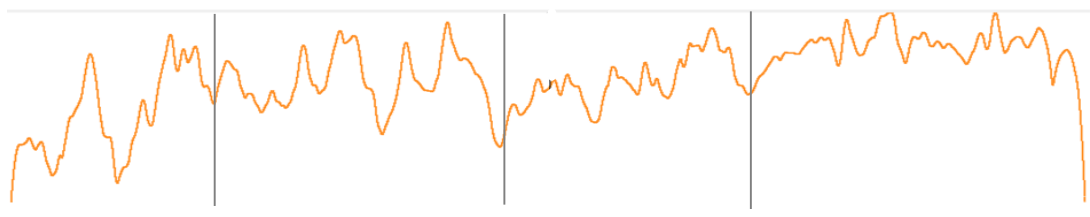
The BBC Singers (M28)



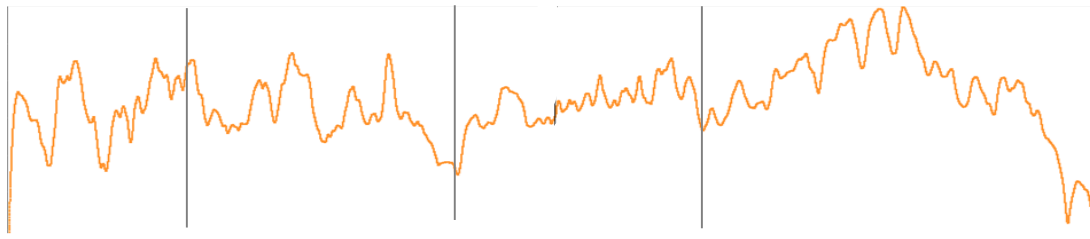
The Pro Arte Singers (M45)



The Quink Vocal Ensemble (M25)



The King's Singers (M44)



‘dona nobis pacem’ at a range of different levels in relation to the rest of the movement. For example, this unit is a touch quieter in The BBC Singers’ recording, much more so with The Deller Consort, yet for Quink and The King’s Singers the volume notably increases above the level of anything heard previously. It is clear from these graphs that varying dynamic interpretations could foster different structural understandings of ‘Agnus Dei’ and even have the potential to shape the meaning of the entire Mass for listeners, with the final prayer arriving as a restrained coda or rising up as a climactic culmination of voices.

There are less obvious patterns of similarity, and thus variance, in the architecture of volume within ‘dona nobis pacem’ itself, which is to be expected given the contrapuntal and expressive complexity of this section. Nevertheless, a general rise and fall in dynamic across this unit is discernible on several recordings. Once again, this tends to be most clear with independent ensembles, such as The Oxford Camerata, The Sixteen and The Cardinal’s Musick, and this arc can also be seen from the Deller and Armonico consorts and King’s Singers in Figure 4.12. That is not to suggest that no institutional choir crafted such an effect; it is evident from Christ Church Cathedral in Figure 4.11 and a review of this recording proclaimed that the ‘climactic structure of the dissonant “dona nobis pacem” section is superbly calculated’.<sup>96</sup> However, though many institutional recordings feature an effective *diminuendo* to draw the piece to a close after a peak within the final section, there is not often the same sense of gradual building *towards* that peak from institutional choirs. In comparison, several independent groups execute a clearer rise with the initial entries of ‘dona nobis pacem’, thus the overall sense of a dynamic arc is more perceptible in their recordings.

I have suggested that the vocal balance in institutional choirs can impact their transmission of volume; it would appear that this is perhaps altering the sense of an even rise at ‘dona nobis’ on their recordings. The entries of the treble tip the balance in their direction, permeating the would-be arc to create a different dynamic contour. Figure 4.13 shows the notation for the second entries of ‘dona nobis’, which precede the key peak around bar 50 that was examined earlier. The tenor has the main sequence going into bar 46, but the alto then re-enters unexpectedly with another repetition while the soprano and bass sustain their pedal notes. The volume was at a high point on several independent recordings here and this was additionally observed on many power curves (though that can vary). This was not the case in the institutional recordings; the volume at bar 46 was always *lower* than at bar 45 where the upper voice reaches for ‘pacem’, meaning that any dynamic rise that has been instigated must encounter a lull before it is reinstated with the bass and soprano in approaching bar 50. This is a small moment, but it forms part of a picture in which, on independent recordings, dynamic changes occur more

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<sup>96</sup> Mateer, “Review,” 671.

Figure 4.13: 'Agnus Dei,' bars 43-47 (Astor, ed.).

43

S  
cem do - na no - bis pa - cem, pa - - - cem,

A  
pa - - - cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem, do - na no

T  
na no - bis pa - - - cem, do - na no - bis pa - -

B  
no - bis pa - - - - - cem, do

gradually as the parts enter and weave together, collectively contributing to key points concurrent with the polyphony, whereas, for institutions, louder moments can appear with less preparation and are more specifically associated with entries or high notes in the soprano and bass. Individual voice parts do also emerge prominently from the texture in independent recordings, and this is still most likely to be the soprano, but the difference is that this will be matched by another voice more commonly than occurs in institutional recordings. Independents are thus able to implement expressive and structural uses of dynamics with more clarity.

There is, however, one specific element of structural shading that is vastly more prevalent in recordings by cathedral choirs: the *diminuendo*. When their performances were compared across the seven structural units of 'Agnus Dei', each unit was finished with a *diminuendo* by at least half of the cathedral choirs in my listening analysis, and often by a more substantial majority. The device was not nearly as notable or popular among independent recordings. This can be likened to the use of *ritardandos* by institutional choirs — indeed, the two are often heard in conjunction — and understood as necessary or habitual gestures of closure, providing periods of momentary repose in order to effectively manage the phrases within their particular sound worlds.

A key distinction of nearly every independent recording is that they exhibit far more local manipulations of the surface dynamic within the separate lines. In performances by The Cardinall's Musick and The Sixteen, for example, many individual phrases are imbued with a subtle yet clear dynamic trajectory, enhancing smaller structural shapes. Christophers is often keen to discuss this approach to line, once saying: 'I pull the music around...Some may say it's

sometimes going over the top, but actually there are so many wonderful moments’.<sup>97</sup> He does add, however, that ‘it has ultimately to sound natural, the way the music ebbs and flows’. In my listening analysis, it was this exact quality of ‘ebb and flow’ that was noted of far more independent recordings than those from institutions. In the former, dynamic nuances are tightly honed in to specific musical details, taking the form of slight leans and lulls of intensity on individual notes and casting a lilting effect over the contrapuntal interplay. Key examples of this come from Theatre of Voices, The Hilliard Ensemble, The Tallis Scholars and The BBC Singers. It is particularly audible during Agnus II with the rising imitations of ‘qui tollis peccata mundi’ that then descend into repeated notes on ‘miserere’, followed by a weaving ‘nobis’ (see Figure 4.14). In Byrd’s setting, the first syllables of ‘*tol-lis*’ and ‘*mi-serere*’ are treated as slightly longer. In independent recordings, these syllables are leaned onto at the onset with a slight increase in intensity, which is then lifted away before moving on to the next note, sometimes incurring a very slight sense of detachment in the case of ‘*mi-serere*’. A similar effect occurs between the initial sustained notes of ‘*no-bis*’ and the rest of the melisma on that syllable, especially when the soprano and tenor voices briefly coincide with their rhythm in bar 23. Such intricate dynamic

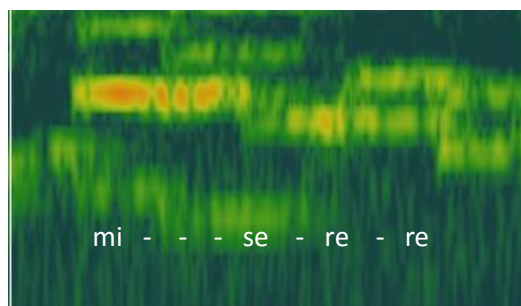
Figure 4.14: ‘Agnus Dei,’ bars 15-28 (Astor, ed.).

The musical score for 'Agnus Dei' bars 15-28 is presented in four staves, corresponding to the Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B) voices. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are written below the notes, with some syllables extended across multiple notes. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'ossia'. The lyrics are: 'Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi: mi-se-re-re' and 'no-bis, mi-se-re-re no-bis. A-gnus'.

<sup>97</sup> Christophers, “Pilgrim’s Progress,” 30.

details are hard to point out definitively on spectrographic images, but there is an example of the emphasis on ‘*mi-serere*’ which can be viewed in the bass voice from The BBC Singers recording:<sup>98</sup>

Figure 4.15: Spectrogram demonstrating bass nuance on ‘*miserere*’ in BBC Singers’ recording.



The bright yellow and orange line to the left of the image is the onset of ‘*mi*’ in the basses’ second repetition of ‘*miserere*’. It begins as a steady push in intensity, but then the solid orange starts to disintegrate on the same pitch as the voice recedes slightly in volume, depicting an effect that I heard frequently during listening analysis. This mode of accentuation is actually suggested in some choral literature; Robert Garretson advises conductors to ‘search out all the suspensions in Renaissance music...and have the chorus “lean” on them ever so slightly during performance’.<sup>99</sup> It appears that this has become something of a convention, as several independent choirs incorporate this kind of subtle emphasis with a number of the dissonant suspensions in ‘*dona nobis pacem*’.

In the early independent recordings, these leans, lulls and swells of dynamic intensity were applied much more frequently and prominently throughout ‘*Agnus Dei*’. This is a distinctive feature of all independent recordings up to the 1970s, but particularly from The English Singers (1923), The Fleet Street Choir (1951) and The Renaissance Singers (1957). The increased rate of local dynamic fluctuation in these performances imparts the most heightened sense of ebb and flow, exacerbating the ‘undulating phrases’ of Byrd’s polyphony, as they are described in the notes to The Renaissance Singers’ album.<sup>100</sup> Interestingly, the term ‘undulating’ also appears in the sleeve notes for Westminster Abbey Choir (1964), though this recording did not reflect those ‘undulations’ in anything like the manner of The Renaissance Singers.<sup>101</sup> However, some of the earliest recordings from King’s College under both Ord (1950) and Willcocks (1963) *do* display some lilting qualities. It can seem unusual to hear Byrd’s Mass interpreted with continuously overt manipulations — particularly from an institutional choir, given the comparative absence of local nuance on later recordings — yet contemporary critics repeatedly commended the merits of such

<sup>98</sup> This is a much smaller and more elongated viewing area than was examined previously from these spectrograms; depicted here is just the word ‘*miserere*’ from one voice.

<sup>99</sup> Garretson, *Choral Music*, 24.

<sup>100</sup> Harold Rutland, sleeve notes to *Mass for Four Voices*, The Renaissance Singers, Argo RG 42 (1957).

<sup>101</sup> Sleeve notes to *IV Research Period. The High Renaissance (16th Century). Series M: The Elizabethan Age*.

an approach. The Renaissance Singers incorporated the most blatant sense of back and forth across the musical surface, but were consequently proclaimed in *Music and Letters* as ‘preferable, above all, because their feeling for the melodic line of each individual voice is much more highly developed’.<sup>102</sup> They were similarly admired for their ‘fine feeling for style and beauty of line’ in both *The Gramophone* and *The Musical Times*.<sup>103</sup> The latter reviewer noted ‘similar virtues’ in Ord’s recording at King’s College, and even writers in the late 1990s retrospectively appreciated that ‘there was refinement but also drama and colour’ in ‘the sensitive play of light-and-shade’ from King’s at that time.<sup>104</sup>

These early recordings clearly display some of the aesthetic traits that other scholars detected in the first half of the twentieth century and this is also true of their use of *portamento* and *rubato*. Such devices accompany dynamic accentuations and enhance the undulating effect. *Portamento* in particular is heard throughout those first three independent recordings, with The English Singers featuring both devices consistently, but these techniques are not detectable in any later recordings. In the 1940s, one writer argued that ‘even in a complicated polyphonic passage it is remarkable how much latitude performers trained in the necessary give and take can afford each other’, but few choirs beyond the 1960s seemed keen to take such license with tempo or dynamics.<sup>105</sup> Moreover, those who came close were not as well received; The Deller Consort altered the surface dynamic a great deal in ‘Agnus Dei’ but, in 1979, this approach to Byrd’s Masses was criticised for being ‘too much for the music’ — a familiar complaint.<sup>106</sup>

Recordings of ‘Agnus Dei’ illustrate that, over time, the application of frequent, emphatic accentuation has slowly been distilled to a preference for more sensitively nuanced alterations of the surface dynamic. In independent performance especially, these are used selectively to highlight specific structural shapes and detail. Several independent recordings from the 1980s onwards actually seem to favour these subtle, phrase-level alterations over broader shifts in volume. In comparison to institutional recordings, where such details are far less perceptible, the effect from independents is of hearing individually crafted lines singing together, rather than a holistic sound that switches to new dynamics at specific junctures. In this respect, the polyphony from independent ensembles is projected more in the manner that Phillips promotes:

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<sup>102</sup> Noble, “Sixteenth-Century Music on Records. I: Sacred Music,” 156.

<sup>103</sup> Stevens praised The Renaissance Singers for their ‘fine perception of the melodic lines in the music’ in, record review, *The Gramophone* (February 1957): 336; Dyneley Hussey, “The Musician’s Gramophone,” *The Musical Times* 98 (1957): 320.

<sup>104</sup> Steane, record review, *Gramophone* (December 1998): 69.

<sup>105</sup> Robert Donington, “On Interpreting Early Music,” *Music and Letters* 28 (1947): 235.

<sup>106</sup> Fallows, record review, *Gramophone* (June 1979): 93.



Up until very recently we've approached renaissance music from, at best, a baroque standpoint. What you need to do is to go in via Gregorian chant. The vocal lines actually follow plainchant contours and that's the way it should be sung.<sup>107</sup>

Similarly, when the vocal lines are cast with this greater individual integrity, they concur with Potter's theory that the first singers to have performed vocal polyphony would have been 'able to hold their own as soloists and yet sing with one another as a unit'.<sup>108</sup> Most independent practice is characterised by this very quality, with each part able to sculpt separate but concurrent shapes. The distinctive lines of Byrd's polyphony are not only enhanced by the latent features of independent sound worlds, then, but as a result of the individual dynamic flexibility that they afford.

In comparison, the experience when listening to the recordings of 'Agnus Dei' by institutional choirs is one of greater sonic homogeneity. It is not that these choirs are incapable of effecting dynamic contours — indeed, clear phrasing has been repeatedly noted of Hill's recording with Winchester Cathedral Choir<sup>109</sup> — but that such contouring does not occur, or is not as *perceptible*, as much within the individual lines of these performances as it is with independent recordings. Aside from the use of *diminuendos* and some more local alterations within the 'dona nobis' passages, institutional recordings predominantly display quite straightforward dynamic changes — where they are applied, rather than incurred by the trebles — such as an overall shift in volume when beginning a new section. This provides, as another reviewer of Winchester described, a more 'broadly-shaped account' of Byrd's 'Agnus Dei'.<sup>110</sup> Independent recordings also include simple, collective alterations such as this, but there is a vastly greater range and variety of dynamic options in that category as a whole. Moreover, the contrast between the sweeping dynamic changes of the institutions and the more local, surface manipulations of the independents can be likened to the distinction between the Baroque and plainchant approaches outlined by Phillips, or between vertical and horizontal readings of the polyphony. With the latter, more musical details and intricacies of 'Agnus Dei' are made available to listeners.

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<sup>107</sup> Phillips, interview by Hilary Finch, "The Road to Rome from Oxford," *Gramophone* (September 1994): 16; Garretson concurs that 'the conductor should remind singers always to think melodically and never chordally', in *Choral Music*, 16.

<sup>108</sup> Potter, *Vocal Authority*, 158.

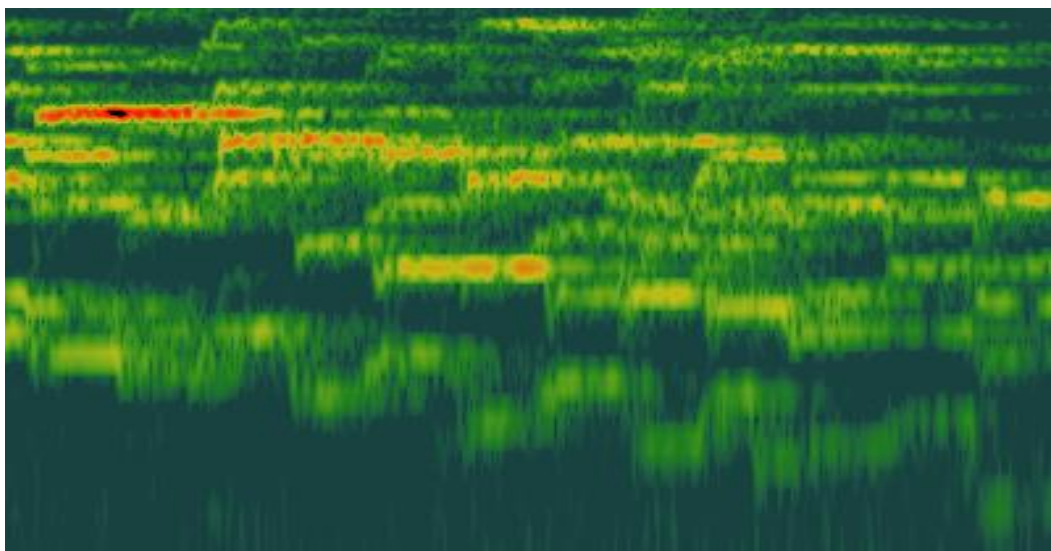
<sup>109</sup> See, Knighton, record review, *Gramophone* (December 1990): 1243; and Berry, record review, *Gramophone* (July 1993): 74.

<sup>110</sup> Kemp, record review, *Gramophone* (January 1991): 1394.

### 4.3.3 Texture and Text

The distinction between the large versus small-scale interpretations described above can be allied to the large versus small-scale sound worlds that these different choirs inhabit; the same is also true when it comes to a sense of rhythmicity and articulation of text in ‘Agnus Dei’. Recordings by independent choirs offer many more moments that feel lighter or more rhythmic, displaying a nimbleness that parallels the qualities of their smaller and often clearer sound worlds, and also their tendency to adopt a faster pace. Rhythmic moments are present on the vast majority of independent recordings at some point, but this is a more notable feature in performances by The Quink Ensemble, The Oxford Camerata, Duodena Cantitans, The Firesign Vocal Quartet, Mark Deller’s ensemble and The Tallis Scholars. For the latter choir, a sense of lightly rhythmic agility was evident in both their 1984 and 2006 recordings. Some of this effect, which occasionally verges on slight detachment, can be observed in the spectrogram from the Scholars’ earlier recording in Figure 4.16. The long, bright red line beginning in the top left corner depicts the onset of the soprano’s final ‘miserere nobis’ before Agnus III. This first ‘mi’ is strong, smooth and consistently sustained, yet as the pitch moves down to ‘se-re-re’ the horizontal lines start to disintegrate somewhat, which is a consequence of the lighter approach to these syllables in comparison to the first. In addition, the first note of the melismatic ‘no-bis’ in the soprano voice is actually detached from the remainder of that phrase in this recording, though this instance is not as clear on the spectrogram. These moments can be understood as an extension of those detailed dynamic accentuations that were applied at these very same points, giving the effect of hearing ‘*mi-se-re-re no-bis*’. In his Preface to *The Masses*, Brett notes, as many have, that

Figure 4.16: Spectrogram demonstrating rhythmicity in ‘Agnus Dei’, bars 24-27 (Astor, ed.), in Tallis Scholars’ recording.



Byrd opts for ‘principally syllabic setting of the text’ in these works, and Carol Chidsey claims that even Byrd’s Latin church music displays the ‘strong rhythmic incisiveness of accented English speech...especially as compared to the even-lined, flowing counterpoint of a Palestrina Mass’.<sup>111</sup> It could be argued, therefore, that instances of enhanced rhythmicity in performance are particularly well-suited to ‘Agnus Dei’. In comparison to independent groups, moments of lighter rhythmicity are far less common in recordings by institutional choirs, where the overriding effect is of a general flow of legato. Again, this is a clear consequence of their resonant acoustic, larger forces and slower tempos, which — while advantageous in creating those ‘serenely flowing performances of the Byrd Masses’ — do not lend themselves as readily to clear and dexterous rhythmic textures.<sup>112</sup>

That said, there are two units of ‘Agnus Dei’ during which nearly every choir responded more noticeably to the rhythm of the music and text: the descending ‘miserere nobis’ passages of Agnus II, and the change in texture that comes with the elaborate motifs of ‘qui tollis peccata mundi’, shown in Figure 4.17. It is easy to understand why these phrases might be treated in a manner that displays greater rhythmic intent, each plosive consonant highlighting the quick succession and close proximity of the repetitions, which contain the shortest note durations in the whole piece. However, during passages such as these, and also in the similar repeated-note pattern of ‘do-na no-bis pacem’, the effect from most independent recordings is generally one of light, subtle rhythmicity, whereas the movement between the pitches on institutional recordings often seems weightier or somewhat emphatic by comparison.

Figure 4.17: ‘Agnus Dei,’ bars 32-37 (Astor, ed.).

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S i qui tol-lis pec-ca - ta mun - di, q

A i, qui tol-lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, qui tol - lis pec- ca-ta mun - di,

T qui tol-lis pec-ca - ta mun - - - di,

B qui tol-lis pec-ca - ta mun - di, qui tol-l

<sup>111</sup> Brett, preface to *The Byrd Edition, Vol.4*, vii; Chidsey, sleeve notes to *Music of Five Centuries*.

<sup>112</sup> March, “Collector’s Corner,” 120.

The institutional sound world aids an overall sense of legato, but some of the transitions within that general lucidity can feel rather heavy-handed on more rhythmic phrases. This was commonly prominent in recordings from King’s College (Ord), Westminster Abbey, Christ Church Cathedral (Preston), Rochester Cathedral and Her Majesty’s Chapels Royal. In most of these cases, the emphatic quality of the rhythms is directly related to the slow pace of the performance. In the Chapels Royal version, for example, the contrapuntal movement feels laboured throughout the performance, but in the Rochester recording the effect is not evident until the tempo notably slows approaching the final section. It would appear that the smoothing power of these resonant acoustics only extends so far. In fact, Robert Anderson suggested that such spaces might even be the cause for this more pointed, syllabic approach, noting that ‘the sometimes jerky delivery that may well be necessary for the acoustics of the building *in situ* is perhaps over-emphatic on the recording’ of Liverpool Cathedral Choir.<sup>113</sup> Hill is less inclined to permit such excuses and puts the blame for any disjointedness squarely with the singers and directors, stating that ‘too many choirs simply don’t sing legato’.<sup>114</sup> Elsewhere, Hill explained how at Winchester Cathedral he ‘was trying to help the boys sing with a greater sense of “line” (and by that I mean a legato phrase)’, something he wanted ‘rather than a series of single notes’.<sup>115</sup> Several institutional recordings of ‘Agnus Dei’ convey the latter effect in some places.

This ‘sense of line’ is a key aesthetic preference associated with Renaissance polyphony; already featuring high among the list of concerns for reviewers in this chapter. As Hill suggests, the achievement of lines closely relates to a certain degree of legato in the phrasing, and Garretson believes that this music ‘should be performed in a smooth, flowing manner, and phrases should be thought of in terms of long ascending and descending lines’.<sup>116</sup> Though many independent recordings of ‘Agnus Dei’ do feature more examples of rhythmicity, in the vast majority of cases these are contained moments of textural contrast, highlighting some development or detail in Byrd’s composition, but occurring within an overall smoothness that is maintained throughout most of the movement. Unlike the more one-dimensional flow from institutional choirs, many independent recordings demonstrate clear expressive alterations in response to the changing texture and character of Byrd’s music. Some ensembles do this through subtle enhancement of rhythmic features, while others display more frequent and notable textural contrasts. Examples of the latter approach are more common going back chronologically, but many recordings made before the 1980s make quite a feature of shifting between smooth legato and rhythmic emphasis. In the very earliest recordings by The English Singers, The Fleet

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<sup>113</sup> Robert Anderson, record review, *The Musical Times* 112 (1971): 45.

<sup>114</sup> Hill, interview by James Jolly, “Spem de Luxe,” *Gramophone* (May 1990): 1941.

<sup>115</sup> Hill, “Choir Training,” 221.

<sup>116</sup> Garretson, *Choral Singing*, 16.

Street Choir and The Renaissance Singers, the effect is one of quite dramatic fluctuation. Of course, some of these sensations are heightened by the recordings quality, but underneath that there remains a constant switching between weighty or even detached rhythmicity to flowing lines that are exacerbated by lilting *portamento*. These performances apply legato to phrases in an alternative way; the device appears more in the form of extreme and concentrated moments of sliding, used for expressive effect. This is quite different to the measured, overarching sense of line that most choirs seem to be aiming for later.

Early independent recordings do not just embody a preference for more overt gestures; they are manifestations of a particular interpretative approach to Latin church music that engages with the text in a specific way.<sup>117</sup> Early vocalists can be heard expressing the words of ‘Agnus Dei’ as if it were a song, indulging in the contours of the vocal lines. It is this kind of presentation that The Renaissance Singers were so congratulated for by contemporary critics, with Denis Stevens praising the ‘clarity of declamation’ that made it sound ‘genuinely devotional’.<sup>118</sup> Similar qualities exude from The Deller Consort’s 1968 recording (as observed by Milsom below) but this was the last in the ‘Agnus Dei’ discography to demonstrate such freely changeable and song-like expressivity. In an interview, Alfred Deller explained that expressive choices occur naturally ‘if you understand the words and you’re really involved with them’.<sup>119</sup> Certainly, several scholars have placed great importance on the need to understand what the Latin Ordinary means in this Mass, not just in terms of the words themselves, but what they meant to Byrd.<sup>120</sup>

The engagement with text in interpretation has not subsided over time — as I will address in Chapter 5 — but its execution does appear to have altered. In most independent recordings of ‘Agnus Dei’ from the 1970s onwards, the words are clearly audible but not obtrusive. Numerous ensembles favour slightly softer consonants, though they can be crisper in punctuating the texture of ‘qui tollis peccata mundi’. For several independent ensembles, the focus seems to be less on the declamation of text and more on its inherent rhythms and structures, which manifests as those subtle accentuations in performance. Phillipe Herreweghe’s approach is akin to this; working ‘a lot on translating and explaining the text and the rhetorical structure’, he says that this

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<sup>117</sup> This statement follows Potter’s theories on text and singing in *Vocal Authority*, some as outlined in Chapter 2.

<sup>118</sup> Stevens, record review, *The Gramophone* (February 1957): 336.

<sup>119</sup> Deller, “Alfred Deller,” 311.

<sup>120</sup> Kerman compares the settings of ‘Agnus Dei’ in the four and five-part Masses, highlighting their differences to support the idea of that these are acutely personal responses, suggesting that they ‘make different theological statements’ and ‘represent distinct stages in Byrd’s own developing spiritual life’, in *Masses and Motets*, 214; see also, Mahrt, “Masses of William Byrd”.

‘shapes the singing more than the actual conducting’.<sup>121</sup> However, despite wider changes in taste, several critics are dissatisfied when the move away from declamatory expression feels like a move away from emotional involvement. In 1985, Milsom wrote that The Deller Consort indeed had ‘a tendency to “madrigalize” the music a little too much’, but went on to add that:

...there is genuine warmth and sensitivity in their interpretations, and it would be an ungenerous critic who dismissed them as affected or unsympathetic. The clean-edged tone colour of the Hilliard Ensemble is perhaps rather better suited to Byrd’s music, but I was disappointed to find that their performances here are reserved and unnecessarily dead-pan. However well-tuned, nicely blended and thoroughly prepared these readings may be, they are far less eloquent than those of the Deller Consort, and to my mind they do not penetrate the surface of the words or of Byrd’s extraordinarily subtle and intelligent music. In fact, I’m sure some listeners will find the impartiality of the interpretations frankly dull.<sup>122</sup>

The Tallis Scholars’ recording of Byrd’s *Mass for Four Voices* received similar criticisms: Berry felt that they ‘perform musically, with near perfection, but generate less feeling for the sense of the text’, while Milsom found that their interpretations of the ‘slower, quieter movements’, such as ‘Agnus Dei’, ‘seem a little impersonal, and barely mine out the full resources of the composer’s magic’.<sup>123</sup> It appears that there is a balance to be struck between over-emotional exaggerations and a lack of involvement with the text in Byrd performance. For some writers, this balance has been provided by Andrew Carwood and The Cardinal’s Musick: Joseph Stevenson reports that Carwood ‘encourages the singers to sing out like soloists within the consort, and to express the meaning of the texts, which are usually Catholic’ and Peter Quantrill commends the ‘word- (not sound-) based approach’ of this group.<sup>124</sup> However, my own analysis found that though the individual lines are effectively sculpted in The Cardinals’ recording of ‘Agnus Dei’, the interpretation is still akin to many other modern independent groups with regards to their approach to text. Kerman made the same assessment in his review of Carwood’s *Byrd Edition*:

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<sup>121</sup> Phillipe Herreweghe, “20 Greatest Choirs,” 39; Potter also explains that, historically, composers and singers would have ‘all shared a common rhetorical and oratorical education’ which would have informed how the lines of text were performed, in *Vocal Authority*, 162.

<sup>122</sup> Milsom, record review, *Gramophone* (May 1985): 1363.

<sup>123</sup> Berry, record review, *Gramophone* (Awards 2000): 106; Milsom, record review, *Gramophone* (May 1984): 1303.

<sup>124</sup> Stevenson, “The Cardinal’s Musick: Biography,” All Music, accessed July 2014, <http://www.allmusic.com/artist/the-cardinals-musick-mn0001646076/biography>; Quantrill, “20 Greatest Choirs,” 40.

Like most singing groups in this tradition, [The Cardinal's Musick] lavish more care on sonority than declamation; the verbal text is hard to hear, and when you hear it often sounds limp...attacks tend to be softened. In effect, consonants are sacrificed to vowels.<sup>125</sup>

Kerman appears to have heard these effects much more acutely than I, but the features he highlights are evident to a degree in many independent recordings of 'Agnus Dei' from later eras, especially with regards to sonority over declamation. The most fitting example comes from The Armonico Consort, who provide a distinctive and glimmering wash of sound in which the vocal lines are clearly distinguished, yet the actual text is much lower on the list of audible features. The words are 'subsumed in sheer vocal beauty', James Manheim wrote in his review: 'what's on offer here is not intense expression but the representation of intense expression through sensuous vocal textures'.<sup>126</sup> The description is a useful summary of this approach in general. Post-Deller Consort, with the move away from more Romantic and declamatory readings, timbral and atmospheric characteristics become the most notable qualities of recordings by independent ensembles; it is the overall sound world that primarily distinguishes their musical interpretations from one another, rather than their specific expressions of the text. Within this sonority-centric aesthetic, the meaning of the words remains important in informing the appropriate mood and shape of phrase, but the actual *enunciation* of those words is not the primary focus in 'Agnus Dei'. The effect from many independent recordings is one of well-crafted and detailed musical textures; the text is a vehicle for this, but it is the interest contained within Byrd's polyphony that is wrought most clearly.

Recordings of 'Agnus Dei' by institutional choirs display quite a contrast in the handling of text. While pointed diction is rarely a feature of independent recordings — being incompatible with the approach described above — an emphasis on clear enunciation was noted as a general feature for the majority of institutional recordings, with several demonstrating crisp or hard consonants, particularly King's College Choir. This specific feature is a well-documented characteristic of that famous choir's style; described as a 'sharpness of consonantal bite' in 1963, their 'superb diction' was still cited as one of 'the usual qualities we associate with King's' in 2008.<sup>127</sup> (Boris Ord's recording with King's in 1950 was also praised at the time because 'it is not often that one can hear so many of the words in polyphonic music'; this was the only institutional version to demonstrate any of the more declamatory expressivity).<sup>128</sup> This trend is not surprising

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<sup>125</sup> Kerman, "The Byrd Edition," 110.

<sup>126</sup> Manheim, "Naked Byrd Two: AllMusic Review by James Manheim."

<sup>127</sup> Edward Greenfield, "Gramophone Records," *The Musical Times* 104 (1963): 876; Trendell, "Recording Reviews: Tudor Church Music," *Early Music* 36 (2008): 644.

<sup>128</sup> Hussey, "The Musician's Gramophone," 320.

given the large spaces in which institutional choirs regularly perform. As Steane points out, ‘cathedral acoustics place obstacles in the way of balance, sensitivity and even intelligence’ of the text, thus it is understandable that firmer enunciation is a more immediate concern for this choral category.<sup>129</sup> While some listeners accept that ‘the slightly exaggerated consonants...seem to be the best musical solution’ given the acoustics of buildings such as King’s College, others believe that this interrupts the flow of the musical lines.<sup>130</sup> Steane seems most irritated by this, describing the listening experience as being:

...like a most beautiful twining of patterned strands in mid-air while somebody continually cracks eggshells or takes the whistle on and off a boiling kettle – these are the explosive ‘k’s and the forward sibilants...<sup>131</sup>

Hill goes further to explain why such features might have a detrimental effect: ‘a choir which over-does its consonants distracts the listener...The consonants must not interrupt the phrase, they are just the "pegs on the line", so to speak’.<sup>132</sup> Certainly, the approach to diction that Hill outlines here is more in keeping with the aesthetic of long, legato lines of polyphony. Yet, for many institutional choirs, there appears to be a prevailing emphasis on having the actual words heard too. This is felt to a much greater extent than occurs with most independent recordings. Some suggest that this approach to text is more than just the result of practical necessity; Steane and others argue that ‘the influence of King’s may again be the cause’.<sup>133</sup> Potter is in some agreement with this, but offers further insight as to why there might be more of a focus on diction in institutional choirs:

The Ord/Willcocks style of text presentation at King’s involved exaggerating consonants and vowels far beyond the demands of clarity...Such was the eminence of the choir that these quirks of style and pronunciation became the norm for parish church choirs throughout the land (and generally remain so). The stylised pronunciation was a by-product of the music-as-discipline approach and a striving for an abstract notion of excellence.<sup>134</sup>

Potter contrasts this to the approach of independent directors such as David Munrow, who ‘worried less about the sound of text as words and more about its articulation as music’; this

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<sup>129</sup> Steane, *The Grand Tradition*, 531.

<sup>130</sup> Fallows, record review, *Gramophone* (June 1979): 93; similarly, in response to Christ Church Cathedral Choir’s recording with Simon Preston, Fenlon said that ‘attention to articulation, particularly at cadences, sometimes breaks up the natural flow of the line’, in record review, *The Musical Times* 118 (1977): 825.

<sup>131</sup> Steane, *ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> Hill, “Choir Training,” 221.

<sup>133</sup> Steane, *ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> Potter, *Vocal Authority*, 117.



distinction is strongly embodied in recordings of Byrd's 'Agnus Dei'. For the institutional choirs, the emphasis on enunciation does give more of the 'music-as-discipline' effect, but it also bespeaks an understanding of the necessities of music-as-ritual. Within a specific space and service, unlike the independents, that might require just as much focus on declamation as sonority.

#### 4.4 Readings of 'Agnus Dei'

I have revealed how 'Agnus Dei' can be moulded into different products when it is enacted in different choral sound worlds, taking on new meanings and providing alternative impressions for listeners. Independent recordings are often able to convey more musical intricacy, enhancing the internal narrative of individual lines and providing more nuanced readings of Byrd's polyphonic structures. This is facilitated by the characteristics of their sound worlds, with fewer and more balanced voices, and often clearer recording atmospheres. By contrast, institutional recordings present interpretations that are primarily constructed from broader gestures and overarching effects, which can be aligned to their voluminous and more resonant sound worlds. Independent recordings incorporate larger-scale changes in tempo and dynamics also, sometimes to a much greater degree than was heard from the institutions, but do so in addition to those local level manipulations, highlighting various compositional planes. Furthermore, I have shown that different choral profiles and programmes reflect different contextual aspects of this work. Independent practitioners are able to draw parallels between their performance format and historical theories of small, domestic readings, with some actively manipulating their arrangements to emulate this, while the comparatively unalterable institutional setting positions 'Agnus Dei' as an enduring staple of religious tradition.

It could be argued that independent ensembles offer more 'academic' interpretations of Byrd's music, coming closer to ideals of polyphonic singing and historical awareness, whereas institutional performance is more practical and straightforward, bound by trainee singers with duties to fulfil.<sup>135</sup> This assessment does seem quite unfair, however, especially given that numerous institutional directors possess equal musical knowledge and a desire to do that justice in performance. Yet it remains that these features are not transmitted as readily from within institutional circumstances and sound worlds, which appear largely pre-determined. That said, it would not be impossible for these choirs to make adjustments in voice or location for the purpose of recording this Mass — as evidenced in rare examples by New College and Winchester Cathedral

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<sup>135</sup> In the final chapter, I return to an assessment that Fallows made along these lines when comparing the recordings of Byrd's *Great Service* by King's College Choir and The Tallis Scholars, in record review, *Gramophone* (June 1987): 89; as found in Day, "Tudor Church Music," 31.

Choirs — or for alternative production techniques to be applied. Therefore, we must understand the fixedness of institutional sound worlds not simply as the result of circumstantial constraints, but as meeting the *expectations* of circumstantial *purpose*. These recordings do not just showcase ‘Agnus Dei’, but ‘Agnus Dei’ as it takes place within an institution. This is not to suggest that Byrd’s music comes secondary to maintaining that impression, or that these are somehow lesser readings than as offered by independent ensembles; to propose such would imply that there is a ‘correct’ interpretation, or that structure equals value.<sup>136</sup> Many reviewers enjoy the institutional versions precisely *because* their sound world is audible; there is the notion that to hear the resonance of the building, including the potential obfuscation of detail, is somehow more ‘authentic’, perhaps not historically, but traditionally and spiritually.<sup>137</sup> This is exemplified in a review of Christ Church Cathedral Choir’s recording of Byrd’s *Mass for Five Voices*, which was ‘rather on the patchy side, the acoustic a little over-resonant, but if you like your Byrd Masses to sound as they do at a cathedral service, this is the one for you’.<sup>138</sup>

Implied here is another quality that I have repeatedly observed — similarity between recordings of institutional choirs. With strong parallels in their sound worlds and circumstances, there is naturally a strong likeness in their manifestations of ‘Agnus Dei’. This becomes especially apparent when compared to the range of interpretations offered by independent ensembles, afforded by the greater variability of their sound worlds. Not every independent recording provides a completely new reading, however; many of their performances centre around the same averages and common trends as the institutions’ — a fairly resonant acoustic, dynamics gradually rising to ‘dona nobis’, losing speed across the piece, etc. — but with some ensembles providing polar extremes.

It has also emerged that the independent category demonstrates more susceptibility to broader stylistic developments, and that these concur with scholarly observations outlined in Chapter 2. The earliest recordings display the widest and most overt palette of expressive gestures, but the shaping of the musical surface has become progressively more subtle over time. It is now the overall choral sonority which primarily characterises the main facets of performance. Though there is some distinction on the earliest recordings from King’s College, the institutional

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<sup>136</sup> These pitfalls are the reasons why Cook takes such issue with structuralist approaches to performance analysis in the first place, see Chapter 2, “Page and Stage”, of *Beyond the Score*; he has also suggested that ‘few people actually experience musical compositions as...fully co-ordinated, objective structures’ and this does not affect their aesthetic enjoyment, in *Music, Imagination, and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 68.

<sup>137</sup> For example, when Columbia’s *Anthology of English Church Music* was released, a Norman W. Barnes praised the ‘authentic performances in the noble atmosphere of our Cathedrals’, in correspondence, *The Gramophone* (June 1950): 20; and, when reviewing King’s College’s recording, Robertson noted the ‘spacious sound’ of the acoustic and said that this helped the performance to ‘sound more devotional’, in record review, *The Gramophone* (April 1964): 469.

<sup>138</sup> Knighton, record review, *Gramophone* (December 1990): 1243.

## Chapter 4

category does not appear to present the same chronological trends in expressivity so clearly. There are some differences in the specific application of certain devices, but the majority of recordings display the same common options throughout the eras.

This certainly suggests some interesting stylistic distinctions between the two choral categories. However, maintaining the definition of style as a conscious elaboration of the given text, this can only be fully explored via a piece that affords much greater scope for such expressive possibilities — Byrd's famous motet, *Ave verum corpus*.

## Chapter 5: Style Case Study II - *Ave verum corpus*

If there is one piece from Byrd's output that surpasses even the reputation of 'Agnus Dei', then *Ave verum corpus* is surely it. A brief introduction to this renowned work prefaces the investigation here, outlining its appeal and distribution in the modern era. *Ave verum* is rife with accessible expressive potential and has been widely recorded as a result; hence it is a perfect candidate for the study of choral interpretation.

In Chapters 2 and 4 of this thesis, I proposed that many differences in singing style are directly related to differences in the communication of text. This was observed in recordings of 'Agnus Dei', but the emotive words of *Ave verum* provide even richer source material than the Mass Ordinary, inviting closer textual engagement and increasing the scope for expressive variety. In this chapter, I progress through the key moments of Byrd's setting, comparing the interpretation of those musical-textual events in performance; how these unfold is ultimately a matter of style. I analyse the type and extent of musical change, the frequency with which certain options are heard among each choral category, and chronological developments in usage.<sup>1</sup> In particular, I aim to show further similarity in the interpretative style of institutional choirs while independent groups continue to display more variance, both in terms of individual recordings and across different eras. This moment-by-moment analysis is preceded by a comparison at whole-piece level — determining what the key events actually are for each category — and is followed by a summary of the general trends with regards to musical devices. I close this chapter by relating those trends to the findings from 'Agnus Dei', drawing together the main analytical conclusions that will be positioned against contrasting choral identities in Chapter 6.

### 5.1 Byrd's 'Greatest Hit'

Rarely is this motet mentioned without being described as Byrd's 'most famous' or 'best-loved' work, a position upheld from the start of the early music revival. This popularity is largely owed to the inclusion of *Ave verum* in some of the most significant choral publications of the last century. As Matthew O'Donovan explains, this was initiated in the 1920s by the individual 'octavo' editions produced from The Carnegie Trust's *Tudor Church Music* project.<sup>2</sup> 16,629 copies of *Ave verum* were sold in the first eight years. O'Donovan argues that the octavo series 'effectively

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<sup>1</sup> My discussion here addresses the findings of the wider close listening analysis as well as the digitised sample that was analysed using Sonic Visualiser; many of my broader chronological observations are the result of the former method due to the greater amount of data.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew O'Donovan, sleeve notes to *The Phoenix Rising*, Stile Antico, Harmonia Mundi HMU807572 (2013), 2.

determined the “core” Tudor repertoire of the next 75 years’, observing that ‘OUP’s now-ubiquitous’ *Oxford Book of Tudor Anthems* is highly reflective of that original selection.

The circulation of *Ave verum* via these publications established the piece within the choral canon, but Milsom summarises why that position remains so secure:

Today no composition by Byrd is performed and recorded more often than this one, partly because it is such a gem, partly because it offers such rich opportunities for expressive singing, and partly because it is technically not hard for choirs to sing.<sup>3</sup>

Milsom is not the first to call this piece a ‘gem’; it seems to be the descriptor of choice among critics and scholars alike.<sup>4</sup> This word encapsulates the notion of *Ave verum* as a self-contained musical masterpiece, which manages to ‘distil in a short space many of [Byrd’s] special qualities’, according to Rutter, but which is also treasured for the beauty in its simplicity.<sup>5</sup> The ideal length, gratifying for all to sing, this is Byrd’s number one single. The gem analogy extends further when considering that this motet, though coming from Byrd’s *Gradualia*, is not beholden to a larger musical framework like ‘Agnus Dei’ is with the Mass. This gem can be admired alone, or inserted into other ‘jewellery’ and work as part of various musical programmes. Interestingly, *Ave verum* is frequently added to releases of Byrd’s Masses, featuring as the only singular motet on ‘Three Masses’ albums by The Tallis Scholars, The Hilliard Ensemble, Christ Church Cathedral Choir and a recent recording by Westminster Cathedral Choir. More often, *Ave verum* appears on broader Renaissance, sacred or English music anthologies, alongside other ‘choral lollipops’, as one reviewer said of a New College Choir selection.<sup>6</sup>

Such self-perpetuating popularity has inevitably invited some criticism. As early as 1953, Denis Stevens referred to *Ave verum* as part of ‘that well-worn fragment of the Tudor repertory’ and Jeremy Noble later complained that he could ‘see no point whatsoever’ in including this ‘warhorse’ on new albums.<sup>7</sup> However, this demonstrates more of a concern for discographic balance than a feeling that *Ave verum* is undeserving of prominence.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, the piece is more

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<sup>3</sup> Milsom, sleeve notes to *Byrd: The Three Masses, Ave verum corpus*, Westminster Cathedral Choir, Hyperion CDA68038 (2014); these are very similar to comments he made in “Byrd on Record,” 447.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, sleeve notes to *Sounds of Light*, Trinity Church Choir, Boston, Gothic G49245 (2005); and Berry, record review, *Gramophone* (December 1996): 119.

<sup>5</sup> John Rutter, sleeve notes to *Ave verum corpus: Motets and Anthems of William Byrd*, The Cambridge Singers, Collegium COLCD 110 (1989), 16.

<sup>6</sup> Steane, record review, *Gramophone* (June 1998): 90.

<sup>7</sup> Stevens, “Gramophone Notes: English Church Music,” *The Musical Times* 94 (1953): 119; Noble, record review, *The Gramophone* (June 1966): 24-25.

<sup>8</sup> The comments from Milsom included here and in Chapter 2.5 also illustrate this.

commonly acknowledged as ‘justly famous’ or popular ‘with good reason’.<sup>9</sup> Robert Lightband asserts that ‘familiarity should not allow its beauty and its drama to be masked’.<sup>10</sup> Fortunately, familiarity has actually allowed its drama to be conveyed in many ways, by a range of ensembles.

Like the Masses, Byrd produced his *Gradualia* to aid recusant Catholic worship; the knowledge of that context has caused many to emphasise the relationship between music, text and emotion in *Ave verum*. Jeremy Summerly and J. Thorn describe Byrd’s setting as ‘clear and expressive, representing a private religious statement by the composer’.<sup>11</sup> The fascination with this idea is fuelled by Byrd’s famous preface to the *Gradualia*:

...in the very sentences (as I have learned from experience) there is such hidden and concealed power that to a man thinking about divine things and turning them over attentively and earnestly in his mind, the most appropriate measures come, I know not how, as if by their own free will...<sup>12</sup>

Though overused, this extract remains a vital reminder that Byrd’s musical choices were directly inspired by the words he set. That was important for ‘Agnus Dei’, but it is absolutely crucial in *Ave verum corpus*. This text, already rife with powerful imagery, is a Eucharistic hymn for the feast of Corpus Christi (Body of Christ). It praises Christ’s real presence in the sacrament and encapsulates a core belief of the Catholic faith. The words translate as:

Hail, true Body, born of the Virgin Mary  
The same that suffered and was sacrificed on the cross for humankind,  
Whose pierced side flowed with water and blood.  
Let us taste of Thee in the trial of death.  
O sweet, O gentle, O Jesus, Mary’s Son,  
Have mercy on me. Amen.<sup>13</sup>

This is immensely poignant, considering Byrd’s faith and political situation. As Brett observes, the music of the *Gradualia* may seem ‘restrained and contemplative’, but ‘it would be a mistake to

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<sup>9</sup> See, for example, sleeve notes to *Byrd: Mass for Four Voices, Four Motets; Taverner: Sacred Music*, The Pro Cantione Antiqua, ASV Quicksilver CD QS 6132 (1994); and Hillier, sleeve notes to *Byrd: Masses / Motets*, The Hilliard Ensemble, EMI LC0542 (1987).

<sup>10</sup> Robert Lightband, sleeve notes to *Choral Music from Dundee*, St Paul’s Cathedral Choir, Dundee, Abbey CDCA 926 (1991).

<sup>11</sup> Summerly and J. Thorn, sleeve notes to *Rejoice in the Lamb*, New College Choir, Oxford, ProudSound PROUCD 125 (1989).

<sup>12</sup> William Byrd, preface to *Gradualia* (1605); as found in Brett, preface to *The Byrd Edition, Volume 5: Gradualia I (1605) The Marian Masses* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1989), xvii.

<sup>13</sup> As found in David Fraser, ed., *Ave verum corpus* (Choral Public Domain Library, 2008), available at “Ave verum corpus (William Byrd),” CPDL [http://www1.cpdll.org/wiki/index.php/Ave\\_verum\\_corpus\\_%28William\\_Byrd%29](http://www1.cpdll.org/wiki/index.php/Ave_verum_corpus_%28William_Byrd%29).

underestimate the degree of militant sectarianism it represents'.<sup>14</sup> Rather than performances that attempt to recreate the historical context of the *Gradualia*, Brett advocates interpretations that 'pay tribute to the intensity it gave to the composer's message' by 'doing everything in our power' to bring the text to life.<sup>15</sup> Fittingly, several conductors in this study describe this as a key priority of their approach in general. Christophers, for example, aims to perform Latin church music 'in a way that communicates the meaning of the words' and Robert Hollingworth emphasises the importance of knowing 'exactly what you're singing about and what its context is'; he always begins with the text.<sup>16</sup>

Performers not only have the words of text to consider, but the musical 'text' of a notated score. There are various printed versions of *Ave verum*, however, and each can present the musical information slightly differently. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to ascertain exactly which editions were being used by each choir, but there are some general assessments that can be confidently assumed.<sup>17</sup> Firstly, given the popularity of OUP publications among choirs of all levels, many are likely to have come into contact with John Morehen's version from 1972.<sup>18</sup> This was the only edition to be credited on some entries in other *Ave verum* discographies and anecdotal evidence suggests that it is still the 'go to' version for most choirs.<sup>19</sup> More recently, a wide selection of repertoire has been freely available online via the Choral Public Domain Library (CPDL); many directors regularly turn to this resource. Several different versions of Byrd's *Ave verum* appear on CPDL, but David Fraser's edition from 2004 (updated in 2008) is perhaps the most credible contribution.<sup>20</sup> Aside from these two popular sources, *Ave verum* features in Brett's landmark publication *The Byrd Edition* (1991).<sup>21</sup> This was based on 'a thorough reappraisal of the sources, in accordance with the needs of present-day performers and scholars' and remains

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<sup>14</sup> Brett, preface to *The Byrd Edition*, Vol. 5, xviii.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, xxvii.

<sup>16</sup> Christophers, "Do You Need 'Religion'," 30; Hollingworth, "20 Greatest Choirs," 34.

<sup>17</sup> This could be an area for future research; it would involve contacting participants from every recording directly, hence why it exceeded the scope of my current project.

<sup>18</sup> John Morehen, ed., *Ave verum corpus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972); this appears separately and in Christopher Morris, ed., *The Oxford Book of Tudor Anthems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 44-49.

<sup>19</sup> Morehen was credited in the National Sound Archive catalogue on recordings of *Ave verum* by Christ Church Cathedral and New College Choirs, though this could not be confirmed by other sources; among the most recent (post 2012) releases, Clare College Choir, Cambridge also credit the OUP edition, but this information is still not widely included as a matter of course, in *Stabat Mater dolorosa: Music for Passiontide*, Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Harmonia Mundi HMU 907616 (2014); at the time of writing, a trip to the Choir of St. Martin-in-the-Fields in Trafalgar Square found them still using Morehen's version of *Ave verum* in *The Oxford Book of Tudor Anthems*.

<sup>20</sup> See Footnote 13 for reference to Fraser's edition; a recent release of Byrd's music by Stile Antico credited Fraser as having provided the performance edition for *Ave verum corpus*, in sleeve notes to *The Phoenix Rising*, 4.

<sup>21</sup> Brett, ed., *The Byrd Edition*, Volume 6a: *Gradualia I (1605) All Saints and Corpus Christi* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1991).

perhaps the most significant critical edition of Byrd's vocal work.<sup>22</sup> In these three editions, the pitches, underlay of Latin text, measurement and relative note durations are exactly the same. The only difference is that Morehen has halved the note values, adhering to the crotchet beat that modern singers are more accustomed to. Essentially, choirs performing from these scores have identical raw material to work with; any differences in interpretation are wholly a matter of style.

That is not entirely the case with two earlier versions of *Ave verum*. Important editions by R. R. Terry (1922) and E. H. Fellowes (1938) are distinctive of modern versions in their inclusion of expression markings.<sup>23</sup> These are especially copious in Terry's edition, of which two systems have been reproduced in Figure 5.1.<sup>24</sup> Aside from the range of dynamic shadings, Terry suggests numerous accents and swells of emphasis ('hairpins') localised to specific notes, as on 'mor-tis' or 'Je-su'. These alterations occur frequently within a short space of time. This is immediately reminiscent of the singing style on early 'Agnus Dei' recordings, with the musical surface in constant ebb and flow. The expression markings in these editions are not just prescriptive of style, then, but *reflective* of it also; they are symptomatic of contemporary performance tastes. Coming later, Fellowes' edition does not outline as much textural detail or dynamic alteration, yet it still contains various expression markings and also an irregular barring system. Where modern editions of *Ave verum* employ regular bars purely as a means of navigation, bar lines in these two early versions are clearly intended to induce emphasis, shifting the down beat on to syllables such as 'cor-pus' and 'Vir-gi-ne'. Terry instructs eight changes of metre to bring about these effects within the first two pages of his edition. Fellowes also adds an overall indication of speed and style: 'very smoothly, but not too slow'. However, Fellowes makes it clear in the preface that these are editorial suggestions only — not features of the 'original text' — thus 'every conductor may consider himself free to disregard or alter these marks in accordance with his own discretion and taste'.<sup>25</sup> We know that Fellowes' 'chief aim' was that these publications had 'practical use' for choirs, and Day notes that the octavo series of *Tudor Church Music* was also promoted as a 'Popular Edition, provided with expression marks and rendered practicable for performance'.<sup>26</sup> It seems that this interpretative guidance was specifically included to aid amateur singers, or 'performance by choral societies and the choirs of places of worship', as described by the

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<sup>22</sup> Brett, general preface to *The Byrd Edition*, iv.

<sup>23</sup> Richard R. Terry, ed., *Tudor Church Music: Ave verum corpus, Octavo Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922); Edmund H. Fellowes, ed., *The Collected Works of William Byrd, Volume 5: Gradualia, book 1 (1605) parts 2 and 3* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1938).

<sup>24</sup> Terry, *ibid.*, obtained from "Ave verum corpus (Byrd, William)," IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, as part of the Sibley Mirroring Project, accessed February 2015, [http://imslp.org/wiki/Ave\\_verum\\_corpus\\_%28Byrd,\\_William%29](http://imslp.org/wiki/Ave_verum_corpus_%28Byrd,_William%29).

<sup>25</sup> Fellowes, general preface to *The Collected Vocal Works of William Byrd*, vi.

<sup>26</sup> Day, "Tudor Church Music," 20.



Figure 5.1: Ave verum corpus, bars 31-40 (Terry, ed.).

- sta - tum in mor - tis ex - a - mi - ne. O dul - cis,  
 giv - en at death's hour to be my food. O ten - der,

- sta - tum in mor - tis, in mor - tis ex - a - mi - ne. O dul -  
 giv - en at death's hour, at death's hour to be my food. O ten -

- sta - tum in mor - tis ex - a - mi - ne. O dul -  
 giv - en at death's hour to be my food. O ten -

- sta - tum in mor - tis ex - a - mi - ne. O dul -  
 giv - en at death's hour to be my food. O ten -

O pi - e, O Je - su Fi - li Ma - ri -  
 O lov - ing, O Je - su Son of Ma -

- cis, O pi - e, O Je - su Fi - li Ma - ri -  
 - der, O lov - ing, O Je - su Son of Ma -

- cis, O pi - e, O Je - su Fi - li Ma - ri -  
 - der, O lov - ing, O Je - su Son of Ma -

- cis, O pi - e, O Je - su Fi - li Ma - ri -  
 - der, O lov - ing, O Je - su Son of Ma -

Carnegie trustees.<sup>27</sup> In contrast, the main scholarly volumes of *Tudor Church Music* from the 1920s — to which both Terry and Fellowes contributed — contain original note values and no expression markings.<sup>28</sup>

Expressive pointers were not as welcome as tastes developed towards clearer and more accurate performances. In 1950, Michael Howard criticised Fellowes for tampering with the notation, and Kerman reacted ‘with a grateful shudder’ to *The Byrd Edition* when considering ‘how much *noise* Brett has filtered out of the old Fellowes edition’.<sup>29</sup> The ‘cleaning-up’ of printed editions has paralleled wider developments in performance style, but an expressionless score is certainly not meant to incite an expressionless performance.<sup>30</sup> The absence of suggested markings might even increase the potential for variant interpretations, offering conductors a completely blank slate. However, it could also be argued that the look of these modern, ‘clean’ scores somehow implies a straighter or more restrained performance in comparison to the editions by Terry and Fellowes.

It is impossible to guess exactly how each choir’s style is influenced by the printed page, but I do consider whether there is evidence that published expressive guidance has been followed in recordings of *Ave verum*. Though it is likely that early- to mid-twentieth-century performances were referring to Terry or Fellowes, we should not assume that later recordings use later editions; the items in some choral libraries can remain unchanged for decades.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, several groups indicate that directors or associates have produced their own performance editions, often from original manuscripts, and these are not publicly available.<sup>32</sup> Ultimately, no straightforward linkages between score and recorded style can be claimed.

One final irregularity in this area has to do with pitch. Byrd originally scored *Ave verum* in G minor and all of the above editions retain this key apart from Fellowes, who transposed it up one tone. Most recorded choirs sound in the original key, but a substantial number appear to be singing in the A minor mode. Intriguingly, the vast majority who adopt the higher transposition are cathedral choirs, such as Durham, Hereford, Salisbury, St. Mary’s Pro (Dublin), Worcester, Wells and both institutions at Westminster. Only a handful of independent or college choirs were

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<sup>27</sup> Fellowes, P. C. Buck, A. Ramsbotham and S. T. Warner, ed., “Trustees’ Preface,” in *Tudor Church Music, Volume 9, William Byrd, 1543-1623: Masses, Cantiones, Motets*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), vii.

<sup>28</sup> Terry originally chaired the editorial committee but was later succeeded by Fellowes.

<sup>29</sup> Howard, “Gramophone Notes,” 307; Kerman does add that Fellowes’ editions ‘were always directed as much to singers, the choristers and amateurs of his time, as to scholars’, in “The Byrd Edition,” 111.

<sup>30</sup> David Willcocks makes in this assertion in the preface to *The Oxford Book of Tudor Anthems*.

<sup>31</sup> For example, the English translation of the text is accredited to Terry in the sleeve notes to *O Come Let Us Sing*, St. Patrick’s Cathedral Choir, New York, Gothic 49091 (1997); also, the version of *Ave verum corpus* that I sang at school in the noughties was Fellowes’ edition, with dynamic markings ringed in bold pencil.

<sup>32</sup> Examples where this is specifically stated for *Ave verum* are: T. B. Lawrence, sleeve notes to *Byrd: Ave verum corpus*; and Phillips, sleeve notes to *The Tallis Scholars’ Finest Recordings 1980-1989: Sacred Music in the Renaissance, Volume 1*, The Tallis Scholars, Gimell, GIMBX 301 (2010); see also, Appendix A.

heard in this key. It cannot be assumed that choirs performing in A minor must be using Fellowes' edition, especially given the predilection for OUP publications — and thus Morehen's version — among cathedral choirs. An alternative suggestion might be that this is a more satisfactory tessitura for the young trebles. Is this another decision guided by practicality, then, while other ensembles prefer to offer the piece in its 'correct' original form? That first idea might be true, and the majority of independent ensembles do retain the original key, but various choirs offer alternatives. Some recordings sound a semi-tone higher, including those from King's College, Winchester Cathedral and The Cambridge Singers, while some of the all-male groups adopt a slightly lower transposition, namely the Hilliard Ensemble, New York Polyphony and Vocal Appearance. Though no choir deviated from the original by more than a tone, a degree of flexibility is clearly acceptable with regards to key in *Ave verum*. Reasons for transposition are likely to be both aesthetic and practical, but there is already evidence of an interesting correlation between cathedral choirs specifically.

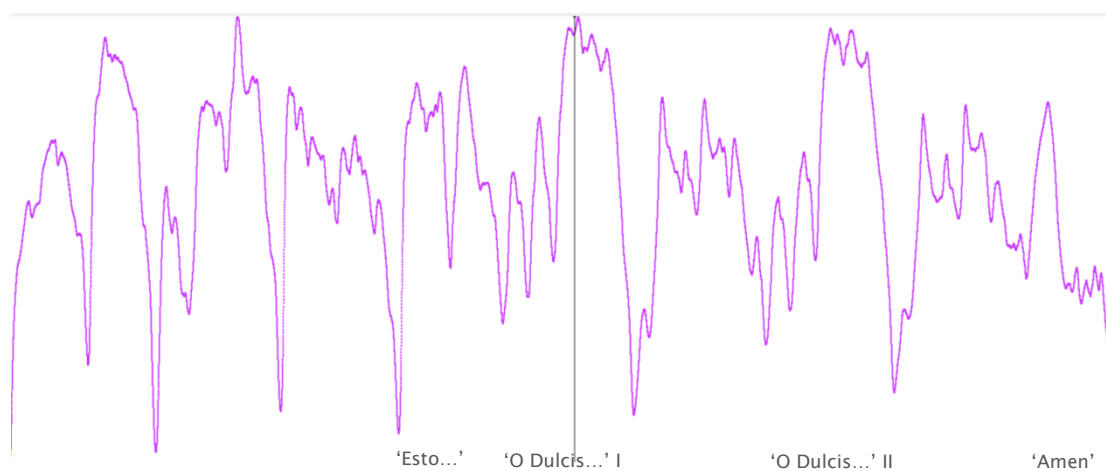
## 5.2 Interpretation: Broad View

Before examining interpretative choices in close detail, I will first address how the narrative of *Ave verum* has been approached on a larger scale, assessing the high points and overall pace of each performance. There are some important trends with regards to expressivity as a whole that form the groundwork for analysis in this chapter. Firstly, the phrase 'Esto nobis praegustatum' presents a pivotal moment in the piece; more expressive activity commonly occurs from this point on. However, the majority of choirs up into the 1950s also incorporated frequent musical changes prior to 'Esto nobis'. Among the independent recordings, these expressive gestures were noticeably overt and, for the majority, continued into the 1960s. Some displayed this quality even later, such as The King's Singers in the late 1970s and The Cambridge Singers at the end of the 1980s. On institutional recordings from the 1960s onwards, expressive attention was clearly focussed on the same specific moments in the piece, particularly 'natum de Maria Virgine', while other phrases prior to 'Esto nobis' were often sung more plainly. The same important phrases were also highlighted by most independent ensembles but, in that category, there was more varied and sporadic attention to different musical moments across the piece. Moreover, there is a marked contrast in both the degree and frequency of change heard on later independent recordings in comparison to those of the 1960s and earlier.

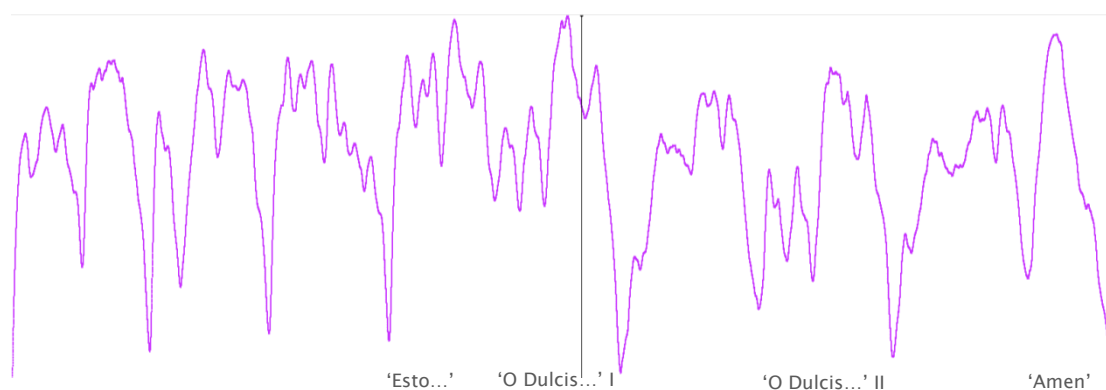
The primary mode of expressivity in performances of *Ave verum* is dynamic contrast; the key events of the piece are highlighted via this device. Figures 5.2 to 5.4 contain power curves that convey the entire dynamic architecture of selected college, cathedral and independent

Figure 5.2: Whole piece power curves of *Ave verum corpus* from four college recordings.

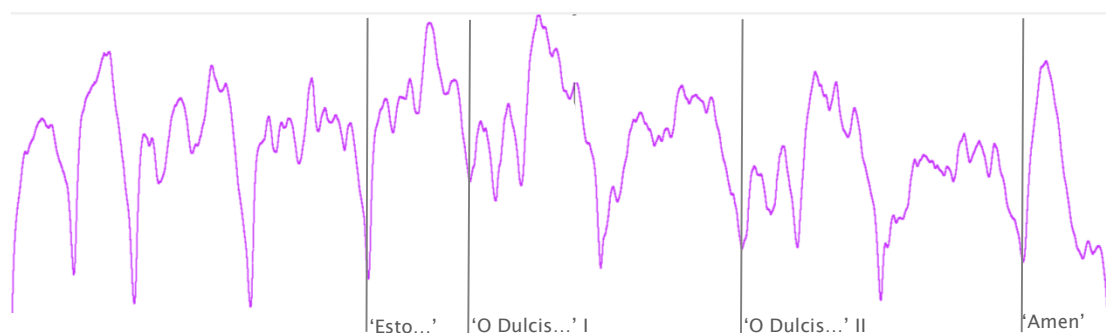
King's College Choir, Cambridge (A68)



Keble College Choir, Oxford (A56)



Clare College Choir, Cambridge (A27)



St. John's College Choir, Cambridge (A55)

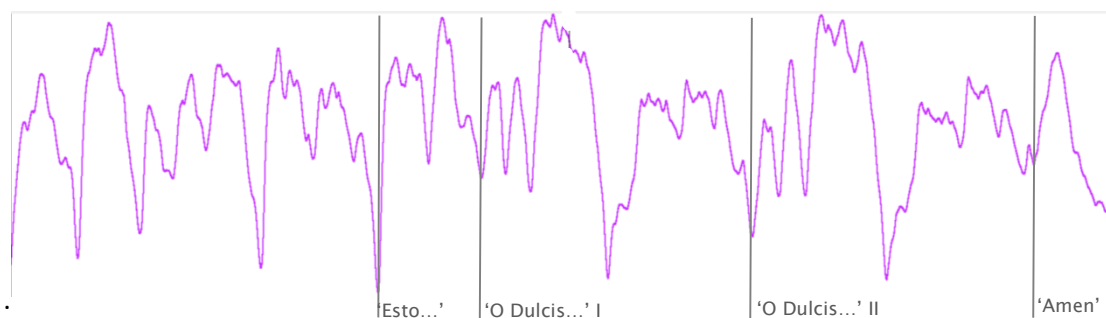
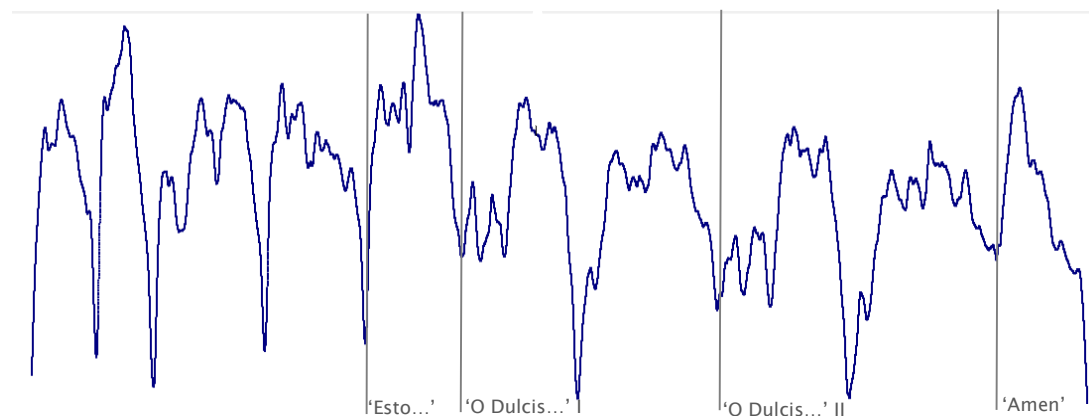
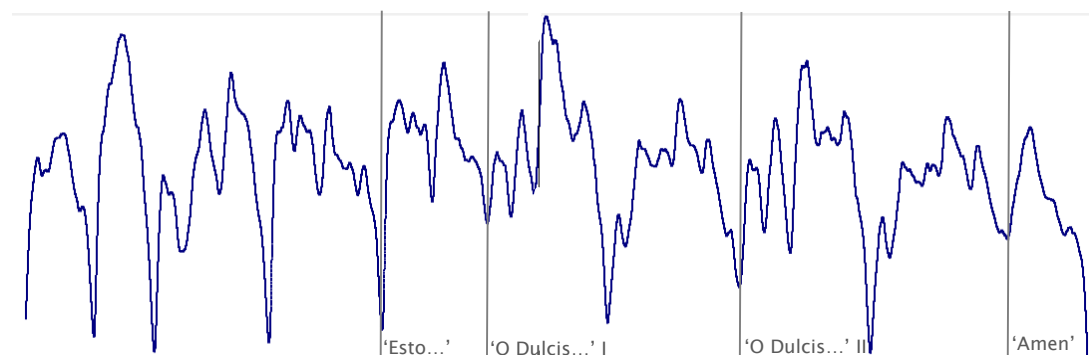


Figure 5.3: Whole piece power curves of *Ave verum corpus* from four cathedral recordings.

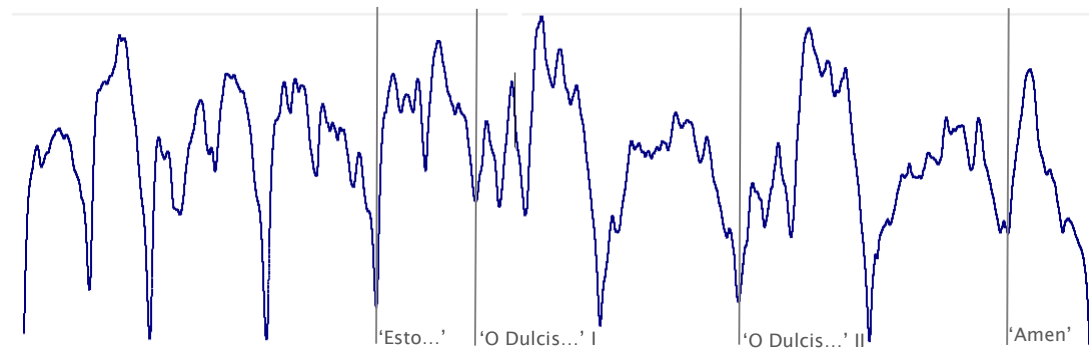
Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Oxford (A83)



Durham Cathedral Choir (A32)



Winchester Cathedral Choir (A31)



Wells Cathedral Choir (A47)

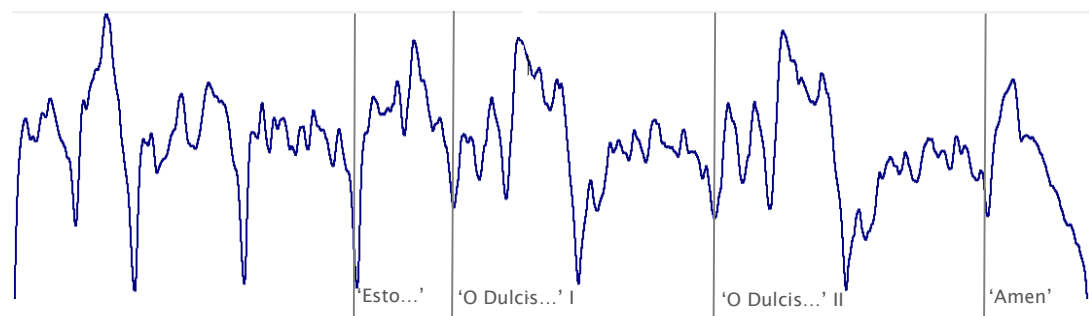
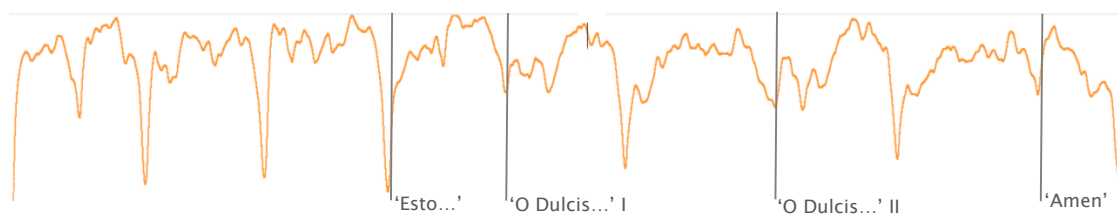
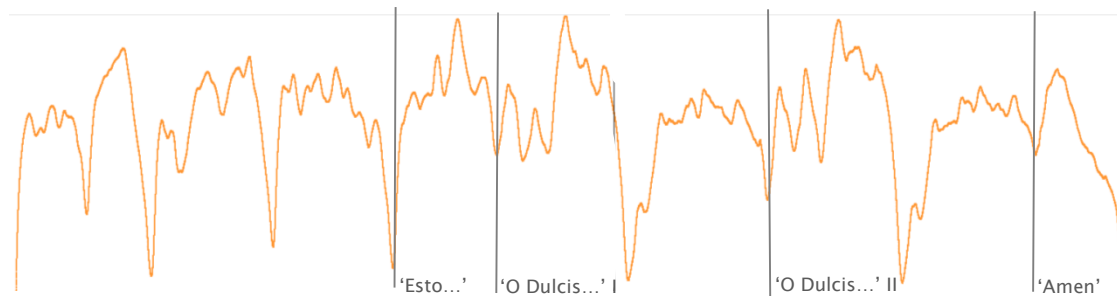


Figure 5.4: Whole piece power curves of *Ave verum corpus* from eight independent recordings.

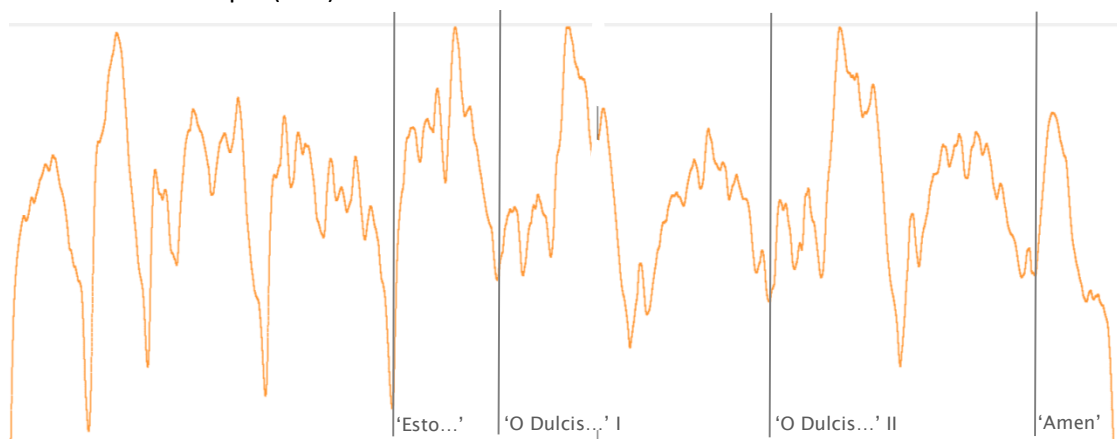
## Vocal Appearance (A39)



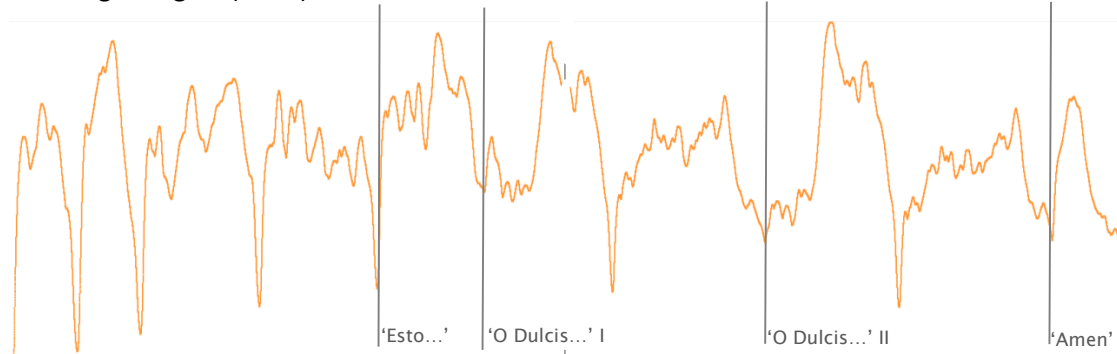
## The Tallis Scholars (A26)



## Pro Cantione Antiqua (A87)

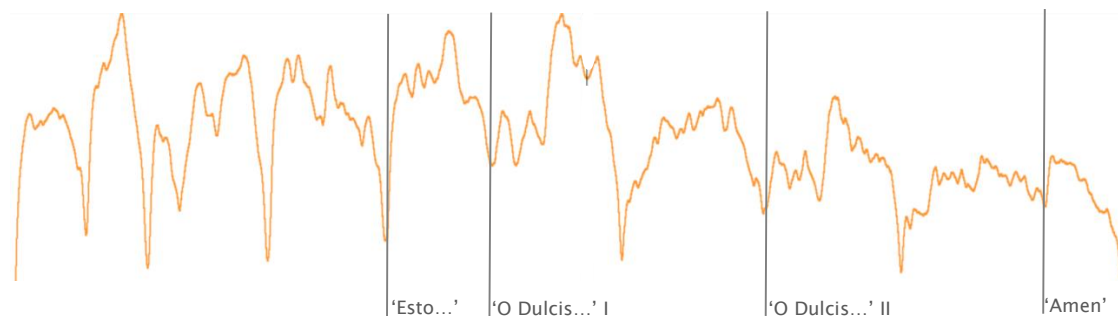


## The King's Singers (A100)

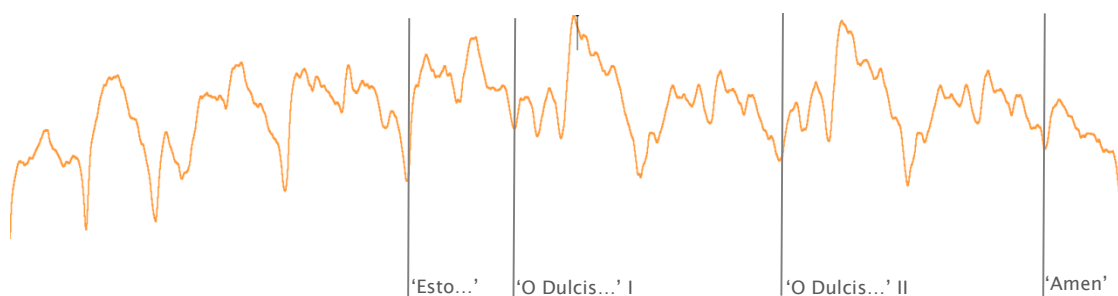


(Figure 5.4 continued)

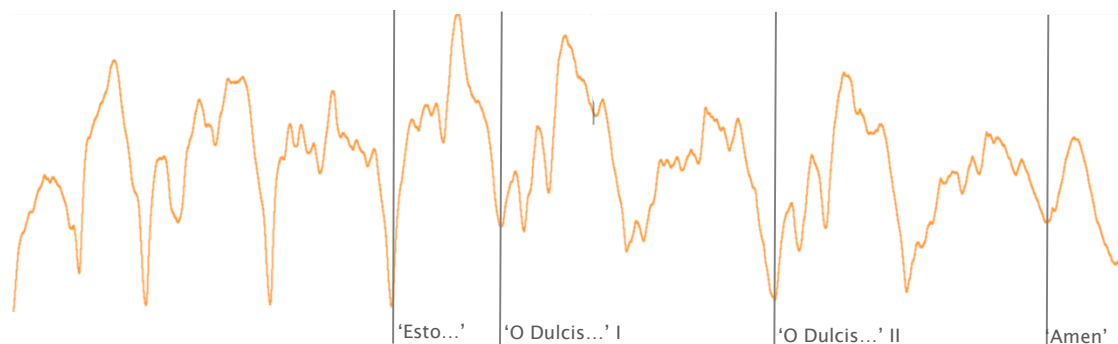
The Armonico Consort (A82)



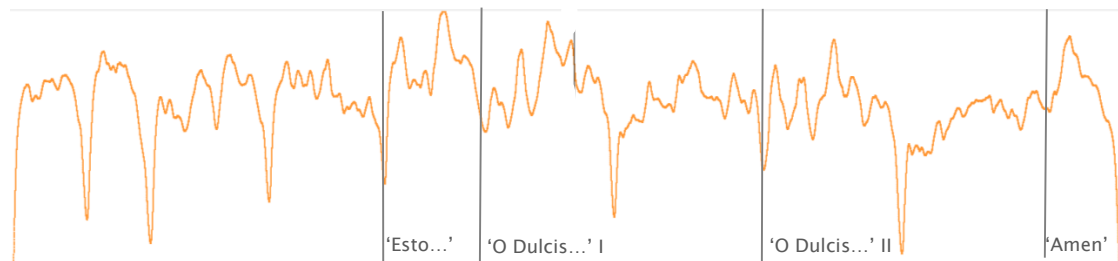
The Bulgarian Radio Choir (A189)



The Cambridge Singers (A25)



The Ascension Singers (A198)

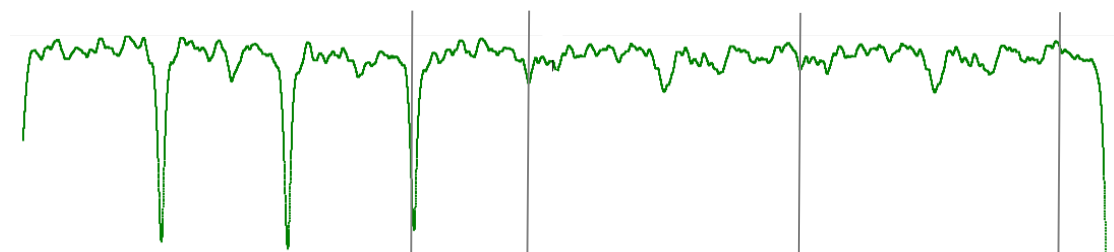


The phrases 'Ave verum corpus' through to 'unda fluxit sanguine' come prior to the first vertical line above. Between the first two lines is the phrase 'Esto nobis praegustatum in mortis examine'. Immediately following this is the start of 'O dulcis' through to 'miserere mei', with the next line marking the repeat of this section. The final line indicates the onset of 'Amen'.

recordings.<sup>33</sup> In Figure 5.2, the rise and fall of volume is more pronounced in the graph for King's College, but the general contours of each performance are quite similar. A fairly straight line could be drawn through each college power curve; the dynamic peaks, though naturally varied, centre around the same average level. The latter portions of the piece appear slightly quieter than the centre, but this is only really noticeable with Clare College. The cathedral recordings in Figure 5.3 are very similar, though this category provided some more pronounced examples of diminishing volume towards the end, most overtly from Christ Church Cathedral. In the full digitised sample, only one institutional choir, Downside Abbey, showed any obvious dynamic trajectory across the opening half of the piece, though there is some hint at this again from Clare College. The independent examples in Figure 5.4 reveal the same outcome as with 'Agnus Dei'; most performances centre around a similar, average pattern, but the clearest examples or variations of broad-scale dynamic structuring are found among independent recordings. Some of these ensembles maintain a very steady dynamic level, such as Vocal Appearance (Chanticleer were very similar), or achieve an especially quiet ending, like The Armonico Consort. Then there are examples from The Pro Cantione Antiqua and The King's Singers, who contrast high peaks with periods at a much lower volume, or performances that trace a more audible arc across the entire piece, such as The Cambridge Singers and The Bulgarian Radio Choir.

These findings parallel my previous observations, but comparing the college, cathedral and independent power curves to one from a synthetic performance in Figure 5.5 reveals a compelling difference in how *Ave verum* has been interpreted. The banality of this graph illustrates that if just the raw notation of Byrd's *Ave verum* were realised, then the dynamic of this largely homophonic piece would alter very little, changing only momentarily as voices rest and return. In contrast to 'Agnus Dei', the common dynamic shaping of *Ave verum* displayed by institutional choirs — and the template for many independent interpretations — is worlds away from a straightforward

Figure 5.5: Whole piece power curve of *Ave verum corpus* from a synthetic performance.



<sup>33</sup> See Appendix C.4 for all power curves from the full digitised sample for *Ave verum corpus*. The full sample contains five college choirs, ten cathedral choirs (fifteen institutional choirs) and fifteen independent choirs, of which ten are based in the UK; this is representative of the recording share for this piece. Sonic Visualiser does not display all the power curves against the same absolute scale – the increments on the y-axis increase by different degrees on each graph – thus direct comparison between the height of each image is not representative of actual differences in overall volume range; this does not affect the relative contour differences under discussion.



rendering of the notes or texture. Essentially, a great deal of expressive ‘elaboration’ of the score is being demonstrated by *all* choirs, but some things are so inherent in Byrd’s writing that they elicit a common response.

In reality, there is much more that might suggest an increase in volume than just the addition of voices; the most obvious being ascending intervals during passages that rise towards a climax. There are four key moments in *Ave verum* that incorporate this feature: ‘natum de Ma-ri-a’, ‘in mor-tis examine’, and ‘O Je-su’, which appears twice (see Figure 5.6). In my wider listening analysis, these four moments were the most notable events of nearly every recording and the first ‘O Jesu’ commonly elicited the greatest expressive changes. Within the college and cathedral categories, the phrase ‘natum de Maria’ was highlighted most frequently, whereas ‘in mortis’ received most regular attention among the independent group. The power curves in the digitised sample support these findings (see Appendix C.4): on each graph, the four highest peaks are invariably the same as those listed above. ‘In mortis’ is the most common source of such peaks on independent power curves, while ‘Maria’ is slightly less of a main feature in comparison to cathedral recordings. ‘Mortis’ can also be a high point on many cathedral power curves but, unlike the common rises on ‘Maria’ and both ‘O Jesu’s, there is less consensus regarding ‘mortis’ among cathedral recordings. In some, ‘mortis’ rises up as *the* loudest event of the piece, in others, it falls short of several other phrases. I shall consider these varying approaches to ‘natum de Maria Virgine’ and ‘mortis’ in more detail later, but it is already intriguing to find that cathedral choirs devote more attention to the line ‘born of the Virgin Mary’ and are less agreed on how to deal with ‘death’, while independent ensembles have more consistently seized the latter word as a moment of drama.

Another phrase where increased intensity might be expected is ‘in cruce’ (‘on the cross’), given the imagery and plosive consonant. Numerous independent ensembles did rise in volume here and four of the graphs in the digitised sample display one of their highest peaks at this point. This was very rarely the case for institutional choirs, which relates to my observation that the first portion of the piece — where ‘cruce’ appears — was treated differently by the two categories. Among the independent power curves, a variety of moments from early in the piece feature as some of the loudest peaks, including ‘sanguine’ (Vocal Appearance), ‘cuius latus’ (Armonico Consort) and ‘unda fluxit’ (The Sixteen). A few institutional choirs make more of ‘Esto nobis’ and ‘Amen’ but, on the whole, that category shows more consensus in their dynamic highlights, deviating far less from the four common key moments.

It is worth considering how these trends in dynamic architecture compare to the suggestions in Terry and Fellowes’ editions. Figure 5.7 contains two illustrations of what the

Figure 5.6: Rising moments in *Ave verum corpus*, bars 5-8, 25-28 and 31-34 (Fraser, ed.).

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with four staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass). The key signature is B-flat major (two flats) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are in Latin.

**System 1 (Bars 5-8):**

na - tum de Ma - ri - a Vir - gi - ne,  
na - tum de Ma - ri - a Vir - gi - ne,  
na - tum de Ma - ri - a Vir - gi - ne,  
na - tum de Ma - ri - a Vir - gi - ne,

**System 2 (Bars 25-28):**

sta - tum in mor - tis ex - a - mi - ne:  
sta - tum in mor - tis, in mor - tis ex - a - mi - ne:  
sta - tum in mor - tis ex - a - mi - ne:  
sta - tum in mor - tis ex - a - mi - ne:

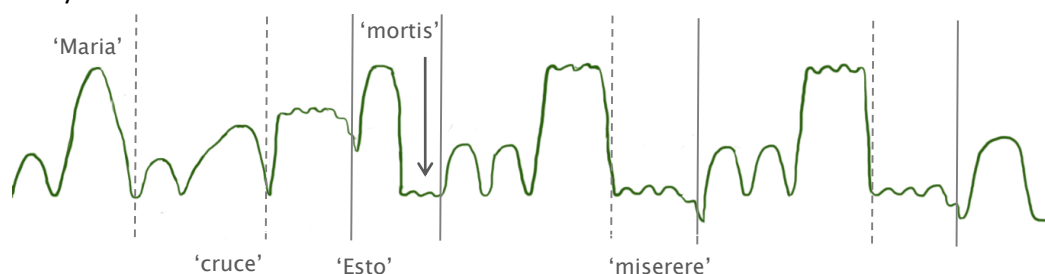
**System 3 (Bars 31-34):**

- e! O Je - su fi - li Ma - ri -  
pi - e, O Je - su fi - li Ma - ri -  
pi - e, O Je - su fi - li Ma - ri -  
pi - e, O Je - su Fi - li Ma - ri -

power curves might look like if the markings of each version were sounded.<sup>34</sup> Interestingly, the two editions are very similar to one another, and to most of the recordings, prior to the ‘Esto nobis’ watershed; they then become quite polarised until the ‘miserere’s. Between the two, the main high points of volume described above can be seen — including a *crescendo* on ‘cruce’ — but neither features them in the exact manner that I heard on the recordings. In fact, none of the real performances mirror either illustration in their entirety, except perhaps for the power curve from Westminster Abbey Choir’s 1966 recording in Figure 5.8. It may be that this performance was based on Terry’s edition — especially given his earlier association with Westminster

Figure 5.7: Illustrations representing dynamic markings in Terry and Fellowes’ editions of *Ave verum corpus*.

#### Terry



#### Fellowes

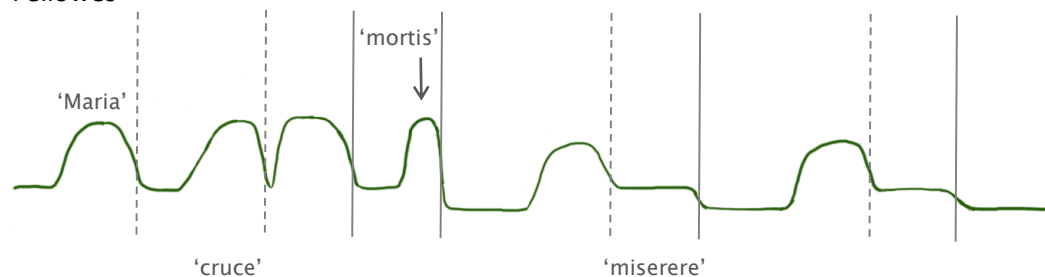
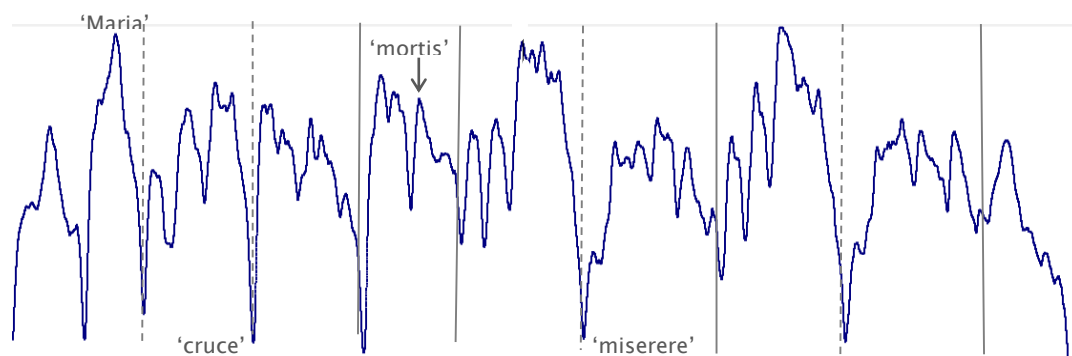


Figure 5.8: Whole piece power curve of *Ave verum corpus* from Westminster Abbey Choir.



<sup>34</sup> These are freely-drawn approximations, based on the expression markings.

institutions — and it follows largely the same dynamic contours, including the unusually quiet ‘in mortis’. The fact that so many other performances vary from the printed editions demonstrates the expressive potential of *Ave verum*, but it is interesting to see aspects of the common dynamic template drawn from institutional choirs reflected here.

One final difference in overall dynamics between the choral categories is the volume range of each performance. As explained in Chapter 2, this must be approached with some caution, as decibel values in the digitised sample are essentially artificial. Yet it is useful to compare the measure between the highest and lowest levels that occur within the performances.<sup>35</sup> The widest dynamic ranges appear in recordings by The Hilliard Ensemble (39.9 decibels) and The Pro Cantione Antiqua (39.7 decibels), closely followed by The King’s Singers (38.3 decibels). The largest among the institutional choirs was on the King’s College recording (35.6 decibels), but this falls short of several independent groups. The broadest noted for a cathedral choir, Durham, was narrower still (32.5 decibels). There is certainly no absence of loud moments among cathedral recordings, but those independent performances that achieved a very broad range also had noticeably *low* points on the graph; these quieter moments widen the dynamic spectrum. Given that the quietest volume occurs between the sung phrases, it could be that the reverberant cathedral acoustics prevent the volume from dropping as low at those points compared to intimate, solo-voiced independent recordings. Indeed, Berry noted of Durham Cathedral Choir that ‘the acoustic is almost overpowering’, resulting in a ‘full and vigorous’ sound from which she welcomed occasional respite.<sup>36</sup>

The appearance of low points on the power curves can also relate to how much space there is between the phrases. The longer the voices are silent, the more chance there is for the sound to fade, thus this may also be indicative of pace. Certainly, the performances for which the *narrowest* dynamic ranges were recorded were largely those that adopted a faster pace, allowing less time for the dynamic to drop. Of course, the length of time between phrases is not purely a consequence of speed, but an element of phrasing. In the printed editions, rests are included after the words ‘Virgine’, ‘homine’ and ‘sanguine’ and, on the graphs, this can be observed as three evenly spaced drops after the second arc; a feature of the majority in the digitised sample, as well as the artificial model. It is particularly telling that the institutional recordings regularly feature declines on their power curves that recede right back down to the lowest levels in the context of each performance. This was observable in Figures 5.2 and 5.3, but the clearest example

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<sup>35</sup> The readings for the lowest point were not taken from the base level of the recording, which would vary greatly with the quality of the technology, but rather the quietest point that is reached during the piece itself.

<sup>36</sup> Berry, record review, *Gramophone* (February 2004): 73.

comes from Salisbury Cathedral Choir in Figure 5.9. In the digitised sample, this was especially evident among the cathedral choirs — with the exception, once again, of Downside Abbey — suggesting that they leave the most space in between phrases. Given the heightened resonance of their larger spaces and forces, this can be understood as another element of practicality influencing performance.

In the previous chapter, I argued that circumstantial differences had a direct effect on decisions of tempo; institutional choirs often adopt a slower pace than independents to accommodate their surroundings. The results for *Ave verum* are even more revealing. Based on a sample tempo reading from ‘vere passum’ through to ‘sanguine’ in each digitised performance, the median average tempo among the cathedral choirs was sixty-one beats per minute, and for colleges sixty-two, whereas the independent average was faster at sixty-eight beats per minute.<sup>37</sup> Most intriguing, however, is how much more variance there was within the independent results, while the institutions demonstrated more commonality. This is evident in the standard deviation

Figure 5.9: Whole piece power curve of *Ave verum corpus* from Salisbury Cathedral Choir.

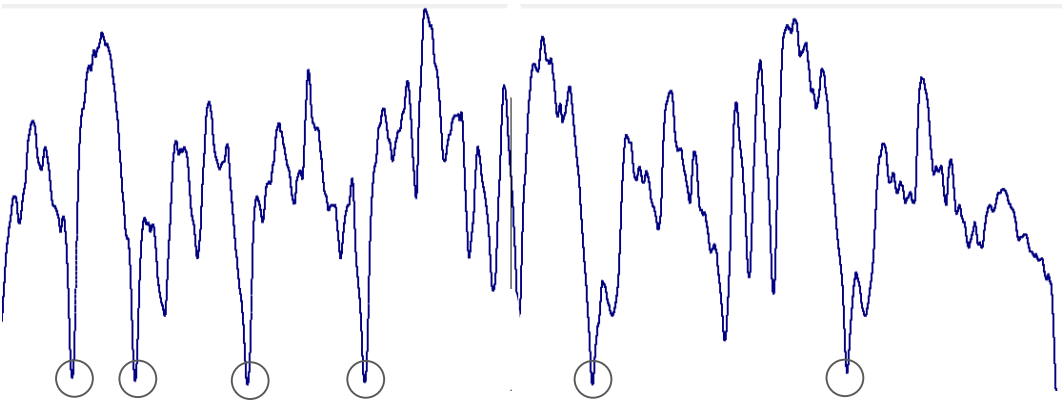


Table 5.1: Table comparing average tempo in recordings of *Ave verum corpus*.

	<i>Median Average (bpm)</i>	<i>Range (bpm)</i>	<i>Standard Deviation</i>	<i>Sample Variance</i>
Colleges (5)	62	12	4.38	19.2
Cathedrals (10)	61	21	5.65	31.96
<b>Institutions (15)</b>	62	21	5.10	26.02
<b>Independents (15)</b>	68	40	10.05	101.17

<sup>37</sup> I took the sample tempo from ‘vere passum’ through to ‘sanguine’ because all choirs maintain their most consistent pace through this section; see Appendix C.5 for details of tempo analysis.

and range of results presented in Table 5.1; in each case, the independent choirs display twice as much difference as the institutional choirs. The independent sample contained five choirs that adopted the slowest paces of any recording — between fifty-three and fifty-nine beats per minute — but also five choirs that exceeded seventy beats per minute. These statistics are not just the result of some anomalous choirs, but are evidence of consistent and widespread variation within the independent category. That variety has also been observed in their wider dynamic architecture, volume range and selection of key expressive events, whereas the institutions have honed in on similar choices.

### 5.3 Interpretation: Key Events

There are certain passages in *Ave verum corpus* that invite special attention, not only from a performance perspective, but in scholarly analysis also. In this section, I provide detailed comparison of the interpretations of key phases in the piece: the first two lines, the phrase beginning ‘Esto nobis’, the transition to the ‘O dulcis’ section and the repeat of those passages. This encompasses the four moments highlighted previously. It is the expressive approach to these events that reveal the specifics of style, thus my purpose here is to present a rich corpus of evidence from which to go on and address the main research questions in the final section. I focus on fine details, but my ultimate aim when analysing each passage is to examine: has recorded style changed over the century in the manner outlined by others scholars? And how do independent and institutional choirs differ stylistically?

#### 5.3.1 ‘Ave verum corpus, natum de Maria Virgine’

The opening lines of *Ave verum corpus* have attracted great scholarly interest. Two overtly Catholic sentiments are present here: the issue of transubstantiation and the image of the Virgin Mary. Much emphasis has been placed on the presence of the false relation between the soprano and bass in the first phrase (see Figure 5.10) and Kerman first pointed out that this highlights the word ‘verum’ more than ‘corpus’:

...what is being hailed is not the Body of Christ but the Eucharist which miraculously *is* the Body. The declamation ‘Ave verum corpus’ makes a doctrinal point of great importance to Catholics of Byrd’s time, who were locked in controversy over the issue of transubstantiation.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Kerman, *Masses and Motets*, 288.

Kerman, Brett and Trendell agree that this is a rare example of Byrd subverting the natural poetic form of the text, separating 'Ave verum corpus' from 'natum' so that the first words are 'set apart from the rest of the motet, almost as if they are in inverted commas or act as a "headline"', according to Trendell.<sup>39</sup> In performance, it certainly feels that 'Ave verum corpus' constitutes a discrete unit; Byrd's firm perfect cadence and ornamented suspension in the upper voice clearly closes things at 'corpus'. Yet the printed editions contain no rests after this word and only Terry indicates a pause.

How much of a division to make between 'corpus' and 'natum' is thus at the performer's discretion. In line with my earlier analysis, institutional choirs commonly allow significant space after 'Ave verum corpus' and this was especially evident on cathedral recordings. Of the ten cathedral power curves in my digitised sample, the majority featured a clear break between the first and second peaks, as with the Salisbury recording in Figure 5.9. Numerous independent

Figure 5.10: *Ave verum corpus*, bars 1-8 (Fraser, ed.).

The musical score for 'Ave verum corpus' by Thomas Byrd, bars 1-8, is presented in four staves. The time signature is 4/2, and the key signature has two flats (B-flat major). The lyrics are: 'A - ve ve - rum cor - - pus, na - tum de Ma - ri - - a Vir - gi - ne,'. The score shows a clear separation between 'corpus' and 'na - tum' with a perfect cadence and ornamented suspension in the upper voice.

<sup>39</sup> Kerman, *ibid.*; Brett, preface to *The Byrd Edition, Vol. 6a*, xi; Trendell, "Byrd's Musical Recusancy," in *A Byrd Celebration*, 107.

recordings in the sample also clearly separated these opening units, as could be observed of The Pro Cantione Antiqua and King's Singers in Figure 5.4. However, several other independent ensembles phrase the two portions of 'Ave verum corpus - natum de Maria Virgine' more closely together, including The Tallis Scholars and Vocal Appearance in Figure 5.4, as well as The Sixteen, Aros Vokalensemble and The Quink Ensemble (see Appendix C.4). Given the variety of choral profiles that this includes, these choices cannot easily be related to practical considerations for intelligibility. Instead, they can be understood as differing interpretations of musical syntax. In comparison, institutional choirs tend to offer the same structural reading, which has arguably been influenced by their sound worlds.

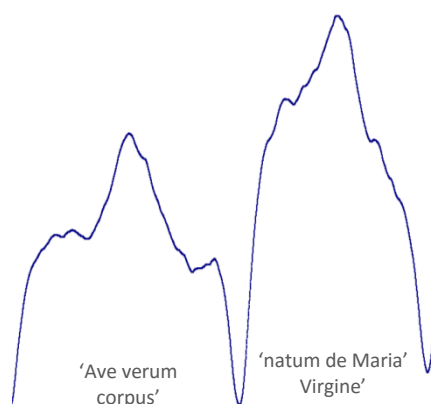
Similar conclusions can be drawn with regards to the interpretation of 'verum'. The initial consonant of this important word was clearly audible on several institutional recordings, but so too was that of 'Ave' and/or 'corpus', sometimes even more so. This suggests that the effect there relates more to concerns for enunciation than musical signposting. There are several more obvious examples of independent ensembles singling out the false relation at 'verum'; consonantal emphasis is often accompanied by a pointed lean of intensity, especially on early recordings by The Fleet Street Choir, Renaissance Singers and Deller Consort. This observation is representative of the broader stylistic trends on this phrase: institutional recordings rarely display anything other than a change in volume or pronounced diction, whereas several independent ensembles feature varying combinations of different musical devices. However, these qualities were more overt on earlier independent recordings; from the 1990s on, there was a clear shift towards more straightforward and subtle delivery of this opening line.

Given that I am examining expressivity as musical change, it is much easier to assess the effects of 'natum de Maria Virgine' against 'Ave verum corpus', than to judge that first phrase in isolation. I have explained that the rise to 'Maria' was a key moment for nearly every institutional choir, but this is especially notable of cathedral recordings; over half of those in my wider listening analysis featured a prominent or extreme alteration in the musical surface here. Most institutional choirs *crescendo* to a peak on 'Maria' and balance this with a following *diminuendo*. This arced dynamic is obviously implied by the overall rise and fall in pitch that Byrd has crafted here (see Figure 5.10), or at least seems most natural to enhance it, explaining why this approach was also common on independent recordings. However, the *extent* of the rise in volume for 'Maria' in comparison to the opening phrase was markedly greater on cathedral choir recordings from all eras, often more so than in many independent performances. Independent recordings fluctuated far more in their degree of change and again demonstrated a trend towards greater subtlety over time. This chronological development is not easily observable in the digitised sample, but the power curves certainly support the main crux of my comparisons: all but two cathedral choirs in the sample (Truro and Portsmouth) display a significantly higher level for

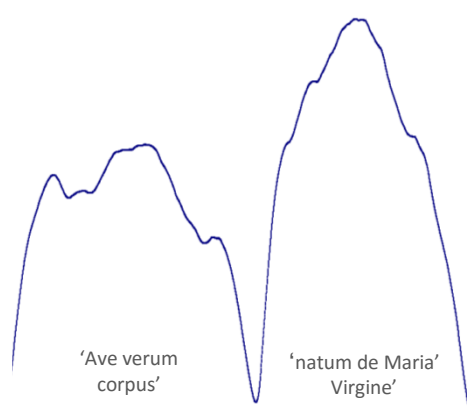


Figure 5.11: Power curves for the first two phrases of *Ave verum corpus*, bars 1-8 (Fraser, ed.), from four cathedral recordings.

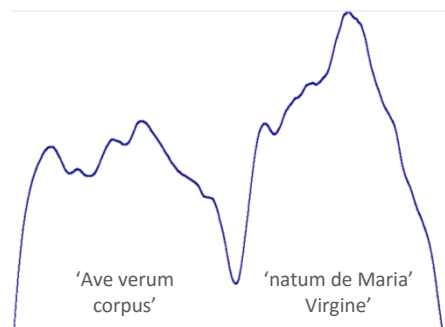
Westminster Abbey Choir (A70)



Durham Cathedral Choir (A32)



Wells Cathedral Choir (A47)



Hereford Cathedral Choir (A37)

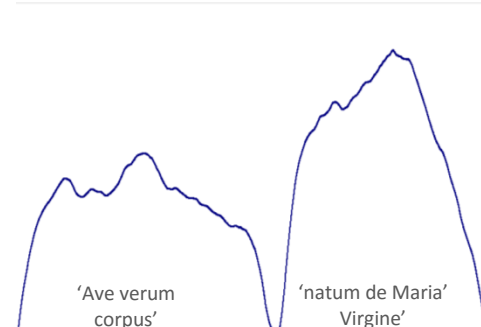
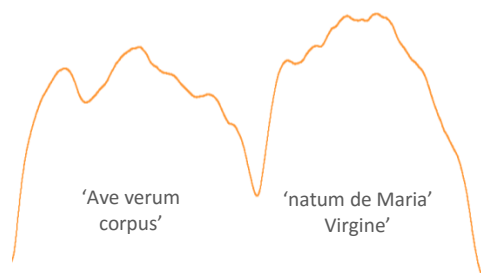
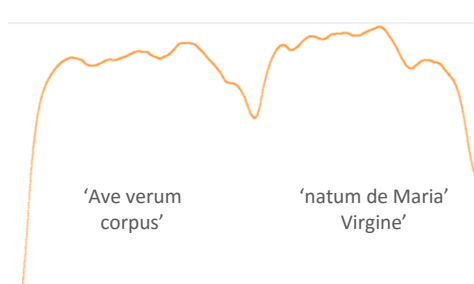


Figure 5.12: Power curves for the first two phrases of *Ave verum corpus*, bars 1-8 (Fraser, ed.), from four independent recordings.

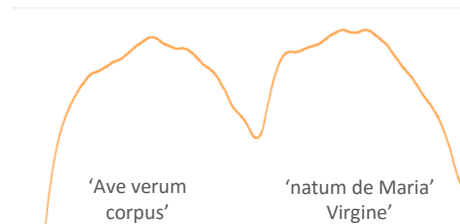
The Sixteen (A21)



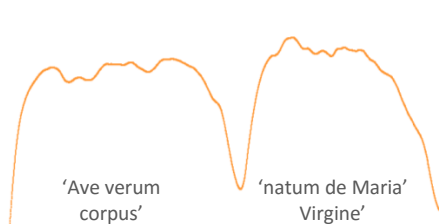
Vocal Appearance (A39)



Aros Vokalensemble (A35)



The Ascension Singers (A198)



‘natum de Maria’ than they do for ‘Ave verum corpus’, as in Figure 5.11. Half of these cathedral recordings feature a rise in volume that covers over a quarter of the entire dynamic range of their performance. A lower proportion of independent choirs can compare to this; more choirs in that category display very little change in the size of the first two peaks, as in Figure 5.12.<sup>40</sup>

Why do institutional choirs grow louder on ‘natum de Maria’ than most independent ensembles? The second phrase addresses not only a more universal Christian image but one of great importance; increasing the volume here puts more focus on the Virgin Mary than the contentious subject of ‘Ave verum corpus’. There is also a possibility that institutional choirs have referred more closely to published expressive guidance: Terry marks a *crescendo* to *forte* over ‘natum de Maria’ after a largely quietening hairpin in the first line, and Fellowes includes his first *crescendo* of the piece on this phrase. Additionally, there are aspects of the part writing that may be more likely to induce a louder volume from institutional choirs: ‘Maria’ is the only one of the four key moments in this piece that includes all voices simultaneously, featuring the highest note of the performance for the trebles but with other parts at a comfortable tessitura.

Interestingly, the independent ensembles who *did* feature a notable rise from the first phrase to ‘Maria’ effected this to an even greater degree than any institution. The power curves of The Pro Cantione Antiqua and Armonico Consort cover over a third of their entire volume range in this one moment, and The Cambridge Singers over a quarter. Comparing these results to those in Figure 5.12 further demonstrates the range in interpretations among the independent category.

Moreover, many more independent ensembles combined dynamic alteration with some other form of musical device at this point, such as manipulations of speed, and varied in their applications of such gestures. Half of the independent choirs in the digitised sample altered their average tempo by six beats per minute or more between the first and second phrases.<sup>41</sup> Vocal Appearance and The Quink Ensemble took ‘natum de Maria’ ten beats per minute slower than ‘Ave verum corpus’, while The Laudantes Consort and the Pro Cantione Antiqua increased their speed by seven and twelve beats per minute respectively. However, such alterations were not common on UK recordings past the early 1980s. In the institutional sample, only the earliest recording by Westminster Abbey was noticeably faster during the ‘Maria’ phrase, by just five beats per minute on average. The vast majority of the remaining institutional choirs demonstrated a slight but remarkably similar slowing of four beats per minute, which adds to evidence of commonality in their approach.

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<sup>40</sup> See Appendix C.4.3 for full results.

<sup>41</sup> See Appendix C.5 for details of tempo alterations between sections of *Ave verum corpus*.

### 5.3.2 'Esto nobis praegustatum, in mortis examine'

The section from 'Esto nobis' through to 'fili Marie' is the primary site for expressive variety in *Ave verum corpus*. Not only is this a turning point in most recordings, it is also where Terry and Fellowes most disagreed in their suggestions. Fellowes advises beginning 'Esto' quietly and rising to a *crescendo* on 'mortis', while Terry marks 'Esto' as *forte* before suddenly switching to *piano* for 'mortis', following this with only small swells localised to individual notes. On the recordings, by far the most common approach was a rise in dynamic around 'mortis'. This does concur with Fellowes, but it is also the most natural option given the ascending intervals (see Figure 5.6) and intense imagery of the text. To get quieter at this moment seems like a more unusual response, thus it could be suggested that choirs who do so were following Terry's edition. Certainly, almost every recording that features a quiet 'mortis' pre-dates the arrival of the 'clean' editions of *Ave verum* in the 1970s; only All Saints' Church Choir, Maidstone took the quiet option after this, in 1976. What is most striking is that a quiet 'mortis' is almost exclusively an institutional choir trend. Among the independent ensembles, only the Deller Consort recording of 1966 displayed a lower volume on 'mortis'; whereas, in the institutional category, this was heard on recordings by choirs at King's College with Ord (1951) and Willcocks (1959), St. Paul's Cathedral (1954), Westminster Abbey (1966) and — perhaps most obviously given Terry's association there — on Westminster Cathedral Choir's recording in 1929. In fact, this was the most common approach for institutional choirs prior to the 1970s, with only Ely Cathedral Choir opting for a dramatically loud 'mortis'. This contrasts completely with independent recordings of the same era, where extrovert musical gestures and an intensely loud volume occurred at this point in nearly every performance.

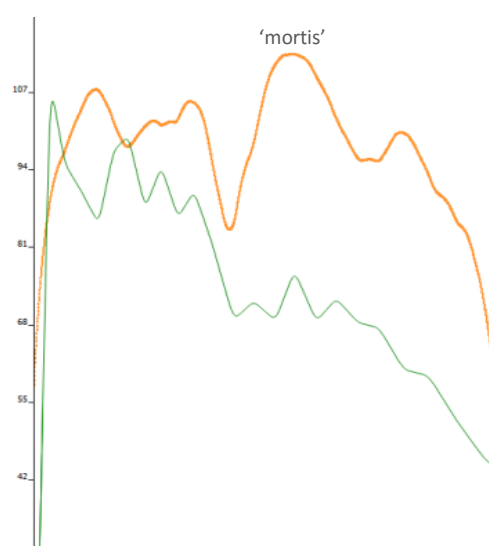
The almost flamboyant expressivity of those early independent performances is most apparent across the phrases in question here. Recordings by The English Singers, The Fleet Street Choir, The Renaissance Singers, The Bourne Singers and The Deller Consort display a performance style that is very different from all other choirs. It is not just the greater regularity with which they alter the musical surface, but that this occurs through a much wider spectrum of means. I cannot show all of these nuances, but I can describe the effects of the earliest two recordings based on close listening analysis. Firstly, The English Singers' version is laced with prominent vibrato. Dynamics are harder to detect through early technology, but changes in vocal quality clearly indicate their growing intensity across 'Esto nobis' and emphasis on 'mortis' in particular. There is an almost detached, syllabic effect on 'praegustatum', but this is followed by overt *portamento* phrasing, especially from the tenor; a voice that protrudes in a 'crooning' soloistic manner throughout. As with 'Agnus Dei', The Fleet Street Choir exhibit an especially indulgent approach with constant ebb and flow. 'Esto nobis' is noticeably louder for them, but there is a slight drop in volume on the last syllable of 'praegustatum' — a word in which the diphthong sounds

particularly unusual, more like ‘pr-*aah-ay*-gustatum’ — so that the following ‘in’ begins quietly. However, the dynamic then swiftly rises to a loud swell on ‘mortis’ in each part.

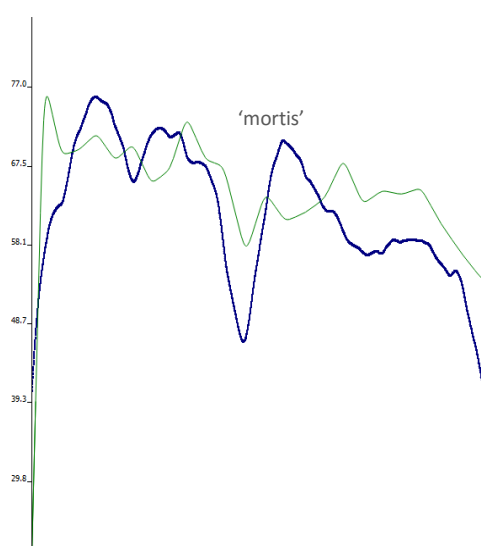
One early recording for which I can display some small-scale alterations empirically is The Bourne Singers’. Their performance featured large and frequent alterations in dynamic, often accompanied by notable manipulations of speed. This is observable in Figure 5.13, where power curves (orange or blue) and tempo graphs (green) are shown together.<sup>42</sup> On The Bourne Singers’

Figure 5.13: Power curves and tempo graphs for ‘Esto nobis...examine’ in *Ave verum corpus*, bars 22-28 (Fraser, ed.), from two independent and two institutional recordings.

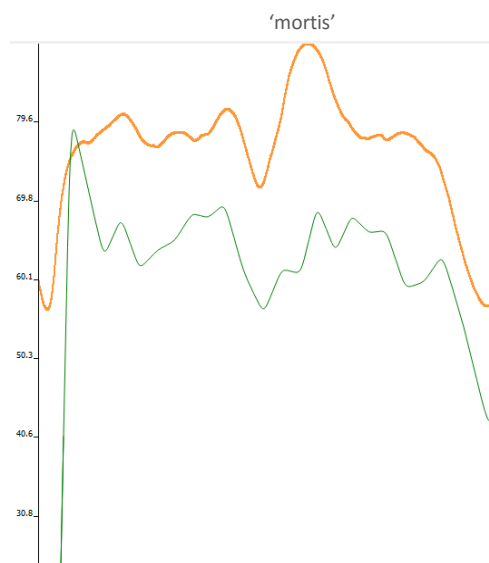
The Bourne Singers (1967)



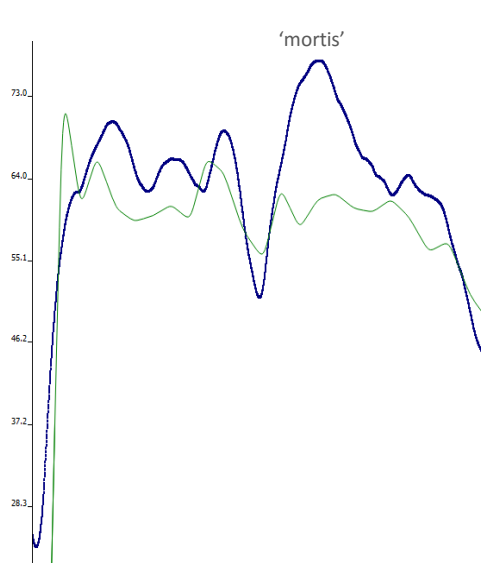
Westminster Abbey Choir (1966)



The Sixteen (2004)



Winchester Cathedral Choir (1996)



<sup>42</sup> The initial spike on each of the green tempo graphs is purely a feature of the tapping process beginning at this point and should be disregarded; I have retained the y-axis scale for tempo graphs as a visual aid on this occasion.

example, the volume reaches a peak at 'mortis' and the tempo then decreases substantially in relation to the preceding 'Esto nobis' phrase, much more so than in the contemporary institutional recording by Westminster Abbey Choir. Figure 5.13 also contains graphs of this extract recorded by two much later choirs from each category. What is interesting here is not so much the steady pace maintained by Winchester Cathedral Choir, but rather that the same consistency is also demonstrated in the later independent recording by The Sixteen. Here is further evidence of discernible developments in independent style over time, while cathedral choirs have remained more similar.

That is an accurate summary of the general stylistic trajectory, but my full wider listening analysis of these two phrases adds further complexity to the picture. Firstly, 'Esto nobis praegustatum' was treated with varying levels of expressive change by independent and cathedral choirs across the decades, while the vast majority of college or university choirs approached this with much more subtlety. The institutional choirs were more similar in their interpretation of 'in mortis examine', though still the colleges displayed a slightly less overt version of the common rise in intensity. There are some more tangible chronological trends with regards to 'mortis'. The quiet approaches prevailed on institutional recordings until the 1970s, but then the preference clearly shifted towards treating this phrase with a noticeably louder volume. This has remained the same since, though several institutional choirs from the early 1990s onwards enacted this dynamic change more discretely. Independent recordings that displayed more extreme levels of expressivity continued to appear in the 1970s, from groups such as The Pro Cantione Antiqua and The King's Singers, and into the 1980s with The Cambridge Singers. The crucial difference, however, is that these later groups effected their expressive changes almost exclusively through dynamics. As with the institutions, the turn of the 1990s saw more subtle interpretations of 'mortis' on independent recordings. Comparing this later style to the intense expressivity of early independent ensembles reveals a notable polarisation in the independent category over time.

Returning to Figure 5.13, we can now understand this as an illustration of two significant wider trends. Firstly, a shrinking of the expressive palette over time, turning more towards dynamics as the primary means of expressivity rather than other musical manipulations (i.e. tempo). Secondly, it shows that this change is especially acute among the independent recordings, as the wider range of devices was much more evident in that category to begin with.

Although the forms of expression have become more limited in later independent recordings, this does not mean that they no longer demonstrate variety. This is evident when comparing the volume of 'Esto nobis' to the arced phrases that precede it: 'vere passum' through to 'Cuius latus perforatum, unda fluxit sanguine'. With the institutional recordings in Figure 5.14, the dynamic at the start of 'Esto nobis' is at a comparable level to that which began 'Cuius latus'. It sounds as if 'Esto nobis' begins loudly because there has been a *diminuendo* across the

preceding 'sanguine' in each case, but the volume does not greatly exceed anything that has been heard since 'Maria' earlier on. With the independents in Figure 5.15, however, 'Esto nobis' begins at varying levels in relation to what has recently been heard. The Ascension Singers reach their loudest peak so far here and The Sixteen extend a clear *crescendo* from one phrase to the next, while the Tallis Scholars and Vocal Appearance initiate a lower dynamic before rising up for 'in mortis'. Previously, I noted that the majority of independent choirs reach a key dynamic peak on 'mortis', but the effects of this will vary depending on the point of departure at 'Esto nobis'. Of course, there was also variation among the cathedral choirs with regards to the volume at 'mortis', but there are grounds to suggest that this is linked to the influence of printed editions and their differing suggestions at this point, whereas independent interpretations appear more organically varied.

Figure 5.14: Power curves for 'vere passum...examine' in *Ave verum corpus*, bars 8-28 (Fraser, ed.), from four institutional recordings.

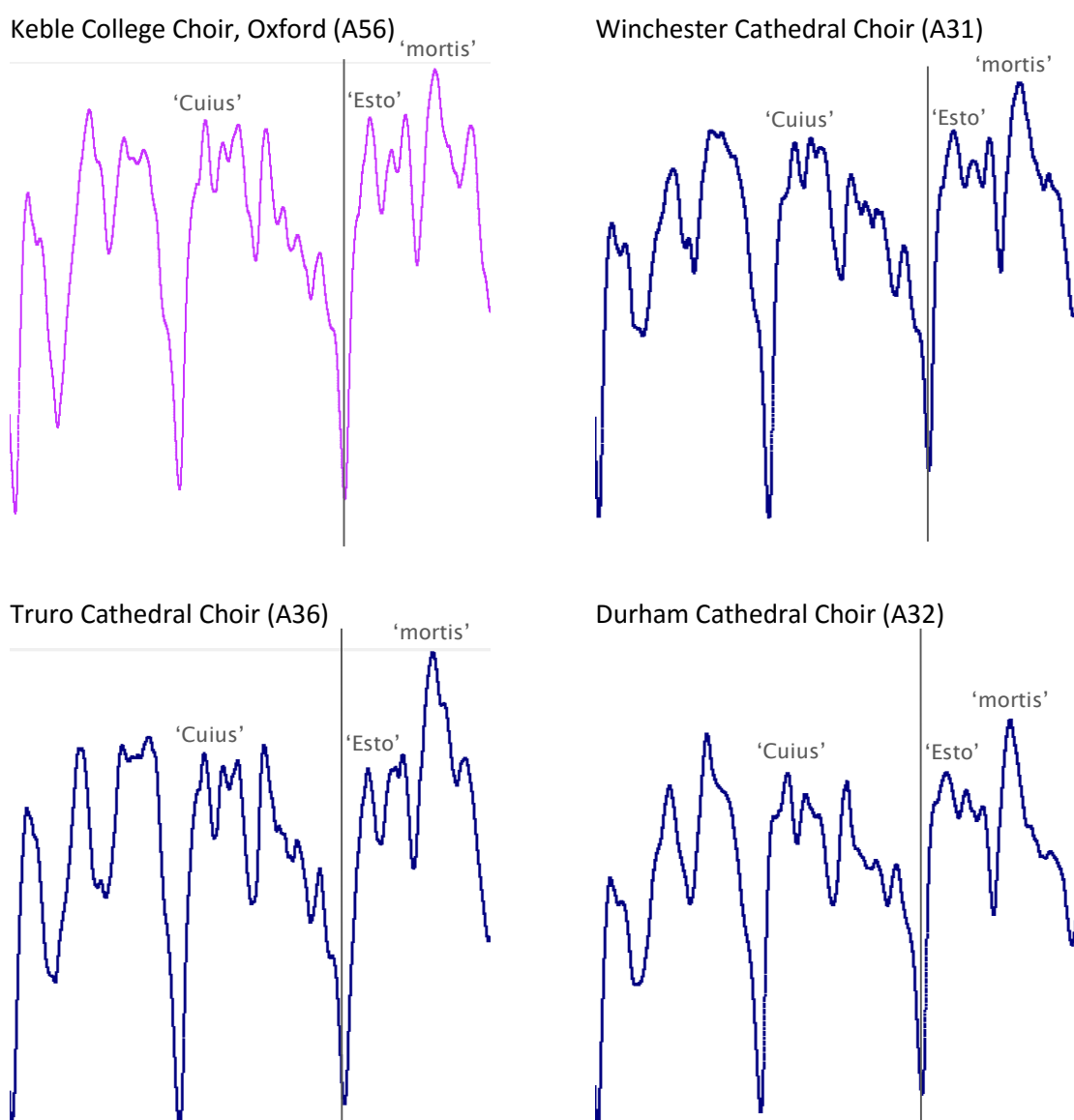
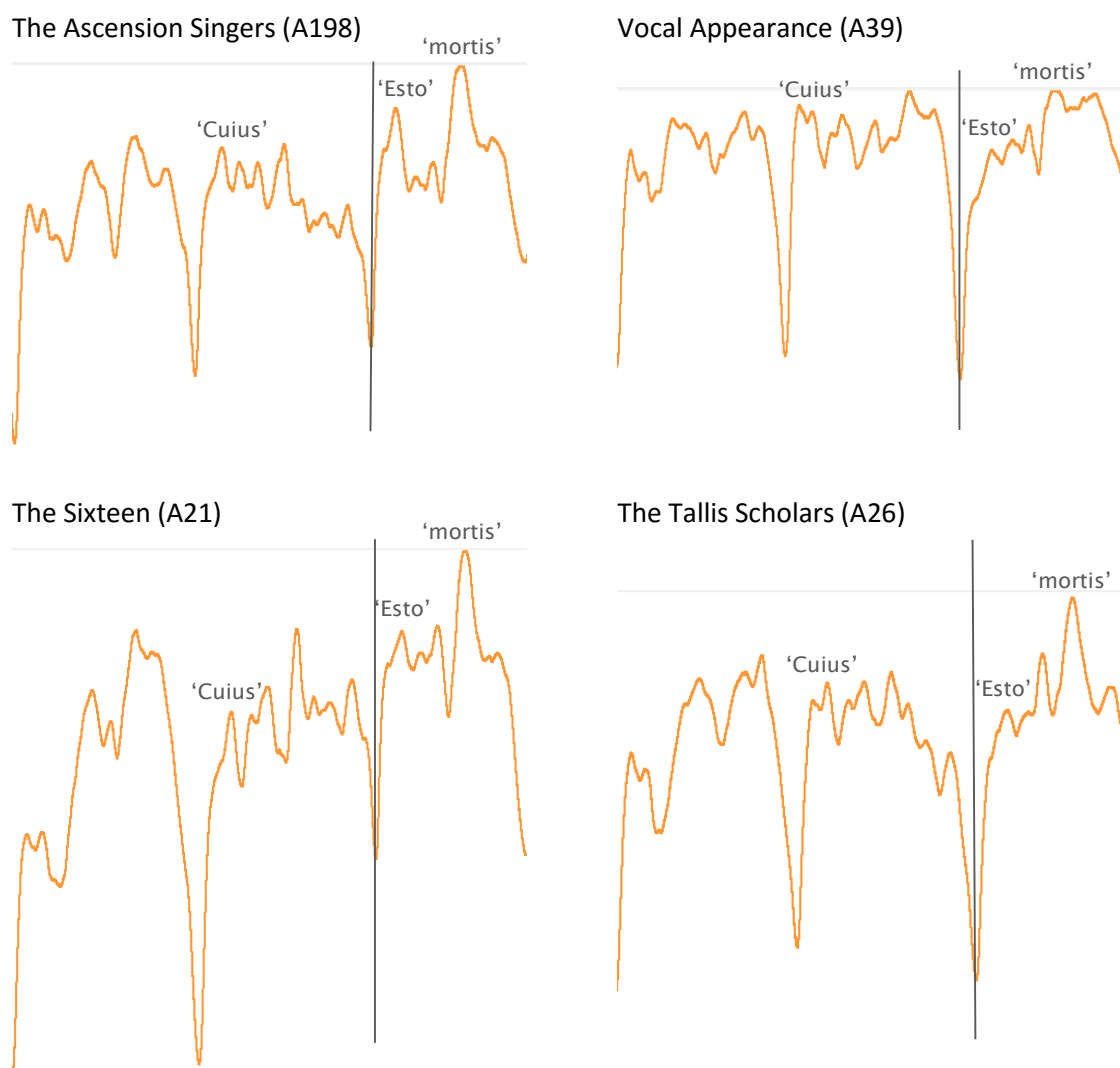


Figure 5.15: Power curves for ‘vere passum...examine’ in *Ave verum corpus*, bars 8-28 (Fraser, ed.), from four independent recordings.



### 5.3.3 'O dulcis, O pie, O Jesu fili Mariae'

At the phrase 'O dulcis', the declamatory homophony of *Ave verum corpus* loosens into a more introverted atmosphere, marking a new section of the piece. Byrd makes a pivotal structural decision here: not only are the lines 'O dulcis, O pie, O Jesu fili Marie' included in addition to the basic text, along with 'miserere mei, Amen', but Byrd chooses to repeat them. Kerman and Kerry McCarthy, tell us that 'form was expression for Byrd', thus he was clearly highlighting the importance of this passage by repeating it.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Kerman and Kerry McCarthy, "Byrd, William," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed June 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04487>; Kerman also highlights the importance of repeating these lines in *Masses and Motets*, 289.

Interestingly, the published editions of *Ave verum* differ in how this music is presented. For obvious practical reasons, Fellowes and Morehen mark a clear repeat section beginning at ‘O dulcis’, with first and second time bars before the ‘Amen’, yet most other editors have rescored those passages again. Those singing from the latter versions would undoubtedly be aware that these phrases repeat, but the appearance of a double barline at ‘O dulcis’ in Fellowes’ and Morehen’s editions arguably draws more attention to the fact that this is a separate section of the piece.<sup>44</sup> However, there is clearly a case to be made for some kind of expressive signposting to occur at the words ‘O dulcis’ in any performance, regardless of how it is indicated on paper.

The transition from a climactic statement regarding ‘the test of death’ (‘in mortis examine’) to arced calls of ‘O sweet, O merciful’ is perhaps the most contrasting shift of mood in *Ave verum corpus*. Yet, among the institutions in my listening analysis, only a handful of cathedral recordings featured an emphatic alteration in atmosphere here. Several other college and cathedral performances incorporated some form of expressive change but, on the whole, institutional choirs progressed into the new section without overly dramatic gestures. Within the independent category, however, I found many more performances that demonstrated an extremely expressive, communicative style at ‘O dulcis’, and fewer that adopted the straightforward manner of the institutions. Again, the majority that presented the most heightened expressivity were independent recordings made before the 1970s; from the 1990s on, this kind of style only really appeared on recordings by ensembles from outside the UK. By contrast, the varied levels of expression among the institutional recordings were evenly distributed throughout the different eras.

Given the shift in sentiment described above, the most obvious expectation would be to get quieter at ‘O dulcis’. Indeed, Fellowes marks a *diminuendo* to *pianissimo* here. In the independent digitised sample, seven ensembles featured a drop in volume of six decibels or more between ‘examine’ and the first peak of ‘dulcis’.<sup>45</sup> For most, that equates to a change in volume that covers over a quarter of the entire dynamic range of their performance.<sup>46</sup> Christ Church Cathedral were the only institutional choir to do this, and the change is only twenty percent of their total dynamic range. The power curves in Figure 5.16 reveal how little dynamic alteration there is for the start of ‘O dulcis’ among the institutions — their peaks here match that of ‘examine’ — in contrast to the

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<sup>44</sup> Andrews discusses how modern editions can influence the performance of structure in Renaissance music, in *Byrd’s Vocal Polyphony*, 260.

<sup>45</sup> Specifically: The Pro Cantione Antiqua, The Cambridge Singers, The King’s Singers, The BBC Singers, The Sixteen, Vocal Appearance and Aros Vokalensemble.

<sup>46</sup> Remembering, of course, that these extracts have been normalised, the decibel readings are not that of the original recording; however, their representation as a *proportion of the total volume range* on that extract does demonstrate the relative scope of that dynamic shift within the context of each recording; see Appendix C.4.3.



Figure 5.16: Power curves for 'Esto nobis...O pie' in *Ave verum corpus*, bars 22-31 (Fraser, ed.), from six institutional recordings (e: 'examine', d: 'O dulcis').

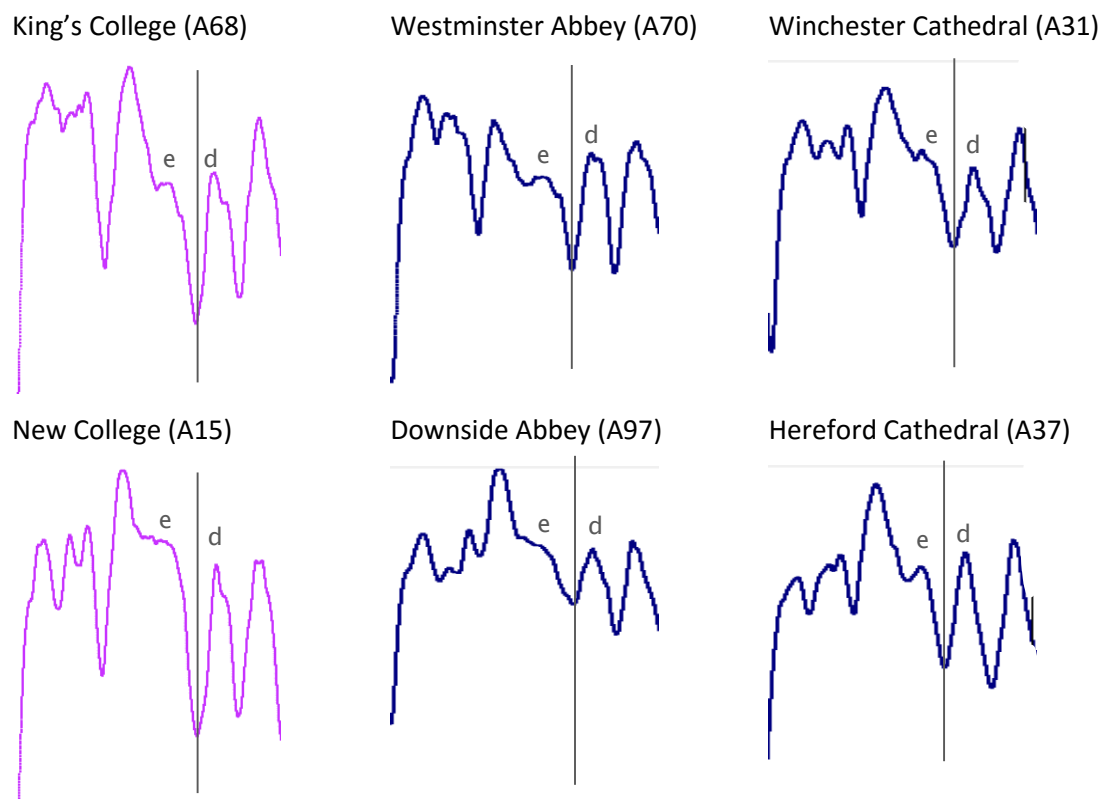
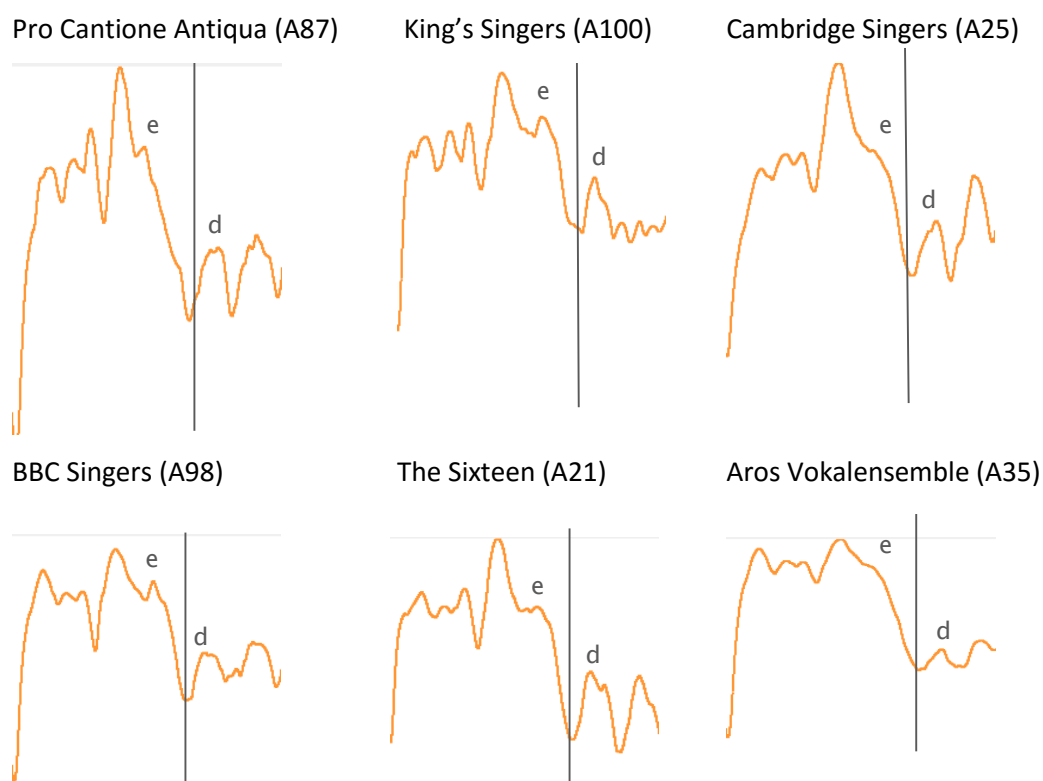


Figure 5.17: Power curves for 'Esto nobis...O pie' in *Ave verum corpus*, bars 22-31 (Fraser, ed.), from six independent recordings (e: 'examine', d: 'O dulcis').



sheer declines in volume between those two moments on independent recordings in Figure 5.17. The dynamic consistency of the institutions is again reminiscent of Terry's interpretation; he maintains the *piano* level of 'mortis' into the 'O dulcis' phrase, though the soprano is actually marked *mezzo forte*. On some institutional recordings, the volume was indeed fractionally louder at 'dulcis', which also concurs with my earlier findings regarding the dominance of treble voices. Another potential factor in the institutions' comparative absence of quiet may be their emphasis on the plosive consonants of 'dulcis' and 'pie'. This was common on institutional recordings from all eras, yet such a feature rarely protruded in the same way on independent recordings.

The 'O dulcis' section could also be demarcated through a change in tempo, but my findings on this aspect parallel those above. When comparing the average tempo of 'Esto...examine' to that of 'O dulcis...pie' in the digitised sample, six independent recordings displayed a change of seven beats per minute or more, while only two cathedral recordings demonstrated this from the institutions (see Appendix C.5). In my listening analysis, I commonly detected a slower pace in the new section, yet the calculations from the digitised sample show that several choirs had actually quickened slightly at 'O dulcis...pie' in comparison to the previous phrase. However, where the institutional results range from eight beats per minute slower (Wells Cathedral Choir) to seven beats per minute faster (Durham Cathedral Choir), the independent recordings show a much greater difference, from seventeen beats per minute slower (The Bourne Singers) to eleven beats per minute faster (The Cambridge Singers). As before, the college choirs displayed the most subtle changes on the whole.

Comparing consecutive phrases is more in line with how tempo adjustments are experienced when listening, but taking an average reading from 'Esto...examine' can be problematic; there is significant potential for alterations of speed within this phrase itself, as observed with The Bourne Singers. For this reason, I also measured the average tempo during 'O dulcis...pie' against the earlier 'cuius latus' phrase, where choirs maintained their most stable speeds of the performance. Again, there was some discrepancy as to whether the pace might increase or decrease between these two points, but around half of the independent ensembles demonstrated a difference in tempo of five beats per minute or more, whereas less than a quarter of the institutions did. Moreover, the independent results ranged by a thirty-two beats per minute, the institutional choirs by only eleven.

Independent ensembles clearly show a greater propensity to adjust their pace at 'O dulcis', and often to a more noticeable degree than institutions. The most extreme example of this is The Bourne Singers, but it is important to note that several later English ensembles also exhibited a significant change in tempo at this point, including The Tallis Scholars, The Sixteen and The Ascension Singers. My previous suggestion of a move away from tempo manipulations must therefore be extended: independent groups continue to adjust their pace for expressive effect

but, over time, this occurs far less frequently *within* individual phrases and is largely reserved for structural events. However, other familiar chronological developments continue to be in evidence during ‘O dulcis’, particularly a rapid decline in the use of *portamento*. On early recordings, *portamento* was more blatant across the intervals of ‘dulcis’ and ‘pie’ than at any other point in the performance.

The plea of ‘O Jesu’ that follows ‘dulcis’ and ‘pie’ is arguably the most momentous event in *Ave verum corpus*.<sup>47</sup> Brett describes ‘the enormous sweep of the upper voice’ here and ‘the sudden change in tessitura and texture that accompanies it’, while Kerman suggests that the false relation echoes the opening line, reiterating the importance of the Eucharist.<sup>48</sup> ‘O Jesu’ was the moment of greatest emotional intensity in most performances and also of great similarity across all categories; many choirs enacted striking expressive gestures here. There were still numerous choirs that interpreted ‘Jesu’ with more subtlety, but their recordings — particularly the cathedrals’ — appeared across different eras of the discography. This reserved approach was more common in the 1990s, especially with regards to the non-Oxbridge universities and schools, who generally adopted a simpler performance style overall.

Naturally, the vast majority of choirs enhanced the soaring intervals of ‘O Jesu’ through some increase in volume. Independent ensembles tended to treat this phrase (up to ‘Mariae’) with more varied and gradually altering dynamics, while many institutional choirs displayed a universal or ‘block’ shift in dynamics, followed by a *diminuendo* at the very end; this is specifically true of cathedral choirs. Numerous pre-1970s recordings from all categories featured extra emphasis or localised swells during this phrase, usually occurring on ‘Fi-li’ and ‘Ma-ri-ae’. On independent recordings from this era, that quality was often accompanied by prominent *portamento*, vibrato and a certain flexibility of ensemble tempo. These gestures all contribute to the heightened expressivity of those early independent recordings, whereas institutional choirs that achieved the same level of expressivity did so almost exclusively through broad changes in volume. Though they may adjust their dynamic very little at ‘O dulcis’, institutional choirs can reach great heights at ‘O Jesu’. In the digitised sample, the extent of their volume changes from ‘dulcis’ to ‘Jesu’ almost rivals the independent ensembles’. Five cathedral and two college choirs display a rise in volume equal to thirty percent of their total dynamic range here, and a further two choirs from each group were nearer to covering forty percent. (Six independent ensembles span between thirty and forty percent of their full performance range, and four more exceeded

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<sup>47</sup> Refer back to Figure 5.6 for notation.

<sup>48</sup> Brett, sleeve notes to *A Portrait of the King’s Singers*, The King’s Singers, HMV CSD 3779 (1977); Kerman goes deeper still, suggesting that ‘Byrd’s commentary may perhaps bring to mind ancient representations of this theme in which the Passion Tree can be seen greening in the background,’ in *Masses and Motets*, 288–89.

this).<sup>49</sup> This observation parallels my earlier conclusion that institutional choirs can enact clear *rises* in volume, but do not really demonstrate comparable levels of quiet. Here in *Ave verum*, that stylistic trait has the effect of highlighting the emotive surface imagery of Jesus and Mary, but not so much the new poetic phase beginning at 'O dulcis'.

There is another chance to demarcate this special section; how the choirs handle the *repeat* of 'O dulcis...Mariae' reveals much about their approaches to structure. Incidentally, both sets of published expression markings remain unchanged the second time around, even though Terry rescores the music out in full. However, it is conceivable that directors might prefer to differentiate the first and second readings. On the recordings, the most common approach was to initiate the repeat at a quieter dynamic, and the independents displayed more varied differences between the first and second 'O dulcis...Mariae' passages. However, there were varying interpretations in all categories regarding how the second unfolding of these phrases might compare to the first, particularly concerning whether the repeat of 'O Jesu' was quieter, similar, or louder than its original evocation. Additionally intriguing are the numerous recordings from recent decades that made quite overt, expressive transitions into the second 'O dulcis'. Earlier in the discography, there were periods where only slight change was effected here, with the atmosphere of the first 'miserere's being maintained into the repeat. Since the end of the last century, however, there appears to have been renewed attention from all types of choir in heralding the onset of this important structural phase.

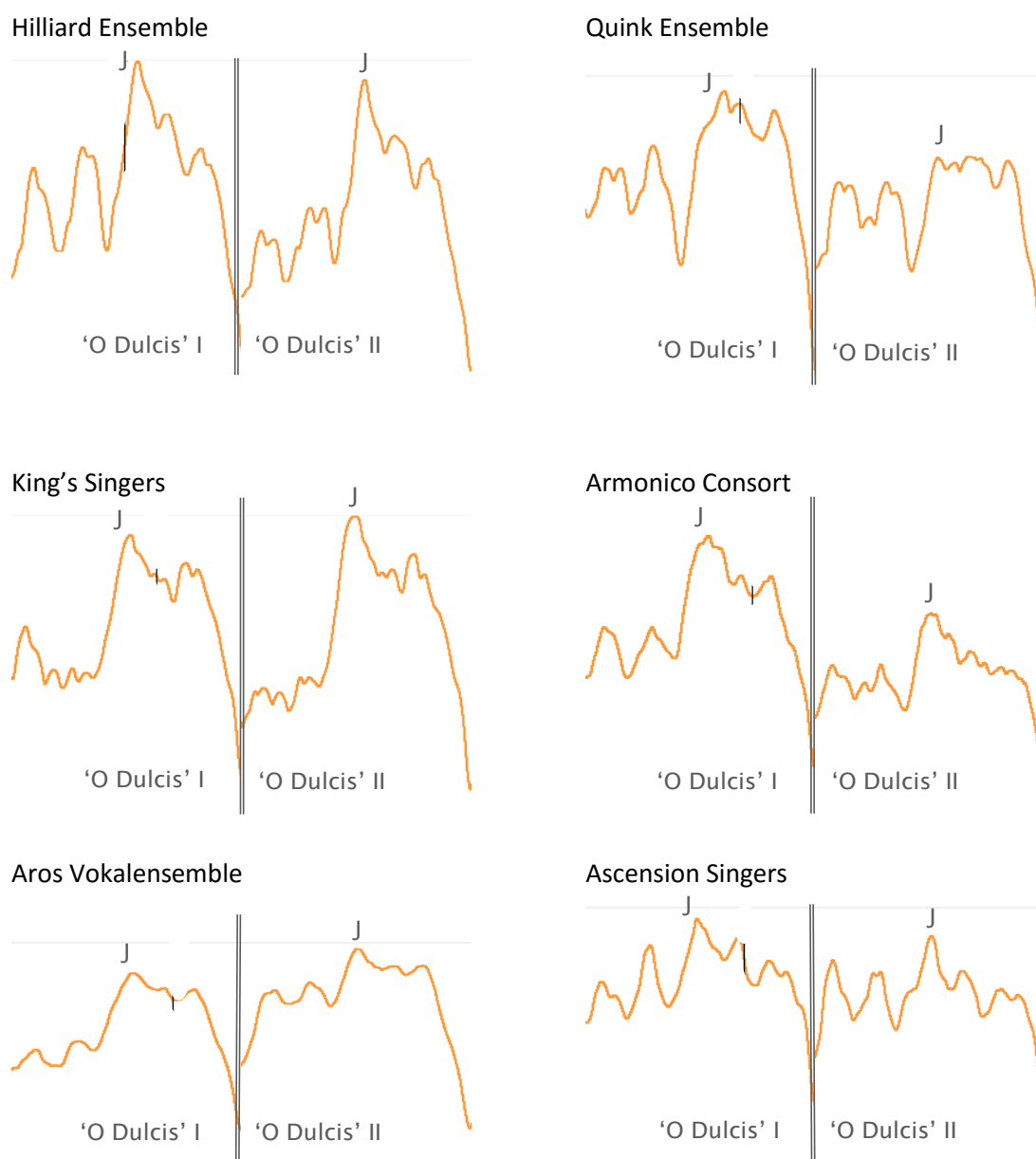
Where my listening analysis assessed the second 'O dulcis' in relation to what came immediately before, power curve analysis allows direct comparison between both versions of 'O dulcis...Mariae', as shown in Figures 5.18 and 5.19. Several of the claims made above are evident via this means. Firstly, the second 'O dulcis' is commonly at a lower dynamic than the first. However, it is clear that the independent sample includes the greater and more varied contrasts between these passages as a whole; Aros Vokalensemble climb much louder the second time, The Armonico Consort are drastically quieter and The Ascension Singers exhibit different patterns in their dynamic peaks on each occasion. In comparison, the institutional power curves often display a subtler difference in dynamics between the first time and the repeat. Secondly, those differing relationships between the first and second 'O Jesu's are observable here; some of the latter peaks rise higher than the original while others are capped at a lower level. In several cases, the extent of the *crescendo* on 'Jesu' II was not restricted by the commonly lower dynamic of the preceding 'O dulcis' phrase. The most extreme example of this is The King's Singers recording, where the second 'O dulcis' is much quieter than the original, but the repeat of 'O Jesu' soars up as the loudest moment in the piece.

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<sup>49</sup> See Appendix C.4.3.

In terms of the volume rise from 'O dulcis' II to 'O Jesu' II, there was some evidence of a chronological decline in the extent of change among the full independent sample. Five of the earliest eight choirs rose over forty percent of their total dynamic range between these two points, while the majority of the remaining choirs covered only twenty-five percent on average.<sup>50</sup> This move away from a dramatic peak at the second 'Jesu' by independent choirs corresponds to that shift in focus to the arrival of the repeat itself: from surface to structure. This certainly seemed the case in my wider listening analysis — and recordings in the digitised sample that

Figure 5.18: Power curves comparing 'O dulcis...Mariae' in *Ave verum corpus*, first and second times, bars 28-35 and 43-50 (Fraser, ed.), from six independent recordings (J: 'O Jesu').

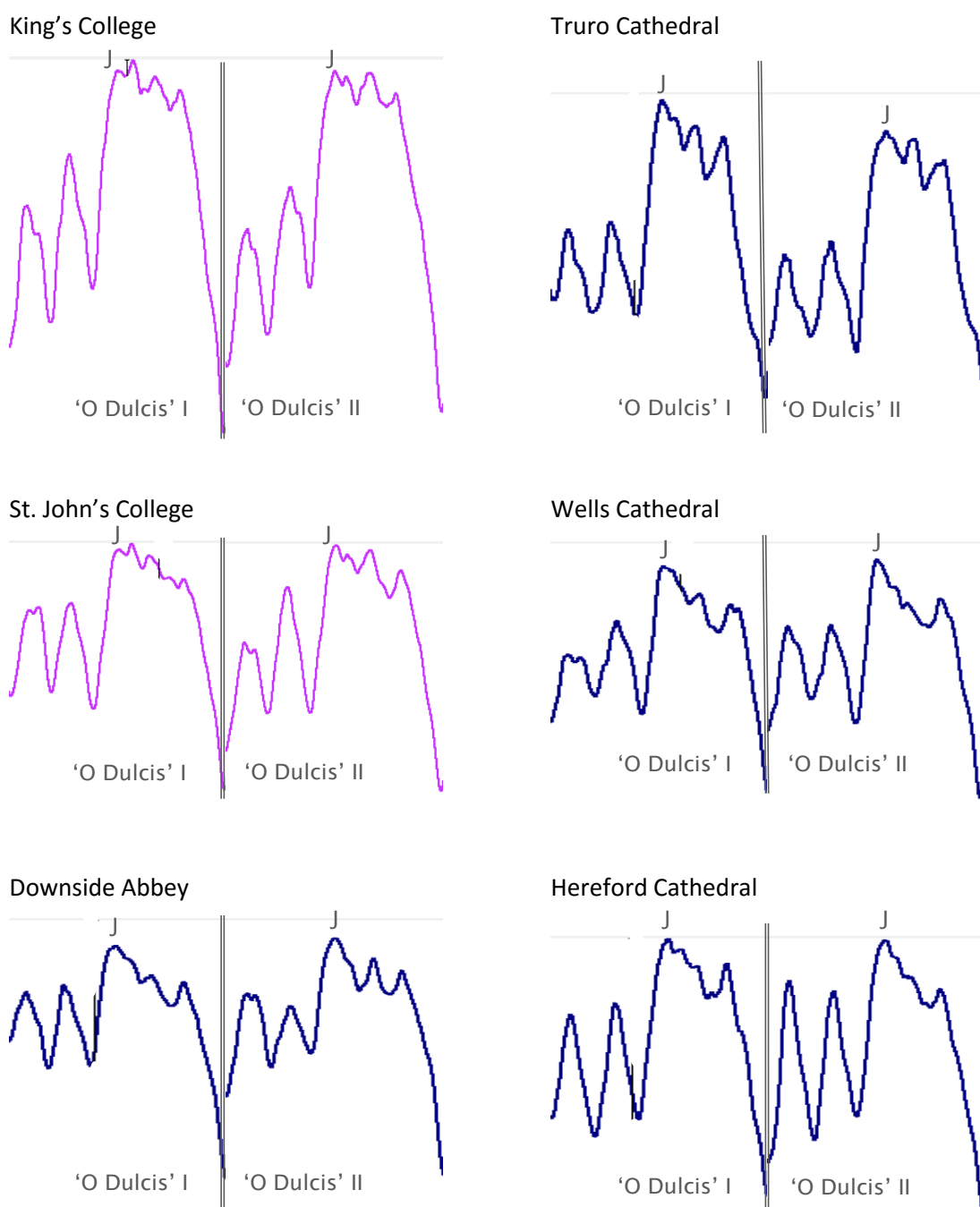


<sup>50</sup> See Appendix C.4.3; there is a slight sense of this development within the data for the college recordings also, but their sample is too small to confirm this.

present more marked contrast between the two repeat sections do indeed come later — but this is not a simple case of either/or. Several independent ensembles in the sample demonstrate both a notable transition to the repeat and a loud ‘Jesu’ II.

Despite their minimal differences in dynamics between ‘O dulcis’ I and II, numerous institutional choirs adopted a slightly slower pace for the repeat of this phrase. In fact, they demonstrate more changes in tempo as a group here than the independent category. In the digitised sample, the majority of institutional choirs showed a very similar reduction in average

Figure 5.19: Power curves comparing ‘O dulcis...Mariae’ in *Ave verum corpus*, first and second times, bars 28-35 and 43-50 (Fraser, ed.), from six institutional recordings (J: ‘O Jesu’).



tempo between the first and second hearings of 'O dulcis, O pie'. Eight of the fifteen choirs were five beats per minute slower on the repeat — a trend most apparent on college recordings — while Downside Abbey and Christ Church Cathedral choirs extended this to eight and ten beats per minute slower respectively. Four of the fifteen independent choirs also presented a reduction of seven or eight beats per minute between 'O dulcis' I and II, but over half of that sample made no change at all, keeping the duration of the second 'O dulcis...pie' exactly the same as the first. Not only did more institutional choirs display a change here, my listening analysis indicates that this was more noticeable on recordings from *later* decades. These features run counter to some of the trends established previously, where I highlighted greater manipulation of tempo from early independent choirs. As with 'Agnus Dei', it could be that institutional choirs are more likely to lose speed across the performance, hence why the change from 'O dulcis' I to II is a similar and subtle five beats per minute. But it could perhaps indicate an intriguing consensus among the institutions that *this* is the moment in *Ave verum* that requires some form of structural signposting via a device other than dynamics. This would demonstrate that same targeted use of tempo alterations as I suggested of the independent ensembles at the first 'O dulcis', but with attention on the musical repeat as a structural unit rather than the last lines of text. Most independent ensembles attend to both events, but did comparatively more to highlight these important phrases on their first evocation than the institutions did. Like my earlier comparison between interpretations of 'Ave verum corpus' and 'natum de Maria Virgine', it could be argued that institutional choirs enact more of the obvious musical conclusions of the piece than the deeper textual ones, though the two are far from mutually exclusive in Byrd's compositions. However, the *balance* of attention at these different moments, and the form of expressivity employed, is at the crux of how independent and institutional interpretations differ.

As one final aside regarding *where* tempo alterations occur in institutional recordings, the interpretation of 'Amen' is quite compelling. This word may seem ancillary against the evocative imagery of *Ave verum*, yet it is laced with different connotations in this context. For Byrd scholars, the inclusion of 'Amen' confirms that this work is a personal prayer; it is not just a formal coda, but a culmination of the plea to God.<sup>51</sup> 'Amen' is the most commonly encountered word for institutional choirs, repeated in their daily rituals and also spoken to God. Is the word just routine for them, then, or is it more meaningful in that situation? In the sample, the average tempo on independent recordings during 'Amen' was thirty-eight beats per minute, while the institutional choirs averaged just thirty, with only one choir that exceeded even thirty-three beats per minute.

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<sup>51</sup> McCarthy points out that it follows 'one of the very few first-person singulars in the whole collection', that is, 'have mercy on me', in "Rose Garlands and Gunpowder: Byrd's Musical World in 1605," in *A Byrd Celebration*, 142.

In terms of a reduction in tempo compared to ‘O dulcis, O pie’ II, the independent ensembles had slowed by twenty-six beats per minute on average at ‘Amen’, yet the institutions exceeded this with an average reduction of twenty-nine beats per minute.

Is this slow pace simply part of that general institutional style, one which customarily relaxes to round off a large sound in a large space? Or does this show a deeper connection with ‘Amen’ and an effort to heighten the impact of this word? I cannot offer definitive conclusions with regards to intent, but the *effect* on the recordings at least allows the latter scenario to be imagined. Independent recordings did also display significant reductions in speed at this moment, but several seem to prefer not to indulge in the ending, passing over ‘Amen’ rather more swiftly in comparison. Tempo may not be manipulated as frequently by institutional choirs, then, but this makes the occasions where it *is* altered all the more significant, especially when those choices are so similar.

## 5.4 Expressive Palettes and Stylistic Trends

It is not easy to draw together patterns of expressivity across this many different recordings, and no performance conforms to every single trend, but there were many recurrent findings in the evidence presented above. In conjunction with the previous chapter, these observations allow me to make broad but firm stylistic assessments of the different choral categories. I begin here by summarising their application of specific musical devices, before addressing the wider chronological developments in relation to contemporary critical commentary. Finally, I present my conclusions regarding similarity, variety and expressivity between the two main categories and tackle the question of stylistic homogenisation.

Where differences in texture and timbre provided the main source of variety in recordings of ‘Agnus Dei’, in *Ave verum* it was changes in volume, aligned to musical-textual events. For all types of choir, dynamics served as the primary means of expressivity and could be manipulated to large degrees. Among the independent category, however, dynamic gestures were more frequently noticeable across the piece and occurred where institutions showed little change, such as ‘in cruce’ or the initial ‘O dulcis’. Independent ensembles’ dynamic gestures were also more extreme — at ‘in mortis’, for example, and those that exceeded the cathedrals on ‘Maria’ — and their performances often covered a greater volume range. Furthermore, independent ensembles varied more: selecting different key events, beginning new phrases at different average levels, and exhibiting a wide spectrum of architectural options in both the repeat and the piece as a whole. Dynamics were not manipulated as freely in ‘Agnus Dei’, but there was the same clearer enhancement of structure on independent recordings of that piece, particularly with the closing ‘dona nobis pacem’. In comparison, the institutional category demonstrated greater dynamic



consistency; the volume did not venture as far or as often from a similar average midline. Moreover, there was generally more consensus among institutional choirs regarding the direction of volume change, hence the greater likeness in their power curves. Institutional dynamics were by no means completely uniform, as seen on 'in mortis', but this makes their many common applications all the more remarkable; they clearly could have enacted different realisations, yet they did so rarely. Many features of their dynamic interpretations are unique to the institutional category, such as the delaying of volume alterations until 'O dulcis' II, the oversight of 'in cruce', and the attention to 'Maria'. Unlike in 'Agnus Dei', these dynamic readings are not always the most obvious renderings of Byrd's writing, yet they have proved to be the most likely outcome within institutional choral practice.

There are several features of the institutional profile that might have contributed to these interpretative parallels. As argued in Chapter 4, the volume of institutional choirs is more closely affected by changes in vocal texture and pitch. The influence of printed editions of *Ave verum* may also be greater in this category. More convincing links can be made with regards to where and how the volume dropped on institutional recordings. There was a comparative absence of extreme quiet but, again, more frequent inclusion of notable *diminuendos* and pauses to close each phrase of *Ave verum*, particularly on cathedral recordings. These can be understood as stylistic customs resulting from institutional sound worlds; the singing is amplified by venue and voices, which renders true silence unlikely, but encourages the lowering of volume and allowance of space at the ends of phrases. This amplification also makes it easier for institutional choirs to enact increases in volume. They employed this specific gesture most prolifically for expressive effect, whereas independent ensembles evidenced greater use of both loud and quiet dynamics to highlight the musical narrative.

As with 'Agnus Dei', the sweeping institutional readings of *Ave verum* characterise the piece differently to the more intimate independent recordings. In comparing these approaches, John Rutter muses whether Byrd would have had 'the rich sonority' of the Lincoln Cathedral or Chapel Royal choirs in mind, or if he might have preferred 'the more modest forces and less reverberant acoustic of madrigal performances for his sound ideal'.<sup>52</sup> Rutter believes that the music 'supports elements of both contentions' but Brett asserts that 'we are not dealing...with large Gothic interiors and serried ranks of choristers and lay clerks' in the *Gradualia*. He does permit such performances, however, so long as they '[pay] heed to the spirit of the composer's intentions'.<sup>53</sup> Both commentators advocate authenticity of emotion rather than historical conditions and Rutter is particularly engaged with this aspect. Indeed, his instruction 'to seek the expressive core of

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<sup>52</sup> Rutter, sleeve notes to *Ave verum corpus*, 8-9.

<sup>53</sup> Brett, editorial notes to *The Byrd Edition*, Vol. 5, xxv, xxvii.

each piece and to draw it out' is reflected in the overt gestures of his version of *Ave verum* with The Cambridge Singers.

It is often assumed that larger dynamic gestures equate to 'more expressive' performances, but there are different preferences for achieving emotion in *Ave verum*. In the 'more is more' line of thinking, The Pro Cantione Antiqua offered perhaps the most expressive recording of *Ave verum*, with widely fluctuating dynamics and moments of extreme intensity. David Fallows agreed with this assessment, but questioned such an approach:

And as for *Ave verum corpus*, this is surely the most dramatic performance of it you will hear, if only because it is difficult to imagine many musicians believing that PCA's massive crescendos and decrescendos are an appropriate way of bringing the best out of the music.<sup>54</sup>

These views on dynamic application are subjective but, given that this was written in 1987, they are indicative of wider changes in taste regarding expressivity. Throughout the preceding investigation, I repeatedly noted that adjustments in volume became more subtle over time. In addition, the palette of expressive devices utilised by independent ensembles gradually narrowed to focus primarily on dynamics. This actually brings them more in line with what was heard from institutional choirs all along: moments of heightened expression achieved almost entirely through vocal intensity. However, the trend towards more subtle dynamic changes does not apply to the entire piece; there was actually an increase in the use of such gestures in signposting structures of the repeat. Furthermore, there may be fewer expressive variables audible on later independent recordings, but a significant degree of variety still exists. As with 'Agnus Dei', independent ensembles displayed a wide range of different dynamic applications and nuances in *Ave verum*, effecting more local and gradual changes at varying points. On institutional recordings, smaller swells of intensity were only really perceptible during the 'miserere' phrases prior to the 1980s. However, the more emphatic uses of such local gestures ceased to appear even in the independent category from the 1990s, with dynamic shaping moving more towards larger scale trajectories.

The application of dynamics by college choirs provides a good illustration of the general sub-categorical distinctions within the institutional group. Many of the trends in college style are naturally akin to the cathedral choirs', but I often specified that certain findings applied to the latter group only. In most cases, this is because college recordings leaned more towards a restrained expressivity; their dynamic changes were often more controlled and less overt than the cathedral choirs'. In particular, the interpretations from Oxbridge choirs were sensitively nuanced,

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<sup>54</sup> Fallows, record review, *Gramophone* (March 1987): 1309.

displaying qualities not unlike the later independent performances, which is concurrent with the intermediary stage of their choral practice. The understated style of other universities, however, was largely a symptom of their more basic readings in general, which is again reflective of their differing standards.

Turning now to tempo, the college and cathedral choirs certainly shared parallels here that were very different to the independents. Independent ensembles adopted faster average tempos and varied substantially from recording to recording, whereas close similarities in the findings between 'Agnus Dei' and *Ave verum* confirm that slower tempos are a key feature of institutional style. Several commentators concur with this, such as the reviewer who praised 'the unhurried beauty' of Willcocks' *Ave verum* recording.<sup>55</sup> However, such pace is not always received positively; another writer felt that 'the unforcefully relaxed King's style might seem less suitable here than in the Masses', while a critic of the recording from St. Paul's Cathedral, Dundee, complained that 'too much is andante, amiable but uncommitted in praise or penitence'.<sup>56</sup> These two comments were made during the 1990s, and perhaps relate to a growing preference for slicker, less 'indulgent' performances, but it is interesting that both writers suggest *Ave verum* specifically requires greater impetus.

Where tempo changes occur in *Ave verum* is particularly revealing. On institutional recordings, the speed was rarely adjusted, but there was striking consensus regarding the few specific sites where this was targeted: the repeat of 'O dulcis' and the 'Amen'. Jeremy Noble disliked Westminster Abbey Choir's 'habit of taking Amen's as slow, dreamy codas', but it is the use of the word 'habit' that is important here.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, such slowing may be a custom developed through liturgical use, with institutional choirs elongating their performances to cover ritual action. I likened these instances to the general slowing observed over 'Agnus Dei', but very few choirs had slowed by the first 'O dulcis', suggesting that it was more than just a loss of momentum in this case. Several institutional choirs took the second 'O dulcis' at a slightly quieter dynamic, thus this could also be a subtle response to the repeat structure through complimentary reductions in volume and speed. This particular approach does seem a natural conclusion here, which may explain the likeness in so many institutional interpretations at this point. As with dynamics, the independent performances were far less unified in where and how they adjusted tempo. Their recordings included small scale arcs of quickening and slowing, abrupt shifts in pace for new units, and even *rubato* within phrases. Independent ensembles also showed far greater disparity in whether to get faster or slower, and with the degree of change especially, whereas institutional choirs often exhibited a very similar rate of alteration, as they did in 'Agnus Dei'.

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<sup>55</sup> Reynolds, record review, *Gramophone* (September 1985): 392.

<sup>56</sup> March, "Collector's Corner," 120; Steane, record review, *Gramophone* (August 1992): 64.

<sup>57</sup> Noble, record review, *The Gramophone* (June 1966): 25.

Tempo was a key plane along which chronological decline could be observed in the independent category. The early recordings displayed a much more blatant and frequent flexibility of speed — only these really contained *rubato* — imbuing the parts with individualistic ebb and flow. This style helped to enhance the discrete polyphonic lines of ‘Agnus Dei’ but, when applied to the homophonic *Ave verum corpus*, it exacerbates the contrast in ensemble style to those later independent recordings on which the voices are seamlessly unified. The use of tempo within the institutional category seems much more consistent over time by comparison, occasionally being adjusted more noticeably later on. Later independent ensembles did still utilise audible changes in speed, however, but the crucial development was towards its placement on moments of structural importance in *Ave verum* rather than in augmenting moments of drama within the phrases. This closely reflects the findings in relation to dynamics and, most significantly, the wider musical trends outlined in Chapter 2.

It is clear that the findings from *Ave verum corpus* parallel many of those from ‘Agnus Dei’, and the same is true with regards to articulation. More institutional choirs presented instances of emphatic consonants, as referenced on ‘O dulcis, O pie’. Independent ensembles regularly featured crisp diction too, but this seems part of a general textual clarity rather than focussed on specific, plosive consonants. Other aspects of articulation were not quite as uniform among the institutional recordings of *Ave verum* as other musical elements, but I can make some observations here. Firstly, smooth lines were largely favoured. Certain syllables commonly protruded with added emphasis, but there were only a few occasions where the quality became notably rhythmic. This usually appeared on the ‘miserere’ phrases and was slightly more prolific in the very earliest recordings, where there was more sense of detachment. A number of college choir recordings displayed a light rhythmicity across the performance, while some cathedrals demonstrated a weightier effect in places, which seemed to be incurred rather than applied. One reviewer noted similar characteristics of Liverpool Cathedral Choir, complaining of ‘choppy rhythms and a certain rigidity of approach’, as well as a ‘lack of sensitivity in the voices’.<sup>58</sup> The last comment was made in comparison to King’s College style. Again in *Ave verum*, the Oxbridge choirs bridge some of the stylistic gap between the cathedral and independent choirs; rhythmic nimbleness was heard most prolifically among the latter recordings as a whole. However, there was a general trend towards greater lightness over time in the independent category and little detectable rhythmicity during the 1990s. The pre-1970s independent recordings sometimes displayed a weightier bounce, which is much in keeping with the approach to texture in ‘Agnus Dei’.

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<sup>58</sup> Stanley Webb, record review, *Gramophone* (March 1971): 1504.

My findings regarding *portamento* not only concur between the case studies, but also with the observations of other scholars such as Potter.<sup>59</sup> This device only really appeared on one institutional recording — by Westminster Cathedral Choir in 1929 — though it was particularly abundant in that case. In the independent discography, I heard *portamento* at least once on every *Ave verum* recording up until the end of the 1960s, but its usage dropped out almost completely after that. The incorporation of *portamento* in conjunction with undulating dynamics and pace is the most distinguishing characteristic of early independent recordings.

Finally, the application of vibrato is more complex to summarise. Among the institutional recordings, vibrato sporadically arose from the lower parts, but was not often detectable given the qualities of their sound worlds. It also varied with differing approaches to blend. Vibrato was not particularly common on independent recordings either, but it appeared in all eras to varying degrees. This disparity in usage may have been caused by two wider trends in vibrato that scholars have observed across the twentieth century: vibrato was more universally applied to performance in general but, at the same time, the suppression of vibrato is closely associated with early music style and thus seen as appropriate for Byrd.<sup>60</sup> Peter Phillips remembers that ‘the standard way of performing polyphony in 1973...was with vibrato-ful voices, trained for later repertoires’, but later advocated greater clarity, arguing that if Renaissance pieces ‘are sung with vibrato they become muddy’.<sup>61</sup> Most ensembles from the 1980s onwards appear to share this view, tending to reserve vibrato for moments of subtle colouration, or omitting it completely. Still, there is a significant degree of variation surrounding this particular vocal device.

At the end of Chapter 4, I argued that recent independent interpretations differ less obviously in their expressive gestures, but more through their sound worlds and vocal qualities. This links to my observation that the range and type of devices may have shrunk over time, but variety continues to be achieved through nuance.<sup>62</sup> Increasingly, that involves elements of vocalicity (including differing vibrato choices). Fallows’ critique of Quink’s *Ave verum* recording supports this claim:

...their performance is astonishingly live because they have a superb range of vocal colour — varying their tonal tension, their vibrato, their articulation, and so on — and avoid any temptation to exaggerate Byrd’s often playful rhythms.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> See Potter, “Beggar at the Door.”

<sup>60</sup> For summaries of the developments in vibrato in the twentieth century, see Day, *A Century*, 149-50; and Philip, *Performing Music*, 232.

<sup>61</sup> Phillips, sleeve notes to *The Tallis Scholars’ Finest Recordings 1980-1989, Vol.1*.

<sup>62</sup> There are also comparisons here to Leech-Wilkinson’s observation that style has ‘remained notably varied at the micro level’, in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 7, Paragraph 21.

<sup>63</sup> Fallows added that this contributed to ‘the intelligence’ of Byrd performances, in record review, *Gramophone* (May 1986): 1439.

In this review, the use of tempo and dynamics was mentioned only briefly; it was the aspects of vocality quoted above that commanded this listener's attention most successfully.

A general trend towards more refined expressivity and less dramatic gestures was clearly evident in recordings of 'Agnus Dei' and *Ave verum corpus*; here, it is interesting to consider how these features have been discussed. The Fleet Street Choir's performance seems ostentatious by today's standards, yet contemporary critics praised it as 'excellent: always musicianly, the interpretation carefully thought out'.<sup>64</sup> One felt that they 'made the music sound more impressive' than the 'unexciting' version by The Renaissance Singers in the next decade, which is striking given that the latter ensemble also sound decidedly extrovert to modern ears.<sup>65</sup> Around the time that The Fleet Street Choir were recording, Robert Donington wrote that 'too many performances of early music fail from mere lack of animal vitality, which is a worse defect than indiscriminate exuberance'.<sup>66</sup> However, the attitudes of the 1950s and 1960s present something of a turning point. Several institutional choirs had already shunned the dramatic approach by this time — with King's College Choir leading the way — but there were mixed opinions regarding greater sensitivity. Some felt that the new Cambridge versions were a vast improvement, with Ord's performance described as 'falling on the ear like a prayer recollected in tranquillity...and in every way preferable to the one made some years ago by the Fleet Street Choir'.<sup>67</sup> Willcocks' version was similarly lauded above that of The Renaissance Singers, which 'with its occasional exaggerations and mannerisms must now be relegated to the archives'.<sup>68</sup> However, in the same decade, another writer said of Willcocks' recording:

...the entire programme is sung in a reserved, rather impersonal manner which, though exquisitely beautiful in its way, has little to do with the late renaissance motet. At times this objective detachment can be deeply moving...It works less happily in Byrd's *Ave verum corpus* where the anguished pleas for mercy demand a much more emotional treatment...<sup>69</sup>

The idea that heightened expressivity is specifically appropriate for this repertoire is symptomatic of earlier tastes. Each generation shows concern for the emotional requirements of Byrd's music but, entering into the 1970s and 1980s, the solutions tended to favour cleaner vocalisation. For example, one reviewer believed that the King's Singers' style, 'born of close-harmony renditions of Danny Boy rather than a sympathy for Tudor polyphony', was 'totally unsuited' to Byrd's

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<sup>64</sup> Robertson, record review, *The Gramophone* (February 1943): 127.

<sup>65</sup> Roger Fiske, record review, *The Gramophone* (June 1956): 18.

<sup>66</sup> Donington, "On interpreting Early Music," 232.

<sup>67</sup> Robertson, record review, *The Gramophone* (May 1951): 277.

<sup>68</sup> Stevens, record review, *The Gramophone* (June 1960): 28.

<sup>69</sup> Peter Aston, record review, *The Musical Times* 106 (1956): 778.

repertoire.<sup>70</sup> Another was relieved to have the Tallis Scholars' interpretation, 'one that almost certainly comes closer to historical authenticity than any other', to replace the 'slightly precious and vibrato-laden readings of the Deller Consort'.<sup>71</sup> There was backlash against the growing impersonality epitomised by The Tallis Scholars, but to this Gordon Reynolds responded: 'Well, I would not wish any more overt involvement'.<sup>72</sup> In my listening analysis, it was during the 1990s that the most discreetly expressive recordings appeared. Coincidentally, in his choral handbook of 1993, Robert Garretson accepted that 'the music must be sung with an emotional expressiveness' but said that this 'should not be allowed to run rampant'.<sup>73</sup> He actually insisted that 'Renaissance music, when performed correctly, sounds remote and restrained'. Garretson, it appears, was as much influenced by the choral style of the 1990s as he was trying to direct it; his instructions illustrate far more about late twentieth-century tastes and expectations of vocal recordings than about Renaissance performance.

As indicators of contemporary preference, Donington and Garretson's advice on tempo bears useful correlation to the trends I have uncovered. The earlier practitioner asserted that 'a monotonous uniformity of rhythm' is one of 'the deadliest of all modern misinterpretations of early music', advocating flexibility and *rubato* even in polyphony.<sup>74</sup> This is certainly reflective of early recordings of *Ave verum* and 'Agnus Dei', but is very different to Garretson's later suggestion that 'tempo should remain relatively steady throughout the composition'.<sup>75</sup> However, Garretson does propose that tempo may alter 'through a contrasting change in the mood of the text and a resultant change in the musical texture'. Indeed, more of the modern choirs adopted a new pace at key structural points in both pieces. The application of musical devices on these recordings is clearly concurrent with changing tastes.

#### 5.4.1 Similarity and Variety: Conclusions

Many of the stylistic developments traced by other scholars across the twentieth century are evident on recordings of 'Agnus Dei' and *Ave verum corpus*. I could almost tick off that entire list of general trends presented in Chapter 2.2.2 (bar the differences in vibrato), especially in relation to tighter co-ordination, lighter rhythms and less *rubato* and *portamento*. However, I have uncovered some crucial complications to the view that performance style has become

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<sup>70</sup> Fenlon, record review, *The Musical Times* 118 (1977): 924.

<sup>71</sup> Milsom, record review, *Gramophone* (May 1984): 1303.

<sup>72</sup> Reynolds, record review, *Gramophone* (March 1986): 1183.

<sup>73</sup> Garretson, *Choral Music*, 25.

<sup>74</sup> Donington, "On interpreting Early Music," 237.

<sup>75</sup> Garretson, *ibid.*, 19.

homogenised or less expressive on record; the independent and institutional categories provide different answers to that question.

My analysis has repeatedly revealed much greater stylistic similarity among the recordings of institutional choirs. This certainly does not mean that every college and cathedral group performed these pieces in the same way, but a common set of interpretative options was recurrent among the majority and effected within a comparable expressive range. Most significantly, these options were notably consistent throughout the eras of the discography. The earliest one or two albums did contain more period characteristics, but those disappeared very quickly. When listening, there is not much to distinguish an institutional recording today and one from forty or even fifty years ago. Much of this relates to their shared sound worlds, but it also results from their narrower expressive palette; wider dynamic brushstrokes are their primary gesture, but rarely used in the extreme. These qualities connote greater modesty in Byrd performances, and reviewers in every decade have observed this effect. New College Choir were said to present a ‘natural, unpretentious sound’ in 1976, while Salisbury Cathedral Choir’s interpretation was described as ‘pleasingly neat and unaffected’ in 1987 — as was Westminster Cathedral Choir’s 1966 album, which was ‘pleasantly straightforward’ too — and *Ave verum* by Winchester Cathedral Choir was noted as ‘quietly understated’ in 1996.<sup>76</sup> Even in 1954, the singers at St. Pauls’ Cathedral apparently demonstrated ‘steady lines and impeccable chording allied to much sensitiveness’.<sup>77</sup>

This language is highly reminiscent of how the ‘cathedral choir tone’ has been described, particularly in accounts of King’s College, Cambridge. Certainly, the recordings of ‘Agnus Dei’ and *Ave verum* by this choir served as frontrunners of the approach outlined above, suggesting that they had a strong influence on the style observed among the institutional category. The influence of Willcocks continues to be exerted via endless reissues of his recordings, making it tempting to attribute institutional similarity to the prevailing prominence of those renditions. While I cannot evidence that other choirs have copied Willcocks’ exact expressive interpretation of either work — i.e. matching their entire dynamic architecture to the King’s versions<sup>78</sup> — the standard and general style of singing on King’s recordings stand as successful critical benchmarks that would certainly be worth emulating. Indeed, Day argues that the sound this choir developed in the 1960s ‘had an enormous impact’ on English choral style and ‘has remained a kind of

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<sup>76</sup> Nicholas Anderson, record review, *Gramophone* (November 1976): 851; Reynolds, record review, *Gramophone* (September 1987): 474; Noble, record review, *The Gramophone* (June 1966): 25; Berry, record review, *Gramophone* (December 1996): 119.

<sup>77</sup> Trevor Harvey, record review, *The Gramophone* (November 1954): 263.

<sup>78</sup> This is certainly something that could be investigated further in future, perhaps with a wider selection of repertoire.



touchstone ever since'; it is highly likely that King's College had an important role to play in the stylistic plateau that formed relatively early within the institutional Byrd discographies.<sup>79</sup>

Differing standards caused some of the variety that did exist among the institutional group. The recordings of King's and some other Oxbridge colleges displayed increased shading and responsiveness, which set them apart from the cathedral category. However, several cathedral choirs did provide examples of such attributes, such as Winchester and Christ Church, and there are college recordings where those qualities are absent. Overall, the institutional category can be understood as one, sharing the same stylistic characteristics and often choices too. Interestingly, in my listening analysis, I found this to be true even of choirs that contained female voices instead of boys; they displayed a comparably straight, youthful timbre and operated within the balance of the other institutional parameters in much the same way. Ultimately, the many differences outlined between the choral profiles of institutional choirs do not translate to differences on record, where their styles of performance are often very similar.

In comparison, there has been far greater evidence of variety between the recordings of independent ensembles. Crucially, however, they have also demonstrated much change over time, showing a greater susceptibility to wider trends. It is in the independent category that the developments of twentieth century performance style are most noticeable. Yet though the expressive palette may have diminished — and diversity of gesture and emotion are indeed less blatant — variety and expressivity *are* still evident on independent recordings, this simply occurs along different planes. Initially, many later recordings do seem less emotive than the first half of the last century, with more sensitive alterations of the musical surface and large gestures reserved for key moments or structural changes. These findings echo the assessment of Leech-Wilkinson and others with regards to expressive attention in the post-war era, which moved 'from the detail to the whole, from the surface of the composition to its underlying structure, from descriptive to analytical playing'.<sup>80</sup> Some might equate this to 'less emotional' performances, but it would be most unwise to suggest that modern musicians are not trying to convey emotion; that runs counter to much of the commentary on Byrd's music and several practitioners describe their general approach as explicitly expressive. Harry Christophers is the obvious example, but Christopher Gabbittas of The King's Singers also explained that they 'try to bring the same

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<sup>79</sup> Day, "'The Most Famous Choir in the World'? The Choir Since 1929," in *King's College Chapel 1515-2015: Art, Music and Religion in Cambridge*, ed. Jean Michel Massing and Nicolette Zeeman (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2014), 347-48.

<sup>80</sup> Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 7, Paragraph 19; in outlining this development elsewhere, Leech-Wilkinson argues that the older, 'moment to moment' style actually corresponds more closely to how listeners experience music, in Leech-Wilkinson, "Compositions, Scores, Performances, Meanings," *Music Theory Online* 18 (2012): 7-9. <http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.12.18.1/mto.12.18.1.leech-wilkinson.pdf>.

contrasts and the same range of dynamics, sounds and emotions to any piece of music'.<sup>81</sup> There clearly remains a strong emotional intent behind many modern interpretations, but it is not enacted on the same scale or assorted means as, for example, The Bourne or Renaissance Singers' versions. This is not a loss of expressivity in performance, then, but it is a downsizing of the range and frequency of expressive change.

In this study, the tendency towards clean and removed performances was most widespread in the 1990s, which is slightly later than some have observed elsewhere.<sup>82</sup> The trend appears to have peaked in that era, with variety between independent recordings increasing since. However, this is now most detectable through large-scale performance features or differences in the overall sound world. I outlined this development with 'Agnus Dei', but it is also present on *Ave verum* recordings, as illustrated in the review of The Armonico Consort's album, which was 'highly recommended for listeners who like choral music for its sound rather than its sense'.<sup>83</sup> Regarding independent tone in general, I argued that there is a kind of average sound with its roots in institutional traditions, yet it was quickly clear that independent ensembles could achieve great sonic flexibility from this common starting point. Moreover, there is evidence of a development in that average sound across the recordings of *Ave verum*. Several independent ensembles in the 1980s and 1990s resembled the cathedral choir tone, including The Sixteen, The BBC Singers and The Cambridge Singers (though it is worth remembering that these groups provided some highly varied dynamic interpretations), yet the more modern independent recordings display quite a full-throated and richly resonant vocal tone, often closely recorded. This further separates the effect on these recordings from that of institutional choirs, which have maintained a softer, more distanced atmosphere. Equivalent to King's College, The Tallis Scholars commonly serve as the stylistic barometer of independent practice. It is important, therefore, that the timbral progression I have described is evident between their 1984 and 2006 releases; the latter contains a fuller, more intimate quality and even increased vibrato.

In some ways, this brings the timbre of British groups closer to what many imagine as a more 'European' sound; it could even be symptomatic of the greater international integration of modern choirs. However, the European ensembles in this study, such as The Quink Ensemble, Vocal Appearance and The Bulgarian National Radio Choir, have varied greatly in vocal tone. There is not space to fully investigate the comparison between British and international choirs in this thesis, but it has become clear that the most obvious sources of variety come from choirs

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<sup>81</sup> See Christophers, "Pilgrim's Progress," 30; Gabbittas, "Royal Family," 43-44.

<sup>82</sup> The 1980s is commonly seen as the era in which the taste for reserved, clean musical performances (tied in with notions of 'historical authenticity') was most dominant, as demonstrated by the backlash in the work of Taruskin et al. during that decade in particular.

<sup>83</sup> Manheim, "Naked Byrd Two: AllMusic Review by James Manheim".

outside the UK, both in terms of sound worlds and expressivity. This looks set to continue, with a range of different ensembles now regularly recording these works in the USA and Australia.<sup>84</sup>

One of the ways in which variety did diminish across the last century was in the *regularity* of diversity from recording to recording. In recent decades, interpretations that are noticeably different are more like polar anomalies, trying to do something new, while the remaining performances pool around a kind of mid-ground approach. More often, these anomalies come from international ensembles or amateur choirs. Was Robert Philip correct, then? Has the recorded market caused a loss of diversity in performance style? Since Philip made this claim fourteen years ago, the availability of recordings has increased even further, but so too has the ease with which a choir can make and distribute their own recordings without needing to conform to a record label. The versions of *Ave verum corpus* that one might first hear on YouTube or iTunes today are not necessarily the perfect performances Philip had in mind; the ones that dampened diversity. In fact, they are just as likely to be imperfect, unusual and to vary greatly in their choral profiles. Even within the scope of this investigation (to the end of 2012), there have been arrangements for solo voice and lute, and even a rendition where one vocalist sang all four parts himself — the effect of which is quite shocking — on an album entitled *While My Cat Gently Snoozes*.<sup>85</sup> The musical landscape has changed. With new releases of *Ave verum* rising with new technologies, I would suggest that greater diversity is inevitable on independent recordings, despite its existing on the fringes of normality at present.

To summarise the evidence of these two style case studies, I have shown that the independent category features a greater range in the levels and forms of expression, offering more varied interpretations of the score, while the institutional choirs display greater similarity, both within and between recordings, and a more limited palette of expressive devices. However, where the institutions have centred around a consistent stylistic average across most of the recorded era, independent recordings demonstrate clearer and more extended chronological developments in performance that parallel those observed by previous scholars; their spectrum of expressivity has narrowed and their interpretations are not as obviously diverse as early ensembles'. That being so, independent ensembles continue to provide more stylistic alternatives than the institutional category — the initial task of the final chapter is to address *why*.

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<sup>84</sup> See Appendix B for working discography since 2012.

<sup>85</sup> See Appendix B, 343.

## Chapter 6: Choral Identity

In Chapter 1, I outlined the different profiles of recording choirs in purely practical terms, describing who they are and what they do. My subsequent analysis demonstrated the correspondence between these profiles and performance styles on disc. I will now explore how those recordings encapsulate choral identities, understood not just as a set of practices, but as part of a reciprocal framework of constructed ideologies involving multiple agents. I describe how choirs are presented and perceived, first arguing that institutional and independent recorded styles are different because they occur under the banner of particular identities, but then explore the identities that have been invented around the choirs as they are marketed and consumed. The boundary between institutional and independent identity becomes blurred as I examine how UK recordings perform the ‘English choral tradition’, which is underpinned by shared roots in elite education. This chapter culminates with a broad discussion in which I position the recordings against wider cultural concerns for tradition, nation and spirituality, drawing on recent theories of music as a resource for self-conditioning, to consider why they might be desirable to consumers.

### 6.1 Art and Function

The central distinction I delineated in choral practice was one based on purpose: institutional choirs primarily exist to fulfil religious duties, while independent choirs have no fixed requirements outside of their musical performance. To oversimplify, we might say that for one group Byrd’s music is *sacred* art, for the other it is sacred *art*. This crude separation is unfeasible in reality, but differences in the balance between ritual function and artistic creativity can be mapped on to the stylistic trends of each category: institutional readings are similar, stable and modest, while independent interpretations are more varied, flexible and nuanced.<sup>1</sup> Several features of institutional style could actually be described as more ‘functional’; they attend to the more obvious musical cues, offering moderate and predictable responses. Descriptions of ‘restraint’ and ‘decorum’ can go too far, but there is a much greater sense of expressive and sonic containment on institutional recordings. Combined with their greater consistency, this contributes to a musical identity befitting the humility and corporate ritual of institutional practice. By comparison, the variation of detail and the extremes that exist among independent recordings are more akin to notions of creativity and individuality, which relates to the greater artistic freedom inherent in their circumstances.

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<sup>1</sup> Page does actually suggest that institutional singers, ‘for whom singing and rehearsal are constant duties’, may not be as ‘touched by concerns of high art’, in “The English ‘A Cappella’ Renaissance,” 466.

Several dichotomies have emerged here. In addition to independent / institution, variety / similarity and changeability / continuity, there has been artistry / functionality, freedom / obligation, individuality / uniformity, and even youth / maturity (experience). These distinctions are far from clear-cut in practice, but the respective choral identities embody one aspect more than the other.

In the opening chapter, I avoided the labels of secular and sacred in describing the reality of choral recordings, yet as descriptors of *identity* they convey a crucial distinction. This is best understood by considering the handling of sacred aspects by independent (secular) choirs. Many are keen to acknowledge the religiosity of Byrd's work, but this mostly relates to concerns for historical propriety and musical understanding. Though important, the sacred is just another compositional feature and independent groups can choose how much attention it is afforded. Christophers regularly champions spiritual aspects, but when Lindsay Kemp suggested that The Sixteen were 'looking for some sort of religious context' with their 'Choral Pilgrimage' tour, Christophers simply responded that churches provide 'the right setting', giving his explanation of music matching architecture.<sup>2</sup> He also revealed: 'I tell my singers that you have to believe in [sacred] pieces when you sing them, just as if you were singing a role in an opera'. This almost implies the performance of a feigned, transient religiosity. In the same debate, Rutter said: 'I think you have to have a sense of faith to be involved in religious music, but I don't think you have to share that faith'. The same may indeed be true of individual singers in institutional choirs, but those choirs exist to facilitate immutable faith; outwardly, at least, the sacred is a non-negotiable in their performances, whereas independent groups have the option to take it (fake it) or leave it. Phillips is a notable advocate of the latter approach, performing sacred works outside religious contexts so that:

...the spotlight is now squarely on the music, there are no other distractions. If the music is badly sung, as so often in church services, there is no hiding place in our secular renditions...<sup>3</sup>

Though the implication of artistic superiority here is biased, sacred and secular contexts undeniably enhance different aspects of Byrd's music. Fallows outlined this distinction when reviewing recordings of Byrd's *Great Service*:

...from Stephen Cleobury and King's you get the performance that seems nearer to the spiritual and historical sound-world of the piece whereas Peter Phillips and the Tallis

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<sup>2</sup> Christophers, interview by Kemp, "Do You Need 'Religion'," 30-31; Christophers repeated these sentiments to Cullingford in 2009, as included in Chapter 4, in "Pilgrim's Progress," 29.

<sup>3</sup> Phillips, "Reclaiming Crossover," 88.

Scholars provide something more helpful for an objective understanding of the work's greatness...<sup>4</sup>

This Anglican work presents a different case, but the idea that independent ensembles may provide a better sense of the *music* (art), while institutional choirs offer a better sense of the *occasion* (function) is important.<sup>5</sup> Either way, the issue is less about interpretative 'correctness' and more about what performers and listeners hope to achieve.

Why have these different choral identities given rise to stylistic variety or similarity on record? I have argued that the nature of institutional practice fosters similarity: the regularity and responsibility of singing, the fixedness of place and regime, and the inherent sonic boundaries therein. These circumstances exert an overriding influence over recorded performance and are shared by institutional choirs across the recorded era. Though my use of the term 'institution' was initially intended to denote the basic, site-specific meaning, these conclusions concur with key ideas in scholarship theorising 'institutions' more deeply. In the essay 'What Are Institutions?', Geoffrey M. Hodgson writes:

In part, the durability of institutions stems from the fact that they can usefully create stable expectations of the behavior of others. Generally, institutions enable ordered thought, expectation, and action by imposing form and consistency on human activities.<sup>6</sup>

The stylistic trends uncovered in this thesis aptly illustrate Hodgson's statement in the field of musical performance: institutional choral practice imposes form and consistency, enabling ordered performances that maintain stable expectations.

I can assert this theory with confidence, but it does invite another question: do individual choirs always maintain the same style, across different pieces and directorships? Answering that fully would require a different methodological approach, analysing many more recordings by the same choir. Only a few ensembles in my project have recorded both 'Agnus Dei' and *Ave verum corpus*, offering no definitive conclusions. However, evidence from individual cases does support the general trends I have put forward. Most importantly, the ensembles who displayed most notable stylistic change between the two pieces were independent groups — The BBC Singers, The Quink Ensemble and The Armonico Consort — and their contrasting performances actually appear on the same album.<sup>7</sup> New College Choir altered their usual vocal arrangement when

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<sup>4</sup> Fallows, record review, *Gramophone* (June 1987): 89; as found in Day, "Tudor Church Music," 31.

<sup>5</sup> There are perhaps parallels here with Cook's distinction between 'musicological' and 'musical' listening (the analysis of music versus the experience), in *Music, Imagination, and Culture*, 152.

<sup>6</sup> Hodgson, "What Are Institutions," 2; two years later, Mohr and Friedland confirm that this is a core understanding which can be agreed upon, in "Theorizing the Institution," 421.

<sup>7</sup> Or album set, as in the case of Armonico Consort's *Naked Byrd, Volumes 1 and 2*; see Appendix B.

recording the Mass in 1996, yet their later performance of *Ave verum* with full choir displayed a very similar approach to phasing and dynamics. Furthermore, the expressive qualities of the latter release are highly reminiscent of their *Ave verum* recording almost a decade earlier. Similarly, there are clear parallels between the two recordings of 'Agnus Dei' by Christ Church Cathedral Choir under Stephen Darlington (1991) and Simon Preston (1977); both demonstrate a much more adventurous range of dynamics than contemporary cathedral choirs. There is a sense, then, that several institutions maintain a certain stylistic consistency, while some independent ensembles display more acute contrasts.<sup>8</sup>

This parallels my observations regarding the choral categories as a whole; where the independents exhibited greater changes over time, the institutions showed more similarity in expressivity and interpretation across different eras. Hill has offered an explanation of how institutional practice might foster such results:

[It is] a process of osmosis really. They pass on — in a way that they don't even talk about, no one ever discusses it — a tradition of how to phrase, a tradition of how to sing a particular thing. Listen to the choir from twenty years ago, and go into the building now, and you will hear that they're two Burgundies from the same valley, probably on the same chalk, but tasting slightly different.<sup>9</sup>

Hill's description of this process as a 'tradition' disguises his underlying suggestion, which is that new singers adopt a manner of interpretation from their immediate predecessors, with institutional systems maintaining an expressive status quo despite frequent changes in personnel. However, what is also useful here is Hill's acknowledgement of some degree of change; the buildings do not harbour the same immortal choir throughout the generations. Similarly, my aim is not to suggest that all institutional choirs sound identical — they have individual characteristics shaped by different directors and circumstances<sup>10</sup> — or that their choral tone in general has not developed. The earliest portions of the Byrd discographies do reveal a progression towards a more refined style in the 1960s, supporting Day's arguments in particular.<sup>11</sup> This seems to have resulted especially from a drive towards higher standards, almost a necessity with the increasing

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<sup>8</sup> Of course, there are also clear advantages for independent choirs who do *not* adapt their overall style — such as The Sixteen or The King's Singers — maintaining a 'signature' sound that consumers recognise; Leech-Wilkinson mentions this in *The Changing Sound*, Chapter 7, Paragraph 31.

<sup>9</sup> Hill says this is in reference to St. John's College Choir, Cambridge, in "Choral Powerhouse," 43.

<sup>10</sup> Day makes this point and outlines different timbral qualities of several institutional choirs, but he relies on the same familiar examples for contrast, that is, George Guest, George Malcolm and Simon Preston, in "Tudor Church Music," 34.

<sup>11</sup> Day, "The Most Famous Choir in the World."

popularity of broadcasts, recordings and the disciplined performances of King's College.<sup>12</sup> While this development was much in line with mid-twentieth-century aesthetics, the institutional sound appears to have levelled out relatively quickly once the optimum style was attained and this has been maintained since.<sup>13</sup> In contrast, the style among independent Byrd recordings has continually adapted along with wider trends in early music — demonstrating the experimentalism of the 1960s, the expressive downsizing of the 1980s and 90s and the subsequent reaction in the new millennium<sup>14</sup> — whereas institutional style has been cultivated and sustained in a much more insular fashion within their choral sphere.

It is through comparison to the independent ensembles that we discover just how much stylistic variety there might have been. Certainly, institutional profiles display almost as much difference as those of independent groups, especially with regards to voice type. Yet, as I demonstrated in Chapter 3, independent ensembles with identical vocal arrangements can sound remarkably different, while institutional choirs of different constitutions tend to sound remarkably similar. With the *Ave verum* recordings, I noted that even the mixed college choirs produced interpretations that sounded like those from choirs of men and boys. There is clearly something about the institutional context that instils this stylistic similarity.

The strongest evidence for this theory is that swathes of independent singers trained in institutional practice, yet they achieve great variety when operating outside that sphere. Alfred Deller sang as a choirboy and made a career by preserving that tone, but he evoked an expressive drama quite unlike contemporary institutional performances when recording with The Deller Consort. Ensembles that display obvious roots to a cathedral or 'Oxbridge' sound — The Cambridge Singers, The Sixteen or The King's Singers — manage to effect individualistic expressivity and diverse structural interpretations as independent outfits. As Stephen Layton describes, choirs such as these share an inherited 'musical language [that] has been garnered from the choral tradition' but this 'gives them many basics which allow them to go to work on the music *in a different way*'.<sup>15</sup> They learned their trade in institutions, but are able to put those skills to different uses once they are detached from that framework of service.

Several other facets of independent practice also encourage greater interpretative variety. Firstly, these singers tend not to experience regular rehearsal periods together. They are involved

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<sup>12</sup> See Day, "Tudor Church Music," 29-31; Page traces the drive towards a more disciplined style back to the 1920s and agrees that this 'owes much to King's College', in "The English 'A Cappella' Renaissance," 454.

<sup>13</sup> Day connects Kings' developing style to 'anti-Romantic aesthetic ideals', in "The Most Famous Choir in the World," 350; in 1993, Page talked of 'a cathedral and Oxbridge tradition of singing' that had maintained continuity for the last 50 years, in "The English 'A Cappella' Renaissance," 471.

<sup>14</sup> Page references the experimentalism of the 1960s at several points, in *ibid.*; Marshall does this also, additionally highlighting the 1980s as 'a turning point away from vocal experimentalism,' in "Voce Bianca," 40.

<sup>15</sup> Layton, "20 Greatest Choirs," 41 (*italics are mine*).



with other activities, bringing a kaleidoscopic range of musical perspectives when they come to work on these pieces. Some ensembles spend many hours formulating interpretative options together, while others have minimal contact time and produce intrinsically organic performances. In either case, the process is quite different to the more habitual readings that choirs might fall back on under the demands of institutional routine.

Independent choral practice affords variety despite the high level of crossover in personnel. For example, Paul Elliott sang on recordings with four different groups in this study alone — The Pro Cantione Antiqua, The Deller Consort, The Hilliard Ensemble and Theatre of Voices — yet those groups presented remarkably different sounds and interpretations. Such phenomena have not gone unnoticed, as Day recalls:

...even among the best-known 'secular' English choirs there were subtle but telling differences. As many have testified, even the same singers sound different in slightly different combinations and under the influence of the different personalities and temperaments of different conductors.<sup>16</sup>

Yet this is not heard to the same degree in the institutions; their performances tend to sound more uniform, no matter who the singers are.

The contrasts in independent and institutional recorded styles relate not just to the people involved, but to what those people do within the boundaries of each practice. Milsom has addressed these ideas and recalls how vocalists deliver different performances under different choral guises:

Back in the late 1970s residents of Oxford had the pleasure of watching how the (adult male) singers of the university's choral foundations would, after evensong, regularly make their way into the back rows of the various concert giving choirs that flourished at that time—choirs such as the Tallis Scholars and the Sixteen (both of which were in their infancy), and the Clerkes of Oxenford (which was still at the height of its powers). I have strong memories of performances by these mixed-voice choirs that contrasted sharply with what could be heard at choral evensong. Was it that these singing-men, when asked to face a paying audience, made music in a manner different from the one they adopted in the daily routine of chapel services? Was it that their style of singing changed because they now had to balance small, select teams of women's voices, rather than the formidable (and often loud) ranks of boy choristers? Was it that these concerts took place in carefully chosen locations, not in choir stalls laid down by centuries-old

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<sup>16</sup> Day, "Tallis in Performance," 689.

statutes? Or was it that a concert somehow ‘framed’ the music, making it seem more special by being removed from its liturgical context? Whatever the reason, these concerts showed that even the most quotidian of choral repertory could be transformed by being secularized—or, if you like, by being taken from the hands of the liturgical choirs that sing this music every day.<sup>17</sup>

Milsom’s reflection gestures toward many of the key points in this thesis, describing how both institutional and independent styles are products of their particular circumstances. He confirms that the same voices and repertoire sound different in each context. I believe that the contrasting effects arise from a combination of Milsom’s proposed factors: vocal forces, performance context and purpose. Purpose is most important as it is the basis on which those other features are determined. When singers perform and record under these different guises, the resultant style is different because they do so for different reasons — *and under a different identity*.

It is not just a choir’s motivation for existence that is important, but also the motivation for recording; what are directors and producers aiming to achieve? I have suggested that independent recordings offer these pieces more as historical artworks, while institutional recordings are more representative of how that art functions in a religious setting. Recording institutional choirs is often likened to microphones ‘eavesdropping’ on an average service.<sup>18</sup> Milsom used the term to title his essay, but he disliked the result on one recording for having ‘too much air of the everyday about it, too little air of a performance geared to the demands of home listening’. This not only implies the idea of institutions’ ‘functional’ recording style, but that there might have been less focus on the recording as a commodity. Surely, the purpose of an institutional choir is to sing in services, not appease buyers. In reality, however, many institutions might hope to raise their status through recordings. As Peter Jacobs of Llandaff Cathedral acknowledged, ‘such choirs are increasingly under threat because of financial constraints and need all the publicity the recording industry can give them’.<sup>19</sup> Higginbottom similarly explained that ‘having to prove your usefulness to the public is now very much what universities are all about’.<sup>20</sup> That being so, the moneymaking aspect of recording does seem less crucial in the institutional sphere. Many of these albums are presented more like commemorative souvenirs — such as *Anthems from Salisbury*, celebrating the choir association’s golden jubilee — or like a

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<sup>17</sup> Milsom, “Eavesdropping on Evensong,” 699-700.

<sup>18</sup> Day said this of Westminster Cathedral Choir, in “Sir Richard Terry,” 306; Webb said this of Winchester Cathedral Choir, in record review, *Gramophone* (December 1975): 1002.

<sup>19</sup> Letter from Peter Jacobs (chairman of the Llandaff Cathedral Choir Association), “The Cathedral Tradition,” *Gramophone* (September 1994): 10-11.

<sup>20</sup> Higginbottom, “Raiders of the Lost Art,” 28.

project designed to give the choir a new experience.<sup>21</sup> As the reviewer of the Llandaff Cathedral Choir recording remarked, it is ‘a record, perhaps, chiefly for local consumption’.<sup>22</sup> Such recordings provide useful additions to the cathedral gift shop and generate extra funds, but are not vital to the choir’s upkeep, which is supported by institutional income and choral foundations.

There are obvious contrasts in the motivations for recording independent ensembles, given that most in that category are either professional or semi-professional groups. With members to pay and spaces to rent, commercial viability is of central importance; those producing independent recordings will be acutely aware of this. Though a disdain for market forces endures around classical music, we must recognise that industry pressures have shaped the output of these ensembles in particular.<sup>23</sup> Variation among independent recordings may be as much a result of necessity as anything else; to sell, these albums need to stand out within an ever-crowded marketplace or face disappearing altogether. Even the possibility of Arts Council funding relies on independent ensembles’ ability to offer creative innovation and value for money.<sup>24</sup> In contrast, the situation for institutional choirs is stable so long as the institution secures it; thus there is arguably less at stake in how their albums are received and less immediate need for them to be different. Institutional similarity is permissible.

These contrasting styles and identities can be productively summarised in terms of ‘performance authority’.<sup>25</sup> On what authority do these choirs perform and record? What customs, influences or ideologies primarily inform their interpretations? Day and Philip agree that performers must be discerning in selecting authority from the diverse ‘menu of possibilities’ around them, as this forms the basis of their artistic identities.<sup>26</sup> I argue that the stylistic differences between independent and institutional choirs are rooted in their different performance authorities, which in turn is the key distinction between their identities.

In contrast to institutional choirs, independent practitioners have more liberty to implement a diverse range of performance authorities. Some groups attend more to scholarship, offering their performances as readings in historical understanding, while others focus on the sonic sensuousness of the musical material. Some groups uphold elements of stylistic authority from their institutional training, while others continually adapt their approach according to

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<sup>21</sup> *Anthems from Salisbury*, Salisbury Cathedral Choir, Meridian E77025 (1979).

<sup>22</sup> Geoffrey J. Cuming, record review, *Gramophone* (November 1969): 794.

<sup>23</sup> The ‘implicitly anti-commercial ideology’ of classical music is a recurrent theme in Andrew Blake’s *The Land Without Music: Music, Culture and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 76; the tension between art and business is dealt with more extensively in Daragh O’Reilly and Finola Kerrigan, eds., *Marketing the Arts: A Fresh Approach* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010).

<sup>24</sup> See Debi Hayes and Simon Roodhouse, “From Missionary to Market Maker: Reconceptualizing Arts Marketing in Practice,” in *Marketing the Arts*, 42-44; and Chris Smith, *Creative Britain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1998).

<sup>25</sup> See Chapter 2.2.1.

<sup>26</sup> Philip, *Performing Music*, 250-52; Day, *A Century*, 194-95.

different repertoire. Some follow established interpretative precedents, others carve out new ones. There is not complete free reign here, however; market factors exert a significant influence over many independent groups and the limits of practicality are an authority for all types of choir. There is, however, arguably more room for manoeuvre in independent practice.

For institutional choirs, performance authority is fixed and pre-defined: it derives from their function within the institution. Their activities are governed by those circumstances and this informs both practical and artistic choices, i.e. how to get the best sound from the choir in their building. Different choirs do not share the same institution, but they do share the same performance authority of institutional function. Institutional practice can also be likened to a 'School of Playing' — one of Philip's major authorities — and I have argued that certain stylistic idioms may indeed be cultivated this way within that sphere. While this was indicated by Hill, he has also explained that directors have to 'accept certain things and the working patterns of institutions but on the other hand you must apply the things you believe in' as a musician.<sup>27</sup> This is an important point, but it remains that there are constraints on their practice and, ultimately, the director comes second to the authority of purpose in a sacred institution. Directors may not favour this over their own artistic visions, but their performance practice occurs under the banner of that inherent, omnipresent authority.

When conceptualising institutional practice and stylistic similarity, it is tempting to say that 'tradition' is the underlying performance authority for those choirs. Like Hill, all the directors in Cullingford's Cambridge choirs article purport that they are passing on a tradition.<sup>28</sup> Such claims are a-piece with Freeman-Attwood's description of how 'these choirs quietly carry their quotidian torches into succeeding term and century'.<sup>29</sup> However, this discourse of tradition should be challenged because it implies that this choral style has been the same for hundreds of years, rather than a product of the recorded era. Yet while tradition is problematic as a performance authority, it is undeniably powerful as a facet of identity, albeit a romanticised construction. As the next section will show, this is true not only of institutional choirs, but all those with links to the 'English choral tradition'.

## 6.2 Construction and Expectations of Identity

In reality, on one side of the recording process, all choirs differ a great deal, yet while independent differences are carried through onto the final product, institutional choirs transmit

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<sup>27</sup> Hill, "Spem De Luxe," 1941.

<sup>28</sup> This includes: Timothy Brown, Stephen Cleobury, Edward Higginbottom, Stephen Layton and Christopher Robinson, in "Choral Powerhouse."

<sup>29</sup> Freeman-Attwood, "The 20 Greatest Choirs," 42.

very similarly. Much of this has to do with the conditions described above, but these effects are enhanced and manipulated in the marketing of the choirs' identities through websites, sleeve notes and album packaging, and further exacerbated by critical expectations. In this section, I show how the institutional identity of tradition and purpose, and independent identities of innovation and scholarship, have been constructed. I then examine how UK recordings are promoted as part of the imagined 'English choral tradition' and the strong class associations that this reveals.

Choir websites are a particularly useful medium for exploring identity: they are constructions of the group's idealised image and an opportunity to state their purpose, authorities and values. By far the most frequent assertion on institutional websites is that their identity is based on service and tradition; the similarity and repetition of these sentiments is palpable. This identity is authenticated by drawing directly on the history of the institutional building. The following examples come from just a handful of cathedral websites, but the near-identical wording reveals how widespread this tactic is:

Hereford Cathedral has a long musical tradition, with a choir dating back at least as far as the 13th century...<sup>30</sup>

Salisbury Cathedral Choir maintains a tradition of church music that has been offered in the Cathedral since its consecration in 1258...<sup>31</sup>

There has been a choir of boys and gentlemen at St Paul's Cathedral for over nine centuries.<sup>32</sup>

Ely Cathedral Choir has been part of the English Choral tradition since the mid-16th century, and in terms of monastic heritage, its history can be traced back considerably further to the time of King Canute.<sup>33</sup>

Wells Cathedral Choir, made up of Choristers and Vicars Choral, has been at the heart of the worshipping life of the cathedral since 909 AD.<sup>34</sup>

In these descriptions, the choir is defined by their tradition of providing music in the cathedral. This is commonly promoted as an 'unbroken tradition'. For cathedral choirs who cannot claim

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<sup>30</sup> "Music," Hereford Cathedral, accessed July 2015, <http://www.herefordcathedral.org/music>.

<sup>31</sup> "Worship and Music: Choirs," Salisbury Cathedral, accessed July 2015, <http://www.herefordcathedral.org/music/choir>.

<sup>32</sup> "Cathedral Choirs," St. Paul's Cathedral, accessed May 2015, <https://www.stpauls.co.uk/worship-music/music/cathedral-choirs>.

<sup>33</sup> "Ely Cathedral Choir," Ely Cathedral, accessed July 2015, <http://www.elycathedral.org/music/ely-cathedral-choir>.

<sup>34</sup> "Music," Wells Cathedral, accessed June 2015, <http://www.wellscathedral.org.uk/music-the-choir/>.

such lengthy histories — such as Liverpool and Portsmouth — there are attempts to quantify their longevity via general connections to the wider cathedral tradition, as in this example:

English Cathedrals uphold a unique and 1000 year old ministry of daily use of music within services. Therefore, at Portsmouth Cathedral you will find a much acclaimed Cathedral Choir of men and boys...<sup>35</sup>

Institutional websites not only assert an ‘unbroken tradition’, but a ‘living tradition’ that, according to the Winchester Cathedral site, ‘continues to form a key part of our daily rhythm of worship’.<sup>36</sup> Every institutional website I surveyed indicates that the choir currently sings in regular services; nearly all of them state that this is their ‘primary’ purpose. As explained in the description of Durham Cathedral Choir: their concerts, tours and recordings, ‘welcome and valuable though they are, are subservient to its chief work, which is to articulate in music the daily worship of the cathedral’.<sup>37</sup>

On cathedral websites in particular, the claim that tradition and service are top priorities is solidified by the order in which information is presented. In nearly all cases, statements such as those quoted above appear within the initial paragraph of the choir’s description. For most, this is the first sentence we read. With striking similarity, such historical introductions tend to be followed by an explanation of the choir’s constitution and role, with purely musical or commercial activities outlined last. This is evident in examples from Hereford and Truro Cathedrals:

There has been a choir at Hereford Cathedral since at least the 13th century, producing beautiful music in the building’s unrivalled acoustic and glorious surroundings.

Today, the choir’s 18 boy choristers aged 7–14, together with the lay clerks (the gentlemen of the choir who sing the alto, tenor and bass parts), continue this tradition into the 21st century, providing music at the cathedral’s daily services and many special occasions throughout the year.

They also reach a wider audience by singing in concerts, broadcasts on television and radio, recordings and international tours.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> “Music at Portsmouth Cathedral,” Portsmouth Cathedral, accessed July 2015, <http://portsmouthcathedral.org.uk/music/>; “Our Choir,” Liverpool Cathedral, accessed July 2015, <http://www.liverpoolcathedral.org.uk/home/cathedral-music/our-choir.aspx>; the cathedral choirs of men and boys at Liverpool and Portsmouth were founded in 1910 and 1927 respectively.

<sup>36</sup> “Music and Choir: Our Choirs,” Winchester Cathedral, accessed June 2015, <http://www.winchester-cathedral.org.uk/worship-and-music/music-choir/cathedral-choirs/>.

<sup>37</sup> “Durham Cathedral Choir: Blessed City,” Durham Cathedral Choir Association, accessed May 2015, <http://www.durhamcathedralchoir.org.uk/blessedcity.html>.

<sup>38</sup> “Cathedral Choir,” Hereford Cathedral, accessed July 2015, <http://www.herefordcathedral.org/music/choir>.

Truro Cathedral has had a choir of boys and men since it was consecrated in 1887.

The current team of eighteen boy choristers and twelve gentlemen sings at six services each week during term time as well as at the major services around Christmas and Easter.

They also undertake regular concerts, broadcasts, webcasts, foreign tours and CD recordings.<sup>39</sup>

Not only do these statements reveal a clear hierarchy of values, in which tradition and purpose are paramount, but the replication of this format on countless websites confirms that cathedral choirs share this identity.

These observations also largely apply to college choirs. However, there are subtle differences regarding renowned Oxbridge choirs, as exhibited in these examples from King's and St. John's College websites:

Founded in the fifteenth century, the Choir of King's College, Cambridge is the pre-eminent representative of the British church music tradition. The Choir exists primarily to sing daily services in King's College Chapel. But its worldwide fame and reputation, enhanced by its many recordings, has led to invitations to perform around the globe.<sup>40</sup>

St John's College, Cambridge, has a distinguished tradition of religious music and, since the 1670s, has possessed a world-famous College Choir whose main duty is singing the daily services.<sup>41</sup>

For top recording choirs like these, there is a greater inclination to lead with reference to their wider fame. However, the same values of religious service as the choir's 'primary duty' are repeated across both sites, as is a clear pride in tradition. The language of 'possession' in reference to St. John's also makes their role explicit. Furthermore, the same hierarchy as outlined for the cathedrals remains evident: the sub-headings under 'About the Choir' on the St. John's site position 'The Choir's Purpose' first, then 'Repertoire', 'Concerts and Touring', and finally 'Broadcasts and Recording'.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, on the homepage for New College Choir, Oxford, visitors are greeted with the following blurb:

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<sup>39</sup> "Truro Cathedral Choir," Truro Cathedral, accessed June 2015, <http://www.trurocathedral.org.uk/day-to-day/choir.html>.

<sup>40</sup> "About the Choir," The Choir of King's College, Cambridge, accessed June 2015, <http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/choir/about/index.html>.

<sup>41</sup> "Chapel and Choir," St. John's College, Cambridge, accessed June 2015, [http://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/chapel\\_and\\_choir](http://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/chapel_and_choir).

<sup>42</sup> "About the Choir," St. John's College: The Choir, accessed June 2015, <http://www.sjcchoir.co.uk/about>.

Here you will find a range of information about the Choir and its work, including details of its regular choral services in the College Chapel, its concerts and tours, and recordings...<sup>43</sup>

The order of priority for all institutional choirs is clear: service, concerts, recordings.<sup>44</sup>

Like websites, recordings provide 'the public voice of the choir', which comes not only from the sounds on disc, but the entire album package.<sup>45</sup> Sleeve notes provide another platform on which to construct choral identity, and the same familiar tropes are rife among the institutions. Most commonly, there is an indication that the recorded performances reflect the choir's normal activities in church. It is sometimes specified, as with Downside Abbey, that 'all the items in this selection are used in the regular worship' at the institution.<sup>46</sup> Such descriptions uphold the illusion that microphones have 'eavesdropped' on the choir singing in service, rather than representing any concessions made for the recorded product. On Westminster Cathedral Choir's album, *Exultate Deo*, Jeremy Summerly explains:

A sound recording of even the most masterly examples of sacred polyphony is bound to involve compromise. The function of church music is to adorn a living liturgy...Yet, as here, the compromise can be minimized when such music is sung by a choir whose musical *raison d'être* is the adornment of the daily round of Roman Catholic worship.<sup>47</sup>

The emphasis on daily religious work might be expected from this famous Catholic choir, but references to regular services even appear on sleeve notes for more amateur Anglican choirs, such as those at Christ's Hospital and the University of Bristol.<sup>48</sup> The link between music on disc and living liturgical activities is upheld across the institutional sphere. Indeed, the sleeve notes for

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<sup>43</sup> It continues '...some of which are available in our shop', but this commercial invitation is left until last, in "About our Site," Choir of New College, Oxford, accessed July 2015, <http://www.newcollegechoir.com/>.

<sup>44</sup> The only choir to diverge from this pattern was that of Christ Church Cathedral; this seems fitting given that their recordings often stood out and they are also something of an institutional anomaly, serving Oxford as college and cathedral; see "About the Choir," Christ Church Cathedral Choir, accessed July 2015, <http://www.chchchoir.org/about/>.

<sup>45</sup> "New College Choir Recordings," Choir of New College, Oxford, accessed July 2015, <http://www.newcollegechoir.com/recordings.html>; Colin Symes provides an in-depth exploration of these packaging aspects in *Setting the Record Straight: A Material History of Classical Recording* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2004).

<sup>46</sup> Dom. Dunstan O'Keefe, sleeve notes to *Gregorian Moods: Gregorian Chant from Downside Abbey*, The Monks and Choirboys of Downside Abbey, Virgin VTCD 171 (1997).

<sup>47</sup> Summerly, sleeve notes to *Exultate Deo: Masterpieces of Sacred Polyphony*, Westminster Cathedral Choir, Hyperion CDA 66850 (1995), 3. The phrase '*raison d'être*' is another that appears in multiple places; see, for example, Summerly, *The Music of Westminster Cathedral Choir*, Westminster Cathedral Choir, Hyperion WCC 100 (1998), 4; and "Worship and Music," Durham Cathedral Choir, accessed July 2015, <http://www.durhamcathedral.co.uk/worshipandmusic>.

<sup>48</sup> Christopher Cullen, sleeve notes to *Music for the Festive Year*, Christ's Hospital Choir, Carlton Classics 30366 00852 (1997); sleeve notes to *Sing Joyfully*, University of Bristol Church Choir, Herald HAVPC 134 (1990).



the mixed Clare College Choir echo the same format and 'primary function' of singing in service, while on Trinity College Choir's album, an acknowledgment that the choir is currently mixed is swiftly followed by, 'but the choral associations of the College date back to...1317' and a lengthy description of its history.<sup>49</sup> Here, choral differences and changes have been subsumed by tradition and purpose.

In contrast to this language of stability and servitude, promotional materials for independent ensembles are filled with references to uniqueness and innovation. It is somewhat paradoxical, however, that these descriptors are widely repeated across different websites. This is evident in the following extracts, again taken from the first paragraph describing each ensemble:<sup>50</sup>

Unrivalled for its formidable reputation in the fields of both early and new music, The Hilliard Ensemble is one of the world's finest vocal chamber groups. Its distinctive style and highly developed musicianship engage the listener as much in medieval and renaissance repertoire as in works specially written by living composers.<sup>51</sup>

Armonico Consort is one of the largest and most innovative organisations of its kind in the UK, existing to inspire audiences with its unique programmes.<sup>52</sup>

Founded in 1989, The Cardinal's Musick is a highly successful and innovative ensemble.<sup>53</sup>

The BBC Singers hold a unique position in British musical life. Performing everything from Byrd to Birtwistle, Tallis to Takemitsu, their versatility is second to none.<sup>54</sup>

The Sixteen's total commitment to the music it performs is its greatest distinction. A special reputation for performing early English polyphony, masterpieces of the Renaissance, bringing fresh insights into Baroque and early Classical music...<sup>55</sup>

Over four decades of performance and a catalogue of award-winning recordings for Gimell, Peter Phillips and The Tallis Scholars have done more than any other group to

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<sup>49</sup> Sleeve notes to *Tudor Anthems and Motets*, Clare College, Cambridge, Heritage HTGCD 216 (2011); sleeve notes to *Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae*, Trinity College Choir, Cambridge, Chandos CHAN 0733 (2007), 8.

<sup>50</sup> Some descriptions appear on the homepage of the choir's website, others in the "About" section.

<sup>51</sup> "The Hilliard Ensemble: Biography," The Hilliard Ensemble, accessed August 2014, <http://www.hilliardensemble.demon.co.uk/biography.html>.

<sup>52</sup> "About Us," Armonico Consort, accessed August 2014, <http://www.armonico.org.uk/about-us>.

<sup>53</sup> "About Us," The Cardinal's Musick, accessed September 2014, <http://www.cardinalsmusick.com/about-us>.

<sup>54</sup> "About the BBC Singers," BBC, accessed August 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/profiles/1yMqv7m3NG5f4yBk7JV0pS8/about-the-bbc-singers>.

<sup>55</sup> "The Ensemble," The Sixteen, accessed September 2014, <http://www.thesixteen.com/page/whos-who>.

establish sacred vocal music of the Renaissance as one of the great repertoires of Western classical music.<sup>56</sup>

References to long-established reputations can be likened to institutional descriptions, but independent sites contain more overt claims of exclusivity. Regarding music marketing, Tad Lathrop and Jim Pettigrew advise that ‘the most obvious way to differentiate your product from the competition’ is show that it is ‘the best — or near the best — of its kind’.<sup>57</sup> Whether in terms of their specialism or adaptability, several ensembles above are presented as being superior to other groups. Another means of differentiation comes with promises of an ‘exclusive sound’ or ‘fresh interpretations’, as on the Tallis Scholars’ site.<sup>58</sup> These particular ideals are echoed across the sleeve notes of independent recordings: Stile Antico purportedly demonstrate ‘expressive lucidity and imaginative response to text’, while The Armonico Consort provide ‘a fresh musical experience’, and I Fagiolini seek appreciation ‘for the new light they may throw on the better-known works’ in their *Caged Byrd* recording.<sup>59</sup> Such assertions of interpretative innovation support my argument that independent ensembles place greater focus on artistic or academic qualities of the music. Indeed, more independent albums feature extensive notes on contemporary scholarship or performance practice.<sup>60</sup> This is much in keeping with Greig’s observation that ‘the primary image’ attached to early music performers ‘is that of the “scholar”, of the student who has graduated to become a learned person’.<sup>61</sup> This, he argues, is intended to assure audiences that the performances are ‘true to an academic project’.

Independent ensembles also deal more openly with commercial considerations. This topic does not typically feature on sleeve notes, though Phillips is characteristically candid on those for *The Tallis Scholars’ Finest Recordings*:

The advantage of being a commercially successful independent company is that we can afford to spend time and money on stalking the kind of perfection which makes this music come alive today.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> “About Us,” The Tallis Scholars, accessed August 2014, <http://www.thetallissscholars.co.uk/#!/about/c10fk>.

<sup>57</sup> Tad Lathrop and Jim Pettigrew Jr., *This Business of Music Marketing and Promotion* (New York: Billboard Books, 1999), 57.

<sup>58</sup> Interestingly, this is also Lathrop and Pettigrew’s next suggestion: ‘another way to set the product apart is to focus on its difference from...similar works’, *ibid*.

<sup>59</sup> Sleeve notes to *The Phoenix Rising*, 15; sleeve notes to *Naked Byrd Two*, The Armonico Consort, Signum Classics, SIGCD 235 (2011), 14; Hollingworth, sleeve note to *Caged Byrd, Vol. 2*, 8.

<sup>60</sup> A prime example of this is Rutter, sleeve notes to *Ave verum corpus*.

<sup>61</sup> Greig also writes of ‘marketing strategies’ that focus on individualism, in “Sight-Readings,” 135-37; in forming these ideas, he references Page, “The English ‘A Cappella’ Renaissance,” 459.

<sup>62</sup> Phillips, sleeve notes to *The Tallis Scholars’ Finest Recordings 1980-1989, Vol.1*; similarly, Chanticleer begin with ‘thanks for buying our first new studio album since *Let it Snow*’, in the sleeve notes to *By Request*, Chanticleer, Chanticleer Records CR 2284 (2012).

This is perhaps an extreme example of transparency, but it remains clear on the vast majority of professional independent websites that they have a business to run, with pages devoted to concert promotion and press releases. However, educational activities are promoted in equal measure; many groups currently offer workshops and outreach programmes. These may be being highlighted to meet the criteria for Arts Council funding, but there are parallels with some of the earliest independent ensembles who also aimed to bring early music to a wider audience.<sup>63</sup> As Lawrence explained on The Fleet Street Choir's recording:

[The choir] is a professional, but non-profit making body, existing purely for cultural purposes. It is able, as the most frequently engaged choir in England, to exist on its fee income, but that income is wholly devoted to its own educational objects and no member receives payment for anything.<sup>64</sup>

Is duty central to the identity of independent choirs too, then? Perhaps for some, but most modern professional choirs *are* profit making bodies and their services tend not to be free. Enriching wider communities is still important for these ensembles, particularly for Voces 8, Armonico Consort and others, but it is not comparable to the all-encompassing service of institutional choirs. International recognition, critical acclaim and artistic superiority are the top priorities projected on independent websites, along with a more acute consciousness of performance as commodity.

Album titles provide an immediate label on the recorded product, crystallising the choir's identity. The trends and categories that emerge among the titles are consistent with the choral distinctions I have outlined, and can be demonstrated by analysing a section of the *Ave verum* discography from 1970 to 2012 (see Appendix D).<sup>65</sup> Several album categories emerge here: music for use, music by genre, music by composer, music by ensemble, and miscellaneous atmospheric or thematic collections. Lathrop and Pettigrew explain that 'the marketing system depends on categories'; products must have 'a targeted audience' and clear 'selling points that can be articulated'.<sup>66</sup> Different types of title highlight different selling points of both *Ave verum* and the choir. It is significant, therefore, that several institutional albums label *Ave verum* as music for a specific religious purpose, such as *Music for the Feast of Corpus Christi* or *Music for the Festival Year*. Only one independent recording is titled as such, *Music for Great Cathedrals*, and even this has that more remote sentiment of music in a sacred setting rather than music with a sacred

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<sup>63</sup> Hayes and Roodhouse discuss Arts Council funding from 1979-2000 in "From Missionary to Market Maker," 42-44.

<sup>64</sup> Lawrence, sleeve notes to *Byrd: Mass for Four Voices*.

<sup>65</sup> This includes both original recordings and repackaged material.

<sup>66</sup> Lathrop and Pettigrew, *Music Marketing and Promotion*, 48

function.<sup>67</sup> Similarly, concerning musical genre, more institutional albums package *Ave verum* within a broader collection of sacred music, as in *Ave verum: Favourite Parish Anthems* or *100 Best Sacred Works*. Some independent titles indicate that this is church music, but this is nearly always accompanied by another, more specific descriptor, e.g. *Masters of English Church Music* or *Sacred Music of the Renaissance*. Indeed, independent records are more commonly labelled according to the musical era, such as *The Golden Age of European Polyphony*. Again, this links their identity with a greater focus on art in a historical context, while institutional choirs are more obviously affiliated with religious aspects.<sup>68</sup> However, albums categorised under either ‘Byrd’ or ‘English’ are highly popular options all round; as I will explain, those features are universally valuable in defining the identities of many choirs in this study.

Particularly interesting are titles that reference the name of the performing ensemble. Only a handful of independent records fall into this category, yet it is very common for institutions. However, institutional titles are not so much ‘music by X choir’, but rather ‘music from X place’. In fact, only five of the twenty institutional records in this category mention a choir at all; the majority have titles such as *Anthems from Salisbury*, *Music from St. Mary’s* or *Sounds of Beverley Minster*, where only the location is mentioned. The identity of these choirs is the identity of the institution; it is the atmosphere of that immovable place that is being offered.

The frequency of albums titled in more imaginative ways steadily increased during the sample era (1970-2012), which is understandable given the growing need for distinctive marketability.<sup>69</sup> The vast majority of institutional titles that fall into this miscellaneous category evoke some sort of overtly religious sentiment: examples include *Thy Kingdom Come*, *In Paradisum*, *I Saw the Lord*, and *O Sacrament Most Holy*. Even those that are not specifically religious gesture towards church or worship, such as *Sing Joyfully*, *Let All the World* and *O Come Let Us Sing*. These titles uphold the sacred and the traditional as key features of institutional identity. Several independent ensembles have also capitalised on such qualities, but more of their titles articulate either a broader spirituality, like *The Yearning Spirit: Voices of Contemplation*, or some sort of mood, as in *Serenity* or *Relaxing Classics: The Healing Power of the Voice*. Only one institutional recording really does this: *Gregorian Chillout* from Downside Abbey Choir.

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<sup>67</sup> Though I have categorised it under the Renaissance genre primarily, there is also The Sixteen’s more spiritually ambiguous subtitle, *Renaissance: Music for Inner Peace*; I explore this kind of presentation – music for personal purpose – later in this chapter.

<sup>68</sup> Interestingly, the institutional albums that are titled purely in reference to a musical genre tend to use the term ‘Tudor’ more frequently than independents, where ‘Renaissance’ appears to be favoured.

<sup>69</sup> Yri makes a similar observation in “Remaking the Past,” 16.

Choral identities are not only reinforced by album titles, but further complemented by images on the album cover.<sup>70</sup> General observations from both case study discographies, plus a more detailed analysis of recordings from the last decade, has revealed some interesting trends. The vast majority of recent institutional albums depict either a religious scene or some part of the building. The latter option has proved most common throughout the decades; illustrations of landscape and architecture add to the representation of the institution on disc. Notable examples of this come courtesy of Priory Records. Many releases of King's College Choir follow this format and even the most modern reissues display the same classic photos of that famous building. Some recent collections from Oxbridge choirs, however, demonstrate a slightly different approach: *England My England* by King's College appears with a close up of St. George's flag; *Reflection: Choral Music from Clare College Cambridge* displays a bridge over still water; and *Agnus Dei, Volumes I & II* from New College features an ambiguous architectural design in muted colours. There is clearly a precedent for top recording college choirs to try a different direction, which resonates with their heightened artistic tendencies. Lesser known institutional choirs tend to adhere to traditional imagery even on new, original releases; albums from Portsmouth Cathedral (2010), The Palestrina Choir, Dublin (2012), and Royal Holloway (2013) are covered with photographs of the institution — the cornerstone of their identity.

Many independent album covers resemble those of institutions, with artwork that could be construed as Renaissance or sacred, or even depicting religious buildings. These themes relate closely to the repertoire; thus it is understandable why they are regularly displayed, regardless of ensemble type. Greig explains that certain architectural images can also reinforce that idea of 'scholarliness', signifying places of learning or suggesting the inclusion of historical research.<sup>71</sup> However, many independent records also make use of more abstract or unusual illustrations, especially in recent years. Examples include New York Polyphony's *Tudor City*, which pictures a section of the album lettering as a lighted sign, *Stabat Mater* by The Parson's Affayre, which has a photograph of the setting sun, and the original artwork from Voces 8's *A Choral Tapestry*, shown in Figure 6.1.<sup>72</sup> These alternative packages provide another means for choral variety to be delivered.

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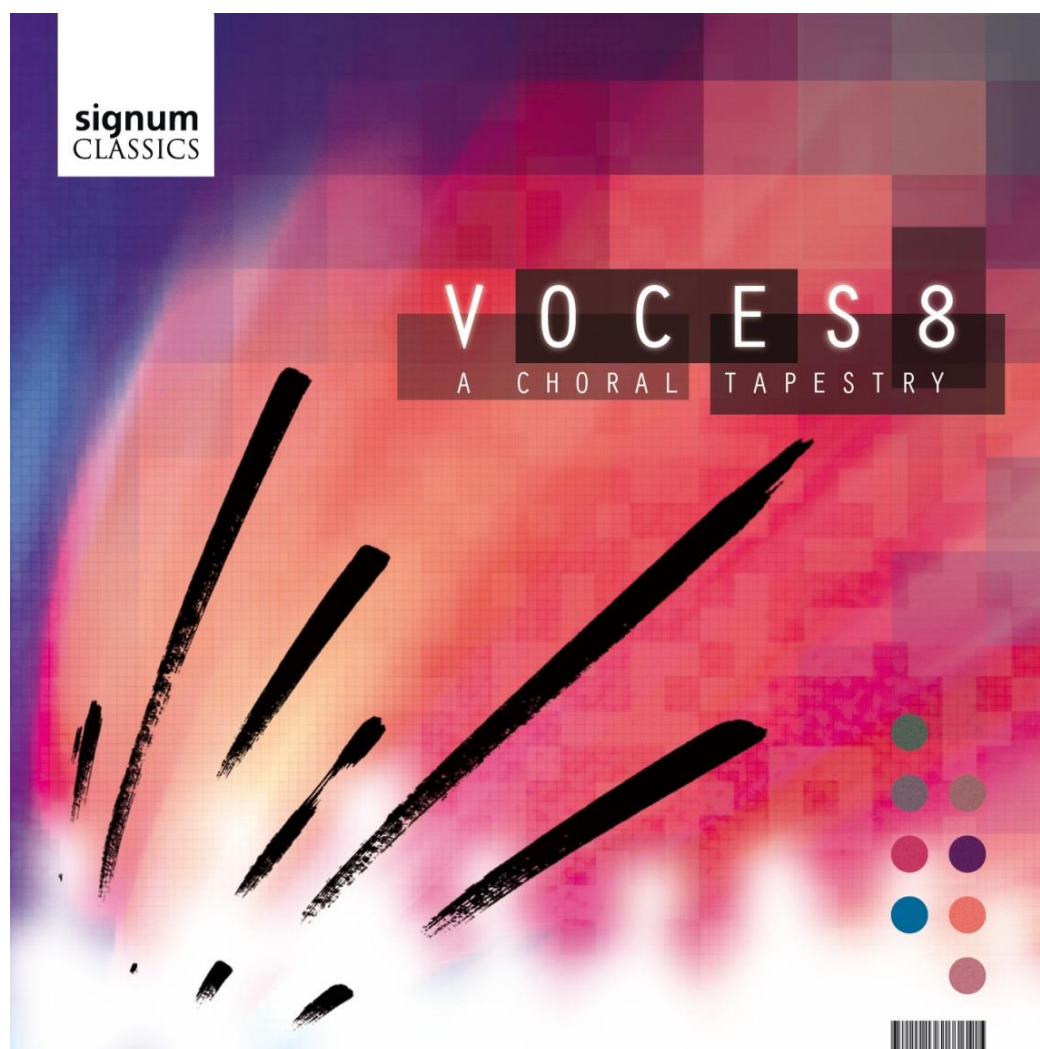
<sup>70</sup> See Symes, "Creating the Right Impression: An Iconography of Record Covers," in *Setting the Record Straight*, Chapter 4, 88-123; Day also notes how 'the LP sleeve presented a new format for designers and artists' and they would enhance different aspects 'depending on the supposed most likely audience. The same performances of the same repertory might be repackaged' for different markets; in the centre pages to *A Century* (unnumbered pages, appearing between 182-83).

<sup>71</sup> Greig, "Sight-Readings," 136.

<sup>72</sup> Reproduced by permission of the artist, Matthew Banwell at Apronym, and Signum Records.

Though ambiguous or non-specific kinds of covers remain relatively rare among institutional releases of this repertoire, the major exception to this comes when those recordings appear on compilation albums of various artists, which has become increasingly common since 2012.<sup>73</sup> David Willcocks' recordings regularly feature on such collections, repackaged under different imagery on each occasion: a photograph of a conductor's hands and baton on *EMI's Trusted Guide to Classical Music*; a large, plain font and a floating feather on *100 Relaxing Classics*; and a figure wandering into blue clouds under a white dove on *Music for the Soul*. These albums are not designed to reflect the identity of a specific choir, but to represent a wider theme, genre or atmosphere. The popularity of such offerings reveals a lot about today's market, as I will later discuss.

Figure 6.1: Album artwork (front) for *A Choral Tapestry*, Voces 8.



<sup>73</sup> 2012 being the designated cut-off date for the discographies and analysis presented in this thesis, with the exception of the present discussion.

The critical commentary that surrounds these records forms part of the cycle of inventing and perpetuating the choral identities I have presented so far. Central narratives of tradition and scholarly insight are reinforced by reviewers writing for *Gramophone* magazine in particular; such discourse appears as a response to choral sound, but it reveals more about what those writers expect and imagine choral sound to be. Page identifies that many British ‘scholar-critics’ share an Oxbridge background, which is key to understanding their desires.<sup>74</sup> This affiliation means that numerous reviewers are invested not only in the sounds of institutional choirs, but in the activities of their fellow alumni in independent ensembles.

English institutional choirs are seen to possess a very specific set of characteristics, thus the expectations on them are particularly strong. In a review of St. Paul’s Cathedral Choir, for example, Trevor Harvey demonstrated a fixed idea of ‘what a fine English cathedral choir *should be*’, repeating the phrase several times.<sup>75</sup> Many of these expectations apply to all institutional choirs, but some groups receive more intense scrutiny, especially King’s College Choir. Continually referred to as the ‘model’, ‘epitome’ and ‘benchmark’ of this practice, King’s are criticised if they display too many of their trademark characteristics — showing, for example, ‘rather too exquisite slenderness in the quality of the voices’<sup>76</sup> — but even more vehemently if they do not meet them, as evident in the following review:

‘The *King’s* Collection.’ Is it? Perhaps times have changed and this really *is* King’s. If so, too bad, because it would mean that the famous choir have renounced or subordinated the music in which they gained and exercised their great distinction. A ‘King’s collection’ without Byrd is like a Salzburg Festival without Mozart. The unaccompanied Elizabethan anthems, introits, settings and responses are ideally suited to the constitution of the choir and the nature of the building.<sup>77</sup>

Though the pedestal position of such famous choirs has placed particularly demanding expectations on them, there is often a sense that certain allowances can be made for institutional choirs, so long as they deliver on the main, desired features. I made this point in relation to ‘Agnus Dei’, where critics permitted the blurring of polyphony in favour of a sense of the building’s ‘atmosphere’. Similar compensation is made where large, Anglican choirs are at odds with the historical context of this recusant repertoire. Such choral discrepancies tend to be glossed over by all except those promoting independent alternatives. Even where they are acknowledged, there

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<sup>74</sup> Page specifically draws attention to those writing for *Early Music* and *Gramophone*, in “The English ‘A Cappella’ Renaissance,” 457-58.

<sup>75</sup> Harvey, record review, *The Gramophone* (November 1954): 263 (italics are mine).

<sup>76</sup> Howard, “Gramophone Notes,” 306.

<sup>77</sup> Steane, record review, *Gramophone* (July 1998): 80 (italics are Steane’s).

are qualifications such as: ‘if you like your Byrd Masses to sound as they do at a cathedral service, this is the one for you’ and ‘traditionally-inclined listeners may find the familiar St. John’s sound more to their liking’.<sup>78</sup> In her comparison of two female *a cappella* ensembles, Kirsten Yri observes that ‘certain shared aural features’ — those that are culturally emblematic of the desired identity — ‘are privileged in the reviewers’ ears to the point where they flatten out distinctions between the groups’.<sup>79</sup> The same often occurs with institutional recordings in this study: reviewers focus on vocal and acoustic features that conform to their vision of what an institutional choir ‘should be’. Incongruity, difference and change are smoothed over in favour of upholding the ‘traditional’ image, which is one of continuity.

The institutional building is key here. Ideas about the fabled ‘cathedral choir sound’ hinge not only on notions of ethereal purity and blend, but how these qualities take effect within a specific space. Much has been written about this in relation to the choir and chapel of King’s College, as S. J. Webb notes: ‘the two combined make a unique fusion of sound and stone’.<sup>80</sup> Many reviewers attend to institutional choirs’ effectiveness of tone in relation to the surrounding structures: for example, Salisbury Cathedral Choir were said to have ‘a most appealing quality which matches the character of the building itself’.<sup>81</sup> Again, the interest is not just in hearing institutional choirs, but hearing them *in situ*. This dates back to the appeal of the *Anthology of English Church Music*, which provided ‘recordings of great value and beauty, which also capture the atmosphere of the cathedrals and chapels in which they have been recorded’.<sup>82</sup> This continues to be a powerful measure of value in institutional recorded sound; indeed, Chapters 3 and 4 contained several examples of commentators desiring to hear the effects of a choir’s ‘home’ acoustic on disc. When coupled with familiar sonic tropes, this invites comments such as: ‘if you like the chaste beauty of the English cathedral tradition, as I do, you will warm to this recital in the atmospheric acoustic of Hereford Cathedral’, as expressed by Andrew Clark.<sup>83</sup> Emphasising the cathedral or chapel not only provides focus for some form of institutional ‘authenticity’, but for that important illusion of continuity; it is a vital anchor through which critics attempt to validate discussion of a ‘choral tradition’.

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<sup>78</sup> Knighton notes this despite ‘patchy’ balance and ‘over-resonant’ acoustic, in record review, *Gramophone* (December 1990): 1244; Stephen Johnson, record review, *Gramophone* (October 1987): 571.

<sup>79</sup> The ‘aural features’ to which Yri refers are actually very similar to those highlighted in this thesis — high voices, reduced vibrato and audible resonance — and she also identifies these as markers ‘for the spiritual and ethereal’, in “Remaking the Past,” 4.

<sup>80</sup> Webb, “David Willcocks,” *The Gramophone* (September 1966): 148.

<sup>81</sup> Reynolds, record review, *Gramophone* (September 1987): 474.

<sup>82</sup> Robertson, record review, *The Gramophone* (May 1950): 227.

<sup>83</sup> Andrew Clark, *Financial Times*; as found in relation to the album *Howells from Hereford* in “Critical Praise for Hereford Cathedral Choir’s Latest Recording,” Hereford Cathedral, accessed September 2015, <http://www.herefordcathedral.org/music/Hereford%20Howells%20CD%20press%20comments.pdf>.



It is less easy to define the expectations of independent ensembles as a singular category, given that their identities and styles are more varied. However, it often seems that what is desired of their performance is closely allied to what is desired of the music, with some assurance of academic rigour or insight. Milsom, for example, said that: 'one longs for more choice, for interpretations that are truly "framed to the life of the words"'.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, there has been a sense that the interpretative criteria for independent ensembles are more stringent. Professional ensembles are especially exposed to lingering expectations of perfection and even 'historical authenticity', which reciprocates identities of superior musicianship and that image of the scholar. These themes are evident in the following review:

During [the past] 25 years, under the remarkable direction of Harry Christophers, The Sixteen have never done anything which isn't totally compelling in its musicianship and technical assurance; that they have achieved remarkable consistency of tone, control, artistry and musical insight is amply demonstrated...<sup>85</sup>

The reviewer's focus on Christophers is also important. The identity of many larger independent choirs is highly dependent on the artistic identity of the director; The Sixteen and Harry Christophers provide arguably the most prominent example of this.<sup>86</sup> Cullingford treads familiar ground when he remarks that The Sixteen's 'consistent musical excellence' and success are underpinned by 'the infectious enthusiasm of Christophers' and his 'skill in breathing vivid life into the choral repertoire'.<sup>87</sup> This is concurrent with my arguments about how individual directors have contributed greater variety to the independent category. However, the eminence of directors such as Christophers and Peter Phillips, in particular, is also vital in maintaining the identity of their respective ensembles even as the singers circulate and change; these individuals have provided The Sixteen and The Tallis Scholars with a longevity that might also invite the term 'institution'.

This, however, brings up the first of two potential conflicts regarding the critical expectations of independent recordings. Ensemble longevity is valued, yet there is also emphasis on their ability to present something innovative. Should these groups aim to maintain a familiar approach, then, or continually adapt their style? Balance seems to be key; the fact that The Monteverdi Choir achieve both a 'chameleon-like capacity *and* an instantly recognisable "core"

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<sup>84</sup> Milsom, "Byrd on Record," 447.

<sup>85</sup> Marc Rochester, record review, *Gramophone* (December 2004): 109.

<sup>86</sup> This again links to the marketing tactics that Greig noted, 'which focus on an individual — the conductor', in "Sight-Readings," 135.

<sup>87</sup> Cullingford, "Pilgrim's Progress," 29.

sound' is perhaps why they were recognised as *Gramophone's* 'greatest choir'.<sup>88</sup> While there is a need for distinguishable artistic individuality in independent ensembles, Page observes that critics have also 'scorned the triviality and self-indulgence that can so easily spring from this subjectivism'.<sup>89</sup> This highlights the second tension in critical discourse: the admiration of individual personality against the desire to let the music 'speak for itself'. In some respects, Christophers and Phillips represent opposite sides of the coin. The former is often said to inject personality into performance, whereas Phillips claims to put the 'spotlight...squarely on the music'.<sup>90</sup> Many reviewers have reciprocated this notion, as demonstrated in Reynolds' statement that 'The Tallis Scholars let the composer's phrases flow through them and there is no trace of self-consciousness, no advertising some new-found authenticity'.<sup>91</sup> It is well-known, however, that this subordination of personality invites praise and criticism in equal measure.<sup>92</sup>

The expectations and biases that prevail in the commentary on UK independent and institutional recordings can be summarised in reference to Page's central argument about the 'scholar-critics' of early music. They share an Oxbridge background and have 'encouraged an approach to early-music performance that reflects the priorities of their academic training'.<sup>93</sup> From independent performance, critics want evidence that the knowledge, studiousness and musicianship of their formative years has been upheld. For the institutions, to whom 'they owe a sentimental and intellectual allegiance', there is a strong desire to hear the choirs as they expect them and as they *left* them; disciplined, emblematic and constant.<sup>94</sup> Much of the work in crafting the value of tradition centres on institutional choirs but, with such clear links to that practice, independent ensembles seemingly embody that tradition also.

Throughout this thesis, it has been clear that the 'choral tradition' so often referenced is specifically an '*English* choral tradition' (though the term 'British' is often used synonymously).<sup>95</sup> The work of Tudor composers has been described as 'a peculiarly English art', with pieces that 'breathe the very spirit of England', thus my focus on William Byrd has naturally drawn more English groups into this investigation.<sup>96</sup> Though there are significant differences between institutional and independent choirs, Englishness is a key facet of identity that cuts across both categories; in this respect, UK choirs form part of the same cultural entity as suggested in Chapter

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<sup>88</sup> Freeman-Attwood, "The 20 Greatest Choirs," 43 (italics are mine).

<sup>89</sup> We should recognise that such views might be symptomatic of the time in which Page was writing (1993), in "The English 'A Cappella' Renaissance," 468.

<sup>90</sup> Phillips, "Reclaiming Crossover," 88.

<sup>91</sup> Reynolds, record review, *Gramophone* (March 1986): 1183.

<sup>92</sup> Day discusses this in *A Century*, 170-71.

<sup>93</sup> Page, "The English 'A Cappella' Renaissance," 459.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 458.

<sup>95</sup> Refer to the Preface of this thesis for explanation and reference on the elision of the terms 'English' and 'British'.

<sup>96</sup> Webb, "David Willcocks," 148; Barnes, correspondence, *The Gramophone* (June 1950): 20.

1. I explore national identity as wider construct below, but here consider how these choirs have been styled as part of an English tradition.

The importance of nation is especially emphasised in relation to institutional choirs. National qualities are endorsed with equal vigour as the value of tradition in their promotional material. The Winchester Cathedral website has a whole page devoted to 'Our Choral Tradition', where visitors are informed that:

Today's choral services represent a unique tradition upheld by Britain's historic cathedrals – a glorious heritage of church music that is one of the nation's greatest cultural treasures.<sup>97</sup>

The previous webpage specifies that these choral services are 'sung in the unique English style'.<sup>98</sup> Indeed, it is not just institutional choral practice that is touted as intrinsically English, but that 'archetypal English sound' you could hear 'if you stepped inside almost any Anglican cathedral up and down the country', according to Tess Knighton.<sup>99</sup> In the sleeve notes to *England My England*, the 'quintessentially English sound' as demonstrated by King's College Choir is described as 'evocative of immemorial sandstone, of cool cloisters, of evensong in church, chapel and cathedral' and this is said to be particularly appropriate for Byrd's music.<sup>100</sup> There is the familiar irony of Anglican choirs being so closely associated with the music of recusant Catholics, yet the enduring perception is that this is 'the stuff of which the English cathedral tradition is made'.<sup>101</sup>

The emphasis on Englishness that extends to independent ensembles is, in part, a recognition of their institutional backgrounds. Steane notes how these singers 'must have worked together so often that they express and form a national culture in singing', citing not only their collaborative work as professional ensembles, but the fact that 'the nucleus of these' are singers with roots in British institutional choirs.<sup>102</sup> What is particularly important, however, is that nationality remains a potent and valuable feature of their identity even when they move away from the institutional sphere. Furthermore, they carry the same national repertoire with them. Knighton made this point in relation to Byrd's Masses, those 'old friends' sung in both institutional and independent practice, and it is worth considering her full comments here:

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<sup>97</sup> "Our Choral Tradition," Winchester Cathedral, accessed August 2015, <http://www.winchester-cathedral.org.uk/worship-and-music/music-choir/our-choral-tradition/>.

<sup>98</sup> "Music and Choir," Winchester Cathedral, accessed August 2015, <http://www.winchester-cathedral.org.uk/worship-and-music/music-choir/>.

<sup>99</sup> Knighton, record review, *Gramophone* (December 1990): 1243.

<sup>100</sup> Sleeve notes to *England My England*, King's College Choir, Cambridge, EMI Classics 2289440 (2009); Milsom even writes of 'stalwarts abroad who would claim that Byrd's masses *only* sound right when sung by the choir of King's College, Cambridge', in record review, *Gramophone* (March 1985): 1106.

<sup>101</sup> Webb, record review, *Gramophone* (June 1971): 80.

<sup>102</sup> Steane, *The Grand Tradition*, 527.

Given these longstanding associations — as peculiarly English as the crack of leather on willow or crustless cucumber sandwiches — it is not surprising perhaps that recordings of these works — by British groups at least — sound curiously the same. This clearly has something to do with the inherent sound-quality of an English choir, trained in all probability by one of those brought up in the chorister tradition, but there is also a shared coolness of approach that enhances the abstract qualities of the music so that it is somehow as pure, as reserved, as untouchable as light filtered through stained glass.<sup>103</sup>

The clichéd imagery of this passage certainly needs unpacking, but my findings support Knighton's underlying assessment to a certain extent: independent recordings tend to vary through subtle nuance, often contain traces of institutional lineage, and the most alternative readings and sound worlds are likely to come from choirs outside the UK. Knighton's comments arise from a comparison with the Dutch Quink Ensemble, who provided unique interpretations quite unlike any British group. A reviewer of The Gents' *Ave verum* recording similarly noted that the 'characteristic of the Dutch or Flemish sound is a depth, richness and full-throated...sonority', describing their voices as 'noticeably un-English', which demonstrates the strength of feeling regarding notions of national style.<sup>104</sup>

As demonstrated above, the sound of many UK groups is continually conceptualised according to romanticised ideas of Englishness. This is evident not only through Knighton's imagery of cricket and high tea, but with descriptors such as 'reserved' and 'cool', which were also referenced in the notes to *England My England*. The insinuation that the English vocal style is reticent or straight-laced parallels wider national stereotypes of English conservatism.<sup>105</sup> Various writers have made this link: Day explains that the early twentieth-century 'English cathedral style was certainly shaped by a characteristically English predilection for understatement and for self-control' and Alec Robertson spoke of 'the refined tone and gentlemanly reserve of our cathedral choirs'.<sup>106</sup> The boy treble is often seen to epitomise this Englishness in sound, 'typified by his virtue, chastity, and control', according to Clare Hall.<sup>107</sup> However, such characterisations are by no means limited to institutional choirs: a recent reviewer of the independent Voces 8 described

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<sup>103</sup> Knighton, record review, *Gramophone* (September 1990): 586.

<sup>104</sup> Interestingly, the reviewer also detects 'a certain diffidence, almost as though the singers were conscious of stepping onto someone else's patch' by singing Byrd, in Fitch, record review, *Gramophone* (April 2003): 82.

<sup>105</sup> Blake explores the theme of conservatism and British musical identity at length in Chapter 1 of *The Land Without Music*.

<sup>106</sup> Day, "English Cathedral Choirs," 126; Robertson, record review, *The Gramophone* (June 1950): 9; Page argues that these qualities are specifically Anglican, in "The English 'A Cappella' Renaissance," 454.

<sup>107</sup> Clare Hall, "Voices of Distinction: Choirboys' Narratives of Music, Masculinity and the Middle-Class" (PhD diss., Monash University, 2011), 37.

their ‘very fine sense of line and pure tone — all rather cool and very English’, which ‘works well for the Byrd’.<sup>108</sup> Here again is what Page called the ‘English discovery theory’: the belief that the English vocality, pure and clear, is a perfect match for Renaissance polyphony.<sup>109</sup> It is interesting that these conceptions persist despite recent developments towards more sonic variety in independent recordings.

Other characteristics emphasised in British choral singing are impeccable standards and a sense of superiority. This began as skill levels improved early in the twentieth century; Sir Richard Terry argued that ‘the best boys’ singing in the world is to be found in the English cathedrals’ and, in 1950, another commentator claimed that English institutional choirs were ‘still without equal in the world — the singing by Continental choirs sounds crude by comparison’.<sup>110</sup> These assertions are frequently related to the regular and rigorous practice of institutional choirs, attributes that remain a badge of honour today. On Ely Cathedral’s website, for example, the English choral tradition is said to be ‘universally admired for the high standards promoted by the daily schedule of worship and associated rehearsal’, while websites for both Winchester and Liverpool cathedrals claim that this practice is ‘the envy of the whole world’.<sup>111</sup> With shared roots in this training, the same notions are often carried through into the UK independent sphere, as Potter observes:

...the English style of singing early music is imitated all over the northern hemisphere. This position of authority has been achieved with the minimum change to the techniques that the singers learned to gain their scholarships.<sup>112</sup>

Considering the mechanics of this authority alongside Knighton’s imagery illuminates what has been evident all along: these choral sounds evoke not just a nation or a tradition, but also a class. Many UK recordings represent a joint endeavour between members of a specific social elite; they are the product of privilege and thus embody a middle-class identity along multiple planes.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Robert Hugill, “Review: A Choral Tapestry,” Music Web International, accessed September 2015, [http://www.musicweb-international.com/classrev/2012/May12/Choral\\_Tapestry\\_SIGCD283.htm](http://www.musicweb-international.com/classrev/2012/May12/Choral_Tapestry_SIGCD283.htm).

<sup>109</sup> Page, “The English ‘A Cappella’ Renaissance,” 454.

<sup>110</sup> Terry added that ‘there are many things we might learn from the Continent and America, but choir-boy training is not one of them’, in “Why is Church Music So Bad?” in *A Forgotten Psalter and Other Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929), 105; as found in Day, “Sir Richard Terry,” 302; Barnes, correspondence, *The Gramophone* (June 1950): 20.

<sup>111</sup> “Choir Tours,” Ely Cathedral, accessed July 2015, <http://www.elycathedral.org/music/ely-cathedral-choir/choir-tours>; “Our Choral Tradition,” Winchester Cathedral; “Music,” Liverpool Cathedral, accessed October 2012, <http://liverpoolcathedral.temp.glow-internet.com/about/music.aspx>.

<sup>112</sup> Potter, *Vocal Authority*, 116.

<sup>113</sup> In making this argument, I am particularly aligned with the ideas that Page presents in “The English ‘A Cappella’ Renaissance”; though Greig subsequently refuted the notion that English choral institutions were solely responsible for that ‘Renaissance’, the dominance of such establishments in the data for this thesis justifies adopting Page’s position here, see “Sight-Readings,” 126.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this is the schooling of the performers and directors. Page observed that ‘the same Oxbridge colleges figure over and over again in the biographies’ of early music practitioners; the evidence I have amassed in Appendix A.2 certainly supports this claim. Well over half of all the individuals I surveyed are known to have received some form of Oxbridge training and the figure rises to over seventy percent when looking at institutional directors alone.<sup>114</sup> Of the independent performers who share this association, nearly a third have come through King’s College, Cambridge, specifically. Though my research did not focus on earlier education, I found references to public schools such as Rugby, Winchester, Harrow and Eton; the Sutton Trust lists these among the top ten establishments for producing the UK’s professional elite.<sup>115</sup> Hall has discovered that a middle-class upbringing is central to why certain boys are attracted to choral singing.<sup>116</sup> Boys from such backgrounds are far more exposed to the idea that singing — and the alternative masculinity it embodies — can be a powerful source of social and cultural capital, providing them with a valuable distinction from other boys.<sup>117</sup> Day similarly observes that, not only do choristers and choral scholars at King’s College share the same economic background, recruitment from the most prestigious public schools has actually increased in recent decades, and while seventy-five percent of students at the college are now from the state sector, ‘public schools have continued to fill nearly all the choral scholarships’.<sup>118</sup> The cyclic nature of this privilege within the choral world is evident in both Day and Hall’s discussions: Day describes Ord as being ‘moulded by the same cultural forces’ as his singers — he and Willcocks attended the same school — while Hall explains how directors go about ‘educating eminence’ through a ‘pedagogy of virtuosity’ that aims to reproduce itself.<sup>119</sup>

It is not just the singers’ biographies that reveal a class, but also their vocal style. As outlined in Chapter 3, Potter highlights that ‘early music is generally sung in RP, an accent that

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<sup>114</sup> This draws specifically from the data in the ‘Table of Place Associations’ in Appendix A.2.2; for those who did not receive an Oxbridge education, my research reveals frequent reference to several other leading establishments, such as: Trinity College, London, the Royal College of Music, the Royal Academy of Music, and Guildhall School of Music and Drama; these could be considered as the ‘other educations and trainings’ that Greig encourages us to take account of, in “Sight-Readings,” 126.

<sup>115</sup> “Ten Private Schools Produce a Tenth of the Country’s Elite,” The Sutton Trust, added November 20, 2012, accessed April 2016, <http://www.suttontrust.com/newsarchive/ten-private-schools-produce-tenth-countrys-elite>; numerous other schools that appear in Appendix A also feature on the webpage “The Top 40 Most Expensive HMC Boarding Fees,” Private School Fees, accessed April 2016, <http://www.privateschoolfees.co.uk/top-40-most-expensive-hmc-boarding-fees.html>; further research into the formative education of these singers and directors would undoubtedly be a fruitful line of enquiry for future studies.

<sup>116</sup> Hall, “Voices of Distinction,” 6, 213, 218; Hall’s research was based in Australia, but she presents that choral world as being based on the British institutional system and heavily influenced by its ideals.

<sup>117</sup> This summarises Hall’s main thesis, which she constructs in line with Bourdieusian theories on the construction and reproduction of class-based power, *ibid.*; see also, Martin Ashley, *How High Should Boys Sing?: Gender, Authenticity and Credibility in the Young Male Voice* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

<sup>118</sup> Day, “The Most Famous Choir in the World,” 361-62.

<sup>119</sup> Day, *ibid.*, 350, 352; Hall, “Voices of Distinction,” 184-88.

does have class implications'.<sup>120</sup> He promotes the exploration of other vernacular approaches, but says that vocal ensembles 'appear reluctant' to change because early music occupies an elite status that is 'dependent on [it] being perceived as "excellent" and restrained'. Melanie Marshall has also shown that the much constructed 'purity' of English voices is highly evocative of a 'middle-class whiteness', tracing the genesis of this to Anglican choral institutions.<sup>121</sup> When reviewed in conjunction with Hall's proposal that the high male voice has particular 'cultural distinction' and power, we see that many of the qualities so prized of the English choral style — purity, refinement, high standards, boys' voices — could also be construed as sonic indicators of elite superiority.<sup>122</sup>

The production and packaging of these sounds on record also reveal strong middle-class associations. It is clear through *Gramophone's* 'Session Reports' that many producers of choral recordings belong to the same circles as the performers and directors. Gill writes of 'a very Oxbridge atmosphere' during a recording of Francis Pott's compositions, which was shared by producer Adrian Peacock, while Lawrence discovers that Andrew Carwood and producer Freeman-Attwood 'go back a long way, having been fellow postgraduates at Christ Church, Oxford'.<sup>123</sup> This casts new light on the close collaboration described in Chapter 3 and the manufacture of sound worlds that enhance the desirable yet implicitly classed qualities of English choral style.<sup>124</sup> Such enhancement is especially apparent when considering the imagery surrounding these recordings. The image of the scholar that Greig identified clearly insinuates elite education and Martin Ashely asserts that pictures of robed choirboys 'scream elite establishment from the rooftops in the most brazen manner imaginable'.<sup>125</sup> In describing an album by Trinity College Choir, Page also notes that the image of the building and the title, *Glorious Trinity*, 'together imply that the voices of the choir are a sound-portrait of the wealthiest college in Cambridge'.<sup>126</sup> Similar could apply to many albums in this study. The titles alone exalt the values of these choirs and their music, for example: *The Glorious Renaissance* by Wells Cathedral Choir, *Exultate Deo: Masterpieces of Sacred Polyphony* by Westminster Cathedral Choir,

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<sup>120</sup> Potter, *Vocal Authority*, 120-21; Page makes the same assessment in "The English 'A Cappella' Renaissance," 457; as does Ashley in *How High Should Boys Sing*, 15.

<sup>121</sup> Marshall, "Voce Bianca."

<sup>122</sup> Hall, "Voices of Distinction," 55.

<sup>123</sup> Gill, "Session Report: Commotio," 16; Lawrence, "Another Master's Musick," 46; Mark Brown also remarked that 'one is among friends' when working with The Sixteen, in Quantrill, "Session Report: The Sixteen," 18.

<sup>124</sup> For institutional recordings especially, the intention for sound worlds is akin to Zagorski-Thomas' idea of 'functional staging', that is 'maintaining the appropriate sonic qualities of what is perceived to be an appropriate listening/engaging environment', in Zagorski-Thomas, "The Stadium in Your Bedroom," 263.

<sup>125</sup> Greig, "Sight-Readings," 136; Ashley, *How High Should Boys Sing*, 14; Hall also makes frequent links between intellectualism, its associated imagery, and class, in "Voices of Distinction."

<sup>126</sup> Page, "The English 'A Cappella' Renaissance," 458.

and *Great Choral Classics from King's*.<sup>127</sup> Such labels reinforce these recordings as high-status products.

Page's argument suggests that the circle of privilege around these recordings is upheld by a 'forum' of Oxbridge scholars and critics.<sup>128</sup> From the 1970s, this forum directed and perpetuated a set of aesthetics that idealised a specific kind of English vocality and marginalised others.<sup>129</sup> Thus, Renaissance repertoire is reserved for a particular style of singing that is born of a particular class of training. Indeed, Hall shows that a choirboy is 'proud to be a member of an elite musical tradition and the purveyor of a repertoire restricted to an educated few'.<sup>130</sup> The 'English choral tradition' is, in many ways, a tradition of elite education and privilege; it is a classed choral tradition.

This section has shown that numerous agents have invented and maintained an 'English choral tradition'. They have styled a particular vocality as emblematic of that tradition, despite evidence that such sounds emerged during the twentieth century bearing the same qualities of precision and purity that characterise modern aesthetics.<sup>131</sup> How has this sound been constructed as traditional? Much as Eric Hobsbawm suggests, this tradition has been invented by establishing 'continuity with a suitable historic past', anchoring novelty to 'old materials' provided, in this case, by musical artefacts and the church.<sup>132</sup> Byrd's pieces 'have remained in the repertoire from their composition until the present day', according to Potter.<sup>133</sup> This and the knowledge that singing in some form has occurred in many English institutions for centuries has been conflated with modern choral sounds and practices, so that they too can be claimed as traditional.<sup>134</sup> Perhaps most important, however, is the church building itself. As Greig explains, the focus on 'old buildings' provides an indication 'that the past is at work in the present'.<sup>135</sup> This is central to institutional identity in particular; the building is foregrounded in the descriptions, imagery, and recorded sound worlds of institutional choirs. By cementing their practice to the heritage of the

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<sup>127</sup> See Appendix D.

<sup>128</sup> Page, "The English 'A Cappella' Renaissance."

<sup>129</sup> Page, *ibid.*, 459; Potter also suggests that those who did not demonstrate the Oxbridge sound were 'marginalised', in *Vocal Authority*, 116.

<sup>130</sup> Hall, "Voices of Distinction," 187.

<sup>131</sup> This has clear parallels to Taruskin's argument in "The Modern Sound of Early Music," in *Text and Act*, 164-72; Day also makes the link between the English style of singing that developed and twentieth-century aesthetics, in "The Most Famous Choir in the World," 350, 355; as does Greig in "Sight-Readings," 143; for further exploration of invented traditions in music, see Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

<sup>132</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, "Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1,5,7.

<sup>133</sup> Potter, *Vocal Authority*, 113.

<sup>134</sup> Another example commonly given here is the *Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols* at King's, which Day shows was described as broadcasting tradition almost from the outset, in "The Most Famous Choir in the World," 347; Hobsbawm also uses that festival as his first example in "Inventing Traditions," 1.

<sup>135</sup> Greig, "Sight-Readings," 136.



building, institutional choirs and styles can appear as ancient as the stone structures around them. The musicians' identities are subordinated within these seemingly immutable frameworks, ensuring an overriding continuity that upholds the illusion of tradition.

Hobsbawm also states that 'the object and characteristic of "traditions" is invariance'.<sup>136</sup> Thus, the similarity that exists between institutional recordings — and the audible lineage of many independent ensembles — can bolster the idea that they present something traditional. Indeed, when reviewing Worcester Cathedral Choir's recording, Michael Greenhalgh purported that what 'comes across powerfully is the sense of tradition because of the location, forces and manner of performance'.<sup>137</sup> The three elements that Greenhalgh pinpoints as sonic indicators of tradition are ones that I found to be prime sites of similarity; here similarity is repackaged as tradition. Record companies, promoters, critics and broadcasters orchestrate the narratives by which these choral sounds are experienced and understood as traditional.<sup>138</sup> They readily submerge the differences that exist in reality, thus maintaining expectations of stability. This extends to the exclusion of female bodies; not only are girl choristers absent from institutional recordings and imagery, but independent vocalists are encouraged to adopt a purity that transcends their sexual difference.<sup>139</sup> As John Butt explains, 'the successful illusion of authenticity is often far more important than objective accuracy'; this certainly seems to apply to the 'English choral tradition'.<sup>140</sup>

Byrd recordings encapsulate this tradition. They can be positioned as products within the 'culture of "Heritage" and preservationism' that Butt explores in *Playing With History*.<sup>141</sup> Indeed, Butt agrees that 'the surviving indigenous choral tradition' was 'easily recyclable as part of the national heritage'.<sup>142</sup> The critiques of the 'heritage industry' that Butt outlines — that it is 'crass commercialisation' of history, or that it is 'a form of sloppy and deceitful history' — could be

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<sup>136</sup> Hobsbawm, "Inventing Traditions," 2.

<sup>137</sup> Stevenson, "New College Choir: Biography," All Music, accessed June 2014, <http://www.allmusic.com/artist/new-college-choir-oxford-mn0002183068/biography>; Michael Greenhalgh, "Review: Great Tudor Anthems," Music Web International, accessed October 2012, [http://www.musicweb-international.com/classrev/2007/Feb07/Great\\_tudor\\_gccd4053.html](http://www.musicweb-international.com/classrev/2007/Feb07/Great_tudor_gccd4053.html).

<sup>138</sup> Rebecca Frost demonstrates that the BBC was highly influential in promoting the choral tradition as part of England's 'national heritage', in Frost, "English Cathedral Music and the BBC, 1922 to 1939," (PhD diss., King's College, London, 2011).

<sup>139</sup> The absence of girl choristers applies to all recordings in this study and is a prime area for further research; the link between vocal purity and 'sexual neutrality' is explored by Greig in "Sight-Readings," 141-43; it is followed up by Marshall in "Voce Bianca," 42; and Yri in "Remaking the Past," 8-9.

<sup>140</sup> John Butt, *Playing With History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 181.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., xiii; for further on heritage in the UK, see Arnold Whittall, "British Music in the Modern World," in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, Volume 6: The Twentieth Century*, ed. Stephen Banfield (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995); and Blake, *The Land Without Music*; outside musicology, Peter Mandler addresses the 'heritage debate' in *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 233.

<sup>142</sup> Butt, *ibid.*, 180.

applied to the choral tradition as represented on record.<sup>143</sup> As the titles show, Byrd's music has been canonised in several commercial forms: as a 'beautiful British classic', a 'favourite parish anthem', a 'mystery of the Renaissance', and as 'popular choral music'.<sup>144</sup> Other albums reveal how these Catholic works have been appropriated as a mainstay of the English Church: *Four Centuries of English Cathedral Music* by Liverpool Cathedral Choir concocts the impression of both Englishness and longevity. Institutional recordings especially tap into the 'living history' movement and notions of preservation that Butt delineates.<sup>145</sup> They are crafted and claimed to capture the choral tradition in action from within its ancient spaces, advertised under headings such as 'Preserving a National Heritage', and reviewed as keeping 'the unique English cathedral tradition alive and healthy'.<sup>146</sup> The undercurrent to this is that many Byrd recordings also turn 'the memories and dreams of a social class into sound', to borrow Page's description; preserving a tradition on record also means preserving a class.

There is, however, a piece of this puzzle yet to examine: paying listeners. Butt suggests that consumers — 'the people' — are not only 'aware of the deception' in the heritage industry, they are 'complicit'.<sup>147</sup> Traditions are often invented to fulfil a cultural need, according to Hobsbawm, leading Taruskin to state that: 'what is needed...is an account not only of the persuaders but of the persuaded'.<sup>148</sup> The 'persuaded' are my focus in the final portion of this chapter.

### 6.3 Using Choral Identities

The identities explored above are not just embodied on record, they are available to own. In this section, I consider why those constructed qualities might be so attractive in contemporary society, positioning listeners as consumers and recorded performances as commodities. This particular commodity — choral performances of Byrd's sacred music — continues to grow in popularity at the time of writing. Not only has the reissue of old recordings increased, there has also been a sharp rise in the number of new recordings of these extensively covered pieces.<sup>149</sup> These recordings clearly offer something that is in high demand. Furthermore, the growing

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 183, 185.

<sup>144</sup> See Appendix D; Blake has explored how values of tradition and heritage were commercialised as a way to promote classical music, in *The Music Business* (London: Batsford, 1992), 96; see also, Cyril Ehrlich, "The Marketplace," in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, Vol. 6*, 52.

<sup>145</sup> Butt, *Playing With History*, 179-80.

<sup>146</sup> Rochester Cathedral Choir's recording of 'Agnus Dei' was listed under this heading in *Gramophone* (November 1984): 656; Webb, record review, *Gramophone* (March 1971): 1504.

<sup>147</sup> Butt, *Playing With History*, 194, 197-98.

<sup>148</sup> Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914," in *The Invention of Tradition*, 307; Taruskin, "Tradition and Authority," in *Text and Act*, 197.

<sup>149</sup> This is based on the extrapolated data from the 2010-2014 section of the discographies, as included in Chapter 2.5.1; this includes original recordings of *Ave verum corpus* by the choirs of Clare College, Cambridge and Westminster Cathedral in 2014.

market for recordings in the twentieth century has irreversibly changed what they have come to represent.<sup>150</sup> Instead of just receiving preselected artefacts from higher powers, listeners have increasingly taken charge of constructing their own musical experiences from a vast range of possibilities, managing music for personal use.<sup>151</sup>

Theorising music as a resource for use by listeners is a rapidly expanding topic. In particular, Tia DeNora's conceptualisation of this field in *Music in Everyday Life* forms a key point of reference for my ideas. She aims to show how 'music's materials provide resources that can be harnessed in and for imagination, awareness, consciousness, action, for all manner of social formation'; in short, music 'provides affordances — for world building'.<sup>152</sup> The basic concept is not new; Jacques Attali argued that recordings offer the possibility of 'stockpiling' 'coded noise with a specific ritual function, or use-time', but lamented that music could 'insinuate itself into the everyday world and cease to be an exceptional event'.<sup>153</sup> Indeed, we are now more likely to hear (use) music in conjunction with other activities — watching, driving, socialising — than we are to just sit and listen. As Andrew Blake suggests, 'it is likely that the late twentieth century is witnessing the death of music as an autonomous, abstract entity'.<sup>154</sup> Again, the main aversion linked to recordings is the loss of music's uniqueness. However, Cook points out that 'ritual, religious, and easy-listening music' was always intended to accompany other experiences; 'audibility, in short, is not everything in music'.<sup>155</sup> Yet there remains concern about music being appropriated in vastly different contexts than those for which it was intended.<sup>156</sup> Jeremy Summerly, for example, seems bewildered that 'listening to music at thirty thousand feet, or while buying apples, or while swimming, is considered not just normal, but positively desirable'.<sup>157</sup> The use of music in these self-serving contexts — which Summerly describes as 'magical' but also 'deeply inauthentic' — is an accepted feature of modern listening habits.

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<sup>150</sup> This is the basis for Clarke's essay, "The Impact of Recording," 68; it also echoes Benjamin's argument in "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction."

<sup>151</sup> Ehrlich explains how the music industry began with an ethos of wanting to improve musical tastes, but developments in the late 1960s led to more responsive or populist motivations, in "The Marketplace," 39; this is similar to Roche's assessment of the role of the BBC, in "Early Music and the BBC, 1: World War II to 1957," *The Musical Times* 120 (1979); and "Early Music and the BBC, 2: 1957 to Date," *The Musical Times* 120 (1979).

<sup>152</sup> Tia DeNora, *Music in Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 24, 43; Clarke concurs with this idea, suggesting that recordings can be understood much more positively 'as a resource rather than a prescription or dogma', in "The Impact of Recording," 65.

<sup>153</sup> Attali, *Noise*, 84, 112, 20.

<sup>154</sup> Blake, *The Land Without Music*, 6.

<sup>155</sup> Cook, *Music, Imagination and Culture*, 8.

<sup>156</sup> Frith describes this as the postmodern concern that 'we live in an age of plunder', extracting music for our own needs, in "Music and Identity," in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: Sage, 1996), 109.

<sup>157</sup> Summerly, sleeve notes to *Artist's Profile Series: Jeremy Summerly*.

The market has responded to this with countless compilation albums offering 'Music for' a range of situations. Blake observes that classical music charts are 'usually dominated by mood-music collections' and similar trends were evident in the Byrd discographies.<sup>158</sup> A key example is Warner Classics' *100 Best* series, including *100 Best British Classics*, *100 Best Wedding* and *100 Best Sacred Works*. Each of these album covers features a large title on a plain white background, with just one small picture that represents its use: the union flag, two wedding bands, an angel cradling a crucifix. The music on each disc is consolidated under one label and symbol in a functional, minimalist package. There has been unease about the production of compilation albums, even when they are original conceptions. Criticism has been levelled at both Christophers' *Renaissance: Music for Inner Peace*, and Higginbottom's *Agnus Dei* volumes (*Music of Inner Harmony* and *Music to Soothe the Soul*), which 'some called...a dumbing down, some saw it as a compromise with market forces'.<sup>159</sup> Defending his choice, Higginbottom argued that 'compilations correspond to the way people actually use the CD format to create a varied listening experience', but also divulged the cultural risks of catering for specific uses:

Compilations provide a commodity within the market, tapping into certain types of spiritual import (say, the warmth and expressive qualities of choral music) that might conceivably be met by several such discs. But eventually, people who categorize their need for records in such terms as 'soothing' or 'get-up-and-go' will feel that they've got enough of those categories represented and don't need any more.<sup>160</sup>

There is clearly a need to remain desirable in such a listener-centric environment. What else can these recordings offer in addition to stimulants for mood or motion?

Many scholars argue that music is used in the construction of personal identity. 'We use it not only to regulate our own everyday moods and behaviours, but also to present ourselves to others in the way we prefer', as explained in *Musical Identities*.<sup>161</sup> DeNora encourages us to understand listening as an interactive, reflexive process between sound and individual.<sup>162</sup> Within this process, music functions 'as a technology of identity, emotion and memory'.<sup>163</sup> The important

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<sup>158</sup> See Appendices B and D; Blake's examples are: '*Classics for Lovers*, *Classics from the Films*, *Turbo Classics* (for driving) and so on', in *The Land Without Music*, 69.

<sup>159</sup> Finch, "Raiders of the Lost Art," 28; see also, Christophers and Cullingford, "Pilgrim's Progress."

<sup>160</sup> Higginbottom, "Back to Business," 22.

<sup>161</sup> David Hargreaves, Raymond MacDonald and Dorothy Miell, "What Are Musical Identities and Why Are They Important?," in *Musical Identities*, ed. Hargreaves, Macdonald and Miell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1; the editors also explain that their rationale for the book is 'the explosion of interest that has occurred in this topic over the past few years', vi.

<sup>162</sup> DeNora, *Music in Everyday Life*, 16, 21.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., xi; DeNora also covers this topic with Arild Bergh, explaining that 'the phonograph facilitated new ways of articulating self-identity, permitting listeners to reflect upon their own subjective responses', in "From Wind-Up to iPod: Techno-Cultures of Listening," in *Companion to Recorded Music*, 109.

implication, as emphasised by Simon Frith, is that experiencing music is ‘an experience of this *self-in-process*’ and that ‘identity is *mobile*...a becoming not a being’.<sup>164</sup> If our sense of self is ‘constantly being reconstructed and renegotiated’, then even music that seems geared to one specific use will always have a new role to play; the same piece can elicit different responses on each hearing.<sup>165</sup> Day elegantly describes this phenomenon:

Recordings have been used as aural icons to which a listener may return time and time again over many years like a poem or a biblical text or a picture, surrounding the unchanging sounds with personal and ever-developing associations and memories.<sup>166</sup>

Identity is not just constructed on a personal level, however; it involves interaction within a wider external collective.<sup>167</sup> Frith explains that ‘self-identity is cultural identity’ and music offers ‘experiences which enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives’.<sup>168</sup> I argue, therefore, that the recordings in this investigation not only encapsulate clear cultural identities, they also offer listeners the chance to *participate* in those identities. Here, I explore why the specific identities offered by these Byrd recordings — national, traditional, elite and spiritual — might be so appealing to modern consumers, and the wider cultural narratives that have given rise to this.

Let us first consider national identity or ‘nation-ness’, which Benedict Anderson described as ‘the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time’.<sup>169</sup> Like Ernest Gellner and Hobsbawm, however, Anderson argued that nations are imagined cultural constructions and that nationalism is a modern product.<sup>170</sup> The configuration of national identity in the UK has undergone continual scrutiny in the twentieth century. Questions concern: individual nationalities versus an overall ‘Britishness’, the relationship between the UK and Europe, and lingering issues

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<sup>164</sup> Frith, “Music and Identity,” 109; this concept is echoed by Ulrik Volgsten, who writes that ‘a positive sense of self needs recurring reinforcement...and one particularly apt way of achieving such self-reinforcement is through the affective experience of music’, in “Emotions, Identity and Copyright Control,” in *The Emotional Power of Music*, 343.

<sup>165</sup> Hargreaves, MacDonald and Miell, “What Are Musical Identities,” 2.

<sup>166</sup> Day, *A Century*, 216.

<sup>167</sup> Bergh and DeNora present this idea in “From Wind-Up to iPod”, 106; Volgsten agrees that musical experiences ‘are often tied to aspects of identity formation on both an individual and a collective level’, in “Emotions, Identity and Copyright Control,” 342; Hargreaves, MacDonald and Miell link this to Social Constructionist theories, explaining that ‘musical identities are constructed and reconstructed by making comparisons with other people’, in “What Are Musical Identities,” 10, 15.

<sup>168</sup> Frith, “Music and Identity,” 124-25.

<sup>169</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006; original 1983), 3-4.

<sup>170</sup> Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006; original 1983); Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Anthony D. Smith presents the theory of nationalism and modernity as the orthodox view, in *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism* (New York: Routledge, 1998), xii.

of this colonial power turned commonwealth.<sup>171</sup> Blake has explored the 'crisis' of British identity in music, pinpointing fears of 'an increasingly American-dominated market' as well as influential changes in the law, education and funding.<sup>172</sup> Blake seemed uncertain of where this might lead, but referenced events such as The Last Night of the Proms as evidence of sustained public interest in displays of British identity. This has not diminished in recent years: national consciousness surged in 2012 with the Olympics and Queen's Diamond Jubilee, while the Scottish referendum of 2014 forced the public to reconsider the question of Britain. Though incredibly problematic in reality, the 'GB brand' still carries much currency.<sup>173</sup> Byrd recordings facilitate participation in this national identity because they exhibit many qualities that are routinely publicised as British. Not only have UK choirs and their sounds been enshrined as emblems of nationalism in music, the Tudor period is frequently touted as the nation's 'Golden Age' and has been 'drawn on extensively' by those wanting to evoke a national identity, according to Blake.<sup>174</sup> When packaged under titles such as *40 Most Beautiful British Classics* and *England My England*, the offer of an experience of national affiliation is clear.

Conceptions of national identity are closely linked to tradition; both are said to be illusory, modern constructions, yet they are highly valuable in establishing our sense of self.<sup>175</sup> As with nation, both the music and musicians on Byrd recordings offer attractive links to tradition; it is a central construct of these albums. A preoccupation with tradition has permeated the twentieth century and the most obvious musical manifestation was the early music movement, with all its associated controversy.<sup>176</sup> This is much apiece with the wider interest in heritage culture, which flourished in the UK from the 1970s onwards.<sup>177</sup> Butt identifies multiple complex reasons for this

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<sup>171</sup> See, for example, Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism*, 3rd ed. (Altona: Common Ground Publishing, 2003; original 1977); Richard Weight, *Patriots: National Identity in Britain 1940-2000* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2002); as well as texts cited on the English / British question in the Preface.

<sup>172</sup> Blake, *The Land Without Music*, xiii, 3, 6, 2.

<sup>173</sup> Interestingly, Mandler points out that 'today, at a time when some of the peoples of the United Kingdom are feeling less British, the English still feel the most British', in *The English National Character*, 4.

<sup>174</sup> Blake explains that the Elizabethan era (which Byrd's work extends into) also stands 'for a set of English values which became increasingly important in the twentieth century', in *The Land Without Music*, 162, 41, 46.

<sup>175</sup> Hobsbawm states that traditions 'are highly relevant to that comparatively recent historical innovation, the "nation"', in "Inventing Traditions," 13.

<sup>176</sup> It would be impossible to reference all of the relevant literature here, but a good place to start is Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History*, rev. ed. (Mineola: Dover Publications, 1996; original 1988); and Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music: A Period Performer's History of Music for the Twenty-First Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

<sup>177</sup> Butt calls this the 'second wave of the heritage industry' and explains that the UK was actually slow on the uptake in comparison to other European countries, in *Playing With History*, 172-74.

rising popularity; despite criticisms of heritage products and invented traditions, it appears that they are no less valuable to consumers.<sup>178</sup> What contemporary needs are being met here?

An important theory regarding modern desires for tradition is that it provides a sense of stability. As Hobsbawm explains:

[Tradition] is the contrast between the constant change and innovation of the modern world and the attempt to structure at least some parts of social life within it as unchanging and invariant...<sup>179</sup>

Day similarly associates the appeal of early music with a 'kind of nostalgia for a largely imaginary past...when life was more wholehearted and experience less fragmented'.<sup>180</sup> Again, however, it is easy to detect undercurrents of a middle-class mentality in these desires to maintain the structures of bygone eras. Indeed, Blake highlights how many of 'the instigators of the taste for "Ancient Music"' were originally 'Oxbridge High Tories, also trying to defend the values of hereditary nobility'.<sup>181</sup> An important characteristic of elite power is that it aims to reproduce itself.<sup>182</sup> Education and the institutional system are central to achieving this —using 'history and heritage to shape the present', as Jane Kenway and Aaron Koh explain<sup>183</sup> — but preserving the fruits of that system on record could be another tool by which the values of privilege are perpetuated. Dressed up as a choral tradition, the elite classes can parade their power yet also enshrine it as untouchable through the symbolic otherworldliness of vocal purity. According to Butt, Taruskin levelled similar accusations at British early music ensembles for 'using bogus history to enforce a naturalising class system on an innocent modern world', in Butt's words.<sup>184</sup> Certainly, Taruskin has linked early music to Hobsbawm's second category of invented traditions: 'those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status, or relations of authority'.<sup>185</sup> However, Hobsbawm, Butt and Taruskin have all cautioned against concocting 'conspiracy theories' from this

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<sup>178</sup> Butt, *ibid.*; this echoes Taruskin's assertion that the 'commercial success' of early music 'is all the evidence we need of its authenticity', in "Tradition and Authority," 192.

<sup>179</sup> Hobsbawm, "Inventing Traditions," 2.

<sup>180</sup> Day presents this as the views purported by David Munrow, in *A Century*, 116.

<sup>181</sup> Blake, *The Land Without Music*, 29.

<sup>182</sup> Hall presents this as a central and 'unifying aspect' of Bourdieusian theory, in "Voices of Distinction," 57; for a summary and analysis of Bourdieu's work, see David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

<sup>183</sup> Jane Kenway and Aaron Koh, "Sociological Silhouettes of Elite Schooling," *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 36 (2015): 7; see also, Claire Maxwell and Peter Aggleton, eds., *Elite Education: International Perspectives* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015).

<sup>184</sup> Butt references Taruskin, *Text and Act*, 64, 72; Butt links this to a criticism of the heritage industry in general, i.e. that it 'threatens to recapitulate or prolong the injustices of the past', in *Playing With History*, 168, 183.

<sup>185</sup> Hobsbawm, "Inventing Traditions", 7; as found in Taruskin, "Tradition and Authority", 195-96.

assessment.<sup>186</sup> Butt asserts that 'it is the wider economic system, not a hidden reactionary elite, that lies behind the success of Heritage; the customer is as deeply implicated in the process as the producer'.<sup>187</sup> After all, the displays of class on Byrd recordings are not undercover; class is another feature being offered to consumers. As Lathrop and Pettigrew explain, an album's key selling point is the way it 'appeals to the customer's self-image...as a member of a particular culture, social group, or economic class'.<sup>188</sup> These recordings not only exhibit what Page described as an 'inherent classiness', they allow listeners of any kind the chance to try on that class; to own and perform it.<sup>189</sup> In so doing, we could argue that the distinction and separateness on which elite status depends is in fact undermined or democratised through recordings, which make otherworldliness available to all.

This line of enquiry from tradition to class has produced alternative ideas about how modern consumers value the 'English choral tradition', but let us return to that initial theory of stability. Recognising that traditions are invented means recognising that they do not preserve the past; rather, they help us to structure the present. As Blake explains, we cope with modernity by turning 'to a set of representations which can give us, however fleetingly, a feeling of connection with time and space'; Byrd recordings offer those representations.<sup>190</sup> Similarly, Anderson positions the rise of nationalism with the search for continuity and Peter Mandler argues that national identity involves 'the construction in the mind of homogeneities and long-term continuities'.<sup>191</sup> Though illusory, both nationhood and tradition provide something that seems permanent and meaningful; they are strong cultural anchors on which to construct one's self-identity.

Desires for stability and meaning can also be fulfilled via another central feature of Byrd recordings: the spiritual. This is offered not only through the musical genre, but is represented by the disembodied and thus supposedly 'angelic' purity of the English vocal style.<sup>192</sup> Grace Davie acknowledges the same modern 'need for psychological security and rootedness' in an expanding global culture and explains that this is sought through varying forms of religiosity, which are

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<sup>186</sup> Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions," 307; Butt, *Playing With History*, 216; Taruskin, "Tradition and Authority," 197.

<sup>187</sup> Butt, *ibid.*, 213-14.

<sup>188</sup> Lathrop and Pettigrew, *Music Marketing and Promotion*, 55.

<sup>189</sup> Page, "The English 'A Cappella' Renaissance," 458.

<sup>190</sup> Blake argues that 'we experience...the "modern" through an increasing ache for the "past" we have ourselves constructed', in *The Land Without Music*, 12; this is one of the central theories in *The Invention of Tradition*; see also, Butt, *Playing With History*, 171.

<sup>191</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 11-12; Mandler points out that these 'simply do not exist' in reality, in *The English National Character*, 3; Gellner argues similar in *Nations and Nationalism*, 46.

<sup>192</sup> Greig examines the connections between vocal purity, 'the denial of the body in the voice' and the image of the angel, in "Sight-Readings," 141-43; see also, Marshall, "Voce Bianca," 42; and Yri, "Remaking the Past."



'becoming more rather than less prevalent in contemporary society'.<sup>193</sup> This jars with assumptions of increasing secularisation, but Davie outlines the division between 'relatively high levels of belief and low levels of practice' in Britain.<sup>194</sup> Institutional religion and church going are in decline, but 'there is a shared preoccupation with the spiritual dimension of life' that remains highly significant.<sup>195</sup> However, Davie's suggestion that 'we shop around for our spiritual needs' is most pertinent: 'no longer perceived as a duty, religious activity has become...a leisure pursuit'.<sup>196</sup> This could present another unique selling point of the Byrd recordings: the offer of a spiritual experience, to be saved and enacted at one's leisure. Day gestures towards similar conclusions when he wonders, 'what are the men and women...who love these sounds using them for?', while Yri has also positioned early music recordings as 'commodities associated with spiritual life' that have risen in popularity since the 1990s.<sup>197</sup> This development could be dangerous for institutional choirs; as Davie warns, religious broadcasting encourages 'a rather self-indulgent form of armchair religiosity'.<sup>198</sup> Yet while few could claim these recordings as substitutes for communal worship, they do appear to offer a broadly spiritual experience.<sup>199</sup> This may actually be more attractive given the preference for 'low-key' or ambiguous forms of the sacred in modern British society.<sup>200</sup> Rutter has spoken of the 'rather gentle, inclusive faith in this country' and summarised the concept in admiration of Vaughan Williams, who:

...had a very good sense of the English spiritual nature, which is rather non-sectarian and non-specific, the sort of feeling you get entering a great cathedral, or looking over a beautiful landscape, or contemplating the wonders of nature.<sup>201</sup>

Davie also suggests evidence of a 'common religion' that has links to the Anglican tradition but is rather more 'non-specific', as Rutter suggests.<sup>202</sup> This British religiosity not only amalgamates different denominations, then, but both sacred and secular forms of spirituality; it has its roots in

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<sup>193</sup> Davie does align this with the assertion of traditional and national identities, in Grace Davie, *Religion in Britain Since 1945: Believing Without Belonging* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 201, 43.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 39, 194.

<sup>197</sup> Day, "The Most Famous Choir in the World," 362; like Davie, Yri sees this as part of the growth of 'New Age' spirituality and mysticism, in "Remaking the Past," 16.

<sup>198</sup> Davie, *Religion in Britain*, 113; this is concurrent with Frost's thesis that the BBC 'contributed to the development of a secular narrative' for cathedral music, in "English Cathedral Music and the BBC," 276.

<sup>199</sup> Potter also suggests that, 'for some listeners sacred music is a religious experience even outside its liturgical context', in *Vocal Authority*, 165.

<sup>200</sup> Davie suggests that an acceptance of this seems to be 'part of being British', in *Religion in Britain*, 69.

<sup>201</sup> Rutter does add that religion became 'more demanding' during the Thatcher era, in "Do You Need 'Religion'," 30.

<sup>202</sup> Davie, *Religion in Britain*, 69, 75.

institutional tradition but also surpasses that framework — the Byrd recordings could not reflect this more aptly.

Like nationalism and traditionalism, the current proclivity for spiritual engagement reflects the desire to identify with something enduring that transcends modern existence. With sacred aspects, however, Byrd recordings also seem to offer the *space* in which to do this.<sup>203</sup> Just as the mission statement of St Paul's Cathedral is to 'present a place of refreshment and encounter' in the twenty-first century, listening to a recording can be likened to entering into a sanctuary where music washes away mortal concerns.<sup>204</sup> Naturally, this need is most frequently identified in institutional materials. On the sleeve notes for *Gregorian Moods*, for example, Dom Dunstan O'Keeffe describes how 'late twentieth century man is challenged and confounded by the ever-increasing complexity of life' and, on a recording from Chester Cathedral, W. K. A. Hussey similarly argues that: 'in a materialistic and increasingly secular age it is good to know that a tradition of worship survives, helping people to look up to and seek the things of the spirit'.<sup>205</sup> Testament to the 'spiritual refreshment' offered by these records appears in reviews from many decades. Denis Stevens proclaimed that 'if Byrd had more currency in the world today...there might be fewer bombs and fewer beatniks', while readers in 1987 were entreated to buy Salisbury Cathedral Choir's record because of 'the good it will do your soul' despite musical issues.<sup>206</sup> The provision of refuge is not restricted to institutional recordings; in 1943, a reviewer of The Fleet Street choir hoped that their version of Byrd's 'moving expression of religious emotion' would have 'as wide a circulation as possible. We need plenty of such music in these days'.<sup>207</sup> Times may have changed, but that need remains, and these Byrd recordings can still fulfil it.

This chapter has focussed on the production and use of Byrd recordings within the UK, but the identities they embody are also highly exportable.<sup>208</sup> As Page states: 'national styles in music can be powerful, especially when the listeners of one nation are presented with music so powerfully impressed with what they perceive as the style of another'.<sup>209</sup> By exhibiting qualities that are externally identifiable as British, these recordings can communicate what Göran Folkestad called an '*outside-looking-in*' perspective of national identity; this has been successfully

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<sup>203</sup> Cook has also discussed how recordings provide new 'space' for listeners, in *Beyond the Score*, 347.

<sup>204</sup> "Annual Report 2010: Mission Statement," St Paul's Cathedral, accessed May 2014, [https://www.stpauls.co.uk/documents/Cathedral%20and%20History/Annual\\_Report\\_2011.pdf](https://www.stpauls.co.uk/documents/Cathedral%20and%20History/Annual_Report_2011.pdf).

<sup>205</sup> O'Keeffe, sleeve notes to *Gregorian Moods*; W. K. A. Hussey, sleeve notes to *The Choristers of Chester Cathedral at Evensong and Rehearsal*.

<sup>206</sup> Stevens, record review, *The Gramophone* (June 1960): 28; Reynolds, record review, *Gramophone* (September 1987): 474.

<sup>207</sup> Robertson, record review, *The Gramophone* (February 1943): 127.

<sup>208</sup> And, in turn, Butt highlights that 'much of the money flowing into British heritage institutions comes from abroad', in *Playing With History*, 187.

<sup>209</sup> Page, "The English 'A Cappella' Renaissance," 463.

projected world-wide.<sup>210</sup> Eric Whitacre's explanation of why he thought UK groups dominated *Gramophone's* '20 Greatest Choirs' list reveals just how powerful the impression of British heritage is:

British choirs simply get it. I'm sure it comes from the centuries-old tradition of singing but there is a seasoned polish and an attitude about the music-making that is at once soulful and unsentimental, expressive without being maudlin...I am genuinely in awe of the British choral tradition.<sup>211</sup>

This list caused great controversy across various online forums, as no American choir made the top twenty, but the editor's defence of the ranking was that 'there's nothing like the depth of choral tradition in the US that there is the UK'.<sup>212</sup> Here resurfaces that British sense of superiority in the choral world, but this may even add to the appeal; Page proposes that international listeners are attracted to these recordings because they sound 'so very "classy" in every sense of the word'.<sup>213</sup> One thing is certain: the narrative of the 'English choral tradition' is just as potent overseas.

The choral identities presented on record are a complex combination of real and imagined qualities, constructed in a reciprocal exchange of surrounding narratives. These albums are crystallisations of those identities, represented through sonic, pictorial and linguistic indicators. The images that seem to radiate from the recorded performances — similarity and variety, service and scholarship — have been engulfed by a powerful set of expectations, which contribute greatly to the identities that have been perceived. In particular, this reciprocal web has aided the construction and maintenance of the 'English choral tradition'. This is especially relevant to institutional recordings, which are viewed as souvenirs of a specific space and sound, but many independents also flaunt their connection to this powerful national invention.

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<sup>210</sup> Folkestad presents this as different to "*inside-looking-in*" expressions of national identity from those participating in the music making', in Göran Folkestad, "National Identity and Music," in *Musical Identities*, 156 (italics are Folkestad's).

<sup>211</sup> Eric Whitacre, "The 20 Greatest Choirs," 33.

<sup>212</sup> James Inverne, interview by Tom Huizenga, "Where Are the World's Best Choirs? Not in America," *Deceptive Cadence*: NPR Classical, added December 21, 2010, accessed September 2015, <http://www.npr.org/sections/deceptivecadence/2011/03/22/132207464/who-sings-best-gramophone-ranks-the-worlds-top-20-choirs>; see also, for example, Chloe Veltman, "Choirs: Top 20 Lists and Some Thoughts About the Use of Space in Holiday Concerts," *Lies Like Truth: an Arts Journal Blog*, added December 22, 2010, accessed September 2015, [http://www.artsjournal.com/lies/2010/12/choirs\\_top\\_20\\_lists\\_and\\_some\\_t/](http://www.artsjournal.com/lies/2010/12/choirs_top_20_lists_and_some_t/).

<sup>213</sup> Page, "The English 'A Cappella' Renaissance," 457; in direct response, one American listener said that he preferred to think of such albums as 'technological and performance practice values coming together to create yet another cool, ironic and distanced post-modern product', in Brian Gorman, "The A Cappella Debate: The Denial of the Text," *Early Music* 23 (1995): 542.

## Conclusions

In this thesis, I have uncovered fundamental stylistic distinctions between institutional and independent choirs and presented these as manifestations of their contrasting choral circumstances and authorities. Institutional choirs share an identity built around place and function, emphasising continuity and tradition, and produce more similarity. The identities of independent ensembles are more diverse and flexible, often with an emphasis on artistry and scholarly innovation, which invites greater variety. I argue that recordings of Byrd's 'Agnus Dei' and *Ave verum corpus* embody those choral identities, not just in practical or sonic terms, but by encapsulating constructed ideologies imagined by performers, producers, promoters, critics and listeners. I have related my findings to other fields and cultural concepts, but I could not attempt to cover these links comprehensively; rather, my intention in the final chapter was to sow the seeds for future research.

I began the thesis by outlining the central similarities in institutional choral practice, highlighting their large and youthful forces, the regularity of their routine and affiliation to a particular space, and the underlying ritual purpose that guides their music making. In Chapter 3 I showed how, in comparison with the smaller, more balanced and flexible independent ensembles, institutional choirs share a sound world that might be styled as a 'cathedral choir sound', yet it was apparent that several traits also can permeate UK independent performance, given their shared choral backgrounds. Chapters 4 and 5 examined the effects of these sound worlds in action upon Byrd's music, revealing much expressive commonality in institutional recordings in contrast to the more varied and nuanced interpretations of many independent ensembles.

My evidence often centred on the observable similarities between institutional recordings, with independents appearing varied chiefly by comparison. However, those involved in institutional choirs do not necessarily set out to sound routinely similar or straightforward; rather, the specific nature of their circumstances and the intentions for recording can override the variations that do exist, while independent recording practice allows and encourages the transmission of more variation. This has as much to do with what has been externally projected on to the choirs as with the reality of the different situations. Institutional recordings are subjected to expectations of imagined qualities so strong, that what these choirs actually do is often subsumed into a consciousness that prefers to uphold the familiar construction of the 'English choral tradition', which is arguably underpinned by middle-class desires.

Similarity in a broader sense is not confined to institutional choirs, however. My findings concur with existing suggestions that recorded performances are less noticeably diverse than

## Conclusions

early in the twentieth century; this development was most apparent among independent recordings. For UK choirs, there are also shared lineages that result in several communal aspects of identity. Moreover, the appeal of national and traditional identities is rooted in a desire for sameness and continuity. Given the contemporary demands discussed in Chapter 6, similarity between recordings is not only permissible, but perhaps even *advantageous*. This is especially true of institutional choirs, for whom ritual stability is emphasised — similarity is easily restyled as tradition.

If recordings are used by listeners as resources for self-conditioning in modern society, then those which most readily display the necessary affordances could be seen as most valuable. Similarly, if the most useful aspects of Byrd recordings are their affordances for the construction of national, traditional and spiritual identities, then institutional recordings are arguably the most desirable; they exhibit the most overt signifiers of national tradition and sacredness, and their recordings seemingly provide concrete proof of this, appearing to capture that practice *in situ*. Furthermore, greater similarity in the style and image of institutional choirs offers more of the stability that modern individuals purportedly crave. And if today's consumers appropriate music to construct their own identities, then performances with more muted or predictable artistic personalities could allow greater space for the listener to imagine their own.

Of course, this is just one narrow extrapolation of the merits Byrd recordings might hold in view of contemporary demands; questions of value are naturally more open. Indeed, independent recordings seemed enveloped in superiority on many occasions, with increased experience, insight or artistry, qualities that would be valuable to many individuals. Moreover, most UK independent recordings still readily offer those other desirable attributes, tapping into national heritage and perhaps even catering better to the decentred, generalised spirituality that exists today. Ultimately, this thesis makes no definitive value judgement regarding the choral categories. Listeners appropriate this music to fulfil their individual needs, but the specific mechanisms of that appropriation have not been my focus.<sup>1</sup> That said, there is certainly scope for more ethnographic or cognitive research into the use of this music by contemporary listeners and the way that value might be assigned.

I conclude that all recordings of 'Agnus Dei and *Ave verum corpus* offer immense *potential* value as a resource for modern listeners, embodying a range of affordances that might serve core contemporary longings. It is fascinating that such ancient music offers this despite its upheaval from ritual to record. Acknowledging this, Phillips proclaimed that 'people who live now in quite different circumstances from those of the artist...need meaning just as much from works of art as

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<sup>1</sup> DeNora explains that 'artefacts do not compel users to preferred or prescribed ways', rather they are 'appropriated for use in a variety of ways', in *Music in Everyday Life*, 24.

people of the past', and Day similarly concluded that though sacred art 'no longer weaves itself into the texture of our lives...still this art can move us'.<sup>2</sup> The contexts in which listeners now use this music via recordings are far removed from its original setting, but it continues to function as a vital anchor for their self-expression, just as it did for Byrd.

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<sup>2</sup> Phillips, "Reclaiming Crossover," 88; Day, "Tudor Church Music," 40.



## Appendices





## Appendix A Choral and People Profiles

### A.1 Choral Profiles

#### A.1.1 Tables of Choirs and Sources

I have put together choral profiles for every ensemble that appears in either the *Ave verum corpus* or *Mass for Four Voices* discography in Appendix B. The only exceptions to this are: The Master Singers and The Richmond Consort, for whom I could find almost no information; The Bourne Singers, as they appear conflated with The Ambrosian Singers in sources (see *Ave verum* discography); and The Choir of Pusey House, Oxford, as, unfortunately, I only discovered this album very recently.

The table of institutional choirs appears first, followed by the table of independent ensembles. Wherever possible, I have provided the profile of the choir both at the time of making the recording(s) under examination and in their ‘current’ state. However, ‘current’ here refers to the situation at the end of 2014. Recordings are referred to by ID numbers that correspond to the discographic entries in Appendix B.

The information in each choral profile has been amalgamated from several sources; primarily from the choir’s own website or sleeve notes, but also from sources consulted when compiling the discographies (see Appendix B). Sources of information that are *additional* to those used for the discographies are listed in the right-hand cell under each entry (these are generally websites, given without the preceding <http://www.>). Further notes on the ensemble are listed in the left-hand cell underneath each entry. Notes generally pertain to the choir in its situation at the time of writing, unless specifically stated.

With regards to the number of singers, I have aimed to provide a finite numerical value to aid the calculation of average ensemble size, but this must be understood as an indication only. See Appendix A.1.2 for further details on this matter.

## Appendix A

CHOIR NAME	Institution Subcategory	Based In	Situation at the time of:	Directors	Voice Type	Voice No.	Voice Balance	Location	Rehearsals per Week	Services per Week	Choir School?
Singers at the 16th International Congress of Pueri Cantores <i>Est. 1921</i>	Choir Federation (Catholic)	World-wide	AV, ID 108 (7/1976)	Colin Mawby				London			
			Current*								
*Not a choir as such; a federation with annual congresses. Liturgical repertoire.						kevinmayhew.com; puericantores.org; laici.va;					
All Saints' Church Choir, Maidstone	Church (Anglican)	UK	AV, ID 80 (c.1976)	Reginald Hughes	Men and boys	19	9 trebles, 3 altos, 3 tenors, 4 basses	Likely recorded in the church			
			Current	Lionel Marchant	Men and boys			All Saints' Church		2 Sunday services per month; Evensong on all other Sundays	
						maidstoneallsaints.co.uk; achurchnearyou.com					
Beverly Minster Choir	Church (Anglican)	UK	AV, ID 115 (c.1982)	Alan Spedding				Likely recorded in the minster			
			Current	Robert Poyser	Mixed adults, boy and girl choristers	30	15 boy / girl trebles, <i>pictured</i> 3-4 women, 9-13 men	Beverly Minster	1 each for boys / girls / adults	2 Sunday Services; 1 more Evensong	No
Girls sing only 1 Sunday service per month.						beverleyminster.org.uk; hulldailymail.co.uk; yorkshirepost.co.uk; wikipedia.org					
Bristol University Church Choir <i>Est. 1973</i>	University Church (Anglican)	UK	AV, ID 126 (9/1990)	Edward Davies	Mixed adults (female altos)	27	6 sopranos, 7 altos, 5 tenors, 9 basses	Recorded in St. Mary's Church, Shrewsbury. Services in St. Paul's, Clifton.		1 Sunday service (term time).	
			Current	Chris Burt	Mixed adults (female altos)	26	<i>pictured</i> 16 women, 10 men	Based in St. Paul's Church, Clifton.	2 (term time)	1 Sunday service (term time).	
No audition required. Choir run by organ scholars.						uobchurchchoir.org.uk; facebook.com/edward.davies.982					

## Appendix A

<b>Servants of the Holy Family and Carmelite Sisters</b> <i>Est. 1987</i>	Monastic Church (Catholic)	USA	AV, ID 154 (c.2005)		Mixed adults					Gregorian chant for daily round of offices	(Monastery / Nunnery)
			Current*								
*Unknown if they sing together as a regular choir or just came together to record this CD.						sistersofcarmel.org; sistersofcarmel.com					
<b>Chester Cathedral Choir</b>	Cathedral (Anglican)	UK	AD, ID M57 (c.1973)	Roger Fisher	Men and boys			Chester Cathedral	Almost daily	3 Sunday Services; 4 weekday Evensongs	
			Current	Philip Rushforth	Men, boy and girl choristers	26	20 boy / girl trebles, 6 men	Rehearse in the song school.	5 for choristers	2 Sunday Services; 6 more Evensongs	No
Had a girls' choir since 1997, boy and girl choristers share the services equally. Men are lay clerks, choral scholars sometimes join.						Sleeve notes; chestercathedral.com; rfisher.me/biography					
<b>Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Oxford</b> <i>Est. 1526</i>	Cathedral & College (Anglican)	UK	AD, ID M17 (1977)	Simon Preston	Men and boys			Recorded in Merton College Chapel, Oxford		Daily	
			AV, ID 83 and AD, ID M31 (10/1990)	Stephen Darlington	Men and boys	29	16 trebles, 4 altos, 5 tenors, 4 basses	Dorchester Abbey, Oxford		Daily	
			AV, ID 84 (5/1994)	Stephen Darlington	Men and boys		(likely similar to above and below)	Christ Church Cathedral		Daily	
			Current	Stephen Darlington	Men and boys	28	16 trebles, 12 men	Christ Church Cathedral	Daily (choristers every morning, all before services)	2 Sunday Services; 6 Evensongs (4 with boys); 1 more weekday Communion	Yes
Website currently states that not much about the services / numbers has changed throughout the years. ID 83 / M31 includes: David Skinner (a) and Andrew Carwood (t). Men are a mix of professional lay clerks and academical clerks from the university.						Sleeve notes; chchchoir.org; chch.ox.ac.uk/cathedral; allmusic.com; Oxford Music Online;					
<b>Christ's College Choir, Brecon</b>	School Chapel	UK	AV, ID 105 (11/1990)	Jonathan Leonard	Boys and girls			Christ's College, Brecon			
			Current*	Jonathan Ling and Jonathan T Cooper	Boys and girls	50		Christ's College, Brecon	3	1 Wednesday morning service	
*Several choirs at the school, difficult to tell which made the recording. Details given are for the chapel choir, who sing the services.						christcollegebrecon.com; bristolpost.co.uk					

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Christ's College Choir, Cambridge	College	UK	AV, ID M77 (4/1995)	David Rowland				Recorded in Downing College Chapel			
			Current	David Rowland	Mixed adults	28	10 sopranos, 6 altos, 4 tenors, 8 basses	Christ's College, Cambridge	3 (1 plus 1 before each service)	2 Evensongs (term time); Occasional Sunday service	
Most singers are choral scholars. Choir numbers do fluctuate.						christs.cam.ac.uk					
Christ's Hospital Choir	School Chapel	UK	AV, ID 134 (c.1997)	Peter Allwood	Mixed adults (female altos) and boys	73	11 trebles, 15 sopranos, 15 altos, 17 tenors, 15 basses				
			Current*	Andrew Cleary	Boys and girls	28		Christ's Hospital		(2 services per week but not clear which are sung)	
There are several choirs at the school but not clear which was the same as on the recording. Details given are for the 'Schola Cantorum', but there is also a 120 voice chapel choir.						Sleeve notes; christs-hospital.org.uk; portsmouthfestivalchoir.co.uk/our-conductor.html; chchoralsoc.org; uk.linkedin.com					
Church of the Advent Choir, Boston	Church (Episcopal)	USA	AD, ID M20 and AV, ID 116 (c.1982)	Edith Ho	Mixed adults (mixed altos)	17	5 sopranos, 4 altos, 4 tenors, 4 basses*	Church of the Advent			
			Current	Mark Dwyer	Mixed adults (male altos)	20	<i>pictured</i> 6 sopranos, 14 men	Church of the Advent		1 Sunday Service	
*Lots of the singers sing other voice parts in addition to how they are listed here. More regular services around Holy Week and Christmas.						Sleeve notes; theadventboston.org; insanity.blogs.lchwelcome.org/2010/06/28/edith-ho-musical-mentor/					
Clare College Choir, Cambridge <i>Est. 1971</i>	College	UK	AV, ID 07 (3/1991)	Timothy Brown	Mixed adults (female altos)						
			AV, ID 24 (6/1993)	Timothy Brown	Mixed adults (female altos)			Recorded in St. George's Church, Chesterton			
			Current	Graham Ross	Mixed adults (female altos)	29	<i>pictured</i> 13 women, 16 men	Clare College		3 Evensongs (term time)	
Mixed voice choir founded in 1971 when college became mixed. Some are choral scholars, the rest student volunteers.						Sleeve notes; clarecollegechoir.com; clare.cam.ac.uk; allmusic.com; collegium.co.uk; Cullingford, "Choral Powerhouse," <i>Gramophone</i> .					
Corpus Christi College Choir, Cambridge	College	UK	AV, ID 130 (c.1987)	Lee Mark							
			Current	Robert Houssart	Mixed adult voices	22		Corpus Christi College	4 (1 plus 1 before each service)	2 Sunday Services; 1 more Evensong	

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6 choral scholars each year, other students are auditioned.						corpus.cam.ac.uk; ccc.oc.ac.uk; bdoa.org.uk/index; concertchoir.co.uk/conductor.html; musicweb-international.com; mogensoperasidor.com					
Downside Abbey Choir	Monastic Abbey (Catholic)	UK	AV, ID 97 (7/1997)	Dom Dunstan O'Keefe (monks) and David Lawson (boys)	Men and boys	37		Downside Abbey		Gregorian chant for daily round of office.	
			Current	Christopher Tambling (boys)	Men, boy and girl choristers	90	c.90 mixed choristers, unknown number of monks	Downside Abbey	Weekly	Daily Eucharist and Compline (monks); Schola Cantorum join for Sunday Eucharist	Yes (and working Monastery)
The choristers who sing with the men are called the 'Schola Cantorum', those details are given here, but there is also a smaller mixed chamber choir who sing some services.						Sleeve notes; downside.co.uk; benedictines.org.uk/house/downside-abbey; monmouthschool.org; kevinmayhew.com;					
Durham Cathedral Choir	Cathedral (Anglican)	UK	AV, ID 32 (c.1988)	James Lancelot	Men and boys			Durham Cathedral			
			Current	James Lancelot	Men, boy and girl choristers	22	20 boy / girl trebles, 12 men	Durham Cathedral	Daily (choristers every morning, all before services)	3 Sunday services; 5 more Evensongs (term time)	Yes
Girl choristers since 2006. Boys and girls take turns during the week. Men include 5 lay clerks and 7 choral scholars. Choral scholars included since 1960.						Sleeve notes; durhamcathedral.co.uk; durhamcathedralchoir.org.uk					
Durham University College Chapel Choir	University Church (varied)	UK	AV, ID 120 (c.1982)	Jonathan Newell	Mixed adults (mixed altos)	25	9 sopranos, 5 altos, 6 tenors, 5 basses				
			Current*	James Day	Adults (likely mixed)	16		The Tunstal Chapel	3 (1 plus 1 before each service)	1 Sunday service; 1 weekday Evensong	
James Day left in 2013 but new director not listed. Day restructured into two choirs: college and chapel. Just prior to this there were 22 mixed voices, 6,6,4,6 (8 choral scholars), reauditioned each year. Men come from the college, women from around the university.						Sleeve notes; castlejcr.com/sports-societies/music-drama/chapel-choir; castlechapel.co.uk; greatorex.org/art; uk.linkedin.com					
Ely Cathedral Choir	Cathedral (Anglican)	UK	AV, ID 67 (c.1964)	Arthur Wills	Men and boys			Ely Cathedral			
			Current	Paul Trepte	Men, boy and girl choristers	28	c.22 boy trebles / 18 girl trebles, 6 men plus more on Sundays	Ely Cathedral	Daily (choristers every morning, all before services)	2 Sunday Services; 6 more Evensongs (term time)	Yes
Includes 6 lay clerks, more men are added from a pool of singers on Sundays. Girls' choir founded in 2006, they sing only 2 Evensongs per week, boys do 4 plus Sunday morning.						Sleeve notes; elycathedral.org; impulse-music.co.uk/arthurwills					

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Emmaus Chamber Choir	College	USA	AV, ID 216 (c.1999)	Matthew and Christina Koller	Mixed adults (female altos)			Possible links to Fort Myers High School			
*Can find no current references to this choir*						greenwavechoirs.net					
Ewell Parish Church Choir	Church (Anglican)	UK	AV, ID 118 (c.1982)	Philip Matthias							
			Current	Jonathan Holmes	Mixed adults and girl choristers	20	<i>pictured</i> 10 women and girls, 10 men	Ewell Parish Church		1 Sunday service; often 1 Evensong too and occasionally Mattins (term time)	
They will include any singers of any age, sex and skill (just happens there are no boys currently).						stmarysewell.com; newcastle.edu.au/profile/philip-matthias					
Glasgow University Chapel Choir	University Church (varied)	UK	AV, ID 78 (c.1973)	Edward Garden	Mixed adult voices						
			Current	James Grossmith	Mixed adults (female altos)	32	<i>pictured</i> 19 women, 13 men	Large, cathedral-sized chapel.		1 Evensong (term time)	
11 members are choral scholars; there are some lay clerks and the rest volunteers. All auditioned. Some Sunday services.						Sleeve notes; chapelchoir.org; gla.ac.uk					
Children and Gentlemen of Her Majesty's Chapels Royal	Church (Anglican)	UK	AD, ID M65 (7/1996)	Richard Popplewell	Men and boys			Recorded in St Alban the Martyr, Holborn.			
			Current	Rev Prebendary William Scott	Men and boys	16	10 trebles, 6 men	Chapel Royal and The Queen's Chapel, St James' Palace, London	3 for choristers (term time, 1 during holidays)	1 Sunday service; regular special royal events	Not specific (choristers attend City of London School)
Chapel Royal is an 'establishment' rather than the building, though the two main chapels are in St. James's Palace. Men are professional singers called 'Gentlemen-in-Ordinary'.						royal.gov.uk/TheRoyalResidences/TheChapelsRoyal/Choir.aspx; debretts.com; wikipedia.org; Griffin					
Hereford Cathedral Choir	Cathedral (Anglican)	UK	AV, ID 37 (1/2005)	Geraint Bowen	Men and boys		<i>trebles not listed</i> , 3 altos, 3 tenors, 3 basses	Hereford Cathedral			
			Current	Geraint Bowen	Men and boys	27	18 trebles, 3-4 altos, 3-4 tenors, 3-4 basses	Hereford Cathedral	6 mornings for choristers, plus 6 afternoons for all	3 Sunday services; 5 more Evensongs	Yes

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On each lower part: 2 professional lay clerks, (1 more on weekends) plus 1 gap-year choral scholar. 3-4 boys join each year.						herefordcathedral.org/music; musicweb-international.com;					
Jesus College Choir, Cambridge	College	UK	AV, ID 46 (c.1987)	David Swinson	Men and boys						
			Current*	Mark Williams	Men and boys	30	<i>pictured</i> 14-16 trebles, 16-18 men	Jesus College, Cambridge	4 for choristers	1 Sunday service; 2 Evensongs (plus 2 for college choir)	No
There is a 'chapel choir' and a 'college choir' where the same men sing with 7-9 women. The college choir also sing 2 Evensongs per week. Possible that just the men sing on Sunday mornings.						jesus.cam.ac.uk; jesuscollegechoir.com; trinityboyschoir.co.uk/people.php					
Keble College Choir, Oxford	College	UK	AV, ID 106 (12/1990)	Steven Maxson	Mixed adults (female altos)	23	7 sopranos, 5 altos, 4 tenors, 7 basses	Keble College, Oxford			
			AV, ID 56 (c.1998)	Philip Stopford	Mixed adult voices						
			Current	Simon Whalley	Mixed adult voices	24		Keble College, Oxford		1 Sunday service; 1 weekday Evensong	
Includes 12 choral scholars.						Sleeve notes; keble.ox.ac.uk; maxsonmusic.wordpress.com/steven; ecclesium.co.uk/about_philip; simonwhalley.com					
King's College Choir, Cambridge <i>Est. 1441</i>	College	UK	AD, ID M3 (7/1949)	Boris Ord	Men and boys		(likely similar to below)	King's College, Cambridge			
			AV, ID 59 (c.1951)	Boris Ord	Men and boys		(likely similar to below)	King's College, Cambridge			
			AV, ID 64 (c.1959)	David Willcocks	Men and boys	28	16 trebles, c.12 men	King's College, Cambridge			
			AD, ID M10 (3/1963)	David Willcocks	Men and boys	28	16 trebles, 12 men	King's College, Cambridge			
			AV, ID 68 (c.1965)	David Willcocks	Men and boys	28	16 trebles, 12 men	King's College, Cambridge			
			AV, ID 14 (c.2009)	Stephen Cleobury	Men and boys	30	16 trebles, 14 men	King's College, Cambridge			
			Current	Stephen Cleobury	Men and boys	30	16 trebles, 14 men	King's College, Cambridge	Daily (choristers every morning, all before services)	Daily. 2 Sunday Services; 5 more Evensongs (1 just men, plus 1 by 'King's Voices')	Yes
ID M3 is Columbia Anthology of English Church Music (1st Series); British council project. ID 59 is Columbia Anthology of English Church Music (2nd Series). All men are choral scholars from the university. No lay clerks since 1927.						Sleeve notes; kings.cam.ac.uk/choir; <i>Gramophone</i> ; allmusic.com; Oxford Music Online; stephencleobury.com					



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Liverpool Cathedral Choir <i>Est. 1880</i>	Cathedral (Anglican)	UK	AV, ID 76 (c.1970)	Ronald Woan	Men and boys	36	23 trebles, 4 altos, 5 tenors, 4 basses	Liverpool Cathedral		6 services	
			AV, ID 123 (c.1987)	Ian Tracey	Men and boys			Liverpool Cathedral		6 services	
			Current	David Poulter	Men, boy and girl choristers		unknown boy / girl trebles, 4 altos, 4 tenors, 4 basses	Very large cathedral	Almost daily, before services	1 Sunday service; 6 more Evensongs (term time)	No
Men are lay clerks, there are additional deputies. Has been a girls' choir since 2003. Services alternate between boys / girls / men but not equally for girls, they have 2 services per week.							Sleeve notes; liverpoolcathedral.org.uk; <i>Gramophone</i>				
Llandaff Cathedral	Cathedral (Anglican)	UK	AV, ID 75 (c.1969)	Robert Joyce	Men and boys			Likely recorded in the cathedral			
			Current*	Richard Moorhouse	Men and boys	26	<i>pictured</i> 16 trebles, 10 men	Llandaff Cathedral	1 for choristers plus all before Sunday services	2 Sunday services; 3 more Evensongs (choristers only)	Yes
*Only up until 12 / 2013 when funding was cut and adults made redundant. Current situation is unclear, but it seems that there are still choristers, men only joined on Sundays.							llandaffcathedral.org.uk; bbc.co.uk				
Magdalen College Choir, Oxford <i>Est. 1480</i>	College	UK	AV, ID 114 (3/1980)	Bernard Rose	Men and boys		( <i>see notes</i> )	Recorded in the chapel of Merton College, Oxford			
			Current	Daniel Hyde	Men and boys	32	16 trebles, 16 men	Magdalen College	(Likely almost daily)	6 (term time)	Yes (the college)
Historically the choir contained 16 trebles, 8 men and 4 chaplains. Currently, includes 12 lay clerks (students at the college) and 4 chaplains. The men sing in another consort with female sopranos.							magd.ox.ac.uk; Oxford Music Online				
New College Choir, Oxford <i>Est. 1379</i>	College	UK	AV, ID 107 (c.1976)	David Lumsden	Men and boys	24	<i>pictured in 1973</i> c.16 trebles, 8 men	New College, Oxford		Daily* (term time)	
			AV, ID 127 (7/1989)	Edward Higginbottom	Men and boys	27	14 trebles, 3 altos, 4 tenors, 5 basses	New College, Oxford		Daily* (term time)	
			AD, ID M49 (4/1995)	Edward Higginbottom	Men	16	5 altos, 4 tenors, 7 basses	Recorded in Valloires Abbey, France		Daily* (term time)	
			AV, ID 15 (1/1998)	Edward Higginbottom	Men and boys	30	<i>cited</i> 16 trebles throughout history and usually around 14 men	New College, Oxford		Daily* (term time)	
			Current	Edward Higginbottom	Men and boys	26	16 trebles, 3 altos, 3 tenors, 3 basses	New College, Oxford	Daily	6 Evensongs (term time)	Yes

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*Most sleeve notes cite daily services, but in actuality, or according to their current situation, a guest choir sings the Wednesday Evensong. Sleeve notes state a specialism 'in authentic performance of early music'. Includes 2 professional lay clerks on each part and 3 choral scholars. They sing at least 10 different works per week.						Sleeve notes; newcollegechoir.com; new.ox.ac.uk; allmusic.com; <i>Gramophone</i> ; debretts.com; wikipedia.org					
Oakham School Chapel Choir	School	UK	AV, ID 101 (c.1994)	David Woodcock				Oakham School Chapel			
			Current	Peter Davis	Boys and girls	120		Fairly large church.	2		
There is also a chamber choir of only 30 auditioned singers, but the chapel choir detailed here lead the service worship.						oakham.rutland.sch.uk					
Pius X School of Liturgical Music Choir <i>Est. 1916</i>	College	USA	AD, ID M2 (c.1941)					Part of Manhattanville College, New York. Large chapel.			
*This institution closed in 1969*. Their focus was on Gregorian chant and sacred repertoire.						adoremus.org; wikipedia.org;					
Portsmouth Cathedral Choir	Cathedral (Anglican)	UK	AV, ID 49 (1-2/2009)	David Price, Marcus Wibberly and Andrew Cleary	Men and boys / Mixed adults and children / mixed adults*		(likely similar to below)	Pieces recorded in different parts of the cathedral to suit the repertoire.			
			Current*	David Price	Men and boys	38	24 trebles, 14 men	Portsmouth Cathedral	4 mornings for choristers plus before services	6 (choral scholars), 5 (choristers); other choirs sing 2 additional services	No (attend Portsmouth Grammar)
*Three choirs joined together to make ID 49: the cathedral choir, the parish choir and a mixed chamber choir. The former includes equal numbers of lay clerks and choral scholars. *Current details are for the main cathedral choir. There is also a consort that includes girls (who sing on Sundays) and a mixed chamber choir (who sing one Evensong per week).						Sleeve notes; portsmouthcathedral.org.uk					
Queens' College Choir, Cambridge	College	UK	AV, ID 128 (c.1991)	David Woodcock				Queens' College, Cambridge			
			Current	Silas Wollston	Mixed adults (female altos)	24	<i>pictured</i> 10 women, 14 men	Chapel described as 'spacious' and 'warm'	4 (term time)	3 (term time)	
Includes some choral scholars.						queenscollegechoir.com; queens.cam.ac.uk; earlymusicacademy.com/tutors/david-woodcock					
University of Redlands Choir	University Church	USA	AV, ID 9 (c.1959)	J William Jones	Mixed adult voices			Based in the chapel at the University			

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Est.1948 / 1965			Current*	Nicholle Andrews	Mixed adult voices	24		(as above)	3	(main festival event near Christmas)	
They did not perform concerts; their purpose was to sing in the chapel. *There are two choirs: the main choir and the chapel choir. Details here are for the latter, as it seems most akin to that above. The main choir is mixed and open to all.						redlands.edu; findagrave.com					
<b>Rochester Cathedral Choir</b> <i>Est. 604</i>	<b>Cathedral</b> (Anglican)	UK	AD, ID M51 (1/1991)	Barry Ferguson	Men and boys	25	16 trebles, 3 altos, 3 tenors, 3 basses	Rochester Cathedral		Daily round of services; 3 Sunday services	
			Current	Scott Farrell	Men, boy and girl choristers		18 boy / girl trebles, unknown number of men but at least 6	Rochester Cathedral	Daily (often twice) for boys; 5 for girls.	3 Sunday services; 5 more Evensongs	Yes, for boys
Includes 3 choral scholars, the rest are professional lay clerks. Girls' choir formed in 1995. Boys and girls take fairly equal turns with the men.						Sleeve notes; rochestercathedral.org; ofchoristers.net; gundulf.org.uk/html/rochester_musicians.html; makinorgans.co.uk					
<b>Salisbury Cathedral Choir</b> <i>Est. 1258</i>	Cathedral (Anglican)	UK	AV, ID 91 (3/1979)	Richard Seal	Men and boys	23	17 trebles, 2 altos, 2 tenors, 2 basses	Salisbury Cathedral			
			Current	David Halls	Men, boy and girl choristers	22	16 boy / girl trebles, 6 men	Salisbury Cathedral	Daily for choristers	3 Sunday services, 6 other Evensongs	Yes
Girls' choir formed in 1991; they take equal turns to sing with the men. Men are lay vicars.						Sleeve notes; salisburycathedral.org.uk; salisburycathedralschool.com; wikipedia.org;					
<b>Sri Silva</b> 2009	University	USA	AV, ID 45 (2009)	Sri Silva	Mixed adult voices			Based in CSULA (California)			
Recorded for an MMus investigating Latin pronunciation. Performed by a mixed church and community choir. Sri Silva is the student's name.						choralnet.org					
<b>St Anne's Cathedral Choir, Belfast</b>	Cathedral (Anglican)	UK	AV, ID 124 (6/1987)	Andrew Padmore	Men and boys	42	25 trebles (plus 9 prob), 6 altos, 4 tenors, 7 basses	St Anne's Cathedral			No
			Current	David Stevens	Men and girls			St. Anne's Cathedral	1 (term time)	2 Sunday services every other week (with men); 2 more Evensongs (term time)	3 schools in the area have joined to provide similar
Girls' choir formed in 2012. They hope to have a choir of men and boys again soon (there are boy choristers but girls alone sing most services). Includes lay clerks and choral scholars.						Sleeve notes; belfastcathedral.org; wikipedia.org					

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St. Edmundsbury Cathedral Choir	Cathedral (Anglican)	UK	Mass, ID M81 (7/2001)	James Thomas	Men and boys			St. Edmundsbury Cathedral			
			Current	James Thomas	Men and boys			St. Edmundsbury Cathedral	Almost daily for choristers	4 plus 1 boys Evensong	No
Volunteer lay clerks and 2 choral scholars.						stedscathedral.co.uk					
St. Ignatius Loyola Choir	Church (Catholic)	USA	AV, ID 212 (c.1998)	Kent Tritle	Mixed adults						
			Current	K Scott Warren	Mixed adults			Based in New York		2 Sunday Services (1 main choir, 1 Canticum Sacrum)	
There are many different choirs at this church, including lots of children's choirs who frequently join in services, but the main choir who do the weekly Sunday service are professional adults.						stignatiusloyola.org					
St. John's College Choir, Cambridge <i>Est. 1670</i>	College	UK	AD, ID M26 (3/1986)	George Guest	Men and boys	29	<i>pictured</i> 16 trebles, 13 men	St. John's College			
			AV, ID 140 (c.1996)	Christopher Robinson	Men and boys		(likely similar to above and below)				
			AV, ID 167 (c.2009)	Timothy Brown?*	Men and boys		(likely similar to above and below)				
			Current	Andrew Nethsingha	Men and boys	31	16 trebles (plus 4 probs), 15 men	St. John's College	Daily for choristers plus all before Evensong	2 Sunday services; 5 more Evensongs (1 just men)	Yes
Men are all choral scholars. Also has a mixed chamber choir who sing a service on Mondays. *ID 140 singing with the Holland Boys Choir?						Sleeve notes; sjcchoir.co.uk; joh.cam.ac.uk; <i>Gramophone</i> ; allmusic.com					
St Margaret's (Westminster) Singers	Church (Anglican)	UK	AD, ID M18 (c.1977)	Richard Hickox				Based in St Margaret's Church, Westminster Abbey			
			Current	Aidan Oliver			trebles, other voices unknown	Large church			No, (attend Westminster City School)
This is the church between Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament; it is the church for the latter establishment.						allmusic.com; Oxford Music Online; wikipedia.org; westminster-abbey.org/st-margarets-church; aidanoliver.co.uk					
St. Mary the Crowned Cathedral Choir, Gibraltar	Cathedral (Catholic)	Gibraltar	AV, ID 121 (c.1983)		Youth choir						
			Current*								

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Cathedral founded in 1462, not clear when the choir began. Had an all-male choir in the 1950s. *Unable to find any current details easily.						wikipedia.org; issuu.com/thegibraltarmagazine/docs					
St. Michael's Abbey, Farnborough	Monastic Abbey (Catholic)	UK	AV, ID 79 (c.1975)	Dom David P Higham						Daily round of offices to Gregorian chant	
			Current	Neil Wright	Men			St. Michael's Abbey		(as above)	
Only monks are mentioned, no indication of boy choristers.						farnboroughabbey.org					
St. Patrick's Cathedral Choir, New York	Cathedral (Catholic)	USA	AV, ID 162, (c.1997)	John-Michael Caprio	Mixed adults (female altos)	55	16 sopranos, 13 altos, 12 tenors, 14 basses	St. Patrick's Cathedral		1 Sunday service	
			Current	Jennifer Pascaul	Mixed adults (female altos)	38	<i>pictured</i> c.19 women, c.19 men	St. Patrick's Cathedral		1 Sunday service (term time)	
8 singers are professionals, the rest are volunteers. ID 162 was the main 'gallery' choir. There were also two smaller choirs. Still includes mostly volunteers with a 'small professional group'.						Sleeve notes; saintpatrickscathedral.org					
St. Paul's Cathedral Choir, Dundee	Cathedral (Anglican)	UK	AV, ID 104 (9/1991)	Robert Lightband	Men and boys	45	25 trebles, 20 men	St. Paul's Cathedral, Dundee	2 for choristers plus 1 for all	1 Sunday service	
			Current	Stuart Muir	Mixed adults (female altos)	17	<i>pictured</i> c.9 women, c.8 men	St. Paul's Cathedral, Dundee	(likely similar to above)	1 Sunday service; 1 Evensong per month (term time)	
Most of the men on ID 104 were originally trebles here. Up to 8 choral scholarships (2 on each part).						Sleeve notes; saintpaulscathedral.net; uk.linkedin.com; rcahms.gov.uk					
St. Paul's Cathedral Choir, London <i>Est.</i> 1127	Cathedral (Anglican)	UK	AV, ID 7 (c.1954)	John Dykes Bower	Men and boys	48	30 trebles, 6 altos, 6 tenors, 6 basses	Recorded in a studio			
			Current	Andrew Carwood	Men and boys	50	30 trebles (plus 8 prob), 4 altos, 4 tenors, 4 basses	Very large resonant cathedral	(Likely almost daily)	3 Sunday services, 5 more Evensongs (1 just men, 1 alternates boys / full)	Yes
Large choir to fill the large space; originally contained 40 boys, (so, likely that there are additional probationers). Men are (and have been) vicars choral, 'professional adult singers'.						Sleeve notes; stpauls.co.uk; Oxford Music Online; allmusic.com					
St. Thomas' Church Choir, New York <i>Est.</i> 1919	Church (Episcopal)	USA	AV, ID 113 (c.1979)	Gerre Hancock	Men and boys		30-40 trebles, unknown number of men			c.6 per week; at least 2 Sunday services and c.4 on other days	
			AV, ID 169 (c.2002)	Gerre Hancock	Men and boys		30-40 trebles, unknown number of men			(as above)	

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			Current	John Scott	Men and boys	44	30 trebles, 5 altos, 4 tenors, 5 basses	Large, cathedral-sized church	Daily for choristers (term time)	3 Sunday services; 3 more Evensongs	Yes
Previously, there were 2 Sunday services and 1 weekday Evensong by the boys; in 1971, Hancock wanted to double it. Modelled on the English collegiate tradition. Most or all of the men are professional singers. Sing around 450 pieces per season. All singers are listed on the album but not reproduced here.						Sleeve notes; saintthomaschurch.org; choirschool.org					
The Godley Singers	College	New Zealand	AV, ID 215 (c.1998)					Links to University of Canterbury and Christ Church Cathedral			
*Can find no current references for this choir. * Searching on Google shows links to Christ Church Cathedral in New Zealand, but says that this group are students at the University of Canterbury, who also sang in that choir.						Google search results list					
The Mariakoren <i>Est. 1957</i>	Cathedral (Church of Sweden)	Sweden	AV, ID 81 (1/1974)	Bror [Brother] Samuelson	Girls (plus possibly boys / men)*			Recorded in Vasteras Cathedral			
			Current	Agneta Sköld	Mixed adults and children (female altos)	45	16 sopranos, 13 altos, 5 tenors, 11 basses	Based in Vasteras Cathedral			
*Was initially a girls' choir who would often sing with the boys' choir at the cathedral. Later became a mixed choir but dates not given. Many of the singers are students from high schools.						Sleeve notes; mariakoren-freemore-se.freemore.com (trans. Google)					
The Palestrina Choir of St. Mary's Pro-Cathedral, Dublin	Cathedral (Catholic)	Ireland	AV, ID 187 (2011)	Blanaid Murphy	Men and boys		(likely similar to below)	St. Mary's Pro-Cathedral, Dublin		1 Sunday service**	
			Current	Blanaid Murphy	Men and boys	40	<i>listed</i> 40 trebles, <i>pictured</i> 20-30 trebles, 10-12 men*	St. Mary's Pro-Cathedral, Dublin	3	1 Sunday service; 2 weekday Masses (1 boys, 1 men) (plus 1 Tuesday Mass for girls); 1 Vespers (boys)	No
There has been a girls' choir since 2009 containing 30 singers; they sing once per week but separately from the boys and men and only occasionally on Sundays. Other weekday services alternate combinations of boys and men from the choir. Services are term time only. *Numbers in pictures fluctuate. **Minimum 1 Sunday service.						procathedral.ie/cathedral-choirs; palestrinachoir.com					
The Pro Arte Singers	University / Independent *	USA	AD, ID M45 (5/2000)	Paul Hillier	Mixed adults (varied altos)	23	<i>listed (but unlikely all singing this track)</i> 6 sopranos, 4 altos, 6 tenors, 7 basses	Recorded in the Auer Recital Hall at Indiana University School of Music			

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			Current	William John Gray	Mixed adult voices			Early Music Institute, Jacobs School of Music, Indiana University	3, fast-paced, focus on details not learning notes		
*They are The Chamber Choir of the Early Music Institute at Indiana University but standard and activities are like that of a professional / independent choir.							(see independent table)				
Trinity Church Choir, Boston	Church (Episcopal)	USA	AV, ID 86 (6/2003)	Brian Jones and Michael Kleinschmidt	Mixed adults (female altos)	65	17 sopranos, 20 altos, 12 tenors, 16 basses	Trinity Church, Boston		1 Sunday service	
			Current*	Richard Webster	Mixed adults and children (female altos)*			Trinity Church, Boston	1	2 Sunday Services	
*Details are given for 'The Trinity Choir', as this appears to be same as on the recording. There are also boy and girl choristers, who sing 1 Evensong and 1 Sunday per week, and a 'Schola' of adult singers. Includes 8 professional singers, the rest are auditioned volunteers.							Sleeve notes; trinitychurchboston.org; bachweek.org; brianjonesmusic.com				
Truro Cathedral Choir <i>Est.</i> 1890	Cathedral (Anglican)	UK	AV, ID 36 (1/1997)	Andrew Nethsingha	Men and boys		(likely similar to below)	Truro Cathedral			
			Current	Christopher Gray	Men and boys*	30	18 trebles, 4 altos, 4 tenors, 4 basses	Truro Cathedral	Daily for choristers plus all before Evensong	6, including several Evensongs (term time, Christmas and Easter)	Yes
Men are 6 lay vicars and 6 choral scholars (usually gap-year students). There are 3 other choirs based at the cathedral. *They are about to introduce girl choristers.							trurocathedral.org.uk; joh.cam.ac.uk/director-music; <i>Gramophone</i>				
University of Miami Chorale	University	USA	AD, ID M73 (c.2002)	Jo-Michael Scheibe	Mixed adults (female altos)			Recorded in the Gusman Concert Hall			
			Current*	Karen Kennedy	Mixed adults (female altos)			The Frost School of Music, University of Miami			
*This group are now called 'The Frost Chorale'. There are 3 other choirs at the school.							miami.edu/frost/index.php/vocal_performance/choirs/; wikipedia.org				
Washington National	Cathedral (Episcopal)	USA	Mass, ID M80 (c.2001)	Douglas Major	Men and boys		(likely similar to below)				

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<b>Cathedral Choir</b> <i>Est. 1909</i>			Current	Michael McCarthy	Men, boy and girl choristers	32	18-22 trebles, 12 men	Washington National Cathedral	Choristers almost daily, plus before services	2 Sunday Services, 4 more Evensongs; (men 4 services per week)	Yes
Inspired by the English choral tradition, similar repertoire. Men are professional singers. A girls' choir was founded in 1997, they share the services almost equally, but girls do not sing quite as much.						cathedral.org/arts					
<b>Wells Cathedral Choir</b> <i>Est. 909</i>	Cathedral (Anglican)	UK	AV, ID 93 (5/1984)	Anthony Crossland	Men and boys	27	17 trebles, 4 altos, 3 tenors, 3 basses	Wells Cathedral			
			AV, ID 47 (c.1998)	Malcolm Archer	Men and boys*		(likely similar to above and below)	(Recordings made in the nave for more resonance)			
			Current	Matthew Owens	Men, boy and girl choristers	30	18 boy / girl trebles, 12 men	8 services sung from the quire, which has a 'dry acoustic'		9 (including daily evensong, 1 just the men)	Yes
Men include 9 salaried vicars choral and 3 choral scholars. Boys and girls take turns to sing with them. Girl choristers since 1994 but does not appear that they are on ID 47.						Sleeve notes; wellscathedral.org.uk; "The 20 Greatest Choirs," <i>Gramophone</i>					
<b>Westminster Abbey Choir</b> <i>Est. 1479</i>	Abbey (Anglican)	UK	AD ID M11 (c.1964)	William McKie	Men and boys		(likely similar to below)*			Daily	
			AV, ID 70 (c.1966)	Douglas Guest	Men and boys		(likely similar to below)			Daily	
			Current	James O'Donnell	Men and boys	42	30 trebles, 12 men	Westminster Abbey	Daily	3 Sunday services, 5 more Evensongs	Yes, for choristers only
Traditionally, all men have been lay vicars. One review suspected that a solo group sing ID M11until the last petition.						Sleeve notes; westminster-abbey.org; allmusic.com; <i>Gramophone</i> ; Oxford Music Online					
<b>Westminster Cathedral Choir</b> <i>Est. 1903</i>	Cathedral (Catholic)	UK	AV, ID 5 (c.1929)	Lancelot Long	Men and boys						
			AV, ID M8 (7/1957)	George Malcolm	Men and boys			Recorded live from the cathedral during Mass			
			AV, ID 23/99 (6/1995)	James O'Donnell	Men and boys (some boy altos)	27	(boys likely similar to below), 1 countertenor, 3 tenors, 3 basses	Westminster Cathedral		Daily	
			AV (and AD) ID 175 (2013)	Martin Baker	Men and boys		(likely same as below)	Westminster Cathedral		(same as below)	



# Appendix A

			Current	Martin Baker	Men and boys	32	<i>pictured</i> 21 boys, 11 men	Large cathedral	(Likely daily)	Daily Mass and Vespers (latter just men)	Yes
7 men are all lay clerks in ID 23/99, likely that they still all are.						Sleeve notes; westminstercathedral.org.uk; westminstercathedralchoir.com; allmusic.com; Oxford Music Online; <i>Gramophone</i>					
<b>Westminster College Choir, Princeton</b> <i>Est. 1926</i>	University	USA	AV, ID 62 (7/1992)	Joseph Flummerfelt	Mixed adults (male altos?)			Recorded in St. Mary the Virgin, New York			
			Current	Joe Miller	Mixed adult voices (female altos)	45	21 women, 24 men	Westminster Arts College, Rider University, Princeton			
Westminster Choir School / College merged with Rider University in 1991. There are 8 choirs at this college. Details are given for the main and most 'professional' choir						rider.edu.ecc; wikipedia.org; josephflummerfelt.com; musicalamerica.com					
<b>Winchester Cathedral Choir</b>	Cathedral (Anglican)	UK	AD, ID M53 (10/1989)	David Hill	Men and boys			Winchester Cathedral			
			AV, ID 31 (11/1995)	David Hill	Men and boys	37	20 trebles, 5 countertenors, 5 tenors, 7 basses	Recorded in a smaller space in the cathedral			
			Current	Andrew Lumsden	Men, boy and girl choristers*	34	22 trebles, 12 men	Winchester Cathedral	Almost daily (boy choristers), girls 2 (term time)	2 Sunday services*; 6 more services (1 just men) (term time)	Yes
*The girls' choir was formed in 1998 but they only sing 1 Sunday service with the men. The men are professional lay clerks. There are 2 other choirs based here.						Sleeve notes; winchester-cathedral.org.uk; <i>Gramophone</i> ; allmusic.com; ram.ac.uk/about-us/staff/david-hill					
<b>Winchester College Chapel Choir</b> <i>Est. 1382</i>	School Chapel (Anglican)	UK	AV, ID 160 (6/2008)	Malcolm Archer	Boys*	38	16 trebles, <i>pictured</i> 38 in total				
			Current	Malcolm Archer	Boys*	36	<i>pictured</i> 14 younger boys, 22 others	Winchester College Chapel		1 Sunday service; 3 more services (term time)	Yes
*Lower voices are 'senior pupils and one or two dons' according to website.						winchestercollege.org; malcolmarcher.com/chapelchoir.html; thepilgrims-school.co.uk/Winchester-College-Chapel-Choir; wikipedia.org;					
<b>Woodford Parish Church</b>	Church (Anglican)	UK	AV, ID 110 (c.1977)	Robert Munns							

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Choir (St. Mary's)			Current	(none current)*	Mixed adult voices	16	<i>pictured 8 women, 8 men</i>	St. Mary's Church, Woodford	1 plus before services	2 Sunday services	
*They are waiting for a new director to join.						stmaryswoodford.org.uk					
Worcester Cathedral Choir	Cathedral (Anglican)	UK	AD, ID M14 (4/1966)	Christopher Robinson	Men and boys			Worcester Cathedral			
			AV, 103 (4/1992)	Donald Hunt	Men and boys			Worcester Cathedral			
			Current	Peter Nardone	Men, boy and girl choristers	30	<i>listed 30 boys and men / 18 girls (pictured 14 boys, 13 girls, 12 men)</i>	Worcester Cathedral	(Likely almost daily)	Daily (5 for boys). 2 Sunday services plus 6 Evensongs*	Yes (for boys)
Includes choral scholars and lay clerks. *Girls sing only 1 Saturday service. There is also a voluntary choir of men and boys who sing 1 Sunday service.						worcestercathedral.co.uk; Oxford Music Online; 3choirs.org					

CHOIR NAME	Based In	Situation at the time of:	Director	Voice Type	Voice No.	Voice Balance	Key Singers	Location	Rehearsals per Week
<b>Cantillation</b> <i>Est. 2001</i>	Australia	AV, ID 60 (c.2002)	Brett Weymark	Mixed adults (female altos)	4	1 soprano, 1 alto, 1 tenor, 1 bass	Belinda Montgomery (s), Jenny Duck-Chong (a), Paul McMahon (t) and Richard Anderson (b).		
		Current (2006)	Anthony Walker	Mixed adults (female altos)	28	<i>listed</i> 17 women ( <i>pictured</i> 9), 11 men	(Includes the above singers)		
Professional Singers. The singers who made ID 60 are from Cantillation, which was conducted by Anthony Walker at the time, but Weymark led the smaller group on the disc.						cantillation.com.au; jennydc.com; move.com.au/artist/belinda-montgomery; paulmcmahon.com.au; opera.org.au/aboutus/our_artists/principal_artists/richard_anderson			
<b>Cappella Albertina Wien</b> <i>Est. 1991</i>	Austria	AD, ID M66 (c.2010)	Johannes Ebenbauer	Mixed adults (female altos)				Since 2005, St Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna has been their main performance venue.	
		Current	Johannes Ebenbauer	Mixed adults (female altos)	24	<i>pictured</i> 13 women, 11 men			
They specialise in sacred music but perform concerts, <i>not</i> a choir providing service music for a specific institution. Take their name from a chapel in their key venue. Also has a baroque orchestra with period instruments.						musica-sacre-wein.at (trans. Google)			
<b>Cathedral Singers</b>	USA	AV, ID 163 (c.1995)	Richard Proulx	Mixed adults (female altos)	17	<i>pictured</i> 8 women, 9 men		Recorded in St. Clement's Church, Chicago	

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Est. 1991		Current		Mixed adults (female altos)	19	pictured c.10 women, c.9 men		Regularly perform in the Holy Name Cathedral, Chicago	
Independent choir but strong associations with the cathedral from their founder so do perform some of the services there. Sunday service on alternate weeks at Holy Name. Professional vocalists from diverse musical genres, but volunteers in this choir.						articles.chicagotribune.com/2010-02-23/news; holynamecathedral.org; giamusic.com			
Chanticleer Est. 1978	USA	AV, ID 190 (2012)	Matthew Oltman	Men	12	(12 pictured, the following listed on album: )4 sopranos, 3 altos, 4 tenors, 4 basses	Casey Breves, Michael McNeil, Gregory Peebles, Dylan Hostetter (s), Cortez Mitchell, Alan Reinhardt, Adam Ward (a), Matthew Curtis, Brian Hinman, Ben Jones, Todd Wedge (t), Eric Alatorre, Michael Axtell, Gabriel Lewis-O 'Connor, Jace Wittig (b)	Fantasy Studios, Berkeley, California	
		Current	(Guest directors rather than permanent)	Men	12	(likely same as above or equal parts)	As above but now including: Nate Pence (s), Kory Reid (s), Darita Mara Seth (s) (no McNeil, Peebles or Hostetter), Marques Jerrell Ruff (b), Matthew Knickman (b) (No Axtell or O'Connor) Michael Breshahan (t) (No Curtis, Jones or Wedge)	Based in San Francisco	
"Just as singers come to Chanticleer at many different stages of life, they leave the group after varying amounts of time as well. Our current most experienced member is Eric Alatorre, who joined the ensemble in 1990. Other singers stay for only a few years or less; many stay between five and ten years." Professional singers. Group has won lots of awards.						Sleeve notes; chanticleer.org			
Collegium Vocale Ghent Est. 1971	Belgium	AV, ID 111 (c.1978)	Philippe Herreweghe	Mixed adults					
		Current	Philippe Herreweghe	Mixed adults, varies.	6 – 12	*			
6 – 12 singers for Renaissance music but numbers vary depending on repertoire. In 1971 they began with 16 singers. Founded by students of the University of Ghent. Herreweghe started own label in 2010.						collegiumvocale.com; "20 Greatest Choirs" <i>Gramophone</i>			
Coro de Madrigalistas de Mexico Est. 1938	Mexico	AV, ID 65 (1963)	Luis Sandi						
		Current	Ethel Gonzalez Horta or Alfredo Dominguez.	Mixed adults (female altos)	26	8 sopranos, 6 altos, 6 tenors, 6 basses		Based in The National School of Fine Art, Mexico.	

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						inba.gob.mx (trans. Google); facebook.com/pages/Coro-de-Madrigalistas-de-Bellas-Artes			
<b>Duodena Cantitans</b>	Czech Republic	AD, ID M47 (9/1997)	Petr Danek	Mixed adults (female altos)				Recorded in Prayer Hall, Korunní Street, Prague.	
*Unable to find any current references*									
<b>English Renaissance</b> <i>Est. 1992.</i>	France	AV, ID 40 (c.2003)	Michael Stoddart	Mixed adults (male altos)	8	2 sopranos, 2 altos, 2 tenors, 2 basses	Sophie Decaudaveine, Rebecca Ockenden, Richard Furstenheim, Michael Stoddart, Andrew Austins, Adrian Shaw, Richard Lea, Patrick Ardagh-Walter		
*Unable to find any current references* Mainly specialised in Renaissance music. Performed in Paris but Stoddart has a very British background.						thegiftofmusic.com/acatalog/info_CDG1051.html; michaelstoddart.org/choirtrainer.php			
<b>Erskine and American Chamber Choir</b>	Canada	AV, ID 178 (c.2006)	Jean-Sebastien Allaire		13			Erskine and American United Church, Montreal	
Professional singers. This was originally a church with quite a turbulent history and changing denominations, etc., known under this name from 1903, but it closed to the public as a church in 2004. It has now been renovated. *Unable to find any current references*						erskinechamberchoir.com (no longer maintained); historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg;			
<b>Ex Cathedra</b> <i>Est. 1969</i>	UK	AD, ID M48 (5/1995)	Jeffrey Skidmore					Broadcast live from St. Paul's Church, Birmingham	
			Jeffrey Skidmore	Mixed adult voices	12	8 - 12 singers*		(Associate artists at Birmingham Town Hall)	
Choir and Early Music ensemble, focusing on research and performance practice. Founded with singers from Birmingham Cathedral. A foundation which incorporates many choirs and ensembles (*details are for the consort); several specialise in Early Music, but they sing a range of repertoire. Professional singers in the consort, the main choir contains a mix of standards. Have own label but also release on others.						excathedra.co.uk; allmusic.com;			
<b>Gloria</b> <i>Est. 1995</i>	Ireland	AV, ID 219 (c.2011)		Mixed adult voices					
		Current		Mixed adult voices	65	<i>pictured c.18 women, c.26 men*</i>		Based in Dublin	
LGBT Choir. Amateur Choir. Their initial advert for singers said “enthusiasm more important than experience!!” *Numbers vary from picture to picture, but there are always many more men than women.						gloria.ie			
<b>Grex Vocalis</b> <i>Est. 1971</i>	Norway	AV, ID 165 (c.1983)	Carl Hogset	Mixed adults (female altos)	39	<i>pictured in 1980 23 women, 16 men</i>			

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		Current	Carl Hogset	Mixed adults (female altos)	37	<i>pictured</i> 22 women, 15 men			
Started with 12 singers.						grexvocalis.no.en			
Laudibus	UK	AV, ID 95 (7/1998)	Michael Brewer	Mixed adults (female altos)	21	7 sopranos, 4 altos, 5 tenors, 5 basses			Sleeve notes say 'many hours of intensive rehearsals together'
		Current*	Dominic Peckham or Greg Beardsell	Mixed adults (female altos)	16				
Now known more as 'The National Youth Chamber Choir'. Includes older singers from the youth choir and retired members up to age 25.						hyperion-records.co.uk; chandos.net; nycgb.org.uk			
New Dublin Voices <i>Est.</i> 2005	Ireland	AV, ID M90 (c.2010)	Bernie Sherlock	Mixed adults		(likely similar to below)		University Church, St Stephen's Green, Dublin	
		Current	Bernie Sherlock	Mixed adults (mixed altos)	38	14 sopranos, 8 altos, 7 tenors, 9 basses	(All names available on website but not reproduced here)		
Semi-professional, young singers.						newdublinvoices.com			
New York Polyphony <i>Est.</i> 2006	USA	AV, ID 33 (6/2009)		Men	4	1 countertenor, 1 tenor, 1 baritone, 1 bass	(likely same as below)	Recorded in the Cathedral Church of St. John the Devine, New York	
		AD, ID M82 (1/2013)		Men	4	1 countertenor, 1 tenor, 1 baritone, 1 bass	(see below)	Recorded in a small Swedish church	
		Current		Men	4	1 countertenor, 1 tenor, 1 baritone, 1 bass	Geoffrey Williams (ct), Steven Caldicott Wilson (t), Christopher Dylan Herbert (bar), Craig Phillips (b)		
						allmusic.com; newyorkpolyphony.com			
Parthenia XVI	USA	AD, ID M46 (1999)	Mary Jane Newman	Mixed adults* (female altos)				Recorded in St Matthew's Episcopal Church, New York	
*Usually an all-female choir but added men to record this disc. *Unable to find any current reference*						Sleeve notes; classicstoday.com/review; bach-cantatas.com			

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<b>Pro Cantione Antiqua</b> <i>Est. 1968</i>	UK	AV, ID 119/90 and AD, M21 (5/1979)	Bruno Turner	Men	9	2 countertenors, 3 tenors, 4 basses	Timothy Penrose, Kevin Smith (ct), Paul Elliott, James Griffett, James Lewington (t), Brian Etheridge, Michael George, Christopher Keyte, Stephen Roberts (b)	Recorded in St. John at Hackney, London	
		AV, ID 87 and AD (c.1994)	Bruno Turner	Men	10	3 countertenors, 3 tenors, 4 basses	( <i>As above but with:</i> Charles Brett (ct) and Ian Partridge (t) instead of Lewington?*)	Recorded in London	
*Ensemble no longer exists* Has included many famous names. *Unusual that names listed on ID 87 are slightly different to ID 119/90, but in all other respects the latter looks like a reissue of the former album.						Sleeve notes; allmusic.com; discogs.com; wikipedia.org; bach-cantatas.com; theguardian.com; childrensinternationalvoices.co.uk; Oxford Music Online			
<b>Pro Musica Antiqua, Brussels</b> <i>Est. 1933</i>	Belgium	AD, ID M6 (c.1954)	Safford Cape	Mixed adults (female alto as top line)	4	1 alto, 2 tenors, 1 baritone	Jeanne Deroubaix (a), Louis Devos and Franz Mertens (t), Albert Van Ackere (bar)		
*Choir no longer exists*						medieval.org/emfaq; wikipedia.org			
<b>Quatuor Laque</b> <i>Est. 1999</i>	Germany	AV, ID 196 (c.2010)		Mixed adults (female altos)	4	1 soprano, 1 alto, 1 tenor, 1 bass	(likely same as below)		
		Current		Mixed adults (female altos)	4	1 soprano, 1 alto, 1 tenor, 1 bass	Kajsa Lemcke (s), Anne Andrey-Chassot (a), Jose Perritaz (t), Albert Nussbaumer (b)		
Though their website and all material for the disc are in French, this ensemble is based in Freiburg in Germany. Professional singers. No director. All previously singers in Choir XVI.						Sleeve notes; quatuorlaque.ch (trans. Google)			
<b>Quink Vocal Ensemble</b> <i>Est. 1978</i>	Holland	AV, ID 30 and AD, ID M25 (c.1985)		Mixed adults (female altos)	4	1 soprano, 1 alto, 1 tenor, 1 bass*	Machteld Van Woerden (s, and Marjolein Koetsier), Corrie Pronk (a), Harry Van Berne (t), Kees-Jan De Koning (b)	Studio	
		Current		Mixed adults (female altos)	4	1 soprano, 1 alto, 1 tenor, 1 bass**	Marjon Strijk (s), Elsbeth Gerritsen (a), Harry van Berne (t), Kees Jan de Koning (b)		
*There were normally five members of the group at the time of ID 30 / M25 (two sopranos); names of all are listed.**They can extend to 8 singers if the repertoire requires.						Sleeve notes; quink.nl (trans. Google); wikipedia.org; allmusic.com; bach-cantatas.com			

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<b>St Matthew's Vocal Ensemble</b>	New Zealand	AV, ID 186 (c.2006)	Michael Bell	Mixed adults	5	2 sopranos, 1 alto, 1 tenor, 1 bass	<i>Listed on album:</i> Meg Broughton (s), Susan Elliott (s), Therese Turnock (a), Andrew Marshall (t), Chris Karyiannis (b).	St. Matthew in the City, Auckland	
Unclear if these singers are the choir of the cathedral; though they are based there for this recording and come under that name, they are only a quintet and this church does not seem to have regular choral services. They do 'one-off' appearances under Bell's direction; he is the only artist cited on the CD. They sound like a more of an amateur group.						tradebit.com			
<b>The Adelaide Chamber Singers</b> <i>Est. 1985</i>	Australia	AV, ID 205 (c.1995)	Carl Crossin	Mixed adults (female altos)		(likely similar to below)			
		Current	Carl Crossin	Mixed adults (female altos)	16	<i>pictured</i> 8 women, 8 men			
Professional choir.						adelaidechambersingers.com			
<b>The Ambrosian Singers / Consort</b> <i>Est. 1956</i>	UK	AD, ID M12 (c.1966)	John McCarthy	Mixed adult voices	6	(soloists, so likely only 4 sung on the recording)			
		Current*							
A group was originally founded in 1951 by Denis Stevens too, but he left in 1955 and the group as in ID M12 began then. Focus on early music revival. *Now a talent pool of around 700 professional session singers. Other names associated are 'The Ambrosian Opera Chorus', 'The London Symphony Opera Chorus' and 'The John McCarthy Singers'.						allmusic.com; Oxford Music Online; theguardian.com			
<b>The Armonico Consort</b> <i>Est. 2001</i>	UK	AV, ID 82 (c.2008)	Christopher Monks	Mixed adult voices	10				
		AD, ID M39 (2/2010)	Christopher Monks	Mixed adults (varied altos)	10	4 sopranos, 2 altos, 2 tenors, 2 basses		Recorded in Moreton Morrell Real Tennis Court	
		Current	Christopher Monks	Mixed adult voices	10	(can vary from 10-14 depending on repertoire)			
They perform the programmes from ID 82 and M39 in concert. Have expanded to include an orchestra and opera company; now more like an 'organisation'. Specialise in early music and use period instruments.						Sleeve notes; allmusic.com; armonico.org.uk; wikipedia.org			
<b>The Aros Vokalensemble</b>	Sweden	AV, ID 35 (c.2010)		Mixed adult voices	8	<i>pictured</i> 4 women, 4 men			
*Unable to find any current references other than old You Tube videos; this could be their only work*.						youtube.com			

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The Ascension Singers	UK	AV, ID 198 (c.2011)	Robert Webb	Mixed adults (male altos)		(likely same as below)			
		Current	Robert Webb	Mixed adults (male altos)	6	2 women, 4 men	Robert Webb, Jennifer Webb, Adam Piplica, Richard Cressall, Robert Sturman, Katherine Harper	Based in Leeds	Focus on "sonorities, rather than trying to fit the voices to the demands of the music"
ID 198 was their debut album. They are professional singers.						ascensionsingers.com			
The BBC Singers <i>Est.</i> 1924	UK	AV, ID 94 (8/1986)	John Poole	Mixed adult voices	24	(not all singers may have performed the track)		Recorded in Rosslyn Hill Chapel, London	
		AV, ID 98 and AD ID M28 (2/1996)	Bo Holten	Mixed adults (female altos)	24	(not all singers may have performed the track)		Recorded in St. Giles', Cripplegate, London	
		Current	David Hill	Mixed adults (female altos)	22	7 sopranos, 4 altos, 5 tenors, 6 basses	Margaret Feaviour, Micaela Haslam, Helen Neeves, Elizabeth Poole, Olivia Robinson, Alison Smart, Emma Tring (s), Lynette Alcantara, Margaret Cameron, Rebecca Lodge, Cherith Millburn-Fryer (a), Christopher Bowen, Edward Goater, Stephen Jeffes, Robert Johnston, Andrew Murgatroyd (t), Michael Bundy, Stephen Charlesworth, Charles Gibbs, Jamie Hall, Edward Price, Andrew Rupp (b)	Based at the Maida Vale Studios, currently perform regularly in St Paul's Knightsbridge and St Giles's, Cripplegate.	
Full time professional choir. Size was fixed at 24 in 1971. There are also guest conductors.						Sleeve notes; <a href="http://bbc.co.uk/singers">bbc.co.uk/singers</a> ; <a href="http://allmusic">allmusic</a> ; <a href="http://wikipedia.org">wikipedia.org</a> ; <a href="http://johnpoole.net">johnpoole.net</a> ; <a href="http://bath-choral-society.org.uk">bath-choral-society.org.uk</a> ; <a href="http://bach-cantatas.com">bach-cantatas.com</a> ; <a href="http://lynettealcantara.com">lynettealcantara.com</a> ; <a href="http://christopherbowentenor.com">christopherbowentenor.com</a> ; <a href="http://singerspro.com/uk">singerspro.com/uk</a> ; <a href="http://exaudi.org.uk">exaudi.org.uk</a> ; <a href="http://aberdeenbachchoir.org.uk">aberdeenbachchoir.org.uk</a> ; <a href="http://michaelrbundy.co.uk">michaelrbundy.co.uk</a> ; <a href="http://gothicvoices.co.uk">gothicvoices.co.uk</a> ; <a href="http://ifagiolini.com">ifagiolini.com</a> ; <a href="http://jamiewhall.co.uk">jamiewhall.co.uk</a> ; <a href="http://atholestill.com">atholestill.com</a>			
The Bulgarian National Radio Mixed Choir <i>Est.</i> 1952	Bulgaria	AV, ID 189 (2010)	Metodi Matakiev	Mixed adults (female altos)		(likely similar to below)			
		Current	Metodi Matakiev	Mixed adults (female altos)	44	<i>pictured</i> 22 women, 22 men			



## Appendix A

Professional choir. Principal work is recording for the radio.						matakiev.tripod.com; deezer.com/en/artist			
<b>The Cambridge Singers</b> <i>Est. 1981</i>	UK	AV, ID 25 (10/1982)	John Rutter	Mixed adults (female altos)	28			Recorded in the Lady Chapel, Ely Cathedral; a large, resonant space	
		AV, ID 10 (c.1989)	John Rutter	Mixed adults (female altos)	28			Recorded in one of the Cambridge colleges	
		Current	John Rutter	Mixed adult voices					
Most singers on ID 25 were members of Clare College Choir; some of the men were from other colleges. They are primarily a recording ensemble but make some concert appearances. Founded own record label, 'Collegium' in 1984.						Sleeve notes; collegium.co.uk; singers.com/group/Cambridge-Singers; allmusic.com; johnrutter.com			
<b>The Cappella Caeciliana</b> <i>Est. 1995</i>	UK	AV, ID 53 (c.2001)	Donal McCrisken	(likely similar to below)		(likely similar to below)			
		Current	Donal McCrisken	Mixed adults (female altos)	20	<i>pictured</i> 10 women, 10 men		Sacred venues	
Though not specifically affiliated to one religious institution, their focus is on sacred music and on singing in church in robes.						caeciliana.org			
<b>The Cardinal's Musick</b> <i>Est. 1989</i>	UK	AD, ID M27 (11/1999)	Andrew Carwood and David Skinner	Men	8	2 altos, 2 tenors, 2 baritones, 2 basses		Recorded in the Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel	Focus on soloistic singing
		Current	Andrew Carwood	Mixed adults (male altos)	8	<i>pictured</i> 2 sopranos, 6 men			
ID M27 was part of 'The Byrd Edition', Volume 5. Specialise in new perspectives on Renaissance music. Adapt singers to suit the repertoire. Edition newly prepared by Skinner from original manuscript. Women joined in 1991. Also have a period instrument orchestra.						Sleeve notes; cardinalsmusick.com; allmusic.com; alamire.co.uk; sid.cam.ac.uk/people; stpauls.co.uk/worship-music/music/choir-musicians			
<b>The Ensemble Vocal Da Camera</b> <i>Est. 1971</i>	France	AV, ID 117 (3/1982)	Daniel Meier	Mixed adult voices	14	(could be less)		Recorded in the Eglise Romane Plaimpied Church, France.	
		AD, ID M24 (5/1984)	Daniel Meier	Mixed adults (female altos?)	14	(could be less)		Recorded in the Church of Puy-Ferrand au Chatelet en Berry	
		Current	Catherine Roussot	Mixed adult voices	14	9 women, 5 men			
Initially specialised in early music and then broadened for a time. Collaboration with Arion since 1977. 'Da Camera' are also a period instrumental ensemble; they have grown in number and now focus on Baroque music.						dacamera-auvergne.com (trans. Google); primavista.free.fr/meier.html; wikipedia.org			

## Appendix A

<b>The Deller Consort</b> <i>Est. 1950</i>	UK	AV, ID 63 (6/1959)	Alfred Deller	Mixed adults (male alto)	5	1 soprano, 1 countertenor, 3 tenors and basses	Honor Sheppard (s), Alfred Deller (ct), Wilfred Brown (t) Gerald English, Maurice Bevan (b)	Recorded live in Aldeburgh Parish Church	
		AV, ID 74 (2/1966)	Alfred Deller	Mixed adults (male altos)	5	2 sopranos, 1 countertenor, 1 tenor, 1 baritone*	Mary Thomas (s), Sally le Sage (s), Mark Deller (ct), Philip Todd (t), Bevan (b)	Recorded in Studio Sofreson, Paris.	
		AV, ID 73 and AD, ID M13 (c.1968)	Alfred Deller	Mixed adults (male altos)	4	1 soprano, 1 countertenor, 1 tenor, 1 bass*	Sheppard (s), A Deller (ct), Neil Jenkins (t), Bevan (b)	Recorded in All Saints' Church, Kent.	
		AD, ID M16 (c.1976)	Mark Deller	Mixed adults (male altos)	4	1 soprano, 1 countertenor, 1 tenor, 1 bass	Sheppard (s), M Deller (ct), Paul Elliott (t), Michael George (b)	Recorded at the Rosslyn Hill Chapel, Hampstead. Aimed to sound like a live recording.	
Specialised in early music, particularly English. *Elsewhere on ID 74 there is 1 more soprano and 1 more countertenor (Alfred Deller). *Elsewhere on ID73 / M13 there is 1 more soprano. 'The Deller Consort' no longer exists in any of these formats.						Sleeve notes; allmusic.com; Oxford Music Online; wikipedia.org; independent.co.uk; theguardian.com; bach-cantatas.com; neiljenkins.com			
<b>The English Singers</b> <i>Est. 1920</i>	UK	AD, ID M1 (c.1923)	Cuthbert Kelly	Mixed adult voices	6	3 women, 3 men	Flora Mann, Winifred Whelen, Lillian Berger, Steuart Wilson, Clive Carey and Cuthbert Kelly		Performed sat round a table
		AV, ID 4 (c.1924)	Cuthbert Kelly	Mixed adult voices	6	1 woman, 5 men*	<i>Above or</i> Nellie Carson, Norman Stone, Norman Notley (instead of) Whelen, Wilson and Carey?*		(as above)
Originally 4 members from St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London in 1917. Expanded in 1920. *They changed to the second line-up in 1924, but it is likely to be the original group making this recording prior to 1924. *Choir no longer exists*						Oxford Music Online; <i>Gramophone</i> ; <i>The Musical Times</i> ; Philip Reed, ed., <i>The Travel Diaries of Peter Pears, 1936-1978</i> (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995).			
<b>The Ensemble Amarcord</b> <i>Est. 1992</i>	Germany	AV, ID 89 (c.1998)		Men	5	<i>listed</i> 2 tenors, 2 baritones, 3 basses*	<i>Likely included:</i> Wolfram Lattke, Martin Lattke (t), Frank Ozimek (bar), Daniel Knauft, Holger Krause (b).	Recorded in Stiftskirche St. Petri auf dem Petersberg bei Halle	
		Current		Men	5	2 tenors, 1 baritone, 2 basses	Wolfram Lattke and Robert Pohlers (t), Frank Ozimek (bar); and Daniel Knauft and Holger Krause (b).	Based in Leipzig	
*These parts are listed on the album but unclear which tracks they sing; all other references state that they are a quintet. All former members of the St. Thomas Boys' Choir, Leipzig. Focus on early and contemporary repertoire.						<i>Gramophone</i> ; amarcord.de; allmusic.com; wikipedia.org			

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<b>The Erebus Ensemble</b> <i>Est. 2012</i>	UK	AD, ID M88 (c.2012)	Thomas Williams	Mixed adults	10	(likely same as below)		Sacred Heart RC Church, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol	
		Current	Thomas Williams	Mixed adults	10	<i>pictured</i> 4 women, 6 men.			
Young professional singers, noted to have also sang with Tallis Scholars, The Sixteen, Tenebrae and The Gabrieli Consort, though does not specify whom.						Sleeve notes; theerebusensemble.com			
<b>The Firesign Vocal Quartet</b>	USA	AD, ID M64 (c.2011)		Mixed adults (female altos)	4	1 soprano, 1 alto, 1 tenor, 1 bass	(likely same as below)		
		Current		Mixed adults (female altos)	4	1 soprano, 1 alto, 1 tenor, 1 bass	Donna Wickham (s), JoAnn Gudvangen-Brown (a), Benn Riggs (t) and Terry Shlenker (b)	Based in Denver	
All sing but not primarily vocalists.						firesignvocalquartet.com			
<b>The Fleet Street Choir</b> <i>Est. 1929</i>	UK	AV, ID 58 (c.1942)	T B Lawrence	Mixed adult voices					
		AD, ID M4 (c.1951)	T B Lawrence	Mixed adults (female altos)	30	<i>pictured</i> 20 women; 10 men		Brick building in Battersea	'much heavy rehearsal work'; weekly
Recordings based on T B Lawrence's own edition of the music. Began as an amateur choir from Fleet Street but gradually replaced with professional / trained singers as demand grew. Non-profit choir. *Choir no longer exists in this format*						Sleeve notes; Rosemary Hughes, "The Fleet Street Choir," <i>The Musical Times</i>			
<b>The Gents</b> <i>Est. 1999</i>	Holland	AV, ID 48 (5/2002)	Peter Dijkstra	Men		(likely similar to below)		Recorded in Oud-Katholieke Kerk, The Hague.	
		Current	Beni Csillag	Men	15	3 countertenors, 5 tenors, 3 baritones, 4 basses	(Dijkstra is still associate conductor)		
Members were previously associated with the Roden Boys Choir. This recording features a different arrangement of the piece.						thegents.nl			
<b>The Hilliard Ensemble</b> <i>Est. 1974</i>	UK	AV, ID 92 and AD, ID M22 (10/1983)	Paul Hillier	Men	4	1 countertenor, 2 tenors, 1 baritone	David James (ct), Paul Elliot, Leigh Nixon (t), Paul Hillier (bar)	Recorded at St James' Church, Clerkenwell, London	Perform from original notation (likely Hillier prepared)
		Current		Men	4	1 countertenor, 2 tenors, 1 baritone	James (ct), Rogers Covey-Crump, Steven Harrold (t), Gordon Jones (bar)		Sing using just intonation. They have set programmes to choose from.

## Appendix A

Specialise in early music and contemporary but perform other styles too. Initial members had been students at Oxford University. Had several members over time (including John Potter) but each has stayed for a long time, always ATTB. Relationship with German ECM label since 1988. *This group plan to split up at the end of 2014*						Sleeve notes; hilliardensemble.demon.co.uk; <i>Gramophone</i> ; allmusic.com; leighnixon.co.uk; alamire.co.uk; bach-cantatas.com			
The King's Singers <i>Est.</i> 1968	UK	AV, ID 109 (c.1977)		Men	6	2 countertenors, 1 tenor, 2 baritones, 1 bass	Nigel Perrin, Alastair Hume (ct), Alastair Thompson (t), Anthony Holt, Simon Carrington (bar), Brain Kay (b).		
		AV, ID 100 (3,7/1994)		Men	6	2 countertenors, 1 tenor, 2 baritones, 1 bass	David Hurley, Nigel Short (ct), Robert Chilcott (t), Bruce Russell, Philip Lawson (bar), Stephen Connolly (b)	Recorded in CTS Studios, Engineers Way, London.	
		AD, ID M44 (3/2005)		Men	6	2 countertenors, 1 tenor, 2 baritones, 1 bass	Hurley, Robin Tyson (ct), Paul Phoenix (t), Lawson, Christopher Gabbittas (bar), Connolly (b)	Recorded in St Andrew's Church, Toddington.	
		Current	(none, they are a 'healthy democracy')	Men	6	2 countertenors, 1 tenor, 2 baritones, 1 bass	Tim Wayne-Wright, Hurley (ct), Phoenix (t), Gabbittas, Christopher Bruerton (bar), Jonathan Howard (b).		2 hours before each concert, lots of attention to detail
Founded by choral scholars at King's College Cambridge, previously part of a group called 'Schola Cantorum Musica Profana'. Note, ID 100 is a completely different line-up to ID 109, though all were students of Cambridge University during the 1960s. Half of the line-up on ID M44 is different again to that of ID 100. Have been c.22 different members over the years; no originals since 1997. c.120 concerts per year. Long relationship with EMI.						Sleeve notes; <i>Gramophone</i> ; allmusic.com; kingsingers.com; nigelperrin.co.uk; wikipedia.org; streamnetweb.co.uk/alastairhume; stolaf.edu/personal.html; philiplawson.net; bach-cantatas.com			
The Lamentable Consort <i>Est.</i> 1978	Sweden	AV, ID 211 (1990)		Men	5	2 countertenors, 2 tenors, 1 bass	Mikael Bellini (ct), Bertil Marcusson (ct), Gunnar Andersson (t), Gary Graden (t), Olle Skold (b)	Petrus church, Stocksund	
Professional group. *Can find no current references to this group*.						Sleeve notes			
The Laudantes Consort <i>Est.</i> 1991	Belgium	AV, ID 54 (c.1994) and AV, ID 88 (c.1995)	Guy Jannssens	Mixed adults (male altos)	12	3 sopranos, 3 altos, 5 tenors, 3 basses			
		Current	Guy Jannssens	Mixed adult voices	12	(likely similar to above but varies*)			

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*Began with 12 singers; the core group are that number but singers are selected / varied based on the repertoire and their specialism. Initially focussed on Renaissance music but broadened after initial release.						laudantes.com			
The Linden Singers	UK	AV, ID 77 (c.1972)	Dinah Barsham						
Recorded to accompany course material on the Open University Arts Second Level Course, Renaissance and Reformation. *Choir no longer exists*						trove.nla.gov.au			
The London Chamber Singers <i>Est.</i> 1921	UK	AV, ID 133 (c.1950s)	Anthony Bernard						
Linked to the London Chamber Orchestra, *can find no current references to the choir alone*						Oxford Music Online; wikipedia.org; concertprogrammes.org.uk			
The London Choral Society* <i>Est.</i> 1903	UK	AD, ID M5	John Bath						
		Current	Ronald Corp	Mixed adult voices	120			Rehearse in Baden-Powell House	1
*Now known as 'The London Chorus'. Amateurs.						londonchorus.org.uk			
The Louis Halsey Singers <i>Est.</i> 1967	UK	AD, ID M15 (c.1970)	Louis Halsey						
*Can find no current references to this group*						Oxford Music Online; bach-cantatas.com			
The Martindale Sidwell Consort <i>Est.</i> 1952	UK	AD, ID M19 (6/1980)	Martindale Sidwell	Mixed adult voices	6	2 women, 4 men		Recorded in the Church of St. Anne and St. Agnes, London	
Professional sopranos, other singers were from Hampstead Church Choir. Never more than 20 members. *This choir disbanded in 1992*						martindalesidwell.org			
The Mastersingers of the San Antonio Symphony <i>Est.</i> 1944	USA	AV, ID 112 (c.1978)	Roger Melone			(usually a large choir)			
		Current	John Silantein	Mixed adults (female altos)	120	38 sopranos, 35 altos, 26 tenors, 35 basses			
Founded to support the opera productions of the orchestra but had own concerts too. Contains volunteer singers from the surrounding area.						samastersingers.org; nmphil.org/music-in-new-mexico/roger-melone-conductor			

## Appendix A

<b>The Montreal Bach Choir</b> <i>Est. 1951</i>	Canada	AD, ID M9 (c.1962)	George Little	Mixed adults (female altos)	30			Made in the USA	
Most members were not professional musicians. They sang more than just Bach. Performed from George Little's edition of the mass. *This choir disbanded in 1966.*						Sleeve notes; thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en			
<b>The Morriston Orpheus Choir</b> <i>Est. 1935</i>	UK	AV, ID 131 (c.1984)	Alwyn Humphreys	Men		(very large choir)		Based in the Calfaria Chapel in Morriston (nr. Swansea)	
		Current	Joy Amman Davies	Men	115	31 first tenors, 29 second tenors, 33 baritones, 22 basses		Based in a 'major industrial complex'	2 plus many extra before recordings
Originally a working men's choir. Welsh male-voice choir. Long relationship with EMI and Grasmere.						morristonorpheus.com			
<b>The Open Score Society</b>		AV, ID 6 (c.1952)	Francis Cameron						
*This choir no longer exists*									
<b>The Oxford Camerata</b> <i>Est. 1984</i>	UK	AD, ID M50 (12/1991)	Jeremy Summerly	Mixed voices (male altos)	12	5 women, 7 men*	(pictured in 1995 Robert Evans, Alison Coldstream, Daniel Normon, Andrew Carwood, Deborah Mackay, Robin Blaze, Carys-Anne Lane, Jonathan Arnold, Michael McCarthy, Rebecca Outram and Lisa Beckley).*	Recorded in Hertford College Chapel, Oxford	
		Current	Jeremy Summerly	Mixed adult voices		(as above)			
*The core group is 12 but they change as necessary for the repertoire; can be 4 - 40. Originally specialised in Renaissance music but expanded to other genres in 1990. Possibly Summerly's edition of the Mass.						Sleeve notes; oxfordcamerata.com; naxos.com/person/Oxford_Camerata; wikipedia.org;			
<b>The Parsons Affayre</b> <i>Est. 2009</i>	Australia	AV, ID 38 (c.2010)	Warren Trevelyan-Jones	Mixed adults (female altos)	8	2 sopranos, 2 altos, 2 tenors, 2 basses			
			Warren Trevelyan-Jones	Mixed adults (female altos)	8	2 sopranos, 2 altos, 2 tenors, 2 basses		Australia	
Founded after a summer school with the Tallis Scholars. Specialise in Renaissance music.						theparsonsaffectayre.com			
<b>The Preston Orpheus Choir</b> <i>Est. 1929</i>	UK	AV, ID 102 (c.1992)	Harry Duckworth?					Recorded at Lancashire Polytechnic	
		Current	Roselise Gentile						1

## Appendix A

Perform a range of repertoire. Amateur group.						prestonorpheuschoir.org;			
The Pro Arte Singers	USA	AD, ID M45 (5/2000)	Paul Hillier	Mixed adults (varied altos)	23	<i>listed (but unlikely all singing this track)</i> 6 sopranos, 4 altos, 6 tenors, 7 basses		Recorded in the Auer Recital Hall at Indiana University School of Music	
		Current	William John Gray	Mixed adult voices				Early Music Institute, Jacobs School of Music, Indiana University	3, fast-paced, focus on details not learning notes
*They are The Chamber Choir of the Early Music Institute at Indiana University but standard and activities are like that of a professional choir. ID M45 used Hillier's edition of the Mass. Specialise in Early Music and historical performance but have other repertoire too.						Sleeve notes; allmusic.com; music.indiana.edu/departments/ensembles/pro-arte.shtml			
The Purcell Singers <i>Est. 1952</i>	UK	AV, ID 66 (c.1963)	Imogen Holst	Adult voices (men?)			(included over the years: John Shirley-Quirk, Robert Tear and Philip Langridge, Roger Norrington and Grayston Burgess.)		
Perform a range of repertoire. Semi-professional. *There is now a choir under this name but it was only formed in 1994, so not the same as this group*						Oxford Music Online; wikipedia.org			
The Renaissance Singers <i>Est. 1944</i>	UK	AV, ID 8 (c.1956)	Michael Howard	Mixed adult voices					
		AD, ID M7 (c.1957)	Michael Howard	Mixed adults (male alto)		<i>sounds like</i> 4 - 8 voices		Studio	
		Current	David Allinson	Mixed adult voices	23	<i>pictured</i> 11 women, 12 men			
Formed as part of the Renaissance Society. Used Fellowes' edition of the Mass for ID M7. Reformed in 1992 after a 10-year gap.						Sleeve notes; theguardian.com; wikipedia.org; <i>Gramophone</i> ; renaissancesingers.com; newrenaissance.co.uk/renaissancesociety			
The Saltire Singers	UK	AV, ID 69 (c.1966)		Mixed adults (female altos)	5	<i>listed on album</i> 1 soprano, 1 alto, 2 tenors, 1 bass		Recorded in London	
*Can find no current references to this group*						Sleeve notes			
The Santa Barbara Quire of Voyces <i>Est. 1993</i>	USA	AV, ID 148 (c.2001)	Nathan J Kreitzer	(likely similar to below)					
			Nathan J Kreitzer	Mixed adult voices	25				Regular but not weekly; more in the run up to concerts

## Appendix A

*Based and affiliated to Santa Barbara City College Department of Music. Focus on Renaissance and modern sacred music. Singers auditioned annually; they are volunteers in the choir but professional singers from the area. Rely on sponsorship and donations.						quireofvoyces.org			
The Sixteen Est. 1997	UK	AD, ID M33 (9/1989)	Harry Christophers	Mixed adults (male altos)	16	*	<i>Includes:</i> Sally Dunkley (s), Michael Lees, Christopher Royall, (a) Tim Jones (b)*	Recorded in Boxgrove Priory, Chichester	
		AD, ID M41 and AV, ID 21 (3/2004)	Harry Christophers	Mixed adults (male altos)	16	<i>listed on album</i> 8 sopranos, 6 altos, 5 tenors, 4 basses*	Includes above members, all others are different, but now including Andrew Carwood (t)	Recorded in All Hallows Church, Gospel Oak	
		Current	Harry Christophers	Mixed adults (male altos)	16	<i>pictured</i> 7 women, 11 men; <i>listed</i> 5 sopranos, 2 countertenors, 2 tenors, 3 basses	<i>Includes:</i> Sally Dunkley, Julie Cooper, Grace Davidson, Kirsty Hopkins, Alexandra Kidgell, Charlotte Mobbs (s), David Clegg, Chris Royall (ct), Simon Berridge, Mark Dobell (t), Eamonn Dougan, Tim Jones, Rob Macdonald (b)		Sing most items through before a concert but not if they know them well
Professional singers. *Numbers are altered depending on the repertoire, not always made clear who sings on which tracks. Initially founded to perform lesser-known pieces from any era, but especially Renaissance. Singer credits were from the Salazar discography, but details are now no longer available online. They are the 'Voices of Classic FM'. Now have a full period orchestra too. Have had their own record label 'Coro' since 2011.						Sleeve notes; thesixteen.com; <i>Gramophone</i> ; allmusic.com; wikipedia.org; vocalfutures.org; bach-cantatas.com; alamire.co.uk; canterburychoral.co.uk;			
The St. Martin's Chamber Choir Est. 1994	USA	AD, ID M75 (c.2003)	Timothy J Krueger	Mixed adults (female altos)		(likely similar to below)			
		AV ID 155 (c.2006)	Timothy J Krueger	Mixed adults (female altos)		(likely similar to below)			
		Current	Timothy J Krueger	Mixed adults (female altos)	22	<i>pictured</i> 11 women, 11 men*		Colorado	
Fully-professional choir. Concerts can feature between 4 - 32 singers, using a pool of local singers.						smartinschanberchoir.org			
The Tallis Scholars Est. 1973	UK	AV, ID 13 and AD, ID M23 (9/1983)	Peter Phillips	Mixed adults (male altos)	8	2 sopranos, 2 altos, 2 tenors, 2 basses	Sally Dunkley, Alison Gough (s), Michael Chance, Robert Harre-Jones (ct), Rufus Muller, Nicolas Robertson (t), Francis Steele, Jeremy White (b)	Recorded in Merton College Chapel, Oxford	



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		AV, ID 26 and AD, ID M59 (c.2006)	Peter Phillips	Mixed adults (varied altos)	8	2 sopranos, 2 altos, 2 tenors, 2 basses	Tessa Bonner (AD) / Janet Coxwell (AV) Salley Dunkley (s), Caroline Trevor, Patrick Craig, (a) Andrew Carwood, Nicolas Todd (t), Donald Greig, Francis Steele (b)*	Recorded in Tewkesbury Abbey	
		Current	Peter Phillips	Mixed adult voices	10	two per part* <i>pictured</i> 5 women, 5 men			
Professional singers. Original members were students from Oxford and Cambridge. Used Phillips edition of the Mass. Have their own record label, 'Gimell'. Specialise in Renaissance repertoire and historical performance but perform a range. *More singers are listed on the album but they adjust numbers for different pieces; can be up to 12. Membership of the group remained pretty stable. Other editions by Sally Dunkley, Francis Steele and Deborah Roberts.							Sleeve notes; gimell.com/artist-the-tallis-scholars.aspx; thetallisscholars.co.uk; allmusic.com; wikipedia.org; Oxford Music Online; michaelchancecountertenor.co.uk; orlandoconsort.com; rufusmuller.com; discogs.com; lamaisonverte.co.uk; roh.org.uk; bach-cantatas.com; theguardian.com; hyperion-records.co.uk; new.spectator.co.uk; pamelahickmansmusicinterview.blogspot.com; alamire.co.uk		
The Tudor Choir Est. 1993	USA	AV, ID 203 (c.2012)	Doug Fullington	Mixed adult voices		(likely similar to below)			
		Current	Doug Fullington	Mixed adult voices	12	<i>pictured</i> 6 women, 9 men*		Based in Seattle. Have been resident choirs at: St. James Cathedral, Seattle; Artists-in-Residence at St. Mark's Cathedral, Seattle; and St. Thomas Episcopal Church, Medina.	
*Core group of 12 singers but can expand to up to 40 members. Professional choir. Links with Peter Phillips and The Tallis Scholars.						tudorchoir.org			
The Voices of Ascension Est. 1989	USA	AV, ID 43 (c.1994)	Dennis Keene	Mixed adults (male altos?)		(likely similar to below)		Recorded in the Church of Ascension, New York	
		Current	Dennis Keene	Mixed adult voices	20	20 - 40 members, depending on repertoire.		Links with the above church but independent.	
Choir evolved from a concert series given in the church. *Numbers vary depending on repertoire. Several members are also professional soloists. Relationship with Delos since 1993.						allmusic.com; voicesofascension.org			

## Appendix A

Theatre of Early Music Choir <i>Est. 2007</i>	Canada	AV, ID 194 (2012)	Daniel Taylor	Mixed adult voices (mixed altos)	18	6 sopranos, 4 altos, 4 tenors, 4 basses	Marie Magistry, Dawn Bailey, Helene Brunet, Dayna Lamothe, Jana Miller, Agnes Zsigovics (s), Alfred Lagrenade, Josee Lalonde, Charlotte Cumberbitch, Kyle Guilfoyle (a), Andrew Gray, Bernard Cayouette, Michel Leonard, Michiel Schrey (t), Normand Richard, Desmond Byrne, Martin Auclair, Philippe Martel (b)	St. Augustin de Mirabel's Church, St Matthias Church Westmount, Multi-Media Room, Schulich School of Music, McGill University, Montreal	
		Current	Daniel Taylor	Mixed adult voices (mixed altos)	18	Perform with 10 - 18 singers, depending on repertoire.*	(Named on website: 15 sopranos, 13 altos, 8 tenors, 11 basses).		
Professional singers, mostly young. *Says they perform with 10 – 18 singers, though many more singers’ names are listed on the site. Record exclusively for Sony Classical Masterworks. This is the associated choir with the orchestra, Theatre of Early Music.						Sleeve notes; theatreofearlymusic.com/temchoir.html			
Theatre of Voices <i>Est. 1990</i>	Denmark*	AD, ID M29 (2/1992)	Paul Hillier	Mixed adults (male alto)	4	1 soprano, 1 countertenor, 1 tenor, 1 baritone	Judith Nelson (s), Drew Minter (ct), Paul Elliot (t), Paul Hillier (bar)	Recorded in the Cathedral of Transfiguration, Toronto	
		Current	Paul Hillier	Mixed adult voices	8	<i>listed as main:</i> 1 soprano, 3 mezzo sopranos, 1 alto, 2 tenors, 1 bass; <i>listed as additional</i> 3 sopranos, 2 mezzo sopranos, 2 countertenors, 3 tenors	Else Torp (s) Signe Asmussen, Miriam Andersén (ms); Iris Oja (a), Chris Watson, Johan Linderöth (t), Jakob Bloch Jespersen (b).		
*Originally established in the US and then moved to Europe when Hillier did in 2003. Professional singers. Very international membership, most soloists. Numbers have ranged from 12 - 24. Specialise in early and contemporary repertoire. Maintained links with Harmonia Mundi.						Sleeve notes; theatreofvoices.com; allmusic.com; <i>Gramophone</i>			
Varbergs Kammarkor [Chamber Choir] <i>Est. 1976</i>	Sweden	AV, ID 52 (c.1990)	Folke Alm	Mixed adult voices		(likely similar or slightly less than below)			
		Current	Gunno Palmquist and John Landgren	Mixed adult voices	30	<i>pictured</i> c.30 singers			
Amateur choir.						varbergskammarkor.se (trans. Google)			

# Appendix A

<b>Vocal Appearance</b> <i>Est. 1997</i>	Germany	AV, ID 39 (c.2007)		Men	5	2 countertenors, 1 tenor, 2 basses	Christian Roid, Nils Groppe (ct), Ralf Jakel (t), Christian Vogt, Joachim Vogt (b).		
		Current		Men	5	2 countertenors, 1 tenor, 2 basses	(as above)		
Inspired by The King's Singers. Lots of changes in membership prior to 2002. Originally 6 singers. Focused on more 'serious' repertoire since 2006.						vocal-appearance.de (trans. Google)			
<b>Vocal Ensemble Kor - X</b>	Denmark	AV, ID 159 (c.1995)	Mads Bille						
*Can find no current reference to this choir*						herningkirkesdrengekor.dk (trans. Google); wikipedia.org; David M Cummings, <i>International Who's Who in Music and Musician's Directory, 2000-2001</i> , 17th ed. (Routledge, 2000).			
<b>Voces 8</b> <i>Est. 2003</i>	UK	AD, ID M62 (3/2011)	Barnaby Smith	Mixed adults (male altos)	8	2 sopranos, 2 countertenors, 2 tenors, 2 basses	Andrea Haines, Emily Dickens (s), Chris Wardle, Barnaby Smith (ct), Charles MacDougall, Robert Smith (t), Paul Smith, Dingle Yandell (b).		
		Current	Barnaby Smith	Mixed adults (male altos)	8	2 sopranos, 2 countertenors, 2 tenors, 2 basses	As above but with Oliver Vincent and Sam Dressel instead of MacDougall and Smith.	Based in London	All contribute to the interpretation
Founded by ex-choristers of Westminster Abbey. Perform a range of repertoire but specialise in classical. Lots of educational work. Voices of Edition Peters.						Sleeve notes; voces8.com; signumrecords.com			

## A.1.2 Statistics

The lists in this section amalgamate key points of information from the previous tables. Much like the profiles and discographies themselves, this appendix should be understood more as ‘showing the workings’ of my discussion in Chapter 1, laying out the supporting details. (I use figures rather than words for numbers both here and in the tables, to aid clarity).

### Institutions and Subcategories

#### *Institutional Choirs Total: 64*

The following list counts the institutional choirs and assesses the differences between cathedral and church, Catholic and Protestant, university college chapel (i.e. religious) and university chamber, as well as UK, Anglophone and European choirs.

Rydall School has been included in the count but not the list as I can find no other reference to this album. Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, has been counted as a cathedral. Most schools have been counted as ‘school chapel choirs’ because their main performance duties are services at the school and they have a large chapel on site; hence the assumption of religious affiliation. Westminster Abbey has been included as an Anglican Cathedral to differentiate from other abbeys that are practising monastic institutions.

UK Church or Chapel (Anglican)\*\*\*\*\* [6]

UK Anglican Cathedral \*\*\*\*\* [19]

UK Catholic Cathedral \* [1] (Westminster)

UK Abbey or Priory \*\* [2] (St. Michael’s Farnborough, Downside)

UK Oxbridge College Chapel \*\*\*\*\* [10]

UK College or University Church or Chapel \*\*\* [3] (Bristol, Durham, Glasgow)

UK College or University

UK School Church or Chapel \*\*\*\* [4] (Christ’s College, Christ’s Hospital, Oakham, Winchester)

UK School

USA / AU Episcopalian Church or Cathedral etc.\*\*\*\* [4]

USA / AU Catholic Church or Cathedral etc. \*\*\* [3]

USA / AU College Chapel or Church Choir \*\* [2]

USA / AU College or University Choir \*\*\*\*\* [6]

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EURO Episcopalian Church or Cathedral etc.\* [1] (Sweden Mariakoren)

EURO Catholic Church or Cathedral etc. \*\*[2] (Gibraltar, Ireland Palestrina)

International Catholic Choir Federation \* [1]

### Independents and Subcategories

#### *Independent Ensembles Total: 70*

The following list counts independent ensembles from different countries and then compares the number of professional and amateur choirs etc. Some personal judgement has been used to decide between 'professional' and 'semi-professional' based on information from the choir's website and activities; I have assumed the latter where the singers are musicians 'by trade' but may volunteer in this particular choir.

UK [30]

Europe [21]

Belgium\*\*\* France\*\*\* Sweden\*\*\* Denmark\*\* Netherlands\*\* Germany\*\* Ireland\*\*

Czech Republic\* Norway\* Austria\* Bulgaria\*

USA \*\*\*\*\* [11]

Australia \*\*\* [3]

Canada\*\*\*[3]

Mexico \*[1]

New Zealand \* [1]

Professional \*\*\*\*\* [45]

Semi-Professional \*\*\*\*\* [9]

Amateur \*\*\*\*\* [10]

Unknown \*\*\*\*\* [6]

### Ensemble Voicing

The following lists contain only those choirs for which information on group voicing could be obtained. 'Mixed adult voices' means that it was not clear whether the figures referred to male or female altos. Where there are two different listings, I have referred to the more detailed listing (i.e. where the type of alto is specified) or included the choir's initials in brackets with a corresponding note instead of an asterisk (i.e. where the ensemble has appeared in two different vocal arrangements, most of whom are thus listed twice).

*All Institutions [66 listings, 60 choirs]:*

Men: \*(NC) [2]  
 Men and boys: \*\*\*\*\* (P)(SD) [19]  
 Men and boys, *later added girls*: \*\*\*\*\* (SA) [12]  
 Mixed adults (female altos): \*\*\*\*\* (SD)(TB)(WP) [10]  
 Mixed adults (male altos): (CA)(WP) [2]  
 Mixed adults (varied altos): \*(CA) [3]  
 Mixed adults voices: \*\*\*\*\* [8]  
 Mixed adults and boys: (CH) [1]  
 Mixed adults and boys/girls: \*\*\*(MK)(TB) [5]  
 Boys: \* [1]  
 Boys and girls: \*(CH) [3]

(CH) Christ's Hospital: Was adults (female altos) and boys when recording, now boys and girls.

(CA) Church of the Advent: Was varied altos when recording, now all male.

(P) Portsmouth Cathedral: Main choir is men and boys but they had the youth choir and parish choir join to make the recording.

(SA) St. Anne's Cathedral, Belfast: Was men and boys when recording and hope to be again soon (according to website) but at the moment only have girl choristers.

(NC) New College: Made one recording with just the men, usually contains men and boys.

(SD) St. Paul's, Cathedral, Dundee: Was originally men and boys, now a choir of mixed adults.

(MK) Mariakoren: Was perhaps previously just girls, but likely had men and boys added for the recording. Now a mixed choir of adults and children.

(TB) Trinity Church, Boston: Made the recording with mixed adults, now have choristers too.

(WP) Westminster College, Princeton: Sounds like male altos on the recording but currently mixed with female altos.

The 4 choirs of boys and girls above are UK school choirs. The 6 choirs of mixed adults and children above are: Trinity Church Boston, The Mariakoren, Ewell Parish Church, Christ's Hospital (at one point), Gibraltar Cathedral (which was a youth choir) and Beverly Minster; these are foreign or more amateur church choirs.

*UK Institutions [47 listings, 44 choirs]:*

Men: \*(NC) [2]  
 Men and boys: \*\*\*\*\* (P)(SD) [17]

## Appendix A

Men and boys, *later added girls*: \*\*\*\*\* (SA) [11]

Mixed adults (female altos): \*\*\*\*\* (SD) [6]

Mixed adults (male altos):

Mixed adults (varied altos): \* [1]

Mixed adults voices: \*\*\* [3]

Mixed adults and boys: (CH) [1]

Mixed adults and boys/girls: \*\* [2]

Boys: \* [1]

Boys and girls: (CH)\*\* [3]

The 10 mixed adult choirs above are: Bristol University, Christ's College Cambridge, St. Paul's Cathedral Dundee, Clare College Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Cambridge, Durham University, Glasgow University, Keble College Oxford, Queens' College Cambridge and Woodford Parish Church.

### *International Institutions [19 listings, 16 choirs]:*

Men:

Men and boys: \*\* [2] (St. Thomas NY, Palestrina Dublin)

Men and boys, *later added girls*: \* [1] (Washington)

Mixed adults (female altos): \*(TB)\*(WP) [4]

Mixed adults (male altos): (CA)(WP) [2]

Mixed adults (varied altos): (CA)\* [2]

Mixed adults voices: \*\*\*\*\* [5]

Mixed adults and boys:

Mixed adults and boys/girls: \*(MK)(TB) [3]

Boys:

Boys and girls:

### *All Independents [65 listings, 63 choirs]:*

Mixed adults: \*\*\*\*\* [12]

Mixed adults (female altos): \*\*\*\*\* [23]

Mixed adults (male countertenors): \*\*\*\*\* (TS)(PMA)(CM) [13]

Mixed adults (varied altos): \*\*\*\*\* (TS) [6]

All male: \*\*\*\*\* (CM) [11]

(PMA) Pro Musica Antiqua: Appear as ATTB with female top line but the rest male.

(CM) Cardinall's Musick: Recorded with all male but change as necessary and usually have women.

(TS) Tallis Scholars: Have appeared and recorded with both all-male and mixed altos.

Below are some examples of some different voice arrangements (as opposed to SATB) in the independent category, as listed by the ensembles themselves. This does not include S Ct T B.

*All Male Ensembles:*

Ct T Bar B: New York Polyphony, The Cardinall's Musick (recording), The Gents, The King's Singers.

Ct T B (unclear which doubles): Pro Cantione Antiqua, Vocal Appearance.

Ct T T B: The Hilliard Ensemble, The Lamentabile Consort.

*Mixed Ensembles:*

A T T B: Pro Musica Antiqua.

S Ct T Bar: Theatre of Voices.

**Number of Singers in the Ensemble**

The figures regarding the number of singers in these ensembles must be understood as an *approximation only*. Numbers are subject to change and a degree of flexibility, and information is not always supplied on disc. In some cases, it has not been possible to ascertain any information about the size of the choir; the lists below include only those for which at least a fair approximation could be made. Wherever possible, I have given the number of singers on the specific track(s) in question, as well as the number currently in the ensemble, for example: '28/30' indicates 28 on the recording and 30 currently in the choir. (Multiple numbers appear where a choir has made more than one recording that appears in this investigation, showing the number of singers on each recording). Where the former information was not supplied, I have noted how many were on the album in question or, failing that, how many were known to be in the choir around the time of recording. Where a range in the amount of singers is given, I have noted either the format in which they most commonly appear or the higher amount. Sometimes, the only clue as to the number of singers is from photographs of the choir — the same applies for assessing the balance of men and women, or men and boys etc. below — but this of course gives just a rough indication. In the tables of Appendix A.1.1, I have indicated if the figures have been assumed from photographs. The lists are ordered from smallest to largest, according to the size of the ensemble at the time of recording (i.e. the former number), where this information was available; calculations of median average size were based on this.



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### *UK Church / Cathedral [24]:*

16, 16, 19, 20, 22, 23/22, 25, 26, 27, 27/30, 27/32, 28, 29/28, 30, 30, 30, 36, 37/34, 37/90

(Downside), 38 (Portsmouth), 42 (Belfast), 42 (Westminster A), 45/17 (Dundee), 48/50 (St. Paul's).

Range: 16 – 48/50. Median Average: c.28.

### *UK College [13]:*

22, 23/24, 24, 24/27/16/30/26 (New College), 25/16 (Durham), 27/26, 28, 28/30, 29, 29/31, 30, 32, 32.

Range: 22 – 32. Median Average: c.28.

### *UK Cathedral and Colleges [37]:*

16, 16, 19, 20, 22, 22, 23/22, 23/24, 24, 24/27/16/30/26 (New College), 25/16 (Durham), 25, 26, 27/26, 27, 27/30, 27/32, 28, 28, 28/30, 29, 29/28, 29/31, 30, 30, 30, 30, 32, 32, 36, 37/34, 37/90 (Downside), 38 (Portsmouth), 42 (Belfast), 42 (Westminster A), 45/17 (Dundee), 48/50 (St. Paul's).

Range: 16 – 48/50. Median Average: c.28. (25 out of 37 choirs have between 20 – 30 singers).

### *UK School Chapels [4]:* 38/36, 50, 73/28, 120

### *International Church / Cathedral [7]:* 17/20, 32, 40, 44, 45, 55, 65.

### *International College [3]:* 23, 24, 45.

*All International Institutions [10]:* 17/20, 23, 24, 32, 40, 44, 45, 45, 55, 65. Median Average: 42.

### *UK Independents [25]:*

4/4, 5, 5/5/4/4\*, 6, 6, 6/6/6/6, 6/6, 6, 8/8\*, 8/8\*, 8/8/10\*, 8/23, 9/10, 10, 10/10/10\*, 12\*, 12\*, 16/16/16\*, 20, 21/16, 24/24/22, 28/28, 30 (Fleet Street), 115 (Morrison), 120 (London CS).

Range: 4 – 30 (excluding Morrison and London CS as anomalies). Median Average: 8 – 10. (17 out of 25 choirs have between 4 – 12 singers).

### *European Independents [19]:*

4, 4/4\*, 4, 5, 5/5, 5/5, 4/8\*, 8, 8, 12\*, 12/12\*, 14/14/14, 15, 24, 30, 38, 39/37, 44 (Bulgarian Radio), 65 (Gloria).

Range: 4 – 65. Median Average: 12.

### *USA and Other Independents [18]:*

4/4/4, 4/4, 8/8, 4/28, 5, 13, 12\*, 12, 16, 17/19, 18, 20\*, 22\*, 23\*, 25, 26, 30, 120 (San Antonio)

Range: 4 – 30 (excluding San Antonio). Median Average: 16 – 19.

*All Independent Choirs [62]:*

4, 4, 4/4/4, 4/4, 4/4, 4/4, 4/8, 4/28, 5, 5, 5, 5/5, 5/5, 5/5/4/4, 6, 6, 6, 6/6/6/6, 6/6, 8/8, 8, 8, 8/8, 8/8, 8/8/10, 8/23, 9/10, 10, 10/10/10, 12, 12, 12, 12/12, 12, 12, 13, 14/14/14, 15, 16, 16/16/16, 17/19, 18, 20, 20, 21/16, 22, 23, 24, 24/24/22, 25, 26, 28/28, 30, 30, 30, 38, 39/37, 44, 65, 115, 120, 120.

Range: 4 – 120. Range Excluding Anomalies: 4 – 44. Median Average: c.12. (44 out of 62 choirs have 20 singers or fewer).

\*Starred numbers in this section above indicate groups who had insinuated, either on websites or sleeve notes, that their numbers were flexible depending on repertoire, or that the group performed in different guises. This includes 15 out of the 62 independent ensembles here. However, on returning to these choirs, only 9 direct statements of this fact could be found.

**Balance of Voices per Part**

The figures here were obtained by a variety of means — as detailed in the tables of Appendix A.1.1 — and should be read as approximations.

*UK CATHEDRAL AND COLLEGE CHOIRS OF MEN AND BOYS:*

The following list indicates the ratio of trebles to tenors or basses. Where just the number of ‘men’ in total was given in a source, I have divided this by three and worked on that basis; this is because the number of singers on alto, tenor and bass parts in institutional choirs tends to be fairly equal. Not all choirs are listed here, only the more secure examples.

*Choirs with 3 times as many trebles [3]:*

All Saints’ Church Maidstone, Jesus College Cambridge, Magdalen College Oxford.

*Choirs with 4 times as many trebles [6]:*

Christ Church Cathedral, King’s College Cambridge, New College Cambridge\*, St. John’s College Cambridge, St. Paul’s Dundee, Worcester Cathedral.

*Choirs with 5 times as many trebles [9]:*

Durham Cathedral, HM Chapels Royal, Llandaff Cathedral, Portsmouth Cathedral, Rochester Cathedral, St. Anne’s Belfast, Truro Cathedral, Wells Cathedral\*, Winchester Cathedral\*.

*Choirs with 6 times as many trebles [3]:*

Hereford Cathedral, Liverpool Cathedral, Westminster Cathedral\*.

*Choirs with 8 times as many trebles [3]:*

Salisbury Cathedral, St. Paul’s Cathedral\*, Westminster Abbey.

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### *Choirs with 10 times as many trebles [2]:*

Chester Cathedral, Ely Cathedral.

\*New College Choir seems to have varied in their ratios (see table) but features at least 3 times as many trebles and sometimes 5 times as many. St. Paul's Cathedral Choir is listed above in its current state (30 trebles versus 4 singers on other parts), but was marginally more balanced at the time of recording (6 on each of the other parts), bringing the ratio to 5 times as many trebles.

Wells Cathedral Choir was nearer to 6 times as many trebles at the time of recording.

Westminster Cathedral Choir had 4 fewer men at the time of recording in 1995, making the ratio of trebles potentially much higher, though the number of trebles on that album is not listed.

Winchester Cathedral Choir was actually much more balanced at the time of recording, with only 4 times as many trebles. Other figures above are representative of each choir both at the time of recording and in its current state.

### *UK MIXED INSTITUTIONAL CHOIRS:*

The following list gives an idea of voice distribution in mixed institutional choirs, focussing on the ratio of men to women. Choirs at the top of the list have more women than men; the ratio of men increases reading down the list.

*Bristol University:* Originally had more men than women (most altos, fewest tenors), now has 6 more women than men.

*Glasgow University:* 6 more women than men.

*Christ's College, Brecon:* More sopranos but by 6 maximum, 4 more women than men (fewest tenors).

*Durham University:* More sopranos but by 4 maximum, 3 more women than men.

*Keble College:* Even number of sopranos and basses, 1 more woman than men (fewest tenors).

*Ewell Parish Church:* Equal women and men.

*St. Paul's Cathedral, Dundee:* Equal women and men.

*Woodford Parish Church:* Equal women and men.

*Clare College:* 3 more men than women.

*Queens' College:* 3 more men than women.

### *INDEPENDENT ENSEMBLES:*

The following lists assess the balance of voices on each part in independent ensembles for which the exact distribution of voices is known. For ensembles that are 'near-equal' in balance, I show which parts have more or fewer singers in relation to the others, for example: 'BBC Singers

(+2s, -1a)' means that there are 2 more sopranos and 1 fewer alto in comparison to the number of tenors or basses.

*Ensembles that are exactly equal [21]:*

*1 per part [14]:*

Cantillation, New York Polyphony, Pro Musica Antiqua, Quink, Ambrosian Singers, Deller Consort (AD), Firesign, Hilliard Ensemble, Theatre of Voices, Quatuor Laque, St Matthew's Vocal Ensemble, Lamentabile Consort, Ascension Singers, (possibly Saltire Singers).

*2 per part [7]:*

English Renaissance, Aros Vokalensemble, Cardinal's Musick, The Parsons Affayre, Renaissance Singers, Tallis Scholars, Voces 8.

*Ensembles that are near-equal (maximum difference of 3 on a part) [16]:*

Saltire Singers (+1t), Chanticleer (-1a), Vocal Appearance (-1t), Pro Cantione (+1b), King's Singers (+1ct, +1bar), Deller Consort (MD) (+1t / +1s), Madrigalistas de Mexico (+2s), Armonico Consort (+2s), Theatre of Early Music (+2s), Laudantes Consort (+2t), Laudibus (+2s, -1a), BBC Singers (+2s, -1a), Amarcord (+1b / -1bar), Gents (+2t, +1b), Pro Arte Singers (+1b, -2a), Martindale Sidwell, Oxford Camerata (+3s).

There are 5 additional independent SATB choirs (female upper and male lower voices) where the numbers of men and women are known to be exactly equal, a further 2 that contain only 1-2 more women than men, and 3 that contain 1-2 more men than women.

*Ensembles that have noticeably more or less of a certain voice ('unbalanced') [6]:*

San Antonio Symphony (-9t, +3s), Morriston Orpheus (-8b, +3 tenors), The Sixteen (+3 or 4s), New Dublin Voices (+6s), Grex Vocalis (7-8 more women), Fleet Street (9-10 more women). (Oxford Camerata can sometimes be +4s).

## **Membership**

### **INDEPENDENT ENSEMBLES:**

Within the parameters of this study, I have not managed to piece together exactly how long every member was in each ensemble for. Here, I simply provide some of the highlights of information from certain ensembles to give a picture.

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*The Deller Consort*: Over their 4 recordings on this list (1959-1976), they show a gradual change in membership, each new album contains 2 singers who featured on the previous one, with people like Honor Sheppard, Maurice Bevan and Mark Deller showing particular commitment.

*The English Singers*: Kept the same line-up from 1919-1920 and then expanded. They stayed that way until 1924 and then changed the line-up completely.

*Ensemble Amarcord*: Only a few changes since 1992.

*Fleet Street Choir*: Replaced amateur volunteers from Fleet Street with professional singers.

*Hilliard Ensemble*: Has had changes since starting in 1974 but most singers stayed for a long time and membership remained fairly consistent. James, Covey-Crump, Potter and Jones were present for a long time and 3 of those are still in it now, along with Harrold, who replaced Potter in 1998. However, of those, only James was on the 1983 recording in this study.

*The King's Singers*: Have had c.22 different members involved since 1968. In 1997 there were no originals left. The line-up from the 1977 album is totally different to that in 1994, but the change from 1994, to 2005, to 2014 is more gradual, with a few members crossing over. Several members were in the group for a long time; generally at least 8 years, most more than 10 and some nearing and over 20 years.

*Laudantes Consort*: Have expanded in number but kept the same group of 12 core singers.

*The Sixteen*: Has seen a steady change in membership but most singers were present for many years; 4 singers from the 1989 album were still on the 2004 album. Dunkley and Jones still sing with them now (there is likely to be several more but not all their names are listed). Lots of singers say they have been in the choir since the 1980s and 1990s.

*The Tallis Scholars*: A fairly stable membership with gradual changes. 3 of the singers on the 1983 album are still on the 2006 album.

*Theatre of Voices*: Have a completely different membership now in comparison to the album because Hillier moved the choir from Indiana University to Denmark.

*Vocal Appearance*: Same from 2007 to now.

*Voces 8*: Only 2 changes since 2003.

### UK INSTITUTIONAL CHOIRS:

The following list assesses the number of lay clerks and choral scholars in choirs for which the information was available. This gives an indication of membership turnover within different choirs, as lay clerks are more permanent members of the choir, while choral scholars remain only for a few years. The figures below concern only the singing men, not choristers.

*All lay clerks in the choirs at [7]:*

HM Chapel Royal (men are 'Gentlemen-in-Ordinary')  
 Salisbury Cathedral  
 St. Paul's Cathedral London  
 Westminster Abbey  
 Westminster Cathedral  
 Winchester Cathedral  
 Liverpool Cathedral (with additional deputies)

*Mostly lay clerks in the choirs at [7]:*

Chester Cathedral (all lay clerks, choral scholars sometimes join)  
 Ely Cathedral (6 lay clerks only, volunteers added on Sundays)  
 St. Edmundsbury Cathedral (volunteer lay clerks, 2 choral scholars)  
 Wells Cathedral (9 lay clerks, 3 choral scholars)  
 Rochester Cathedral (mostly lay clerks, 3 choral scholars)  
 Hereford Cathedral (6 lay clerks, 9 on weekends, 3 choral scholars)  
 New College Oxford (6 lay clerks, 3 choral scholars)

*Even or unspecified mix of choral scholars and lay clerks in the choirs at [6]:*

Portsmouth Cathedral (even)  
 Truro Cathedral (even)  
 Christ Church Cathedral Oxford (mix)  
 St. Anne's Cathedral Belfast (mix)  
 Worcester Cathedral (mix)  
 Magdalen College (8 'singing men', 4 chaplains, 4 choral scholars).

*Mostly choral scholars in the choirs at [3]:*

Durham Cathedral (7 choral scholars, 5 lay clerks),  
 Glasgow University (11 choral scholars, some lay clerks, the rest volunteers)  
 ?St. Paul's Cathedral Dundee (up to 8 choral scholars)?

*No lay clerks in the choirs at [7]:*

Christ's College Cambridge (all students - mostly scholars)  
 Clare College Cambridge (all students - some scholars, some volunteers),  
 Corpus Christ College Cambridge (all students – 6 scholars, 16 volunteers),  
 Durham University (all students – 8 scholars, 14 volunteers)  
 Keble College Oxford (all students – 12 choral scholars, c.12 volunteers)  
 St. John's College, Cambridge (all choral scholars)  
 King's College Cambridge (all choral scholars)

### **Different Vocal Combinations in Institutional Choirs**

Though institutional choirs of men and boys commonly appear and record in that 'traditional' format, they also give services in varied combinations. The list below details some of the UK institutional choirs who currently offer any weekly services in a format other than their usual line-up of men and boys.

#### *Choirs who give a service with men only [10]:*

Christ Church Cathedral, Downside Abbey, King's College Cambridge, Portsmouth Cathedral, St. John's College Cambridge, St. Michael's Abbey, St. Paul's Cathedral, Wells Cathedral, Westminster Cathedral, Worcester Cathedral.

#### *Choirs who give a service with just boy choristers [3]:*

Llandaff Cathedral, St. Edmundsbury Cathedral, St. Paul's Cathedral.

#### *Choirs who give a service with just girl choristers [1]:*

St. Anne's Cathedral Belfast (who only have girl choristers)

#### *Choirs who give a service with boy and girl choristers together [0]:*

Some choirs have introduced girl choristers. The list below shows how many services girls currently sing. This includes Washington National Cathedral (USA) in addition to UK institutions.

#### *Choirs where girls sing an equal share of the services [3]:*

Chester Cathedral, Salisbury Cathedral, Rochester Cathedral (almost).

#### *Choirs where girls sing some services but less than the boys [4]:*

Durham Cathedral (take turns on weekdays), Liverpool Cathedral (1 and 3 alternating versus boys 3 and 3 alternating), Wells Cathedral, Washington National Cathedral.

#### *Choirs where girls sing only a few services [4]:*

Beverly Minster (1 per month), Ely Cathedral (2 versus boys 5), Winchester Cathedral (1 versus boys 6), Worcester Cathedral (1 versus boys 5).

### **Weekly Rehearsals and Services: Institutions**

The list below shows the current number of weekly rehearsals undertaken by all institutional choirs for which the details were available. The letters in brackets indicate whether the rehearsals are for choristers (Ch), men (M), or all singers, where these specifics were provided. Much of this rehearsal is during term time only, though this is not always stated.

#### *1 rehearsal per week [3]:*

Beverly Minster (1 each for Ch, M, W), St. Anne's Belfast, Trinity Church Boston.

*2 rehearsals per week [4]:*

Bristol University, Llandaff Cathedral (1 Ch + 1 all), Oakham School Chapel, Woodford Parish.

*3 rehearsals per week [7]:*

Christ's College Brecon, Christ's College Cambridge, Durham University, Palestrina Choir Dublin, HM Chapels Royal (Ch), Redlands University, St. Paul's Dundee (2 Ch + 1 all).

*4 rehearsals per week [3]:*

Corpus Christi College Cambridge, Jesus College Cambridge (Ch), Queens' College Cambridge

*5 rehearsals per week [2]:*

Chester Cathedral (Ch), Portsmouth Cathedral (Ch 4 mornings + before 5 services)

*Daily or almost daily rehearsals [20]:*

Christ Church Cathedral (Ch mornings + all before service), Durham Cathedral (Ch mornings + all before service), Ely Cathedral (Ch mornings + all before service), King's College Cambridge (Ch daily + all before service), Hereford Cathedral (6 Ch + 6 all), Liverpool Cathedral, New College Oxford, Rochester Cathedral (boys daily, girls 5), Salisbury Cathedral (Ch), St. Edmundsbury Cathedral (Ch), St. John's Cambridge (Ch daily + all before Evensong), St. Paul's Cathedral (likely), St. Thomas' NY (Ch), Truro Cathedral (Ch daily + all before Evensong), Washington National Cathedral (Ch almost daily + all before service), Wells Cathedral (likely), Westminster Abbey, Westminster Cathedral (likely), Winchester Cathedral (Boy Ch almost daily, Girls 2), Worcester Cathedral (likely).

The following list shows the current number of services taking place per week at all institutions for which the details were available, including international choirs.

*1 service per week [7]:*

Bristol University, Christ's College Brecon, Church of the Advent, Glasgow University, HM Chapels Royal\*, St. Patrick's Cathedral NY, St. Paul's Dundee\*.

*2 services per week [9]:*

All Saints' Maidstone, Christ's College Cambridge, Christ's Hospital, Durham University, Ewell Parish Church, Keble College Oxford, Trinity Church Boston, Woodford Parish, St. Ignatius Loyola.

*3 services per week [4]:*

Beverly Minster, Clare College Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Cambridge, Queens' College Cambridge.



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### *4 services per week [3]:*

St. Anne's Belfast\*, Winchester College, Palestrina Choir of St Mary's Dublin,

### *5 services per week [3]:*

Jesus College Cambridge\*, Llandaff Cathedral, St. Edmundsbury Cathedral.

### *6 services per week [6]:*

Magdalen College Oxford, New College Oxford, Portsmouth Cathedral, St. Thomas' Church NY, Truro Cathedral, Washington National Cathedral.

### *7 services (daily) or more per week [16]:*

Westminster Cathedral (14)\*, Christ Church Cathedral (9), Salisbury Cathedral (9), Wells Cathedral (9), Chester Cathedral (8)\*, Durham Cathedral (8), Ely Cathedral (8), Hereford Cathedral (8), Rochester Cathedral (8), St. Paul's Cathedral (8), Westminster Abbey (8), Winchester Cathedral (8), Worcester Cathedral (8), King's College Cambridge (7), Liverpool Cathedral (7), St. John's College Cambridge (7).

### *Daily Round of Office [3]:*

Servants of the Holy Family, Downside Abbey, St. Michael's Abbey.

\* HM Chapels Royal Choir sing in lots of other royal services. St. Paul's Dundee also offer 1 Evensong per month. St. Anne's Belfast only does 2 Sunday services every other week. 2 of Jesus College's services are the men from the choir singing with women from the college. Westminster Cathedral say they sing daily Mass and Vespers, though the latter is just the men. Chester Cathedral have increased from 7 weekly services to 8.

## **Choir Schools**

The following institutions specify that they have an attached choir school [21]:

Christ Church Cathedral, Downside Abbey, Durham Cathedral, Ely Cathedral, Hereford Cathedral, King's College Cambridge, Llandaff Cathedral, Magdalen College Oxford, New College Oxford, Rochester Cathedral (for boys), Salisbury Cathedral, St. John's College Cambridge, St. Paul's Cathedral, St. Thomas' New York\*, Truro Cathedral, Washington National Cathedral\*, Wells Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, Westminster Cathedral, Winchester Cathedral, Worcester Cathedral (for boys).

\*Note that two of these choirs are in the USA.

Though two institutions explicitly state that the choir school is for boy choristers only, it is likely that many others are the same. Choristers of HM Chapels Royal attend 'City of London School' (as do those of the Temple Church Choir); 3 schools in Belfast have joined together to provide similar for St. Anne's Cathedral.

## A.2 UK People Profiles

The 'Table of People' below contains all named directors of the UK choirs listed in the choral profiles, as well as all named singers in UK independent ensembles, credited either at the time of recording or at the time of writing. In addition, current organ scholars or assistant organists of institutional choirs in question are also included. Individuals are listed alphabetically within particular categories; they are categorised according to the type of ensemble they were primarily involved with within the context of this investigation. In order, the categories are: UK Cathedrals, 'Oxbridge' Colleges, Other UK Religious Institutions and Other UK Educational Institutions, with Independents forming a separate table. The column headings in the institutional and independent tables are slightly different; those few individuals who listed information that would have come under column headings from the other category are included in a separate table at the end.

Listed in the 'Table of People' are the main institutions and ensembles that each individual has had some association with during their career, organised according to type of association (i.e. as a choral scholar, assistant organist etc.). The information here has been obtained from the basic sources listed for each ensemble in the choral profiles table. It represents just the key biographical information as provided on ensemble and singer websites, thus presenting the *minimum* number of associations for each individual; it is not a definitive list of their experience and does not often include links to choirs or establishments that are less well known, or details of opera and concert work.

The 'Table of Place Associations' which follows counts the number of individuals with associations to: major London institutions, cathedrals to which at least two people in this study have been affiliated, all Oxford and Cambridge colleges in this study, and independent ensembles to which several individuals have been affiliated.

## A.2.1 Table of People

Name	Main Group Listing in this Study	Chorister / Student / Choral Scholar	Organ Scholar / Assistant Organist	Director / Organist / Lecturer
UK CATHEDRALS				
<b>Aldhouse, Edmund</b>	Ely Cathedral (current asst.)	Manchester Cathedral; Chetham's; Pembroke College, Oxford	Ripon Cathedral; Rochester Cathedral; Chichester Cathedral; Ely Cathedral	
<b>Allsop, Christopher</b>	Worcester Cathedral (current asst.)		St. Martin-in-the-Fields; St. George's Chapel, Windsor; Trinity College, Cambridge; Birmingham Cathedral; Worcester Cathedral	Birmingham Conservatoire
<b>Archer, Malcolm*</b>	Wells Cathedral (ID 47) <i>and*</i> Winchester College (ID 160)	RCM	Jesus College, Cambridge; Norwich Cathedral	Bristol Cathedral; Wells Cathedral; St. Paul's Cathedral; Winchester College
<b>Baker, Martin</b>	Westminster Cathedral (current)	RNCM; Chetham's; St. Ambrose College	Downing College, Cambridge; Westminster Cathedral; St. Paul's Cathedral	Westminster Abbey; Westminster Cathedral
<b>Bowen, Geraint</b>	Hereford Cathedral (ID 37)	Hampstead Parish Church (under Martindale Sidwell); Trinity College, Dublin	Jesus College, Cambridge; Hereford Cathedral	St. David's Cathedral; Hereford Cathedral; Hereford Choral Society
<b>Carwood, Andrew***</b>	St. Paul's Cathedral (ID 7) <i>and*</i> The Cardinal's Musick (ID M27) <i>and*</i> The Sixteen (ID M41) <i>and*</i> The Tallis Scholars (ID 26)	St. John's College, Cambridge (under George Guest)		St. Paul's Cathedral; The Cardinal's Musick; Alamire
<b>Castle, George</b>	Winchester Cathedral (current asst.)	Durham Cathedral	Worcester Cathedral; Trinity College, Oxford; Worcester College, Oxford; Winchester Cathedral	
<b>Challenger, John</b>	Salisbury Cathedral (current asst.)	Hereford Cathedral (under Geraint Bowen)	St. George's, Windsor; St. John's College, Cambridge (under Andrew Nethsingha); Salisbury Cathedral	
<b>Chewter, Benjamin</b>	Chester Cathedral (current asst.)	Christ's Hospital; Canterbury Cathedral; Emmanuel College, Cambridge	King's Voices; Westminster Abbey (under James O'Donnell); Lincoln Cathedral; Chester Cathedral	
<b>Cook, Daniel</b>	Westminster Abbey (current asst.)	Durham Cathedral; RAM (under James O'Donnell)	Worcester Cathedral; Southwark Cathedral; Salisbury Cathedral; Westminster Abbey	St. David's Cathedral
<b>Crossland, Anthony</b>	Wells Cathedral (ID 93)			Wells Cathedral
<b>Darlington, Stephen</b>	Christ Church Cathedral (current)	Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford (under Preston)	Canterbury Cathedral	St. Albans' Cathedral; 'choragus' of Oxford University

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<b>Dykes Bower, John</b>	St. Paul's Cathedral (ID 7)		Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	Truro Cathedral; New College, Oxford; Durham Cathedral; St. Paul's Cathedral; RCM
<b>Farrell, Scott</b>	Rochester Cathedral (current)	University of London	Ely Cathedral; St. Edmundsbury Cathedral	Newcastle Cathedral; Rochester Cathedral
<b>Fisher, Roger</b>	Chester Cathedral (ID M57)	RCM (under Harold Darke and Herbert Howells)	Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford; Hereford Cathedral	St. Mark's, London; Chester Cathedral
<b>Ferguson, Barry</b>	Rochester Cathedral (ID M51)	Exeter Cathedral; Clifton College	Peterhouse, Cambridge; Peterborough Cathedral	Wimborne Minster; Rochester Cathedral
<b>Gray, Christopher</b>	Truro Cathedral (current)	Pembroke College, Cambridge	Truro Cathedral	Truro Cathedral
<b>Guest, Douglas</b>	Westminster Abbey (ID 70)	RCM; King's College, Cambridge		Salisbury Cathedral; Worcester Cathedral; Westminster Abbey; RCM
<b>Gunga, Sachin</b>	Llandaff Cathedral (current asst.)	Derby Cathedral; Trinity Hall, Cambridge; Birmingham Conservatoire	Truro Cathedral; Wells Cathedral; Llandaff Cathedral	
<b>Halls, David</b>	Salisbury Cathedral (current)	Harrogate Grammar	Worcester College, Oxford; Winchester Cathedral (under James Lancelot)	Harrogate Church; Salisbury Cathedral
<b>Hancock, Oliver</b>	Portsmouth Cathedral (current asst.)		Selwyn College, Cambridge; Jesus College, Oxford; Ely Cathedral Girls; Portsmouth Cathedral	
<b>Hill, David</b>	Winchester Cathedral (ID M53) <i>and</i> * The BBC Singers (current)	Chetham's	St. John's College, Cambridge (under George Guest)	Winchester Cathedral; St. John's College, Cambridge; Westminster Cathedral; The BBC Singers; The Bach Choir; The Southern Sinfonia; Leeds Philharmonic; RAM
<b>Hunt, Donald</b>	Worcester Cathedral (ID 103)	RCM	Gloucester Cathedral	Leeds Parish Church; Worcester Cathedral; (Halifax choirs)
<b>Johnson, Simon</b>	St. Paul's Cathedral (current asst.)	Peterborough Cathedral	Rochester Cathedral; Norwich Cathedral; St Paul's Cathedral	Northampton Church; St. Alban's Abbey Girls' Choir
<b>Joyce, Robert</b>	Llandaff Cathedral (ID 75)		Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	Llandaff Cathedral
<b>Lancelot, James</b>	Durham Cathedral (ID 32)	St. Paul's Cathedral	King's College, Cambridge; Winchester Cathedral	Durham Cathedral
<b>Lightband, Robert</b>	St. Paul's Cathedral, Dundee (ID 104)	Harrow; St. Andrew's University	St. Paul's Cathedral, Dundee	Forfar Academy, Dundee; St. Paul's Cathedral, Dundee
<b>Long, Lancelot</b>	Westminster Cathedral (ID 5)	Westminster Cathedral (under Richard Terry); RCM; Oxford University		Westminster Cathedral
<b>Lumsden, Andrew</b>	Winchester Cathedral (current)	Winchester College; RSAMD; St. John's College, Cambridge	Southwark Cathedral; Westminster Abbey	Lichfield Cathedral; Winchester Cathedral; Waynflete Singers
<b>Malcolm, George</b>	Westminster Cathedral (ID M8)	RCM; Balliol College, Oxford		Westminster Cathedral

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<b>McKie, William</b>	Westminster Abbey (ID M11)	RCM; Worcester College, Oxford		Clifton College, Bristol; Magdalen College, Oxford; Westminster Abbey
<b>Moorhouse, Richard</b>	Llandaff Cathedral (current)	Manchester Cathedral; Chetham's; RAM	Westminster Abbey; St. Paul's Cathedral	Llandaff Cathedral
<b>Muir, Stuard</b>	St. Paul's Cathedral, Dundee (current)	RSAMD	St. Mary's Cathedral, Glasgow	St. Paul's Cathedral, Dundee
<b>Nardone, Peter</b>	Worcester Cathedral (current)	Paisley Abbey Choir; RSAMD; RAM	Paisley Abbey; Croydon Parish Church; Chapel Royal of St. Peter ad Vincula, Tower of London	Croydon Parish Church; Croydon Bach Choir; Chelmsford Cathedral; Worcester Cathedral
<b>Nethsingha, Andrew*</b>	Truro Cathedral (ID 36) <i>and</i> * St. John's College, Cambridge (current)	Exeter Cathedral; RCM	St. George's, Windsor (under Christopher Robinson); St. John's College, Cambridge (under George Guest); Wells Cathedral	Truro Cathedral; Gloucester Cathedral; St. John's College, Cambridge
<b>O'Donnell, James*</b>	Westminster Abbey (current) <i>and</i> * Westminster Cathedral (ID 23)	RCM; Jesus College, Cambridge		Westminster Cathedral; Westminster Abbey
<b>Owens, Matthew</b>	Wells Cathedral (current)	Chetham's; Manchester University; RNCM	Queen's College, Oxford; National Youth Choir; Manchester Cathedral	St. Mary's Episcopal Cathedral, Edinburgh; Wells Cathedral
<b>Padmore, Andrew</b>	St. Anne's Cathedral, Belfast (ID 124)			Cork Cathedral; St. Anne's Cathedral Belfast; (choirs in Yorkshire)
<b>Poulter, David</b>	Liverpool Cathedral (current)	Rochester Cathedral; RCM; University of London; Trinity College, London;	Rochester Cathedral	Coventry Cathedral; Liverpool Cathedral
<b>Preston, Simon</b>	Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford (ID M17)	King's College, Cambridge (under Willcocks); RAM		Westminster Abbey; Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford
<b>Price, David</b>	Portsmouth Cathedral (ID 49)		Rochester Cathedral; Croydon Minster; Ely Cathedral	Portsmouth Cathedral
<b>Ratnanayagam, David</b>	Durham Cathedral (current asst.)	Durham University	St. Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne; Durham Cathedral	St. Cuthbert's, Darlington
<b>Robinson, Christopher*</b>	Worcester Cathedral (ID M14) <i>and</i> * St. John's College Choir, Cambridge (ID 140)	Rugby	Christ Church College, Oxford; New College, Oxford; Worcester Cathedral	Worcester Cathedral; St. John's College, Cambridge; St. George's Chapel, Windsor; (Oxford choirs)
<b>Rushforth, Phillip</b>	Chester Cathedral (current)	Chester Cathedral; Trinity College, Cambridge (under Richard Marlow)	Southwell Minster; Chester Cathedral	Chester Cathedral
<b>Seal, Richard</b>	Salisbury Cathedral (ID 91)	Cranleigh School, Surrey; New College, Oxford; RCM	Christ's College, Cambridge; Kingsway Hall, London; St. Batholemew-the-Great Smithfield, London; Chichester Cathedral (under John Birch)	Salisbury Cathedral
<b>Soper, Daniel</b>	St. Edmundsbury Cathedral (current asst.)	Canterbury Cathedral; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	Croydon Church; Chelmsford Cathedral; Rochester Cathedral; St. Edmundsbury Cathedral	

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<b>Stevens, David</b>	St. Anne's Cathedral, Belfast (current)	RAM	Oriel College, Oxford	Newcastle Cathedral Girls; St. Anne's Cathedral, Belfast
<b>Stevens, Peter</b>	Westminster Cathedral (current asst.)	Chetham's	Manchester Cathedral; St. George's Chapel, Windsor; King's College, Cambridge; Westminster Cathedral	
<b>Thomas, James</b>	St. Edmundsbury Cathedral (ID M81)	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge	Blackburn Cathedral; Chichester Cathedral	Prebendal School, Chichester; St. Edmundsbury Cathedral
<b>Tracey, Ian</b>	Liverpool Cathedral (ID 123)	Liverpool Cathedral; Trinity College, London		Liverpool Cathedral; Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Chorus; John Moores University
<b>Trepte, Paul</b>	Ely Cathedral (current)		New College, Oxford; Worcester Cathedral	St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Warwick; St. Edmundsbury Cathedral; Ely Cathedral
<b>Vaughan, Jonathan</b>	Wells Cathedral (current asst.)		Croydon Church; St. George's Chapel, Windsor; St. John's College, Cambridge; St. Edmundsbury Cathedral; Wells Cathedral	
<b>Wills, Arthur</b>	Ely Cathedral (ID 67)			RAM; Ely Cathedral
<b>Woan, Ronald</b>	Liverpool Cathedral (ID 76)	Liverpool Cathedral		Liverpool Cathedral
<b>'OXBRIDGE' COLLEGES</b>				
<b>Brown, Timothy</b>	Clare College, Cambridge (ID 27)	Westminster Abbey; King's College, Cambridge (under Willcocks)		Clare College, Cambridge; Cambridge University Chamber Choir; English Voices
<b>Cleobury, Stephen</b>	King's College, Cambridge (ID 14)	Worcester Cathedral	St. John's College, Cambridge (under George Guest, David Willcocks and Peter le Huray); Westminster Abbey	Westminster Cathedral; King's College, Cambridge; The BBC Singers; RCM
<b>Grahl, Steven</b>	New College, Oxford (current asst.)	Derby Cathedral; Magdalen College, Oxford; RAM	Norwich Cathedral; New College, Oxford	(choirs in Marylebone)
<b>Guest, George</b>	St. John's College, Cambridge (ID M26)	Bangor Cathedral; Chester Cathedral	St. John's College, Cambridge	Flintshire Church; Chester Cathedral; St. John's College, Cambridge
<b>Higginbottom, Edward</b>	New College, Oxford (ID 127)		Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	New College, Oxford
<b>Houssart, Robert</b>	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (current)		St. John's College, Cambridge; Westminster Cathedral; Gloucester Cathedral; Bath Abbey	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
<b>Hyde, Daniel</b>	Magdalen College, Oxford (current)	Durham Cathedral	Perth Cathedral, Australia; King's College, Cambridge (under Stephen Cleobury and Christopher Robinson); London Bach Choir	Jesus College, Cambridge; Cambridge University Chamber Choir; Magdalen College, Oxford

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<b>Lumsden, David</b>	New College, Oxford (ID 107)		Selwyn College, Cambridge; St. John's College, Cambridge;	St. Mary's, Nottingham; Southwell Minster; New College, Oxford; RSAMD; RAM; (Oxford ensembles)
<b>Mark, Lee</b>	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (ID 130)		Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; Gloucester Cathedral	Bristol Cathedral
<b>Maxson, Steven</b>	Keble College, Oxford (ID 106)		Keble College, Oxford; Cardiff Metropolitan Cathedral	Grimsby Parish Church; (choirs in the North East)
<b>Ord, Boris</b>	King's College, Cambridge (ID M3)		Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	King's College, Cambridge
<b>Parry, Ben</b>	King's College, Cambridge (current asst.)	King's College, Cambridge	King's College, Cambridge	London Voices; National Youth Choir; The Swingle Singers; Dunedin Consort
<b>Rose, Bernard</b>	Magdalen College, Oxford (ID 114)	Salisbury Cathedral; RCM	St. Catherine's College, Cambridge	Queen's College, Oxford; Magdalen College, Oxford; (choirs in Oxford)
<b>Ross, Graham</b>	Clare College, Cambridge (current)	Clare College, Cambridge; RCM	London Symphony Chorus	Clare College, Cambridge; The Dmitri Ensemble
<b>Rowland, David</b>	Christ's College, Cambridge (ID M77)		Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; King's College, Cambridge	Glasgow University; Christ's College, Cambridge; Welsh National Youth Choir; Open University
<b>Stopford, Phillip</b>	Keble College, Oxford (ID 56)	Westminster Abbey (under Simon Preston and Martin Neary);	Truro Cathedral (under Andrew Nethsingha); Keble College, Oxford; Canterbury Cathedral; Chester Cathedral	St. Anne's Cathedral, Belfast
<b>Swinson, David</b>	Jesus College Choir, Cambridge (ID 46)	Magdalen College, Oxford; RCM	Jesus College, Cambridge	Trinity School, Croydon
<b>Whalley, Simon</b>	Keble College, Oxford (current)		Keble College, Oxford	Keble College, Oxford
<b>Willcocks, David</b>	King's College, Cambridge (ID 64)	Westminster Abbey; RCM	King's College, Cambridge	Salisbury Cathedral; Worcester Cathedral; King's College, Cambridge; London Bach Choir; RCM
<b>Williams, Mark</b>	Jesus College Choir, Cambridge (current)		Truro Cathedral; Trinity College, Cambridge; St. Paul's Cathedral	St. Paul's Cathedral School
<b>Wollston, Silas</b>	Queens' College, Cambridge (current)	St. Paul's Cathedral; Guildhall;	Trinity College, Cambridge; The Monteverdi Choir	The Private Music; Queens' College, Cambridge
<b>Woodcock, David*</b>	Queens' College, Cambridge (ID 128) <i>and*</i> Oakham School Chapel (ID 101)	Canterbury Cathedral	Canterbury Cathedral; Queens' College, Cambridge	Queens' College, Cambridge; Oakham School; Harrow; Tallis Scholars Summer Schools
<b>OTHER UK RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS</b>				
<b>Hickox, Richard</b>	St. Margaret's, Westminster (ID M18)	RAM	Queens' College, Cambridge	Richard Hickox Singers; St. Margaret's, Westminster; London Symphony Chorus; (opera direction)

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<b>Holmes, Jonathan</b>	Ewell Parish Church (current)	RCM	Queen's College, Oxford	(schools including Monmouth and Cranleigh); Ewell Parish Church
<b>Lawson, David</b>	Downside Abbey (ID 97)	Liverpool University	Liverpool Metropolitan Cathedral	Downside Abbey (boys); (other schools)
<b>Matthias, Phillip</b>	Ewell Parish Church (ID 118)	RCM	Sydney University; St. James' Church, Sydney	Ewell Parish Church; Christ Church Cathedral, Newcastle, Australia; Newcastle University
<b>Oliver, Aidan</b>	St. Margaret's, Westminster (current)	Westminster Cathedral; Eton College; King's College, Cambridge; Harvard University; King's College, London	(opera in London)	St. Margaret's, Westminster; Philharmonia Voices
<b>Popplewell, Richard</b>	HM Chapels Royal (ID M65)		St. Paul's Cathedral; The Bach Choir	St. Michael's, Cornhill; HM Chapels Royal; RCM
<b>Poyser, Robert</b>	Beverly Minster (current)		York Minster; Hull University; Chelmsford Cathedral	St. Mary's, Portsea; Beverly Minster; RSCM Voices North
<b>Scott, William</b>	HM Chapels Royal (current)			Sub-Dean of HM Chapel Royal
<b>Spedding, Alan</b>	Beverly Minster (ID 115)			Beverly Grammar School; (Hull choirs)
<b>Tambling, Christopher</b>	Downside Abbey (current)	Christ's Hospital	Canterbury Cathedral; St. Peter's College, Oxford	Pusey House; Perth City; Downside Abbey (boys)
<b>OTHER UK EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS</b>				
<b>Allwood, Peter</b>	Christ's Hospital (ID 134)	King's College, Cambridge (under Willcocks and Philip Ledger)		Durham University Chamber Choir; Lichfield Cathedral School (and others); Christ's Hospital
<b>Cleary, Andrew</b>	Christ's Hospital (current)	York Minster; St. Alban's Cathedral (under Stephen Darlington); UEA	Norwich Cathedral; St. Martin-in-the-Fields	Ensemble Nouve Musich; Portsmouth Cathedral Girls; Portsmouth Festival Choir; (other schools)
<b>Davis, Peter</b>	Oakham School Chapel	Salisbury Cathedral	Salisbury Cathedral; St. John's College, Cambridge	Oakham School
<b>Day, James</b>	Durham University College Chapel (current)	RAM	St. John's College, Durham	Durham University Chapel; Take Note; St. Andrew's, Totteridge
<b>Garden, Edward</b>	Glasgow University Chapel (ID 78)			Glasgow University Chapel
<b>Grossmith, James</b>	Glasgow University Chapel (current)	RSAMD	Clare College, Cambridge	Scottish Opera; Glasgow University Chapel; RSAMD
<b>Newell, Jonathan</b>	Durham University College Chapel (ID 120)	Durham University; Surrey University; Trinity College, London	Durham University College Chapel	Trinity College, London; Magdalen College School; (educational roles); Durham University College Chapel



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UK INDEPENDENTS				
NAME	Main Group Listing in this Study	Chorister / Student / Choral Scholar	Director / Organist / Lecturer	Lay Clerk / Sang with / Recorded with
<b>Alcantara, Lynette</b>	The BBC Singers (current)	(Australia)	King's College, Cambridge (boys); Wolfston College, Cambridge	The Monteverdi Choir; The Sixteen; The Bach Choir; The King's Consort; The BBC Singers
<b>Allinson, David</b>	The Renaissance Singers (current)	St. Peter's, Oxford; Durham University; Exeter University	The Renaissance Singers; City University, London; Oxford Brookes; Bristol University	
<b>Berger, Lillian</b>	The English Singers (ID M1)			The English Singers
<b>Berridge, Simon</b>	The Sixteen (current)	Trinity College, Cambridge; RCM		The Sixteen; Collegium Vocal Gent
<b>Bevan, Maurice</b>	The Deller Consort (ID 63)			St. Paul's Cathedral; The Deller Consort
<b>Bonner, Tessa</b>	The Tallis Scholars (ID 26)	Isleworth Green School; Leeds University (under Honor Sheppard); Guildhall		The Taverner Choir; The Tallis Scholars; The New London Consort; The Gabrieli Consort; The King's Consort; The Taverner Consort
<b>Bowen, Christopher</b>	The BBC Singers (current)	(learned from Ian Partridge)		
<b>Brett, Charles</b>	Pro Cantione Antiqua (ID 87)	King's College, Cambridge	Amaryllis Consort	Pro Cantione Antiqua
<b>Brown, Wilfred</b>	The Deller Consort (ID 63)	Christ's Hospital; Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge; Trinity College, London		The Deller Consort
<b>Bruerton, Christopher</b>	The King's Singers (current)	Christ Church Cathedral, New Zealand		The King's Singers
<b>Bundy, Michael</b>	The BBC Singers (current)	Trinity College, Cambridge; Guildhall		The Sixteen; The BBC Singers
<b>Cameron, Margaret</b>	The BBC Singers (current)			
<b>Carey, Clive</b>	The English Singers (ID M1)			(references to folk song and solo); The English Singers
<b>Carrington, Simon</b>	The King's Singers (ID 109)	Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford; King's School, Canterbury; King's College, Cambridge	Yale University	The King's Singers
<b>Chance, Michael</b>	The Tallis Scholars (ID 13)	St. George's Chapel, Windsor; Eton; King's College, Cambridge		The Tallis Scholars
<b>Charlesworth, Stephen</b>	The BBC Singers (current)	Christ Church, Southgate; Edmonton School (under Michael Brewer); RCM		The Monteverdi Choir; The Taverner Consort; The Light Blues; Gothic Voices; The Tallis Scholars; The BBC Singers
<b>Chilcott, Robert</b>	The King's Singers (ID 100)	King's College, Cambridge	RCM; The BBC Singers; MANY choirs around the world	The King's Singers
<b>Christophers, Harry</b>	The Sixteen (ID M33)	Canterbury Cathedral; Magdalen College, Oxford (under Bernard Rose)	The Sixteen; Boston Handel and Haydn Society	The Clerks of Oxenford; Westminster Abbey; The BBC Singers
<b>Clegg, David</b>	The Sixteen (current)	Winchester College; New College, Oxford; Guildhall	Winchester Cathedral; Westminster Abbey (vocal tuition)	The Sixteen

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<b>Connolly, Stephen</b>	The King's Singers (ID 100)	Leeds Cathedral; Guildhall		The King's Singers
<b>Cooper, Julie</b>	The Sixteen (current)	St. John's College, Durham University; RAM		The Sixteen; The King's Consort; The Hilliard Ensemble
<b>Covey-Crump, Rogers</b>	The Hilliard Ensemble (current)	New College, Oxford; RCM		St. Alban's Abbey; The Hilliard Ensemble; Early Music Consort of London; The Consort of Musick; The Medieval Ensemble of London; The Landini Consort; The Deller Consort; The Taverner Consort; The Baccholian Singers; The King's Consort; Gothic Voices
<b>Coxwell, Janet</b>	The Tallis Scholars (ID 26)	Guildhall	Cheam Hawtreys School; Tallis Scholars Summer School	The Tallis Scholars
<b>Craig, Patrick</b>	The Tallis Scholars (ID 26)	Lichfield Cathedral; Shrewsbury School; Selwyn College, Cambridge; RCM	Aurora Nova; Harrow; Tallis Scholars Summer Schools	Wells Cathedral; The Tallis Scholars; The Cardinal's Musick; St. Paul's Cathedral
<b>Cressall, Richard</b>	The Ascension Singers (current)	Exeter College, Oxford		The Ascension Singers; Leeds Parish Church; Wells Cathedral
<b>Davidson, Grace</b>	The Sixteen (current)	RAM		The Sixteen
<b>Davies, Joy Amman</b>	The Morriston Orpheus Choir (current)	Welsh College of Music and Drama; Wales University	The Morriston Orpheus Choir	
<b>Deller, Alfred</b>	The Deller Consort (ID 63)	St. John the Baptist, Margate	The Deller Consort	Canterbury Cathedral; St. Paul's Cathedral; The Deller Consort
<b>Deller, Mark</b>	The Deller Consort (ID 74)			
<b>Dickens, Emily</b>	Voces 8 (ID M62)	Winchester Cathedral; National Youth Choir; Trinity College, Cambridge (under Stephen Layton)		Voces 8
<b>Dobell, Mark</b>	The Sixteen (current)	Clare College, Cambridge; RAM		The Sixteen; The Cardinal's Musick; I Fagiolini; The King's Consort; The Orlando Consort; The Tallis Scholars; Westminster Abbey
<b>Dougan, Eamonn</b>	The Sixteen (current)	New College, Oxford; Guildhall	Guildhall	The Sixteen; I Fagiolini
<b>Dressel, Sam</b>	Voces 8 (current)	Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge		Voces 8
<b>Dunkley, Sally*</b>	The Sixteen (ID M33) <i>and</i> * The Tallis Scholars (ID 26)	Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford		The Clerks of Oxenford; The Sixteen; The Tallis Scholars; The Martindale Sidwell Consort; The Gabrieli Consort; Magnificat

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<b>Elliott, Paul***</b>	Pro Cantione Antiqua (ID 119) <i>and</i> * The Deller Consort (ID M16) <i>and</i> * The Hilliard Ensemble (ID 92) <i>and</i> * Theatre of Voices (ID M29)	St. Paul's Cathedral; King's School, Canterbury; Magdalen College, Oxford	Early Music Institute, Indiana University	The Monteverdi Choir; The Schutz Choir; Cantores in Ecclesia; John Alldis Singers; The Deller Consort; The Consort of Musick; The Hilliard Ensemble; The Early Music Consort of London; Pro Cantione Antiqua; Theatre of Voices
<b>English, Gerald</b>	The Deller Consort (ID 63)	Oxford University; RCM	RCM	St. Paul's Cathedral; The Deller Consort
<b>Etheridge, Brian</b>	Pro Cantione Antiqua (ID 119)		The Burford Singers	Pro Cantione Antiqua
<b>Feaviour, Margaret</b>	The BBC Singers (current)			The BBC Singers
<b>Gabbittas, Christopher</b>	The King's Singers (ID M44)	The King's School, Rochester; Uppingham School; Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford; St. John's College, Cambridge		Collegium Regale; Polyphony; The English Concert; The King's Consort; Temple Church (under Stephen Layton); The King's Singers
<b>George, Michael*</b>	Pro Cantione Antiqua (ID 119) <i>and</i> * The Deller Consort (ID M16)	King's College, Cambridge (under Willcocks); RCM	The Sussex Chorus	Pro Cantione Antiqua; The Deller Consort; The Sixteen; The King's Consort
<b>Gibbs, Charles</b>	The BBC Singers (current)	Cambridge University; RAM		St. Paul's Cathedral; I Fagiolini; The BBC Singers
<b>Goater, Edward</b>	The BBC Singers (current)			
<b>Gough, Alison</b>	The Tallis Scholars (ID 13)			The Tallis Scholars; The English Concert
<b>Greig, Donald</b>	The Tallis Scholars (ID 26)	Westminster Abbey; Canterbury Cathedral; Kent University	Goldsmith's; Kent University; Reading University	The Tallis Scholars; Westminster Cathedral; Gothic Voices; Taverner Consort; Gabrieli Consort; Cardinall's Musick; The Orlando Consort
<b>Griffett, James</b>	Pro Cantione Antiqua (ID 119)	RCM	Northern Youth Choir	Peterborough Cathedral; Westminster Cathedral Choir; Pro Cantione Antiqua
<b>Haines, Andrea</b>	Voces 8 (ID M62)	RSCM; Cardiff University		Voces 8
<b>Hall, Jamie</b>	The BBC Singers (current)			HM Chapel Royal; Tower of London; Temple Church, London; Westminster Abbey; Winchester Cathedral; St. George's, Windsor; The BBC Singers
<b>Harper, Katherine</b>	The Ascension Singers (current)	St. Michael and All Angels, Southampton; University of Sheffield;		The Ascension Singers; Yorkshire Bach Choir
<b>Harre-Jones, Robert</b>	The Tallis Scholars (ID 13)	Trinity School, Croydon (under Denis Stevens); RCM; Christ Church College, Oxford (under Simon Preston)	St. Bride's, Fleet Street	The Tallis Scholars; The Orlando Consort; St. George's Chapel, Windsor; Westminster Cathedral; The Gabrieli Consort

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<b>Harrold, Steven</b>	The Hilliard Ensemble (current)	St. Paul's Cathedral; St. John's College, Cambridge		St. Alban's Abbey; Westminster Abbey; The Tallis Scholars; The Gabrieli Consort; The Taverner Consort; The Sixteen; Collegium Vocale Gent; The Cardinall's Musick; The Hilliard Ensemble; Gothic Voices; Alamire
<b>Haslam, Micaela</b>	The BBC Singers (current)		Synergy Vocals; RCM	The BBC Singers
<b>Hillier, Paul**</b>	The Hilliard Ensemble (ID 92) <i>and</i> * The Pro Arte Singers (ID M45) <i>and</i> * Theatre of Voices (ID M29)	St. Paul's Cathedral; Guildhall	The Hilliard Ensemble; University of California, Davis; Theatre of Voices; Early Music Institute, Indiana University; The Pro Arte Singers; Estonian Philharmonic Chamber Choir; Ars Nova; National Chamber Choir of Ireland; Institute for Sacred Music, Yale University	Gentleman of HM Chapel Royal, Windsor; St. Paul's Cathedral; The Hilliard Ensemble
<b>Holst, Imogen</b>	The Purcell Singers (ID 66)	St. Paul's Girls' School; RCM	Roedean School; Dartington Hall; The Purcell Singers; (The Aldeburgh Festival)	
<b>Holt, Anthony</b>	The King's Singers (ID 109)	Oxford University	St. Olaf College, USA	Cathedral Choir; BBC Singers; The King's Singers
<b>Holten, Bo</b>	The BBC Singers (ID 98)	Copenhagen University; Royal Danish Conservatory	Ars Nova; Musica Ficta; The BBC Singers	
<b>Hopkins, Kirsty</b>	The Sixteen (current)	Manchester University; Trinity College, London		The Sixteen
<b>Howard, Jonathan</b>	The King's Singers (current)	Christ's Hospital; New College, Oxford		The King's Singers
<b>Howard, Michael</b>	The Renaissance Singers (ID 8)	Ellesmere College; RAM	Christ Church, London; St Mark's, Marylebone, London; Tewkesbury Abbey; The Renaissance Singers; Ely Cathedral; St. Michael's Abbey, Farnborough; Cantores in Ecclesia	
<b>Hume, Alastair</b>	The King's Singers (ID 109)	King's College, Cambridge		The King's Singers
<b>Humphreys, Alwyn</b>	The Morriston Orpheus Choir (ID 131)	Hull University; Trinity College, London	Liverpool University; The Morriston Orpheus Choir; (BBC work)	
<b>Hurley, David</b>	The King's Singers (ID 100)	Winchester Cathedral; Winchester College; New College, Oxford		Gabrieli Consort; The Oxford Camerata; The King's Singers;
<b>James, David</b>	The Hilliard Ensemble (ID 92)	Magdalen College, Oxford		Westminster Abbey; The Hilliard Ensemble; The Sixteen
<b>Jeffes, Stephen</b>	The BBC Singers (current)			Exaudi; The BBC Singers

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<b>Jenkins, Neil</b>	The Deller Consort (ID 73)	Westminster Abbey; King's College, Cambridge; RCM	RCM	The Deller Consort
<b>Johnston, Robert</b>	The BBC Singers (current)	Salisbury Cathedral; RAM		Tallis Scholars; The BBC Singers
<b>Jones, Gordon</b>	The Hilliard Ensemble (current)	York University; York Minster		The Hilliard Ensemble
<b>Jones, Tim</b>	The Sixteen (ID M33)	St. John's College, Cambridge	Bedford School	The Sixteen; St. Paul's Cathedral
<b>Kay, Brian</b>	The King's Singers (ID 109)	King's College, Cambridge		The King's Singers
<b>Kelly, Cuthbert</b>	The English Singers (ID M1)		Oxford House Choral Society, Bethnal Green; The English Singers	(association with St-Martin-in-the-Fields, London); The English Singers
<b>Keyte, Christopher</b>	Pro Cantione Antiqua (ID 119)	King's College, Cambridge	RAM	Pro Cantione Antiqua; (Royal Opera)
<b>Kidgell, Alexandra</b>	The Sixteen (current)	Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge; RAM		The Sixteen
<b>Lawrence, T B</b>	The Fleet Street Choir (ID 58)	Blue Coat School, Liverpool; (studied music elsewhere)	(conducted The Military Band, Liverpool)	The Fleet Street Choir
<b>Lawson, Philip</b>	The King's Singers (ID 100)	York University; York Minster		Salisbury Cathedral (under Richard Seal); The King's Singers; The BBC Singers; The Taverner Choir; The Sixteen; St. Paul's Cathedral; Westminster Abbey
<b>le Sage, Sally</b>	The Deller Consort (ID 74)	RCM	RCM; Clare College, Cambridge	The Deller Consort
<b>Lees, Michael*</b>	The Sixteen (ID M33) <i>and</i> * The Tallis Scholars (ID 26)			The Sixteen; The Tallis Scholars
<b>Lewington, James</b>	Pro Cantione Antiqua (ID 119)			The Ambrosian Singers?; Pro Cantione Antiqua
<b>Lodge, Rebecca</b>	The BBC Singers (current)	RAM		The BBC Singers; The Bath Choral Society
<b>Macdonald, Rob</b>	The Sixteen (current)	Hereford Cathedral; Christ Church College, Oxford (under Stephen Darlington); RAM		Westminster Abbey; St. Paul's Cathedral; Westminster Cathedral; The Monteverdi Choir; The King's Consort; Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford; The Hilliard Ensemble; The Tallis Scholars; The Sixteen; The Cardinal's Musick; Alamire
<b>MacDougall, Charles</b>	Voces 8 (ID M62)	Durham University; London University	SingUp; Portsmouth Cathedral; (vocal tuition); RSCM; Sevenoaks School	Voces 8
<b>Mann, Flora</b>	The English Singers (ID M1)			(references to solo); The English Singers
<b>McCarthy, John</b>	The Ambrosian Singers (ID M12)	Oratory School, Kensington (under Henry Washington); St. Edmund's, Herts.	The Ambrosian Singers / Consort / Opera Chorus; The John McCarthy Singers; The London Symphony Orchestra Chorus	
<b>Millburn-Fryer, Cherith</b>	The BBC Singers (current)	RCM		
<b>Mobbs, Charlotte</b>	The Sixteen (current)	Welsh College of Music and Drama; RSAMD	Roedean School	The Sixteen

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<b>Monks, Christopher</b>	The Armonico Consort (ID 82)	Cambridge University	The Armonico Consort; (orchestral)	
<b>Muller, Rufus</b>	The Tallis Scholars (ID 13)	New College, Oxford	Bard College, New York	The Tallis Scholars
<b>Murgatroyd, Andrew</b>	The BBC Singers (current)	Lancaster University		Christ Church Cathedral; The BBC Singers
<b>Neeves, Helen</b>	The BBC Singers (current)			I Fagiolini; The BBC Singers
<b>Nixon, Leigh</b>	The Hilliard Ensemble (ID 92)	Westminster Abbey; King's College, Cambridge (under Willcocks); Guildhall		The John Aldis Singers; The Deller Consort; Early Music Consort of London; The Hilliard Ensemble; Gothic Voices; Westminster Abbey
<b>Partridge, Ian</b>	Pro Cantione Antiqua (ID 87)	New College, Oxford; Clifton College, Oxford; RCM; Guildhall	RAM	Westminster Cathedral (with George Malcolm); Pro Cantione Antiqua
<b>Penrose, Timothy</b>	Pro Cantione Antiqua (ID 119)	Winchester College; Trinity College, London	All Saints' Church, West Dulwich	Pro Cantione Antiqua; Gentleman of HM Chapel Royal
<b>Perrin, Nigel</b>	The King's Singers (ID 109)	Ely Cathedral; King's College, Cambridge (under Willcocks)	(Bath and Exeter Choirs); Wells Cathedral	The King's Singers
<b>Phillips, Peter</b>	The Tallis Scholars (ID 13)		The Tallis Scholars; Merton College, Oxford	The BBC Singers; Collegium Vocale Ghent; Netherlands Chamber Choir (appeared with)
<b>Piplica, Adam</b>	The Ascension Singers (current)	Leicester Cathedral		The Ascension Singers; Rivelin Singers, Exon Singers, Ecclesia
<b>Phoenix, Paul</b>	The King's Singers (ID M44)	St. Paul's Cathedral; RNCM		The King's Singers
<b>Poole, Elizabeth</b>	The BBC Singers (current)			
<b>Poole, John</b>	The BBC Singers (ID 94)	Oxford University	London University Church; University College, London; Bloomsbury Singers; BBC Symphony Chorus; The BBC Singers; Group Vocal de France; Indiana University, USA	
<b>Price, Edward</b>	The BBC Singers (current)	Clare College, Cambridge; King's College, Cambridge		The BBC Singers; The Bath Choral Society
<b>Roberts, Stephen</b>	Pro Cantione Antiqua (ID 119)	RCM		Westminster Abbey; Pro Cantione Antiqua
<b>Robertson, Nicolas</b>	The Tallis Scholars (ID 13)			The Tallis Scholars; The Monteverdi Choir; The Sixteen; The Taverner Choir
<b>Robinson, Olivia</b>	The BBC Singers (current)			The Bath Choral Society; The Sixteen; Polyphony; The English Concert; The BBC Singers
<b>Royall, Christopher</b>	The Sixteen (ID M33)	St. John's College, Cambridge; RCM	St. Edmund's College; Latymer School	St. Paul's Cathedral; The Sixteen
<b>Rupp, Andrew</b>	The BBC Singers (current)	Canterbury Cathedral; St. John's College, Cambridge		The BBC Singers
<b>Russell, Bruce</b>	The King's Singers (ID 100)			

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<b>Rutter, John</b>	The Cambridge Singers (ID 25)	Highgate School; Clare College, Cambridge	Clare College, Cambridge; The Cambridge Singers; Westminster College, Princeton	
<b>Ryan, Leslie</b>	The Morriston Orpheus Choir (current asst.)	Welsh College of Music and Drama		
<b>Sheppard, Honor</b>	The Deller Consort (ID 63)	RNCM	RNCM	The Deller Consort
<b>Short, Nigel</b>	The King's Singers (ID 100)	Solihull Parish Church; RCM	Tenebrae Choir	Westminster Cathedral; The Tallis Scholars; The King's Singers
<b>Sidwell, Martindale</b>	The Martindale Sidwell Consort (ID M19)	Wells Cathedral; RAM	Warwick School; Holy Trinity Church, Leamington Spa; Leamington Spa Choral Society; Hampstead Parish Church; Hampstead Choral Society; RAM; Trinity College, London; RSCM; Martindale Sidwell Consort	
<b>Skidmore, Jeffrey</b>	Ex Cathedra (ID M48)	St. Francis Church, Bournville; Magdalen College, Oxford (with David Wulstan, under Bernard Rose)	Ex Cathedra; BBC Singers	
<b>Skinner, David</b>	The Cardinal's Musick (ID M27)	Edinburgh University; Christ Church College, Oxford	The Cardinal's Musick; Magdalen College, Oxford; Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge; Christ Church, Oxford; Alamire	(worked with The Tallis Scholars; The Sixteen; The Hilliard Ensemble; The King's Singers)
<b>Smart, Alison</b>	The BBC Singers (current)	Clare College, Cambridge; RNCM, Trinity College, London		The Sixteen; The BBC Singers
<b>Smith, Barnaby</b>	Voces 8 (ID M62)	Westminster Abbey; Schola Cantorum Basiliensis	Voces 8	Voces 8
<b>Smith, Kevin</b>	Pro Cantione Antiqua (ID 119)	Guildhall		Pro Cantione Antiqua; The Monteverdi Choir; Schütz Chorale; John Alldis Singers; Consort of Musicke; London Pro Musica.
<b>Smith, Paul</b>	Voces 8 (ID M62)	Westminster Abbey; York University		Voces 8
<b>Smith, Robert</b>	Voces 8 (ID M62)	Trinity College, London	St. Mary-at-Hill	Voces 8
<b>Steele, Francis</b>	The Tallis Scholars (ID 13)		Verte Musique (tutor)	The Tallis Scholars; The Sixteen
<b>Sturman, Robert</b>	The Ascension Singers (current)	St. Catherine's College, Cambridge	Leeds University Union Chamber Choir; Leeds Cathedral (adults)	Exmoor Singers; The Ascension Singers
<b>Summerly, Jeremy</b>	The Oxford Camerata (ID M50)	New College, Oxford; King's College, London	The Oxford Camerata; RAM; Schola Cantorum; Christ Church, Chelsea; St. Luke's, Chelsea	St. Margaret's, Westminster
<b>Thomas, Mary</b>	The Deller Consort (ID 74)	(Welsh choirs); RAM	RAM	The Deller Consort
<b>Thompson, Alastair</b>	The King's Singers (ID 109)	King's College, Cambridge		The King's Singers

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<b>Todd, Nicolas</b>	The Tallis Scholars (ID 26)	Salisbury Cathedral; Uppingham School; King's College, Cambridge	The King's School, Canterbury	Polyphony; The King's Consort; The Sixteen; The Cardinal's Musick; The Tallis Scholars; Alamire; Tenebrae
<b>Todd, Philip</b>	The Deller Consort (ID 74)			The Deller Consort
<b>Trevor, Caroline</b>	The Tallis Scholars (ID 26)	(a church choir); Chetham's; Guildhall		The Tallis Scholars; The Sixteen; The Cardinal's Musick; The Taverner Consort; St. Paul's Cathedral
<b>Tring, Emma</b>	The BBC Singers (current)	Bristol University; Guildhall		I Fagiolini; The BBC Singers
<b>Turner, Bruno</b>	Pro Cantione Antiqua (ID 119)	(Roman Catholic education)	(church choirmaster); Pro Musica Sacra; Pro Cantione Antiqua; Renaissance Society	
<b>Tyson, Robin</b>	The King's Singers (ID M44)	King's College, Cambridge; RCM		The King's Singers
<b>Vincent, Oliver</b>	Voces 8 (current)	Westminster Abbey; Cardiff University; Birmingham Conservatoire		Voces 8
<b>Wardle, Chris</b>	Voces 8 (ID M62)	Exeter Cathedral; Exeter University; RSCM		Guildford Cathedral; Voces 8
<b>Wayne-Wright, Tim</b>	The King's Singers (current)	Chelmsford Cathedral; Goldsmith's; Trinity College, London; Royal Naval College Chapel, Greenwich		St. Paul's Cathedral; Rochester Cathedral; St. George's Chapel, Windsor; The King's Singers
<b>Webb, Jennifer</b>	The Ascension Singers (current)	Merton College, Oxford (under Peter Phillips)	Leeds Grammar School	(solo); The Ascension Singers; Pinsuti Chamber Choir
<b>Webb, Robert</b>	The Ascension Singers (current)	Merton College, Oxford (under Peter Phillips)	The Ascension Singers	(solo)
<b>Whelan, Winifred</b>	The English Singers (ID M1)			(references to solo); The English Singers
<b>White, Jeremy</b>	The Tallis Scholars (ID 13)	Liverpool Cathedral; Queen's College, Oxford		The Tallis Scholars; The Sixteen; The BBC Singers; (Royal Opera)
<b>Williams, Thomas</b>	The Erabus Ensemble (ID M88)	University of Bristol	University Singers; The Fitzhardinge Consort; The Erebus Ensemble; Nailsea Choral Society; St. Matthew's, Kensington Olympia; St Martin-in-the-Fields	
<b>Wilson, Steuert</b>	The English Singers (ID M1)	Winchester College; King's College, Cambridge		(references to solo); The English Singers
<b>Yandell, Dingle</b>	Voces 8 (ID M62)	Westminster Abbey; Guildhall		Voces 8



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UK INSTITUTIONS		UK INDEPENDENTS	
NAME	Lay Clerk / Sang With / Recorded With	NAME	Organ Scholar / Assistant Organist
Allsop, Christopher	Ex Cathedra (accomp.)	Coxwell, Janet	Newbury Choral Society
Brown, Timothy	New College, Cambridge; The Scholars of King's	Craig, Patrick	Selweyn College, Cambridge
Carwood, Andrew	Christ Church Cathedral (with Stephen Darlington), Oxford; Westminster Cathedral; Tallis Scholars; The Sixteen; The Oxford Camerata; Pro Cantione Antiqua	Dougam, Eamonn	The Sixteen
Lawson, David	Gentleman of HM Chapel Royal; Worcester Cathedral; Llandaff Cathedral; Gloucester Cathedral	MacDougall, Charles	London Symphony Orchestra Youth Choir
Nardone, Peter	The King's Consort	Monks, Christopher	Winchester Cathedral (under David Hill)
Whalley, Simon	Jubilate; Chichester Cathedral; Christ Church Cathedral	Phillips, Peter	St. John's College, Oxford (under David Wulstan)
Wollston, Silas	The Monteverdi Choir; The English Baroque Soloists	Ryan, Leslie	Llandaff Cathedral; The Morriston Orpheus Choir
Woodcock, David	Tallis Scholars	Sidwell, Martindale	Wells Cathedral

## A.2.2 Table of Place Associations

PLACE		UK Cathedral or Church [64]	UK School or College [29]	All UK Institutions [93]	UK Independents [136]	All UK Individuals [229]
Westminster Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	3	0	3	4	7
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	5	2	7	1	8
	<i>In any capacity</i>	8	2	10	5	15
Westminster Abbey	<i>As a singer</i>	0	3	3	15	18
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	8	1	9	2	11
	<i>In any capacity</i>	8	4	12	17	29
St. Paul's Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	1	1	2	15	17
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	7	1	8	0	8
	<i>In any capacity</i>	8	2	10	15	25
Southwark Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	2	0	2	0	2
	<i>In any capacity</i>	2	0	2	0	2
St. George's, Windsor	<i>As a singer</i>	0	0	0	5	5
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	6	0	6	0	6
	<i>In any capacity</i>	6	0	6	5	11
HM Chapels Royal	<i>As a singer</i>	1	0	1	2	3
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	3	0	3	0	3
	<i>In any capacity</i>	4	0	4	2	6
Any religious institution in London	<i>As a singer</i>	5	4	9	37	46
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	34	5	39	6	45
	<i>In any capacity</i>	39	9	48	43	91
Canterbury Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	2	1	3	6	9
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	2	2	4	0	4
	<i>In any capacity</i>	4	2	6	6	12
Chester Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	1	1	2	0	2
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	3	2	5	0	5
	<i>In any capacity</i>	4	2	6	0	6
Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford	<i>As a singer</i>	2	1	3	6	9
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	4	0	4	1	5
	<i>In any capacity</i>	6	1	7	7	14
Durham Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	2	1	3	0	3
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	3	0	3	0	3
	<i>In any capacity</i>	5	1	6	0	6
Ely Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	0	0	0	1	1
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	6	0	6	1	7
	<i>In any capacity</i>	6	0	6	2	8
Gloucester Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	1	0	1	0	1
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	2	2	4	0	4
	<i>In any capacity</i>	3	2	5	0	5
Hereford Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	1	0	1	1	2

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	<i>As an organist / director</i>	2	0	2	0	2
	<i>In any capacity</i>	3	0	3	1	4
Liverpool Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	2	0	2	1	3
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	3	0	3	0	3
	<i>In any capacity</i>	5	0	5	1	6
Llandaff Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	1	0	4	0	4
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	3	0	3	1	4
	<i>In any capacity</i>	4	0	4	1	5
Manchester Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	2	0	2	0	2
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	2	0	2	0	2
	<i>In any capacity</i>	4	0	4	0	4
Portsmouth Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	2	0	2	1	3
	<i>In any capacity</i>	2	0	2	1	3
Rochester Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	1	0	1	2	3
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	7	0	7	0	7
	<i>In any capacity</i>	8	0	8	2	10
Salisbury Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	0	2	2	3	5
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	5	2	7	0	7
	<i>In any capacity</i>	5	3	8	3	11
St. Alban's Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	0	1	1	2	3
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	2	0	2	0	2
	<i>In any capacity</i>	2	1	3	2	5
St. Edmundsbury Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	0	0	0	1	1
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	5	0	5	0	5
	<i>In any capacity</i>	5	0	5	1	6
Truro Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	4	2	6	0	6
	<i>In any capacity</i>	4	2	6	0	6
Wells Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	0	0	0	3	3
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	6	0	6	2	8
	<i>In any capacity</i>	6	0	6	4	10
Winchester Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	0	0	0	3	3
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	5	0	5	2	7
	<i>In any capacity</i>	5	0	5	5	10
Worcester Cathedral	<i>As a singer</i>	1	1	2	0	2
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	8	1	9	0	9
	<i>In any capacity</i>	9	2	11	0	11
York Minster	<i>As a singer</i>	0	1	1	2	3
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	1	0	1	0	1
	<i>In any capacity</i>	1	1	2	2	4
Christ's College, Cambridge	<i>As a singer</i>	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	1	1	2	0	2
	<i>In any capacity</i>	1	1	2	0	2
Clare College, Cambridge	<i>As a singer</i>	0	1	1	4	5

	<i>As an organist / director</i>	0	3	3	2	5
	<i>In any capacity</i>	0	3	3	5	8
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	<i>As a singer</i>	1	0	1	0	1
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	2	5	7	0	7
	<i>In any capacity</i>	3	5	8	0	8
Jesus College, Cambridge	<i>As a singer</i>	1	0	1	0	1
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	2	3	5	0	5
	<i>In any capacity</i>	3	3	6	0	6
Jesus College, Oxford	<i>As a singer</i>	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	1	0	1	0	1
	<i>In any capacity</i>	1	0	1	0	1
Keble College, Oxford	<i>As a singer</i>	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	0	3	3	0	3
	<i>In any capacity</i>	0	3	3	0	3
King's College, Cambridge	<i>As a singer</i>	3	3	6	16	22
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	2	6	8	1	9
	<i>In any capacity</i>	5	8	13	17	30
Magdalen College, Oxford	<i>As a singer</i>	0	2	2	4	6
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	1	3	4	1	5
	<i>In any capacity</i>	1	5	6	5	11
Merton College, Oxford	<i>As a singer</i>	0	0	0	2	2
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	0	0	0	1	1
	<i>In any capacity</i>	0	0	0	3	3
New College, Oxford	<i>As a singer</i>	1	1	2	8	10
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	3	3	6	0	6
	<i>In any capacity</i>	4	4	8	8	16
St. John's College, Cambridge	<i>As a singer</i>	2	0	2	5	7
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	5	5	10	0	10
	<i>In any capacity</i>	7	5	12	5	17
Trinity College, Cambridge	<i>As a singer</i>	1	0	1	3	4
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	1	2	3	0	3
	<i>In any capacity</i>	2	2	4	3	7
Trinity College, Oxford	<i>As a singer</i>	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	1	0	1	0	1
	<i>In any capacity</i>	1	0	1	0	1
Queens' College, Cambridge	<i>As a singer</i>	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	1	2	3	0	3
	<i>In any capacity</i>	1	2	3	0	3
Queen's College, Oxford	<i>As a singer</i>	0	0	0	1	1
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	2	1	3	0	3
	<i>In any capacity</i>	2	1	3	1	4
<b>Any Oxford College</b>	<i>As a singer / student</i>	7	4	11	26	37
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	14	8	22	2	24
	<i>In any capacity</i>	19	10	29	28	57
<b>Any Cambridge</b>	<i>As a singer / student</i>	12	4	16	34	50
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	17	20	37	5	42

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<b>College</b>	<i>In any capacity</i>	29	22	51	37	88
<b>ANY OXBRIDGE COLLEGE</b>	<i>As a singer / student</i>	17	8	25	57	82
	<i>As an organist / director</i>	24	25	49	5	54
	<i>In any capacity</i>	39	26	65	59	124
<b>Any London Music College</b>		20	8	28	45	73
<b>ANY MUSIC COLLEGE</b>		24	9	33	56	89

<b>Ensemble</b>	<b>No. of Associations</b>
The Sixteen	28
The Tallis Scholars	23
The Cardinal's Musick	11
Alamire	3
The BBC Singers	22
The Deller Consort	13
The Pro Cantione Antiqua	11
The King's Singers	18
The King's Consort	9
The Taverner Consort	8
The Monteverdi Choir	7
Gothic Voices	5
The Hilliard Ensemble	10
The Gabrieli Consort	6
I Fagiolini	5
Collegium Vocale Ghent	3

## Appendix B      Discographies

### B.1      Notes on the Discographies

The most difficult aspect of these discographies relates to the reissuing of material on subsequent albums. Where separate albums exist by the same choir but with identical track listings, I have included these as part of the same discographic entry, even where they have been released on different labels, as these are essentially the same record. This means that many entries have various different catalogue numbers, release dates and even different album titles associated with them. I try to detail such reissues in the 'notes' section that appears underneath each entry. However, if the tracks under investigation have been reissued as part of a *new* programme or compilation, I have deemed this to be a new album (even though it is not a new recording) and listed it as a separate discographic entry. I am aware that this breaks convention with other discographies, but it has helped me to gain a picture of the reissuing, repackaging, and growing popularity of Byrd recordings over time, and to quickly assess the albums as products available to consumers. This is complicated where material has been reissued with near-identical track listings, or where several older issues have been put together as part of a new set; these I have judged on a case by case basis. In all instances, however, I indicate whether I suspect the entry to be an original recording or not and, where possible, point to the album on which the track appeared originally. Where this information was not provided or obvious in sources, I considered the following points to determine whether the record was 'likely' or 'not likely' to be an original release – It is *likely* to be an original if: it is the first or only album by a given choir; it is listed in Day's discography; it has been reviewed many times; the release and recording date are close together. It is *not likely* to be an original if: the recording sounds identical to an earlier release, the release and recording dates are far apart (especially if there is another release closer to the recording date); the conductor on the album no longer conducted the choir at the time of release; it is a compilation album of various artists; the track listing is identical to an earlier album.

Cataloguing the *Mass for Four Voices* presented a difficulty because individual movements can be released separately. In other discographic sources and listings, it is not always clear which part of the Mass appears on an album, or if indeed it is the entire work. Where possible, I have indicated which movements were recorded. My focus was on seeking and cataloguing recordings of either the whole mass or 'Agnus Dei' specifically and it is in this respect that I have aimed to be most complete. I have omitted recordings found with reference to an 'Agnus Dei' by Byrd but where it could not be verified which Mass this came from.

Unless specified in the notes, all recordings are in stereo and were originally released in the same country as appears in 'Choir Nationality'. In the most recent decade, it is not always clear if

a recording actually exists in CD format or if it is primarily available as a digital download, especially if it has been found on iTunes alone. Consequently, I list some entries with only 'digital' as the format. All LPs are 12" 33 rpm unless stated. For the sake of consistency with Day, my key source, I have also included the BBC transcriptions found in his discography. These are slightly anomalous in the context of my focus on the album as a package, however; thus I did not draw those recordings into my main analysis. I have also opted to use the shorter album titles as a more concise means of identifying the recordings. Album titles can appear differently in different sources, but I aim to give the wording as it appears on the cover of the disc. Where this could not be established, I have reverted to the titles as listed by Day (i.e. a list of key works).

There is clearly some variance in the reliability of different sources, thus I have indicated the sources of information that contributed to each entry on my discographies; these appear underneath each entry, adjacent to the notes. The following abbreviations are used for sources: All Music (formerly All Music Guide) appears as AMG; the National Sound Archive appears as NSA or 'Cadensa'; Salazar appears as EMFAQ, Greenhalgh appears as MGreen. Other websites are referred to by their main title only. The published sources of Day and Greenhalgh provide the most reliable information.

I updated the discographies several times up until the end of 2014, focussing on the period to the end of 2012 as the 'cut-off' point for analysis in this thesis. Given the fluidity of information in this field, however — particularly with the continual updating and reorganisation of the NSA catalogue — they must be accepted as working documents rather than completed products.

## B.2 Mass for Four Voices Discography

ID	Mass Section	Ensemble	Choir Category	Choir Nationality	Conductor	Album Title	Year Released	Record Label	Catalogue Number	Recording Date	Recording Location	Format	Time	Original
M1	Agnus Dei	English Singers	Ind.	UK		Byrd: Agnus Dei (Mass, 4vv); Kyrie, Sanctus (Mass, 3vv)	1923	HMV	E 290			10" acoustic 78		Yes
Mono. Matrix No's: 4641 Bb 2457; 4640 Bb 2456 <sup>III</sup> .												Day; NSA		
M2	Kyrie, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei	Choir of Pius X School of Liturgical Music	Col.	USA		Byrd: Kyrie, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei (Mass, 4vv)	1941	National Catholic Recording Society	1017-22-23			78		Yes
Mono. Matrix numbers not known. Date is approximate.												Day		
M3	Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	Boris Ord	An Anthology of English Church Music: First Series [second disc]	1950	Columbia	LB 91	21/7/1949	Kings College Chapel	10" 78		Yes
Mono. Matrix No's: CA 21189 - 1; CA 21191 - 1. MGreen lists a rerelease of these three tracks in 1997 on Testament SBT1121. (That album is listed as a separate entry here, as this original featured many choirs and the rerelease is just Kings, see ID M71).												Day; NSA; MGreen; Testament		
M4	All	Fleet Street Choir	Ind.	UK	Thomas Bertie Lawrence	Byrd: Mass for Four Voices	1951	Decca	LX 3046			10" LP		Yes
Mono. Also released on: London LPS 301 m (10") (USA); Decca LXT 2919 mono (with Mass, 5vv from LX 3060), London LL - 888 m (USA) (with Mass, 5vv from LPS 372).												Day; NSA		
M5	All	London Choral Society	Ind.	UK	John Bath	Byrd: Mass, 3vv; Mass, 4vv	1951	Allegro	ALG 101			LP		Yes
Mono. Released in the USA. Also released on: Allegro ALLP - AL 101 m (USA), Allegro Elite 3005 m (USA). Anonymous notes.												Day		
M6	All	Pro Musica Antiqua of Brussels	Ind.	Belgium	Safford Cape	Byrd: Mass, 4vv; Mass 5vv	1954	Elaine Music Shop	EMS 234			LP		Yes
Mono. Released in the USA.												Day; EMFAQ		
M7	All	Renaissance Singers	Ind.	UK	Michael Howard	William Byrd: Mass for Four Voices (and motets)	1957	Argo	RG 42			LP	2.53	Yes



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Mono. Mass, 4vv and Mass, 5vv (from RG 75) also released on Westminster XWN 18401 m (USA). Spotify also has a release on 'Past Classics' from 2008, but can tell from the quality that it is a historical recording; it features the mass alone but the accompanying album has the motet tracks. The same album features on iTunes, dated 2008. Notes by Harold Rutland.												Day; NSA; Spotify; iTunes		
M8	Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei	Westminster Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	George Malcolm	The First International Congress of Organists, London, England: Volume 3	1958	Mirrosonic	DRE 1006	29/7/1957	Westminster Cathedral	LP		Yes
Mono. Released in the USA. Recorded during the celebration of Capitular High Mass (The Feast of St Martha). Day includes: 'On the day of the recording the choir was badly depleted through illness and the disc was issued without the conductor's knowledge. (Information supplied by George Malcolm).' Title found in WorldCat, details correspond to previous quote. Notes by Frank Cunkle.												Day; WorldCat		
M9	All	Montreal Bach Choir	Ind.	Canada	George Little	Music of Five Centuries: Byrd Masses	1962	Vox	DL 880 / STDL 500880			LP		Yes
Released in the USA. Notes by Carol J Chidsey.												Day; NSA		
M10	All	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	Byrd: Mass, 3vv; Mass, 4vv	1963	Argo	RG 362 / ZRG 5362	3/1963	King's College Chapel	LP	26.12, 4.19 (ad)	Yes
Also released on: London 5795 / OS 25795 (USA), Argo set ZK 53-54, Argo 411 723-IZM, Argo 411 723-4ZM (cassette). The whole of the Mass, 4vv also released with Gibbons: This is the record of John from ZRG 5151 and Tallis: O nata lux de lumine from ZRG 5436 and Videte miraculum from ZRG 5479 on Argo set D 148 D 4 (4) and Argo set K 148 K43 (cassette). The Agnus Dei from Mass, 4vv also released with Byrd: Sing joyfully from ZRG 659, Tallis: Lamentations (i) from ZRG 5479 and Tomkins: When David heard from ZRG 5249 on Argo SPA 335 and Decca AH6.42238 (West Germany). The three masses were rereleased on CD in 1992 on Decca Ovation 4336752 DM, 'Byrd: Masses'. AMG lists this 1992 release, as does Spotify and iTunes, but as 'William Byrd: 3 Masses' Penguin, The Rosette Collection. AMG also lists the three Masses on Decca 4767090, 2005. The Byrd Masses were also released with other Taverner Masses recorded in 1961 and some other Byrd tracks from 1959 on 'Byrd: Masses / +', Double Decca 4521702 on CD in 1996. This also appears titled as 'Byrd Masses; Taverner: Western Wind Mass' (listed separately in <i>Ave verum</i> discography because of alternative positioning of that track). iTunes shows the full release date for this as 6/10/96. AMG also lists this Byrd/Taverner album but released on Newton Classics, 8802020. AMG also lists a 2008 release of Byrd's Masses for 4 and 5 voices, the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis from the Great Service, and Ave verum corpus, on El Records 161, 'William Byrd: Sacred Choral Music'.												Day; NSA; iTunes; AMG; MGreen		
M11	All	Westminster Abbey Choir	Cath.	UK	William McKie	IV Research Period. The High Renaissance (16th Century) Series M: The Elizabethan Age	1964	DG Archiv	APM 14301 / SAPM 198301			LP		Yes
												Day; NSA		
M12	Kyrie, Agnus Dei	Ambrosian Singers	Ind.	UK	John McCarthy	The Easter Liturgy of the Anglican Church	1966	Tudor Recordings	TUD 0541-42			LP		Yes
Released in the USA. 'Agnus Dei' sung in English. Also released on: Belvedere ELY 0540-41 (USA), Musical Heritage Society MHS 1526-27 (USA).												Day; Yale Cat		

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M13	All	Deller Consort	Ind.	UK	Alfred Deller	William Byrd: Mass for Four Voices; Motets	1968	Harmonia Mundi	HM 212		All Saints' Church, Boughton Aluph, Kent	LP	23.21	Yes
Released in France. Also released on: Harmonia Mundi DR 212 (West Germany) (NSA is for this), Harmonia Mundi 40.212 (cassette) (France), Harmonia Mundi HMA 55212 (France), Harmonia Mundi set HMF 211/3 (France). The Mass, 4vv also released with the Mass, 3vv from B 211 in Vanguard (Bach Guild HM 6) (NSA 1LP0057873 S2). All three Masses released on Harmonia Mundi 190211, 'William Byrd: Messes'. Salazar also gives a cassette, HM 40 212.												Day; NSA; AMG		
M14	Agnus Dei	Worcester Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Christopher Robinson	Britain's Cathedrals and Their Music, No.4: Gloucester and Worcester	1968	BBC	REB 97M	1/4/1966	Worcester Cathedral	BBC Trans.		Yes
Mono. Unclear as to the format 'REB', which is listed first in Day. Listed second is a broadcast on the recording date given (BBC MP [Music Programme] 1 April 1966). In Gramophone, it is listed as a special issue; the title is taken from there.												Day; Gramophone		
M15	All	Louis Halsey Singers	Ind.	UK	Louis Halsey	Byrd: Mass 4vv	1970	BBC	TS 127348			BBC Trans.		Yes
												Day		
M36		(unidentified)		UK		Merton College Chapel Concert, 1973	1973	NSA / M Gerzon	C236/115	17/11/1973	Merton College Chapel	Trans.		Yes
From the Michael Gerzon Collection												NSA		
M57	Rehearsal, Agnus Dei	Chester Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Roger Fisher	Choiristers of Chester Cathedral at Evensong and Rehearsal	1973	Vista	VPS 1008		Chester Cathedral	LP		Yes
Agnus Dei' only features in a recording of the rehearsal.												NSA; Brownlee		
M16	Agnus Dei	(Members of) Deller Consort	Ind.	UK	Mark Deller	Elizabethan Music	1976	Times Cassettes	WMA 003		Rosslyn Hill Chapel, Hampstead.	cass.		Yes
Honor Sheppard, Mark Deller, Paul Elliott, Michael George; members of The Deller Consort, directed by Mark Deller. The album was arranged by Robert Spencer, who played lute with the consort.												Day; NSA		
M17	All	Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Oxford	Cath.	UK	Simon Preston	Byrd: Mass for Five Voices; Mass for Four Voices	1977	Argo	ZRG 858		Chapel of Merton College, Oxford	LP		Yes
Also released on: Argo KZRC 858 (cassette), Argo 596.001 (France). Notes by Guy Protheroe. Later, 'Agnus Dei' from the Mass appears on Celestial Harmonies, ID M54.												Day; NSA		
M18	All	St Margaret's (Westminster) Singers	Cath.	UK	Richard Hickox	Byrd: Mass for Four Voices; Mass for Five Voices	1977	RCA Victor Red Seal	RL 25070			LP		Yes
Notes by Hugh Keyte.												Day; Discogs		

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M19	All	Martindale Sidwell Consort	Ind.	UK	Martindale Sidwell	Byrd: Gradualia, 10: Mass for the Feast of St Peter in Chains.	1980	BBC	R3 1 August 1980	18/6/1980	Church of St Anne and St Agnes, Gresham Street, London	BBC Trans.		Yes
Day quotes: 'A BBC series which presents reconstructions of the Tridentine Mass as it was sing in England during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, using the comprehensive collection of Mass Propers which forms the basis of Byrd's Gradualia ... (Adapted from the spoken introductions to the programmes)'.												Day; NSA		
M20	All	Church of the Advent Choir	Cath.	USA	Edith Ho	Church Music by William Byrd	1982	AFKA	S 4676	1982	Church of the Advent, 30 Brimmer Street, Boston	LP		Yes
Notes by Nicholas Altenbernd.												Day; NSA		
M21	All	Pro Cantione Antiqua	Ind.	UK	Bruno Turner	William Byrd: Four Part Mass and Motets	1982	Musical Heritage Society	MHS 4992	5/1979	Church of St John-at-Hackney, London	LP		Yes
Released in the USA. Also released on: Libra Real Sound LRS 143 (cassette, title is from this release) in 1986, Teichiku KUX-3238-V (Japan), Teichiku 30CT-37 (CD) (Japan). Appears that this was also released with some Taverner pieces on a later ASV Quicksilver album (see ID M30). Notes by Mark Brown.												Day; NSA		
M42	Agnus Dei	Choir of King's College, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	Some Glories of Elizabethan Church Music	1982	Contour Red Label	CC 7561	1963		LP		No (ID M10)
Compilation of different pieces and artists. Pickwick international. Later released as a CD, IMP IMPX 9009.												NSA; Amazon; eBay		
M22	All	Hilliard Ensemble	Ind.	UK	Paul Hillier	Byrd: Masses, Lamentations, Motets	1984	EMI Reflexe	set 27.0096.3	3-7/10/1983	St James' Church, Clerkenwell, London	CD	42.27	Yes
Also released on: EMI Reflexe set 27.0096.9 (cassette), Odeon set EX 27.0096.3 (USA). NSA gives a 1984 CD release (though sleeve notes say 1987) as EMI Reflexe CDS 7492058 (title given from here) and a 1991 release, EMI CDM 7634412, which features just the Masses and <i>Ave verum</i> . The latter appears on Amazon also. MGreen also lists that the Gloria was released on HMV 5740362; the recording date is the same as this entry. Original notes by Paul Hilliard.												Day; NSA		
M23	All	Tallis Scholars	Ind.	UK	Peter Phillips	William Byrd: The Three Masses	1984	Gimell	set BYRD 345	27-28/9/1983	Chapel of Merton College, Oxford	CD	22.10, 3.15 (ad)	Yes

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Also released on: Gimell ZCBYRD 345 (cassette), Gorfeo set S121842H (USA), Gimell CDGIM 345 (CD) without Deficit in dolore and Infelix ego. NSA, Naxos, AMG and iTunes all list the latter, showing it as a 1993 release but with original (P) from 1985. Gramophone gives the main release as 5/1984 and the CD version as 8/1987, though this appears as 3/1986 elsewhere. NSA also lists CDGIM 343/4, 'Byrd: Great Service/ Masses/Motets' and Gimell 4549452 (CD). The latter also appears on AMG but with a slightly different album cover, though still released 1993. EMFAQ also lists GIM 454945. MGreen also links this album to Gimell 4548952 from 1988 (see ID M69), and Gimell 4549992 from 1991 (see ID M74). Duration of over 30 mins given elsewhere (22.10 is from AMG). The Gimell website confirms that this listing is an original recording. Original notes by Peter Phillips. Current distribution: Harmonia Mundi. Original distribution: Precision Records and Tapes Ltd., H. R. Taylor Ltd., and Gamut Distribution Ltd.												Day; NSA; iTunes; Naxos; AMG; Gimell; Leech-Wilkinson		
M24	All	Da Camera Vocal Ensemble	Ind.	France	Daniel Meier	Tresors de la Musique Sacree	1985	Arion	ARN 38778	5/1984	Church of Puy-Ferrand au Chatelet en Berry	LP	21.51	Yes
Notes by Adelaide de Place. AMG features a 1990 release, Arion 58438, and also Arion 68003, with a slightly different album cover. The latter is also given in Amazon, where the date appears as 1993. MGreen also has ARN 58438 but says no date is given. Title is taken from the image on AMG, but it is also listed incorrectly there as 'La Danse Par Le Disque, Vol.8', which Amazon search reveals to be a tap dance album.												Day; AMG; Amazon; iTunes		
M25	All	Quink Vocal Ensemble	Ind.	Netherlands		Byrd: Mass for Four Voices, Choral Music	1985	Etcetera	ETC 301 / 1031			LP	2.37 (ad)	Yes
Anonymous notes. MGreen lists KTC 1031 as the CD issue from 1985.												Day; NSA; iTunes; MGreen		
M26	All	St John's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	George Guest	Byrd: Mass for Four Voices; Mass for Five Voices	1987	EMI	EMX 2104	3/1986	St John's College, Cambridge	LP	24.42, 4.13 (ad)	Yes
Also released on: EMI TC-EMX 2104 (cassette), EMI Eminence CD - EMX 9505 (CD) (NSA gives this as Music for Pleasure), Angel CDM-62015 (AMG lists this last catalogue number as EMI Eminence). NSA gives the release date as 1986. The track duration seems incorrect in that source (c.40 mins). There is also a listing in NSA of these two masses with a Tallis mass from 1988, 'Byrd: Masses / +', Classics for Pleasure 5740022, from 2000. This concurs with MGreen, Naxos and iTunes, where the full date and title is given as EMI 15.05.2000, 'Byrd & Tallis, Choral Music: Mass for Four Voices / Mass for Five Voices, Missa Salve Intemerata Virgo'. Naxos gives this 2000 release as EMI 0724357400251, but AMG lists a 2000 release as EMI 74002.												Day; NSA; iTunes; Naxos; AMG		
M54		Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Oxford	Cath.	UK	Simon Preston	Magnum Mysterium	1987	Celestial Harmonies	1635188		Chapel of Merton College, Oxford	LP	6.49?	No (Likely ID M17)
Contains varied recordings from 1950s and 60s.												NSA		
M69	All	Tallis Scholars	Ind.	UK	Peter Phillips	A Tudor Collection	1988	Gimell	4548952		Merton College Chapel, Oxford	CD	22.00, 3.19 (ad)	No (ID M23)
Track listing suggests that this is a CD boxset of several Tudor albums (MGreen gives it as a 4 CD set); this is virtually the same track order ID M23, with Ave verum added after the Mass, 3vv. AMG gives the release as 1995.												AMG; MGreen		

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M33	All	The Sixteen	Ind.	UK	Harry Christophers	Byrd: Mass for Four Voices with the Propers for the Feasts of Saints Peter and Paul	1990	Virgin Classics	VC 7911332	9/1989	Boxgrove Priory, Chichester	CD	40.50	Yes
Later released with the five-part Mass on Virgin Veritas.												NSA; Spotify		
M53	All	Winchester Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	David Hill	Byrd: The 3 Masses	1990	Argo	4301642 ZH	10/1989	Winchester Cathedral	CD	23.49, 4.23 (ad)	Yes
Decca Record Company. AMG gives the same catalogue number as released in 2007.												NSA; iTunes; AMG		
M56		Tallis Scholars	Ind.	UK	Peter Phillips	Renaissance Church Music	1990	Gimell	CDGIM 999	1984	Merton College Chapel, Oxford	CD		No (ID M23)
												NSA		
M74	Agnus Dei	Tallis Scholars	Ind.	UK	Peter Phillips	Music Featured on the South Bank Show	1990	Gimell	454999	9/1983	Merton College Chapel, Oxford	CD	3.23	No (ID M23)
Amazon shows a cassette release from 1993. MGreen has as CD release, Gimell 4549992 from 1991, which seems to contain the whole mass, but then has a 'corrected entry' for just Agnus Dei, Gimell 1585T-999, from 1990.												AMG; Amazon; MGreen		
M31	All	Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Oxford	Cath.	UK	Stephen Darlington	Byrd: Mass for Four Voices with the Propers for the Feast of Corpus Christi	1991	Nimbus	NI 5287	29,30/10/1990	Dorchester Abbey, Oxfordshire	CD	3.35 (ad)	Yes
The Mass appears to have also been released on Regis, 'William Byrd: Masses for Three Four and Five Voices' (ID M40).												NSA; Naxos; AMG		
M51	Agnus Dei	Rochester Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Barry Ferguson	Music from Rochester Cathedral 3	1991	Alpha	CACA 918	29,21/1/1991	Rochester Cathedral	cass.		Yes
Abbey Recording.												NSA		
M50	All	Oxford Camerata	Ind.	UK	Jeremy Summerly	Byrd: Masses for Four and Five Voices / Infelix Ego	1992	Naxos	8.550574	16,18/12/1991	Hertford College Chapel, Oxford	CD	25.50, 3.37 (ad)	Yes
HNH Int. Full release date: 10/7/1992. The Masses were then released with Tallis Mass, 4vv in 18/9/1995 (ID M68); this also appears on iTunes. 'Agnus Dei' was later released on an album of Agnus Dei's, Naxos 8.556701. MGreen lists many subsequent releases of Byrd's Mass on Naxos: 8505020 (5CDs 1994); 8553239 (CD 1995, mentioned above); 8505079 (5CDs 1998); 8503071 (3CDs 1999).												NSA; iTunes; Naxos; AMG; MGreen		
M63	All	Oxford Camerata	Ind.	UK	Jeremy Summerly	Essential Masses, Vol. 1	1993	Naxos	9.00100			CD	3.51 (ad)	Not Likely (ID M50)
Full release date: 1/6/1993												iTunes; Naxos		
M35	Agnus Dei	Winchester Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	David Hill	Hymnus: Religious Choral Music	1994	Decca	4674452	10/1989	Winchester Cathedral, UK	CD	4.16	No (ID M53)

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Series: Eloquence. Universal. iTunes shows the release date as 2000.												NSA; iTunes; MGreen		
M29	All	Theatre of Voices	Ind.	USA (International)	Paul Hillier	Byrd: Motets and Mass for Four Voices	1994	ECM New Series	4391722	2/1992	Cathedral of Transfiguration, Toronto	CD	3.00 (ad)	
Full release date: 6/1994. Also appears as ECM 21512. The version listed in Amazon is from 5/10/1994; the track listing here seems incorrect but related reviews mention the Mass. MGreen suggests that this is a rerelease, but it does not appear so from the actual sleeve notes.												NSA; AMG; Amazon; MGreen		
M30	All	Pro Cantione Antiqua	Ind.	UK	Bruno Turner	Byrd: Mass for Four Voices; Four Motets; Taverner: Sacred Music	1994	ASV Quicksilver	CDQS 6132			CD	24.54, 3.45 (ad)	
ASV is Academy of Sound and Vision. This appears to be a rerelease ID M21 from 1982, with Byrd tracks added to works of Taverner. However, the performer names listed on this album are different to those on M21.												NSA; AMG; Amazon		
M77	Kyrie, Sanctus, Benedictus	Christ's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Rowland	Cantiones Sacrae: Music by Tallis and Byrd	1995	Christ's College	SP 1	4/1995	Downing College Chapel, Cambridge	CD	5.23	Yes
Title found on 'MusicBrainz.org'; track listing concurs with MGreen.												MGreen; MusicBrainz		
M48	all	Ex Cathedra and Black Voices	Ind.	UK	Jeffrey Skidmore	How Shall We Sing The Lord's Song?	1995	BBC	BBC R3 28.5.1995	28 / 05 / 1995	St Paul's Church, Hockley	BBC Trans.		Yes
Mass interspersed with Gospel Songs. Live recording.												NSA		
M68	All	Oxford Camerata	Ind.	UK	Jeremy Summerly	Byrd: Mass for Four Voices, Mass for Five Voices / Tallis: Mass for Four Voices	1995	Naxos	8.553239	16-18 / 12 / 1991	Chapel of Hertford College, Oxford	CD	3.52	No (ID M50)
												iTunes; Naxos; MGreen		
M49	All	The Clerks of the Choir of New College, Oxford	Col.	UK	Edward Higginbottom	Renaissance Masterpieces, Vol.1: Great Britain	1996	Collins Classics	14872	4/4/1995	Valloires Abbey, Somme, France	CD	24.41	Yes
Harper Collins. Lambourne Productions. Naxos also lists this as CRD 3499, track duration 25.24, 3.46 (ad), released 04/2003. MGreen show CRD 3499 as the single CD containing Byrd, within a wider box set CRD 5008, a 5 CD set, from 2003. iTunes lists a 2002 release with the same title and tracks. These CRD Records listings seem to be the most popular version of the album, but it says that it was recorded in 1995 and the college website says that the original release was on Collins Classics. MGreen shows that the Agnus Dei from this was released on its own on another album, presumably ID M46.												NSA; iTunes; AMG; Naxos; Choir Site; MGreen		
M65	All	Children & Gentlemen of Her Majesty's Chapels Royal	Cath.	UK	Richard Popplewell	Royal Composers	1996	Griffin	GCCD 4011	22-24/7/ 1996	Church of St. Alban the Martyr, Holborn	CD	32.24, 5.32 (ad)	Yes
iTunes gives the release as 2010.												iTunes; AMG; MGreen		

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M76	Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.		Boris Ord	English Church Music and Favourite Christmas Carols	1997	Testament	SBT1121	21/7/1949	King's College Chapel	CD		No (ID M3)
This compiles recordings of the choir under Boris Ord from 1949-54. The 'Agnus Dei' on this album was were originally released on ID M3 (Columbia Anthology)												MGreen; Testament		
M32	All	Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Oxford	Cath.	UK	Stephen Darlington	English Choral Music 1514 - 1682 / Tudor Church Music	1998	Nimbus	NI 1762	29,30/10/1990	Dorchester Abbey, Oxford	CD	3.35 (ad)	No (ID M31)
This features the recording of the Mass from 1991. All movements appear on this album but they are on separate tracks and interspersed with other pieces.												NSA; AMG; MGreen		
M28	All	BBC Singers	Ind.	UK	Bo Holten	William Byrd, Thomas Tallis: Masses and Motets	1998	BBC Music Magazine	BBCMM 70	7/2/1996	St Giles' Cripplegate, UK	CD	22.24, 3.24 (ad)	Yes
												NSA; AMG; MGreen		
M47	All	Duodena Cantitans	Ind.	Czech Republic	Petr Danek	Monteverdi and Byrd: Masses for Four Voices	1998	Supraphon	SU 33282231	10/9/1997	Prayer Hall, Korunní Street, Prague	CD	19.39, 2.23 (ad)	Yes
No longer available when searching on internet.												NSA; AMG; MGreen		
M67	Agnus Dei	Oxford Camerata	Ind.	UK	Jeremy Summerly	Agnus Dei: Classical Music for Reflection and Meditation	1999	Naxos	8.556701	1989 - 1995	Hertford College Chapel, Oxford	CD	3.42	No (ID M50)
Album just of 'Agnus Dei's. Notes by Keith Anderson. HNH.												Naxos; AMG; MGreen		
M27	All	The Cardinal's Musick	Ind.	UK	Andrew Carwood	Byrd Edition, Vol. 5: The Three Masses	2000	Gaudeamus	CDGAU 206	22-24/11/1999	Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel Castle	CD	23.05, 3.28 (ad)	Yes
Record Company: ASV. NSA gives recording date as 01/2000. Producer: David Skinner. MGreen says 'ed. Skinner' but not clear if this means music edition or recording editor.												NSA; AMG; MGreen		
M46	All	Parthenia XVI	Ind.	USA	Mary Jane Newman	William Byrd: The Three Masses for Five, Four and Three Voices	2000	Centaur	CRC 2471	3 or 5 / 1999	St Matthews Episcopal Church, NY	CD	24.32, 3.44 (ad)	Yes
												NSA; iTunes; Naxos; AMG; MGreen		
M80	Kyrie	Washington National Cathedral Choir	Cath.	USA	Douglas Major	A Choral Feast	2001	Gothic	49126			CD	2.02	Yes
Three Sections on this CD: Choral Favourites, Music of the Renaissance, Music for Washington Cathedral.												MGreen; Gothic website		
M81	Kyrie	St Edmundsbury Cathedral Choir	Cath.		James Thomas	Godspeed	2001	Lammas	LAMM 135	7/2001	St Edmundsbury Cathedral	CD	2.23	Yes
Full release date: 7/12/2001. Website says that this is their first 'solo' CD.												MGreen; mdt.co.uk; Choir Site		

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M34	All	The Sixteen	Ind.	UK	Harry Christophers	Byrd: Masses for Four and Five Voices / +	2002	Virgin Veritas	VBD 5620132	9/1989	Boxgrove Priory, Chichester	CD	24.50, 3.35 (ad)	No (ID M33)
Details given on the NSA for this release do not quite match the details on the entry for the original album, but they are similar and are refer to the same recording. MGreen confirms the date as 2002 and that this is a rerelease. iTunes gives (P) as 2002 but released 01/04/2004. Naxos gives full catalogue number as 0724356201354. AMG gives recording date as 1988.												NSA; iTunes; Naxos; AMG; MGreen		
M45	All	Pro Arte Singers	Col. / Ind.	USA	Paul Hillier	Byrd: Masses for 3, 4 and 5 Voices	2002	Harmonia Mundi	HMU 907223	9-13/5/2000	Auer Recital Hall, Indiana University School of Music	CD	21.55, 3.36 (ad)	Yes
Full release date: 07/2002. Full recording location: Auer Recital Hall, Bess Meshulam Simon Music Recital Center, Indiana University School of Music, Bloomington, IN. MGreen lists 'ed. Hillier'. Although they are from a conservatoire, this choir are a professional level ensemble with independent activities.												NSA; iTunes; AMG; MGreen		
M73	Agnus Dei	University of Miami Chorale	Col.	USA	Jo-Michael Scheibe	Love of My Soul	2002	Albany Music	542		Gusman Concert Hall, University of Miami	CD	2.32	Likely
Full release date: 1/9/2002.												AMG; Amazon		
M75	Agnus Dei	St. Martin's Chamber Choir	Ind.	USA	Timothy J Krueger	O Taste and See	2003	Cygnus Records	006			CD	3.16	Likely
Full release date: 21/11/2003												Spotify; Amazon; iTunes		
M78	Agnus Dei	Clerks of New College Choir, Oxford	Col.	UK	Edward Higginbottom	Elizabethan Anthems and Lamentations	2003	Regis	RRC 1132	4/1995	Valloires Abbey, Somme	CD	3.43	No (ID M49)
												MGreen; Amazon		
M41	Agnus Dei	The Sixteen	Ind.	UK	Harry Christophers	Renaissance: Music for Inner Peace	2004	Decca / Universal	4764592 / 9868054	3-4/2004	All Hallows, Gospel Oak	CD	3.40	Likely
A confusing entry. There are two albums with the same name; one with two CDs (earliest, 2004, album cover shows a painting), the other with one CD (2005, album cover shows a woman with flowing hair). From looking at the actual discs, it does seem that all of these are linked to the same 'Renaissance' release, but listings vary as to the collection and number of CDs. Some sources show the single CD with the same tracks as from the first of the double set, but Amazon shows the second release as just selected tracks from the larger box set - not the same track listing. The date given here is for the original 2CD release, the other details are from the more popular single disc release, which appears in more searches and on the choir's website. Amazon gives the full release date as 27/9/2004. AMG gives the 2CD release as Universal 9870128 but the date as 2/2005. The Sixteen's website shows Universal 4764592 as the main edition, and Universal 4764601 as the CD and DVD edition. The choir's website says that Universal 4764592 is a 're-release of the classical brit award winning recording', but this does not appear to refer to ID M33. When listening to that release in comparison to this one, it is still very hard to tell if it is a reissue or not; the performances are very similar, but there appear to be subtle differences in expression and key.												NSA; iTunes; AMG; Amazon; Choir Site		
M43	Agnus Dei	The Sixteen	Ind.	UK	Harry Christophers	The Number One Classical Album, 2006	2005	Universal	9834883			CD	3.41	Not Likely
Full release date: 11/2005												NSA; AMG		



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M44	All	King's Singers	Ind.	UK		1605, Treason & Dischord: William Byrd and the Gunpowder Plot	2005	Signum Classics	SIGCD 061	3/2005	St Andrews Church, Toddington	CD	23.13, 3.31 (ad)	Yes
Concordia. Notes by John Milsom, Deborah J G Mackay and Francis Pott. Full release date: 26/7/2005. Later released as part of a boxset of all their recordings (ID M71).												NSA; iTunes; Naxos; AMG		
M58	All	Tallis Scholars	Ind.	UK	Peter Phillips	Renaissance Giants: Byrd, Josquin, Palestrina, Tallis Taverner and Victoria	2006	Gimell	CDGIM 207			CD	3.25 (ad)	No
Full release date: 30/10/2006. Gimell website confirms that these are previous releases.												NSA; iTunes; AMG; Gimell		
M59	All	Tallis Scholars	Ind.	UK	Peter Phillips	Playing Elizabeth's Tune: Sacred Music by William Byrd	2006	Gimell	CDGIM 992		Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire	CD	23.06, 3.18 (ad)	Yes
Full release date: 28th August 2006 (iTunes) 30th September 2006 (Classical A). This recording was made while filming a programme for the BBC, so it is likely to be an original recording, only on the DVD does it say that some music was used from earlier albums. Also listed in NSA and AMG is GIMSA 592, Super Audio CD; AMG gives this as BBC Music.												NSA; iTunes; Naxos; AMG		
M38	All	Tallis Scholars	Ind.	UK	Peter Phillips	The Tallis Scholars Sing William Byrd	2007	Gimell	CDGIM 208		Merton College Chapel, Oxford	CD	22.03, 3.20 (ad)	No
Full release date: 29/10/2007. Gimell website confirms that these tracks have been released previously.												NSA; iTunes; AMG; Gimell		
M72	Agnus Dei	Hilliard Ensemble	Ind.	UK	Paul Hillier	100 Best Sacred Works	2007	EMI Classics	89227			CD	3.54	No (ID M22)
EMI own the original recording; this is likely to be a rerelease of ID M22 and the same that appears on ID M61. There is also a release called 'Alle 100 Goed: Religieuze Meesterwerken' from 2013, but iTunes shows that the original compilation is EMI 2007.												AMG; iTunes		
M71	All	King's Singers	Ind.	UK		The King's Singers: Collection	2008	Signum	SIGCD 120	3/2005	St Andrews Church, Toddington	CD	3.31 (ad)	No (ID M44)
The Mass movements are interspersed across different tracks. This is a boxset of all their previous releases.												AMG		
M90	Agnus Dei	New Dublin Voices	Ind.	Ireland	Bernie Sherlock	Something Beginning with B	2010	New Dublin Voices			University Church, St Stephen's Green, Dublin	digital	3.35	Likely
Full release date: 24/9/2010.												iTunes; Choir Site		
M61	Agnus Dei	Hilliard Ensemble	Ind.	UK	Paul Hillier	Essential Renaissance	2010	EMI	688592			CD	3.54	Not Likely
Full release date: 18/1/2010. Compilation CD.												iTunes; AMG		
M66	Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei	Cappella Albertina Wien	Ind.	Austria	Johannes Ebenbauer	Chor.Musik.	2010	Preiser Records				CD	2.30 (ad)	Yes

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Full release date: 22/3/2010.												iTunes		
M39	Agnus Dei	Armonico Consort	Ind.	UK	Christopher Monks	Naked Byrd 2	2011	Signum Classics	SIGCD 235	11,12/2/2010	Moreton Morrell Real Tennis Court	CD	4.05	Yes
Harmonia Mundi. iTunes gives full release as 27/10/2010. Notes by Adam Binks.												NSA; iTunes; Naxos; AMG		
M40	All	Christ Church Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Stephen Darlington	William Byrd: Masses for Three, Four and Five Voices	2011	Regis Records	RRC 1336			CD	22.53, 3.38 (ad)	No (ID M31)
Full release date: 28/03/2011.												NSA; iTunes; Naxos; AMG		
M64	All	Firesign Vocal Quartet	Ind.	USA		William Byrd and Terry Schlenker: Masses for Four Voices	2011	Firesign, LLC	700261340654			CD	3.11	Yes
Debut album. Full release date: 7/10/2011.												iTunes; Choir Site		
M85	Agnus Dei	The Sixteen	Ind.	UK	Harry Christophers	100 Best British Classics	2012	EMI Records				digital	3.34	No
Compilation CD. Full release date: 21/6/2012.												iTunes		
M88	All	Erebus Ensemble	Ind.	UK	Thomas Williams	In Quires or Places Where They Sing	2012	Hoxa	5060024370263	1/10/2012	Sacred Heart RC Church, Bristol	digital	3.41	Yes
This is another creative programme that puts music of contrasting faiths together.												iTunes; CD Baby; Choir's Site		
M62	Agnus Dei	Voces 8	Ind.	UK		A Choral Tapestry	2012	Signum Classics	SIGCD 283	4-7/3/2011	Brinkburn Priory	CD	3.57	Yes
Full release date: 6/2/2012												iTunes; Signum		
POST 2012 RECORDINGS														
M82	All	New York Polyphony	Ind.	USA		Times Go By Turns	2013	BIS Records	BIS 2037	1 / 2013	Länna Church, Sweden	CD	3.04	Yes
Full release date: 6/8/2013.												iTunes; Choir site; AMG; Amazon		
M84	Agnus Dei	The Sixteen	Ind.	UK	Harry Christophers	The Sound of The Sixteen (by Classic FM)	2013	Decca / Universal	4807669			digital	3.45	No
Compilation of their recordings. Full release date: 27/5/2013.												iTunes; Presto Classical		
M87	Agnus Dei	Tallis Scholars	Ind.	UK	Peter Phillips	Renaissance Radio	2013	Gimell	CDGIM 212			CD	3.18	No
Compilation of Tallis Scholars' recordings. Full release date: 27/1/2013.												iTunes; Gimell		
M89	All	Opera Polifonica	Ind.	Italy	Claudio Siliani, Raffaele Puccianti	William Byrd: Messa a 4 voci; Thomas Tallis: Lamentazioni I e II	2013	Bongiovanni	GB5629			digital	3.13	Likely

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Full release date: 1/9/2013.												iTunes; Presto Classical		
M83	All	Westminster Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Martin Baker	Byrd: The Three Masses; Ave verum corpus	2014	Hyperion	CDA 68038	11-12/7/2013, 14-15/10/2013	Westminster Cathedral	CD	3.36	Yes
Engineer: David Henitt; Producer Adrain Peacock; Executive Producer; Simon Peksy												Amazon; iTunes; Naxos		
M86	Agnus Dei	The Sixteen	Ind.	UK	Harry Christophers	So You Think You Don't Like Classical Music?	2014	Decca / Universal	0028948201785			digital	3.43	No
Compilation CD. Full release date: 14/3/2014.												iTunes; Presto Classical		
M91	Agnus Dei	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	The Greatest Classical Composers of Great Britain	2014	U-5				digital	4.11	No
Compilation CD. Full release date: 10/10/2014.												iTunes		
M92	Agnus Dei	The Sixteen	Ind.	UK	Harry Christophers	Sinfini Music: Best Choral: 50 Greatest Tracks	2014	Decca Classics	4820224			digital	3.45	No
Compilation CD. Full release date: 3/3/2014												iTunes; Decca		

### B.3 Ave verum corpus Discography

ID	Ensemble	Choir Category	Choir Nationality	Conductor	Album Title	Year Released	Record Label	Catalogue Number	Recording Date	Recording Location	Format	Time	Original
A4	English Singers	Ind.	UK		Byrd: Ave verum corpus; This Day Christ Was Born	1924	HMV	E 305			10" acoustic 78		Yes
Mono. Matrix Numbers: 4647 Bb 3544'; 4646 Bb 2656".											Day; NSA		
A5	Westminster Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Lancelot Long	Byrd: Ave regina coelorum; Ave verum corpus	1929	HMV	C 1606			78		Yes
Mono. Matrix Numbers: 04968 CRI714'ΔA; 04971 CRI715'Δ. Query of conductor name in Day.											Day; NSA		
A58	Fleet Street Choir	Ind.	UK	T B Lawrence	Byrd: Ave verum corpus	1942	Decca	K 1081			78		Yes
Mono. Matrix Number: AR.6005 - 1.											Day; NSA		
A133	London Chamber Singers	Ind.	UK	Anthony Bernard	A Joyous Pageant of the Holy Nativity	1950	Record Society	JRS 101			LP		Yes
Mono. Date is not accurate in NSA; have approximated it as 1950 here on the basis that this group were performing in the 1950s and Bernard died in 1963.											NSA		

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A59	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	Boris Ord	Anthology of English Church Music, Second Series	1951	Columbia	LX 1380		King's College Chapel	78		Yes
Mono. Matrix Numbers: CAX 10860 - IE; CAX 10859 - IB. Number 14 in the set. Catalogue numbers for the whole anthology: Columbia (UK) LB 91/95, LX 1283/1289 & LX 1379/1390.											Day; EMFAQ; NSA		
A6	Open Score Society	Ind.	UK	Francis Cameron	Choral Masterpieces of the Renaissance	1952	Period	SPLP 535			LP		Yes
Mono. Released in the USA. Tracks 10-14 are the Open Score.											Day; EMFAQ; AudioKarma		
A7	St. Paul's Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	John Dykes Bower	Sacred Music and Carols for Christmas and Easter	1954	Columbia	33CX 1193		(studio)	LP		Yes
Mono. Also released on: Angel 35138 (set 3516); USA; 12" 33 rpm LP; mono source. Columbia SCD 2195; UK; 7" 45 rpm; mono source; (Byrd only). In the Gramophone review the catalogue number is Columbia 33CX 593 but this appears to refer to a wider collection.											Day; NSA; Gramophone		
A8	Renaissance Singers	Ind.	UK	Michael Howard	Mass in Five Voices	1956	Argo	RG 75			LP		Yes
Mono. Notes by Harold Rutland. NSA gives release as 1967 and omits Ave verum, though the catalogue number is the same. Motets also released on: Westminster XWN 18402; USA.											Day; NSA; Discogs		
A9	University of Redlands Choir	Col.	USA	J William Jones	God Be With You	1959	Columbia	ML 5370			LP		Yes
											Day; NSA; Billboard		
A63	Deller Consort	Ind.	UK	Alfred Deller	Byrd: Ave verum corpus (and other motets)	1959	BBC	BBC TS 101052-53	22/6/1959	Aldeburgh Parish Church	BBC Trans.		Yes
Mono. Recorded live at Aldeburgh Church.											Day		
A64	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	Byrd: Mass, 5vv; Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis (Great Service); Ave verum corpus	1960	Argo	RG 226 / ZRG 5226	1959		LP		Yes
Notes by Andrew Raeburn. Also released on: London L5725/OS 25725 (USA); Decca SAWD 9947 (West Germany); Argo set ZK 53-54 (also in NSA); ARGO 414 366 - IZM (also in NSA); ARGO 414 366 - 4ZM (cassette); Ave verum corpus released with Tallis: Sancte Deus, sancte fortis from ZRG 5479 and Gibbons: This is the record of John from ZRG 5151, on Argo SPA 245 (also in NSA); Argo KCSP 245 (cassette); Ave verum corpus released with Tye: Agnus Dei (final section only) (Mass 'Euge Bone') from ZRG 740 and Tallis: Spem in alium from ZRG 5436, on Celestial Harmonies set 16.35505 (USA). NSA also has ARGO RG.226 (mono).											Day; NSA; Discogs		
A65	Coro de Madrigalistas de Mexico	Ind.	Mexico	Luis Sandi	Madrigals and Motets, 13th to 17th Century	1963	Urania	UR 7168 / US 57168			LP		Yes
Day lists this as stereo but EMFAQ as mono. Released in the USA. EMFAQ gives the catalogue number as URLP 7168, the album title that as used here, and the date as 'Unknown, 1959 or prior'. NSA gives the same album title.											Day; EMFAQ; NSA		
A66	Purcell Singers	Ind.	UK	Imogen Holst	Byrd: Ave verum corpus / +	1963	BBC	BBC TS 111478			BBC Trans.		Yes
Mono.											Day		

## Appendix B

A67	Ely Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Arthur Wills	Victimae Paschali: Music for Lent, Passiontide and Easter	1964	Alpha	AVM 015		Ely Cathedral	LP		Yes
Mono. The album title is taken from Gramophone review.											Day; NSA; Gramophone		
A11	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	The World of King's	1965	Decca	4300922 DWO	1959		LP	4.26	Not Likely
iTunes lists release date as 1966. NSA lists the recording date as 1959.											iTunes; NSA; AMG		
A68	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	Byrd and His Contemporaries	1965	HMV	HMV ALP 2094/ASD 641		King's College Chapel	LP	4.40	Yes
Also released on: HMV FALP 875/ASDF 875 (France); Electrola SME 91469 (Germany); Classics for Pleasure (EMI) CFP4 14481 - 1 (track duration taken from this); Classics for Pleasure CFP4 14481 - 4 (cassette); the latter two are also found in NSA. In a review, it states that ASD 641 is the stereo, and ALP 2094 is the mono. Modern sources (iTunes, Amazon, AMG) show a remastered CD version from 2004 or 2005 (iTunes gives 28/11/2004), EMI Classic 4481.											Day; NSA; Gramophone; iTunes; Amazon, AMG		
A69	Saltire Singers	Ind.	UK	Roy Jesson	Madrigals, Motets and Anthems	1966	Lyrichord	LL 156/LLST 7156		London	LP		Yes
Released in the USA.											Day; NSA; WorldCat		
A70	Westminster Abbey Choir	Cath.	UK	Douglas Guest	The Treasury of English Church Music, Volume 2	1966	HMV	HMV CLP/CSD 3536			LP		Yes
Notes by Peter le Huray											Day; NSA		
A71	Ambrosian Singers? (King's College)	Ind.	UK	Denis Stevens	From the Renaissance	1967	Time-Life	TL 150/STL 150			LP		Yes
Day lists this as The Ambrosian Singers but when looking at the actual disc it appears to be King's College Choir who are credited for <i>Ave verum</i> , The Ambrosian singers are listed as singing different items but on the same disc. Released in the USA. Catalogue number given is for a set. The album includes an illustrated booklet by Denis Stevens as well as 'A Listener's Guide to the Recordings'.											Day; NSA		
A72	Bourne Singers?	Ind.	UK		A Choral Tapestry	1967	Ace of Diamonds	ADD 163			LP		Yes
Day lists this as The Bourne Singers but the performers on the disc are given as The Ambrosian Singers conducted by John McCarthy. Mono. Stereo version is SDD 163 (though Day does not indicate this). Also released on: Avant-Garde AVS 128 (USA). One contemporary newspaper suggests that the album was a 'Bourne' album, hence the use of that name.											Day; NSA; St. Petersburg Times		
A73	Deller Consort	Ind.	UK	Alfred Deller	William Byrd: Mass for Four Voices; Motets	1968	Harmonia Mundi	HM 212		All Saints' Church, Boughton Aluph, Kent	LP		Yes
Released in France. Also released on: Harmonia Mundi DR 212 (West Germany) (NSA is for this), Harmonia Mundi 40.212 (cassette) (France), Harmonia Mundi HMA 55212 (France), Harmonia Mundi set HMF 211/3 (France). The Mass, 4vv also released with the Mass, 3vv from B 211 in Vanguard (Bach Guild HM 6) (NSA 1LP0057873 S2). All three Masses released on Harmonia Mundi 190211, 'William Byrd: Messes'. Salazar also gives a cassette, HM 40 212.											Day; EMFAQ; NSA		

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A74	Deller Consort	Ind.	UK	Alfred Deller	England's Golden Age	1969	Guilde International du Disque	SMS 2467	2/1966	Paris, Studio Sofreson, France	LP		Yes
Released in France. Also released on: Concert Hall SMSC 2467 (also in NSA); Quintessence PMC 7143 (USA). EMFAQ lists the Concert Hall first, then Guilde International.											Day; EMFAQ; NSA		
A75	Llandaff Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Robert Joyce	Festival of Praise	1969	Cwaliton Quad	102/SQAD 102			LP		Yes
											Day; Gramophone		
A76	Liverpool Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Ronald Woan	Liverpool Cathedral Choir Sings	1970	Abbey	LPB 663		Liverpool Cathedral	LP		Yes
(Anglican cathedral).											Day; NSA; Discogs		
A77	Linden Singers	Ind.	UK	Dinah Barsham	Renaissance and Reformation, Units 17-19 Renaissance Music	1972	Open University	OUA 201			LP		Yes
The entry on the National Library of Australia website quotes the sleeve notes as saying: 'this record accompanies correspondence course material in The Open University Arts Second Level Course, Renaissance and Reformation, Units 17-19 Renaissance Music'.											Day; NSA; National Lib. Australia		
A78	Glasgow University Chapel Choir	Col.	UK	Edward Garden	Sing We Merrily	1973	Gemini	GM 2022			LP		Yes
											Day; NSA; Discogs		
A79	Choir of St. Michael's Abbey, Farnborough	Cath.	UK	Dom David P Higham	Music in Farnborough Abbey	1975	Strobe	SRCS 122			LP		Yes
											Day; eBay		
A81	Mariakoren	Cath.	Sweden	Bror Samuelson	Upp min tunga (Up my tongue)	1975	Proprius	PROP 7733	13/1/1974		LP	3.28	Yes
Also released in 2007 as 'I Himmelen', Proprius, PRCD 7001, which compiles three LPs made in the 1970s. Under the track listing for <i>Ave verum</i> appears 'Gwynn Publ. Co.' The ensemble name translates as Maria Choir and Brother Samuelson.											Naxos		
A80	Choir of All Saints' Church, Maidstone	Cath.	UK	Reginald Hughes	'In Quires and Places ...' No.16	1976	Abbey	LPB 763			LP		Yes
											Day; NSA; Discogs		
A107	New College Choir, Oxford	Col.	UK	David Lumsden	William Byrd: Magnificat and Nunc Dimitis from The Great Service; Psalms and Anthems	1976	Abbey	LPB 751		New College of St Mary of Winchester, Oxford	LP		Yes
Notes by Stephen Daw.											Day; NSA; Discogs		

# Appendix B

A108	Singers at the 16th International Congress of Pueri Cantores	Cath.	International	Colin Mawby/Abbe Delsinne?	16th International Congress of Pueri Cantores	1976	Gaudeamus	GRS 6	7-11 /7/ 1976		LP		Yes
Day lists Abbe Delsinne as Conductor 1 and Colin Mawby as Conductor 2. There is a cross after <i>Ave verum</i> and a cross before Delsinne, yet <i>Ave verum</i> is also numbered 2 and Mawby is number 2, hence the confusion with the conductor. The 1976 congress took place in London.											Day; NSA		
A109	King's Singers	Ind.	UK		A Portrait of the King's Singers	1977	HMV	CSD 3779			LP		Yes
Also released on: HMV CSD TC-CSD 3779 (cassette), AVES 0069.907 (West Germany), Intercord INT 161.519 (West Germany). <i>Ave verum corpus</i> released on: HMV Greensleeve ESD 7103 (1981, also in NSA) Album title is taken from the latter. Elsewhere it is given as 'Tallis: Lamentations of Jeremiah, Byrd: Motets'. Also listed in NSA is HMV Greensleeve TC-ESD 7103 (cassette).											Day; NSA		
A110	St Mary's Choir, Woodford Parish	Cath.	UK	Robert Munns	Music from St. Mary's	1977	Wealden	WS 122			LP		Yes
											Day; NSA; Discogs		
A111	Collegium Vocale Ghent	Ind.	Belgium	Philippe Herreweghe	Motetti	1978	Alpha	DB 252			LP		Yes
Date given in Day is approximate.											Day; Discogs		
A112	Mastersingers of the San Antonio Symphony	Ind.	USA	Roger Melone	The Mastersingers of the San Antonio Symphony	1978	Advent / Telarc	5026	May-77	Temple Beth El, San Antonio, Texas	LP		Yes
Other details found in Robert Skinner, 'A Randall Thompson Discography'.											Day; Skinner; W&M Libraries Catalogue		
A91	Salisbury Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Richard Seal	Anthems from Salisbury	1979	Meridian	E 77025	18/3/1979	Salisbury Cathedral	LP	4.10	Yes
Also released on: Meridian KE 77025 (cassette, 1987) and Meridian CD E84025 (CD). AMG gives the catalogue number of the CD. The cassette tape appears in NSA.											NSA; Day; AMG		
A113	Choir of St Thomas' Church, New York	Cath.	USA	Gerre Hancock	A Cappella at St. Thomas	1979	STC	79904			LP		Yes
											Day; Concert Organists		
A114	Magdalen College Choir, Oxford	Col.	UK	Bernard Rose	Byrd: Gradualia, Mass for the Feast of Corpus Christi	1980	BBC Radio 3	Tape T3132BW	16/3/1980	Chapel of Merton College, Oxford	BBC Trans.		Yes
Part 8 of the BBC series Byrd: Gradualia, 'which presents reconstructions of the Tridentine Mass...using a comprehensive collection of Mass Propers which forms the basis of Byrd's Gradualia'. (Day). Broadcast 5 June 1980.											Day		
A115	Choir of Beverly Minster	Cath.	UK	Alan Spedding	Sounds of Beverley Minster	1982	York Ambisonic	UJH HAR 842			LP		Yes
Also released on York Ambisonic UJH HAC 842 (cassette). Album cover shows that the music edition is OUP.											Day; eBay		

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A116	Church of the Advent Choir	Cath.	USA	Edith Ho	Church Music by William Byrd	1982	AFKA	S 4676	1982	Church of the Advent, Boston	LP		Yes
Notes by Nicholas Altenbernd. Title taken from Early Music review.											Day; NSA; Early Music		
A117	Da Camera Vocal Ensemble	Ind.	France	Daniel Meier	Tresors de la Musique Sacree	1982	Arion	ARN 38675	3/1982	Eglise Romane Plaimpied, France	LP		Yes
Also released on Arion ARN 40-38675 (cassette) (France). Conductor given as David Meier in NSA.											Day; NSA;		
A118	Ewell Parish Church Choir	Cath.	UK	Philip Matthias	Byrd: Ave verum corpus / +	1982	Priory	PR 122			LP		Yes
Can find no short title for this release (have shortened Day's version here).											Day; NSA		
A119	Pro Cantione Antiqua	Ind.	UK	Bruno Turner	William Byrd: Mass a 4; Four Motets	1982	Musical Heritage Society	MHS 4992	5/1979	Church of St John-at-Hackney, London	LP		Yes
Released in the USA. Also released on: Libra Real Sound LRS 143 (cassette, title is from this release) in 1986, Teichiku KUX-3238-V (Japan), Teichiku 30CT-37 (CD) (Japan). Looks like this was also released with some Taverner pieces on a later ASV Quicksilver album (see ID 87). Original notes by Mark Brown.											Day; WorldCat		
A120	Durham University College Choir	Col.	UK	Jonathan Newell	Choral and Organ Music from the Chapels of University College Durham	1982	Alpha (Abbey)	APS 327			LP		Yes
											Day; NSA		
A121	Cathedral of St Mary the Crowned Youth Choir, Gibraltar	Cath.	Gibraltar	Michael Davis	Music from Gibraltar	1983	Alpha (Abbey)	APS 347		Gibraltar	LP		Yes
											Day; NSA		
A165	Grech Vocalis	Ind.	Norway	Carl Hogset	Renaissance for Kor	1983	For X / Kirkelig Kulturverksted	FXCD39	1983		CD?	4.34	Yes
All web references are to this as a CD, but from 1983? Perhaps the For X is the CD rerelease, but the original is Kirkelig Kulturverksted.											AMG; Spinning Dog; Wikipedia		
A13	Tallis Scholars	Ind.	UK	Peter Phillips	William Byrd: The Three Masses	1984	Gimell	set BYRD 345	27-28/9/1983	Chapel of Merton College, Oxford	LP	4.16	Yes
Also released on: Gimell ZCBYRD 345 (cassette), Gorfio set S121842H (USA), Gimell CDGIM 345 (CD) without Deficit in dolore and Infelix ego. NSA, Naxos, AMG and iTunes all list the latter, showing it as a 1993 release but with original (P) from 1985. Gramophone gives the main release as 5/1984 and the CD version as 8/1987, though this appears as 3/1986 elsewhere. NSA also lists CDGIM 343/4, 'Byrd: Great Service/ Masses/Motets' and Gimell 4549452 (CD) and actually puts Ave verum on CDGIM 343/3, 'Great Service, Masses, Motets'. The former also appears on AMG but with a slightly different album cover, though still released 1993. EMFAQ also lists GIM 454945. MGreen also links this album to Gimell 4548952 from 1988 (see ID 139), and Gimell 4549992 from 1991. Original notes by Peter Phillips. Distribution: Harmonia Mundi. Track duration in Naxos 4.17.											iTunes; Naxos; Classical Archives; EMFAQ; Amazon; Day; NSA; Hartley; AMG; MGreen		



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A92	Hilliard Ensemble	Ind.	UK	Paul Hillier	Byrd: Masses, Lamentations, Motets	1984	EMI Reflexe	set 27.0096.3	3-7/10/1983	St. James Clerkenwell, London	LP	5.57	Yes
Also released on: EMI Reflexe set 27.0096.9 (cassette), Odeon set EX 27.0096.3 (USA). NSA gives a 1984 release (though sleeve notes say 1987) as EMI Reflexe CDS 7492058 (title given from here) and a 1991 release, EMI CDM 7634412, which features just the Masses and <i>Ave verum</i> . The latter appears on Amazon also. NSA also links <i>Ave verum</i> to EMI Reflexe CDZ 7671182. Original notes by Paul Hillier.											NSA; Day; MGreen; Amazon; auvivocem.org		
A93	Wells Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Anthony Crossland	Music for Worship	1984	Abbey / Alpha	ACA 535	7-9 /5/1984	Wells Cathedral	LP	4.17	Yes
NSA also lists Alpha CACA 535 (cassette).											NSA; Day		
A122	Rydall School Choir	Col.	UK	R O Smith	Byrd: Sacerdotes Domini; Ave verum corpus; Anon (formerly attrib. Redford): Rejoice in the Lord alway	1984	Wealden	WS 223			LP		Yes
											Day; NSA		
A131	The Morriston Orpheus Choir 1935	Ind.	UK	Alwyn Humphreys	Myfanwy	1984	Music for Pleasure	MFP 415662 1			LP	5.15	Likely
Also listed in NSA: CDMFP 6027 and CDB 7520602, (CDs) 1988. Record company: EMI. Arr. Morgan.											NSA		
A30	Quink Vocal Ensemble	Ind.	Netherlands		Byrd: Mass for Four Voices, Choral Music	1985	Etcetera	ETC 301 / 1031			LP	3.48	Yes
Day gives ETC 1031, NSA gives ETC 301; MGreen lists the latter as the CD release from the same year. Anonymous notes.											iTunes; NSA; Day; MGreen		
A46	Jesus College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Swinson	Vox Dicentis Clama / Choirs of Cambridge: Jesus College Choir	1987	Alpha	ACA 568			LP	4.35	Yes
There are several other directors listed on the album with other choirs. iTunes lists a release on Griffin from 13/7/2010.											iTunes; Day; NSA		
A94	BBC Singers	Ind.	UK	John Poole	BBC Radio 3 Broadcast	1987	BBC	B1968/1	8/1986	Rosslyn Hill Chapel, Hampstead	BBC Trans.		Yes
Broadcast date: 2/6/1987. Has been dubbed onto CD.											NSA		
A123	Liverpool Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Ian Tracey	Four Centuries of English Cathedral Music, Volume One	1987	Solitaire	SOLI 102			LP		Yes
											Day; NSA		
A124	St Anne's Cathedral Choir, Belfast	Cath.	UK	Andrew Padmore	Choral Music from St. Anne's Cathedral, Belfast	1987	Alpha (Abbey)	ACA 566	6/1987	St Anne's Cathedral, Belfast	LP		Yes
Also released as Alpha CACA 566 (cassette).											Day; NSA		

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A130	Corpus Christi College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	Lee Mark	The Choir of Corpus Christi College Cambridge	1987	Alpha (Abbey)	ACA 569			LP		Yes
											NSA		
A25	Cambridge Singers	Ind.	UK	John Rutter	Faire is the Heaven: Music of the English Church	1988	Collegium	COLCD107	10/1982	Lady Chapel, Ely Cathedral	CD	3.48	Likely
Naxos gives the track duration as 3.39. Originally recorded as two albums by Word Records, re-edited and remastered by the BBC for CD.											iTunes; Naxos; AMG		
A32	Durham Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	James Lancelot	Motets of William Byrd	1988	Priory	PRCD 801		Durham Cathedral	CD	4.16	Likely
Full release date: 11/12/1988. Also listed in iTunes from 2009, 'Priory Records courtesy of BFM Digital'. The recording date in AMG is given as 2002 but this seems incorrect.											iTunes; NSA; AMG		
A139	Tallis Scholars	Ind.	UK	Peter Phillips	A Tudor Collection	1988	Gimell	454895		Merton College Chapel, Oxford	CD	4.10	No (ID 13)
Track listing suggests that this is a CD boxset of several Tudor albums (MGreen gives it as a 4 CD set); this is virtually the same track order ID 13, with Ave verum added after the Mass, 3vv. AMG gives the release as 1995.											AMG; MGreen		
A10	Cambridge Singers	Ind.	UK	John Rutter	Ave Verum Corpus: Motets and Anthems of William Byrd	1989	Collegium	COLCD 110	1989	University College School	CD	4.05	Likely
iTunes and AMG give a slightly longer track duration of 4.14. Amazon links this title to a different album cover and the year 1993, though EMFAQ gives 1989. EMFAQ lists the catalogue number as CUK 110. Incorrect track duration of 6.45 listed in NSA. NSA also lists CSCD507 from 1989. AMG gives that catalogue number as released in 2002 but the recording date as 1989. Difficult to tell if this is the same recording as on ID 25 but the track listing is different and, when listening, the expression is not the same.											iTunes; Naxos; EMFAQ; NSA; Hartley; AMG		
A127	New College Choir, Oxford	Col.	UK	Edward Higginbottom	Rejoice in the Lamb	1989	Proudsound	PROUCD 125	18-20/7/1989	New College, Oxford	CD	6.58	Yes
											NSA		
A52	Varbergs Kammarkor	Ind.	Sweden	Folke Alm	Varbergs Kammarkor med Folke Alm	1990	Fusion	FUS CD 104			CD	5.38	Likely
Full release date: 12/12/1990.											iTunes; Amazon; Klicktrack		
A126	University of Bristol Church Choir	Col.	UK	Edward Davies	Sing Joyfully	1990	Herald	HAVPC 134	01/9/1990	St Mary's Church, Shrewsbury	cass.		Yes
											NSA		
A83	Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Oxford	Cath.	UK	Stephen Darlington	Byrd: Mass for Four Voices with the Propers for the Feast of Corpus Christi	1991	Nimbus	NI 5287	29,30/10/1990	Dorchester Abbey, Oxfordshire	CD	4.16	Likely
Much of this recording was later reissued by Regis Records on 'William Byrd: Masses for Three, Four and Five voices', which also features <i>Ave verum</i> (see ID 143).											Naxos; EMFAQ; AMG		

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A104	St. Paul's Cathedral Choir, Dundee	Cath.	UK	Robert Lightband	Choral Music from Dundee	1991	Alpha (Abbey)	CDCA 926	26-28 /9/ 1991		CD	5.11	Yes
											NSA		
A105	Christ College Choir, Brecon	Col.	UK	Jonathan Leonard	Choral Music from Christ College Brecon	1991	Alpha (Abbey)	CAPS 407	14-15/11/ 1990	Christ College, Brecon	cass.		Yes
											NSA		
A106	Keble College Choir, Oxford	Col.	UK	Steven Maxson	Hail Gladdening Light	1991	Herald	HAVPC 137		Keble College Chapel, Oxford	cass.	5.58	
											NSA		
A27	Clare College Chapel Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	Timothy Brown	Ave Verum: Favourite Parish Anthems	1991	Gamut Classics	GAMD 505	24-25/3/ 1991		CD	3.58	Likely
iTunes lists this as: 'Guild courtesy of BFM Digital'. NSA gives: Gamut Distribution Ltd / Gamut Classics. Item duration on NSA is given as 5.56; AMG gives 3.58. AMG also lists Guild 7109 from 1995.											iTunes; NSA; AMG		
A128	Queens College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Woodcock	Master Tallis's Testament	1991	York Ambisonic	YORKMC 113		Queens' College, Cambridge	cass.		
Record company: Brendan Hearne											NSA		
A157	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	Stephen Cleobury	Magnum Mysterium 2: A Special 2.5 Hour Collection of Sacred Music Classics	1991	Celestial Harmonies	1833505			CD	4.33	Not Likely
2CD set of various artists. There seem to be other versions of this disc on Amazon and iTunes that do not contain <i>Ave verum</i> , with only 23 tracks as opposed to 36.											AMG; Amazon		
A62	Westminster College Choir of Rider University, Princeton	Col.	USA	Joseph Flummerfelt	O Magnum Mysterium	1992	Chesky / New Note	CD/JD 83	7/1992	St Mary the Virgin, New York	CD	4.28	Yes
											Naxos; NSA; AMG		
A102	Preston Orpheus Choir	Ind.	UK		Songs Sacred and Secular	1992	Alpha (Abbey)	CACA 928		Lancashire Polytechnic	cass.		
											NSA		
A103	Worcester Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Donald Hunt	Tudor Church Music 1	1992	Alpha (Abbey)	CDCA 943	22-23/4/ 1992	Worcester Cathedral	CD	5.52	Yes
Released with some tracks from this and 'Tudor Church Music 2' on 'Great Tudor Anthems' in 2006 (see ID 29).											NSA; Music Web Int.		
A129	Clare College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	Timothy Brown	From Tallis to Byrd	1993	Impressions / Gamut	IMCD 701		Clare College, Cambridge	CD	6.42	
											NSA		

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A43	Voices of Ascension Chorus	Ind.	USA	Dennis Keene	Beyond Chant: Mysteries of the Renaissance	1994	Delos / Conifer	DE 3165	1994	Church of the Ascension, NY	CD	4.19	Yes
											iTunes; Naxos; Classical Archives; NSA; AMG		
A54	Laudantes Consort	Ind.	France	Guy Janssens	The Golden Age of the European Polyphony	1994	Cypres	1630			CD	3.31	Likely
Full release date: 7/6/1994. AMG gives the release date as 2001, the catalogue number is actually from this, with a range of recording dates.											iTunes; AMG		
A87	Pro Cantione Antiqua	Ind.	UK	Bruno Turner	Byrd: Mass for Four Voices; 4 Motets; Taverner: Sacred Music	1994	ASV Quicksilver	CDQS 6132			CD	4.39	Unlikely (ID 119)
EMFAQ gives label as Sanctuary Classics but cannot find a reference to this on the CD cover. ASV is Academy of Sound and Vision. Looks much like a rerelease of ID 119 from 1982, with Byrd tracks added to works of Taverner. However, the performer names listed on this album are slightly different to those on ID 119, and to ID 90. Track duration in AMG is 4.50.											EMFAQ; Amazon; NSA; AMG		
A101	Oakham School Chapel Choir	Col.	UK	David Woodcock	Let All the World	1994	Symposium	1181	1994	Oakham School Chapel, Oakham, UK	CD	4.48	Yes
													NSA; AMG
A24	Clare College Chapel Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	Timothy Brown	Tudor Anthems from the Oxford Book of Tudor Anthems	1994	Gamut Classics/Guild	GAMCD 540	22-24/6/1993	St. George's, Chesterton	CD	4.29	Yes
iTunes lists: 'Guild courtesy of BFM Digital'. NSA lists Gamut Distribution Ltd. AMG shows an album cover that is the same but lists it as Guild 7115 from 1995; the 1993 recording date and track duration are identical.											iTunes; NSA; AMG		
A211	Lamentabile Consort	Ind.	Sweden		Music from the Renaissance	1994	Proprius / Alving	PRCD 9063	12/1983, 5-6/1990	Petrus church, Stocksund	CD	4.11	Yes
iTunes also lists a release from 2012. From the booklet, it seems like some of the tracks were originally recorded and released in 1983 and 1986 respectively, on LP PROP 9963, but not <i>Ave verum</i> . Engineer Bertil Alving. Mastering: Rune Persson.											iTunes; Naxos		
A88	Laudantes Consort	Ind.	France	Guy Janssens	Byrd: Great Service; Cantiones Sacrae; Masses; Gradualia	1995	Arsonor	ARS010			CD		
											EMFAQ;		
A84	Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Oxford	Cath.	UK	Stephen Darlington	Oxford Church Anthems	1995	Nimbus	NI 5440	23-24/5/1994	Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford	CD	4.04	Yes
Edition by John Morehen (according to NSA)											Naxos; NSA; AMG		
A100	King's Singers	Ind.	UK		English Renaissance	1995	RCA Victor Red Seal	0902668004 2 / 68004	3-7/1994	CTS Studios, Engineers Way, Wembley, London	CD	4.28	Yes

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There is also a 2001 release listed in NSA: 'Renaissance Album', 74321886862, BMG, France. That release appears to have more tracks on it, some from 1999 and some by Josquin.											NSA; AMG		
A158	Cambridge Singers	Ind.	UK	John Rutter	Masters of English Church Music: William Byrd, Charles Stanford, Herbert Howells	1995	Collegium	COLCD301	1989		CD	4.05	No
2CD set. Contains material from COLCD110.											AMG; Arkiv Music		
A171	Cambridge Singers	Ind.	UK	John Rutter	Treasury of English Church Music: 46 Anthems and Motets	1995	Collegium	COLCD302	1982		CD	3.44	No (ID 25)
2CD set. Though it appears very similar to the above entry (ID 158) these are different albums with different track listings.											AMG		
A205	Adelaide Chamber Singers	Ind.	Australia	Carl Crossin	O Magnum Mysterium	1995	Adelaide Chamber Singers				CD	4.00	Likely
No catalogue number even on their website.											iTunes; Choir Site		
A41	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	Byrd: 3 Masses, Magnificat and Nunc dimittis; Taverner: Mass 'The Western Wind'	1996	Double Decca	4521702	1959	King's College Chapel	CD	4.27	No (ID 64)
Full release date: 6/10/1996. A reissue of historical recordings from 1963, 1961, and 1959. Polygram International Music BV. EMFAQ gives the label as Decca / Horizon / IPG / Omega. AMG also lists Newton Classics 8802020, 'Byrd, Taverner: Masses and Motets, which appears to be the same album as this.											iTunes; EMFAQ; NSA; AMG		
A23	Westminster Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	James O'Donnell	Exultate Deo: Masterpieces of Sacred Polyphony	1996	Hyperion	CDA 66850	12/6/1995		CD	4.24	Likely
Full release date: 1/2/1996. NSA gives item duration as 4.18.											iTunes; NSA; AMG		
A31	Winchester Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	David Hill	Byrd: Mass for Five Voices; Music for the Feast of Corpus Christi	1996	Hyperion	CDA 66837	13-16/11/1995	Winchester Cathedral	CD	4.33	Yes
Full release date: 1/6/1996.											iTunes; NSA; AMG		
A163	Cathedral Singers	Ind.	USA	Richard Proulx	Rejoice in the Lord	1996	Gia	290	1995	Saint Clement's Church, Chicago	CD	3.58	Likely
											AMG; ArtistDirect; CD Universe		
A140	St John's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	Christopher Robinson	Ave verum: Popular Choral Music	1996	Regis Records	1010	1996		CD	4.17	Likely
There are three separate releases associated with this album. On the St. John's website, their main listing is as given in the main record here. Among other sources, there is also a release from 22/12/2006, Brilliant Classics 99081 of the same title; and 'Ave verum: Sacred Choral Favourites' from 2009, Brilliant Classics 9148. These list 1996 as the recording date. There is also Brilliant 5107 on AMG. Another title associated with this release is '19 Choral Favourites'. All the tracks from this album were also released with all the Lamentations from Clare College and an album by King's, entitled together as 'Great Cambridge Choirs', United Classics, Columns Classics / FFC, 1996 (iTunes).											AMG; Choir Site; iTunes; Brilliant Classics; Naxos; Amazon		

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A97	Downside Abbey Choir	Cath.	UK	David Lawson and Dunstan O'Keefe	Gregorian Moods: Gregorian Chant from Downside Abbey	1997	Virgin	VTCD 171	7/1997	Downside Abbey, Bath	CD	3.28	Yes
Record company: EMI. Looks as if some material from this was released as 'Gregorian Chillout' in 2006 (ID 151).											NSA; AMG		
A36	Truro Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Andrew Nethsingha	Popular Choral Music from Truro Cathedral	1997	Priory	PRCD 614	16-18/1/1997	Truro Cathedral	CD	4.46	Yes
Later released on 15/9/2009, which iTunes lists as 'Priory records courtesy of BFM Digital'.											iTunes; NSA; AMG		
A134	Christ's Hospital Choir	Col.	UK	Peter Allwood	Music for the Festive Year	1997	Carlton Classics	3036600852			CD	4.22	
Record company: Carlton Home Entertainment Ltd. Copyright: Jonathan Wearn Productions.											NSA; AMG		
A162	St. Patrick's Cathedral Choir, New York City	Cath.	USA	John-Michael Caprio	O Come Let Us Sing	1997	Gothic	49091		St. Patrick's Cathedral, NY	CD	3.15	Likely
											AMG; ArkivMusic; Naxos		
A170	Tallis Scholars	Ind.	UK	Peter Phillips	The Yearning Spirit: Voices of Contemplation	1997	Gimell	454993			CD	4.04	Not Likely
											AMG		
A15	New College Choir, Oxford	Col.	UK	Edward Higginbottom	Agnus Dei (Vols. I & II)	1998	Erato Disques S A	0630-14634-2 / 3984-29588-2	9-12/1/1998	New College Chapel, Oxford	CD	4.33	Yes
EMFAQ gives label as: Erato / Elatus / Apex Warner. NSA gives record company as Warner Music GMA and edition by John Morehen. There are multiple catalogue numbers as these albums can appear separately. <i>Ave verum</i> is on disc two, which on its own is 3984-21659. AMG also lists 21659. Disc one is from 1996 and Disc two from 1998.											iTunes; EMFAQ; NSA; AMG; Choir Site		
A20	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	Great Choral Classics from King's	1998	Double Decca	4529452	1959, 1960	King's College Chapel	CD	4:31	No (ID 64)
Full release date: 12/1/1998 copyright from 1997. Some other ensembles also feature. Record company: Polygram International Music BV. AMG gives the release date as 1997 and the recording date as 1958.											iTunes; AMG		
A47	Wells Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Malcolm Archer	The Glorious Renaissance	1998	Griffin	GDCD 4019	1998		CD	4:28	Yes
Full release date in iTunes: 8/6/2010. EMFAQ lists it as 2002, AMG and Amazon as 1998, and last.fm as 2005.											iTunes; EMFAQ; AMG; Amazon; last.fm		
A98	BBC Singers	Ind.	UK	Bo Holten	William Byrd, Thomas Tallis: Masses and Motets	1998	BBC Music Magazine	BBCMM 70	7/2/1996	St. Giles', Cripplegate	CD	4.22	Yes
											NSA; Hartley; AMG		
A99	Westminster Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	James O'Donnell	The Music of Westminster Cathedral	1998	Hyperion	WCC 100	12-13/6/1995	Westminster Cathedral	CD	4.17	
NSA gives album title as 'Westminster Cathedral 100th Anniversary'. Released 10/1998.											NSA; Hyperion		

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A149	Christ Church Cathedral Choir, Oxford	Cath.	UK	Stephen Darlington	English Choral Music 1514 - 1682	1998	Nimbus	1762	1990		CD	4.15	Not likely (ID 83)
There are a range of recording dates on this album, from 1988 - 1995.											AMG		
A212	Choir of St. Ignatius Loyola	cathedral	USA	Kent Tritle	O Vos Omnes: Music for Lent and Holy Week	1998	MSR				CD	3.51	Likely
											iTunes		
A215	Godley Singers	Col.	New Zealand		Aspire	1998	TreeHouse				CD	3.24	Yes
											iTunes		
A95	Laudibus	Ind.	UK	Michael Brewer	All In The April Evening	1999	Hyperion	CDA 67076	18-19/7/1998		CD	3.25	Yes
Producer: Mark Brown. Engineers: Antony Howell and Julian Millard. AMG also lists catalogue number 55243 as well as 67076. There is also an NSA catalogue number for a release from 11/2006, Helios CDH 55243.											NSA; AMG		
A159	Vocal Ensemble Kor - X (Denmark)	Ind.	Denmark	Meds Bille	Music from the Renaissance	1999	Paula Records	92	1995		CD	3.46	Likely
											AMG; Amazon		
A216	Emmaus Chamber Choir	Col.	USA	Matthew and Christina Koller	Thy Kingdom Come	1999	Matthew Koller				CD	3.59	Yes
											iTunes		
A146	St. John's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK		Credo: 1000 Years of Sacred Music	1999	Musica Di Angeli	99181			CD	4.13	No
Full release date: 11/5/1999. Compilation album. Reissued in 2006. 15 Discs.											AMG; CD Universe		
A150	St. John's College, Cambridge	Col.	UK		Faure: Requiem / +	c.2000?	Musica Di Angeli	99189			CD	4.13	No
Strange that Byrd's <i>Ave verum</i> should appear on this album but all sources list that it does. No source offers a year of release, but this label was reissuing material around the turn of the millennium. On the cover of the album it also shows 'Holland Boys Choir', so this may have some links with ID 167.											AMG; Amazon; eBay		
A135	Richmond Consort	Ind.	UK	Linda Nottingham	Voices of Peace and Harmony	2000	River Productions	EHCD 09			CD	4.35	Likely
English Heritage is an imprint of River Productions, hence the label prefix.											NSA; Amazon		
A53	Cappella Caeciliana	Ind.	UK	Donal McCrisken	Cantate Domino	2001	Priory				CD	4.11	Likely
Full release date: 22/11/2001. Another release listed on iTunes as 22/12/2009. No catalogue number to be found on either the choir or Priory's websites.											iTunes; Choir Site; Priory		

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A89	Ensemble Amarcord	Ind.	Germany		Hear the Voice	2001	Apollon Classics	APC 10201	9/1998, 3/1999	Stiftskirche St. Petri auf dem Petersberg bei Halle	CD	3.34	Yes
Also issued on Raum Klang, RAU 10201, on 31/10/2006 (Amazon and AMG).											EMFAQ; Amazon; AMG; Naxos		
A48	The Gents	Ind.	Holland	Peter Dijkstra	The Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal	2002	Channel Classics	CCS 18998	5/2002	Oud-Katholieke Kerk, The Hague, The Netherlands	CD	4:23	Yes
All male arrangement, not the same as the others or the original. iTunes gives another release on 9/12/2006. AMG lists this is Canal Grande 6013. AMG also lists a release on Channel Productions, 18902.											iTunes; Hartley; AMG		
A147	The Master Singers	Ind.	UK		Enchantment: 40 Peaceful Classics	2002	Crimson Productions	355			CD	4.19	
											AMG		
A169	Saint Thomas Choir, New York	Cath.	USA	Gerre Hancock	The Saint Thomas Tradition	2002	Priory	PRCD910			CD	4.08	
											AMG; mdt		
A40	English Renaissance	Ind.	UK	Michael Stoddart	Music for Great Cathedrals: The Soaring Sounds of Choral Music	2003	The Gift of Music	CCLCDG 1051			CD	4.33	Likely
Album title on iTunes is a lot longer and caption is slightly wrong.											iTunes; Naxos; Classical Archives; AMG		
A56	Keble College Choir	Col.	UK	Philip Stopford	Lux Mundi	2003	Priory	PRCD657	1998?		CD	4.13	Likely
Most sources give the release as 2003, only iTunes lists 15/9/2009; 'Priory Records courtesy of BFM Digital'. 1998 recording date is listed in AMG but have found this nowhere else. Likely to be an original recording as this choir does not have many other albums and this one is listed on Stopford's own discography.											iTunes; AMG; Amazon; eBay; Priory; Stopford		
A60	Cantillation	Ind.	Australia	Brett Weymark	Sacred Music of the Renaissance	2003	ABC Classics	472881-2	2002		CD	4.34	Yes
Anthony Walker also listed as a conductor on this album, though not for <i>Ave verum</i> . When this track is used on the album 'Choral Spectacular' (see ID 61), only the singers' names are given, though it is the same conductor.											Naxos; EMFAQ; AMG		
A148	Santa Barbara Quire of Voyces	Ind.	USA	Nathan J. Kreitzer	English Cathedral Music	2003	Quire of Voyces	004	2001		CD	3.50	Likely
											AMG		
A151	Monks and Choirboys of Downside Abbey	Cath.	UK		Gregorian Chillout	2003	EMI Classics	562517	1997	Downside Abbey	CD	3.28	Not Likely (ID 97)
											Amazon; AMG		



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A21	The Sixteen	Ind.	UK	Harry Christophers	Renaissance: Music for Inner Peace	2004	Decca / Universal Classics	4764592 / 9868054	3-4/2004	All Hallows' Church, Gospel Oak, London	CD	4.27	Likely
There are several releases under this title with different album covers and catalogue numbers (see M41 in 'Agnus Dei' discography for full details).											iTunes; EMFAQ		
A152	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK		Hallelujah: 35 Great Sacred Choruses	2004	Sparrow Records	96561			CD	4.36	Not Likely
This is very similar to the title of ID 136, but this is a 2CD set and the ID 136 is a 3CD set with very different track listings.											AMG; Amazon		
A166					Requiem: The Word's Most Moving Music	2004	Virgin	667			CD	3.34	Not Likely
3CD et. Byrd features on the disc two. Compilation album of various artists but no source specifies whom.											AMG; MusicBrainz; eBay		
A86	Trinity Church Choir, Boston	Cath.	USA	Brian Jones & Michael Kleinschmidt	Sounds of Light	2005	Gothic	G 49245	2003		CD	3.41	Likely
On Classical Archives, the release date is given as 1/8/2010, the recording date 2003.											Naxos; Classical Archives; Sleeve Notes		
A37	Hereford Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Geraint Bowen & Peter Dyke	William Byrd: Anthems, Motets & Services	2005	Griffin	GCCD 4048	11-13/1/2005	Hereford Cathedral	CD	4.28	Likely
Also released in 8/6/2010, same label.											iTunes; MusicWeb Int.; Gramophone		
A136	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	Hallelujah: Great Sacred Choruses	2005	Virgin	VTDCD 601			CD		Not Likely
Full release date: 3/2005. 3CD set. This is very similar to the title of ID152 from 2004 but that is a 2CD with very different track listings.											NSA; Amazon		
A154	Servants of the Holy Family & Carmelite Sisters	Cath.	USA		In Paradisum	2005	The Seraphim Company	5334			CD	4.27	Likely
											AMG		
A61	Montgomery, Duck-Chong, McMahon, Anderson	Ind.	Australia	Brett Weymark	Choral Spectacular: The World's Greatest Choral Music	2006	ABC Classics	4765706	2002		CD	4.40	No (ID 60)
Recording artists are singer's last names in SATB, as shown in Naxos and ABC. Weymark works with Cantillation, so this is likely to just be four singers from that larger group. 3CD set, Byrd is on CD2.											Naxos; ABC		
A26	Tallis Scholars	Ind.	UK	Peter Phillips	Playing Elizabeth's Tune: Sacred Music by William Byrd	2006	Gimell	CDGIM992	2006	Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire	CD	3.56	Yes

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Full release date: 28/8/2006 (iTunes) 30/9/2006 (Classical Archives). This recording was made while filming a programme for the BBC, so it is likely to be an original recording, only on the DVD does it say that some music was used from earlier albums, and Ave verum is not one of them. Also listed in NSA and AMG is GIMSA 592, Super Audio CD; AMG gives the label as BBC Music.											iTunes; Naxos; Classical Archives; NSA; AMG; Gimell		
A29	Worcester Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Donald Hunt	Great Tudor Anthems	2006	Griffin	GCCD 4053	1992	Worcester Cathedral	CD	3.55	No (ID 103)
Full release date: 27/6/2006. There is also a release on iTunes from 15/6/2010. This is a digital remastering of selected tracks from Tudor Church Music 1 and 2 (see ID 103).											iTunes; Amazon; Music Web Int; AMG		
A178	Erskine & American Chamber Choir	Ind.	Canada	Jean-Sebastien Allaire	Music from Erskine & American	2006	Erskine Chamber Choir		c.2006	Erskine and American United Church, Montreal	CD	4.10	Yes
Was released in Canada 10/2006; seems to have made it on to iTunes etc. in 2010.											iTunes; Amazon; Spotify		
A186	St. Matthew's Vocal Ensemble		New Zealand	Michael Bell	Music in St. Matthew in the City	2006	Michael Bell		2005		CD	2.23	Yes
											iTunes		
A16	Tallis Scholars	Ind.	UK	Peter Phillips	The Tallis Scholars Sing William Byrd	2007	Gimell	CDGIM208			CD	4.10	No
Full release date: 28/10/2007. AMG and Gimell confirm that this is a compilation of earlier recordings.											iTunes; EMFAQ; AMG		
A51	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	Grands Choeurs Celebres: 50 Plus Grands Succes	2007	Classics Jazz France				CD	4.28	No
Full release date: 29/10/2007. Compilation album featuring various artists.											iTunes		
A138	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK		100 Best Sacred Works	2007	EMI Classics	89227			CD	4.42	Not Likely
There is another release from 2013 entitled 'Alle 100 Goed: Religieuze Meesterwerken' which states that the copyright for the compilation is EMI 2007, so very likely is a foreign release of this compilation. That album appears on Naxos, as Warner Classics 5099992856752.											AMG; iTunes		
A145	St. John's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK		Classical Top 1000	2007	Classic Mania	93320			CD	4.13	No
					Ave verum is on Disc 54.								AMG
A155	St. Martin's Chamber Choir	Ind.	USA	Timothy J. Krueger	It Is Finished: Stations of the Cross	2007	Cygnus	9	2006		CD	3.47	Likely
											AMG		
A28	The Sixteen	Ind.	UK	Harry Christophers	Allegri: Miserere / Tallis: Spem in alium	2008	Universal Classics &				CD	4.24	Not Likely
Compilation CD featuring various artists. Classic FM, The Full Works. AMG gives the label as Decca.											iTunes; AMG		
A39	Vocal Appearance	Ind.	Germany		Corpus et Anima	2008	Vocal Appearance				CD	3.38	Likely

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Full release date: 24/10/2008.											iTunes		
A144	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	Byrd: Sacred Choral Music	2008	El Records	161			CD	4.36	No
											AMG		
A160	Winchester College Chapel Choir	Col.	UK	Malcolm Archer	My Beloved Spake: Favourite Anthems from Winchester College	2008	Regent	REGCD290	6/2008		CD	4.09	Likely
											AMG; Choir Site		
A161	Voices of Ascension	Ind.	USA	Dennis Keene	Nine Centuries of Choral Music	2008	Delos	6011	1994		CD	4.23	No (ID 43)
Box set of older recordings.											AMG		
A168	Cantillation	Ind.	Australia	Brett Weymark / Anthony Walker	Serenity: Beautiful Choral Music	2008	ABC Classics	4766830	2002		CD	4.41	Not Likely (Likely ID 60)
5CD boxset with a range of recording dates.											AMG		
A12	The Sixteen	Ind.	UK	Harry Christophers	Adagio: Let the World Be Still	2009	Universal Classics				CD	4.26	No
Compilation album featuring various artists. Full release date: 20/4/2009.											iTunes		
A14	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	Stephen Cleobury	England My England	2009	EMI Classics	2289440			CD	4.32	
Full release date: 6/7/2009. Compilation CD by King's College. Unclear as to the date of the recordings.											iTunes; AMG		
A17	King's Singers	Ind.	UK		Choral Classics: 50 Heavenly Classics	2009	Sony				CD	4.36	No
Full release date: 16/3/2009. Compilation album by various artists.											iTunes		
A57	St. Paul's Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK		The Choir of St. Paul's Cathedral	2009	Past Classics				CD	4.27	No
Full release date: 19/6/2009. Saland Publishing. Saland is the copyright, Past Classics is the label. Past Classics specialise in reissuing old recordings.											iTunes; Amazon; Saland; Past Classics		
A22	Monks and Choirboys of Downside Abbey	Cath.	UK		100 Best Wedding	2009	EMI	9642622			CD	3.33	No
Full release date: 4/5/2009. Naxos gives the catalogue number as 5099996469156. Compilation album by various artists.											iTunes; AMG; Naxos		
A167	Holland Boys Choir / St. John's College Choir, Cam.	Col.	UK	Timothy Brown	Sanctus	2009	House of Classics	220108	10/2009		CD	4.14	

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Unsure about the artist listing. Both choirs are given in all sources but unclear who sings which tracks. 11CD set. Recording may have links with ID 150 but album is very different.											AMG; eBay; CD Universe		
A18	The Sixteen	Ind.	UK	Harry Christophers	Most Beautiful Classical Adagios	2010	Decca				CD	4.26	No
Full release date: 12/7/2010. Compilation album by various artists (not same album as ID 12 though likely same recording).											iTunes		
A19	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	EMI Trusted Guide to Classical Music	2010	EMI Classics/Virgin	1004			digital	4.41	No
Full release date: 17/9/2010. iTunes states that the copyright is owned by Virgin Records. In AMG the artist given is actually Queens' College Cambridge											iTunes; AMG		
A42	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	William Byrd: Mass for Five Voices	2010	Discover Classical Music				digital	4.23	No
Full release date: 5/12/2010.											iTunes; Amazon		
A44	Tallis Scholars	Ind.	UK	Peter Phillips	The Tallis Scholars' Finest Recordings 1980-1989, Volume 1: Sacred Music in the Renaissance	2010	Gimell	GIMBX 301			CD	4.15	No (ID 13)
Full release date: 26/9/2010. Part of a larger collection. <i>Ave verum</i> is on CD1. EMFAQ gives the release date as 2004. Distributor: Harmonia Mundi.											iTunes; EMFAQ		
A45	Sri Silva	Ind.	USA	Sri Silva	Unus Cultus Una Lingua	2010	Sri Silva		2009		CD	4.13	Yes
Recorded for an MMus looking at different regional pronunciations of Latin. Full release date: 12/5/2010.											iTunes		
A49	Choirs of Portsmouth Cathedral	Cath.	UK	Dr David Price, Marcus Wibberly, Andrew Cleary	Sing to the Lord	2010	Convivium		1-2/2009		digital	3.59	Yes
Full release date: 1/2/2010. Several choirs from the cathedral on this album, hence multiple conductors. Not clear who sings <i>Ave verum</i> . Even the album back cover does not reveal a catalogue number.											iTunes; Convivium; Choir Site		
A50	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	Essential Renaissance	2010	EMI	5099968859 251			CD	4.42	No
Full release date: 18/1/2010. Compilation album featuring various artists. Part of the EMI 'Essential' series. The catalogue number given here is from Naxos, who list the label as Warner Classics (who took over EMI Classics in 2012).											iTunes; Naxos		
A85	Clare College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	Timothy Brown	Reflection: Choral Music from Clare College	2010	Heritage	HTGCD212			CD	4.01	
Full release date: 8/6/2010.											Naxos; Choir Site; Amazon; AMG		
A82	Armonico Consort	Ind.	UK	Christopher Monks	Naked Byrd	2010	Signum Classics	SIGCD180	2008		CD	4.43	Yes
											Naxos; EMFAQ; AMG		

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A33	New York Polyphony	Ind.	USA		Tudor City	2010	Avie	AV2186	6/2009	Cathedral Church of Saint John the Devine, New York	CD	4.17	Yes
Full release date: 13/4/2010. Record label in iTunes given as New York Polyphony. Distributor: Allegro. Avie records is a London company, so may have been released here.											iTunes; Naxos; EMFAQ; Amazon; AMG		
A35	Aros Vokalensemble	Ind.	Sweden		Ave	2010					digital	2.55	Likely
Full release date: 10/12/2010. No record label given, just '2010 Copyright control'.											iTunes		
A38	The Parsons Affayre	Ind.	Australia	Warren Trevelyan-Jones?	Stabat Mater: A Journey Through the English Renaissance	2010	Vox Foris	884502841923			digital	4:09	Likely
Full release date: 22/12/2010. Catalogue number from CD Baby.											iTunes; CD Baby		
A153	Jesus College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Swinson	I Saw the Lord: Choirs of Cambridge, Jesus College Choir	2010	Griffin	4069			digital	4.35	
Lots of conductors are listed in the AMG entry, cannot see David Swinson listed on the front of the album picture though.											AMG; iTunes		
A164	Montgomery, Duck-Chong, McMahon, Anderson	Ind.	Australia	Brett Weymark	Relaxing Classics: The Healing Power of the Voice	2010	ABC Classics	4764075			CD;	4.36	Not Likely
Compilation album of Australian compilation artists. The singers' names have been associated elsewhere with Cantillation and Brett Weymark (see ID 61).											AMG; ABC; CD Universe; Naxos		
A196	Quatuor Laque	Ind.	Germany		Le chant des oiseaux (en concours)	2010	Quatuor Laque				digital	4.01	Likely
Ave verum recorded live.											iTunes		
A137	Clare College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	Timothy Brown	Tudor Anthems and Motets	2011	Heritage	HTGCD 216	6/1991, 6/1993		CD	4.29	No
Release date on Clare College website is 22/2/2011, but recording date from sleeve notes is 6/1991 and 6/1993. Could be the same Ave verum as ID 27 though the month of recording is slightly different.											Naxos; Choir Site		
A143	Christ Church Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Stephen Darlington	William Byrd: Mass for Three, Four and Five Voices	2011	Regis Records	RRC 1336			CD	4.04	No (ID 83)
											AMG; Naxos		
A179	New College Choir, Oxford	Col.	UK	Edward Higginbottom	40 Most Beautiful British Classics	2011	Warner Classics	82564665999			CD	4.32	No
Compilation album of various artists											iTunes; Naxos		
A222	St John's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	Christopher Robinson	Choral Classics from Cambridge	2011	Brilliant Classics	BC9234			CD	4.11	No
Compilation album with various choirs. Amazon gives release as 1/10/2011, and another as 8/3/13.											Naxos; Amazon		

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A189	Bulgarian National Radio Choir	Ind.	Bulgaria	Metodi Matakiev	Memogu Mamakueb	2011	Bulgarian Nat. Radio		2010		digital	4.52	Yes
											iTunes; Choir Site		
A192	dwsChorale	Ind.	UK	David W Solomon	While My Cat Gently Snoozes	2011	dwsChorale				digital	2.37	Yes
Very unusual; Solomon has recorded all of the voice parts himself.											iTunes		
A193	Mignarda	Ind.			Single: Ave verum corpus	2011	Mignarda				digital	3.28	Yes
This is an arrangement for solo voice (female) and lute.											iTunes		
A198	The Ascension Singers	Ind.	UK	Robert Webb	What Is Our Life?	2011	Ascension Singers	885767218789			CD	3.51	Yes
This is their debut CD. Catalogue number is from CD Baby; none listed on their own site.											iTunes; CD Baby; Choir Site		
A207	Pusey House Choir, Oxford	Cath.	UK	Edward Symington	Plorans Ploravit	2011	Pusey House				digital	3.40	Yes
Full release date: 26/04/2011											iTunes		
A210	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	The Best of King's College Choir	2011	Past Classics				digital	4.27	No
											iTunes; Amazon		
A218	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	Spiritual Chillout	2011	In The Mood				digital	4.25	No
Compilation album of various artists.											iTunes		
A219	Gloria	Ind.	Ireland		Classical Gloria	2011	Gloria				digital	3.33	Yes
											iTunes; Choir Site		
A176	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	100 Best British Classics	2012	EMI	5099932731552			CD	4.39	No
Compilation album of various artists.											iTunes; Naxos		
A182	Palestrina Choir of St Mary's Pro-Cathedral	Cath.	Ireland	Blanaid Murphy	O Sacrament Most Holy	2012	Pro-Cathedral Record		25/10/2011	St. Mary's Pro-Cathedral, Dublin	CD	3.43	Yes
Recording date from iTunes. Album cover reads IEC 2012.											iTunes		
A185	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK		Renaissance Choir Music	2012	U-5				digital	4.27	No
Compilation album of various artists. The main artist is given as Julian Wassermann; it could be his collection as he is not actually the artist on any of the tracks.											iTunes		
A187	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	Tudor Masters: Byrd & Gibbons	2012	Alto / Mus. Concepts	ALC 1182	1960		CD	4.28	No (ID 64)
Booklet on Naxos reveals that this album contains recordings from the 1960s originally issued on Argo. Producer: Tony Watts; final master: Paul Arden-Taylor.											iTunes; Naxos		

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A190	Chanticleer	Ind.	USA	Matthew Oltman	By Request	2012	Chanticleer Records	CR 2284	2012	Fantasy Studios, Berkeley, California	CD	4.14	Yes
Full release date 2/10/2012. Producer: Donald Fraser, Matthew Oltman, Chris Manning (engineer).											iTunes; Choir Site; Naxos		
A194	Theatre of Early Music Choir	Ind.	Canada	Daniel Taylor	Ave Maria	2012	Groupe Analekta		15-16/5/2012, 2/6/2012, 31/8/2012	(see notes)	CD	4.04	Yes
There are three different groups on this disc, a larger children's choir and the orchestra, not clear which recording location was used for <i>Ave verum</i> ; it is either: St. Augustin de Mirabel's Church, or St Matthias Church Westmount, or Multi-Media Room, Schulich School of Music, McGill University, Montreal. Producer: Carl Talbot, Engineer: Jeremy Tusz.											iTunes; Naxos		
A203	The Tudor Choir	Ind.	USA	Doug Fullington	O Splendor Gloriam: Sacred Music of Tudor England	2012	Scribe Records	616892091844			digital	4.16	Yes
Catalogue number from CD Baby.											iTunes; Amazon; CD Baby; Choir Site		
A156					La Vierge et la Nativite	???? (pre-2012)	Esoldun	1005					
This item appears in the search for Byrd's <i>Ave verum</i> on AMG but very few details given.											AMG		
A221	New College Choir, Oxford	Col.	UK	Edward Higginbottom	Classic Best 40	???? (pre-2012)	Warner Classics	825646726103			CD	4.33	No
Compilation album. Looks like a very similar title and track duration to ID 179 but the catalogue number is different and they appeared differently in Naxos.											Naxos		
A223	Clare College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	Tim Brown	Forever England: Choral Music from Cambridge	???? (pre-2012)	Heritage	HTGCD 255			CD	4.31	No
Compilation album from other Heritage recordings; various choirs. Can find no date for this even having downloaded the sleeve notes and found listings in other library catalogues.											Naxos; Heritage; Stanford Library; Classics Online		
POST 2012 RECORDINGS													
A177	Stile Antico	Ind.	UK		The Phoenix Rising	2013	Harmonia Mundi	HMU 807572	11/2012	St Jude-on-the-Hill	CD	4.07	Yes
Full release date: 29/7/2013. Released to mark the centenary of the work by The Carnegie Trust, who funded the project.											iTunes; own site; Naxos		
A181	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	Classic FM: The Sound of King's College Choir, Cambridge	2013	Decca / Universal				CD	4.26	No
Compilation of old King's College recordings owned by Decca.											iTunes		
A184	Matthew Curtis: William Byrd	Ind.	UK		Matthew Curtis	2013	Choral Tracks LLC				digital	3.29	Yes
Very unusual; Curtis has recorded all the tracks separately himself. The other tracks on the album are the individual parts sung separately with various balance effects.											iTunes		

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A188	Royal Holloway Chapel Choir	Col.	UK	Lionel Pike	Within Thy Palaces: Favourite English Cathedral Music	2013	Dunelm Records	DRD-0121	4,9/5/1998	Royal Holloway Chapel	CD	4.59	Yes
Full released date: 1/4/2013. Producer: Ron Ferris, Exec Producer: Jim Pattison											iTunes; Naxos; Sleeve Notes		
A199	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	Voices	2013	Past Classics				digital	4.23	No
Compilation album of various artists.											iTunes		
A200	Noctis Chamber Choir	Ind.	UK	Francis Faux	Noctis	2013	Noctis				digital	3.48	Yes
											iTunes; Choir Site		
A201	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	Music For The Soul	2013	In The Mood				digital	4.25	No
Compilation album.											iTunes		
A202	Collegium Vocale zu Franziskanern Luzern	Ind.	Switzerland	Ulrike Grosch	Sacred and Profane: English Choral Music from Britten, Sandstrom, Elgar.	2013	Solo Musica	SM 185	2012	Radiostudio Zurich	CD	3.10	Yes
Producer: Michaela Wlesbeck, Radio Production: Roland Wachter; Executive Producer: Hubert Haas.											iTunes; Naxos		
A204	Voices of Ascension	Ind.	USA		Sacred Songs of Hope	2013	Valley Entertainment				digital	4.26	Not Likely
Full release date: 17/9/2013. Compilation album.											iTunes		
A206	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	Praise from King's	2013	Audiovisuel Beulah				digital	4.31	No
Full release date: 15/4/2013.											iTunes		
A208	The Sixteen	Ind.	UK	Harry Christophers	Chillout: 111 Pieces of Classical Music for Relaxation	2013	Decca / Universal				digital	4.25	No
Compilation album.											iTunes		
A209	2002 All-State Mixed Choir	Ind.	USA	Doreen Rao	2002 Texas Music Educators Association	2013	Mark Records	4096-MCD	2002		digital	4.22	Yes
Seems that this was only available recently, but the dates on the cover clearly say it is from 2002, though iTunes gives the title as 2004 though.											iTunes; Naxos; Sleeve Notes		
A214	Schola Pacis	Ind.	USA		Springs of Water	2013	Schola Pacis				digital	3.55	Yes
Full release date: 16/12/2013.											iTunes		
A217	St. Johns College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	Christopher Robinson	Top 50 Classical Voices	2013	Brilliant Classics				digital	4.17	No
Compilation album. Brilliant Classics obtained the copyright in 2011.											iTunes		



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A220	Ensemble Ko	Ind.	Canada		Les Siecles des Siecles	2013	Productions Le Lab				digital	4.21	Likely
Full release date: 30/9/2014.											iTunes		
A175	Westminster Cathedral Choir	Cath.	UK	Martin Baker	Byrd: The Three Masses; Ave verum corpus	2014	Hyperion	CDA 68038	11-12/7/2013, 14-15/10/2013	Westminster Cathedral	CD	4.43	Yes
Recording Engineer: David Hinitt, Producer: Adrian Peacock, Executive Producer: Simon Peksy.											Amazon; Sleeve Notes		
A180	The Sixteen	Ind.	UK	Harry Christophers	Classic FM: Early & Renaissance	2014	Decca / Universal				CD	4.27	No
Compilation album of various artists.											iTunes		
A183	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	100 Hits: Relaxing Classics	2014	Demon Music Group				CD	4.30	No
Compilation album of various artists.											iTunes		
A191	Mortensembles	Ind.	USA	Erik-Peter Mortensen	Sacred Music in the English Style	2014	Cathedral Records				digital	3.49	Likely
He has also released the <i>Ave verum</i> from this album as a single on 25/6/2013.											iTunes		
A195	Stile Antico	Ind.	UK		Sacred Music 2: Cornerstone Works of Sacred Music	2014	Harmonia Mundi	HM 8304D			digital	4.07	Not Likely (ID 177)
Compilation album. Naxos gives the arranger as David Fraser.											iTunes; Naxos		
A197	King's College Choir, Cambridge	Col.	UK	David Willcocks	The Greatest Classical Composers of Great Britain	2014	U-5				digital	4.31	No
Compilation album.											iTunes		
A213	Choir of Clare College, Cambridge	Col.	UK	Graham Ross	Stabat Mater dolorosa: Music for Passiontide	2014	Harmonia Mundi	HMU 907616	7/2013	All Hallows' Church, Gospel Oak, London	CD	4.18	Yes
Full release date: 10/3/2014. Edition of Ave verum is OUP. Producer: John Rutter, Assistant: Matthew Bennett, Executive Producer: Robina Young.											iTunes; Choir Site; Naxos; Sleeve Notes		

## Appendix C      Selections from Computational Analysis

### C.1      Notes on the Use of Sonic Visualiser

Before importing into Sonic Visualiser (SV), all tracks were first imported into Audacity where they were normalised and trimmed of silence at the beginning and end of the performances. The tracks were then exported as Wave audio files (.wav) ready for work in SV.

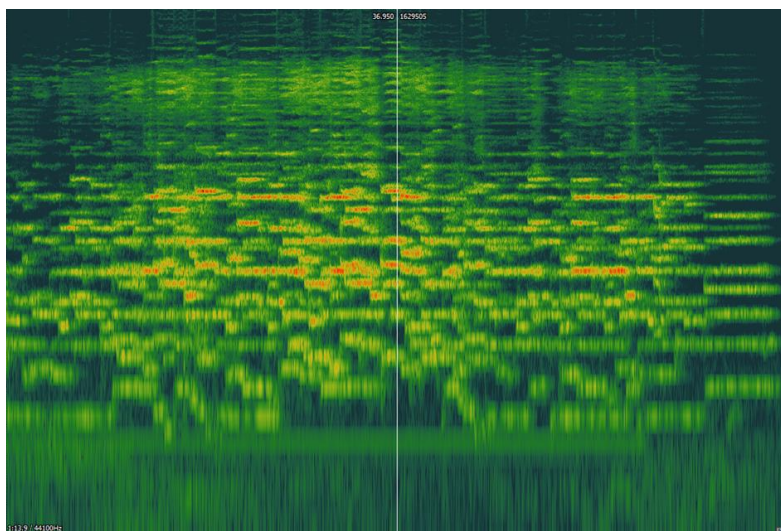
The following settings were used for power curves: Smoothed Power Curve, Smooth Value 0.02, Auto-Align, Connected Points (Curve when overlaid on spectrograms, as this produces a thinner line that interferes less with other details). The following settings were used for spectrograms: dBV2, Colour Rotation 56, Gain 0.5, Window 4096 75%, Vertical Zoom 6000Hz, Visible Area 43Hz – c.6000Hz.

For each set of examples, both here and in the main body of the thesis, all images from SV have been captured and resized in exactly the same way, retaining their dimensions relative to one another. However, some spectrograms in the main thesis and all power curve images have been horizontally cropped so that only the contours of the actual performance are visible, rather than showing the excess space at the bottom of the image. When originally working with auto-aligned power curves, a y-axis scale of decibel values was visible on screen (this does not seem to occur with auto-align on later versions of SV). However, as noted in Chapter 5, SV does not generate all power curves against the same absolute scale, thus direct comparison between height of each image is not representative of differences in overall volume range; this does not affect the relative contour differences under discussion. Whole piece power curves were adjusted to horizontally fill the screen before exporting as an image to this document ('zoom to fit'); they are of equal horizontal length and thus not indicative of differences in speed. The same applies where smaller extracts of the performance are presented; these were produced by 'zooming in' from the full piece power curves to the passages in question. Decibel values, where they have been referred to, were obtained using the mouse readout function. The power curves in this appendix have not been annotated as they are in the main body of the thesis; the vertical playback line from SV is still visible and should be ignored. Spectrogram images in this appendix have not been cropped.

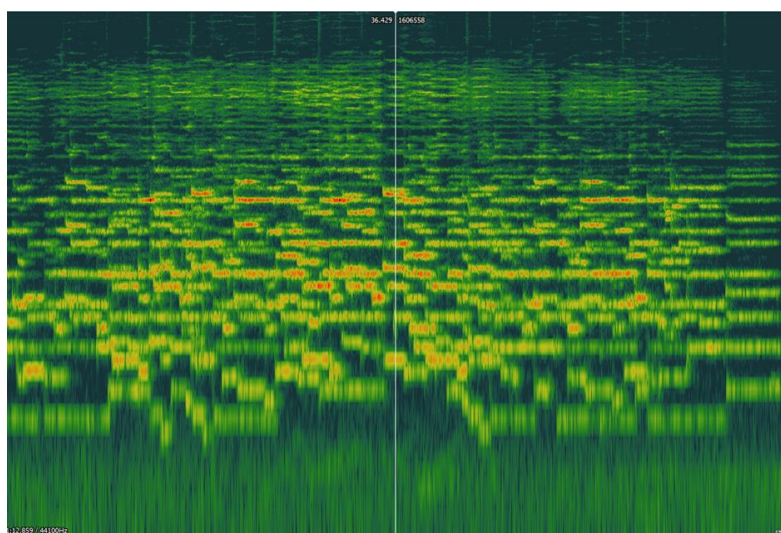
With regards to tempo, I have opted to calculate average speeds over given passages rather than use the beat-by-beat tapping method in most instances. Using the measure tool in SV, I was able to calculate the tempo in beats per minute for each extract with the following formula:  $(60 \div \text{duration of extract in seconds}) \times \text{number of beats in extract} = \text{beats per minute for extract}$ . The results were rounded to the nearest whole number.

## C.2 Additional Independent Spectrograms from 'Agnus Dei'

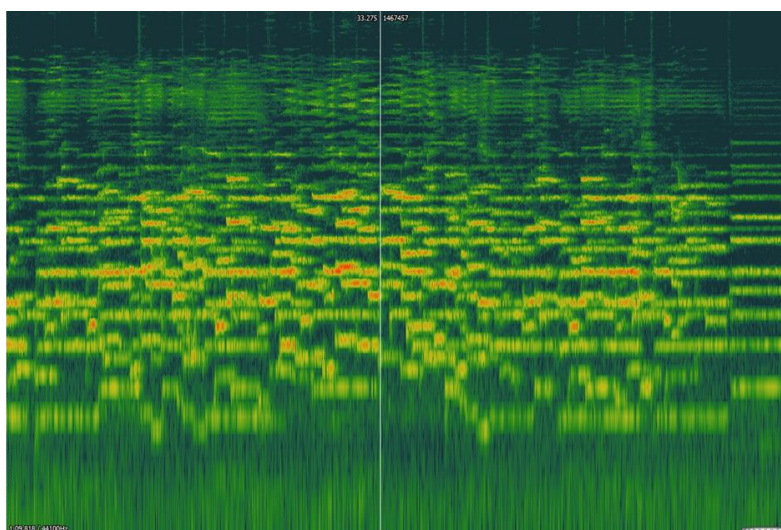
ID M41, The Sixteen



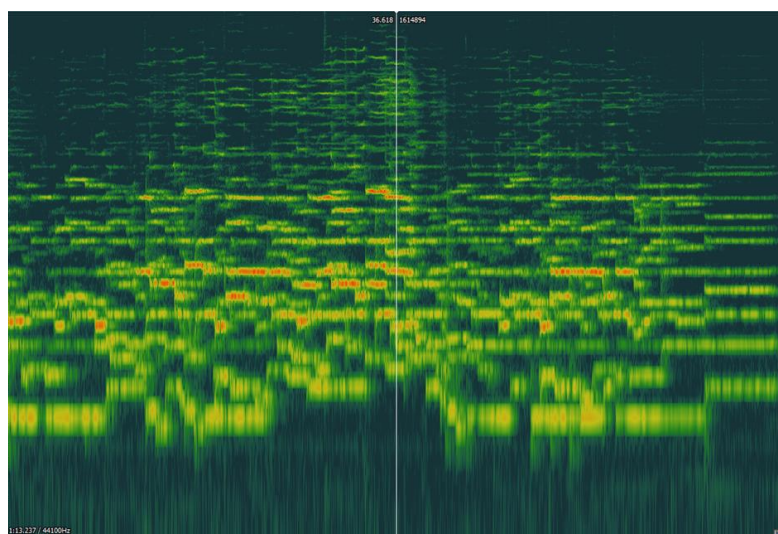
ID M50, The Oxford Camerata



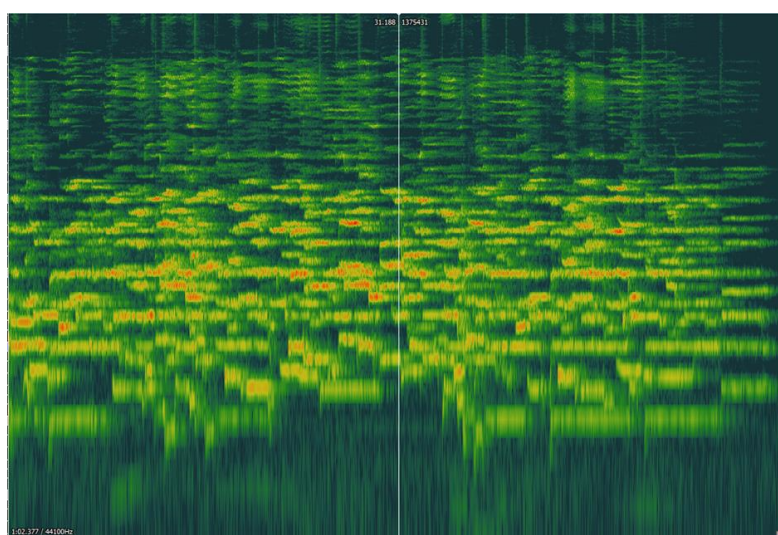
ID M28, The BBC Singers



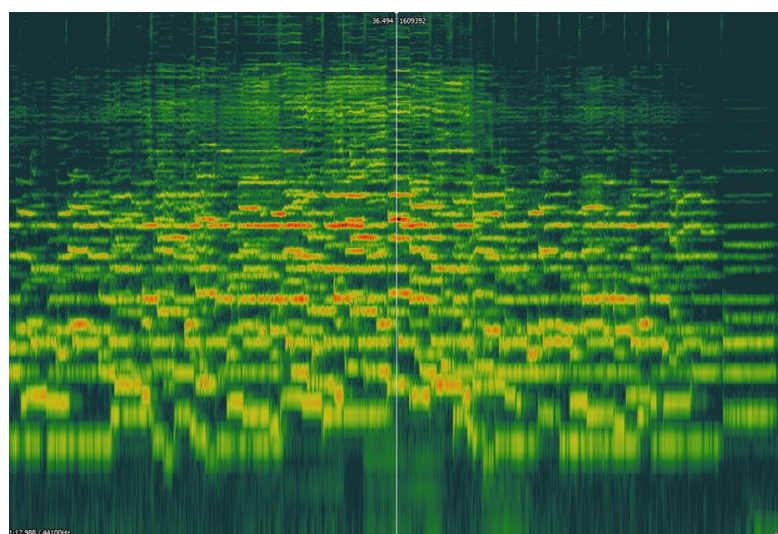
ID M62, Voces 8



ID M64, The Firesign Vocal Quartet



ID M44, The King's Singers





### C.3 Tempo in 'Agnus Dei'

When analysing tempo in 'Agnus Dei', the piece was divided into the following compositional units: Agnus Dei I (A1), Miserere I (M1), Agnus Dei II (A2), Miserere II (M2), Agnus Dei III (A3), Qui Tollis (QT) and Dona Nobis (DN). The average tempo for each unit was calculated as described previously. The tables below show the difference in average tempo (in beats per minute) between each successive unit, as well as the difference between Miserere I and Dona Nobis. Differences of five beats per minute or more are lightly highlighted; differences of nine beats per minute or more are highlighted in darker grey. Overall duration and speed are also provided in the two right-hand columns.

Institutional Choirs	A1-M1	M1-A2	A2-M2	M2-A3	A3-QT	QT-DN	M1-DN	Track Duration	Average bpm
King's Col.	1	-2	-1	0	-1	-3	-7	4:08	54
St John's Col.	-2	0	-4	-1	1	-5	-9	4:00	57
Winchester Cath.	0	-2	0	-1	1	-7	-9	4:08	54
HM Chapels Royal	-9	-4	-2	1	-1	-8	-14	5:24	42
Christ Church Cath.	-6	2	-5	-3	3	-10	-13	3:27	66
New Coll.	-2	3	-7	0	4	-6	-6	3:33	64
<i>Average</i>	3	2	3	1	2	6.5	10	4:06	56
<i>Range</i>	10	7	7	4	5	7	8		24

Independent Ensembles <sup>1</sup>	A1-M1	M1-A2	A2-M2	M2-A3	A3-QT	QT-DN	M1-DN	Track Duration	Average bpm
Tallis Scholars	-3	-3	-2	-2	-1	-3	-11	3:04	74
Quink Ensemble	-2	-1	1	-3	1	1	-1	2:23	95
Oxford Camerata	-2	-3	0	-2	1	-4	-8	3:36	63
Hilliard Ensemble	-1	3	2	-3	0	-4	-2	3:47	60
Cardinal's Musick	-2	5	-2	-2	0	-6	-5	3:12	71
BBC Singers	0	-1	-2	1	-3	-11	-10	3:20	68
King's Singers	-5	-1	-12	-1	-4	-5	-23	3:18	68
Pro Arte Singers	-1	-8	-2	1	1	-10	-18	3:23	67
Armonico	-4	3	-2	1	-1	-5	-4	3:53	58
The Sixteen	1	-2	-2	-3	3	-5	-9	3:36	63
Voces 8	0	3	1	-2	4	-3	-3	3:34	61
Firesign	-10	4	-4	-2	1	-6	-7	3:00	75
<i>Average</i>	3	3	3	2	2	5	8	3:21	68
<i>Range</i>	11	13	14	4	8	12	22		37

<sup>1</sup> The Deller Consort's recording was obtained and added to the independent sample at a later stage; they feature as an example for dynamic architecture but were not included in the original digitised sample for which tempo was calculated.

## C.4 Power Curves for *Ave verum corpus*

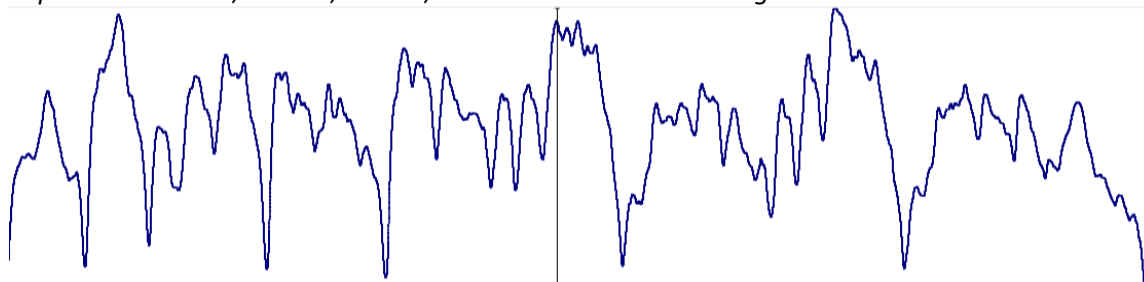
Power curves here depict the whole performance and are displayed in chronological order within each choral category (same coloured graphs). The textual moments that incurred the top four dynamic peaks for each performance are listed in order of volume, with the loudest first.

### C.4.1 Institutional Choirs

#### ID A70, Westminster Abbey Choir

Top Peaks: 'Jesu' II, 'Maria', 'Jesu' I, 'Esto'.

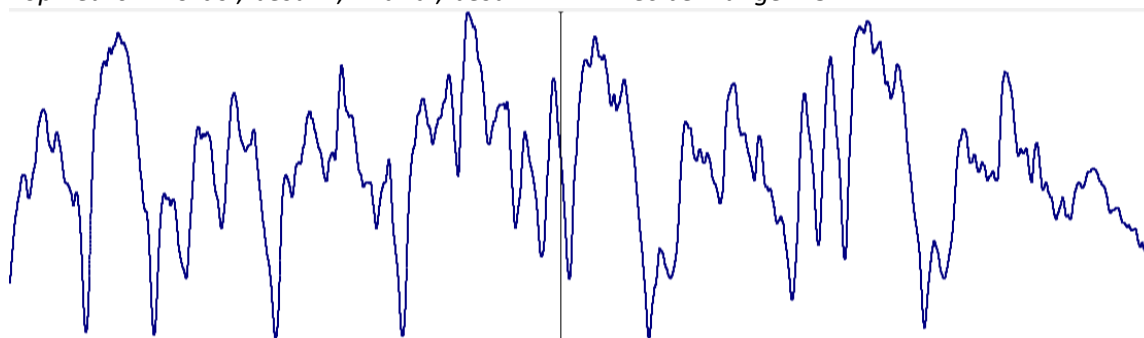
Decibel Range: 25.5



#### ID A91, Salisbury Cathedral Choir

Top Peaks: 'mortis', 'Jesu' II, 'Maria', 'Jesu' I.

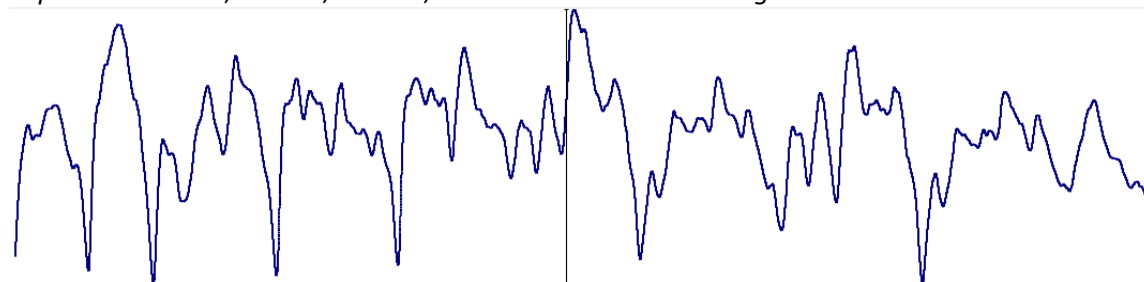
Decibel Range: 28



#### ID A32, Durham Cathedral Choir

Top Peaks: 'Jesu' I, 'Maria', 'Jesu' II, 'mortis'.

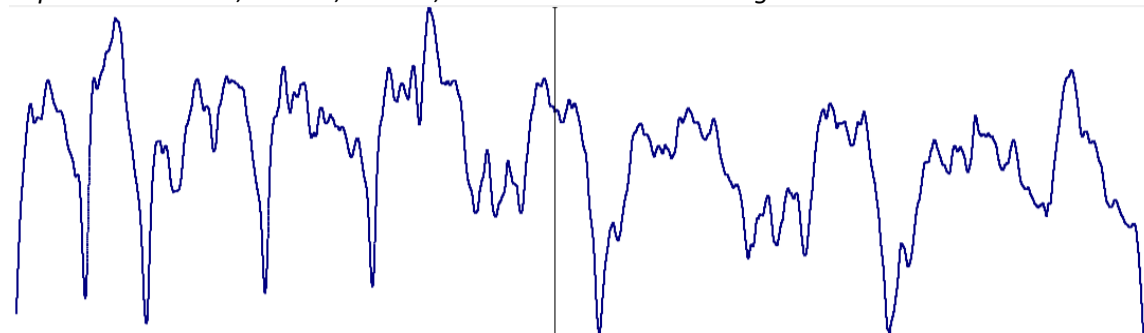
Decibel Range: 32.5



#### ID A83, Christ Church Cathedral Choir

Top Peaks: 'mortis', 'Maria', 'Amen', 'Esto'.

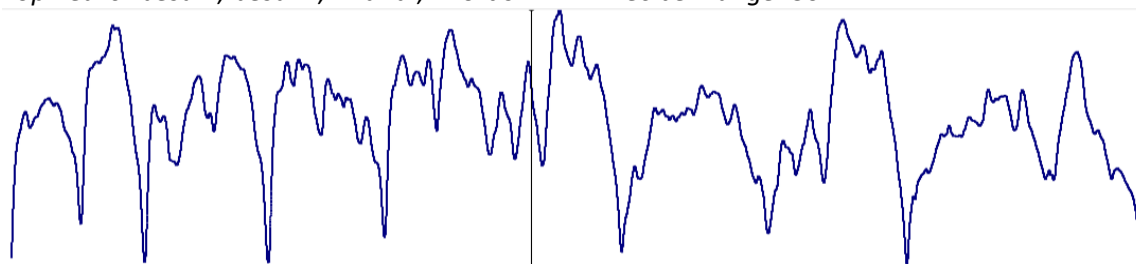
Decibel Range: 30.6



**ID A31, Winchester Cathedral Choir**

*Top Peaks: 'Jesu' I, 'Jesu' II, 'Maria', 'mortis'.*

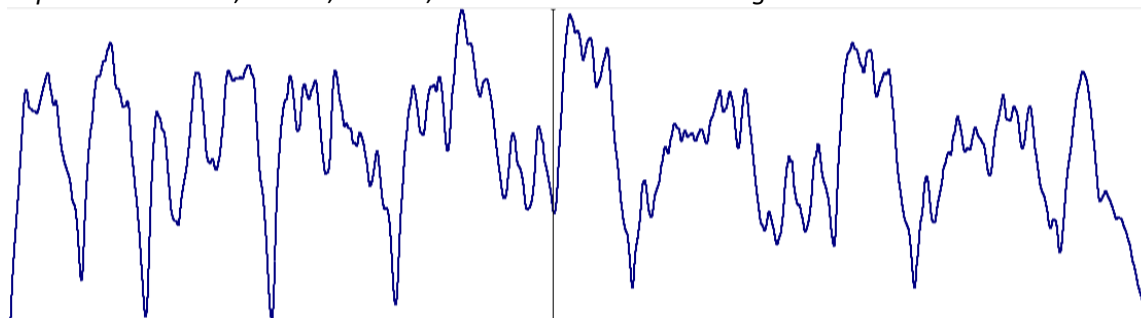
*Decibel Range: 30*



**ID A36, Truro Cathedral Choir**

*Top Peaks: 'mortis', 'Jesu' I, 'Maria', 'Jesu' II.*

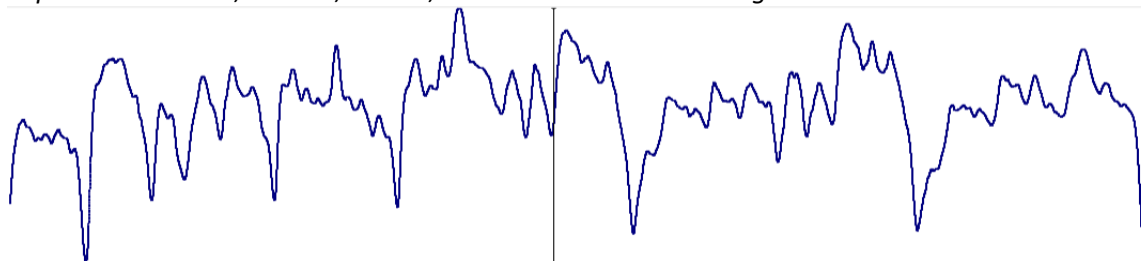
*Decibel Range: 30.5*



**ID A97, Downside Abbey Choir**

*Top Peaks: 'mortis', 'Jesu' II, 'Jesu' I, 'Amen'.*

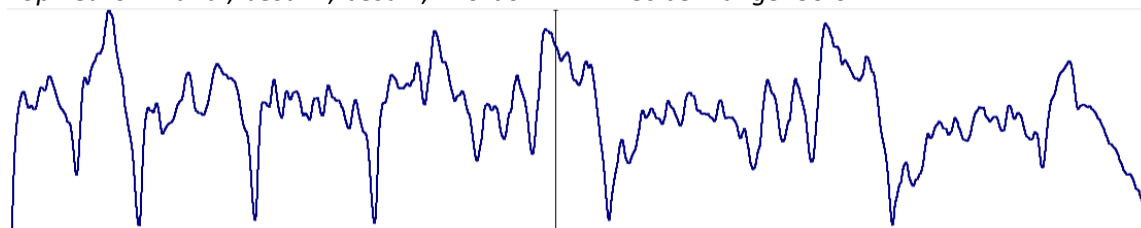
*Decibel Range: 24.6*



**ID A47, Wells Cathedral Choir**

*Top Peaks: 'Maria', 'Jesu' II, 'Jesu' I, 'mortis'.*

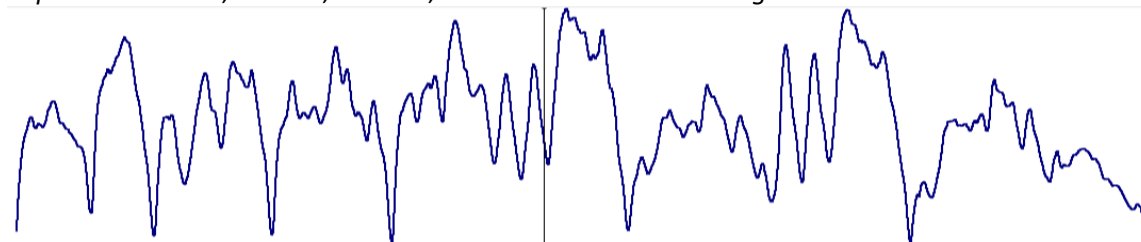
*Decibel Range: 30.6*



**ID A37, Hereford Cathedral Choir**

*Top Peaks: 'Jesu' I, 'Jesu' II, 'mortis', 'Maria'.*

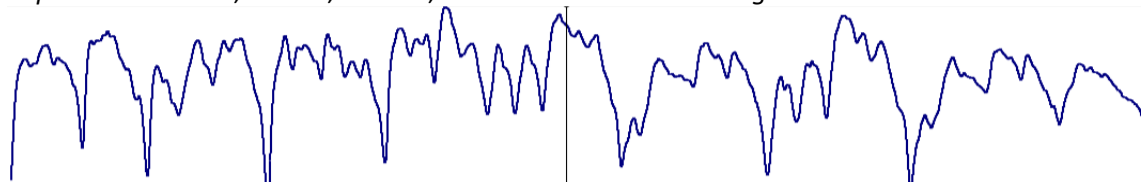
*Decibel Range: 29.7*

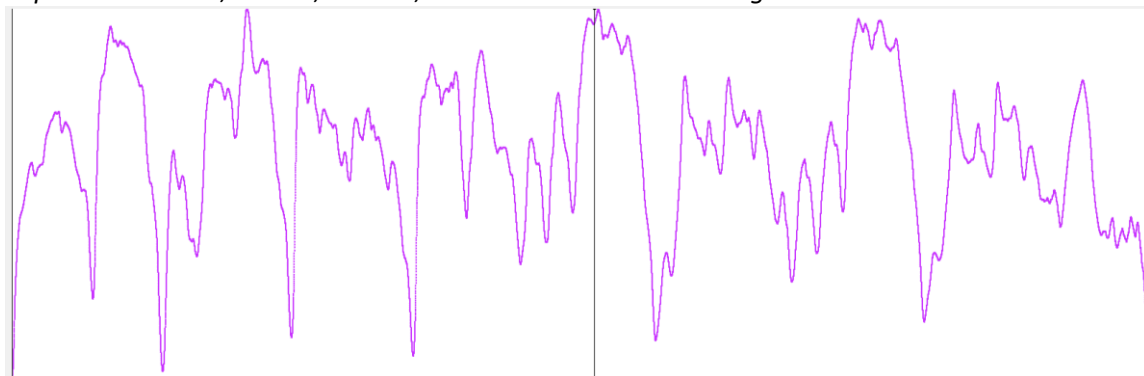
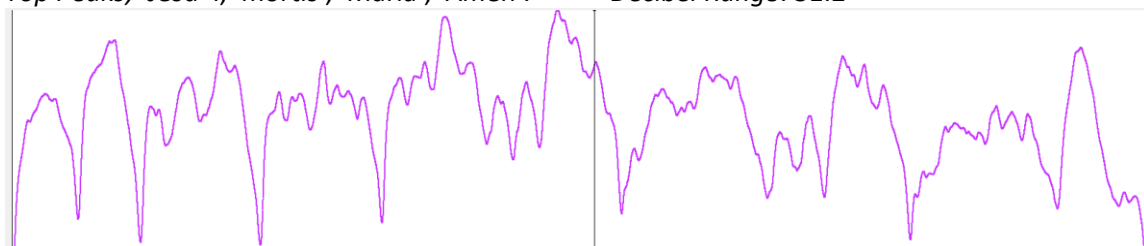
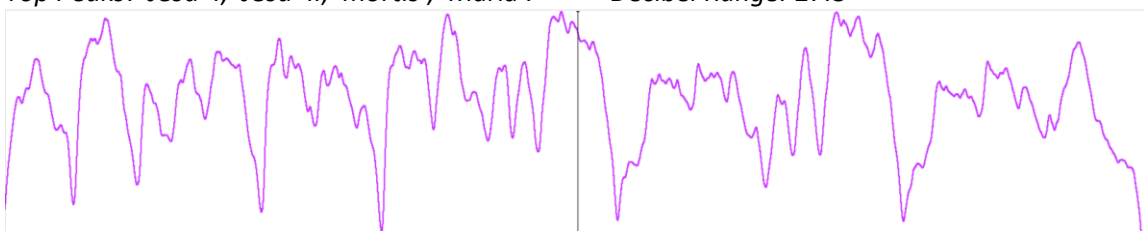
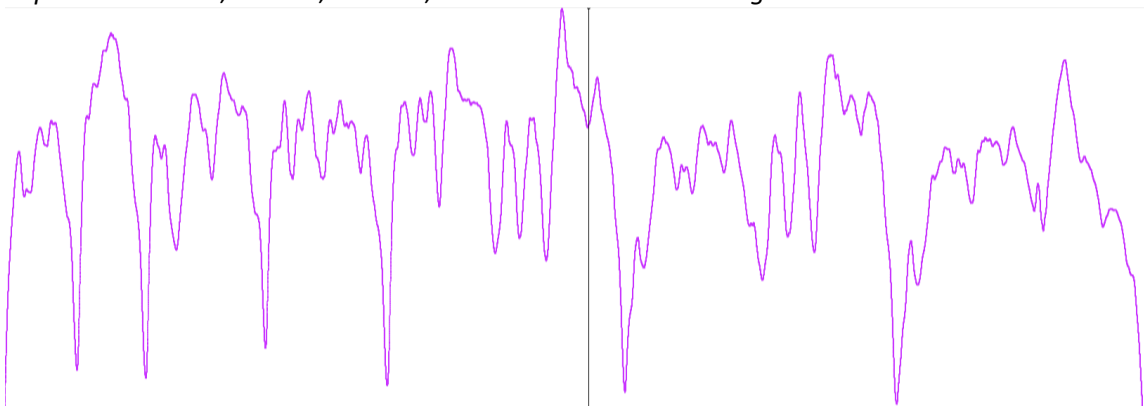
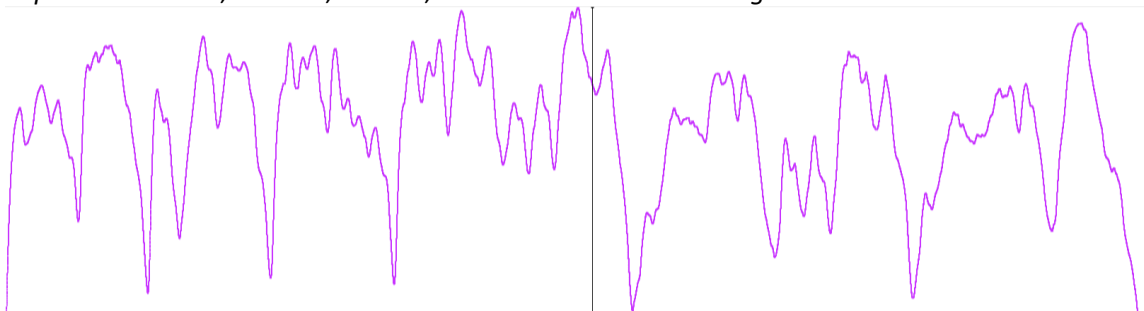


**ID A49, Portsmouth Cathedral Choir**

*Top Peaks: 'mortis', 'Jesu' I, 'Jesu' II, 'Esto'.*

*Decibel Range: 24.1*



**ID A68, King's College Choir***Top Peaks: 'Jesu' I, 'cruce', 'Jesu' II, 'Maria'**Decibel Range: 35.6***ID A27, Clare College Choir***Top Peaks: 'Jesu' I, 'mortis', 'Maria', 'Amen'.**Decibel Range: 31.2***ID A55, St. John's College Choir***Top Peaks: 'Jesu' I, 'Jesu' II, 'mortis', 'Maria'.**Decibel Range: 27.8***ID A15, New College Choir***Top Peaks: 'Jesu' I, 'Maria', 'mortis', 'Jesu' II**Decibel Range: 33.1***ID A56, Keble College Choir***Top Peaks: 'Jesu' I, 'mortis', 'Amen', 'immolatum'.**Decibel Range: 27.9*

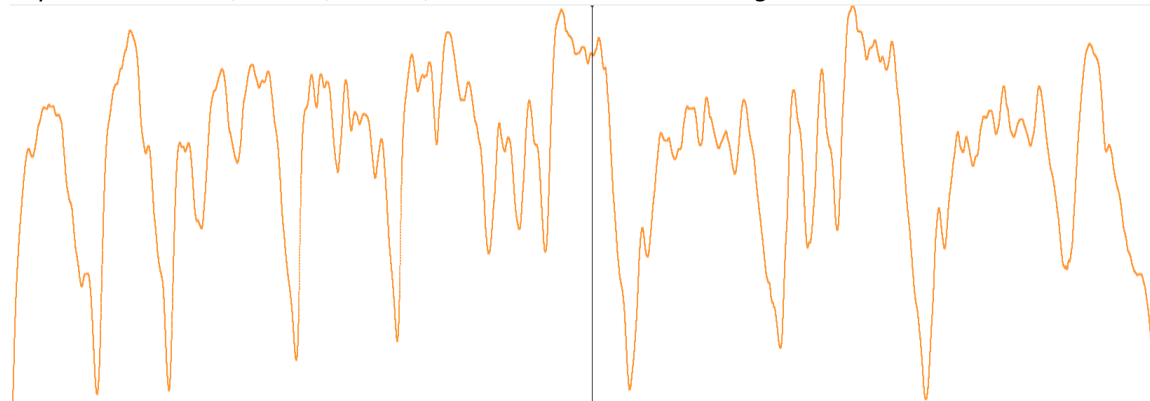


## C.4.2 Independent Ensembles

### ID A72, The Bourne Singers

Top Peaks: 'Jesu' II, 'Jesu' I, 'Maria', 'mortis'.

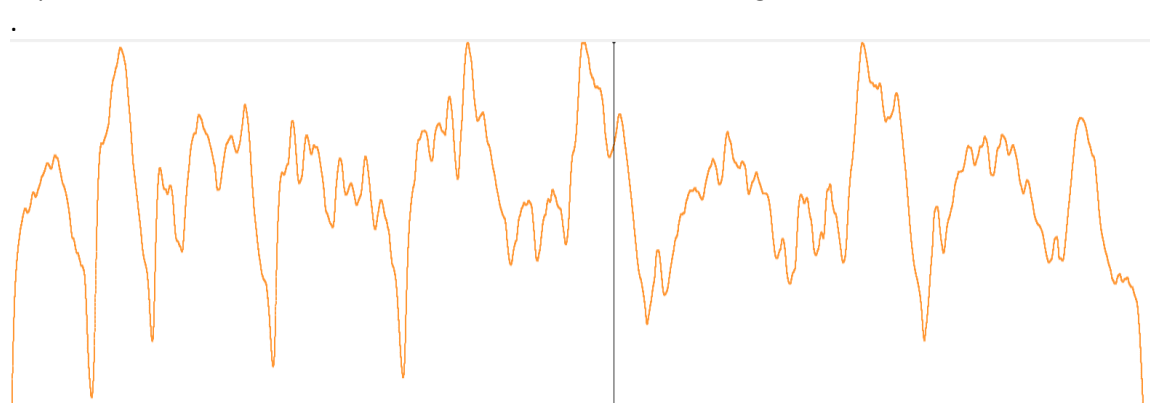
Decibel Range: 29.8



### ID A87, The Pro Cantione Antiqua

Top Peaks: 'Jesu' I, 'mortis', 'Jesu' II, 'Maria'.

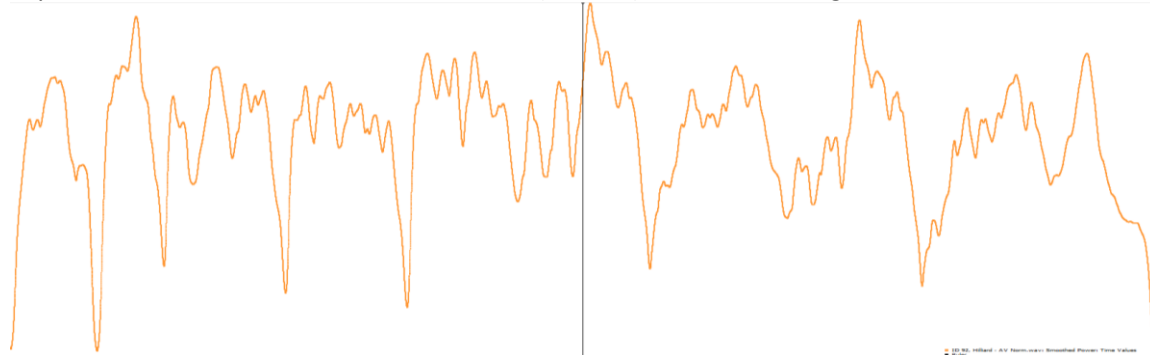
Decibel Range: 39.7



### ID A92, The Hilliard Ensemble

Top Peaks: 'Jesu' I, 'Maria', 'Jesu' II, 'mortis' (= 'Esto').

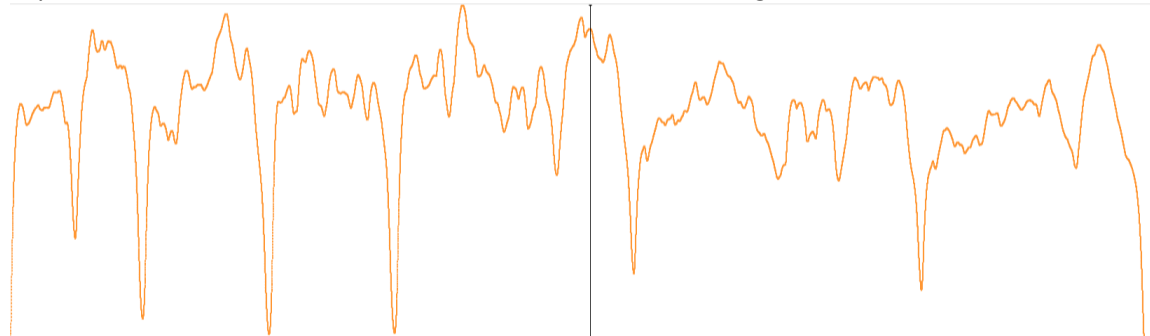
Decibel Range: 39.9

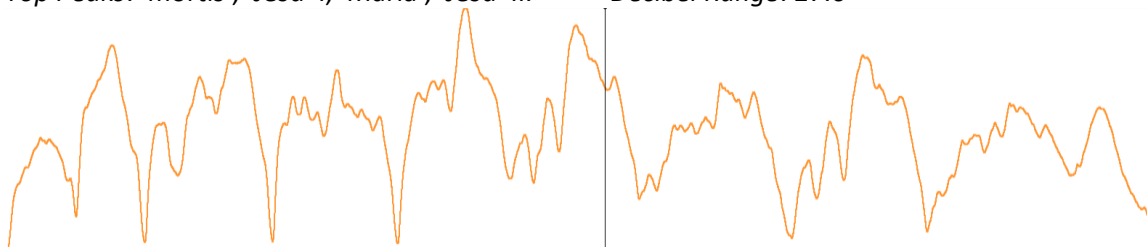
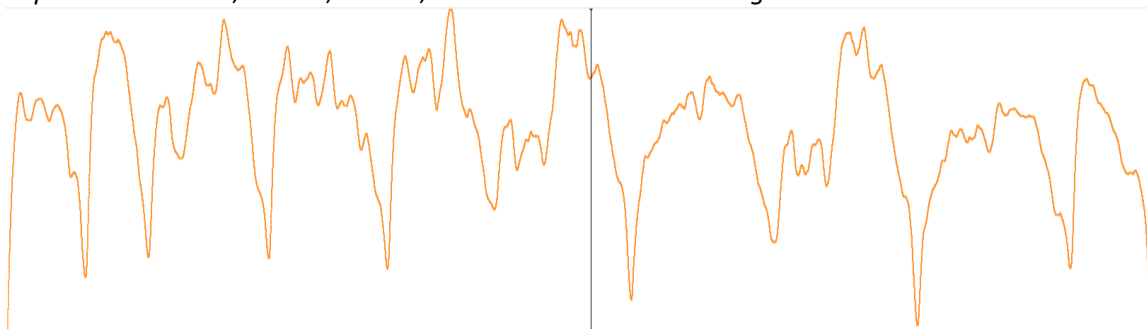
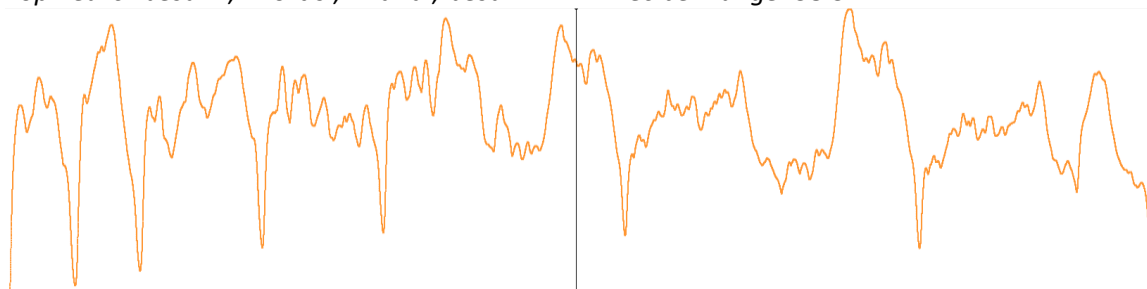
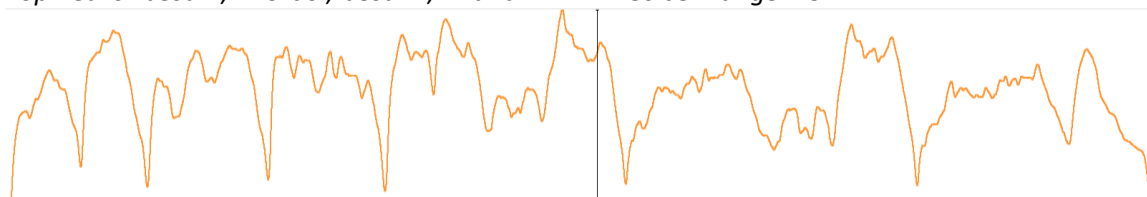
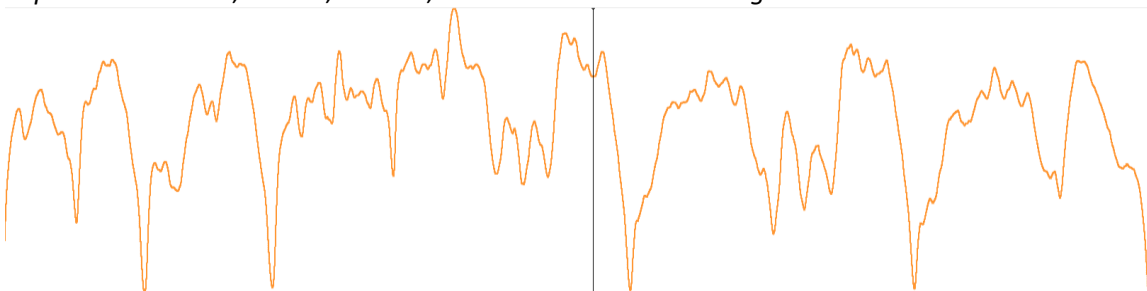


### ID A30, The Quink Vocal Ensemble

Top Peaks: 'mortis', 'cruce', 'Jesu' I, 'natum'.

Decibel Range: 36.7

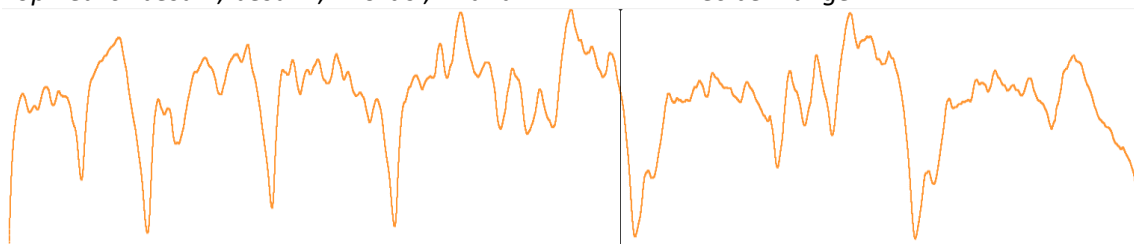


**ID A25, The Cambridge Singers***Top Peaks: 'mortis', 'Jesu' I, 'Maria', 'Jesu' II.**Decibel Range: 27.6***ID A54, The Laudantes Consort***Top Peaks: 'mortis', 'cruce', 'Jesu' I, 'Jesu' II.**Decibel Range: 27.9***ID A100, The King's Singers***Top Peaks: 'Jesu' II, 'mortis', 'Maria', 'Jesu' I.**Decibel Range: 38.3***ID A98, The BBC Singers***Top Peaks: 'Jesu' I, 'mortis', 'Jesu' II, 'Maria'.**Decibel Range: 29.1***ID A21 The Sixteen***Top Peaks: 'mortis', 'Jesu' I, 'Jesu' II, 'cruce'.**Decibel Range: 32.4*

**ID A26, The Tallis Scholars**

*Top Peaks: 'Jesu' I, 'Jesu' II, 'mortis', 'Maria'.*

*Decibel Range: 27*



**ID A39 Vocal Appearance**

*Top Peaks: 'mortis', 'sanguine', 'Maria', 'Jesu' II.*

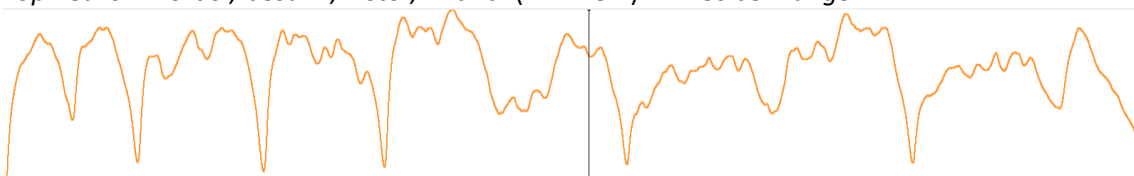
*Decibel Range: 24*



**ID A35 Aros Vokalensemble**

*Top Peaks: 'mortis', 'Jesu' II, 'Esto', 'Maria' (= 'Amen').*

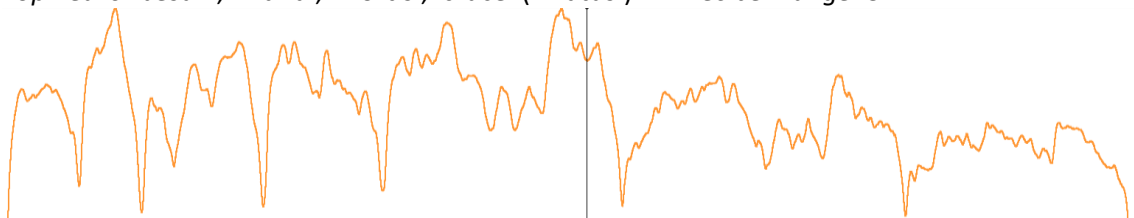
*Decibel Range: 27.4*



**ID A82, Armonico Consort**

*Top Peaks: 'Jesu' I, 'Maria', 'mortis', 'cruce' (= 'latus').*

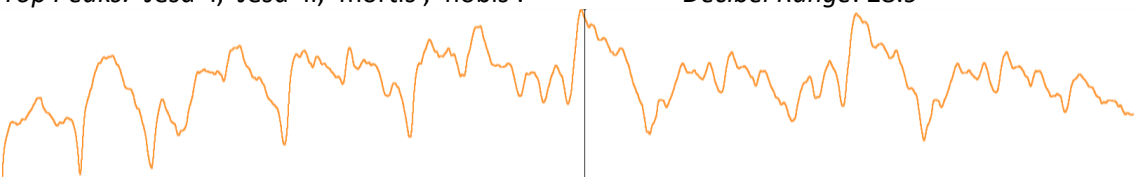
*Decibel Range: 31.1*



**ID A189, Bulgarian Radio Choir**

*Top Peaks: 'Jesu' I, 'Jesu' II, 'mortis', 'nobis'.*

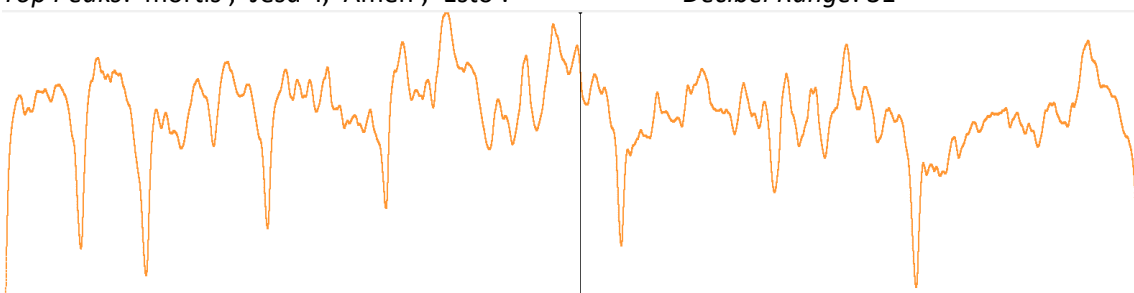
*Decibel Range: 28.9*



**ID A198 The Ascension Singers**

*Top Peaks: 'mortis', 'Jesu' I, 'Amen', 'Esto'.*

*Decibel Range: 31*



### C.4.3 Table Comparing Dynamic Changes

The table below displays alterations in volume between certain points of the *Ave verum* recordings. The extent of change is expressed as a percentage of the overall volume range for that recording (as noted on the preceding power curves).

Choir / Ensemble	'Ave verum corpus' – 'natum de Maria'	'examine' – 'O dulcis' I	'O dulcis' I – 'O Jesu' I	'O dulcis' II – 'O Jesu' II
<b>Cathedrals</b>				
Westminster Abbey	27%	8%	27%	35%
Salisbury Cathedral	21%	7%	29%	21%
Durham Cathedral	28%	3%	40%	31%
Christ Church Cathedral	20%	20%	20%	29%
Winchester Cathedral	27%	7%	33%	47%
Truro Cathedral	10%	16%	39%	36%
Downside Abbey	20%	4%	16%	20%
Wells Cathedral	29%	7%	36%	26%
Hereford Cathedral	27%	3%	30%	13%
Portsmouth Cathedral	4%	4%	21%	29%
<b>Colleges</b>				
King's College	25%	0%	37%	39%
Clare College	22%	16%	38%	35%
St. John's College	18%	11%	25%	40%
New College	24%	6%	30%	21%
Keble College	11%	18%	32%	29%
<b>Independents</b>				
Bourne Singers	17%	10%	30%	20%
Pro Cantione Antiqua	30%	25%	45%	43%
Hilliard Ensemble	18%	0%	30%	40%
Quink Ensemble	19%	5%	19%	8%
Cambridge Singers	40%	22%	43%	43%
Laudantes Consort	22%	4%	32%	32%
King's Singers	21%	18%	31%	55%
BBC Singers	21%	31%	48%	48%
The Sixteen	9%	19%	28%	25%
Tallis Scholars	22%	4%	26%	26%
Vocal Appearance	8%	25%	21%	21%
Aros Vokalensemble	4%	44%	40%	26%
Armonico Consort	39%	6%	39%	23%
Bulgarian Radio Choir	28%	3%	38%	38%
Ascension Singers	10%	13%	29%	10%

## C.5 Tempo Changes in *Ave verum corpus*

The first column in each table below shows the average tempo across the phrases ‘vere passum’ through to ‘sanguine’, where the choirs were found to maintain their most stable speeds in *Ave verum corpus*. The next four columns display the alteration in average tempo between certain compositional units in the piece: firstly, between ‘Ave verum corpus’ and ‘natum de Maria Virgine’; then between ‘Esto...examine’ and ‘O dulcis...pie’ I; then between ‘cuius...sanguine’ and ‘O dulcis...pie’ I; and next between ‘O dulcis...pie’ I and ‘O dulcis...pie’ II. The final two columns show the average tempo for the ‘Amen’, and then the difference between this and ‘O dulcis...pie’ II. All readings are displayed in beats per minute, calculated as explained previously. Alterations of four beats per minute or more are lightly highlighted; alterations of seven beats per minute or more are highlighted in darker grey (with the exception of the final two columns where all figures exceed this). Within each table, the choirs are listed chronologically according to the release date of their recording.

Cathedral Choirs	Sample Tempo	Ave – Maria	Esto – Dulcis I	Cuius – Dulcis I	Dulcis I – Dulcis II	Amen	Dulcis II – Amen
Westminster Abbey	62	5	-3	-2	0	29	-31
Salisbury Cathedral	59	0	2	2	0	33	-27
Durham Cathedral	60	-4	7	5	-5	32	-28
Christ Church Cath.	64	1	0	-3	-10	26	-29
Winchester Cathedral	58	-4	2	0	-5	29	-26
Truro Cathedral	53	-4	0	1	0	29	-26
Downside Abbey	74	2	4	6	-8	38	-34
Wells Cathedral	61	-4	-8	-5	0	23	-32
Hereford Cathedral	60	0	-3	0	-5	30	-25
Portsmouth Cathedral	67	-4	-4	-3	-5	32	-28

College Choirs	Sample Tempo	Ave – Maria	Esto – Dulcis I	Cuius – Dulcis I	Dulcis I – Dulcis II	Amen	Dulcis II – Amen
King’s College	56	2	-3	-3	-5	30	-24
Clare College	68	-4	-4	-3	-5	33	-31
St. John’s College	63	1	2	1	-5	32	-28
New College	60	-4	-3	-5	0	26	-34
Keble College	62	-4	2	3	-5	32	-32

<b>Independent Ensembles</b>	<b>Sample Tempo</b>	<b>Ave – Maria</b>	<b>Esto – Dulcis I</b>	<b>Cuius – Dulcis I</b>	<b>Dulcis I – Dulcis II</b>	<b>Amen</b>	<b>Dulcis II – Amen</b>
Bourne Singers	64	3	-17	-22	5	32	-28
Pro Cantione Antiqua	68	12	0	1	0	32	-23
Hilliard Ensemble	70	5	2	-3	0	33	-32
Quink Ensemble	70	-10	3	2	-7	46	-19
Cambridge Singers	77	-4	11	10	-8	40	-32
Laudantes Consort	56	7	0	3	-8	43	-29
King's Singers	58	-4	-3	-3	0	35	-20
BBC Singers	62	0	-10	-7	0	33	-22
The Sixteen	59	-4	-8	-5	0	32	-23
Tallis Scholars	70	-4	-8	2	-7	38	-27
Vocal Appearance	74	-10	3	-2	0	38	-34
Aros Vokalensemble	93	-3	0	-5	0	50	-40
Armonico Consort	59	4	-3	-5	-4	33	-18
Bulgarian Radio	53	-2	2	1	0	30	-25
Ascension Singers	69	6	-7	-5	5	50	-15



## Appendix D Album Titles for *Ave verum corpus*

The following tables categorise the titles of albums containing *Ave verum corpus* between the years 1970-2012.

### RECORDINGS BY INSTITUTIONAL CHOIRS:

MUSIC FOR
<i>Byrd: Mass for Four Voices with the Propers for the Feast of Corpus Christi</i> , Christ Church, 1991. <i>Music for Worship</i> , Wells, 1984. <i>Byrd: Mass for Five Voices / Music for the Feast of Corpus Christi</i> , Winchester, 1996. <i>Music for the Festival Year</i> , Christ's Hospital, 1997. <i>O Vos Omnes: Music for Lent and Holy Week</i> , St. Ignatius Loyola, 1998.
MUSIC FROM
<i>Liverpool Cathedral Choir Sings...</i> , 1970. <i>Music from St. Mary's</i> , St Mary's Church, Woodford Parish, 1977. <i>Anthems from Salisbury</i> , 1979. <i>A Cappella at St. Thomas</i> , 1979. <i>Choral and Organ Music from the Chapels of University College Durham</i> , 1982. <i>Music from Gibraltar</i> , St. Mary the Crowned Youth Choir, 1983. <i>Choral Music from St. Anne's Cathedral</i> , 1987. <i>The Choir of Corpus Christi College Cambridge</i> , 1987. <i>Choral Music from Christ College Brecon</i> , 1991. <i>Choral Music from Dundee</i> , 1991. <i>Popular Choral Music from Truro Cathedral</i> , 1997. <i>Gregorian Moods: Gregorian Chant from Downside Abbey</i> , 1997. <i>Music from Westminster Cathedral Choir</i> , 1998. <i>Great Choral Classics from King's</i> , 1998. <i>Sounds of Beverley Minster</i> , 1982. <i>The Saint Thomas Tradition</i> , 2002. <i>My Beloved Spake: Favourite anthems from Winchester College</i> , 2008. <i>The Choir of St. Paul's Cathedral</i> , 2009. <i>Reflection: Choral Music from Clare College</i> , 2010. <i>The Best of King's College Choir</i> , 2011.
MUSIC BY GENRE
Renaissance or Tudor (including Sacred)
<i>Tudor Church Music, Vol. 1</i> , Worcester, 1992. <i>Tudor Anthems from the Oxford Book of Tudor Anthems</i> , Clare College, 1994. <i>The Glorious Renaissance</i> , Wells, 1998. <i>Great Tudor Anthems</i> , Worcester, 2006. <i>Tudor Anthems and Motets</i> , Clare College, 2011. <i>Renaissance Choir Music</i> , King's College, 2012.
English (including Renaissance and Church)
<i>Four Centuries of English Cathedral Music, Vol. 1</i> , Liverpool, 1987. <i>Oxford Church Anthems</i> , Christ Church, 1995. <i>English Choral Music 1514 – 1682</i> , Christ Church, 1998. <i>Essential Renaissance</i> , King's College, 2010. <i>40 Most Beautiful British Classics</i> , New College, 2011.



<i>100 Best British Classics</i> , King's College, 2012.
<b>General Church or Sacred</b>
<i>Ave verum: Favourite Parish Anthems</i> , Clare College, 1991 <i>Exultate Deo: Masterpieces of Sacred Polyphony</i> , Westminster Cathedral, 1996. <i>Hallelujah: 35 Great Sacred Choruses</i> , King's College, 2004. <i>Ave verum: Popular Choral Music (Sacred Choral Favourites)</i> , St. John's 1996 / 2006 (2009). <i>100 Best Sacred Works</i> , King's College, 2007. <i>100 Best Wedding</i> , Downside Abbey, 2009.
<b>Choral or Classical</b>
<i>Grands Choeurs Celebres: 50 Plus Grands Succes</i> , King's College, 2007. <i>Classical Top 1000</i> , St. John's, 2007. <i>EMI Trusted Guide to Classical Music</i> , King's College, 2010.
<b>MUSIC BY COMPOSER</b>
<i>Byrd: Ave verum corpus; Tallis: O nata lux de lumine</i> , St. Michael's Abbey, 1975. <i>William Byrd: Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis from The Great Service; Psalms and Anthems</i> , New College Choir, Oxford, 1976. <i>Church Music by William Byrd</i> , Church of the Advent, 1982. <i>Motets of William Byrd</i> , Durham, 1988 (2003). <i>Master Tallis's Testament</i> , Queens' College, 1991. <i>From Tallis to Byrd</i> , Clare College, 1993. <i>Byrd: 3 Masses, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis; Taverner: Mass 'The Western Wind'</i> , King's College, 1996. <i>William Byrd: Anthems, Motets &amp; Services</i> , Hereford, 2005. <i>Byrd: Sacred Choral Music</i> , King's College, 2008. <i>William Byrd: Mass for Five Voices</i> , King's College, 2010. <i>William Byrd: Mass for Three, Four and Five Voices</i> , Christ Church, 2011. <i>Tudor Masters: Byrd and Gibbons</i> , King's College, 2012.
<b>SPIRITUAL, ATMOSPHERIC OR OTHER</b>
<b>With Sacred Sentiment</b>
<i>Vox Dicentis Clama / Choirs of Cambridge: Jesus College Choir</i> , 1987. <i>Rejoice in the Lamb</i> , New College, 1989. <i>Hail Gladdening Light</i> , Keble College, 1991. <i>Magnum Mysterium 2</i> , King's College, 1991. <i>O Magnum Mysterium</i> , Westminster Choir, 1992. <i>Agnus Dei (Vols. I &amp; II)</i> , New College, 1998. <i>Thy Kingdom Come</i> , Emmaus Chamber Choir, 1999. <i>Lux Mundi</i> , Keble College, 2003. <i>In Paradisum</i> , Carmelite Sisters, 2005. <i>Sounds of Light</i> , Trinity Church, 2005. <i>Sanctus</i> , St. John's, 2009. <i>I Saw the Lord</i> , Jesus College, 2010. <i>Sing to the Lord</i> , Portsmouth, 2010. <i>Spiritual Chillout</i> , King's College, 2011. <i>Plorans Ploravit</i> , Pusey House Oxford, 2011. <i>O Sacrament Most Holy</i> , St Mary's Pro-Cathedral, 2012.
<b>Mood</b>
<i>Gregorian Chillout</i> , Downside Abbey, 2003.
<b>Miscellaneous</b>
<i>Sing We Merrily</i> , Glasgow University Chapel Choir, 1973. <i>Upp min tunga (Up my tongue)</i> , Mariakoren, 1975.

*'In Quires and Places ...' No.16*, Choir of All Saints' Church, Maidstone, 1976.  
*Sing Joyfully*, Bristol University, 1990.  
*Let All the World*, Oakham School, 1994.  
*O Come Let Us Sing*, St. Patrick's NY, 1997.  
*Aspire*, Godley Singers, 1998.  
*England My England*, King's College, 2009.

#### RECORDINGS BY INDEPENDENT ENSEMBLES:

MUSIC FOR
<i>Music for Great Cathedrals</i> , English Renaissance, 2003
MUSIC FROM
<i>A Portrait of The King's Singers</i> , 1977. <i>The Mastersingers of the San Antonio Symphony</i> , 1978. <i>Varbergs Kammarkor med Folke Alm</i> , 1990. <i>Music from Erskine &amp; American</i> , 2006.
MUSIC BY GENRE
Renaissance or Tudor (including Sacred)
<i>Renaissance and Reformation, Units 17-19 Renaissance Music</i> , Linden Singers, 1972. <i>Renaissance for Kor</i> , Grex Vocalis, 1983. <i>A Tudor Collection</i> , Tallis Scholars, 1988. <i>The Golden Age of the European Polyphony</i> , Laudantes Consort, 1994. <i>Music from the Renaissance</i> , Lamentabile Consort, 1994. <i>Beyond Chant: Mysteries of the Renaissance</i> , Voices of Ascension, 1994. <i>Music from the Renaissance</i> , Vocal Ensemble Kor-X, 1999. <i>Sacred Music of the Renaissance</i> , Cantillation, 2003. <i>*Renaissance: Music for Inner Peace</i> , Sixteen, 2004. <i>The Tallis Scholars Finest Recordings 1980-1989, Vol.1: Sacred Music in the Renaissance</i> , 2010. <i>Tudor City</i> , New York Polyphony, 2010. <i>Single: Ave verum corpus</i> , Mignarda, 2011.
English (including Renaissance and Church)
<i>Faire is the Heaven: Music of the English Church</i> , Cambridge Singers, 1988. <i>English Renaissance</i> , King's Singers, 1995. <i>Masters of English Church Music</i> , Cambridge Singers, 1995. <i>Treasury of English Church Music: 46 anthems and motets</i> , Cambridge Singers, 1995. <i>English Cathedral Music</i> , Santa Barbara Choir, 2003. <i>Stabat Mater: A Journey Through the English Renaissance</i> , Parsons Affayre, 2010. <i>O Splendor Gloriarum: Sacred Music of Tudor England</i> , Tudor Choir, 2012.
General Church or Sacred
<i>Motetti</i> , Collegium Vocale Ghent, 1978. <i>Tresors de la Musique Sacree</i> , Da Camera, 1982. <i>Songs Sacred and Secular</i> , Preston Orpheus, 1992.
Choral or Classical
<i>Choral Spectacular: The World's Greatest Choral Music</i> , Cantillation Quartet, 2006. <i>Nine Centuries of Choral Music</i> , Voices of Ascension, 2008. <i>Choral Classics: 50 Heavenly Classics</i> , King's Singers, 2009.
MUSIC BY COMPOSER
<i>Byrd: Ave verum corpus</i> , Linden Singers, 1972. <i>William Byrd: Mass a 4; Four Motets</i> , Pro Cantione Antiqua, 1982. <i>Byrd: Masses / Motets</i> , Hilliard Ensemble, 1984

<p><i>William Byrd: The Three Masses</i>, Tallis Scholars, 1984.  <i>Byrd: Mass for Four Voices, Choral Music</i>, Quink, 1985.  <i>Ave Verum Corpus: Motets and Anthems of William Byrd</i>, Cambridge Singers, 1989.  <i>Byrd: Mass for Four Voices; 4 Motets; Taverner: Sacred Music</i>, Pro Cantione Antiqua, 1994.  <i>Byrd: Great Service; Cantiones Sacrae; Masses; Gradualia</i>, Laudantes Consort, 1995.  <i>William Byrd, Thomas Tallis: Masses &amp; Motets</i>, BBC Singers, 1998.  <i>The Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal</i>, The Gents, 2002.  <i>Playing Elizabeth's Tune: Sacred Music by William Byrd</i>, Tallis Scholars, 2006.  <i>The Tallis Scholars Sing William Byrd</i>, 2007.  <i>Allegri: Miserere / Tallis: Spem in alium</i>, Sixteen, 2008.</p>
<b>SPIRITUAL, ATMOSPHERIC OR OTHER</b>
<b>With Sacred Sentiment</b>
<p><i>O Magnum Mysterium</i>, Adelaide Chamber Singers, 1995.  <i>Rejoice in the Lord</i>, Cathedral Singers, 1996.  <i>The Yearning Spirit: Voices of Contemplation</i>, Tallis Scholars, 1997.  <i>It is Finished: Stations of the Cross</i>, St. Martin's Chamber, 2007.  <i>Corpus et Anima</i>, Vocal Appearance, 2008.  <i>Ave</i>, Aros Vokalensemble, 2010.  <i>Ave Maria</i>, Theatre of Early Music, 2012.</p>
<b>Mood</b>
<p><i>Voices of Peace and Harmony</i>, Richmond Consort, 2000.  <i>Enchantment: 40 Peaceful Classics</i>, Master Singers, 2002.  <i>Serenity</i>, Cantillation, 2008  <i>Adagio: Let the World Be Still</i>, Sixteen, 2009.  <i>Most Beautiful Classical Adagios</i>, Sixteen, 2010.  <i>Relaxing Classics: The Healing Power of the Voice</i>, Cantillation Quartet, 2010.          *(Some of the titles categorised under 'Renaissance' could appear here too).</p>
<b>Miscellaneous</b>
<p><i>Myfanwy</i>, Morrision Orpheus, 1984.  <i>All in the April Evening</i>, Laudibus, 1999.  <i>Hear the Voice</i>, Amarcord, 2001.  <i>Cantate Domino</i>, Cappella Caeciliana, 2001.  <i>Naked Byrd</i>, Armonico Consort, 2010.  <i>Unus Cultus Una Lingua</i>, Sri Silva, 2010.  <i>Le Chant des Oiseaux (en Concours)</i>, Quatuor Laque, 2010.  <i>Memogu Mamakueb</i>, Bulgarian National Radio Choir, 2011.  <i>Classical Gloria</i>, Gloria, 2011.  <i>While My Cat Gently Snoozes</i>, DWS, 2011.  <i>What is Our Life?</i> Ascension Singers, 2011.  <i>By Request</i>, Chanticleer, 2012.</p>

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