# Networks of Translation:

# A contextual study of Latin motets in seventeenth-century England, with focus on works by William Child

## Two Volumes: VOLUME ONE

Myles Christian Hartley

PhD

University of York

Arts and Creative Technologies

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# **Abstract**

Whilst the liturgical music of William Child (1606-1697), organist of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, and the Chapel Royal, has received significant scholarship, little attention has been given to his motets, their Italianate idioms, distinctive Latin texts and biblical translations. Only one of Child's thirteen motets has been discussed in secondary literature, or transcribed, previously. This thesis provides new perspectives on Child's 'Italian Way', from which to view the functions, features, texts and contexts, of the *concertato* motet in seventeenth-century England, a time of significant upheaval, including Civil Wars. Child's motets are presented in relation to a core network of musicians, centred on the Stuart Court and the University of Oxford, key institutions in enabling the assimilation and broad translation of the genre in England.

Volume Two provides a critical edition of Child's *concertato* works, alongside motets by composers including Bowman, Lowe and Rogers, previously untranscribed. Drawing on the transcriptions, Volume One presents the stylistic features of Child's motets in relation to courtly repertorial contexts, and the Heather Professorship in Oxford; the integral scribal role of Charles Husbands Sr (*d*. 1678) is shown for the first time. Motets are then discussed by distinctive text groupings, intersecting in Child's work: 'O bone Jesu' motets, and settings of biblical translations originating in Calvinist Geneva. Works comprise settings of Tremellius-Junius, from Child to Purcell, and of Theodore Beza, previously uncredited as a motet-text source. Motets by Child and colleagues are shown to provide a significant lens through which to study aspects of translation: a 'carrying across' to England of musical and textual material, and a migration of culture, ideas and ideals, across post-Reformation Europe.

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# Abbreviations

GENERAL

*b.*     born

*c.*     circa

*d.*     died

*fl.*    flourished

Sr     senior

VOICES

A     Alto

B     Bass

C     Canto

Ct     Countertenor

T     Tenor

v(v)     Voice(s)

a1     solo voice

a2 - a5  two-part to five-part vocal texture, respectively

INSTRUMENTS

bc     Basso Continuo

BV     Bass Viol

Vln     Violin

OTHER

b(b)     bar(s)

v(v)     verse(s)

LIBRARY SIGLA

GREAT BRITAIN

| | |
|---|---|
| *GB-Cfm* | Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum |
| *GB-Cjc* | Cambridge, St. John's College |
| *GB-Ge* | Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, Euing Music Collection |
| *GB-Lam* | London, Royal Academy of Music |
| *GB-Lbl* | London, British Library |
| *GB-Lcm* | London, Royal College of Music |
| *GB-Mr* | Manchester, Manchester University, John Rylands Library |
| *GB-Ob* | Oxford, Bodleian Library |
| *GB-Och* | Oxford, Christ Church |
| *GB-Y* | York, York Minster Library |

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

| | |
|---|---|
| *US-NH* | New Haven, CT, Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library |
| *US-NYp* | New York, New York Public Library |

## Acknowledgements

# **Declaration**

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author.

This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University.

All sources are acknowledged as References.

## Introduction

Through contextual focus on the *stile nuovo* works of William Child (1606-1697), their compositional idioms, texts, sources and functions, this thesis is intended as a new contribution to the study of *concertato* motets composed in early modern England, works with compositional and linguistic roots in Italy. Child's thirteen motets, transcribed together and discussed in detail for the first time, are presented in relation to a core musical nexus of composers, scribes and performers, predominantly centred on the Stuart Court and the University of Oxford: key musicians in the assimilation and broad translation of the genre in seventeenth-century England. Child's use of Italianate idioms and distinctive Latin texts will be presented in Chapter 1. Though documentary evidence of motet use in seventeenth-century England is relatively sparse, my research has sought to ascertain contextual insights into their functions, 'traditions', and enabling factors, through study of compositional features, including melodic quotations and references to motets by other composers, Italian and English, and also by attention to the Latin texts, the specific biblical translations used by Child and colleagues, and composers' text adjustments. In particular, study of Child's works in relation to motets which set the same text, or use the same biblical translation and text-source, has enabled trends and themes to emerge which provide new contextual discoveries for these works written within highly challenging political and religious circumstances across Europe.

Born in Bristol, Child was elected to the next lay-clerkship vacant at St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, on April 19th, 1630. He became organist there in 1634, working for the Chapel across his entire musical career, aside from the years when the choral foundation was disbanded during the Civil Wars and Commonwealth (1643-1660).[1] From 1660, he was also one of the three organists to the Chapel Royal, alongside Edward Lowe and Christopher Gibbons, both composers of Latin motets associated with the University of Oxford, as indeed was Child, who received his BMus from the University in 1631, and DMus in 1663. Child wrote at least eighteen service settings and sixty English-texted anthems, forty-two in verse scorings.[2] He also composed two full-choir Latin-service texts, a 'Te Deum' and 'Jubilate', for Peterhouse,

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[1] Andrew Ashbee, and David Lasocki, ed., assisted by Peter Holman, and Fiona Kisby, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714*, Vol. 1 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 244-249.

[2] Frederick Hudson, and William Roy Large, 'William Child (1606/7-1697) – a new Investigation of the Sources', *The Music Review* 31 (1970): 265-284.

Cambridge, featuring *stile antico* idioms, creatively combined with declamatory writing, and textual alternation between the two sides of the choir, Decani and Cantoris. The commission by Cosin, Master of Peterhouse, and manuscript presence of these Latin settings with Child's eight-part 'Holy, Holy, Holy' and 'Glory be to God on High' in the Caroline partbooks at Peterhouse, suggest links to the High Church Movement of the 1630s, and church reforms of Archbishop Laud. Laudians sought to affirm continuity of Catholic Christianity, episcopal-monarchic authority, with concern for liturgical ceremony and 'beautification' of churches and physical fabric.[3] Following the Commonwealth, Child had an important role in carrying the 'pre-Civil War tradition into the Restoration period, adapting to the new situation and serving as a model for younger composers.'[4]

Child's single musical publication was the set of twenty domestic-devotional, *concertato* settings, *The first set of psalms of III voyces fit for private chappelles or other private meetings with a continuall base either for the organ or theorbo newly composed after the Italian way* (London: Reeve, 1639).[5] Notably, this edition, published during a time of escalating political unrest in the country, featured an illustration of the king on the frontispiece, and was dedicated to 'the high and mighty Charles, Kinge of great Brittaine, France & Ireland, etc.' and to the knights of the 'Sacred' Order of the Garter, the fourteenth-century chivalric order founded by Edward III, which Charles revived, and was central to his concept of kingship and authority, 'by divine right'.[6] Indeed, the order's liturgical and ceremonial base was the Chapel of St. George, Windsor Castle, where Child was organist. Child's psalm texts, from Miles Coverdale's English translation of the psalter had previously been dedicated to Henry VIII. Child's royal dedication, and association of 'Italian Way', *concertato*, compositional idioms with royalist and courtly contexts, will be seen to be developed significantly further in Child's motets, as discussion of his compositional devices and Latin texts, in Chapter 1, will

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[3] Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660*, second edition (Cambridge: CUP, 1978), 359. For discussion of Laudian reforms in a European context, see Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles, Seventeenth-century English political instability in European context* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 127-133.
J. G. Hoffman, 'The Puritan Revolution and the "Beauty of Holiness" at Cambridge: The Case of John Cosin, Master of Peterhouse and Vice-Chancellor of the University', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 72 (1982-1983), 94-105.
[4] Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music 1660-1714* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 379.
[5] For a critical edition, please see, William Child, *The First Set of Psalmes of .III. Voyces (1639)*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright, York (Early Music Press, 2015).
[6] *Ibid.*, 43, provides the full dedication. For discussion of Charles I's revival of the order, see Richard Cust, 'Charles I and the Order of the Garter', *Journal of British Studies* 52 (2013): 343-369.

demonstrate. Notably, also, Child's psalms, royalist in dedication, were reprinted twice during the Commonwealth by John Playford, himself an ardent royalist, musician, and motet composer, even, whose post-Restoration motet publications, the two *Cantica Sacra* editions, were dedicated to Charles I's queen (1662), Henrietta Maria, and to Charles II (1664).[7]

As a prolific, and long-lived composer, associated with royal institutions, Child's English-texted liturgical works have received significant scholarly attention. Hudson and Large provided invaluable overview of Child sources, which are numerous, with bibliographic material.[8] Scholars including Ian Spink, and Christopher Batchelor have undertaken significant research on liturgical sources, and the challenging aspects of their chronology in relation to compositional-stylistic techniques and idioms.[9] Keri Dexter's work has enabled new insights into the choral foundation at St. George's, its repertoire, musical sources and scribes, administration and finances, and institutional relations to Eton College.[10] Peter Le Huray outlined the *stile nuovo* features of Child, and contemporaries, including William Lawes and George Jeffreys, in concise stylistic and contextual overview, focused predominantly on English-texted works. Le Huray makes very brief reference, however, to a single Latin work, Child's 'O bone Jesu', which he describes as, 'one of William Child's most successful essays in the *stile nuovo*.'[11]

Indeed, 'O bone Jesu' has been viewed by scholars as one of Child's more successful works within a large output, deemed uneven due, in part, perhaps, because of the 'prosaic' works of Child included by William Boyce (1711-1779) in his three-volume *Cathedral Music* (first edition: 1760-1773).[12] Walker described Child as a 'distinctly second-rate composer were it not for his practically unknown motets'.[13] Walker even questioned whether it had been written

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[7] The reprints of Child's psalms, in 1650 and 1656 notably did not incorporate the royal dedication, at this time of Commonwealth.

[8] Hudson, and Large, 'William Child (1606/7-1697)': 265-284.

[9] Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 370-379.
   Christopher Batchelor, 'William Child: An Examination of the Liturgical Sources, and a Critical and Contextual Study of the Church Music' (PhD Thesis, 3 Volumes, University of Cambridge, 1996).

[10] Keri Dexter, *A Good Quire of Voices: the provision of choral music at St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, and Eton College, c.1640-1733* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

[11] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 361.

[12] William Boyce, *Cathedral Music*, 3 Vols. (London, Printed for the editor, 1760-1773).

[13] Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), 128-129. It appears that Walker was only aware of Child's 'O bone Jesu', through Christ Church sources, and not of Child's remaining twelve motets, in Oxford's Bodleian Library. In the 1907 edition of his history, he misattributes Jeffreys's 'Exurge, quare obdormis, Domine?' (*Och* Mus. 747-749) to Child.

by Child. John Caldwell described 'O bone Jesu' as an example of Child 'at his best', demonstrating an austere gravity that is genuinely compelling.'[14] It appears that even now, over a century after Walker's comments, Child's motets are still 'practically unknown', and it is hoped that this thesis, with transcriptions, will contribute to a wider understanding by scholars and performers of Child's more significant and accomplished *stile nuovo* skills than has been recognised previously. The thesis also seeks to present the distinctive nature of Child's Latin texts, including biblical translations of Genevan origin, and to suggest a closer proximity of Child's work to the circles of Queen Henrietta Maria and to musicians associated with the royal ensemble, the 'Lutes, Viols and Voices', than has been seen before, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 2. Indeed, the presence of Child's 'O bone Jesu' in a source previously unrecognised in relation to Child, *Ge* R.d.3/1, provides significant links to Henrietta Maria through works by musicians associated with her, alongside copies of French *airs de cours* by Étienne Moulinié, published in 1625 and dedicated to Henrietta Maria's brother, Louis XIII, the King of France. The manuscript is in the hand of Husbands Sr, and both Husbands and Moulinié have not been credited before in relation to this source, which will be discussed alongside key Child source, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, in Chapter 2. Furthermore, discussion of Child's 'O bone Jesu' in relation to settings by Dering and Christopher Gibbons, alongside the four-part setting by Alessandro Grandi, will reveal a particular courtly network of such settings, with notable source presence in Oxford.

Perhaps due to apparent ambiguities of function for *concertato* motets in seventeenth-century England, and the role of such Latin works in a broadly 'Protestant' country, motets composed in England, have received significantly less scholarly attention than English-texted liturgical works.[15] Significant findings and materials, however, have been presented over recent years by scholars including Wainwright, Aston and Le Huray, who have also made available critical editions, with invaluable prefatory essays and commentaries, of Latin works by composers including Blow, Dering, Jeffreys and Locke.[16] Wainwright has demonstrated the important

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[14] John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of Music*. Volume 1 (Oxford: OUP, 1991), 318.

[15] The earliest source for a Child motet, *US-NYp* Drexel 4300, sees Child's 'Cantate Jehovae' alongside madrigals by Thomas Weelkes, for example.

[16] John Blow, *John Blow (1649-1708) Latin Motets,* ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright (York: York Early Music Press, 2006).
Richard Dering, *Richard Dering Motets for One, Two or Three Voices and Basso Continuo*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright, *Musica Britannica*, LXXXVII (London: Stainer and Bell, Ltd., 2008).
George Jeffreys, *George Jeffreys (c. 1610-1685) 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, ed. Peter Aston (York: York Early Music Press, 2010).

cultural and facilitating role of both Queen Henrietta Maria, and Christopher, First Baron, Hatton (1605-1670), Comptroller to Charles I's Court in Oxford, and employer of George Jeffreys, composer of Italianate sacred music, English- and Latin-texted. Jeffreys was also the scribe of a significant number of Italian motets, many from the sizable collection of Italian prints in Hatton's library, as will be seen in Chapter 3, printed editions acquired in London from the late 1630s.[17] Recent work by Andrew Weaver, in relation to motets of Giovanni Felice Sances (1600-1679), employed at the royal court of Ferdinand III, Habsburg King and Holy Roman Emperor, has shown how a composer's use and setting of particular Latin texts can both reflect and contribute to religious-political processes of monarchic cultural presentation and 'imagery', theology and ideology.[18] Scholarship by Alan Howard, in relation to Locke and Silas Taylor, and mid-century motet source *Cfm* 163, to be discussed in Chapter 5, has also demonstrated the highly fruitful ways in which Latin texts, and particular translations, can offer insights into aspects of political allegiance, even when complex and seemingly ambiguous.[19]

Over many years, musicologists have engaged fruitfully with the contextual study of musical dissemination, the complex, and not always clear-cut, processes whereby the travel and transit of musicians, manuscripts, prints, books and manuscripts, techniques of performance, are translated from one place or country to another, and directly impact on techniques of composition in a new location. The Elizabethan and Stuart courts in England, indeed, were certainly receptive 'networks of translation' for talented musicians, even families, including the émigrés, the Ferrabosco and Lanier families. Italian madrigals, 'newly Englished', and domestic music acquired from 'across the Alps' was highly popular, and commercial in print, also.[20] Chapter 3 will outline the traditions of '*Musica Transalpina*' at the University of

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Matthew Locke, *Matthew Locke Anthems and Motets,* ed. Peter Le Huray. *Musica Britannica*, Vol. XXXVIII (London: Stainer and Bell, 1976).

[17] Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'Sounds of Piety and Devotion: Music in the Queen's Chapel', in *Henrietta Maria, Piety, Politics and Patronage*, edited by Erin Griffey (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 195-213.

___ *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)*, (Aldershot: Scolar, 1997).

[18] Andrew Weaver *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); for example, 'Mystical Theology in Motets for Ferdinand III', 211-221.

[19] Alan Howard, 'A Mid-century Musical Friendship: Silas Taylor and Matthew Locke', in *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England*, ed. Linda Phyllis Austern, Candace Bailey, Amanda Eubanks Winkler, 127-149 (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2017).

[20] Laura Macy, 'The due decorum kept: Elizabethan translation and the madrigals Englished of Nicholas Yonge and Thomas Watson', *Journal of Musicological Research* 17 (1997): 1-21.

Oxford, in relation to the Heather Professorship of Music, founded in 1626. Wainwright has highlighted the progressive nature of the musical patronage of Prince Henry Stuart (1594-1612), with Italianate interests demononstrated through employment of Angelo Notari (1566-1663), whose Italian-texted *stile nuovo* monodies, for one to three voices, accompanied by theorbo, were published in London in 1613, *Prime Musiche Nuove* (London: William Hole, 1613); such progressive interests, including consort music by John Coprario, were fostered further by Henry's brother Charles in the musicians and composers he employed in his 'Private Musick', both before and after his coronation in 1625, alongside Queen Henrietta Maria.[21] Le Huray also emphasised how the main exponents of *stile nuovo* in England, performers and composers of masque songs, and also psalm settings, as Child and the Lawes brothers, 'were for the most part in royal service'.[22] It appears that employment of such musicians, and use and appreciation of progressive musical idioms, contributed to a court-cultural use and display of an international, trans-national cultural prestige. Richard Dering (1580-1630), a pioneer in England of the *concertato* motet had spent formative time in Rome and Catholic Brussels, before becoming organist to Queen Henrietta Maria in 1625, herself of both Italian-Medici and French-Bourbon royal heritage. Walter Porter, a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and composer of innovative English-texted sacred *concertato* works, was a self-styled pupil of Monteverdi in Venice. Direct musical contact with Italy, was not necessarily the sole preserve of the professional musician, as demonstrated by the writer, courtier, and diarist John Evelyn (1620-1706), bringing to England a Carissimi motet acquired in Rome.[23]

International travel, whether of musicians, manuscripts, or printed sources, is certainly fundamental, and an enabling factor, for dynamic processes of cultural translation by, often, networks of courtiers in seventeenth-century England. Such processes can also be seen, in the visual arts, for example, through Nicholas Lanier, the first Master of the King's Musick and an accomplished artist himself, co-brokering the valuable art collection of the Duchy of Mantua for Charles I, or even in the architectural styles appropriated, for example, in the Oxford's Bodleian Library and Sheldonian Theatre, as will be seen in Chapter 3.[24] Such court-enabled and court-facilitated broad processes of cultural translation were indeed publicly acknowledged

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[21] Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'The King's Music', in *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I*, edited by Thomas N. Corns, 162 & 164, 168-169 (Cambridge: CUP, 1999).

[22] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 341.

[23] Carissimi, 'Si linguis hominum', *Lbl* MS 78,416C (*olim* Evelyn MS 211).

[24] For Lanier's brokering work in Italy, see, Ian Spink, 'Lanier in Italy', *Music & Letters* 40, No. 3 (1959): 242-252.

and affirmed in the seventeenth-century. In his address to Charles I, the writer and politician, Henry Wooton (1568-1639) praised the King's artistic patronage and 'love of excellent Artificers, and works: wherewith either Art both of picture and Sculpture you have so adorned your Palaces, that *Italy* (the greatest Mother of Elegant Arts) or at least (after the *Grecians*) the principall Nurse, may seem by your magnificence to be translated into *England*'.[25]

In light of such words, it is possible to see the 'Italian Way' of Child's 1639 English-texted *concertato* psalms, dedicated to Charles I and to the Knights of the Order-of-the-Garter, in a broader perspective of Italian court-cultural artistic appreciation and 'appropriation'. The Italianate compositional techniques used by Child, to be addressed in Chapter 1, will be seen to be 'made his own' (to highlight the Latinate etymology and resonances of the latter word, '*ad-propriare*'), for his particular purposes and contexts, to be outlined. It can be suggested, even, that Child's dedication to the King, alongside Knights of the Garter, demonstrates his affirmation of, allegiance to, and participation in an overt royal, court-cultural network. Recent research into Early Modern engagement with verbal, literary, translation has demonstrated the sheer extent of textual-linguistic, biblical, and 'vernacular' translation, and physical materials, which occurred at this juncture, 'an age of translation', facilitated by print.[26] In relation to such work and production of such materials, scholars and writers have long-acknowledged the challenges, varieties, and impossibilities, even, of translation, understood in textual terms. In 1304, Dante stated in *The Convivio*, Book 1, in recent translation by Richard Lansing, 'nothing harmonised according to the rules of poetry can be translated from its native tongue into another without destroying all its sweetness and harmony'.[27] Such thoughts are epitomised, perhaps, in the later Italian aphorism, 'Traduttore, traditore' ('translator, traitor'), which appears to date from 1937.[28] The sixteenth-century also saw new textual-translation academic disciplines arise within institutions, for example the Regius Professorship in Hebrew at the University of Cambridge, held by Imanuelle Tremellius, between 1549 to 1553, whose

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[25] Wooton's address of 1633 was published in the year of Charles' execution: Henry Wooton, *A Panegyrick of King Charles* (London: printed for Richard Marriot, 1649), 102-104, quoted in, Lucy Whitaker and Martin Clayton, with Aislinn Loconte, *The Art of Italy in the Royal Collection, Renaissance & Baroque* (London: Royal Collection Publications, 2007), 12.

[26] Sara K. Barker, and Brenda M. Hosington, ed. *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation and Print Culture in Britain, 1473-1640* (Leiden: Brill, 2013). Barker and Hosington's work references more than four-thousand printed collections, spanning 1473 to 1640, with thirty languages, and a thousand translators.

[27] Tim Chilcott, 'Literary Translation, Thoughts across Two Thousand Years', *Tim Chilcott Literary Translations*, online PDF, 3, July 2013, accessed August 9th, 2022, http://www.tclt.org.uk/10th_anniversary/Thoughts_across_Two_Thousand_Years.pdf.

[28] *Ibid.*, 30.

Biblical-translation work will be seen in the motets discussed in Chapters 5 and 7, *concertato* settings from Dering and Child, to Purcell.[29]  The recent book of inter-disciplinary essays, edited by Karen Newman and Jane Tylus within the disciplines of the Humanities and Comparative Literature, *Early Modern Cultures of Translation*, has also further addressed the broad and complex, 'yet crucial concept' of cultural translation, that affirmed by Wooton for Charles I's Italian-artistic patronage even, recognising the complexity of such processes, and their dependency on collegial networks.[30]  For architectural historian, Peter Burke, cultural translation, a term he acknowledges deriving from work of twentieth-century anthropologists, including Edward Evans-Pritchard (1902-1973), is not the work of individuals alone, but the concern of groups 'from production to reception'; Burke states, further, 'The traditional term to describe these groups is "circle," but "network" may be preferable because it does not imply either centres or closure.'[31]

Indeed, in Musicology, the 2013 publication edited by David J. Smith and Rachelle Taylor, *Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), also affirmed and exemplified such an open, 'collegial-orientated', approach to Early Modern musical works and repertories, their enabling processes and channels of reception: thirteen essays originating from two conferences in 2011, in honour of the 450th anniversary of the birth of Peter Philips (1561-1628).  Smith's own essay, 'The Interconnection of Religious, Social and Musical Networks: Creating a Context for the Keyboard Music of Peter Philips and its Dissemination', discusses Philips's connections, musical-stylistic and social, with composers including Byrd, Sweelinck, and Tomkins, highlighting both 'real' and 'virtual' musical networks, characterised respectively by direct contact, or a less-proximate relationship, either physically or temporally.  This thesis will explore both aspects in discussing Child's own musical networks surrounding his Latin motets, the proximate connections with Court colleagues, Edward Lowe and Charles Husbands Sr; and broader, cross-century connections created through the settings of biblical Latin by translators, Tremellius-Junius and Theodore Beza, to be discussed in Chapters 5 to 7.

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[29] Alastair Hamilton, 'Tremellius, (Joannes) Immanuel', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography online*, 23rd September 2004, accessed August 9th, 2022, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27694.

[30] Karen Newman, and Jane Tylus, ed. *Early Modern Cultures of Translation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 23.

[31] *Ibid.*, 26 & 37.

Aspects of 'tradition' will also be seen through study of motets by networks of text, works by different composers sharing the same text, translation, or text source, and also, for example, the distinctive role of the University of Oxford in fostering and curating such processes through use, copying, performing and preserving, of particular court-connected repertories. This thesis, then, seeks to provide new cultural-contextual study of Child's motets, discussing them in relation to Italian-originating compositional idioms, musical-social networks, enabling institutions, and broader cultural processes which helped shape, foster, and characterise, them. Aspects of translation will be seen through the compositional idioms and stylistic features of Child's works, and also in their specific texts and Latin translations. The title 'Networks of Translation' is intended simply as a broad and open way to reference and encapsulate aspects both of cultural translation, the distinctive functions and features of *concertato* motets in seventeenth-century England, and also the unique settings of biblical Latin, words originally translated in sixteenth-century Geneva, to be addressed.

**Methods, and chapter-heading overview of thesis**

In overview, my central research questions are:

- What are the functions of Latin motets by Child and colleagues in seventeenth-century England, their stylistic idioms and distinctive texts?
- Where and how is the genre disseminated, assimilated, and enabled in England: by whom, and within which musical and cultural traditions and frameworks?

Following the pioneering research and motet editions of scholars including Aston, Le Huray, and Wainwright, my research has relied on transcribing the motets of Child from surviving sources, alongside motets by close colleagues, Christopher Gibbons, Edward Lowe, Benjamin Rogers, alongside composers who set works from similar texts and text sources, or whose work occurs in related sources: many edited for the first time, and forming Volume Two of the thesis. Drawing on the transcriptions, evidence from manuscripts and primary sources, including annotations and dedications, alongside contemporary diary accounts, Volume One provides new contextual study of the sources, their particular Latin texts, and compositional features.

Chapter 1 introduces and addresses key musical-stylistic features of Child's 'Italian Way' as presented in the motets, developing the original title of Child's 1639 printed collection of *concertato* psalms, dedicated to Charles I and the Knights of the chivalric Order-of-the-Garter. The chapter highlights the very particular nature of Child's Latin texts, and royal connections, and also demonstrates Child's use of musical material by Grandi and Sabino, from the solo-motet collection, *Ghirlanda Sacra*, published in Venice in 1625.   In this respect, the element of court-cultural motet use and  function is introduced, highlighting broad translation of Italian stylistic idioms and melodic material, and specific texts, in addressing the areas of the first research question.

Chapter 2 provides new discussion of key Child sources *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 and *Ge* R.d.3/1, shown for the first time to be the work of Charles Husbands Sr, alongside Edward Lowe, who contributed instrumental parts to Child's Tremellius-texted 'Cantate Jehovae' in the former books.  The sources will be seen to demonstrate and exemplify a close repertorial connection and musical network between the Court and the University of Oxford, with Child's motet work being enabled by court-cultural networks and compositional functions, and the scribal work of Husbands and Lowe.  Discussion will, for the first time, highlight *Ge* R.d.3/1 in relation to Child and Queen Henrietta Maria, a source including French-texted *airs de cour* by Étienne Moulinié, works originally dedicated to the Queen's brother, King Louis XIII of France, in 1625: the year Henrietta Maria became Queen of England.

Chapter 3 provides wider institutional-contextual discussion of the motet-facilitating and motet-assimilating work of the Music School at the University of Oxford, and role of the Heather Professors in cultural translation, curation and preservation.  Discussion will highlight the presence of Italian repertories, having travelled '*Transalpina*', within the traditions of the university, alongside collections in Oxford of significant motet-related materials, their curation, gifting and bequest.  Significant instances of musical contact between Court and Oxford musicians will be highlighted across the century, including at the Oxford Court in the early 1640s, where University and Court spaces and personnel converged and intersected. Discussion of motets by Child's colleague, Benjamin Rogers, will also affirm Court-University institutional channels and connections of personel, and motet traditions associated with the Heather Professorship.

Having highlighted key aspects of Child's motets, court-cultural functions, and key personnel in Child's motet-facilitating musical networks, Chapters 4 to 7 will address Child's motets in relation to works which set the same text or use the same biblical translation, enabling contextual and functional discoveries through study of networks of Latin text, akin to the 'virtual' networks for Peter Philips addressed by David J. Smith in 2013.

Chapter 4 provides a new presentation of 'O bone Jesu' settings by Child, Dering and Christopher Gibbons, in relation to Grandi's 4-part setting, with text traditionally ascribed to Franciscan, St. Bernardino of Siena. Grandi's motet was first published in Venice in 1613, and subsequently by John Playford in his *Cantica Sacra* collection of Dering motets in 1662, notably dedicated to Dowager Queen, Henrietta Maria.

Chapters 5 and 6 present *concertato* settings of biblical Latin of Calvinist-Genevan origin, Old Testament texts translated by Imanuelle Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, alongside New Testament translations by Theodore Beza, two testaments frequently published together. These settings of distinctive sixteenth-century biblical Latin appear to be set uniquely in seventeenth-century England: motets which will be seen to be emblematic of the genre's translation to England, though without any necessarily 'separate' musical-compositional vocabulary to distinguish them from Vulgate settings surviving in the country. Discussion of Child's adjustments to Tremellius's Latin is used to suggest very particular instrumentation for Child's unique *obbligato* motet in seventeenth-century England, Tremellius-texted 'Cantate Jehovae'. Chapter 6 focuses on the mid-century Stuart-court resonances of settings of Luke 15, Christ's lament over Jerusalem: settings by Child and Jeffreys.

Chapter 7 addresses the last-surviving Tremellius-Junius setting in seventeenth-century England, Purcell's Psalm-3 setting, 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei'. The chapter will present, for the first time, Purcell's additions to his Tremellius text. Developing contextual discussion by Zimmerman, musical and political, very particular resonances of the work, and text, will be suggested for the challenging contexts and circumstances of Charles II, the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis. In parallel with discussion in the preceding chapter, which had suggested Child's and Jeffreys's settings of Beza (Luke 15) engaged creatively with the turbulent political situation before the Commonwealth, Purcell's motet will be presented as expressing significant political issues and themes surrounding Charles II in 1679. The

composer will be suggested to heighten the musical presentation of Tremellius's psalm translation through added words of emphasis at notable structural points.

The themes addressed in the seven chapters,  together with new findings, will be drawn together in a final conclusion, highlighting core findings, and areas for further research.

Supporting transcriptions are presented in Volume Two, which includes the complete contents of key source of Child's motets and *concertato* work, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, transcribed together for the first time.   Motets related to Child's work through text and translation source are included, also, including 'O bone Jesu' settings by Christopher Gibbons and Grandi, in addition to new transcriptions of Tremellius-texted works by composers including Bowman, and Christopher Gibbons. Alongside, Child's 'Cantate Jehovae', with distinctive and pioneering *concertato*-use of instrumental obbligato in England, Volume Two includes Rogers's eight-voice 'Laudate Dominum', with 'Gloria Patri' accompanied by violin ensemble, and Lowe's Italianate 'Quam dulcis es', accompanied by two violins and continuo: motets presented in Volume One in relation to the opening ceremonies of Oxford's Sheldonian Theatre in July 1669.  Intended for use by scholars and performers, Volume Two presents a wide variety and compendium of *concertato* works from across the century.

## Chapter 1

## William Child and the 'Italian Way': aspects of compositional style in the Latin motets

**Primary Sources**

The extant Latin motets of William Child, accompanied by basso continuo, with its crucial harmonic role, survive as a set of thirteen within *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37. These highly characterful works, with musical and linguistic heritage in Italy, are markedly distinct from Child's English-texted liturgical works in their musical sources and idioms, texts and text sources. They are transcribed together for the first time in Volume Two, and comprise: four motets a3, six motets a4, and three a5. Three motets have additional sources, also: 'Cantate Jehovae' (*US-NYp* MS Drexel 4300), 'O bone Jesu' (six sources: *Ge* R.d.3/1, *Lbl* Add. MS 33,235, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 204, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451, *Och* Mus. 14, with later-eighteenth-century source, *Ob* MS Tenbury 713), and 'Plange Sion' (*Ge* R.d.3/1). Chapter 2 will provide new contextual discussion of the primary set of seven partbooks in relation also to *Ge* R.d.3/1, presenting both sources for the first time as the scribal work of Charles Husbands Sr, tenor colleague of Child at Windsor and the Chapel Royal. The primary sources are notably non-liturgical, and all include a range of 'secular' vocal works. Autograph parts or scores, perhaps surprisingly, do not appear to have survived.[1] Table 1.1 provides a brief overview of the primary sources and their contents, in approximate and suggested chronological order, dating from the 1630s to the 1690s within Child's lifetime, with *Ob* MS Tenbury 713 providing a late eighteenth-century concordance for 'O bone Jesu':

**Table 1.1**:

| Manuscript | time of copying, scribe(s), and repertory |
|---|---|
| *US-NYp* **MS Drexel 4300** | *c.* **1633 onwards     5 hands, 1 likely to be James Clifford** |
| | **'Cantate Jehovae'** |
| | 3 partbooks from an original set of 4: 65 items |

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[1] It is not inconceivable, perhaps, that the parts in *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 204 are in Child's hand, due to the similarities with Child's signature in *SGC* VI.B.3, p. 7; however, this very small sample of Child's writing is too limited to provide conclusive evidence. It may be possible that further sources for Child's Latin works, even potentially alongside those by Court colleagues in addition, were destroyed in the fire at Whitehall Palace in 1698. Chapter 3 will provide discussion of the 'traffic' of musical personnel and repertory between the Stuart Court and Oxford.

Sacred and secular vocal music (a2 & a3), including Latin motets by Dering and Jeffreys, with madrigals by Weelkes, *Ayres or Phantasticke Spirites for Three Voices* (London: John Windet, for William Barley, 1608).

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*Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451      *c.* 1636 onwards      **Edward Lowe**

**'O bone Jesu'**

Lowe's long-term basso continuo book: 383 items

Accompaniments for Latin motets by English and Italian composers, English-texted sacred works, and string-consort movements and suites; the early portion includes vocal parts for *concertato* psalms by the Lawes brothers.

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*Ge* **R.d.3/1**      *c.* 1663      **Charles Husbands Sr.**

**'Plange Sion' and 'O bone Jesu'**

Canto ('*dessus*') partbook from a likely set of 6: 32 items

Child's 'Plange Sion', 'O bone Jesu' and 'How many hired servants', alongside sacred and secular English vocal works by composers including William Simmes, William Smegergill, Robert Johnson and Richard Flecknoe, with central set of French-texted *airs be cour* by Étienne Moulinié (1599-1676), complete items of: *AIRS DE COVR a quatre & cinq parties* (Paris: Ballard, 1625).

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*Ob* **MS Mus. Sch. C. 204**      *c.* 1669, or earlier, for 'O bone Jesu', in unknown hand

**'O bone Jesu'**

Miscellaneous set of parts, 18 sections, for the Music School in Oxford; scribes include Edward Lowe and Henry Bowman

Sacred and secular music, featuring Latin motets, by English and Italian composers, including instrumental parts; composers include Bowman, Lowe, Wilson, Carissimi and Antonelli.

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*Ob* **MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37** *c.* 1663-1678      **Husbands Sr**

**Child's 13 motets**

6 partbooks: 26 items

Ornate set dedicated to Child's non-liturgical vocal works, sacred and secular, Latin and English, including *unica* for ten Latin motets, all four of Child's *concertato* 'Alleluia Hymns',

his Epithalamium, and pastoral Dialogue featuring dramatic recitative; 6 items (2 incomplete) are English-texted *concertato* psalms, first published as a set of 20 psalms in 1639.  *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 35 includes integral instrumental parts, for bass and two treble instruments (the second functioning solely to double the first at chorus sections), in the hand of Lowe.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Och* **Mus. 14** | **mid-1670s** | **John Blow** |

**'O bone Jesu'**

Blow's scorebook, English and Italian sacred and secular music, including Latin motets: 56 items;

Including English anthems and Latin motets by Blow and Christopher Gibbons, Locke and Cooke; Latin motets by Blow, Child and Gibbons; Italian music by Monteverdi, Carissimi, and Rovetta.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Lbl* **Add. MS 33,235** | *c.* **1690s** | **Richard Goodson Sr &** |
| | | **William Husbands** |

**'O bone Jesu'**

Scorebook of sacred and secular music by English and Italian composers: 54 items

English songs by Purcell, Humphrey, Blow, Turner, alongside Latin motets by composers including Blow, Child, Casati, Carissimi, Monferrato, and Sances.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Ob* **MS Ten. 713** | *c.* **late 18th century** | **2 unknown hands** |

**'O bone Jesu'**

Scorebook of Latin sacred music, with motets by English, French, and Italian composers: 27 items;

17 motets are by Henri Dumont, 12 of which include violin parts, published in 1681: Henri Dumont, *Motets à 2, 3 et 4 parties pour voix et instruments, avec la bass-continue* (Paris: Ballard, 1681). The book may be associated with Roman Catholic liturgical use, through a complete 3-voice liturgical work, *Messa a capella*, a3, by Francesco Durante, alongside 'Laudate Pueri' (a4) by Samuel Webbe Jr (1768-1843).[2]

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[2] Webb was a Roman Catholic church musician who worked in London and Liverpool as an organist and piano accompanist.  He was the son of Samuel Webb Sr. (1740-1816), organist of the Sardinian Embassy Chapel, London, and of Lincoln's Inn Fields, the only place in the city at the time, where Catholic liturgy could be celebrated publicly. See, Philip Olleson, 'Webbe, Samuel, the younger', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

The primary sources for Child's motets demonstrate especially strong links to Oxford's Music School and its Professorship (held by Child scribes Lowe and Goodson I, following the Restoration), endowed by William Heather in 1626, to be outlined over the next two chapters. The concordances for *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 also firmly demonstrate the presence of Child's works alongside a rich variety of *concertato* and court-connected works, Latin-, English-, Italian-, and French-texted, affirming repertories of broad international outlook, suitable for 'chamber' contexts in Stuart England, to be explored throughout this thesis. The sequence of motets in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 is governed by vocal scoring: the number of parts increasing successively, with notable incorporation also of a single English-texted setting, 'Woe is me that I am constrained' (AATB, bc), placed at the end of the series of four-part works, and before the five-part 'Plange Sion'.[3] Based on the edition of transcriptions from *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32 -37, Table 1.2 gives an introductory outline of the motets in manuscript order, with text source, scoring, number of bars, and initial accidentals ('key'):

**Table 1.2** William Child motets in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37

| MOTET | TEXT | SCORING | BARS | INITIAL ACCIDENTALS[4] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Cantate Jehovae** | Psalm 97 verses 1, 4-9 (Tremellius-Junius translation) | CCB bc 3 Instrm. | 78 | 1 flat ('F major') |
| **Servus tuus** | Psalm 118 verses 125-126 (Vulgate) | CCB bc | 73 | 0 ('A minor') |
| **Gloria tibi** | Marian hymn (Annunciation) | CCB bc | 35 | 1 sharp ('G major') |
| **Gloria Patri** | Trinitarian doxology | ATB bc | 61 | 0 ('C major') |
| **Laudate Deum** | Revelation 19. 5-7 | ATTB bc | 154 | 0 ('G major') |

(Theodore Beza translation)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **O si vel** | Luke 19. 42<br>(Theodore Beza translation) | CATB bc | 110 | 0 ('D minor') |
| **O bone Jesu** | St. Bernardino | CATB bc | 36 | 1 sharp ('E minor') |
| **Quam pulchra es** | Solomon 4. 1, 9 | ATTB bc | 98 | 2 flats ('G minor') |
| **Ecce panis** | St. Thomas Aquinas<br>Corpus Christi hymn | ATTB bc | 112 | 2 flats ('B-flat major') |
| **Quem vidistis** | Christmastide hymn | CATB bc | 101 | 0 ('D minor') |
| [Woe is me | Psalm 120, verse 5 | ATTB bc | 27 | 0 ('A minor')] |
| **Plange Sion** | Joel 1. 8, 9, 12, 13<br>Joel 2.17 | CATTB bc | 117 | 2 flats ('C minor') |
| **Converte nos** | Lamentations 5.21<br>Deuteronomy 21.8<br>Joel 2.17<br>Psalms 118 132-135 | CATTB bc | 132 | 2 flats ('C minor') |
| **Venite gentes** | Psalm 33, verse 12 | CCATB bc | 101 | 0 ('G major'). |

As autograph sources for Child's motets do not appear to have survived, with the majority of manuscripts being post-Restoration and without annotations of date or stated function, it is not straightforward to suggest a definitive dating or chronology for his thirteen Latin works. The motets can, however, be said to span from *c*. 1633 ('Cantate Jehovae' in *US-NYp* Drexel 4300), with *terminus ad quem* of 1678, the year of the death of Husbands Sr, the sole scribe for ten of the motets.  The 26 works in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 were certainly copied after 1663, the year of Child's DMus, and may well have been copied proximate in time and location, due to the consistency of Husbands's scribal style in the part-books. Though 'Cantate Jehovae', likely Child's earliest motet due to the Drexel concordance, is the first motet in Husbands's part-books, unfortunately the motets' ordering here (by successive vocal scoring, a3 to a5), does not provide clues to dating.  Discussion of these books in Chapter 2, alongside Husbands's *Ge* R.d.3/1, will highlight key mid-century social-contextual resonances for the texts of Child's 'Plange Sion' and English-texted 'Alleluia' hymns in *concertato* idioms.  Child's highly characterful use of chromaticism and unprepared dissonance, alongside his addition of 'Sion' to his text from the Book of Joel, figurative of the royal court as will be seen, for this heartfelt

text of lament, may feasibly be suggestive of the anguish and loss felt by English royalists from the early 1640s onwards, when Anglican worship was disallowed and the political situation precipitated the execution of Charles I in 1649. Similarly, the text of 'Servus tuus', set uniquely by Child in *concertato* idioms, features stark use of three-part homophony in complex rhythmic syncopation to set the words translatable as 'It is time, Lord, for you to act for they have broken your law' (to be presented in the following section, with musical example, 1.1). These words could feasibly be suggestive of challenging surrounding contexts, though unfortunately not knowable or verifiable. The subsequent section in this chapter on Child's Latin texts will introduce aspects of royal themes and associations for Child's distinctive Latin words, and contextual discussion in Chapter 6 will suggest strong associations between Child's 'O si vel' and the circumstances surrounding the execution of Charles I in 1649. It does not appear possible to ascertain a clear sense of motet dating and chronology on musical-stylistic features alone, or through focus on the characteristic compositional devices used by Child, to be outlined below. *Trilli* and aspects of vocal virtuosity to be discussed below, however, if seen as representing 'progressive' idioms, feature to a higher degree in the four- and five-part works, in general, with *trilli* not used at all in the three-part works (including 'Cantate Jehovae' in both the Drexel source and Husbands's part-books). The five-part works can be said to provide greater technical challenges for singers than the three- and four-part works, as will be seen. It could be said that 'Laudate Deum' (ATTB, bc, with words from the Book of Revelation celebrating heavenly kingship and the marriage feast in the 'New Jerusalem') is very likely a post-Restoration composition due to the extent of Child's use of triple time as a large-scale structural device, and in context of his generally sparing use of such metres. This motet is Child's sole Latin work to begin in triple time, the composer's use of which will be discussed later in this chapter.

**Initial stylistic overview of Child's motets, and background to *concertato* idioms in the motet genre**

In broad overview of Child's continuo motets, transcribed in Volume Two, his works can be said to share many compositional techniques in common with motets by Alessandro Grandi, Richard Dering and Giovanni Felice Sances, for example: composers whose works survive in manuscripts and musical contexts fully connected to and aligned to those of Child. Child's

compositional devices, featuring *concertato* techniques, idioms, textures and structures, many with origins in Italy, highlight the use of contrast and variety of musical material: contrast between short, imitative phrases and homophonic declamation, between duple and triple metres, often delineated into broad 'paragraphs' or sections (including triple-time 'Alleluia' sections). There is much variety of choral texture and rhythmic figuration, a predominance of syllabic text-setting with occasional word painting and use of 'colourful' chords such as the minor 6th underpinned by major 3rd above the bass.[5] The basso continuo provides a stable harmonic foundation for the tonal framework, over which dissonance is carefully prepared and controlled within the metrical scheme. Frequent use is made of 'tonic-dominant' harmonic relationships for both immediate progressions and larger structural units, with use of third-related progressions to provide contrast and colour, and often to heighten the effect of chordal declamation, both within musical sections united by text, and across different sections, featuring new texts. Child's chords and harmonic patterning move as far as F-sharp major and D-flat major in the respective harmonic directions: the former in 'O bone Jesu', (b.9, in dominant relationship to B, major and minor, setting 'Jesu' in chordal homophony), and the latter in 'Converte nos' (b. 85, within a passage of swift modulatory movement for repetitions of 'et ne des hereditatem tuam [in opprobrium]' in two-part declamatory homophony for text translatable as, 'do not give your heritage [into disgrace]').[6] An extract from 'Servus tuus' (CCB, bc), Example 1.1, related in its text's themes and concerns, shows Child's accomplished use of both fifth- and third-related harmonic progressions, to underpin emphatic and clearly declaimed homophony, presenting text translatable as, 'it is time for you to act, O Lord, for they have broken your law'.[7] Rhythmic syncopation adds to characterise a sense of 'breaking'

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[5] For example, 'Gloria tibi Domine', b. 5, third minim beat, to set 'Domine'; this chord features frequently in Child's English-texted psalms 'newly composed after the Italian Way', published in 1639, and introduced on p. 8 in the following discussion. For an example of this chord used by Grandi, see 'O Intemerata' (CA bc), the tenth motet from Book II: bar 39 'dulcissima [*virgo*]', first crotchet, ed. Passmore, volume II, 2014.

[6] The use of anachronistic 'tonal' terminology is intended for clarity in describing this repertory from a time traditionally characterised as 'transitional' between modal and harmonic compositional practice, between 'Renaissance modes' and 'Classical tonality'. Tim Carter has summarised these complex themes and issues, 'yet to be fully resolved', with great clarity, and highlighted the challenges of defining 'pure' modality, 'pure' tonality and any potential transition, 'if such there be', in music of this period: see Tim Carter, 'The Search for Musical Meaning', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter & John Butt (Cambridge: CUP, 2005): 172 and 170, respectively (within section entitled, 'Modal types and tonal categories': 169-179). 'Hybrid' modal-tonal analyses have been undertaken by scholars including Eric Chafe, for example, in his study of vocal works by Monteverdi, 'within the context of emerging tonality', following work undertaken by Carl Dahlhaus: Eric Chafe, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), xv.

[7] Example 1.1 also demonstrates the early use of 'sequence', of which can also be seen in the *concertato* work of Dering, for example, including his motet, 'Sancta et immaculate virginitas': bb. 20–26. See, *Richard Dering Motets for One, Two or Three Voices and Basso Continuo*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright, *Musica Britannica* LXXXVI (London: Stainer and Bell, 2008), 19.

and unease, the possible mid-century and Commonwealth contextual resonances of which will be addressed, in particular, in Chapter 6, with discussion of Child's setting of Jesus's Passiontide words of lament on arrival at Jerusalem, 'O si vel' (Luke 19.42).

**Example 1.1**: Child's 'Servus tuus', bb. 39-46



In tracing potential stylistic influences or English precursors for Child's 'Italianate' compositional idioms, structures and devices, a comparison of Jonathan Wainwright's summary of Dering's few-voiced motets, works notably present in English manuscripts from the mid-1620s onwards, as will be affirmed in Chapter 3, will give an initial perspective on how much Child's *concertato* compositions share in common with those of the older composer:

Imitative sections contrast with homophonic writing; contrapuntal sections are characterized by the interplay of short rhythmic motifs; standard harmonic formulae are used in a tonal framework, with consonance and dissonance being regulated by the regular stresses of a vertically orientated chordal scheme in defined duple or triple metre; changes of metre are used to provide contrast; and the voices are supported by a basso continuo part. Indeed, Dering's small-scale motets represent a thorough and proficient English version of the *stile nuovo* in the first three decades of the seventeenth century.[8]

Scholarship has indeed long-recognised Child's progressive and pioneering domestic music, through his early publishing and 'translation' of *stile nuovo* idioms in England in 1639, itself

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[8] Jonathan Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice 'Concertato' Motets', *Music & Letters* 89, No. 2 (2008): 171.

also an accomplished early example of using engraved plates for music printing in the country.[9]
This set of twenty psalms, six of which are transcribed in Volume II (two are incomplete in *Ob*
MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37) features trio textures, and word-setting techniques indeed akin to
those of Dering's motets, described by Wainwright. The publication's full title is resonant, with
important, and commercially astute, stated intention of style and function:

> *The First set of Psalmes of .III. Voyces fit for private Chappells or other private*
> *meetings with a continuall Base either for the Organ or Theorbo newly composed after*
> *the Italian Way* (London: James Reave, 1639).

The use and description of the continuo and theorbo is historically significant in seventeenth-
century England: the plucked-string instrument of the lute family of Italian heritage, with
extended bass range designed for *continuo* accompanying. The instrument was well suited for
accompanying the turn-of-the-century vocal idioms pioneered in *camerata* contexts of
Florence, for example, and *seconda pratica* techniques of dissonance, word-setting and
harmonic accompaniment seen in Monteverdi's madrigals, starting with the Fifth Book of
1605, the last six of which, in the words of Eric Chafe, were 'wholly in the *concertato* style',
including obligato continuo and contrasting use of soloistic textures.[10]  Chafe, further, notes
how the *concertato* madrigals of Book Five set the 'more playful texts', with 'the almost
complete absence of the device of constant textual and melodic overlapping, a primary means
in the fourth book by which polyphony was transformed under the rationalistic approach to text
setting.'[11]  Such 'new' techniques and repertories received early dissemination through print,
emblematic being *Le Nuove Musiche* of Giulio Caccini (Florence: Marescotti: 1601/1602), the
collection of continuo-accompanied monodies, comprising twelve through-composed
madrigals and ten strophic arias. A seminal publication in England was the *Prime Musiche
Nuove* (London: William Hole, 1613) of Angelo Notari (1566-1663), born in Padua, and

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[9] See, for example, Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1967, reprinted 1978); Chapter 2, 'William Child, his Contemporaries and the *Stile Nuovo* in England', provides concise overview of the impact of Italianate idioms predominantly on English-texted sacred music, both 'domestic' and liturgical. Brief reference is made to the 'O bone Jesu' settings of Child, 361, (Bernadino text) and Jeffreys, 353, (text possibly by Jeffreys).  Plate 9 (following p. 206) provides illustration of the title page of Child's 1639 publication, noting, 'The flowing italic script accords well with Child's Italianate music'.

[10] Eric Chafe, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), 117.
Monteverdi's pioneering collection was first published in Venice, dedicated to the Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga of Mantua: Claudio Monteverdi, *Il Quinto Libro de Madrigali a Cinque Voci* (Venice: Amadino, 1605).  The prestigious collection of Italian art works of the Duchy of Mantua was later acquired for Charles I, in the 1630s, cofacilitated by Nicholas Lanier, the first Master of the King's Musick, as will be discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to broad traditions of Italian cultural appropriation and influence in seventeenth-century England.

[11] Chafe, *Monteverdi's Tonal* Language, 117.

eminent singer and lutenist in the Stuart 'Private Musick', first for Prince Henry, from *c.* 1610, then Prince Charles, from 1618, continuing to serve him from his coronation as Charles I in 1625. Scholarship by Wainwright, for example, has affirmed the presence of progressive composers and idioms in domestic service of the Caroline court, noting also that Charles took into his service musicians previously employed by his brother, Prince Henry, before the latter's death, aged just seventeen.[12] Highly notably, Child dedicated his 1639 collection after the 'Italian Way' to Charles I, and an engraved image of the king appears as a frontispiece to the publication. Furthermore, the text-translations themselves, by Miles Coverdale (1488-1569), have a similar heritage of regal dedication, through original dedication to Henry VIII, in his 1535 translation of the Bible, the first complete English Bible to be printed; Child's 'O woe is me', incorporated within the motet section of *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 sets words from the same translation. Coverdale's psalter received continued use even following the Restoration, with its incorporation into the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. Stylistically, Child's English psalms share much in common with his shorter three-voice Latin motets such as 'Gloria Patri' and 'Servus tuus'.

Across the first decades of the new century, *Stile nuovo* and *seconda pratica* idioms, notably facilitated by seventeenth-century print culture, readily translated to the motet, primarily a Latin-texted 'sacred' genre ssociated with Roman Catholic liturgy, with frequent liturgical use at the Eucharistic offertory, alongside broader devotional contexts through wide dissemination of such works, printed in Venice, for example.[13]A feature of 'new' approaches to compositional text-setting, embodied in part by early seventeenth-century 'secular' Italian-texted vocal works by Caccini and Monteverdi, for example, was described in Monteverdi's words, highly resonant at this turn-of-the-century in Italy (via the pen of his brother, in polemical dialogue with theorist Giovanni Maria Artusi). Monteverdi described a compositional approach which, translated, 'considers harmony not commanding, but commanded, and makes words the mistress [ie. 'ruler'] of the harmony'.[14] The use, role and function of the basso continuo was a fundamental harmonic aspect at the heart of such changing compositional approaches,

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[12] Jonathan Wainwright, 'The King's Music', in, ed. Thomas N. Corns, *The Royal Image* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), 162-175; 170, 'The king was surrounded by the best musicians of the age and was able to create an active and progressive musical culture at court, and it was to the court which the country looked for the latest musical fashions.'

[13] Steven Saunders, ed., *Giovanni Felice Sances Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci (1638)* (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, Inc., 2003), xii.

[14] Tim Carter, *Music in Late Renaissance and Early Baroque Italy* (London: Batsford, 1992), 146.

questions and performance practicalities. Indeed, for the motet genre, Gabriele Fattorini (*fl.* 1598-1609) and Lodovico Grossi da Viadana (*c.*1560-1627) published the earliest collections of small-scale motets, for one to four voices, with continuo, respectively: *I sacri concerti a due voci* (Venice: Amadino, 1600), and *Cento Concerti Ecclesiastici* (Venice: Vincenti, 1602).[15] In the view of Roche and Dixon, the latter was motivated by 'the increasingly inadequate performance of unaccompanied church music by too few voices heard by Viadana in Rome.'[16] In addition, continuo accompaniment enabled new possibilities of scoring, where 'contrasts of texture and sonority could be exploited, and counterpoint became more harmonically based, since it was heard against a background of simple chord progressions'.[17]

In discussion of the motets of Giovanni Felice Sances, Italian composer to the Habsburg court of the Holy Roman Emperors from Ferdinand III onwards, popular in Oxford repertories as will be seen in the next chapter (including copies by Child-scribe, Husbands Sr), Steven Saunders has suggested Sances to be a 'third-generation' composer, where musical-compositional concerns become 'increasingly' assertive over any expressive 'primacy' of text.[18] For Saunders, Viadana represents the first generation of continuo-motet composers, alongside Agazzari and Fattorini, retaining ties to the older imitative traditions of the genre; Grandi, Donati and Capello, are suggested to represent a pivotal second generation, introducing declamatory monody, and arioso styles, with greater textural plans and textural contrast; Sances, in turn, is noted to incorporate a wider range of larger scale, musical-formal, devices and structures, including refrains, *ritornelli*, and bass *ostinati*. Whilst such categories will always be porous perhaps, and never clear-cut in providing a neat chronological 'progression' of techniques, nonetheless, Child's motets will be seen to utilise significant compositional devices used by Sances, alongside Grandi, whilst also fully retaining individual characteristics, including contrapuntal techniques (and aligned use of false relations) perhaps associated with Child's own compositional heritage, found, for example, in both English- and Latin-texted sacred music of Byrd and Tallis.[19] Before addressing notable compositional structures and

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[15] Jerome Roche, revised Graham Dixon, 'Italy' (Section 2 of 'III. Baroque') of 'Motet', *Grove Music Online*, 30th December 2019, accessed June 4th, 2022: https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-90000369371?rskey=7BpuR1&result=1.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] Saunders, ed., *Giovanni Felice Sances Motetti*, xv.

[19] Though notably different in style, Chapter 5 will suggest Child's 'Cantate Jehovae' to pay an aspect of compositional homage to Byrd's 'Laudate Dominum' a6, published in the second volume of *Gradulia* (London: Thomas East, assign of William Barley, 1607), through melodic reference. Similarly, Aldrich's 'Salvator Mundi'

devices of Child's motets, discussion of his Latin texts will be seen to develop aspects of court culture and royal dedication embodied by the dedication and illustrated frontispiece of Child's *concertato* psalms after the 'Italian Way'.

## Texts of Child's Latin motets, and royal resonances

Child's thirteen Latin texts are highly distinctive, and encompass words of prayer, praise, and penitence, from highly resonant text sources and authors, which can provide important Christological, social and political insights for contextual study of the motets' function in Stuart England.  Full details of the texts, and sources, are provided in Volume One, alongside new translations.  Child appears to set six texts entirely uniquely, with no apparent text concordance with other composers, whether English or Italian, alongside wholly individual text incorporations for 'Cantate Jehovae' and 'Venite gentes'.  Child's unique texts will be foundational to the study and exploration of networks of text-translation to be developed from Chapter 5.  Chapter 4 will also provide contextual study of Child's 'O bone Jesu' in relation to settings of the same text by Christopher Gibbons and Dering, alongside that of Grandi, originally published in Venice in 1613.  It will highlight associations of the Franciscan text, attributed to St. Bernardino of Siena, and musical connections to Grandi's setting in particular, alongside associations with Queen Henrietta Maria, a catalyst for the flourishing of the Italianate *concertato* motet in seventeenth-century England, as will be suggested.  Chapters 5 to 7 will provide contextual study of *concertato* settings of biblical Latin by Calvinists in sixteenth-century Geneva: psalms translated into Latin by Immanuel Tremellius and his son-in-law Franciscus Junius, alongside the aligned New Testament Latin, printed together with Old Testament translations of Tremellius-Junius, as translated by Calvinist Theodore Beza: the latter acknowledged here for the first time as a text source for *concertato* settings.  The *concertato* settings of Tremellius-Junius and Beza appear to be unique to seventeenth-century England, and will be seen as a distinctive network of creative translation and text assimilation in England, and as a later chapter in the post-Reformation reception history of the Calvinist Latin Bible.  In Chapter 6, Beza settings by Child and Jeffreys, in particular their settings of verses from the Gospel of Luke, will be shown to be resonant and reflective of Stuart social-political themes and contexts. Notably, the motets with texts by Beza, Tremellius and Junius,

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will be shown to quote the initial theme of Tallis's own 'Salvator Mundi', published in William Byrd and Thomas Tallis, *Cantiones Sacrae* (London: Thomas Vauttrollerius, 1575).

including Purcell's 'Jehova quam multi sunt' addressed in Chapter 7, would not have featured within Roman Catholic liturgies, whether associated with Charles II's Queen, Catherine of Braganza, or chapels of Henrietta Maria. However, notable motets by Child and colleagues, in addition to the many examples copied of those by Italian composers, would have had full potential for such liturgical use. As will be seen, motets and their texts, especially texts devoted to Christological themes, or church-seasonal texts associated with Trinity or Christmas, would have had broad devotional appeal across denominational traditions, with potential for varied and flexible function. In overview of the motet genre's functional translation to England, a broadly Protestant country in the seventeenth century, this thesis highlights courtly domestic contexts for Latin *concertato* motets, especially in Oxford and London. *Concertato* motets in Stuart England can also be seen as domestic-devotional 'artefacts' of valued court culture: part of a wider and long-standing trend of Italian-cultural prestige, impacting on the visual, literary arts in England, through creating, collection, and curation, and architectural styles in the country, including the work of Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren, for example, as will be discussed in Chapter 3 on Oxford contexts. Developing Table 1.2, Table 1.3(a-d) provides further details of Child's Latin texts and sources, with brief introduction to themes that will be developed across Chapters 4 to 7.

**Table 1.3(a-d): overview of Child's Latin texts**

**1.3a: texts wholly unique to Child, in manuscript order of *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37:**

| Motet | Text | Text source |
|---|---|---|
| Laudate Deum | Revelation 19: 5-7 | Latin translation of Genevan Calvinist, Theodore Beza, wedding feast in the heavenly 'New Jerusalem' |
| O si vel | Luke 19:42 | Beza translation. Christ's lament for Jerusalem at the start of Holy Week, before crucifixion. |
| Plange Sion | Joel 1: 8, 9, 12, 13 adapted | Vulgate, with Child's sole addition of 'Sion' (Jerusalem): heartfelt lament for the religious-political situation in ancient Jerusalem. |
| Converte nos | BCP | Latin translation of Child's anthem text, 'Turn thou us, O good Lord' (Ash Wednesday 'antheme' specified by Thomas Cranmer in the 1549 BCP, and its successors of 1552 and 1559): words which became associated with the annual commemoration of Charles I as a martyr by the Church of England in the 1662 BCP, words which were highly resonant for royalists from the |

King's execution in 1649. Child's English anthem dates from the 1640s, and was revised in the 1670s.

## 1.3b: Texts uniquely adapted by Child

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cantate Jehovae | Psalm 98: 1, 4-9 | Tremellius-Junius: 'Royal' psalm of praise, adapted to incorporate festive musical instruments. |
| Venite Gentes | Psalm 33: 12<br>Sirach 24.5<br>Wisdom 9:10c | Vulgate<br>ie. Ecclesiasticus / Wisdom of Sirach<br>ie. Wisdom of King Solomon<br>The two Wisdom texts, added to the psalm verse were and are not in the 'Protestant' canon.<br>The Solomon text concerns earthly kingship given from God, and right rule connected to the Temple in Jerusalem, resonant for Stuart Kingship, as 'Sion', the word Child incorporated into 'Plange Sion'. Wisdom was personified in the Bible as divine co-creator (Proverbs 8: 22-31), and fundamental to royal rule and kingship.[20] |

## 1.3c: Text set by Child and Gibbons, following Grandi and Dering

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| O bone Jesu | Prayer to Jesus | Devotional text of high Christology associated with Franciscan, St. Bernardino of Sienna (1380-1444), in devotion to the Holy<br>Name of Jesus, popularised by the Saint, through preaching and travelling. The text also presents Marian spirituality and devotion. |

## 1.3d: Texts associated with Roman Catholic liturgy and devotion

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Gloria tibi Domine | Marian hymn | Final verse of a five-verse devotional hymn to Mary, 'Quem terra, pontus, aethera', in Long Metre (88 88), by Saint Venantius Fortunantus (530-609), Italian bishop of the Early Church, and renowned Latin poet and hymnographer. |

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[20] In 2 Chronicles 1, King Solomon, heir of David, asks God for Wisdom at Jerusalem's tabernacle ('God answered Solomon, '…since your heart is set on this, and because you have not asked for riches, treasure, honour, the lives of your enemies, and also have not asked for a long life, but have asked for wisdom and knowledge for yourself, to govern my people of whom I have made you king, therefore wisdom and knowledge are granted you.': translated and edited, Henry Wansbrough, *Holy Bible Revised New Jerusalem Bible* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd, 2019), 625.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | 'Quem pontus' is associated with the Feast of the Annunciation (Luke 1.26-38).[21] |
| Ecce Panis | Corpus Christi Eucharistic hymn | Words written *c*. 1264 by St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) in metre 88 87. 'Ecce Panis', with five verses, concluding 'Amen' and 'Alleluia', is the final portion (verses 21-24) of the 24-stanza hymn sequence, 'Lauda Sion', used in the Roman Missal for the Feast of Corpus Christi. Child sets five stanzas, in order, 21, 1, 14-16, 1 (repeated), with concluding 'Alleluia' section. Aquinas himself proposed this annual feast, and his words are a hymn of devotion to the Real Presence of Jesus celebrated at Mass.[22] |
| Quem vidistis pastores | Christmas | Responsory for Matins on Christmas Day, from the Roman Breviary following the third reading (Isaiah 52:1-6), invocation for the citizens of Sion / Jerusalem to seek freedom.[23] |

Of Child's remaining three Latin texts, 'Gloria Patri' (ATB, bc), with Trinitarian theology, would have been highly flexible in function within seventeenth-century domestic-musical contexts, as affirmed perhaps by the frequency of its setting, including those of Dering, Child, Rogers and Christopher Gibbons, and others.[24] 'Servus tuus' (CCB, bc), verses from psalm 118 (Vulgate numbering) which does not appear to have been set by any other English composer, sets a 'wisdom' text (here presented as 'intellectum', akin to 'sapientiam' of 'Venite

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[21] Fortunantus's hymn has a long presence in books of hours and breviaries, including *Sarum*-use texts associated with the Annunciation to Mary of her forthcoming motherhood by the Angel Gabriel: for example, the 'Hours of the Virgin' (Matins), in fourteenth-century manuscript, now in Copenhagen, *Horae ad usum Sarum* (*c*. 1370): Copenhagen, The Royal Library: Thott 547 4°, f.2. See,
http://manuscripts.org.uk/chd.dk/gui/thott547_HV_gui.html, accessed, June 5th, 2022.
William Byrd set the complete hymn, 'Quem terra, pontus, aethera' (ATB, unaccompanied) with final-verse text identical to that set by Child: William Byrd, *Gradualia, ac cantiones sacrae…Liber primus* (London: Thomas East, 1605).

[22] 'Lauda Sion' is one of four 'early' sequences with verses preserved in the Roman Missal from 1570, following the Council of Trent (1545-1563). For a Vatican-approved edition contemporary to Child, please see, *Missale Romanum* (Antwerp: Moretum, Moreti & Meursium, 1626), 342 (scan 448 of 946), accessed June 5th, 2022:
https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10904945?page=,1.

[23] For a contemporary edition of the Roman Breviary, decreed by the Vatican, please see, *Breviarium Romanum* (Antwerp: Moreti, 1630), 191, in edition viewable online, accessed June 5th 2022:
https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10904679?page=1.

[24] *Ge* R.d.58-61, a varied collection of 107 vocal items associated with John Playford and music meetings at the 'Old Jewry', for example, includes few-voice 'Gloria Patri' settings by Dering and Rogers.

gentes', with her characterisation noted in table 3b above): verses 125-126, urging God to act 'for they have broken your law', as seen in Example 1.1 above.[25]

'Quam pulchra es' Song of Songs (4. 1 & 9) sets the Vulgate translation of emblematic verses of a biblical poem of divine love.  Child's setting (ATTB, bc) is virtuosic, and texturally intricate, with possible textual and musical connections to Henrietta Maria, to be discussed, below.

In overview, then, Child sets a highly distinct and varied group of Latin texts, with instances of wholly unique settings.  His text sources range from the words of Italian saints (hymn verses of Aquinas and Fortunantus, and high-Christological prayer of Bernardino), including verses used within Roman Missals and Breviaries, alongside Child's biblical texts with Calvinist origins: an Old Testament psalm translated by Tremellius-Junius ('Cantate Jehovae'), alongside New Testament texts translated by Beza ('O si vel', from the Gospel of Luke, and 'Laudate Deum', from the Book of Revelation).  Discussion of Child's Bernardino setting in relation to those of Dering, Christopher Gibbons and Grandi (Chapter 4), and his Tremellius-Junius-Beza settings (Chapters 5 to 7) in relation to other settings of biblical Latin in England with Calvinist origins, will seek to enable fresh contextual insights into Child's *concertato* work, and his role within broad networks of translation, both Latin-textual and musical-stylistic in changing and challenging times in England and across Europe.

**Musical Features**

Following the initial overview of Child's broad *concertato* techniques above, and considering further Child's compositional use of texts, sectionally, motivically and affectively, it can be said that Child, is a 'third-generation' composer of *concertato* motets, as Saunders suggested for Sances. However, chronologically, creatively, practically and functionally, nonetheless, Child was a pioneering composer of *concertato* motets in England from the 1630s onwards, together with Jeffreys, both following closely in the footsteps of Dering, with long musical career across challenging decades, and sustained manuscript presence, as will be seen in

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[25] Henry Wansbrough, notes how this psalm, the longest in the Biblical Psalter, 'is a *tour de force* as an acrostic, using eight different words for the Law' and is 'typical of the Wisdom literature': *Revised New Jerusalem Bible, Study Edition*, ed. Henry Wansbrough (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2019), 1103.

Chapter 3.[26] From a 'third-generation' stylistic perspective, following Saunders's category, Child's musical presentation and expression of text can be said to broadly 'govern' compositional techniques, but nonetheless with his texts contending with 'an increasingly assertive servant'.[27] Though Child does not use structural devices such as repeating-bass patterns (including the ascending and descending idioms, respectively *anabasis* and *catabasis*), and *ostinati*, as Sances, nonetheless, aspects of 'large-scale' structuring, with use of contrasting metres and repetition of extended sectional units, are certainly to the fore to a degree not seen in the motets of Grandi and Dering, for example. Aiming to draw out core compositional techniques and expressive features of Child's motets, techniques both shared with Italian composers such as Sances, and motet techniques idiosyncratic to Child, the following section will present Child's techniques and idioms under three broad and inter-related areas, fully characteristic of his Latin settings:

1      **Aspects of structure: large- and small-scale repetition, motifs and mensuration**

2      **Features of word setting**:

   a) **Textures, and aspects of vocal virtuosity**

   b) **Harmony and affective devices**;

3      **Aspects of quotation**

The aim is to provide a fresh perspective on Child's individual contributions to the genre in England, and to affirm his Latin-texted *concertato* work as a significantly further step along the 'Italian Way', first demonstrated through his Royal-dedicated psalm publication of 1639.

## 1. Aspects of structure: large- and small-scale repetition, motifs and mensuration

A significant feature of Child's 'large-scale' motet technique is his use of structural patterning, including use of sectional differentiation and contrast, together with punctuating, and / or concluding, 'Alleluia' passages: often featuring contrasts of metre, texture (choral homophony in contrast to imitative passages, for example), melodic shape and rhythm. Furthermore, such patterning is intimately connected to Child's predominantly syllabic word setting, with rare and notable examples of extended melismatic writing to be seen, and his overarching small-

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[26] Jeffreys, broadly, did not hold 'official' court-connected posts, as Child, but highly significantly, was an organist at the Oxford Civil-war court of the early 1640s, as will be affirmed in Chapter 3.

[27] Saunders, *Giovanni Felice Sances Motetti*, xv

scale motivic patterning of text-phrase units: large-scale contrast, then, used in tandem and conjunction with small-scale motivic contrast, where text units are often associated with single melodic motifts, although by no means exclusively.[28]  In broad structural overview, all Child's motets, with the notable exception of 'O bone Jesu', setting the high-Christological prayer to be discussed in Chapter 4, feature use of large-scale sectional division and contrast, indicated in manuscripts by use of double-bars, repeat marks, and / or changes of mesuration.

Seven of Child's motets feature imitative 'Alleluia' sections (with triple-time 'Alleluia' passages in four motets, alongside the two triple-time 'Lauda' sections in 'Ecce panis').[29] 'Servus tuus', a3, and 'Laudate Deum', a4, make refrain-like use of an 'Alleluia' section, sung between verses and at the conclusion.  In both motets, a3 and a4, the voices enter successively at different pitch levels from highest to lowest voice in cascade-like manner. Such extended and creative use of 'Alleluia' sections shows Child's common ground, perhaps, with motets by composers associated with Venice, including Croce and Grandi, for example, in addition to providing a strong point of stylistic contact with his distinctive English-texted *concertato* 'Alleluia Hymns', with *ritornello*-like structures, to be discussed in the following chapter.[30] Child, then, makes more significant use of 'Alleluia' sections within his motets than Dering, for example, who uses such sections, often brief in length, solely to conclude seven of the thirty-two motets later published by Playford (five 'Alleluia' sections published in 1662, two of which in triple time, and two such sections in 1674).[31]

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[28] The use of varied motifs to set repeated text-units in 'O si vel', in particular, will be discussed in Chapter 6.

[29] Child's motets with imitative 'Alleluia' sections are: 'Servus tuus' a3, 'Gloria tibi' a3, 'Laudate Deum' a4, 'Quam pulchra es' a4, 'Ecce panis', a 4, 'Quem vidistis' a4, and 'Venite gentes' a5

[30] For example, thirteen motets by Alessandro Grandi (1586-1630) from the one-hundred and sixteen edited by Passmore, from six motet publications, contain triple-time 'Alleluia' sections (with none in Book IV); six use $\frac{3}{2}$, and seven use $\frac{3}{1}$, the latter highlighted with an asterisk:

    Book I: 'Hodie nobis de caelo', 'Congratulamini', & 'Nativitas tua';
    Book II: 'Cantemus Domino';
    Book III: 'Fontes et omnia', 'Caecilia' (*), Dum esset' (*), 'Beata viscera';
    Book V: 'O me miseram' (*);
    Book VI: 'Vocem jucunditatis' (*), 'Benedictus sit' (*), 'Jucundare' (*), 'Quis est ista' (*).

More broadly from Passmore's edition, a further twenty-two motets feature 'Alleluia' sections in duple time. See Andrew Passmore, 'A Study of Performance Issues and an Edition of Alessandro Grandi's Six Books of Concertato Motet*s*,' PhD Thesis, 2 Vols., University of York, 2014, Volume II.

[31] Dering's motets, later published in 1662, with 'Alleluia' sections are: 'Ardens est cor meum', 'Justus cor suum tradidit', 'O Domine Jesu Christe, adoro te', 'Laetamini cum Maria', and 'O lux et decus Hispanie', the latter pair using triple time; published in 1674, 'O Domine Jesu Christe, adoro te' (b) and 'O crux / Rex ave spes unica' have 'Alleluia' Sections. See Wainwright, *Richard Dering Motets*: motets 1, 6, 11, 17, 23, 25, and 32.

Notably also, Child adds 'Alleluias' to his text sources in six motets ('Servus tuus' a3, 'Gloria tibi' a3, 'Laudate Deum' a4, 'Quam pulchra es' a4, 'Quem vidistis' a4, and 'Venite gentes' a5); akin to his Aquinas text source for 'Ecce panis', a4, Child concludes his motet with an 'Alleluia' section, though here following a repetition of 'Lauda Sion', Aquinas's first verse.  In both 'Ecce panis' (bars 18, 56, 137 ) and 'Quem vidistis' (bars 44 and 85, alongside overlapping 'quem vidistis?' text with 'dicite' across a mensuration change, bars 13-14), the 'Alleluia' sections overlap with the preceding verses, with new melodic material.  Such aspects, coupled with musical techniques which, at times, 'fragment' the strophic, text-structural elements of Aquinas's stanzaic hymn, 'Ecce Panis'.  Child's use of text repetition (including a phrase such as 'et qui timetis' given two distinct melodic shapes, bb. 37-55), can also be said to affirm an 'assertive' element of his musical-structural concerns in relation to presentation of text: a feature noted for Sances as a 'third-generation' motet composer.  In 'Ecce panis', a firm element of musical-motivic primacy over textual-stanzaic structure, though nonetheless orientated towards expression of the text's poetic 'narrative' and imagery, is demonstrated by Child's cross-stanza dovetailing of the text phrases of Aquinas's 14th and 15th verses (bb. 52-53).  Aquinas's final line of verse 15 even receives a new and contrasting metre, $\frac{3}{1}$, to set the dovetailed text (bb. 55-56), 'integer accepi', the text repeated and receiving melismatic treatment ('receive whole', the Eucharistic 'bread of angels').  These words, in turn, dovetail (bb. 65-66) into Child's setting of Aquinas's 16th verse on the return to duple metre.

Concerning mensuration in relation to large-scale structural patterning, Child idiosyncratically uses only the mensuration sign ₡ to indicate duple mensuration (and broadly in contrast to Latin motets by Sances, Jeffreys and Blow, for example, who use *C* in addition).  This is used even for 'virtuosic' and swift-moving passages featuring rapid declamation, quavers and semiquavers (including, for example, the semiquavers featured in the Canto I and Alto duet in 'Venite gentes', bars 42-43, which will be seen below in Example 1.2).[32]  Six of Child's thirteen motets use triple-time sections, to varying degrees length.[33]  Triple time is used in

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[32] For outline of Child's mensuration techniques in English-texted liturgical music, including reference to English composers' increased use of triple time in service music following the Restoration, please see Christopher Batchelor, 'William Child: An Examination of the Liturgical Sources, and a Critical and Contextual Study of the Church Music', PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, Volume II, 623-629.

[33] 'Servus tuus' (bb. 12-25, 'Alleluia', repeated bb. 38-51), 'Gloria tibi' (bb. 28-35: concluding 'Alleluia' section), 'Laudate Deum' (bb. 1-20, with 2-bar duple ending, repeated bb. 113-137, with central $\frac{3}{1}$ 'Alleluia', bb. 56-66, with concluding bar of duple metre); 'Ecce panis' ('Lauda Sion' section, bb. 25-44, with 2-bar duple ending, repeated bb. 76-95, with central $\frac{3}{1}$ 'Integer' section, bb. 56-66, structurally akin to that of 'Lauda Sion'), 'Quem

general to affirm the effect and musical presentation of praise within settings of celebratory texts: with imitative textures used for 'Alleluia' sections, and predominantly choral homophony for the remaining triple-time passages. As if to combine these approaches, the eight-bar 'dicite' ('speak') section in 'Quem vidistis' (bb. 14-21) features initial imitation in conjunction with homophony, coupled with a concluding use of melisma, to create a climactic intensity and narrative urgency to the hear the shepherds' revelation. Whilst the majority of Child's triple-time passages present three minims per bar (indicated in manuscripts by the signs: *3*, *3i* or $\mathsf{C}$ *3*), on four occasions, Child presents three semibreves per bar in four motets.[34] These sections are marked by a variety of interchangeable mensuration signs in Husbands's part books ( $\overset{\phi}{3}$ , *3*, *3i*, with use of $\odot\overset{3}{1}$ in two of the part books alone for 'Ecce Panis', *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 35 and C.36). Whilst the question of interpreting proportional relations between passages of duple and triple mensuration is complex, and potentially controversial in the study and performance of seventeenth-century Italianate *concertato* works, the nature of his rhythmic declamation in relation to the surrounding tactus, suggests Child to make clear use of *sesquialtera* relationship in two motets ('Servus tuus' and 'Gloria tibi Domine'),[35] and *tripla* in four motets ('Ecce Panis', 'Laudate Deum', 'Quem vidistis' and 'Venite gentes'),[36] whether the triple-time passages of the latter relationship make use of three minims or three semibreves per bar.[37] Only 'Laudate Deum' features triple-time sections of both three minims per bar and three semibreves per bar, both used for praiseful and celebratory effect, where proportional contexts effect a faster tempo for the homophonic 'Laudate Deum' (bb. 1-20, repeated 118-137), in relation to the imitative, central 'Alleluia' section (bb. 56-66). Nonetheless, and as suggested in the critical commentary of Volume Two, and also in light of Child's idiosyncratic

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vidistis' ($\frac{3}{1}$ 'Dicite' section, bb. 14-21), and 'Venite gentes' ( concluding $\frac{3}{1}$'Alleluia' section, bb. 55-71, followed by 3-bar, duple, 'Alleluia').

[34] 'Laudate Deum', 'Ecce panis', 'Quem vidistis' and 'Venite gentes, with bar references in footnote 33, above.

[35] 'Servus tuus': transitions from duple to triple (bb. 21-22), with return (35-36), for the 'Alleluia' section, and its repeat (bb. 59-60); 'Gloria tibi': for the concluding triple-time 'Alleluia' section (mensural transitions, bb. 26-27 and 31-32).

[36] 'Ecce Panis': transitions from duple to triple for the 'Lauda Sion' section (bb 24-25), with return (bb. 42-43), and repeat ('transitions, bb. 75-76, 93-94), and 'integer' section (transitions, bb. 55-56 and 66-67); 'Laudate Deum' (transitions: bb. 18-19, 55-56; 55-56, 65-66; 117-118, 135-136); 'Quem vidistis' (transitions to and from triple time, 13-14, 21-22, for the request for the shepherds to tell of the Christ's birth, 'dicite'); 'Venite gentes' (transition to and from triple time for the concluding imitative 'Alleluia' section, bb. 53-54 and 70-71:

[37] For aspects of scholarly debate concerning mensuration, please see Roger Bowers, 'Some Reflections upon Notation and Proportion in Monteverdi's Mass and Vespers of 1610', *Music & Letters* 73 (1992): 347–98; with response by Jeffrey Kurtzman, *Music & Letters*, 74 (1993): 484–495. See also, Jeffrey Kurtzman, 'Kurtzman on Holman: Write to Reply', Musical Times 142, No. 1877 (2001): 52-60.

For discussion of mensural relationships in Sances's motets, please see *Giovanni Felice Sances Motetti*, xix; and concerning Grandi's motets, Passmore, 'A Study of Performance Issues', Volume I, 125-126.

use of a single sign for duple mensuration across a wide variety of musical-declamatory contexts, it is important for present-day performers to consider tempo and proportional options they feel would best suit the texts' affect and presentation, and comfortable declamation of words in relation to the tactus at proportional transitions. Of Child's motets, 'Ecce panis' and 'Laudate Deum' feature triple time to the greatest extent, with the latter being the only motet to begin in triple time.

Another technique of Child's large-scale sectional patterning is his device of following one sectional unit, concluded with a major chord, by a new section which is initiated by sounding the chord's minor version. This occurs in six of the motets, a4 and a5. Table 1.4 gives these instances:[38]

**Table 1.4**, examples of cross-sectional use of major to minor tonal shift, all featuring changes in vocal texture / scoring, except for 'Quam pulchra' (a4 to a4):

| Motet | bars | 'tonal' change | text transition |
|---|---|---|---|
| Laudate Deum, a4 | 36-37 | G-g | 'Alleluia' to 'Et qui timetis' ('and you that fear [Him]') |
| O si vel, a4 | 46-47 | D-d | 'quae ad pacem tuam pertinent' ('the things which belong to peace') to 'O si vel tu nosses' ('O if only you had recognised') |
| Quam pulchra es, a4 | 57-58 | G-g | 'alleluia' to 'Vulnerasti cor meum' ('You have wounded my heart') **a4 to a4** |
| Quem vidistis, a4 | 21-22 | D-d | 'dicite' ('speak') to 'annunciate nobis' ('tell us') |
| | 37-38 | D-d | 'in terris quis aparuit' ('who has appeared on earth') to 'Natum vidimus et choros angelorum' ('We saw the new-born and choirs of angels') modulatory material: to C then F |
| Plange Sion, a5 | 15-16 | C-c | 'super virum pubertatis tuae' ('grieving for the |

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[38] Saunders highlights Sances's use of this technique in the composer's 1638 collection: Saunders, *Giovanni Sances Motetti*, xviii.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | betrothed of her youth') to 'Periit sacrificium' ('Grain offerings are cut off' ['from the house of the Lord']) |
| | 43-44 | C-c | 'ministri Domini' ('the Lord's ministers [cried out']) to Vinea confusa est' ('The vine is dried up') |
| Converte nos, a5 | 50-51 | C-c | 'in lucto, jejunio, et oratione' ('in weeping, fasting and praying') to 'Quia tu misericors' ('For thou art a merciful [God]') |

Whilst each instance can be said to have particular and context-specific function of musical-textual contrast, nonetheless, the technique can be said, especially, to highlight and point moments of textual intensity, whether aspects of fearing God, Jesus's exasperation, angelic vision, or the removal of offerings, or lamenting the dried-up vine.  In addition, 'O bone Jesu', Child's only motet not to feature sectional division, nonetheless, features small-scale use of major to minor tonal shift, punctuated by rests, for example: including instance of homophonic declamation, a device highlighted below in relation to Child's textual techniques.  In bar 5, Child concludes a cadential statement of 'Jesu' on E major, followed by a minim rest, then e-minor chord for 'O', introducing then next statement of 'Jesu'.  Similarly, a homophonic statement of 'Jesu' on B major is followed in the next bar (without rest in this instance) by a b-minor chord, with triadic melodic vocal outline, for 'fili [Maria virginis]', highlighting the Marian, relational, form of address for Jesus, an important theological-Christological aspect of St. Bernardino's prayer to the Holy Name of Jesus, to be addressed in Chapter 4. These, more sharpward, examples, then, combine with aspects of declamatory homophony and text repetition, to heighten the prayer's personalised invocation to Jesus for mercy.

**2: Features of word setting**:

a) **Textures, and aspects of vocal virtuosity**

Across the spectrum of his motets, a3 to a5, Child can be seen to display a wide and skilful range of vocal textures, with creative and varied use of counterpoint and homophony in his vocal scorings for trio, quartet and quintet, respectively, accompanied by ever-present continuo. Broadly, the works are fully suited to soloistic performance, although notably, two 3-part motets feature concluding chords in separate canto parts: 'Gloria Patri' (split C I) and

'Servus tuus'(split C II), suggesting Child's intention for a slightly increased choral ensemble, at least for these motets. Child explores further creative textural possibilities in 'Cantate Jehovae', to be discussed in Chapter 5, using the addition of instruments, including early and pioneering example of such *obbligato* use (c. 1633) in English *concertato* composition, suitable for cornett, and Child's instrumental-themed additions to his royal-psalm text, as will be discussed. Whilst two of Child's 5-part motets use a typical 'cathedral' ensemble of CATTB, 'Venite gentes' features rather two canto parts, associated with Italian repertories, including 5-part motets by Rovetta, for example, as will be discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to Lowe's 'Quam dulcis es', associated with the opening of Oxford's Sheldonian Theatre in 1669, alongside Child's 'O bone Jesu'. Table 1.5 highlights the numerical balance of scoring for his motets:

**Table 1.5: numerical balance of Child's vocal scorings**

| | |
|---|---|
| CCB: | 3 motets (akin to the 1639 English-texted concertato psalms 'after the Italian Way'), one with instruments, including solo *obligato* ('Cantate Jehovae') |
| ATB: | 1 motet ('Gloria Patri') |
| ATTB: | 3 motets |
| CATB: | 3 motets |
| CATTB: | 2 motets |
| CCATB: | 1 motet ('Venite gentes') |

Child's tessituras for his respective vocal parts are perhaps fully typical for such repertory in Italianate idioms in seventeenth-century England, though his bass parts receive the most-extended pitch range, often across a compound fifth (such as 'Cantate Jehovae' and 'Gloria tibi, for example). His motets occasionally require a bass range of nearly two octaves, for example, 'Laudate Deum', a4 (E to d', in Helmholtz notation) and 'Plange Sion', a5, (D to c'). Concerning upper voices, Child uses the treble G-clef for canto parts in all three 'CCB' motets, and also for a single 5-part motet, 'Converte nos'. Child uses this clef to indicate a marginally higher upper-pitch range seeing, for example: g" in 'Cantate Jehovae', bb. 66 and 76, and a" in 'Servus tuus', bb. 49-51. By comparison, f" is the upper note for the canto part using canto / soprano C-clef (with c' on the first line of the stave) in 'Venite gentes', canto I, bb. 8 and 25.

A notable aspect of Child's textual technique is the use of contrast between imitative textures and choral homophony, often punctuated by rests on each side and using aligned repetition of

text and motif, and occasionally featuring third-related harmonic movement. Such use of homophony often allows Child to bring especial clarity and intensity to text presentation. 'O bone Jesu' and 'Plange Sion' provide typical examples, with Child using the technique frequently in the former to present 'Jesu' (bb. 5-6, 8-12, 17-19, 30), a technique to be related to other *concertato* setting of his text, attributed to St. Bernardino, in Chapter 4. In 'Plange Sion', Child uses the device highly dramatically to end this fully lamentful text, in four rest-punctuated statements in declamatory homophony of words: 'sacrificium et libatio', in full for two statements, then 'fragmented' to 'et libatio' to conclude (bb. 109-117). Both motets, will be associated with Henrietta Maria, and to challenging mid-century political contexts in England, in Chapter 3, through discussion of source, *Ge* R.d.3/1. Child uses this technique of textural differentiation, also, in 'Converte nos', setting a Latin translation of a text which, following the Restoration became associated with commemorations of Charles I as martyr by the Church of England, as highlighted above: bb. 70-76, setting the text, 'parce populo tuo' ('spare thy people [O good Lord]').

Child does not typically feature extended passages for single voice in the motets, though a notable example of bass solo is seen in 'Laudate Deum', whose Latin text, translated by Calvinist Theodore Beza will receive Court-contextual discussion in Chapter 6 alongside 'O si vel': bb 79-93, with regal and majestic text concerning God's all-powerful rule, 'Quoniam regnum iniit Dominus Deus ille noster omnipotens' ('For our Lord God, it is said, rules over all'). Child, characterfully, uses dotted and lively rhythms, in a passage fully affirming dominant-tonic harmonic relationship in G major.[39] Child, however, makes more-frequent and featured use of duet and paired-voice textures, including 'O si vel', for example, where the initial homophonic-declamatory material of the canto and alto (bb. 1-4) is echoed in a different tonal area by the tenor and bass (bb. 6-9). Child achieves notable duet-textual variety later in the motet in a section for tenor and canto, using imitative writing followed by declamatory and rhythmically lively homophony (bb. 75-86), requiring accomplished and experienced singers to achieve expressive effects. Indeed, Child's motets in general pose technical demands on singers to a significantly higher degree than the Italianate psalms of 1639, for example.

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[39] Child's English-texted concertato 'Alleluia Hymns' make occasional use of solo passages, also: repertory to be discussed in the next chapter.

To illustrate aspects of Child's use of virtuosity in 'Venite gentes', for example, the technical demands of coordinating the duet passages for alto and bass, and alto and canto I, in bars 16 to 22, can be seen in Example 1.2. The device can be said to contribute to the musical expression of 'altissime' ('most high'), including melismatic use of ascending semiquavers in parallel sixths (bb. 21 to 22), for a passage which sets words translated as 'I have received wisdom from the mouth of the most high'. Child features pictorial, expressive and dramatic, use of ascending and paired semiquavers comparable to that of alto and bass material in 'Ecce Panis' (bb. 74-76 in the latter to set, '[nec sumptus] consumitur' ('[which received, ie. the Bread of Heaven] never wastes away').

**Example 1.2** Child, 'Venite gentes', bb. 40-44, with conclusion of 'virtuosic' duet for canto I and alto to set text translatable as 'Wisdom out of the mouth of the Most High':



## TRILLI

A further Italianate stylistic feature of Child's motets, demonstrating and enabling continuity of shared performance practice between England and Italy, is shown by Child's use of vocal ornamentation, embellishment and 'virtuosic' melodic figurations, within the four- and five-part motets. Child uses the letter 't.' (indicating a *trillo*) above notation in six of the nine four- and five-part motets in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, with sixty-four occurrences in the canto

book, and single use in the Alto book ('Venite gentes', for *altissimi*, *most high*, b. 20, which precedes the material quoted above in Figure 2).

Across the motets, *trilli* are used for important and focal words of Child's Latin, although not exclusively.   Embellished words of theological or Christological focus include repeated ornamentation of 'Jesu' ('O bone Jesu', for example) 'Domine' ('Plange Sion' and 'Converte nos'), 'nativitas' ('Quem vidistis'), 'Virginis' ('O bone Jesu').   Words of praise receive embellishment (*Alleluia*, in 'Quem vidistis'), alongside words of challenge, such as *occulta* (*hidden*, in 'Plange Sion) and *oprobrium* (*confusion*, in 'Converte nos') Similarly, and in relation to the ornamentation of Dering's few-voice concertato motets, Jonathan Wainwright has noted that in Jacobean and Caroline court contexts for vocal music, words of lesser importance received embellishment for musical reasons rather than composers and performers necessarily reserving melodic decoration solely for heightened expression of 'affective' texts; equally, an absence of ornamentation does not mean that ornamentation was not used in performance.[40]

Concerning present-day realisation of the *trillo*, much of the interpretative responsibility remains with the performer and / or musical director, their experience with seventeenth-century Italianate repertoire and ornamentation, and sensibilities to the text and music: in relation, also, to other performers, and the chosen performance tempo.   Whilst there are varied interpretations of the *trillo* notated in seventeenth-century sources, crucial perhaps are the different approaches connected with Caccini and Cavalieri, respectively.   Caccini's *trillo* is performed by an increasingly rapid repetition of a single note, as explained in his preface to his *Le Nuove Musiche* (Florence, 1601), and Cavalieri's uses the term for relatively rapid alternation between two notes, as elucidated in the preface to *Rappresentatione di Anima, et di Corpe* (published and staged in Rome, 1600).   Both composers explain a range of further ornaments in their prefaces, including Caccini's *gruppo*, using a similar use of pitch alternation to Cavalieri's *trillo*, followed by a turn figuration.   Composers and performers in England with court connections would have been familiar with Caccini's use of ornaments, in particular, in both halves of the century as Wainwright and Spink, for example, have elucidated in relation to Jeffreys and John Playford, the latter whose editions of *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* published between 1664 and 1694 featured translations of passages from Caccini's

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[40] Wainwright, *Richard Dering Motets*, xxxvi.

preface to explain Italianate vocal practice.[41] The repeated-note realisation of the *trillo* therefore may be the most likely prime implication for Child's use of the 't.' sign.

**Example 1.3** Two examples of ornamentation from the preface to Caccini's *Le Nuove Musiche* (Florence, 1601):

*Trillo*



*Gruppo*
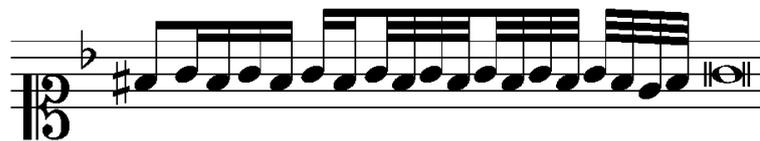


Cavalieri's elucidation of the *Trillo*, preface to *Rappresentatione di Anima, et di Corpe* (Rome, 1600):



Andrew Passmore provides a concise summary of the *trillo* indications by Cavalieri and Caccini in relation to the performance of Grandi's music, and the composer's use of the 't.' symbol in just six motets from the publications of 1613, 1614, 1616, respectively: including, for example, 'O Intemerata' and 'Heu mihi' from *Il secondo Libro*.[42] Passmore argues for a Caccinian, repeated single-pitch, approach in interpreting the *trillo* in Grandi's concertato motets.

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[41] *Ibid*. p. xxxvi, and Wainwright, *Musical Patronage,* 32-36, with reference to the third edition of Caccini's *Le Nuove Musiche* (Venice, 1615) surviving at Christ Church, Oxford (*Och* Mus. 796) which may have been part of the library of Christopher, First Baron Hatton in the 1630s, for whom Jeffreys worked from the start of the decade; see, also, Ian Spink, 'Playford's "Directions for Singing after the Italian Manner"', *The Monthly Musical Record* 89 (1959), 130-135.
.
[42] Passmore, 'A Study of Performance Issues', Volume I, 62-87.

Whilst either approach could certainly be tested in performances of Child's motets, depending on the textual and compositional context, the musical tastes of the performers, a crucial further interpretative clue is found in the canto part of his 'O bone Jesu' setting, with example of ornamental pre-*trillo*, given in Figure 1.1. The ornamental figuration is sketched in dots on the stave, and notated in a stave extension seen in the margin at the end of the folio (*Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 36 f.5ᵛ).

**Figure 1.1** Notated pre-*trillo* ornamentation added to the stave in 'O bone Jesu' (*Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 36 f.5ᵛ, canto part; see bars 15-22 of edition, Volume Two, and Critical Commentary):
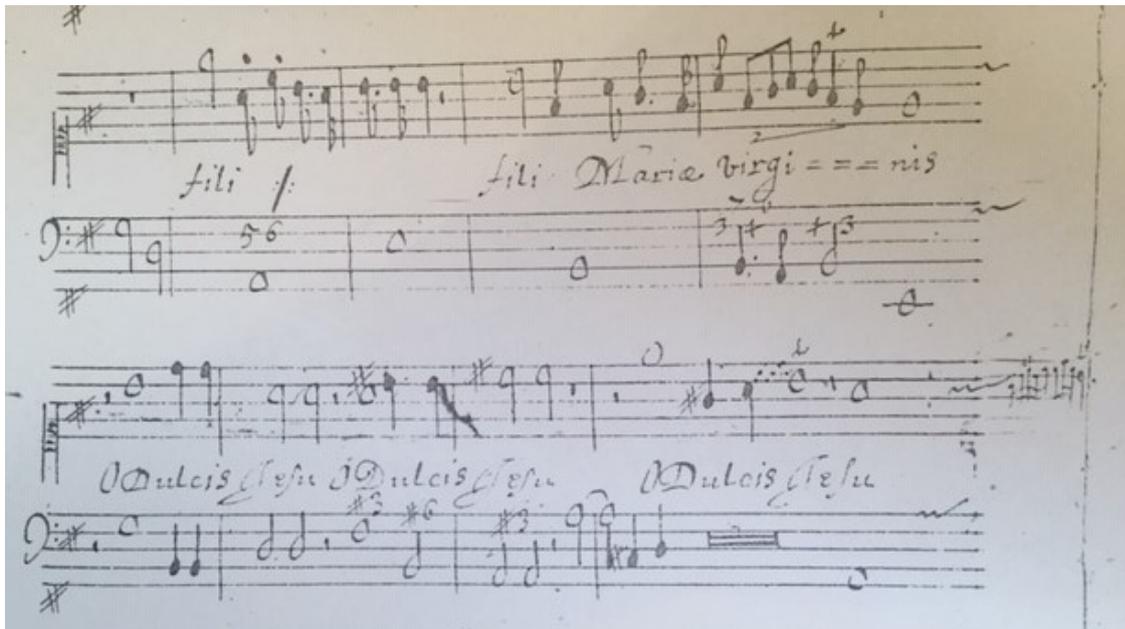


This notated figure, whether 'composed' by Child or added by the scribe Husbands, himself a Windsor and Chapel Royal Clerk and colleague of Child, is perhaps more melodically expansive than the two forms of *trillo* discussed, but provides a preparatory platform for the ornament which could be explored fruitfully in other contexts where Child calls for the *trillo*. A further source for Child's acquaintance and use of the *trillo*, in addition to his potential professional connections with Italian musicians such as Angelo Notari or other performers and composers familiar with Italianate idioms such as Walter Porter, Henry Lawes, and Nicholas Lanier, for example, could be Leonardo Simonetti's collection of Venetian solo vocal-music accompanied by continuo, *Ghirlanda Sacra*, Venice, 1625. From the book, Example 1.4 shows Monteverdi's use of the *trillo* sign from bar three, which may indicate a Caccini-style repeated-note *trillo* or closely related ornament, given Monteverdi's use of repeated-note figuration in

the same bar.  By comparison, Child's motets do not feature any notated examples of the repeated-note figure, though this does not necessarily indicate that the Caccini *trillo*, or indeed other ornaments detailed in *Le Nuove Musiche* would not be appropriate for present-day performers to test in performances of Child's Italianate music, even where ornament signs are not present.[43]

**Example 1.4** Monteverdi, 'O quam pulchra es', *Ghirlanda Sacra*, Partitura, p. 12 (Venice: Gardano, 1625), bb. 1-4:[44]



**Aspects of Word Setting**

b) **Harmony and affective devices**

Having highlighted initial aspects of Child's harmonic techniques above, including 3rd-related harmonic progressions, and use of major-minor tonal contrast between sections, a core element in Child's motet work is the use of chromaticism, with especial connection to aspects of text portrayal and word painting. A notable example from 'Plange Sion', resonant of mid-century social-political upheavals, as will be discussed in the following chapter, portrays in vivid manner, 'et ficus elanguit' ('and the fig tree is withered'), seen in Example 1.5.  Child's writing appears as an example of musical-rhetorical figure of *pathopoeia*, seeking to convey heightened text affect through such use of semitones.[45]

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[43] For an example of notated ornamental decoration in Child's motets, see in the edition: 'Cantate Jehovae', bar 6, canto I, where a descending melodic pattern for 'cantionem novam' is decorated by four ascending semi-quavers in preparation for a perfect cadence in the home key.  Concerning ornamentation symbols, and by contrast with Grandi, Child does not use capital 'T.' sign alongside the 't.' as seen in the former's Venetian publications: see Passmore, 'A Study pf Performance Issues', Vol. I, 62-87.

[44] *Ghirlanda Sacra* (Venice, 1625), is available to view at *IMSLP Petrucci Music Library*, accessed August 23rd, 2019: https://imslp.org/wiki/Ghirlanda_sacra_(Simonetti%2C_Leonardo).
A copy of the 1628 second edition survives in Christ Church Library, *Och* Mus. 937-938, likely part of the Hatton Collection, to be discussed in Chapter 3.

[45] Saunders notes Sances's use of this device, with his music 'a virtual compendium of many of the Italianate figurations that German theorists were at such pains to justify and systematize as part of the *Figurenlehre*.': *Sances Motetti*, xviii.

**Example 1.5** Text-expressive chromaticism in Child's 'Plange Sion', bb. 48-52:



A related example of harmonic 'colour' is Child's use of false relation, a device and 'chromatic contradiction', in the words of George Dyson, associated with the sacred music of Byrd and Tallis (including the latter's five-voice *prima prattica* motets, 'O nata lux de lumine' and 'O sacrum convivium') in England, for example, and not typically featured in the *concertato* motets of Italian composers.[46]  Child uses the device, 'linear-contrapuntal' in tradition and origin, to set the words 'propter magnam misericordiam' ('according to your great mercy') in 'Converte nos'.  As highlighted in Table 1.3(a), this text became associated with Charles I as martyr, following the Restoration.

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See also, Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica: Musical Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997),  359-361.

[46] Dyson also notes the technique's use by Gesualdo in the madrigal 'Dolcissima mia vita', published in *Madrigali a 5 voci, libro quinto* (Venice, 1611), here though in 5-part homophonic texture at the madrigal's opening, with words translatable as 'My sweetest life'; see George Dyson, 'False relation', *Grove Music Online*, https:/doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.09269, accessed June 14th , 2022.

Child uses the technique characterfully in the lamentful English anthem written proximate to the disbanding of public worship in England in the early 1640s, 'O Lord God, the Heathen are come into thine inheritance'. See, ed. Christopher Dearnley, *The Treasury of English Church Music*, vol. 3 (London: Blandford Press Ltd., 1965): p.18, b.62 (crotchet beat 4, between the tenor and second alto), within 5-part contrapuntal setting of 'but have mercy upon us'.  Child therefore uses the device to set and express a plea for mercy in both Latin and English works, in the challenging central decades of the century.

**Example 1.6** False relation in Child's 'Converte nos', b. 108:



Child also makes affective use of ascending chromatic inflection, notated with slur, for expressive portrayal of words, *sollevatione*, in no less than seven motets, an ornamental technique highlighted in Grandi's motets by Passmore, and in those of Sances by Saunders.[47] Child uses this technique, in particular, to set words translatable as 'mercy', 'lament', 'call out', 'grief'. Example 1.7 demonstrates this technique in 'Plange Sion', with the device contributing to expression of the text's sense of desperation, when '[the priests] call out', notated with notable and distinctive slur:

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[47] Passmore, 'A Study of Performance Issues', Vol. II, 73-74, with reference to Grandi's usage in 'Heu mihi' (ATTB, bc, *Il Secondo Libro*). See, also: Saunders, *Sances Motetti*, xxx. In Child's 'Quem vidistis', the first 'Alleluia' section uses a melismatic chain of three *sollevatione* in succession for the Canto and Tenor (bb. 52-53), to intensifying effect.

**Example 1.7,** *Sollevatione* in 'Plange Sion', bb. 24-26:



One further element of Child's treatment of harmonic dissonance is the cadential note-of-anticipation, which later became known as the 'Corelli Clash', where a pre-empted tonic note, typically in the penultimate bar of a phrase or piece, clashes with its leading note, above a dominant chord. Child uses this device sixteen times, across eight motets, to provide cadential colour, and it concludes a broad range of text phrases, ending with words including: 'Jehova', 'alleluia', 'altissime' ('wisdom'), and 'miserere'.[48] It is used four times in both 'Cantate Jehovae' and 'O bone Jesu'.

**Child's affective harmonic language: two distinctive chord progressions**
**A) sharpened fourth; B) cadential dominant-seventh, with 4-3 suspension**

It is notable in Child's motets that the increased number of vocal parts in four- and five-part works enable not just greater potential for textural contrast, but also for harmonic variety, and wider scope to explore chromaticism. Within these motets, an example of a 'colourful' chord often used to heighten a sense of anguish in the text, or to highlight an expressive theme or image, whether for a single voice or full-choir harmony, is the use of the sharpened fourth

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[48] Child uses such anticipatory notes in: 'Cantate Jehovae', 'Servus tuus', 'Gloria tibi', 'Laudate Deum', 'O bone Jesu', 'Venite gentes', and 'Plange Sion'.

above the bass, usually within a minor-key tonality though not exclusively.   Examples are given below, 1.8 and 1.9, featuring different textures.

**Example 1.8** Child, 'Plange Sion', bb. 16-17 ('The offering is perished'):[49]



**Example 1.9** Child, 'Quam pulchra es', bar 58-59 ('You have wounded my heart.'):



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[49] A very similar example in Child can be seen in the solo tenor-part of Child's 'O si vel', b. 24, to set 'O si vel tu nosses' ('O, if you had known'), in this instance within a d-minor area.

This chord, the product of expressive melodic chromaticism, does not appear in motets by Italian composers I have encountered, though George Jeffreys uses the chord occasionally in melodic passing within Latin motets.

**Example 1.10** George Jeffreys, 'Heu mihi, Domine', bars 51-54 (ed. Peter Aston, DPhil Thesis, Volume Two, York, 1970), passing sharpened-fourth in the second bar of figure 2.4 ('[you are my source of healing] in sickness.'):



An additional chord-progression used by Child for notable affective purposes is the cadential dominant-seventh with 4-3 suspension, seen in 'Plange Sion', bars 5 and 37, given in Examples 1.11 and 1.12 below.  This is a relatively rare, though flexible, harmonic device used to highlight moments of characterful and 'special' expression of text, seen also, for example, in Purcell's 'Jehova quam multi sunt', a setting of Psalm 3 translated into Latin by Immanuel Tremellius, to be discussed in Chapter 7.[50]

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[50] Please see Purcell's 'Jehova quam multi sunt', and 5-part homophonic setting of 'et dormivi' ('I slept', b. 54, crotchets 3 and 4) and 'expergefeci me' ('I rose up again', b. 60, crotchet 1), for the centrally placed music of kingly-restorative sleep and waking: ed. Bruce Wood, *A Purcell Anthology* (Oxford: OUP, 1995), 28-29.

**Example 1.11** Child, 'Plange Sion', bars 4-5 ('[lament] for the betrothed of her youth');
V⁷ 4-3 progression in bar 9, beat 1:



Example 1.12, also demonstrates striking use of unprepared dissonance in conjunction with this progression. Child uses the progression here in conjunction with chromaticism, characterfully, to set the 'howl' ('ululate') of the displaced priests, again words resonant of mid-century contexts in England, when the established church was disallowed.

**Example 1.12** Child, 'Plange Sion', bar 73, minim two (with unprepared 7ᵗʰ sung by the tenor, within a 4-3 progression on beat 4 for *ululate*, 'howl'):

**Aspects of compositional cross-reference: Child, and Simonetti's *Ghirlanda Sacra***

The preceding sections have highlighted the broad range of Child's characteristic motet devices, both large and small scale, and the significant degree to which his Latin works explore Italianate compositional idioms, enabling broad connections and comparisons to be made with Latin works by Grandi and Sances, for example, as addressed. Child's motets, however, also demonstrate closer and more deliberate use of specific Italian models. In this way, his Latin works can be said to show a 'spectrum' of relationships to pre-existing compositional idioms and works, to use a term used by scholars including Herissone and Milsom; Herissone has described a lower level of 'common musical grammar' such as chord progressions, to mid-level of signifying tropes, melodic intervals, compositional genres and forms, and upper level of deliberate use of specific compositional models.[51] In relation to such a scale of compositional connection, Herissone has detailed the significant and sustained use in seventeenth-century England of compositional practices of musical *imitatio* and *emulatio*, where composers can be seen to have studied and cross-referenced authoritative and specific models, deliberately using and transforming such pre-existing material.[52] Her work has demonstrated how these compositional interrelations are related to rhetorical and literary concepts of imitation and emulation, highlighting and contextualising the complexities of discerning such musical interrelationships, the challenges of terminology in relation to music, together with significant musicological discussion and debate.[53] Such practices are seen to follow the work of Erasmus, which came to inform didactic and theoretical works for musicians and composers, including the writings of Burmeister, Morley and North, alongside literary and visual arts across Europe.

In relation to Child's Latin works, two motets can be said to cross-reference solo motets published originally in Venice: Simonetti's collection of solo motets, *Ghirlanda Sacra* (1625),

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[51] Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, paperback edition (Cambridge: CUP, 2018), 33. John Milsom, ' "Imitatio", "Intertextuality", and Early Music', in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, ed. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 145-149.

[52] *Ibid.*, Chapter 1, 'Imitation, originality and authorship', 3-60

[53] *Ibid.*, 7-15. Milsom also, in relation to a 'spectrum of 'intertextuality', highlights the challenges for musicologists and for music criticism, in distinguishing conscious compositional use of pre-existing material from 'resemblances that arise by chance': ' "Imitatio", "Intertextuality", and Early Music', 149.

referenced above in discussion of Monteverdi's use of *trilli*.[54]  Connected further to the strong presence of seventeenth-century Italian music in Oxford, a copy of the 1630 edition of *Ghirlanda Sacra* survives in Christ Church (*Och* Mus. 937-938), acquired from the London bookshop of Robert Martin, and it appears that Child may have known this very collection, or heard items from within.[55]  Child's significant and wide-ranging exploration of *stile nuovo* idioms in his motets, with strong connection to the techniques and compositional devices featured in Simonetti's collection of solo-voice Venetian music, accompanied by continuo, is demonstrated by his *imitatio* of the opening phrase from Grandi's 'O quam tu pulchra es', the first of four Grandi motets printed within *Ghirlanda Sacra*.  Grandi's initial material, given in Example 1.13, can be seen in bars 4 and 5 of the Child extract, Example 1.14, with Child imitating Grandi's combination of melody and text (omitting the word 'tu') within his own opening paragraph.

**Example 1.13** The opening phrases of Grandi's 'O quam tu pulchra' from Simonetti's *Ghirlanda Sacra*, Venice, 1625:[56]



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[54] Child's use of *Trilli* on 65 occasions, indicated by 't.' symbol, can be seen as demonstrating the 'lower end' of his motets' broad relation to Italian *stile nuovo* composition, a device not indicating explicit compositional cross-reference, but rather a broader stylistic alignment with the 'Italian Way'.  The same can be said also for his single use of a distinctive Lombardic rhythm (semiquaver followed by dotted quaver) in 'Converte nos' (bar 5), a device used by Grandi and Sances (*Motetti a una, due, tre, e quatre voci, 1638)*, for example.  Passmore's edition of Grandi's six books of motets, show this rhythm in 21 works, with voices often in parallel thirds, as Child's usage. See, 'O quam tu pulchra', bars 12-16: Passmore, 'A Study of Performance Issues', Volume II, 51.

[55] See: David Pinto, 'The Music of the Hattons', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 23 (1990) 79-108, especially the table on p. 100, and note 23 on p. 105, which suggests links to Hatton; Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 40.  Christopher Hatton III's collection of Italian printed music, and role as Comptroller to Charles I's Civil War Court in Oxford, will be discussed in Chapter 3.

[56] See *Ghirlanda Sacra*, Partitura, 32, with web-reference details in footnote 44, above.

**Example 1.14**  The opening phrase of Child's 'Quam pulchra es', with direct imitation of Grandi in bars 4-5:



Child makes recurring reference to the Grandi theme: in bars 8-9 by tenor I, and also bars 22-24 where tenor I and bass sing the melody in parallel thirds, as if to create a motto theme in the first section of Child's motet (bars 1-41); unlike Grandi, however, Child does not use the relative-key area of B-flat major.  The motets by Grandi and Child, featuring Latin from Chapter Four of the Song of Solomon (also referred to as the Song of Songs) in the Vulgate translation, share crucial links therefore, both musical and textual, and it may be that the conscious *imitatio* of Grandi's memorable solo material in Child's four-part work, is an act of tribute and homage to a favoured composer and compositional inspiration.  Child's affective and devotional work, surviving uniquely in the hand of Husbands Sr in *Ob* MSS Mus. 32-37, can be said to 're-present' Grandi's material in very different political, religious, and cultural contexts, to be developed in the following chapter.  To widen the geographical resonance of Grandi's melody further, Jerome Roche has also shown also how Schütz, himself a pupil of Grandi, made use of the same phrase, to set a text of devotion in the wedding motet '*Ich beschwöre euch* of *c*. 1638.[57]  Child, through such direct musical use of Grandi early in 'Quam pulchra es', can be seen to be drawing on Italian musical material: assimilating and appropriating Grandi's techniques into his own compositional language and identity – techniques that were readily accessible to musicians in England through Italian publications, musicians, and manuscripts.  Child, then, can be seen to make creative use of *imitatio* in 'modern', *stile nuovo*, idioms, following long-term, and wide-ranging traditions of creative use

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[57] Jerome Roche, 'What Schütz learnt from Grandi in 1629.' *The Musical Times* 113, No. 1557 (1972), 1074-1075.

of pre-existing material which, as Herissone has demonstrated, had significant and varied presence in seventeenth-century England, in theoretical writings, and in practice by both novice and established composers.[58]

In addition, Child can be seen to make further compositional use of material from Simonetti's *Ghirlanda Sacra* in his setting of Aquinas's Eucharistic hymn 'Ecce Panis', with direct connection to the setting of the same text by Neapolitan composer, Giovanni Maria Sabino (1588-1649).[59]  Example 1.15 illustrates the musical-motivic connections between Child's and Sabino's setting of Aquinas's words, 'assumente non concicus, non confractus nec divisus' ('They too who take of him do not break or divide'). Sabino's setting is transposed down a major sixth, for purposes of comparison. Please see the shared Aquinas Eucharistic text and red-note connections between the examples.

**Example 1.15** Comparison of Child's and Sabino's settings of 'Ecce Panis', Eucharist hymn by St. Thomas Aquinas:

Child: 'Ecce Panis', bb.52-56:



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[58] Herissone, *Musical* Creativity, 4-15; concerning theoretical writing, she writes, 'As the seventeenth century progressed, there was an increasing trend to recommend only relatively modern composers as models', 13. Highlighting further examples of the compositional use of Italian musical material in seventeenth-century England, with traditions of *imitatio* and *emulatio*, Wainwright has shown its significant presence in works by, and attributable to, Italian-born Angelo Notari (1566/1573-1663): a musician to the Court in England, from 1611, where he remained for the rest of his life.  See Angelo Notari, *Collected Works*, Three Parts, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, Inc., 2022), Part I, xvi-xxv.  Wainwright describes *imitatio* as 'borrowing from or paying homage to a model'; and *emulatio* as, 'critical reflection on a model or reuse of material in a new context', xx.

[59] Sabino was a Neapolitan pioneer in the use of violins to accompany motets, and to feature virtuosic vocal-solo writing above elaborate continuo part.  See Argia Bertini, revised Dinko Fabris, 'Sabino family', *Grove Music Online*, accessed July 5th 2022 : https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.24236.

Sabino: 'Ecce Panis', bb. 49-53:



Child appears to pay musical homage to Sabino here, in further example of conscious compositional *imitatio* of a work from *Ghirlanda Sacra*, transforming his source material and incorporating material from Grandi's solo setting of the same text-phrase into his own four-voice Latin work.  In addition, and alongside his *imitatio* of Sabino, Child appears also to make melodic use of the opening incipit, the first four pitches, of the hymn's plainsong melody: for example, his Alto part in bar 3, seen in Example 1.16 below (with material repeated bars in bars 8 and 9).  Sabino himself does not make use of, or allude to, the plainsong in his solo setting, and it could be said that Child demonstrates a lower-level compositional connection to the chant, and melodic trope with a 'signifying role', rather than specific *imitatio* of Sabino in his initial, four-voice, material (Child's bars 1-10, setting the words, 'Ecce Panis'). [60] Highlighting the variety of Child's creative practices in relation to pre-existing musical material then, his motet can be seen to demonstrate both 'lower-level' melodic use of plainsong to set the initial words, 'Ecce Panis', alongside and in tandem with the conscious *imitatio* of Sabino's setting of Aquinas's text, 'assumente non concisus', from the Italian composer's setting published in *Ghirlanda Sacra*.

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[60] Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 33.

**Figure 1.2** 'Ecce Panis' plainsong; Child appears to use the melody of the first four neumes: see especially the alto part in bar 3 of figure 20:[61]



**Example 1.16** Child 'Ecce Panis' (bb. 1-3), with plainsong incipit seen in the alto, bar 3:



Whilst it cannot be said where Child may have heard or seen the plainsong melody associated with Aquinas's words, this melodic appearance of plainsong may affirm the motet's appropriateness for Roman Catholic liturgy at the Mass for this setting of Aquinas's Corpus

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[61] http://gregorian-chant-hymns.com/hymns-2/ecce-panis-angelorum.html, accessed on September 3rd, 2019.

Christi hymn, potentially that for the chapels of Henrietta Maria.[62]  Chapters 2 and 3 will address further such aspects of function and potential performance context for Child's motets, highlighting connections between musicians and repertories associated with the Court and the University of Oxford.

In overview, then, Child's motets feature varied, creative, and imaginative use of significant Italianate *concertato* techniques.  These have been shown to include both small-scale affective devices and large-scale structural devices used by Italian composers including Grandi and Sances, and examples of *imitatio* of *stile nuovo* works by Grandi and Sabino published in Venice (*Ghirlanda Sacra*, 1625; second edition, 1630) with specific passages seen to use musical material by Italian composers in setting identical portions of Latin text.  The compositional idioms and structures of Child's motets can certainly be said to be a significantly further step along the 'Italian Way' than his published psalms of 1639.  It is notable than Child incorporates techniques used by Sances, described by Saunders as a 'third-generation' motet composer, devices including: *pathopoeia* and the cadential note-of-anticipation. Child however, notably makes highly distinct techniques and sonorities such as the sharpened fourth, alongside use of the $V^7$-I progression with 4-3 suspension, on occasion with unprepared dissonance, alongside colourful use of accomplished chromaticism, and even the false relation: devices not seen in Sances's motets. In compositional contrast to Sances, also, the vocal lines of Child's  motets do not typically outline triadic or sequential patterns.

Crucially, Child's Italianate techniques are at the accomplished expressive service and musical presentation of a set of highly distinctive range of Latin texts, of broad chronological and international scope, including words from the Roman Missal, alongside Latin from Calvinist biblical translation originating in post-Reformation Geneva: texts which, across following chapters, will be seen to speak and resonate of courtly, and Stuart contexts in highly challenging times socially and politically in England.  Child's motets, with unique variety and combination of texts, accompanied by continuo, will be seen to function and participate in the distinctive

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[62] Composers in seventeenth-century England may also have developed their acquaintance with plainsong melodies and phrases through plainsong used in published motets. For example, Peter Philips's eight-voice setting of Aquinas's 'Ecce Panis', composed for Roman Catholic liturgical purpose, was published in *Cantiones sacrae octonis vocibus*: a collection of thirty motets dedicated to St. Peter (Antwerp, 1613; two copies of which survive in England, part-books now held in the British Library).  Philips's polychoral motet, with no apparent or direct compositional connections to Child's own work, provides a more overt connection to the plainsong; in contrast to Child, Philips presents the initial plainsong phrase at the start of his motet, unaccompanied.

assimilation and translation of an Italian genre, with associated *stile nuovo* idioms, into particular English contexts. In pioneering fashion in England, Child's 'Cantate Jehovae' may be the first example of a *concertato* motet (1633) with instruments, featuring an *obbligato* solo. The next chapters aim to  show how Child's highly creative and unique work in this genre was facilitated across a Court-Oxford axis, and through dynamic networks of musicians including the scribes of the motets' primary partbooks, with ten *unica* for the motets, Charles Husbands Sr, and Edward Lowe.

**Chapter 2**

**A contextual study of *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 and *Ge* R.d.3/1 in the hand of Charles Husbands Sr (*d*. 1678)**

Having ascertained key features of Child's Italian way within his thirteen Latin motets, including distinctive texts highly resonant to the royal contexts of Charles I and Henrietta Maria, this chapter seeks to provide new social-contextual insights into the sources for these works and their repertories, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 and *Ge* R.d.3/1 (with the canto part alone surviving), both presented here for the first time as the scribal work of Charles Husbands Sr, Windsor colleague of Child following the Restoration, from 1662, and Chapel Royal colleague of both Child and Lowe from 1664. Indeed, Lowe's 'collegial' copies of the instrumental parts for Child's 'Cantate Jehovae', bound within *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 35, are themselves integral to Child's oeuvre, as the sole-surviving instrumental source for this motet, with vocal parts also found in *US-NYp* Drexel 4300, dated 1633.

Table 2.1, below, provides full listing of the twenty-seven items within Husbands's partbooks, of which the motets form the central, most prominent, and substantial part, followed by the four English-texted 'Alleluia Hymns' (ATB, bc) surviving uniquely in Husbands's partbooks, with their *concertato* idioms and extended structures, to be discussed. Child's epithalamium, 'Come, Daphne' (ATB, bc), with secular text and *concertato* idioms, is akin stylistically to the four hymns, and survives, additionally, only in *Och* Mus. 747-749, in unknown hand: these manuscripts were copied predominantly by Playford, likely from the 1650s onwards, with works by Dering, Jeffreys, and Grandi's 'O bone Jesu' a4. The Husbands-copied partbooks are designated within the Music School's 1682 inventory by the predominant thirteen works, ten of which are unique to this source, 'Lattin Songs for 3,4, and 5 Voices by Dr. Child in folio cover'd with black Leather': the very first item under the heading, 'The Gift of Mr. Lowe late Professour [*sic*.] are these that follow.'[1] It is notable how works are presented together by genre and scoring, with the fascinating incorporation of the four-part setting of words from Psalm 120 in translation by Miles Coverdale (the biblical translator for Child's 1639 'Italian Way' psalms) ,'Woe is me', located between the four- and five-part Latin motets: uniquely AATB, bc, within the books, and datable to *c*. 1637, as will be discussed.

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[1] Crum, 'Early Lists', 23-43; 31.

**Table 2.1** Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Music School C. 32-37 in the hand of Charles Husbands Sr., with instrumental parts copied by Edward Lowe ('EL', below):

| Title | Scoring | C32 | C33 | C34 | C35 | C36 | C37 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *f.* | *f.* | *f.* | *f.* | *f.* | *f.* |
| **Come Hymen**<br>**An Epithalamium** | ATBbc | 2 | | 3 | 2 | | 5 |
| **An Hymn. Alleluia,**<br>**Therefore with angels** | ATBbc | 3$^v$ | | 4 | 3$^v$ | | 5$^v$ |
| **A Hymn for Christmas Day**<br>**Alleluia, Awake my soul** | ATBbc | 4$^v$ | | 5$^v$ | 5 | | 6 |
| **A Hymn for Pentecost or**<br>**Whitsunday. Alleluia**<br>**O Holy Ghost** | ATBbc | 6 | | 7 | 6 | | 6$^v$ |
| **A Hymn for Trinity Sunday.**<br>**Alleluia, Thou who when all**<br>**Was into rudeness** | ATBbc | 8 | | 9$^v$ | 8 | | 7$^v$ |
| **Blessed is the man** | CCBbc | 10 | | 12 | 10 | | |
| **Why doth the heathen** | CCBbc | 10 | | 12$^v$ | 10$^v$ | | |
| **Lord how are they increased** | CCBbc | 11 | | 13$^v$ | 11$^v$ | | |
| **Hear me when I call** | CCBbc | 11$^v$ | | 14$^v$ | 12$^v$ | | |
| **Ponder my words, ye people** | C[C]Bbc | 12 | | 15 | | | |
| **O Lord, rebuke me not** | C[CB]bc | | | 16 | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Cantate Jehovae** | CCBbc | 23 | | 25$^v$ | 23$^v$ | | 12$^v$ |
| Chorus vocal-bass part | | | | | 44 (copied EL) | | |
| Treble instrument 2 (chorus) | | | | | 45 (EL) | | |
| Bass instrument (chorus) | | | | | 46 (EL) | | |
| Treble instrument 1 | | | | | 47$^{r\&v}$ (EL) | | |
| **Servus tuus** | CCBbc | 24$^v$ | | | 24$^v$ | | 12 |
| **Gloria Tibi** | CCBbc | 25$^v$ | | 27$^v$ | 25$^v$ | | 12$^v$ |
| **Gloria Patri** | ATBbc | 26 | | 28 | 26 | | 22 |
| **Laudate Deum** | ATTBbc | 27 | | 29 | 27 | 2 | 22$^v$ |
| **O si vel** | CATBbc | 29 | | 31 | 29 | 4 | 23$^v$ |
| **O bone Jesu** | CATBbc | 30$^v$ | | 32$^v$ | 30$^v$ | 5$^v$ | 24 |
| **Quam pulchra es** | ATTBbc | 31$^v$ | | 33$^v$ | 31$^v$ | 6$^v$ | 24$^v$ |
| **Ecce Panis Angelorum** | ATTBbc | 33$^v$ | | 35$^v$ | 33$^v$ | 8$^v$ | 25 |
| **Quem vidistis** | CATBbc | 35 | | 37 | 35 | 10 | 25$^v$ |
| **Woe is me that I am constrained** | AATBbc | 36$^v$ | | 39 | 37 | 11$^v$ | 26 |
| **Plange Sion** | CATTBbc | 39 | 2 | 42 | 39 | 14 | 27 |
| **Converte nos** | CATTBbc | 40$^v$ | 4 | 44 | 40$^v$ | 15$^v$ | 27$^v$ |
| **Venite gentes** | CCATBbc | 42$^v$ | 6 | 46 | 42$^v$ | 17$^v$ | 28 |
| **Dialogue between Damon and Daphne** | CBbc & unison chorus | 13$^v$-8$^v$ (rev) | | | | | 30 (rev) |

The complete works of *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 are transcribed and presented together for the first time in critical edition within Volume Two. Notably, the partbooks, of undoubted and valued use to Oxford's Music School in particular, to be explored further in chapter three, feature unique copies of sixteen items of Child's non-liturgical music, both Latin- and English-texted. Of Child's thirteen extant Latin motets, no less than ten are unique to this source. Whilst 'O bone Jesu', 'Plange Sion' and 'Cantate Jehovae' have concordant sources, there are parts missing for the last two; four parts for 'Plange Sion' (C, A, T I, bc) survive only in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, alongside the unique instrumental parts for 'Cantate Jehovae' mentioned. As the items are individually attributed to 'Dr Childe' by Husbands, the books can certainly be said to have been copied for or after July 1663, when Child received his DMus.[2] Child's motets in *Ge* R.d.3/1, 'O bone Jesu' and 'Plange Sion', were likewise copied from this point onwards (attributed to 'D[r]: W[m]: Childe'), though his 'How many hired servants', attributed to 'M[r] Childe', was copied perhaps a little earlier, most likely post-1662 in light of Husbands's known professional contact with both Child from this time.

Husbands was admitted to the choir of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, in November 1662, and appointed a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in conjunction, in March 1664, thereby having close professional contact with both Child and Lowe from this point in his career.[3] Notably, Husbands's admittance to St. George's was to sing 'tenor', though the Chapel Royal *Cheque Book* described him as a 'counter-tenor from Windsor'.[4] Both vocal descriptions are entirely compatible, perhaps, if taken to imply that Husbands was simply a high-range tenor akin to the French *haute-contre*, with potential for 'alto' singing, when needed, without recourse to falsetto.[5] Husbands' scribal hand is highly distinctive and accomplished, and at times demonstrates his undoubted artistic and calligraphic talents, of which he was able to

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[2] Concerning the latest possible date of copying of *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, it may even be feasible that the incomplete nature of Child's 'Italian Way' psalms of 1639 (only four of the possible twenty are present in entirety, with Psalms 5 and 6 each missing parts before substantial empty pages in the requisite books, before the motet section), suggests these were the last items to be copied within these books by Husbands, prior to his death in March 1678.

[3] *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1714*. Compiled Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, assisted by Peter Holman and Fiona Kisby. Vol. I. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); 615-616.

[4] *Ibid.*, 615.

[5] See, Andrew Parrott, *Composers' Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical Performance*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 93, within the wider historical discussions of Chapter 3, 'Falsetto Beliefs: The 'Countertenor' Cross-Examined.' Alongside French traditions of *haute-contre*, Parrott cites Michael Praetorius's affirmation of falsetto-free alto singing in *Syntagma Musicum*, III, p. 231, 'Natura', (Wolfenbüttel: Holwein, 1619).

make good use of at Windsor as evidenced, for example, by his writing of the Chapter Act of St. George's Chapel, dated May 21st, 1666, just months after the Great Plague of London, during which time Windsor had provided a refuge to London's judges, whilst the royal Court itself was present in Oxford, as will be discussed in Chapter 3.  Indeed, the Chapter Act, concerning the pay of Canons and Clerks of St. George's Chapel, also provides evidence of Child's signature, alongside other members of the Windsor choir at this time.  This document, given below as Figure 1, alongside music manuscripts in Husbands's hand to be outlined, contributes to a fully positive verification of his hand, especially in the more cursive and italic style seen in Child's English-texted Dialogue (*Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 33, 13v-8v, rev.) . Figures 2 and 3 provide examples of Husbands's hand for Latin motets, by Child and Sances, respectively, featuring block letters. Husbands has a particularly ornate style of capital S within the motets, as can be seen.  Highly characteristic of Husbands's calligraphic style, in particular, are the letters 'c' and 'p', both capital and lower-case: the former appearing as an 'O' with incorporated central 'cross shape', or as a 'C' incorporating two central 'turns' alongside 'tick-like' flourish on the top right on occasion, and the latter with x-shape flourish to the left of the letter head.  Similarly, Husbands's capital 'D' and lower-case 'e' are highly characterful, alongside the elements of frequent flourish to his use of capital 'R' and 'K'.  Whilst Figure 1 demonstrates Husbands's ornate cursive and italic style, seen to impact a little on the generally block-letter style  of 'Damon and Daphne', Figures 2.2 and 2.3 give examples of Husbands's 'Latin-motet' style, featuring block letters: Husbands's copies of works by Child ('Glori tibi Domine', bass, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 32, f.25v) and Sances ('Laudemos viros gloriosus', Canto I, *Och* Mus. 1178, f. 16v).  *Och* Mus. 1178, is one of a pair of partbooks which was copied collegially by Husbands and Lowe at about the same time as the Child partbooks (the other is *Och* Mus. 49, pp. 152-191).  Husbands copied four motets from Sances's publication of 1638, *Motetti a una, due, tre e quattro voci* (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni), to which Lowe added four motets, including 'In te Domine speravi', unattributed, by Henry Bowman.  The capital 'C' used for 'Child' attribution at the end of  figure 2, for example, is fully akin to the 'C' of 'Charles', giving Husbands's signature at the end of the Windsor document, Figure 2.1.  The highly ornate capital 'S' seen in fig. 2.2 ('Spiritu', 'Sancto', 'Sempiterna'), occurs in Figure 2.3 for 'Sances', in attribution.

**Figure 2.1** Chapter Article (*SGC* VI.B.3, p. 7) concerning the pay of Canons and Clerks at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, in the hand of Charles Husbands Snr, with his signature alongside that of William Child, and choir members.

**Figure 2.2** bass part for Child's 'Gloria Tibi', *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 32, f. 25v

**Figure 2.3** Sances, 'Laudemos viros gloriosus', canto I part (tenor), *Och* Mus. 1178, f. 16v
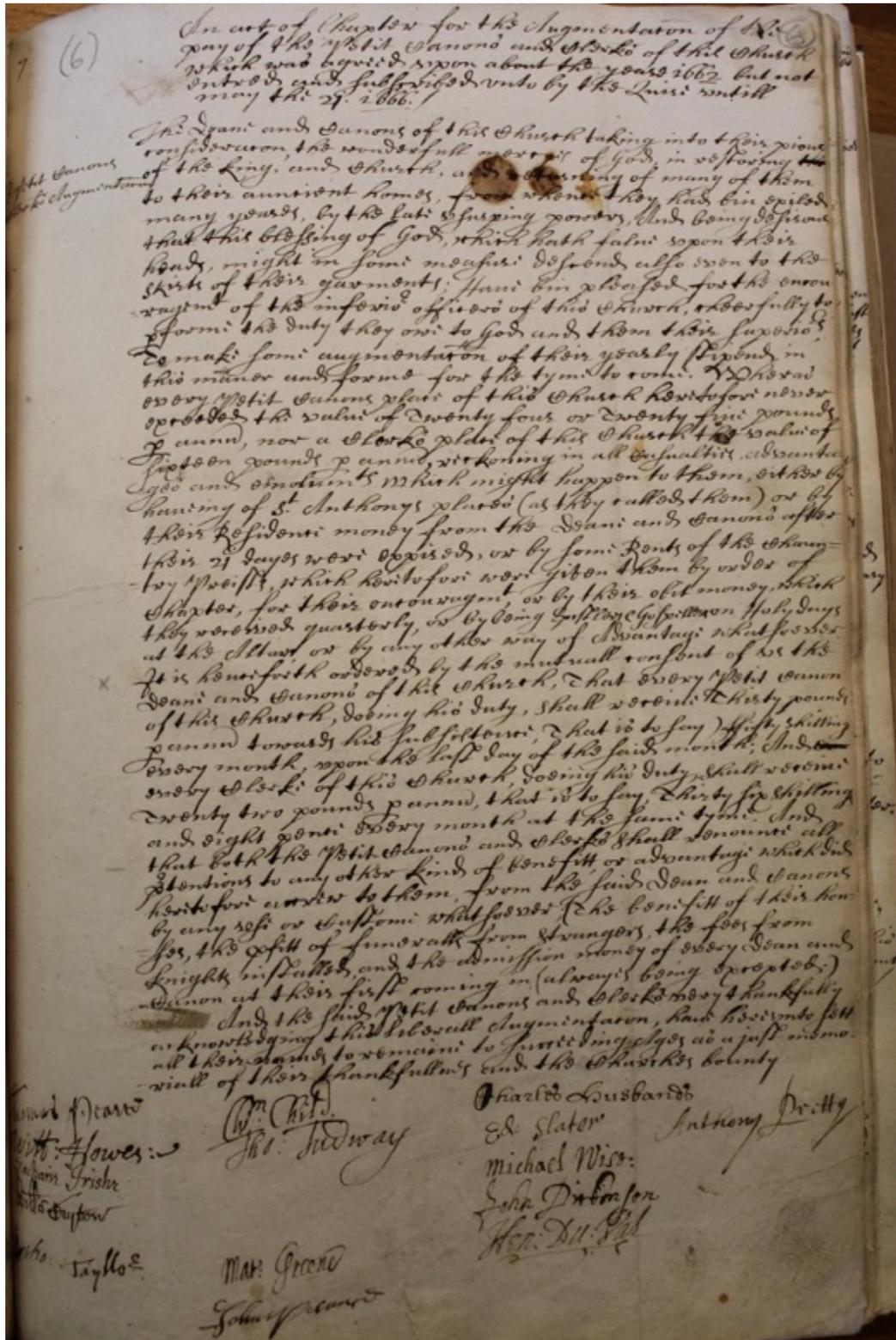
To provide scribal context for Husbands's ornate partbooks solely dedicated to Child's work, a significant other example of Husbands's professional musical-scribal work, originating at Windsor and here including liturgical works of Child, are his copies of seventy-six anthems and twenty-one services, all English texted, within *Lbl* Add. MS 17,784, which also incorporates thirteen anthems copied by another, unknown, scribe.  This manuscript is the bass partbook, sole surviving from a set copied in the mid-1670s, featuring Windsor and royal liturgical repertory for St. George's, is highly decorative and illustrated, including initial and emblematic half-page portrait of Charles II (f.1), with subsequent use of the motto and coats of arms of Knights of the Order of the Garter.[6]  Significant in relation to royalist appropriation of biblical themes and images in Latin motets, to be discussed within Oxford contexts in Chapter 3 (and in relation to Tremellius-texted motets to be discussed from Chapter 5 onwards), biblical, psalmic and Davidic imagery is distinctly prevalent (f.177v, reversed), including the evocative illustration of Jerusalem, emblematic of the Stuart Court and of its capital, London (the preceding illustration for Wise's anthem, 'Awake, put on thy strength, O Sion', f. 69, by unknown scribe), alongside illustrations of musical instruments (including f. 1).  It is not surprising that the initial illustrated 'O' for Child's 'O praise the Lord, laud ye the name of the Lord' (f. 28v), 'Composed Upon the Restauration of the Church And Royall Family in 1660' (SSAATB, with organ), incorporates a clear regal image of Charles II himself, the length of two staves.[7] The King is crowned with the centrepiece of the Crown Jewels, St. Edward's Crown, which was remade in solid gold in 1661, following the original's mid-century destruction by Parliamentarians: the very crown, and restored symbol of royal authority by divine right for Stuart monarchs, associated with coronations from the thirteenth-century onwards.[8]  Figure 2.4, below, reproduces the image. Charles faces forward, the politically appropriated and contemporary 'subject' of Child's text, psalm 135 (verses 1-4, with Jerusalem / Sion references, 'House of the Lord' and 'courts of the house of our God'), surrounded by floral imagery.  The presence of works by Chapel Royal composers is highly notable, and

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[6] Keri Dexter, *'A good Quire of voices': The Provision of Choral Music at St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, and Eton College, c.1640-1733* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 174-180.

[7] For a modern edition of this full anthem (including original title and Decani/Cantoris delineations) with detailed prefatory material and critical commentary, please see: *The Restoration Anthem, Volume One, 1660-1689*, ed. Keri Dexter and Geoffrey Webber (Oxford: OUP on behalf of the Church Music Society, 2003), 11-17.  The editors comment, 'The anthem's musical style harks back to the 1630s and 1640s, a conscious echo of the 'lost' tradition, and in the middle section, the phrase 'Ye that stand in the house of the Lord' is repeated three times, basking in the choir's reclamation of its rightful place', 3.

[8] St. Edward's Crown is today curated by the Royal Collection Trust, alongside all Crown Jewels, with curatorial details and images available online, accessed April 29th 2022: https://www.rct.uk/collection/themes/trails/the-crown-jewels/in-detail-st-edwards-crown.

research on the manuscript by Keri Dexter has demonstrated how 'Husbands's work can be used to define the *complete* Windsor repertoire in c.1674-7', with the ornate manuscript suggesting a presentation volume to an eminent member of St. George's, possibly Canon John Butler (*d*. 1682). [9] Butler was on three occasions Precentor at Windsor from 1670, and also a Chaplain to Charles II.[10]

**Figure 2.4** Husbands's illustration of Charles II from *Lbl* Add. MS 17,784 (f. 28v)



Though the repertory of Husbands's books solely dedicated to Child's works, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, is distinctly different to *Lbl* Add. MS 17,784 in non-liturgical functions and compositional idioms, nonetheless, the partbooks owned by Lowe incorporate decidedly courtly vocal music, including Stuart-resonant biblical texts, with Child's additions, to be discussed in chapter five. These works include the 'Italian Way' English-texted *concertato* psalms first published in 1639, dedicated to Charles I, and Latin settings of 'royal' psalms, including 'Cantate Jehovae', together with texts associated with Henrietta Maria ('O bone Jesu' and 'Quam pulchra es'), and likely both Charles I ('O si vel') and Charles II ('Laudate Deum'), with contexts for the latter, 'Jerusalem' pair, to be discussed in Chapter 6. Though the Windsor manuscript is much more ornate in visual decoration than the Music School set, the partbooks without overt royal or Davidic imagery, both sources share in common an ornate scribal style and frequent presence of illustrated initial capitals. Figure 2.5 provides an example of such decoration. Indeed, I would like to suggest this common link, and shared decorative and illustrated quality by Husbands, given to cherished, compositionally accomplished, and Court-

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[9] Dexter, *'A good Quire'*, 180, 175.
[10] *Ibid.*, 161.

connected repertory in Oxford, later bequeathed by Lowe, might point to the possibility that *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 were also intended as a presentation set, to Lowe himself and to the Music School: whether potentially from Child at the time of his Oxford DMus where the books could have feasibly have had public-ceremonial or even presentational use in July 1663, or during the decade from the mid-1660s to the mid-1670s, when Lowe presided over improvements to the fabric of the Music School.[11]

**Figure 2.5** Illustration from *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 32, f. 27



Furthermore, the partbooks are especially notable within surviving seventeenth-century motet sources by English composers as an extensive single-composer anthology of predominantly non-liturgical vocal works by a long-established royal employee: featuring innovative idioms and unique texts, including all extant motets. This was a time of notable benefaction at the Music School when, for example, Hingeston gifted his set of fantasias, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. D. 205-211, including praiseful dedication to his 'Honored (*sic*.) friend' Lowe, his 'care, diligence and industry'.[12] Around this time, Henry Lawes gave a 'rare Theorbo for singing to' with incorporated crest of the Earl of Bridgewater,[13] Anthony Wood sold consort music to the

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[11] The next chapter, discussing Oxford contexts and traditions, will discuss further how 'Songs', both Latin- and English-texted, by Child's Chapel-Royal organist colleague, Christopher Gibbons, were ceremonially presented for DMus in 1664 to the instrumental accompaniment of his three-part consort music. Gibbons's ceremony, as Child's in 1663, took place at the University Church of St. Mary.

[12] Quoted from the frontispiece to *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. D. 205, for example: from the this set, listed in the Music School's 1682 inventory.

[13] Quoted from Hawkins, who had access to the Music School's then-legible 17th-century accounts: see, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*. Volume 4 (London: T. Payne and Son, 1776), 377. These

School acquired from Kirtling in 1667,[14] and Locke gave his autograph collection of Latin motets, compiled in 1648 when in the 'Low Countreys' (*Lbl* Add. MS 31,437).[15]

Having discussed core stylistic features of the motets in the previous chapter, with reference also to Child's *continuo*-accompanied 1639 psalms 'Newly composed after the Italian Way', it can perhaps be said that the 'secular' epithalamium and 'sacred' Alleluia hymns in Husbands's books, items one to five, provide a significant point of contact, and stylistic 'middle way' perhaps, between these two genres overtly composed in such idioms: the more extensive, innovative and, at times, significantly 'virtuosic' (in both solo and fuller textures) Latin motets on the one hand, and smaller-scale, English-texted, *concertato* psalms, on the other, originally dedicated to Charles I at a time of escalating political challenges for the King.  Child's motets, overall, are decidedly more Italianate, innovative, varied, creatively imaginative perhaps, and 'modern' of his surviving vocal works. They feature extensive, though personal and distinctive-text orientated, use of compositional techniques and vocal practices of the *Seconda Pratica* and *Stile Nuovo*, including *trilli*, readily accessible in England, for example, through printed editions of *concertato* motets by Italian composers, to be discussed in the next chapter. However, such devices are significantly present in the trio-textured Alleluia hymns, also, more so than much of Child's English-texted liturgical services and anthems, both 'full' and 'verse'; though, indeed, one Alleluia hymn has possible repertorial connection to Charles II's Restoration Chapel Royal, as will be seen below.

The four hymns, transcribed in Volume Two,  share large-scale structural repetition in common with selected motets and, indeed, the highly notable *ritornello*-like use of repeating 'Alleluia' sections, seemingly unique to Child at this time, in the English-texted works provides a significant point of contact with the six motets which notably feature 'Alleluia' sections as large-scale structural devices.[16]  The first three Alleluia Hymns, indeed, make three-fold use of

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words are referenced and quoted by Margaret Crum, 'Early Lists of the Music School Collection', *Music & Letters* 48, no. 1 (1967), 27-28, with significant surrounding details of musical resources, within discussion of Lowe's improvements to the Music School.  Crum highlights how Lowe built on the work of his predecessor, John Wilson, with intentional and dedicated collection of funds to be spent on the Music School, from 1665 onwards: p. 27.

[14] Margaret Crum, 'The Consort Music from Kirtling, bought for the Oxford Music School from Anthony Wood, 1667', *The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society* 4 (1972): 3-10.

[15] See annotation in the hand of Lowe's later successor as Heather Professor, Philip Hayes (1738-1797), f.1, 'This manuscript is an original of Matthew Lock, and contains many of his own productions, which were given by himself to the Musick School'.

[16] 'Gloria Tibi', 'Laudate Deum', 'Quam pulchra es', 'Ecce panis angelorum', 'Quem vidistis pastores', and 'Venite gentes'.

an 'Alleluia' section (at the start, centre, and conclusion, with the third hymn featuring a two-fold 'Alleluia' section for each, triple metre, followed immediately by new, duple-time, material); the fourth hymn, for Trinity, does not use a central 'Alleluia' section, though, nonetheless features varied repetition of quasi-fugal material to *ritornello*-like effect, including new text on repetition highly charged with Commonwealth contexts, as will be noted in Table 2, below. Such *ritornello*-like, three-fold, large-scale patterning of 'Alleluia' sections, appears to be unique to Child among English composers at this central point in the century.[17] Child's 'Epithalamium', also, features large-scale repetition of material, incorporating new texts and slight melodic variation, in *ritornello*-like fashion. The structural summaries, Tables 2.2 and 2.3, below, provide an initial overview of the four hymns to demonstrate comparable large-scale structural devices and dimensions, including use of triple-time sections, analogous to the motets.

**Table 2.2** Alleluia Hymns in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, initial details

|  | TEXT | SCORING | BARS | INITIAL ACCIDENTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Alleluia, Therefore with angels** | Holy Communion | ATB bc | 97 | 1 flat (F major) |
| **Alleluia, Awake my soul** | Christmas verse by Thomas Pierce | ATB bc | 133 | 0 (C major) |
| **Alleluia, O Holy Ghost** | Pentecost verses by Pierce | ATB bc | 163 | 1 flat (G minor) |
| **Alleluia, Thou who when all was into rudeness** | Trinity verses by Pierce | ATB bc | 118 | 1 flat (F major) |

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[17] Examples of such large-scale structural patterning were certainly readily available in motet editions by Italian composers in seventeenth-century England. Grandi, for example, makes *ritornello*-like use of 'Alleluia' sections, featuring both duple- and triple-time ($\frac{3}{1}$) material, in his motet 'Benedictus sit Deus Pater' (motet seven: CA, bc), from his sixth book of motets: Alessandro Grandi, *Il Sesto Libro de Motetti* (Venice: Vincenti, 1630). For modern transcription, please see Passmore, 'A Study of Performance Issues', Volume Two, 580-585. Similarly, 'Gaudete omnes in Domino' in the same book (motet nine: CC, bc), features use of a central 'Alleluia' section, which is repeated at the conclusion in expanded form, 592-595. Child's use of an initial 'Alleluia' section, subsequently interspersed and used in conclusion, however, may be unique to him at this time.

**Table 2.3** Alleluia Hymn, structural summaries: including use of sectional repetition (indicated by capitals, including material featuring new texts and slight melodic variation) and triple time (underlined, with Child's mensuration signs indicated, with **C·3** indicating *proportio sesquialtera*, with three minims of triple time equal to two minims of duple time.

**Alleluia,**
**Therefore with angels**

| | |
|---|---|
| BARS 1-12 | imitative 'Alleluia' (REPEATED) |
| BARS 13-21 | 3-part, predominantly homophonic material |
| BARS 22-33 | homophonic <u>triple-time</u> material (**C·3**), three-fold statement of 'we and magnify thy glorious name', with repeated melodic material at successively higher pitch level |
| BARS 33-42 | imitative three-part writing in duple time |
| BARS 43-54 | REPEAT of 'Alleluia' section, bars 1-12 |
| BARS 55-85 | initial homophony for 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts', followed by extended imitative writing, including ascending and dovetailing stepwise scales crossing a seventh, in word-painting of 'Glory be to thee, O Lord most high' |
| BARS 86-97 | REPEAT of Alleluia section, bars 1-12 |

**Alleluia, Awake my soul**

| | |
|---|---|
| BARS 1-15 | imitative <u>triple-time</u> 'Alleluia' **C·3**, with duple-time cadence (REPEATED); final, split-alto, chord in bars 15 shows choral, rather than soloistic, intention here. |
| BARS 16-34 | alto declamatory solo, including melodic flourish on 'my soul' |
| BARS 36-49 | REPEAT of <u>triple-time</u> 'Alleluia' section, bars 1-15 |
| BARS 50-81 | extended bass solo, featuring relatively wide tessitura, and mild word-painting; highly notable text of 'the king is born without a court', likely resonant of Commonwealth contexts |
| BARS 82-118 | extended three-part homophonic writing, with slight moments of imitation, in two parts (REPEATED); bars 82-109, and 110-118 |
| BARS 119-133 | REPEAT of <u>triple-time</u> 'Alleluia' section, bars 1-15 |

**Alleluia, O Holy Ghost**

| | |
|---|---|
| BARS 1-16 | imitative 'Alleluia' section in two parts, bars1-9 (<u>triple-time</u>) **C·3**, and bars 10-16 (duple time with new material); *trillo* in the tenor's first bar (b. 3) |
| BARS 17-35 | declamatory alto solo, featuring mild word painting, and cadential *trillo* (b. 35) |

| | |
|---|---|
| BARS 36-46 | three-part writing featuring textural variety: homophony, imitation, then homophony |
| BARS 47-54 | declamatory bass solo, including creative use of pitch and rhythm, to word-paint 'wind' and 'breathe', with notable, differentiating, use of minims |
| BARS 55-68 | alto and tenor duet with brief imitation, bars 55-60 in <u>triple time</u> *3i*, indicating three crotchets per bar, a rare usage by Child. Given this, the surrounding duple declamation, and the triple-time text also, 'But we shall walk and see' (repeated), a duple-to-triple sectional relationship of simply 'crotchet equals crotchet' may be intended, thereby creating a slower triple tempo than that of the 'Alleluia' section. Duple time returns for bars 61 to 73. |
| BARS 68-83 | three-part, predominantly homophonic, material, with repetition of 'O sp'rit of truth' punctuated by rests; bars 74-81 in <u>triple time</u> *C·3*, for 'to clear our eyes'. Alto cadential *trillo* in bar 79 |
| BARS 85-100 | REPEAT of two-fold 'Alleluia' section, bars 1-16 |
| BARS 101-119 | alto and bass duet, featuring more overt and dramatic word-painting and imitative writing; cadential alto *trillo* in bar 119 |
| BARS 120-147 | three-part writing, predominantly homophonic, though with dramatic use of imitation, texture and tessitura, followed by homophony for ' 'tis thou must melt and mould' (bars 123-130, including cadential 'and stamp it new', including alto t*rillo*); bars 131-147 return to clearer homophony; further cadential *trillo* for the alto in bar 146 |
| BARS 148-163 (end) | REPEAT of two-fold 'Alleluia' section, bars 1-16 |

**Alleluia, Thou who when all
was into rudeness: Trinity Hymn**

| | |
|---|---|
| BARS 1-20 | <u>triple-time</u> imitative 'Alleluia' *C·3* (with homophony in bars 9-14), with final bar of duple time |
| BARS 21-29 | bass solo, featuring overt word-painting, through balance of stepwise melodic writing contrasted with wider intervals, declamatory and dramatic use of octave leaps |
| BARS 30-46 | imitative, quasi-fugal and mimetic, material in triple time for the triune 'To thee, O Father, Sp'rit, and Son, we warble out three parts in one', with differentiated final statement of the words in homophony (bars 44-46, punctuated by rests on each side) |
| BARS 47-55 | alto and tenor duet, balancing imitative to homophonic Writing; colouristic use of chromatic melodic writing, flattened pitches, and suspensions, in 'cleansing' effect |

| | |
|---|---|
| BARS 56-72 | VARIATION of bars 30-46 with new words, highly resonant of Commonwealth contexts, 'That so, O Father, Sp'rit and Son: our three-torn kingdoms may grow one'; the concluding homophony for this final statement of this phrase is, again, mimetic, though with political social-political resonance here |
| BARS 73-81 | dramatic, declamatory alto solo, with declamatory use of rhythm (including aligned suspensions) and rests |
| BARS 82-98 | REPEAT of bars 30-46 |
| BARS 99-118 (end) | REPEAT of bars 1-20, 'Alleluia' section |

Overall, the structures, scoring, style, and non-biblical, non-canonical, texts of sacred poetry themselves can be said to point away from liturgical contexts and, indeed, Ian Spink, has highlighted these works' functional kinship with the 'Italian Way' psalms, undoubtedly royalist and domestic-devotional.[18] Chapter 3 will discuss such motet contexts in seventeenth-century Oxford, and later chapters will develop the contextual implications of texts which would not have been permissible within Roman Catholic liturgical contexts, for example. As research by David Pinto has shown, the 'Alleluia' texts themselves provide significant pointers to mid-century royalist contexts in Oxford.[19] Whilst the hymn 'Therefore with angels' takes its text for the very order of Holy Communion from the Book of Common Prayer, setting words of praise of the presiding priest, with congregational response, two of the remaining three texts are attributable to Thomas Pierce (1622-1691), sometimes styled 'Peirse', President of Magdalen college, until his ejection in May 1648, the college of the early Heather Professors of Music. Crucially for Child's networks, and royalist-Oxford contexts to be developed further, Pierce was one of the very first Heather-Professorship choristers at Magdalen as a boy, from 1633, and would have been a treble counterpart of chorister James Clifford, with both taught by Professor Richard Nicholson.[20] Clifford was the owner of *US-NYp* Drexel 4300 in 1633, which contains Child's 'Cantate Jehovae', for which Lowe copied the instrumental parts within Husbands's partbooks, and it is highly feasible that both trebles sang in the early 1630s in Oxford. Indeed, it is Clifford himself who provides affirmation of Pierce's text authorship for 'Alleluia, Awake my soul', as 'Dr Tho. Pierce' in his wordbook, *The Divine Services and*

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[18] Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music* (Oxford: OUP, 1995), 373.

[19] David Pinto, 'The *Royal Martyr* Discover'd: Thomas Pierce and Nicholas Lanier', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 49, no. 1 (2018): 5-6.

[20] Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714; their Parentage, Birthplace, and Year of their Birth, with a Record of their* Degrees, Part One – Early Series (1500-1714), Vol. 3 (Oxford: James Parker & Co., 1891), 1137.

*Anthems Usually Sung in His Majesties Chappell, and in all Cathedrals and Collegiate Choires in England and Ireland* (London, 1663), published when he was a Canon at St. Paul's Cathedral, London.  However, commentators have noted emphatically the work's highly unlikely nature as 'church' music, not least due to its absence in liturgical sources, and its greater affinities with contexts intended for Child's 'Italian Way' psalms, undoubtedly royalist in light of the Pierce's text of 'Awake my soul', as will be seen.[21]  Nonetheless, it may not be possible to rule out fully such works from Charles II's Chapel Royal contexts given the King's monarchic 'rule' of the institution, though perhaps domestic-chamber contexts would be much more likely in Court contexts, for example, not least in light of the non-liturgical, 'secular', nature of the surviving sources.

Contexts akin to those intended for the 1639, and indeed the Latin motets themselves, would seem much more likely and, indeed, Pinto's work, has drawn new insights from a notable pamphlet in the hand of Anthony Wood (*Ob* MS Wood D.19), that affirms Pierce's text authorship of four royalist poems from the later 1640s, including the text for 'Alleluia, my soul', set by Child, with Wood naming Child as the setter of Pierce's Trinity hymn, alongside Heather Professor Arthur Philips as setter of two, and Nicholas Lanier as the composer for Pierce's 'A Funeral Hymn to the Royal Martyr, Jan. 30. 1648 [ie, '1649 in New Style, following the year 1751]', written of the very day of Charles I's execution.[22]  Highly suggestive of this time, and following years for royalists, are words of the Christmas work, 'Awake my soul', 'the king is born without a court, the water thirsts, the fountain's dry; and life, by being born, made apt to die', set dramatically and poignantly at the end of a 24-bar bass solo (bb. 50-81 in transcription, Volume Two), as the highly powerful, emblematic and mimetic use of three-part canon for 'that our three-torn kingdoms may grow one', noted in the structural summary, for

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[21] Anonymous reviewer, 'Clifford's Anthem-Book. A Retrospective Review', *The Musical Times and the Singing Class Circular* 14, no. 336 (1871): 777, 'Who for instance could seriously sing in Church such stuff as the following "Christmas Anthem or Carol, by T.P.?" which Mr. William Childe (not yet made Doctor) has set to music….A curious mixture of Christianity and heathenism'.
Christopher Batchelor, 'William Child: An Examination of the Liturgical Sources, and a
Critical and  Contextual Study of the Church Music,' (PhD Thesis, 3 Volumes, University of Cambridge, 1996), Vol. II, 521: 'There can be little doubt that, like the other 'Alleluia' works, it ['Alleluia, Awake my soul'] was not intended as church music.'
[22] Pinto, 'The *Royal Martyr*', provides full texts for the four works, with detailed contextual notes, 11-20.
In the following chapter, on Oxford contexts for seventeenth-century motets, attention will be drawn to Wilson's elegy to Charles I written on this very same day and gifted to Lowe (*Ob* MS Mus. D.238, pp. 57-59), within wider contexts of Oxford's Court culture and traditions of gift-giving, bequest and endowment.

the Trinity hymn.[23] The words of both Child's 'Pentecost Hymn' and 'Epithalamium' are very likely be by Pierce too, given notable connections of theme, tone, language, their textual metre (both using twelve-syllable poetic units), and, furthermore as accounted by Wood, close physical-practical association within musical-collegial networks in Oxford.[24] Pierce's themes of necessary humility and cleansing (including the healing effect of tears and weeping), perhaps themselves Commonwealth-resonant, are used in the Pentecost and Trinity hymns ('O do thou thoroughly cleanse our eyes with their own brine' in the former, bars 61 to 63, and 'Create in us, O God, a weeping heart, to cleanse our inward part, O bathe our souls, dear saviour in the flood of thy most-precious blood', in the latter, bb. 47 to 51). Imagery of the zodiac in 'Awake my soul' is also found in the 'Epithalamium' ('safe return to Capricorn' and 'he…who grasp'd the zodiac in his hand' in the former, bars 26 to 27 and bars 65 to 66, and 'go, run and borrow from the sky, his Gemini', bars 9-13, in the latter: all set in declamatory, syllabic and dramatic idiom, with continuo accompaniment. Pinto notes that, although Pierce was ejected from Magdalen in May 1648, he likely remained in the vicinity of Oxford.[25]

It may be, then, that Child's four 'Alleluia' hymns, with words for at least three likely to be by former Magdalen chorister, Thomas Pierce, were primarily intended for 'private' musical-collegial / musical-devotional contexts, including potentially the Music School in Oxford during the later 1640s and Commonwealth.[26] Furthermore, I would like to suggest that Child's two-voice *concertato* Christmas work, 'Ye sons of Sion', has text by Pierce, also. The work survives uniquely in mid-century Oxford source, *Och* Mus. 365-366 (likely in the hand of New

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[23] There is, however, perhaps a moment of harmonic awkwardness, caused by Child's linear plan and melodic requirements, for example: bars 33-34, and its comparable occurrences at bars 59-60, and 85-86.

[24] Pinto, 'The *Royal Martyr*', 1, footnote 2, with reference to *Ob* MS Wood D.19, f.97ᵛ, where Wood states how, through Benjamin Rogers (Child's Windsor colleague, appointed organist of Magdalen College by Thomas Pierce, to be discussed above), he had seen other three-part settings of Pierce's verse, including 'Come, Hymen, come', indeed Child's very 'Epithalamium'.

[25] Pinto, 'The *Royal Martyr*', 6.

[26] Pinto, *Ibid.*, also suggests the possibility of 'post-civil-war clandestine chapel use and partisan bias' for the works, with choruses, 'surely a prayer for the restoration of Anglicanism', 18.
Of the Alleluia hymns, if private-chapel use was intended, perhaps the most likely of the set for such use would be that without Pierce text, 'Therefore with angels', with BCP communion text. Though the three remaining contain 'secular' imagery, including themes of the zodiac in the Christmas Hymn, the reference to feast days of then-prohibited Anglican Church is notable in the titles of the Pentecost and Trinity Sunday hymns. Any potential chapel context in Oxford at this time would parallel the known presence of illicit 'High-Church' worship in the chapel of Exeter House, central London (north side of the Strand), in the 1650s: associated with Peter Gunning, the Hatton family and, therefore, possibly the sacred/devotional music of George Jeffreys. Please see, *George Jeffreys, English Sacred Music, Musica Britannica*, Vol. CV, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright (London: Stainer and Bell, 2021): xliii-xliv.

College Organist, Simon Coleman).[27]  There are strong similarities of language, tone and imagery, including phrase parallel to the Christmas King without a court in 'Awake my soul' noted, here, 'This day is born in place forlorn, ye saviour of Israel' (bars 50-60). It might appear remiss, perhaps, that this work was not included in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, given its non-liturgical Italianate qualities and, not least, points of contact with Pierce's words and structural use of (concluding trio) 'Alleluia' section, given its affinity with the hymns in Husbands's book.  It may be that 'Ye Sons of Sion' had a different initial function and context to the other Pierce settings, which would account for Husbands not having access to the work, although there is not enough evidence, perhaps, to speculate further.  A transcription of the work is provided in Volume Two, following Child's works in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37.

To demonstrate clear connections of structure and scale to the 'Alleluia' hymns, Table 2.4 provides an overview and summary of the Epithalamium, as table 2.3 for the Alleluia hymns, with significant stylistic, textural, motivic and large-scale structural parallels, including triple-time sections, and points of contact with the thirteen motets, also.  As if to demonstrate further the Epithalamium's repertorial-functional 'proximity' to sacred music, in both Latin and English texts, the sole-known concordance for the work is *Och* Mus. 747-749, with the Child work copied in an unknown hand (together with copy of Locke's motet, 'Agnosce, O Christiane').  The books feature sacred music by Dering and Grandi, copied likely in the mid-1650s by Playford, concluding with Grandi's 'O bone Jesu', as later published in Playford's 1662 *Cantica*; Child's work is one of only two 'secular' works in the books (the other being Dering's 'Sleep quiet, Lee').[28]

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[27] John Milson, 'Mus. 365-6', Christ Church Library Music Catalogue Online, November 14 2007, accessed May 4th, 2022, http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+365--6.

[28] John Milson, 'Mus. 747-9', Christ Church Library Music Catalogue Online, May 16 2006, accessed May 5th, 2022, http://library.ch.ch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.747--9.

**Table 2.4** Epithalamium in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, initial details, and structural summary

| | TEXT | SCORING | BARS | INITIAL ACCIDENTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Come Hymen** | Wedding text | ATB bc | 114 | 0 (C major) |

STRUCTURAL SUMMARY:

| | |
|---|---|
| Bars 1-13 | alto solo, declamatory and syllabic, with punctuating rests |
| Bars 14-25 then | homophony in <u>triple-time</u> *C·3*, followed by imitation, duple-time cadence |
| Bars 26-39 | bass solo, syllabic, balancing stepwise melodic material with wider-intervallic writing |
| Bars 40-51 | VARIATION of bars 14-25, including <u>triple-time</u> *C·3*, new text, with the initial bars a tone higher |
| Bars 52-63 | declamatory tenor solo, including melodic flourish and trillo for 'there doth not fly' (bb. 53-54) contemporary 'scientific' text reference to a prism, the 'optic pyramic'[29] |
| Bars 64-74 | VARIATION of bars 14-25, the initial duple-time to a significantly greater degree than the <u>triple-time</u> material *C·3* |
| Bars 75-80 | alto and bass duet, balancing varied homophony with imitative material |
| Bars 90-101 | VARIATION of bars 14-25 (akin to bb. 40-51) |
| Bars 102-114 (end) | initial, three-part homophonic 'joy to the bridegroom', punctuated by rests, followed by imitative material |

The musical contexts and English texts of Child's 'Alleluia' Hymns, 1639 psalms, and 'secular' Epithalamium with text by Pierce, then, speak very strongly of courtly and royalist cultural contexts, in tandem and overlap with the Latin motets themselves. The works in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 can be seen as emblems of Italianate court culture, with the composer as a co-agent, with Pierce, Husbands and Lowe, for example, in creating and disseminating courtly works in highly challenging political circumstances, and into the Restoration, with Oxford as

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[29] This phrase would suggest a definite compositional date after 1637, if not 1666, when René Descartes in France and Isaac Newton in England, respectively, undertook their pioneering research and discoveries into the rainbow and light spectrum using prisms. Penelope Gouk, for example, has written on the parallel rise of informal music and scientific meetings in the seventeenth century, including proximate spaces and overlapping membership across the disciplines in Oxford: Penelope Gouk, 'Performance practice: music, medicine and natural philosophy in Interregnum Oxford', *The British Journal for the History of* Science 29, no. 3 (1996): 257-288.

a key facilitating hub.[30]  To affirm Pierce's, and indeed Child's, royal allegiances further, coupled within a broad culture of Latinity of which Child's motets are a part, Pierce translated into contemporary Latin the heartfelt defence of Charles I's reign, in the very words of the king himself, published in broadside in the month of his execution: 'HIS MAJESTIES REASONS Against the pretended Iurisdiction of the high Court of Iustice' (published London: 5 February 1648/9).  Charles's words are directly relatable to his personal testimony in *Eikon Basilike* from this time, to be discussed in Chapter 6. Pierce's subsequent Latin translation of the King's words, though of unverifiable date and seemingly a revision of Latin words by unknown translator circulating in 1649, survives uniquely in the British Library, significantly appended to four of his royalist English verses, including the Trinity Hymn (dated 1649) set by Child.[31] Indeed, as a further instance of such Child-connected royalist musical networks, friendship and collegiality in Oxford, Pierce appears to have gifted Lowe a copy of Child's published psalms in 1650, partbooks now in the University of Glasgow Library, *Ge* Sp Coll R.c.20-20 (4): notably the 'Italian Way' psalms, first published in 1639, but here more subdued in presentation, without reference to Italy, and also without both its dedication to Charles I and frontispiece-image of the king.  Lowe ascribed his copy, 'Sent, & given mee by my Honoured friend. Mr Tho: Peirce / 11 September. 1650. Ed: Lowe.'[32]

## Child's Pastoral-Dialogue

The remaining piece copied by Husbands to address, which survives alongside Child's thirteen motets, is his 'Dialogue between Damon and Daphne', for canto and bass, accompanied by continuo; the parts, within *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32 and C.37, are easily and practically accessible through being reversed. The brief, dance-like, concluding section in triple time, marked 'Cho.' may likely have sung just by the soloists in octaves, rather than with additional singers. This work is Child's sole-surviving example of Italianate pastoral dialogue, featuring dramatic recitative, of an Arcadian 'narrative' genre with heritage in Florentine monody, and

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[30] Child's 'Woe is me', copied within the motet section of Husbands's partbooks and datable to 1637, will be discussed in the following chapter, in context of manuscripts and repertories associated with the early years of the Heather Professorship, from 1626.

[31] Pinto, 'The *Royal Martyr*', 1, 6-8, with reference to Pierce's Latin translation of Charles I's words of 1649, surviving in *GB-Lbl* 808.e.29.

[32] William Child, *The First Set of Psalmes of .III. Voyces (1639)*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright, York (Early Music Press, 2015), 43.  Whilst the 'Dr Thomas Pierce' of Magdalen is assuredly the text author of Child's Alleluia hymns, there is, however, the possibility that that the gift to Lowe may have been from the co-named Thomas Pierce 'II' (*d*. 1666), colleague of Child as both a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and Lay Clerk of Windsor.  See Ashbee, *Biographical Dictionary*, II, for biographical details, 890-891; and also Dexter, *'A good Quire of Voices'*, 304-305.

embedded in English courtly circles through the works of Alphonso Ferrabosco II, and works by the Lawes brothers, Walter Porter and Nicholas Lanier. Spink, in his survey of the genre in England noted how Porter and Lanier had both visited Italy and also that 'Practically all the dialogues set to music before the restoration were pastoral.'[33] Significantly also, later work by Spink highlighted that the genre's 'continued vogue in the 1630s reflects the Platonic pastoralism of the court under the influence of Queen Henrietta-Maria, and, significantly, all the court composers contribute to it.'[34] Further impetus and dissemination of the genre was given by Commonwealth publications by John Playford: for example, *The Second Booke of AYRES, containing Pastoral DIALOGUES For two Voyces either to the Theorbo, Harpsicon, or Basse Violl* (London: Thomas Harper for John Playford, 1652), and Henry Lawes's *AYRES and DIALOGUES For One, Two, and T`hree Voyces* (London: 'T.H.' for John Playford, 1653).

Child's *stile rappresentativo* work, transcribed in Volume Two, narrates a pastoral courtship between two Arcadian lovers, with predominance of declamatory, syllabic recitative, in words of an unknown author. Careful use of chromaticism, and balance of stepwise to disjunct melodic writing, contributes to the frequent use of word-painting, declamation underpinned by longer note values in the *continuo* bass. More 'melodic', aria-like, passages and dramatic declamatory sections incorporate quicker harmonic rhythms. Perhaps the most 'melodic' section with use of melody to outline 'chordal' shapes, is the central bass solo, where Damon admits to Daphne concerning his 'wound', that, ' 'twas your beauty gave the blow' (bars 37-47, including roulade-use of semiquavers to paint his overflowing sorrow, bars 46-47). Suggestive of Spink's Platonic pastoralism, influenced by Henrietta-Maria, is the dialogue's affirmation of marriage as an ideal (in Damon's dramatic melody, 'Daphne, why then do we stay? To the temple, let's away!', bars 85-87) which in this work, unfortunately for the characters, is not realised, though an ideal of chastity is affirmed where hope will 'our true love save', before concluding triple-time chorus. Scholarship by Karen Britland and Erica Veevers has provided significant detail of how Charles I and Henrietta Maria self-consciously used court culture, including masques and plays, as a means of promoting marriage as an ideal and emblem of relationship and social harmony, indeed with their monarchic union and relationship itself as emblematic.[35] Britland provides significant detail of the 1633 court play, *The*

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[33] Ian Spink, 'English Seventeenth-Century Dialogues', *Music & Letters* 38, No. 2 (1957): 157 & 159.

[34] Ian Spink, *English Song, Dowland to Purcell* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1974), 48.

[35] Erica Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and Court Entertainments* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989): for example, 'Platonic images on the court stage' within chapter 4, which differentiates the King's

*Shepherd's Paradise*, pastoral by Walter Montague, in which the Queen and her courtiers took key roles on stage, and the royal marriage upheld 'as an ideal for the rest of the court to follow' (p. 46); Britland continues, 'This ideal of mutual love and marriage was not the only aspect of love fashions associated with the Queen, but it does help to make sense of some of the literature connected with the court.' (p. 47).[36] It is possible then, that Child's work spoke to and musically 'enacted' such Stuart-courtly themes, and likewise the 'Epithalamium', where the chastity of angels (bars 98-101) is balanced with affirmation of 'joy to the bridegroom' (bars 102-103). In overview of the partbooks' repertory and its scribal presentation, though the majority of works are 'sacred', a particular *da camera* quality is given to Child's set, perhaps, through the book-ending placement of these two 'secular', courtly love-themed, works: most overtly seen in the *continuo* book, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 37, the book Lowe himself, perhaps, would most likely have worked from in performance or rehearsal.[37]

To give further scribal context to Child's dialogue in Oxford sources, Lowe himself copied at least five further dialogues, including Locke's 'When death shall part us from these kids', alongside Latin motets by Casati, Monferrato, and by Christopher Gibbons ('Laudate Dominum' and 'O bone Jesu'), his Chapel Royal organist colleague, into *Och* Mus. 612 (ff. 1-41).[38] Locke's dialogue was also copied by John Blow, who Child would have worked with at the Chapel Royal when Blow was a treble, in *Och* Mus. 14, a collection of sacred and secular English, Italian and Latin vocal music. It includes eight of Blow's own Latin motets, alongside works by Monteverdi, Rovetta, Pesenti, Carissimi, alongside Gibbons's 'Laudate Dominum' and 'O bone Jesu', and Child's setting of the same text, in concordance with Husbands's partbooks of Child's works. Furthermore, a dialogue of Lowe's own composition sets a very similar text to Locke, 'When death hath snatched us from these kids' (Dialogue between Thirsis

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four masques from the Queen's four (a ninth masque was a joint presentation), staged between 1630-1640, addressing their respective uses of visual imagery, 110-119.

Karen Britland, *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria* (Cambridge: CUP, 2006); for example, the discussion of the Ben Jonson's play, *Love's Triumph Through Callipolis*, for which the monarchs performed at Whitehall on January 9th, 1631, 66-68; Lanier provided music for the production.

[36] Britland, *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria*, 46, 47.

[37] See, for example, Anthony Wood's comment on Lowe's role at the organ in 1656, at the music meetings held in William Ellis's home, 'Edward Low, organ lately of Ch[rist] Church. He play'd only on the organ; so when he performed his part, Mr. Ellis would take up a counter-tenor viol and play, if any person were wanting to performe that part.': quoted in Bruce Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony Wood', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, 19 (1982): 34. Wood does not record if Ellis had other keyboard instruments.

[38] Lowe's further copies of dialogues are in *Lbl* Add. MS 29,396 (by William Lawes, Wise, and Wilson) and *Och* Mus. 438 ('Come away, 'tis night', by unascribed composer). Surprisingly, perhaps, Lowe's longterm manuscript, including key continuo function, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451, does not include a dialogue.

and Dorinda), present in a manuscript started by Aldrich, *Och* Mus. 17, his close colleague at Christ Church, and fellow curator and composer of Italianate vocal music, and completed by Goodson, Sr, Lowe's successor as Heather Professor of Music at the university. Husbands appears to have copied no further dialogues. There is also the possibility of Child's dialogue being used for an *Encaenia* ceremony in Oxford and, feasibly even, at the very ceremony in July 1663 when Child received his DMus, akin to Lowe's likely use of dialogues by John Wilson in the ceremonies surrounding the opening of Oxford's Sheldonian Theatre in 1669 (with evidence of potential use of dialogues alongside motets through the list in Lowe's hand, the original cover to the sets of parts, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 204, now in the folder *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. A. 641). This possibility will be discussed in the following chapter on Oxford contexts.

**Husbands's partbook *Ge* R.d.3 (item 1), repertoire and contexts: Child motets, Moulinié *airs de cour*, and the Stuart ensemble, the 'Lutes, Voices and Viols'**

Husbands's ornate partbooks, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, then, provide the most important, varied and comprehensive picture of Child's non-liturgical work. Significant contextual insights are provided by the concordances of two of Child's motets within the thirty-two vocal works of *Ge* R.d.3/1, the sole-surviving book (canto part alone, labelled *dessus*), from a likely set of six books, also in Husbands's hand, previously uncredited in relation to this source. Bound within the partbook are the four vocal parts (SATB) in unknown scribal hand, of an anonymous *stile antico* motet, 'Hodie Simon Petrus', of smaller manuscript dimensions (21 x 15.5cm, compared to the book's overall dimensions of 22 x 16cm). The provenance of this work, and relation to the works of item one is not known, including history of binding and gathering; the item-2 motet, however, would undoubtedly be suitable for Roman Catholic liturgical use, which may connect to the notable presence of Catholic composers in item 1, to be highlighted below.[39] Whilst Child's 'O bone Jesu' also has further concordances in addition

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[39] The parts of 'Hodie Simon Petrus', *Ge* R.d.3, item 2, follow the work by Thomas Lupo (f. 23): S: 25-25v: A: 26-26v; T: 27-27v; B: 28-28v.

to *Ge* R.d.3/1, this book is the sole concordance for Child's 'Plange Sion' (canto part alone). Furthermore, this book provides what appears to be the sole-surviving complete copy in England, albeit the *dessus* part alone, of polyphonic, 'secular', French *Airs de Cour* (with one Italian setting, 'Embia mi madre') published by Étienne Moulinié (1599-1676) in 1625: *AIRS DE COVR a quatre & cinq parties* (Paris: Ballard, 1625). Moulinié was a preeminent composer of *airs de cour*, who was director of music to Gaston of Orléans, brother to Louis XIII and Henrietta Maria, from 1628-1660 (having been active in Parisian court circles from 1624).[40] His work is unattributed in the manuscript and, to date, these works have been labelled 'anonymous' in all available catalogues and references to *Ge* R.d.3/1; there appears to be no surviving copy-text in England from which Husbands may have worked.[41] Table 2.5 provides the full contents.

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[40] See, for example, John H. Baron, revised Georgie Durosoir, 'Moulinié [Moulinier, Moulinière, Molinié], Etienne', *Oxford Music Online*, 20th January 2001, accessed May 10th 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.19240.

[41] However, a copy of Moulinié's *Airs avec la tablature de luth*, Book II (1625), containing ten of the items, is held in the British Library (Music Collections K.3.i.17.).

**Table 2.5** Glasgow, University Library, Euing Music Collection MS R.d.3, item 1 (sole-surviving Canto book, 23ff):

| Composer | Title | MS Scoring | folio |
|---|---|---|---|
| Simmes, William (*fl. c.* early 17$^{th}$ century) | Rise O my soul | C | 1 |
| Child, William (1606-1697) | How many hired servants | C | 2$^v$ |
| Child | Plange Sion | C | 4 |
| Child | O bone Jesu | C | 5$^v$ |
| Moulinié, Etienne (1599-1669) | C'en est fait il me faut mourir | C | 9 |
| Moulinié | Cloris qui dompte tout le monde | C | 9 |
| Moulinié | Que mes souris | C | 9$^v$ |
| Moulinié | Si parmi les deserts | C | 9$^v$ |
| Moulinié | C'est en fin trop celer mon mai | C | 10 |
| Moulinié | O Dieu quand verray-je le jour | C | 10 |
| Moulinié | Quel nouveau dieu sur ce rivage | C | 10$^v$ |
| Moulinié | Je veux mourir | C | 10$^v$ |
| Moulinié | Mère des Nouvelles amours | C | 11 |
| Moulinié | O Dieu jusques a quand | C | 11 |
| Moulinié | Retour tant de fois desire | C | 11$^v$ |
| Moulinié | Versez mes tristes yeux | C | 11$^v$ |
| Moulinié | Tant de tourments | C | 12 |
| Moulinié | Ou fuyez vous plein d'inconstance | C | 12 |
| Moulinié | O dieux quelle adventure | C | 12$^v$ |
| Moulinié | Il sort de nos corps | C | 12$^v$ |
| Moulinié | Ne croyez vous jamais | C | 13 |
| Moulinié | Tous les triomphes | C | 13 |
| Moulinié | Embia me mi madre | C | 13$^v$ |
| Anonymous | Tempra i cordogli' ho mai | C | 17$^v$ |
| Anonymous | Sing devine Calliope | C | 18$^v$-19$^v$ |
| Smegergill, William (*fl.* 1615-1667) | How solitary are ye groves 'An elegy on Mr. Rich Deeringe. Mr Wm. Smeggergill alias Caesar' | C | 20 |
| Anonymous | Merrily let us sing | C | 20$^v$ |
| Johnson, Robert (*c.*1583 – 1633) | O happy we | C | 21-21$^v$ |
| Fleckno, Richard (*d. c.*1678) | Goe Phebus goe | C | 21$^v$-22 |
| Anonymous | This bargain make I with my lady | C | 22 |
| Anonymous | Was ever hower brought more delight | C | 22$^v$ |
| Lupo, Thomas (1571-1628) | Daphnis came on a summers day | C | 23 |

Husbands's copies of the *airs de cour* give the complete nineteen works of Moulinié's settings of strophic lyrical poetry, in print order: works, highly significantly, dedicated to Henrietta Maria's brother, Louis XIII, in the year that Henrietta Maria herself became Queen of England, and consort to Charles I. Moulinié's dedication can be seen as parallel, perhaps, to Child's own dedication of his 'Italian Way' psalms to Charles I, first published in 1639, during politically challenging and turbulent times for the King. Moulinié's airs are fully courtly in intention and function, music emblematic of the French court and resonant of contexts of the Louvre, perhaps, where Henrietta Maria was born, not least through the composer's heartfelt dedication: Moulinié seeking to provide musical solace during highly challenging times for France in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). Indeed, in parallel, Child's 'Plange Sion' in *Ge* R.d.3/1, may too have court-consolatory function. In addition to the highly expressive features highlighted for this motet in Chapter 1, Child's text addition of the word 'Sion' to his initial biblical text in this motet, translated 'Lament Sion', is highly suggestive of Commonwealth contexts. This poignant added word, an emblem of the Stuart court and London in seventeenth-century England, is the sole example of Child adjusting words of the Vulgate, by comparison to his much more numerous, and context-resonant, changes to Tremellius's biblical Latin, as will be discussed across later chapters (5 to 7). For Moulinié himself, the five-part textures enabled enhanced structural and harmonic expressive possibilities, as demonstrated by the two highly characterful items intended to accompany courtly dance (indexed in print, 1625, as 'Ballet'): 'O dieux quelle adventure' (a4), which is a later phrase within a dialogue between Night and Sun, alongside 'Il sort de nos corps emplumez' (a5), with rich and affective homophony, which is titled, in translation, a 'concert of different birds'!

Fourteen of Moulinié's 1625 works copied by Husbands in *Ge* R.d.3/1 were, in addition, published in arrangement for voice (identical to that of the polyphonic set published in 1625), accompanied by lute.[42] The five-part vocal texture of Moulinié's works, then, also align with the five-part vocal scoring of Child's 'Plange Sion', and also that of 'Rise O my soul' by 'rare lutenist' William Simmes, itself accompanied by viol consort.[43] Indeed, Moulinié's works

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[42] Four airs (out of twenty-four) from, *Airs de Cour avec Tablature de Luth de Estienne Moulinié* (Paris: Ballard, 1624) : 'Ne croyex vous jamais', 'On fuyez vous', 'Tant de tourments', and 'Quel nouveau dieu'.
The complete contents (ten airs, with British Library copy referenced in footnote 39) of, *Airs de Cour avec Tablature de Luth de Estienne Moulinié*, 2^re Livre (Paris: Ballard, 1625).

[43] Description of Simmes is by Anthony Wood, quoted by Ian Spink, 'Caesar [Smegergill], William', *Grove Music Online*, January 20th, 2001, accessed May 9th 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.04536. Spink states how Smegergill taught lute in the household of Pepys, friend and co-beneficiary of Restoration patronage, alongside Child, of the First Earl of Sandwich, Edward Montagu.

were, and are, flexible in this respect, and could have been sung either unaccompanied in five parts, or with voices doubled by string consort; or even for *dessus* alone, accompanied by consort, depending on available resources.[44] Such presence, then, of Child's five-part 'Plange Sion', alongside the Simmes and Moulinié works, might even suggest the option of Child's motet being accompanied by such a consort, potentially for the homophonic sections (bars1-8, 28-34, and concluding bars, 55-59, in transcription, Volume II).

The presence of further music by, or in homage to, court-employed composers, and members of the flexible ensemble of the Stuart monarchs' 'Private Musick', the 'Lutes, Viols and Voices', is highly notable, also, in *Ge* R.d.3/1. This ensemble would have provided domestic music, vocal and instrumental, in the private chambers of the monarchs, whether for private performances, or on occasions when the monarchs were hosting visiting dignitaries. Ashbee, for example, has highlighted how this ensemble, featuring singers (accompanied by lute, strings and keyboard, as needed) grew out of the professional household musicians of Stuart princes Henry and Charles (from *c*. 1610-1625), and would have incorporated singers from the Chapel Royal, as circumstances and repertoire required.[45] Thomas Lupo, whose pastoral song, 'Daphnis came on a summers day' is in *Ge* R.d.3/1, was a long-term court violinist, from 1588 onwards, working for Prince Henry from 1610, and Prince Charles, from 1617, as a member of the Lutes, Viols and Voices.[46] Robert Johnson, whose 'O happy we' is copied, was a lutenist member of the group, as was Richard Dering, appointed keyboard player to the ensemble, who receives a musical elegy in *Ge* R.d.3/1 through Smegergill's 'How solitary are ye groves';[47] Dering, organist to Queen Henrietta Maria during her early years in England, was a pioneering and significant composer of motets, and will be discussed in the next chapter.[48] As recent work by John Cunningham has affirmed, there is little-surviving direct evidence concerning exactly

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[44] See, for example, comments by Ellen Hargis, in *A Performer's Guide to Renaissance Music*, second edition, ed. Jeffery Kite-Powell (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007), 11-12.
Kate Van Orden discusses Abraham Bosse's painting of a domestic musical performance by Abraham Bosse (1604-1676), likely a depiction of a five-part French *air de cour*, accompanied by instruments: in *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music*, ed. Ian Fenlon and Richard Wistreich (Cambridge: CUP, 2019), 344.

[45] Ashbee, *A Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. II, 1189 and 1192; Ashbee, 'William Lawes and the "Lutes, Viols and Voices"', in *William Lawes 1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, ed. Andrew Ashbee, 1-9 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998). Table 1.2 in the latter, 3, details the group's membership, 1625-1642.

[46] Peter Holman, 'Lupo family [de Milano, de Almaliach]', *Grove Music Online*, January 20th, 2001, accessed, May 9th 2022: http://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.17184.
Ashbee and Lasocki, compiled, 'A Biographical Dictionary', Vol. 2, 1193.

[47] This pastoral elegy has a later counterpart, affirming London-Oxford courtly networks, in that written by Wilson on the day of Charles I's execution in 1649, with score gifted to Lowe, to be discussed in the next chapter.

[48] See, also, Ian Spink, 'The Musicians of Queen Henrietta-Maria: Some Notes and References in the English State Papers', *Acta Musicologica* 36, Fasc. 2/3 (1964), 177-182.

where the Stuart 'Private Musicians' performed at Whitehall across the seventeenth century, though, spaces undoubtedly included the monarchs' private lodgings, and the Great Hall or Presence Chamber.[49]   There is evidence, however, for the Commonwealth-courtly, Stuart-influenced, performance of Dering motets at Whitehall's Cockpit theatre, also, which was refurbished by Inigo Jones in the 1630s, and hosted Henrietta's acting troupe, 'Henrietta Maria's Men', from 1626 to 1636: the longest residency of its type at the theatres.[50]   Cromwell himself, ironically in light of his intolerance of Anglican liturgy and church music, appointed John Hingeston to train-up two trebles to be able to sing such works with Hingeston, who provided keyboard accompaniment on the organ commandeered from Magdalen College, Oxford.  Such courtly 'domestic' function of Dering's few-voice *concertato* motets, including Cromwell's post-banquet use for entertaining esteemed guests in Whitehall, will be discussed further in the following chapter in context of the 'traffic' of music, musicians, and musical resources between Whitehall and Oxford.  This musical network and axis was epitomised, perhaps, not least by Edward Lowe, scribe for Child's instrumental parts in Husbands's partbooks, who became Heather Professor at Oxford following the Restoration, alongside his role as organist to the Chapel Royal, alongside Child and Christopher Gibbons: royal colleagues of Husbands himself.  Cunningham also affirms the intentional presence and functions of music in the monarchs' private spaces of Whitehall Palace, especially in light of the known presence of organs and virginals in such rooms.[51]

A further element of contextual connection to Henrietta Maria's courtly circles and networks in *Ge* R.d.3/1, concerns the authorship of at least three of Moulinié's nineteen items.  These are settings, notably 'secular', of pastoral-courtly love poetry by Father Jean l'Évangéliste d'Arras (*d*. 1654) who was a senior and key Capuchin-Franciscan at the French court, working also for Cardinal Richlieu, who was First Minister of State from 1624 to 1642.[52]  It is significant

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[49] John Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes 1602-1645* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 15-16.  See, also, Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240-1698* (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 92-93. Thurley notes how the private rooms underwent alterations in Charles I's reign; his diagrammatic layout for the years 1600-1637 shows three 'Privy lodgings', the third of which was known to house an organ during the reign of Elizabeth I, 93.

[50] Cromwell's use of Dering motet is in the hand of Benjamin Rogers, giving biography of Hingeston, within a manuscript of Anthony Wood: *Ob* Wood MS D.19 (4).

Eleanor Collins, 'Queen Henrietta's Men [known as Queen's Men]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, May 26th 2016, accessed May 9th, 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/107514.

[51] Cunningham, *The Consort Music*, 16.

[52] The airs with texts by D'Arras include the first Moulinié air in *Ge* R.d.3/1, 'C'en est fait il me faut mourir' (concerning a lover seeking empathy from his beloved for his pains, akin to Damon in Child's dialogue in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C.32-37), alongside 'Si parmi les deserts' (a lover feeling that the natural surroundings, woods and

that a group of Capuchins accompanied Henrietta Maria to England, Franciscan friars responsible for the daily running of her chapels, and central to the spiritual life of the Queen and her courtiers.[53]  The Queen undoubtedly had close and regular contact with her Franciscan staff, and an affinity for Franciscan-Capuchin spirituality, no doubt fostered through this channel.  Furthermore, in addition to her founding of a Confraternity of the Holy Rosary, Henrietta Maria established for her chapel at Somerset House (built by Inigo Jones and completed in 1635), a Confraternity of the Third Order of St. Francis of Assisi (*c*. 1181-1226), a lay fellowship founded originally by Francis himself in 1221.  The Queen followed her Italian mother, Marie de' Medici (1575-1642), in devotion to the saint, and the Third Order received communion in Henrietta Maria's chapel every second Sunday of the month, incorporating ceremonial processions.[54]  In this respect, it is notable that the prayerful and solace-seeking words of Child's 'O bone Jesu', included in *Ge* R.d.3/1 are traditionally ascribed to the Franciscan, Bernardino of Siena, words emblematic of the author's firm dedication to, and fervent advocacy of, a spirituality and iconography of the 'Holy Name' (which can be seen in motets entitled 'O nomen Jesu', alongside 'O bone Jesu' settings, for example).[55]  The notable nexus of these settings in seventeenth-century England will be discussed in Chapter 4, in relation also to Grandi's setting of the same text, which Playford included as a coda to his edition of Dering motets published in 1662, *Cantica Sacra*, dedicated to the dowager Queen. Alongside 'O bone Jesu', William Simmes's viol-accompanied 'Rise, O my soul', too, has a similar high-Christology, and fervent personal-devotional character, with words attributable to 'Ignoto' through concordance with further text sources (frequently the pseudonym of Sir Walter Raleigh, though the text is also associated with Sir Henry Wooton).[56]  A further Moulinié text, by unknown author, may also be representative or suggestive of Henrietta Maria: 'Cloris qui dompte', which was copied, in sole-surviving concordance by Matthew Locke, *Lbl*

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rocks, have more empathy for him than his hoped-for lover), and 'Ô Dieux quand verrai-je le jour' (a lamentful plea to the 'gods' for happiness, and reciprocal love).

[53] A full account of Franciscan-Capuchin activity in Caroline England by Capuchin Friar, Fr. Cyprian Gamache, is provided in Thomas Birch, *The Court and Times of Charles the First, containing a series of confidential letters, including the mission in England of the Capuchin Friars in the service of Henrietta* Maria, Volume II (London: Henry Colburn, 1848); Gamache, 'Mission in England of the Capuchin Friars of the Province of Paris': 289-500.

[54] *Ibid*., 316.

[55] Jeffreys, for example, set 'O nomen Jesu', 'O bone Jesu'; Jeffreys further set 'O Deus meus et omnia', seemingly incorporating a phrase which became the Franciscan motto, 'My God and my all', through tradition of St. Francis repeating these words in fervent night-time prayer, recounted by the first follower of the saint, Bernard of Quintevalle. See, for example. Sister Mary Karol, 'Franciscan Elements in the Life and some essays of Francis Thompson', *Franciscan Studies* 18, no. 1 (1958), 19 (with references to the writings of thirteenth-century Franciscan author, Thomas of Celano).

[56] John Hannah, ed., *The Poems of Sir Henry Wooton, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Others* (London: William Pickering, 1845), 71-72.

Add. MS 14,399. Locke was a key musician in Stuart courtly-domestic music of the Restoration monarchs, and Composer to the Private Musick of Charles II from June 23$^{rd}$, 1660. His copy of 'Cloris qui dompte' is immediately next to the autograph of his two-voice motet, 'Bone Jesu Verbum Patris', transcribed in Volume Two: a parallel, even, to the presence of Child's 'O bone Jesu' being copied together with the same air in *Ge* R.d.3/1. Though Moulinié's air was first published in 1625 in France, Royalists in England from the 1630s onwards may well have associated the character of Cloris, central to Moulinié's air, with Henrietta Maria, due to her role as this very multifaceted, mythological, character. Chloris, portrayed in Latin poetry by Ovid, formed the central character in the masque written for the Queen by Ben Jonson, *Chlorinda*, staged in February 1631, paired with *Love's Triumph Through Callipolis*, performed by the King just the previous month. The staging was by Inigo Jones, who himself designed the Queen's house in Greenwich. The role also enabled the queen to display her expertise in courtly dance as Chloris. Furthermore, Britland has drawn attention to the ways the masque engaged in political themes, including Anglo-French relations at this challenging time, and how the masque 'participates in and contributes to the iconographical vocabulary of the Caroline reign, locating the queen consort as a divine beauty and the king as the incarnation of heroic virtue.'[57]

Above all, the repertory of *Ge* R.d.3/1, with two heartfelt motets by Child, resonates very strongly of function and performance in Stuart domestic contexts, by members of the 'Lutes, Viols and Voices'. There is perhaps an orientation towards contexts and networks associated with Henrietta Maria and her musicians, not least through the elegy to Dering, and presence of works by Roman Catholic composers, sharing his denomination (Flecknoe, Simmes, and Smeggergill). The presence of a *style antico* four-part polyphonic setting of 'Simon Petrus hodie' (*Ge* R.d.3/2) by an unattributed composer, certainly appropriate for Catholic liturgies, bound within the partbook, may further hint at such networks, though unfortunately the relation between items 1 and 2, with history of binding, is not known. *Ge* R.d.3/1, then, copied by royal-employed musician, Husbands, firmly locates Child's 'O bone Jesu' and 'Plange Sion' in these contexts and, by extension and association perhaps, potentially the complete set of Child's thirteen motets. Whilst, unfortunately, it cannot be ascertained for certain which of Child's motets were performed, exactly when and where, it appears that Child's accomplished domestic music is fully courtly in intention and function, with strong aligned presence and

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[57] Britland, *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria*, 75-75, within the wide-ranging survey from 74-79.

function in Oxford, under the auspices of Heather Professor Lowe: Chapel Royal colleague of both Child and Husbands after the Restoration, owner of the very books copied by Husbands which, in turn, he bequeathed to the Music School.

In addition to Husbands's copies, there are further seventeenth-century sources for Moulinié's courtly music in England.  In addition to Locke's copy (*Lbl* Add. MS 14,399) of 'C'est en fait' (item one in his 1625 publication), Edward Lowe copied Moulinié's *air Espagnol*, 'Replicavan las campanillas' (unattributed), published in 1626, in his song book, *Lbl* Add. MS 29,396 (item 65, f. 77), copied from the 1630s onwards, to be discussed in the next chapter in relation to the monarchs' visit to Oxford in 1636.  Playford printed the same work in *The Musical Companion* (London: W. Godbid, 1673, p. 110), again unattributed.[58]  Moulinié's work survives in instrumental arrangement in *Och* Mus. 1236, a mid-century keyboard manuscript of English and French works copied by Oxford organist William Ellis, whose music meetings, contemporary to these arrangements, will be discussed in the next chapter: 'Moulinies sarabrand' (item 81, ff. R15v-R16r) and 'Molnis Corant' (item 85, f.R18r), 'set by Will Ellis'. In relation to the networks of motet 'translations' to be discussed across following chapters, it is notable that courtly keyboard dances are also included in the manuscript: seven items by 'Mr Ben Rogers of London', in addition to three works by Ellis himself, 'Almayne', 'Sarabrand' and, perhaps tellingly of his allegiances, 'The Royallist'.[59]

Furthermore, there is a highly significant source of seventeenth-century French *Airs de cour* in England, previously unaccounted in musicological writing, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. D. 218, which fully aligns with the contexts and repertory of *Ge* R.d.3/1.  This collection of eighteen solo songs, accompanied by lute, by unattributed composers, can be said to affirm the relation of *Ge* R.d.3/1 to the direct musical circles of Henrietta Maria. *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. D. 218 does not appear to feature any airs by Moulinié but, notably, includes the airs 'Faut il, O Dieux!' and 'Souspirs, ou courrez vous?' by Moulinié's close colleague François La Roche (*d*. 1676): both men, significantly, private musicians for Gaston d'Orléans, brother of both King Louis XIII of France, and of Henrietta Maria herself.  Crucially, this ornate, silk-embossed manuscript, with calligraphic hand not dissimilar to that of Husbands Sr, features images both internally and on

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[58] The lack of attribution to Moulinié by both Lowe and Playford perhaps demonstrates that they received the song from a secondary source, whether through manuscript copy or even aural transmission. The air was first published in *Livre D'Airs De Cour, et Differents Autheurs*, Book vii (Paris: Ballard, 1626), ff. 54v-55.

[59] See Milsom's online catalogue: 'Mus. 1236', Christ Church Library Music Catalogue: http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+1236, accessed May 9th, 2022.

its covers, though very worn, of Queen Henrietta Maria herself, which do not appear to have been acknowledged as such in the subsequent history of this manuscript. This illustration of Henrietta Maria is given in Figure 2.6, and confirmation of full likeness to the English Queen, of both French Bourbon and Italian Medici royal heritage, is affirmed by comparing the manuscript's pen illustration on folio 2v, with the 1645 drawing of the crowned Queen by French artist, Daniel Dumonstier (1574-1646), given in Figure 2.7. The image of the Queen in *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. D. 218 is opposite a eulogising French-language sonnet, on folio 3.

**Figure 2.6** *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. D. 218, f.2

**Figure 2.7** Drawing of Henrietta Maria, dated March 4, 1645, by Daniel Dumonstier (1574-1646), image courtesy of Philip Mould & Co.



Given the great similarity of these images, it is feasible that *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. D. 218 is chronologically proximate to the Dumonstier portrait, dated March 4th 1645, and itself of French mid-century provenance, the time of the Queen's exile in France, aged *c*. 35. Similarly, the manuscript's very presence in the Music School collection, may suggest that subsequent court-Oxford musical interaction, potentially via French or French-speaking musicians, later ensured the manuscript's safe arrival, and potential practical use, at Oxford's seventeenth-century Music School.[60]

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[60] There was notable presence of French-born, or French-descent, lutenists and singers at the Stuart court across the seventeenth century in England, including the Lanier family, of which Nicholas Lanier became the first Master of the King's Music, to Charles I, in 1625. Highly accomplished, and infamous, French lutenist, Jacques Gaultier (*fl*. 1617-1652), inventor of the 12-course lute (according to the manuscript book, the 'Burwell Lute Tutor', *c*. 1660-1672), was a musician to Henrietta Maria and the Stuart court from 1625 until at least 1640. He taught lute both to Henrietta Maria and to his patron, the Duke of Buckingham. See, Monique Rollin, 'Gautier [Gaultier], Jacques [Gwaltier, James], *Grove Music Online*, January 20th 2001, accessed July 6th 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.10756.
See, also: Ian Spink, 'The Musicians of Queen Henrietta-Maria: Some Notes and References in the English State Papers', *Acta Musicologica* 36, Fasc. 2/3 (1964): 177 & 180.
A concise overview of the French theorbo in England is given by Lynda Sayce, 'Continuo Lutes in 17th and 18th-Century England', *Early Music* 23, no. 4, *Music in Purcell's London I* (1995), 680-681.
The motet work of Claude Desgranges, member of Charles II's French Musick will be referenced in Chapter 7.

Attributable composers within *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. D. 218, solely French-texted, include French court-employed musicians: Jean de Cambefort (1605-1665) [61] patronized by powerful statesmen, and royal administrators, Cardinals Richelieu (1585-1642) and Mazarin (1602-1661), the latter the chief minister to Bourbon Kings of France, Louis XIII and Louis XIV; also, Adam Billaut (*c.* 1602-1662),[62] artisan carpenter, poet and singer, patronised by royals Marie Louise Gonzaga, Louis de Bourbon, and pensioned by Cardinal Richlieu. Undoubtedly there is exciting potential for further and fruitful scholarly work to be undertaken on this highly rare and ornate royal manuscript, with its seemingly unique-surviving iconographic representations of Henrietta Maria in a musical manuscript, its introductory sonnet and *airs*, texts, provenance, physical characteristics, and likely international French-English court-cultural functions, both practical and symbolic. In terms of Child's motets in *Ge* R.d.3/1, 'O bone Jesu' and 'Plange Sion', alongside Moulinié airs dedicated to Henrietta Maria's brother, King Louis XIII of France, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. D. 218 can be said to affirm their presence in the courtly-domestic musical circles of Henrietta Maria, through aligned *airs de cour* by French royal-employees and ornate crowned portrait of the Queen herself. Child's two motets in this manuscript of Husbands Sr, with crucial continuo part, were fully open to accompaniment by theorbo. Such accompaniment could have been have been realised on the wide range of available continuo-lute types in seventeenth-century England, in such potential courtly-domestic contexts outlined above, as the royal-dedicated Moulinié songs in the same manuscript and the continuo-accompanied *airs de cour* of *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. D. 218, as indeed Child's English-texted psalms published in close chronological proximity, 1639, 'with a continuall Base either for the organ or Theorbo newly composed after the Italian Way', themselves dedicated to Charles I, with frontispiece image of the king.[63]

Discussion of Husbands's own ornate manuscripts, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 and *Ge* R.d.3/1, then, has affirmed the court-cultural function and nature of these sources, with clear Whitehall-Oxford nexus, facilitated by networks of courtly musicians, not least Child's Chapel Royal colleague from the Restoration, Lowe, responsible for the instrumental parts bound within *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 35. In light of the receptivity of 'royal' music in Oxford, contexts

[61] See, Margaret M. McGowan, 'Cambefort, Jean de', *Grove Music Online*, January 20th 2001, accessed July 6th, 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.04633.

[62] A complete edition of Billaut's poems, (published, 1842), including initial biography in French, is readily accessible in digital form from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, accessed July 6th, 2022: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2059377/f1.item.

[63] Child, *The First Set of Psalmes*, title page and frontispiece.

associated with the Heather Professorship, whose traditions will be outlined in the next chapter, it may well be that the works in both Husbands's sources had primary intention and function within royal circles (whether Whitehall, or peripatetic with the Court's travels), with closely aligned purpose and co-presence foreseen, perhaps, in the University.  Child received his Oxford BMus in 1631, and DMus in 1663, in  musical contexts to be outlined in the next chapter.  Discussion has highlighted the repertorial presence of Child's motets alongside courtly 'secular' works, including Child's Dialogue and Epithalamium, and also alongside rare sources in England of courtly works by Moulinié, including *airs de cour* designed to accompany dancing, feasibly by Henrietta Maria herself.  Discussion of the strong associations of Child's work, in *Ge* R.d.3/1, with the court musicians of the 'Lutes, Viols and Voices', places Child's motets, and even his broader compositional remit and known biography, in closer royal-domestic proximity than has been acknowledged to date, with especial links to the circles and networks of Henrietta Maria herself.  The Queen was the undoubted catalyst for the flourishing presence of *concertato* motets, manuscripts and prints, in seventeenth-century England from 1625 onwards, with 'translations' and appropriations by Child and Chapel Royal colleagues in the central years of the century when Anglican worship was forbidden.  The next chapter will affirm the location of Husbands's partbooks, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, in the traditions of gift-giving and bequest in the university, and within the broader appropriations of royal and Italianate culture in the university.  It appears significant, also, that Husbands and Lowe, in addition to 'collegial' scribal work for Child, also copied a distinct number of motets by Italian composer and tenor, Giovanni Felice Sances (1600-1679), both collegially and individually, as seen in Figure 3 at the start of the chapter. They notably copied motets dedicated to the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinand III (*r.* 1637-1657), published in Venice, Sances's *Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci* (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1638).[64] Sances served the Imperial Court in Vienna under three successive Emperors, from 1636 onwards.[65]  His 1638 motets, significantly, set 'Counter-Reformation' texts fully in accordance with the Emperor's theological concerns, and demonstrate the further international scope of the

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[64] A copy of these works was bought for 4s-6d in the year of publication by Christopher Hatton III, patron of George Jeffreys and Comptroller to the Oxford household of Charles I whilst resident in Oxford in the 1640s, in November 1638; surviving in Christ Church Library via the Aldrich bequest, *Och* Mus. 926-930 (tract 3).  This was used as a copy-text by Hatton employees, both Jeffreys and Bing; see Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 29.
For a modern edition, please see: Steven Saunders, ed., *Giovanni Felice Sances. Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci (1638)*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, 126 (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, Inc., 2003).

[65] John Whenham and Steven Saunders, 'Sances [Sancies, Sanci, Sanes, Sanchez], Giovanni Felice', *Grove Music Online*, January 2001, accessed May 10th 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.24486.

regal-Italianate motet repertory favoured, adopted and appropriated, in England, and especially Oxford.[66]  Indeed, Husbands alone copied these works as a complete set (*Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 10, five partbooks, akin to his copies of all Child's motets and complete Moulinié airs of 1625), in ornate manner to that of his Child partbooks, and appears to have given the books to Lowe who, in turn, bequeathed them to the Music School, alongside *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37. Husbands's ornate scribal work, alongside that of Lowe, then, is absolutely central and integral for the seventeenth-century presence, role and function, of non-liturgical courtly music by Child, and for its preservation and curation to this day.  Furthermore, Husbands's work, in addition to the ornately illustrated royal-liturgical repertory, *Lbl* Add. MS 17,784 (with crowned image of Charles II), is fully associated with the courtly repertory of Bourbon and Habsburg composers, produced during the Thirty Years' War: French-texted *airs de cour* by Moulinié (published 1625) and Latin motets by Sances (published 1638), and their subsequent functions in England, together with Child's own motets.

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[66] Scholarship by Steven Saunders and Andrew Weaver has affirmed the strong social-political functions of the music and texts, with contemporary contextual resonances, and their Habsburg-dedicatory nature.  Particular Marian motets, including 'Ardet cor meum' and 'O quam speciosa' for example, presented themes of the Immaculate Conception, a then-controversial doctrine, and not an official church teaching until 1854, firmly advocated by Ferdinand III.  Please see, Saunders, *Giovanni Felice Sances. Motetti*, xiii-xiv; Andrew Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 224-236

## Chapter 3

## Motets in seventeenth-century Oxford:
## musical and cultural contexts at the University of Oxford

Having discussed the dynamic Court-Oxford cultural axis represented by key Child-motet sources in the previous chapter, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 and *Ge* R.d.3/1, with key scribal work by Child's Chapel Royal colleagues, Charles Husbands Sr. and Edward Lowe, Chapter 3 seeks to provide fuller contextual study of the enabling musical contexts and networks, and institutional use, of such repertory in Oxford: centring on the university's Heather Professorship and Music School, its musical materials, performance traditions and spaces, attendees, visitors and guests, and annexed musical networks.   Furthermore, and within seventeenth-century traditions of endowment and gift-giving associated with the Music School, to be discussed below, Heather Professor Lowe can be said to provide a pivotal, connoisseur-like curatorial role in the transmission and preservation of Child's *concertato* works through his bequest of the Child partbooks to the Music School, described in the 1682 inventory as, 'Lattin Songs for 3, 4, and 5 Voices by Dr. Child in folio cover'd with black leather'.[1]   Indeed, the Child books are the first item stated of Lowe's gift, initiating a non-alphabetical listing of twenty-six items of vocal music, alongside papers of Act Songs, which also features 'Lattin Songs' by 'several Italian Authors', and by Merula, Dering, Sances and Locke (autograph manuscript, *Lbl* Add. MS 31,437, itself in turn gifted to the Music School by Locke), with 'Lattin Anthems' by Byrd and Tallis.[2]   The presence of Husbands's ornate vocal partbooks solely featuring Child's work on the School's 1682 list of Lowe's bequest may be doubly resonant, as the personal gifting of a prior personal gift: in similar fashion, also, to the collection's important and foundational 'Forrest-Heather' partbooks of sixteenth-century vocal music, with regal repertory and institutional links to Cardinal College (founded in 1525, then refounded as King Henry VIII's College in 1532,  and again as Christ Church in 1546):[3] the college associated with *concertato*-motet composers Dering, Lowe, Jeffreys, Child, Christopher Gibbons, and Aldrich; and Oxford residence of Charles I and Charles II during Court presence in the city at significant political junctures, as will be seen.

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[1] Margaret Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', *Music & Letters*, 48, no. 1 (1967): 31.
[2] *Ibid*., 31-32.
[3] Gouk, 'Seventeenth-Century Oxford', 625.

This chapter will discuss the particular and sustained presence of *concertato* motets, their intentional cultivation, within the university's seventeenth-century contexts of para-liturgical vocal performance and composition, and the significant creation, acquisition and curation of motet manuscripts, alongside imported printed collections of Italian repertory: featuring a nexus of Latin settings by English composers, including Dering, Child and Lowe, alongside the much more numerous works by Italian composers

## The Heather Professorship at the University of Oxford: seventeenth-century benefaction, musical traditions, and curation of international repertories

Intended for the significant development and nurturing of musical provision and practical resources in seventeenth-century Oxford, William Heather (*c.* 1563-1627) generously endowed both a professorship for practical music ('Choragus') and a lectureship in musical theory at the university in 1626, to complement the university's long-established traditions of theoretical study of music,[4] and its provision of liturgical music, especially within its collegiate choral foundations.[5]  This took place at a period of significant expansion of material resources at the university: a time of cultural and institutional development, with aligned physical and architectural expansion underpinned by significant expense and bequest, during successive Stuart monarchies in the first quarter of the century.  William Heather himself was an accomplished, Court-connected singer: a Lay Clerk of Westminster Abbey (1585-1615), then Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, who sang at the funerals of Elizabeth I, James I, Queen Anne of Denmark, and also at the coronation of Charles I.[6]  In tandem with his bequest of printed music and practical resources, including Italianate repertories to be addressed, Heather's far-sighted stipulations were foundational to the seventeenth-century School's cultivation of the motet genre, alongside secular works: with notable care and curation of physical materials, books and instruments.  Whilst Heather's co-stipulated lectureship in the science of music only

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[4] Susan Wollenberg, 'Oxford', in *Grove Music Online*, 20th January 2001, accessed March 2nd 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.20620: Section Five, 'Academic Tradition', 7.

[5] In the seventeenth-century, the colleges with statutory provision of liturgical choral music were: New College, Magdalen, Christ Church (with Diocesan cathedral) and St. John's College.  See, Anthony Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford in Two Books*, ed. John Gutch (Oxford: printed for the editor, 1796); 'The Annals', Book I, 358.

[6] Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, ed., assisted by Peter Holman and Fiona Kisby, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714*, Two Volumes,  (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), Vol. I, 557-559.

David Mateer, 'Heather, William (*c.* 1563-1627)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Online, 23rd September 2004, accessed February 28th 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12849.

saw a single post-holder, John Allibond (1597-1658),[7] the theoretical study of music continued decisively across seventeenth-century Oxford, as seen through the work and publications of Edmund Chilmead, Charles Butler and Henry Aldrich, for example.[8]  Heather's professorship in musical 'praxis', however, thrived significantly: with notable material and cultural legacy, and an endowed chair surviving to the present day.  Indeed, akin to Heather himself, a number of seventeenth-century holders of the professorship held notable musical positions at Court, on occasion simultaneously, as Lowe himself: Chapel Royal Organist colleague of Child and Christopher Gibbons, after the Restoration.  Table 3.1 provides an outline of the seventeenth-century Heather Professors, with details of dates in post and additional roles, including positions at Court.

**TABLE 3.1**: seventeenth-century Heather Professors ('of the Musical Praxis'[9]) at the University of Oxford, giving years in post, and Court posts, if held:

|  | Years in post | Additional roles, including Court posts |
|---|---|---|
| Richard Nicholson (1563-1638)[10] | 1626-1639 | concurrently organist of Magdalen, (the same college as Heather's music lecturer, John Allibond) |
| Arthur Philips (1605-1695) | 1639-1656 | concurrently organist of Magdalen; subsequently Henrietta Maria's organist (*c*. 1656- 1660), then connected to the Caryl family.[11] |
| John Wilson (1595-1674), with Lowe as a deputy[12] | 1656-1661 | member of the royal 'Lutes and Voices' from 1635; reappointed in 1661; Also, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, from 1662.[13] |

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[7] Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714; their Parentage, Birthplace, and Year of their Birth, with a Record of their Degrees,* Volume One – Early Series  (Oxford: James Parker & Co., 1891), 19.

[8] Gouk, 'Seventeenth-Century Oxford', 634-641.

[9] Wood, *The History and Antiquities*, Vol. II, Book II, 893.

[10] In the later 1630s, Nicholson was also assisted at Magdalen by organists Thomas Curtis and Francis Jones.  See, Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, 364, 'Thomas Curtise', 'de Oxon musitian', listed, 'privilegiatus 3 June, 1636, age 20'.

[11] See John Caldwell, 'Phillips, Arthur', in *Grove Music Online*, 20 January, 2001, accessed, March 25th 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.21574.

[12] C. V. R. Blacker and David Pinto, 'Desperately Seeking William: Portraits of the Lawes Brothers in Context', *Early Music* 37, no. 2 (2009), 157-174: 167.  Regarding Lowe as deputy to Wilson, see also, Wood, *Life and Times*, 317.

[13] Ian Spink, 'Wilson, John (English composer, lutenist and singer)', *Grove Music Online*, 20th January, 2001, accessed April 4th 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.30378. Wilson graduated DMus at Oxford on March 10th 1644, during the Court's residence in the city during the Civil Wars.

| Edward Lowe (*c*.1610-1682) | 1661-1682 | Organist of the University Church of St. Mary the Virgin, from 1630; and Christ Church Cathedral, from 1630 Chapel Royal Organist, with Child and Christopher Gibbons, from 1661 |
|---|---|---|
| Richard Goodson, Sr. (*c*. 1655-1718) | 1682-1718 | concurrently organist of Christ Church |

The Heather professorship enabled the training and nurture of young musicians, and provided focal opportunities for public and private performance, formal and informal, as subsequent discussion of the School's motet repertories and cross-century inventories will show. James Clifford and Thomas Pierce, both discussed in Chapter 2 (the latter as text-author for Child), were early Heather choristers in the 1630s; Restoration chorister, Steven Crespion, whose motet singing will be highlighted, went on to have later associations to Child and Gibbons, and to Music-School networks, as Pierce himself. Given the contextual and historical importance of Heather's generous bequest in nurturing diverse, international and Court-connected repertories, instrumental and vocal, his original stipulations for this multifaceted and curatorial role will be quoted in full. Key Oxford historian, antiquarian and amateur musician, Anthony Wood, records Heather's original stipulations, published and confirmed by the university's convocation on November 16th, 1626:

> The FOUNDER'S request of the Musick Lecture
> Imprimis, that the Exercise of Musick be constantly kept every week, on Thursday in the afternoon, afternoons in Lent excepted.
> Secondly, I appoint Mr. Nicholson, the now Organist of Magd. Coll. to be the Master of Musick, and to take charge of the Instruments. And in case he relinquisheth this charge, I reserve to myself the nomination and approbation of the Master as often as it shall become voyde during my natural life. And after my decease I do appoint the Vicechancellor for the time being, the Dean of Ch. Ch. the President of Magd. Coll. the Warden of New College and President of St. John's to name the Master. And I do appoint these or the major part of them to be the Visitors, that all things may be done according to the presmisses, and such Orders as the University and the said Doctors do appoint.
> Thirdly, I do appoint that the said Master bring with him two boys weekly, at the day and time aforesaid, and there to receive such company as will practise Musick, and to play Lessons of three Parts, if none other come.
> Lastly, I ordain that once every year the Instruments be viewed and the books: and that neither of these be lent abroad upon any pretence whatsoever, nor removed out of the Schoole and place appointed.[14]

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[14] Wood, *The History and Antiquities*, ed. John Gutch, 'The Annals', Book I, 358-369; on p. 358, Wood quotes from Oxford University Archives Register of Convocation 1615-1628, register N, ff. 233-234.

Heather's stipulations can be seen to stand alongside, develop and enhance, the university's long-term academic study of music as a mathematical, philosophical and speculative subject within the *quadrivium*, inherited from 'Medieval' scholarly traditions; and also the continuing compositional traditions for the degrees of Batchelor of Music and Doctor of Music, which required the submission and performance of vocal items, with use of such works at the university's annual celebrations of the 'Act': a five-part *canticum* for BMus after seven years of study, and a six- or eight-part work for DMus after a further seven years.[15] However, specific tuition for music-degree compositional requirements was not formally provided by the university in the seventeenth-century, and submissions were often presented by practising professional musicians, who were mostly established and distinguished Court, cathedral, or collegiate musicians, as will be seen. *Encaenia* ('festival of dedication') was the university's central public ceremony where degrees were awarded, featuring processions of robed academics, speeches, formal and informal, and musical performances: at times juxtaposing sacred 'Lattin Song' alongside suites for string consort, as will be seen. These were held first in the University Church of St. Mary, then in Christopher Wren's Sheldonian Theatre from July 1669, where the opening-week celebrations incorporated Italianate *concertato* motets by Child, Lowe and Rogers, to be discussed later in this chapter, with transcribed editions in Volume Two.

Both Heather's endowment, 'Statuta Doctoris Heather de Musices Praxi Hebdomadali', and formalized contemporary requirements for musical degrees, were printed within the university's renewed statutes of 1636, in Latin: initiated and implemented by William Laud (1573-1645), the reforming Chancellor of the university from 1630 to 1641.[16] Laud was also Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633, a close ally of Charles I and advocate of the King's controversial Personal Rule from March 1629 to April 1640, when Parliament was not summoned: an extended decade of seeming stability and prosperity, though also of financial and religious policies which paved the way for mounting opposition and to the civil wars of

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[15] Gouk, 'Seventeenth-Century Oxford', 622.

[16] The 'Laudian Statutes', printed in 1636, having been received and authorized by Royal Charter on June 22nd, show Heather's endowed position to be one of seventeen professorships listed within the section entitles, 'De Lectoribus Publicus'. See *Statutes of the University of Oxford Codified in the Year 1636 Under the Authority of Archbishop Laud, Chancellor to the University*, ed. John Griffiths (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), 33-40. Heather's endowed post was also termed *Choragus* in the Statutes, 262, 'Choragum Musicae Praxeos', a term originally used to describe the leader, or financier, of the dramatic chorus in ancient Athenian drama. The requirements for BMus vocal-composition (in five parts, 'Canticum quinque Partium') and DMus (six or eight parts, 'Canticum sex vel octo Partium') are found on pages 59 and 60, respectively.

the 1640s. Laud was also architect of 'High Church' liturgical reforms. These included cultivation of liturgical worship, choral music and ornate church decoration, through church policies and leadership by diocesan bishops under Laud: a hierarchical and authoritarian structure closely aligned to Charles who, like his father James I, believed that the 'divine right of kings' allowed him to govern without answering to Parliament. Notably, Heather and Laud held Court positions at the Chapel Royal at the same time, with Laud as Dean (1626 to 1628) and Heather as a Gentleman (1615-1627). Both, therefore, were Stuart-court, 'royalist', patrons at the university of Oxford at a time of significant expansion during the early years of Charles I's reign with Henrietta Maria: a time of related and aligned cultural flourishing at both Court and university, with new statutes, endowments and buildings in Oxford. Indeed, the university's renewed alignment with the Stuart Court can be said to have been affirmed and legitimated by the 'Laudian Statutes', incorporating Heather's stipulations: statutes authorized notably by royal charter on June 22nd, 1636.

The musical vision and facilitation represented by the Heather Professorship can also be contextualised within the cultural flourishing and trajectory of the university in the Stuart era: embodied and represented, perhaps, by its newly opened Schools Quadrangle, built between 1613 and 1624 and with focal tower: featuring ornate columns decorated after the five orders of European ancient-classical architecture.[17] The quadrangle provided and demonstrated clearly demarked new space for the *Schola Musicae*, for musical study, performance, rehearsals and materials, alongside other academic schools of the *quadrivium* (a sixth-century Latin term for the 'four-part way' of arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy) and *trivium* subjects (the 'three-part way' of grammar, rhetoric and logic): in confident architectural display of the university's academic values as a 'European' university. The new buildings were a central part of the refounding of the university's library by Sir Thomas Bodley (1545-1613): a member of Queen Elizabeth's household, and Member of Parliament for Portsmouth from 1584. The library was reopened as the 'Bodleian Library' in November 1602, with significant impetus from Bodley's scholarly, international, antiquarian, collecting and cataloguing interests. The library's fast-growing early collections were significantly aided, also, by the agreement with the Stationers' Company in 1610, negotiated by Bodley, which ensured the library a free copy

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[17] The five orders were codified by Sebastiano Serlio (1475-*c*. 1554), *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prespetiva*, Book IV (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1537).

of all printed books registered at Stationers' Hall.[18] Significantly, the Bodleian facilitated the first 'general' library catalogue printed in Europe, in 1605, a copy of which was given to King James I when he visited the library on August 20th, 1605;[19] similarly, the library also produced the first 'modern', alphabetically ordered, author-title catalogue in print, in 1620.[20]

The repertories of Heather's 1626 bequest, and surviving manuscripts of the early 1630s connected to the Music School can be seen to fit comfortably within this dynamic culture of endowment, bequest and gift-giving, frequently by Court-connected patrons: aiding the acquisition and curation of printed books and manuscripts within new spaces in Oxford. The early repertories of the new Music School and early Heather professors, then, were centred, housed and used, within a focal 'domestic' space for the university, alongside the larger space for public ceremonies: the very proximate university church of St. Mary-the-Virgin. Crucial places of musical performance and cultivation also, though, were the 'satellite' spaces of college rooms, and the domestic music meetings organised by university members: such as those of Thomas Crosfield in the 1630s, of William Ellis in the Commonwealth, and of Henry Aldrich at Christ Church later in the century, as will be discussed. Similarly, the fostering of Latin-texted *concertato* motets in non-liturgical spaces within seventeenth-century Oxford, in tandem with the cultivation of other small-scale vocal and instrumental genres, will be seen to be highly natural in the city where Italianate culture was valued in Court-aligned musical circles as an 'object' of connoisseurship, and where Latin was very much the living, international language of scholarship, science, lecture, debate and public ceremony; alongside formal university sermons, dramatic plays, and production of printed collections of eulogising poetry, dedicated to monarchs across the century. Oxford appears as a key centre of motet cultivation in seventeenth-century England: a genre where aspects of Italianate cultural prestige and Latinity converge in 'Lattin Songs', such as those of Dering and Child associated with Oxford's *Schola Musicae* (including the settings of more-recent 'Neo-Latin' translation by Tremellius and Beza to be addressed in Chapters 5 to 7). The presence of such works in

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[18] A copy of the agreement is held by the Stationers' Company, London: Stationers' Company Archive TSC/1/E15.

[19] William Clennell, 'Bodley, Sir Thomas.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, 23 September, 2004, accessed April 1st, 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2759.

[20] Thomas James, *Catalogus Universalis Librorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (Oxford: printed for the Bodleian Library, 1620).
See, also: 'Sir Thomas Bodley and the Library of Legal Deposit.' Online article by the Stationers' Company, accessed March 31st 2022: https://www.stationers.org/news/archive-news/sir-thomas-bodley-and-the-library-of-legal-deposit.

seventeenth-century Oxford sources and Music School inventories, for example, can be said to be facilitated by the similar and broad processes of cultural translation and assimilation which were also key to the flourishing of the madrigal genre in England from the 1580s onwards: including dissemination of repertories first composed, and printed, in Italy.

In presenting the 1626 and 1682 inventories of the *Schola Musicae* in tandem, Margaret Crum has provided an invaluable resource for the study of key printed and manuscript repertories associated with the seventeenth-century Heather Professorship, and related Oxford circles.[21] In addition, however, it is important to note, as Penelope Gouk has highlighted for instrumental repertory in seventeenth-century Oxford, that such listed works likely represent 'only a fraction' of what was actually performed in the spaces outlined above: vocal, in addition to instrumental works.[22] The inventories, though, alongside study of manuscripts from the 1630s including key motet and vocal sources such as *US-NYp* Drexel 4300 and the Bishop Smith partbooks (*GB-CL* Smith Books), provide a clear picture of the types of repertory favoured in Oxford from the early reign of Charles I and Henrietta Maria onwards.

The 1626 inventory of Heather's musical benefaction features no less than twenty-five sets of madrigals by both English and Italian composers, including works by: John Ward, Michael East, Pallavicino, Vecchi, Galeno, with anthology of madrigals, '*Floridi virtuosi*' and set by Marenzio ('*Musico excellentissimo*'). The latter descriptions of notable 'style' and 'quality' in Italian, by the publisher Phalèse, perhaps spotlight and serve the significant element of curation of valued, internationally inclusive, repertory inherent in the surviving seventeenth-century Music School inventories. The presence of madrigals and *stile antico* motets, of imported and 'translated' Italianate genres, styles and idioms, is continued, developed and expanded, in the later list, with greater presence of *concertato* works: including Lowe's gift of works by Sances alongside Child in 1682. Emblematic of both Italianate compositional-stylistic and textual-linguistic translation, use and appropriation, of such music within the early Music School repertory, are the four items listed in 1626 which feature processes of translation or 'crossing' in their titles:

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[21] Crum, 'Early Lists', 23-34.
[22] Gouk, 'Seventeenth-Century Oxford', 626.

**Table 3.2**: Printed vocal-music collections gifted by Heather to the Music School, 1626, with titles affirming processes of translation and 'crossing':

*The sett of Italian Madrigalls inglished by Thomas Watson, and twoe other madrigals compozed by Mr. William Bird*. [London, 1590]

*Musica transalpina.  Nicholas Yonge his collecc'ons of 4.5. & 6 parts*. [London, 1588]

*Musica Sacra, compozed by Giovanni Croce of 6. Voyces*. ['Newly Englished': London, 1608]

*Musica transalpina, or second booke of madrigals by Nicholas Younge to 5 and 6 voyces*. [London, 1597].

The madrigal collections of both Nicholas Young and Thomas Watson, with English translations of original Italian texts, had a significant impact in promoting the madrigal genre in England: its import from Italy, its popular and commercially lucrative domestic use within musical, literary, and aristocratic circles in the later sixteenth-century in England, and impetus for the flowering of a distinctive 'English Madrigal School'.[23]  Alongside the Croce edition of 1608, with English translations by the unknown 'R.H.' of seven Latin penitential-psalm paraphrases by Francesco Bembo (1544-1599), these collections provide key examples of the new 'Englishing' of vocal repertory by Italian composers, both secular and sacred works: a wider framework and trajectory of cultural translation and appropriation in early modern England, into which the *concertato*-idiom 'Latin Songs' within Oxford sources can be placed, similarly fostered by dissemination of partbooks printed in both Italy and England.  Three of the four 'Englished' books of Italianate works bequeathed by Heather, then, feature no less than thirty-three items by Luca Marenzio (1553 or 1554-1599), 'one of the most prolific and wide-ranging madrigalists of the later 16th century, particularly notable for the detailed word painting of his early works and the advanced harmonic expressiveness of his later ones.'[24]  The cross-century value of Marenzio's work to the Music School, with curation of both 'Englished' and Italian versions, is demonstrated, further, by Lowe's 1682 bequest of 'A set of Italian Songs for 6 Voices by Di Luco Marezio [*sic*]'.  This was Lowe's collection of Marenzio's first six books of six-voice madrigals, published in Venice between 1584 and 1591 (catalogued as *Ob*

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[23] Alfred Einstein was keen to highlight how English madrigalists such as Morley, Wilbye, Weelkes and Farmer, were 'no mere imitators' of Italian idioms, that their works 'by no means wholly Italianized', and that 'they only took up into their style what suited them.' See Einstein, 'The Elizabethan Madrigal and 'Musica Transalpina', *Music & Letters* 25, no. 2 (1944): 76.

[24] Steven Ledbetter, James Chater and Ronald Jackson, 'Marenzio [Marentio], Luca', *Grove Music Online*: 20th January 2001, accessed February 20th, 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40081.

MSS Mus. Sch. E. 525-530): bequested alongside *concertato* repertory including the motets and 'Italian Way' psalms by Child, alongside 'Latine Songs' of Sances and Dering.

It is notable that 'Italian Songs' and 'Latin Songs' are used in Lowe's bequest-list to describe or categorise madrigals and motets, respectively. Indeed, the term 'Latin Songs' itself is prevalent within Oxford motet sources, including DMus works associated with post-Restoration *Enacenia* ceremonies, and the 1682 inventory, to describe Latin settings for non-liturgical and *da camera* use by both Italian and English composers: a genre-descriptive term emblematic of motets' transalpine 'Englishing' of function and use in such spaces as Oxford's Music School. Scholarship by Laura Macy has readdressed the different types of 'Englishing', and their respective purposes, seen and epitomised in the Young and Watson collections.[25] Such work and wider creative contexts, then, shows Younge's and Watson's translation work, emblematic to Heather and his foundational Oxford bequest, as will be seen, within broader and dynamic, longstanding artistic-creative and commercial processes of cultural import and positive appropriation of *italianità*, 'across the Alps': as affirmed for Child's 'Italian Way' of 1639, discussed in Chapter 1.

The foundational importance and broad cultural resonance of Heather's notable gift of the transalpine music and 'Englished' repertories in his Oxford endowment, furthermore, is demonstrated by the emblematic presence of Nicholas Yonge's influential *Musica Transalpina* in Heather's oil-on-canvas portrait, which he gifted to the Music School: indeed a feature noted by Oxford historian, antiquarian, chronicler and musician, Anthony Wood in the seventeenth-century.[26] Wearing resplendent DMus robes and ruff, seen in Figure 3.1, Heather rests his left hand on the bound volume of *Musica Transalpina*, including linguistically and culturally translated repertory by Marenzio and Ferrabosco I. The book is given further focus by the way Heather's right-hand points to it, with scroll of music.

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[25] Laura Macy, 'The due decorum kept: Elizabethan translation and the madrigals Englished of Nicholas Yonge and Thomas Watson', *Journal of Musicological Research* 17 (1997): 1-21.

[26] Anthony Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford in Two Books*, ed. John Gutch (Oxford: printed for the editor, 1796); 'Lectures', Volume II, part II: p. 889. Wood gives details of the 'Music Lecture', pp. 887-894, including details of the bequest, professorship and wages, and postholders, alongside details of musician portraits and busts gifted to the Music School.

**Figure 3.1** Heather's Music School portrait, *c*. 1626, reproduced with permission: Bridgeman Images.



Heather's cultural legacy at Oxford can be said to have provided a key seedbed for the *concertato* motet in England, and the particular character of the genre's institutional 'translation' and assimilation in this city, and university, of notable courtly connections, as will be seen in the cross-century visits of the royal household from the 1630s onwards, to be addressed.

The *concertato* motet, alongside *concertato* psalm settings popular in print from the later 1630s onwards, can also be seen to have enabled composers, performers and listeners, further experience and exploration of Italianate sacred-compositional practices and musical expression of text, as if following and complementing those secular idioms first accessed through the madrigal genre from the 1580s onwards. Furthermore, the functions of motets, a genre with firm roots in Roman Catholic musical culture and liturgical practices, would inevitably see a shift or realignment of use, with distinctive, *da camera*, performance spaces outside of the chapel, within a country of broad Protestant affiliation, as England in the seventeenth-century: a century of drastic religious-political events and upheaval, including of the Thirty Years' War in Europe (1618-1638), and Civil Wars (1642-1651) and Commonwealth Period (1649-1660) in England, the latter a period of republican rule where liturgical worship was forbidden. In this way, it is no surprise, perhaps, that motets in English seventeenth-century manuscripts

frequently appear alongside 'secular' genres, and that there is not a 'sustained' or near-continuous motet tradition in the country, analogous to long-standing liturgical and practices.

### *Concertato* motets and courtly repertories in seventeenth-century Oxford: pre-Commonwealth manuscript sources for Child, Dering and Grandi

Clear evidence for *concertato* motets in the musical circles of the first professor, Richard Nicholson, is found in *US-NYp* Drexel MS 4300, dated 1633 by the owner: eleven-year-old James Clifford, a chorister under Nicholson's direction at Magdalen College. [27] Clifford's ownership at this young age likely indicates performance, and perhaps didactic, use within these musical contexts associated with Nicholson. This collection of sixty-six vocal works in three partbooks, C, C/T, and B, with continuo-book missing, features a varied selection of three-part vocal music, secular and sacred, with texts in English, Latin, and Italian. The focal and predominant repertory is by Weelkes and Dering, secular and sacred respectively: the complete twenty-five items of Weelkes's light-hearted madrigal set printed in 1608, *Airs or Phantastick Spirits for Three Voices*, with humourous and topical texts, a copy of which Heather gifted to the Music School in 1626;[28] and twenty-two Latin motets by Dering, organist to Queen Henrietta Maria from 1625 until his death in 1630, seventeen of which (ten a2, and seven a3) were subsequently published by Playford in the first *Cantica Sacra* book of 1662, dedicated to the Queen.[29] Dering was also a member of the professional courtly ensemble, the 'Lutes, Viols and Voices', as discussed in the previous chapter in relation to Child manuscript, *GB-Ge* R.d.3/1, with its elegy to Dering by Smegergill alongside Child's 'O bone Jesu' and 'Plange Sion'. Dering's trio scorings within *US-NYp* Drexel 4300, with continuo accompaniment, can be said to align with Heather's stipulation for the minimum attendees at music meetings, quoted above, and also with the Italianate trio-scorings within printed sets of royal-dedicated *concertato* psalms of the later 1630s, including Child's psalms 'Newly Composed after the Italian Way' of 1639. The manuscript is significant, also, as the earliest-known source for a motet by Child, 'Cantate Jehovae', though here without the instrumental parts, which survive in later source, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 35, in the hand of Lowe.

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[27] William Barclay Squire, revised Peter Lynan, 'Clifford, James', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online, 23 September, 2004, accessed March 16th, 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5653.

[28] *The English Madrigalists*, ed. Edmund H. Fellowes, Vol. 13, *Thomas Weelkes Airs or Fantastic Spirits (1608)* (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd., 1965).

[29] Ten are a2, with bc, and twelve a3, and there are two settings of 'Veni electa mea': a2 and a3, respectively.

Child's work, together with Dering's 'Canite Jehovae' within the manuscript, shows the *US-NYp* Drexel 4300 partbooks to be a key, and the earliest-known, source setting biblical Latin of Tremellius-Junius in few-voiced *concertato* idioms: Latin originating in Calvinist Geneva of the later sixteenth-century, the texts and settings of which will be contextualised in Chapter 5. The Dering and Child motets, setting Tremellius-translated verses from 'Royal' psalms 96 and 98, respectively, are, perhaps surprisingly, the only settings of the psalter within *US-NYp* Drexel 4300's twenty-three Latin works. Alongside the two psalms, a further seven of the twenty-one Latin texts, one text featuring in two settings, are biblical. Four are settings of words from the *Song of Songs*, alongside settings of verses from *Ecclesiasticus*, the *Book of Solomon*, and the *Book of Sirach*: the latter text is not part of the 'Protestant' biblical canon, whether in Tremellius's Latin translation, for example, or English of the King James Bible of 1611, and therefore provides an element of denominational balance, or 'counter-part' to the Drexel books' Tremellius settings, whose words were not sanctioned or suitable for Roman Catholic liturgical worship, as will be shown in Chapter 5. Further *US-NYp* Drexel 4300 Latin texts, however, are perhaps more suggestive of Roman Catholic worship or devotional traditions, including four antiphons, texts by eminent Italian theologians and priests, Pope Gregory I, Bernardino of Sienna, Thomas Aquinas, alongside the Marian, 'Laetamini cum Maria'; as outlined in Chapter 2, Child himself set words of Aquinas, 'Ecce Panis', and Bernardino, 'O bone Jesu'. The latter was also set by Dering in *US-NYp* Drexel 4300, akin to the composers' parallel use of Tremellius's Latin within the same source; Chapter 4 will provide a case study of 'O bone Jesu' settings in seventeenth-century England, and their connections to Queen Henrietta Maria and motet work of Alessandro Grandi. Notably also at this time, Henrietta Maria's influence on courtly practices of personal piety and regular lay-devotion were fostered, for example, by the publication of the highly popular *Collection of Private Devotions* compiled by the 'high-church', Arminian, friend and colleague of Laud, John Cosin: a book with no less than three editions in printed in 1627, and five more before Cosin's death in 1672.[30]

Denominational variety and flexibility in Dering's few-voiced *concertato* work, seen in James Clifford's partbooks then, dated 1633, may point to the motets' originating and ready suitability

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[30] John Cosin, *A collection of private devotions in the practice of the ancient church, called the Houres of prayer as they were much after this maner published by the authoritie of Q. Eliz. 1560 / taken out of the Holy Scriptures, the ancient fathers, and the diuine seruice of our owne church* (London: printed for R. Young, 1627).

for domestic-devotional, private-Courtly, performance by Dering and colleagues within the 'Lutes, Viols and Voices', with aligned and parallel use in Oxford's Music-School circles as was suggested for the *GB-Ge* Rd.3/1 works in the previous chapter; though also alongside 'sacred' function within the Queen's royal chapels of the decidedly Marian, liturgical and church-seasonal works, including texts associated with Corpus Christi and with Pope Gregory I. The distinctive Tremellius-Junius settings by Dering and Child within *US-NYp* Drexel 4300 will later be seen to form an integral part of the key network of biblical and musical translation, with notable use of 'royal', Davidic, psalms, to be addressed and contextualised from Chapter 5. A unique body of *concertato* works, and distinct networks of creative translation, will be seen in seventeenth-century England, setting Calvinist-originating Latin, with works from the Dering and Child to Purcell's setting of psalm three in Tremellius translation, 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei' of the late 1670s. *US-NYp* Drexel MS 4300 also includes the English-texted, three-voice setting with continuo, of Psalm 30, verse four, from the King James Version, entitled in this 1611 translation, 'A Psalm and Song at the dedication of the house of David': 'Sing unto the Lord all ye Saints', an early *concertato* work of George Jeffreys, later a highly significant copyist and composer of Italianate motets, including 'Et recordatus est', 'Ego sum panis ille vitae' and 'Hosanna filio David'. These three motets set biblical 'Neo-Latin' of Genevan origin, in New Testament translation by leading Calvinist, theologian and biblical translator, Theodore Beza: a source also set only by Child, with Child's and Jeffreys's Beza settings appearing to be especially unique and distinctive, as will be seen in Chapter 6. Prior discussion, in Chapter 5, will address unique and pioneering aspects of Child's Tremellius setting, 'Cantate Jehovae'. It is historically significant in *US-NYp* Drexel 4300, the earliest-known source for Child's *concertato* work, that his distinctive, festive, and celebratory 'Latin Song', is surrounded by numerous works of a pioneering English-born early exponent of this Italianate genre, Dering: fellow Oxford graduate and Courtly musician, also associated with Christ Church. The cross-century resonance and value of their motet work is demonstrated by Lowe's bequest of sole-composer manuscripts of their Latin works to the Music School in 1682. This Drexel source also exemplifies the balance of sacred and secular, madrigal and motet, and multilingual vocal works highlighted within the Heather Professorship's foundational repertory. It is a possibility, furthermore, that its Weelkes's madrigals, the manuscript's featured set and cycle preceding the Dering works, were copied from the very book Heather gifted to the Music School in his 1626 endowment.

A further manuscript source giving evidence of Oxford musical and collegial networks and tastes of the 1630s, is the set of partbooks, now in Cumbria: the Bishop Smith partbooks (*GB-CL* Smith Books, with Altus and Bassus books surviving, only, from an original set of five), dated 1637 and owned by Thomas Smith (1615-1702), who later became Dean, then Bishop of Carlisle.[31] His books contain examples of royal-dedicated repertory, and *concertato* works setting both English and Latin texts: domestic-devotional psalms of Henry Lawes, and single examples of Latin motets by Dering and Grandi, alongside rare example of Child's 'O woe is me'. Smith attended and taught at The Queen's College, Oxford, between 1631 and 1645. The books contain a great variety of sacred and secular vocal repertory, including works with Stuart dedications as will be seen, with English, Latin and Italian texts, across one-hundred-and-nineteen works: most-likely copied by Smith himself, for collegial and personal use, from his time in Oxford during the 1630s, onwards.[32] Smith would have been an Oxford colleague of fellow Cumberland-born clergyman, Thomas Crosfield (1602-1663),[33] who kept a diary between 1626 and 1640.[34] Crosfield attended The Queen's at the same time as Smith, and recorded informal evenings' domestic music-making at the college, which it is feasible that Smith may have attended; Crosfield purchased music manuscripts, and attended music lectures by Allibond at the Music School, including that one praising Heather's benefaction.[35] Though the diary does not give details of specific pieces, it nonetheless provides evidence of informal, 'domestic' and collegial, performance of vocal and instrumental music, with links to the Music School. Smith himself later had notable connections to Court circles, parallel perhaps to Dering and Child, through his work as a select preacher to Charles I during the Court's presence in Oxford during the early 1640s, and later as a chaplain to Charles II. Indeed, Smith's partbooks contain both Courtly repertory, and works by the first Heather professors, Nicholson and Philips. The books contain a sole work by Child, the four-voice 'Woe is me that I am constrained', with continuo, which in the previous chapter was seen to be incorporated amongst Child's Latin motets within *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37; the work is transcribed in Volume Two. Indeed, these Husbands-Lowe books and the *GB-CL* books are the sole sources for

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[31] David W. V. Weston, 'Smith, Thomas', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online, 23 September 2004, accessed March 16th, 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25910.

[32] For full details, please see, John P. Cutts, *Roger Smith His Booke: Bishop Smith's Part-Books in Carlisle Cathedral Library* (Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1972).

[33] A. J. Hegarty, 'Crosfield, Thomas', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online, 23rd September 2004, accessed March 16th, 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/65929.

[34] Thomas Crosfield, *The Diary of Thomas Crosfield, M.A., B.D., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford*, ed. Frederick S. Boas (London: OUP, 1935).

[35] *Ibid*.: Crosfield's entry for July 8th, 1626.

Child's colourful, lamentful and madrigalian work, setting Psalm 20, verse four, in English translation of Miles Coverdale, highly resonant to Charles I's situation in 1637: time of rising tensions in Scotland which precipitated civil wars. Notably, in terms of the Dering motets discussed within context of *US-NYp* Drexel 4300, and the 'O bone Jesu' settings to be discussed in the following chapter, with thematic and text links to Grandi's four-part setting of 1613, the Smith Books include Dering's popular 'Gloria Patri' and Grandi's 'O bone Jesu' with Christological-devotional text by Franciscan, Bernardino of Siena. Grandi's motet, with textual-motivic connections to settings by Child and Christopher Gibbons to be discussed in Chapter 4, was later printed by Playford in *Cantica Sacra* I of 1662 as a 'coda' to this volume of works by the Queen's former organist, Dering, and indeed dedicated to Henrietta Maria.

Further notable works dedicated to Stuart monarchs in the Bishop Smith books are two works, towards the end of the Alto book, 'set forth to bee sung with one voice to the lute, or violl' by John Coprario (Italianate styling of 'John Cooper', *c*. 1570-1620), from a set of seven elegies published in 1613.[36] The two songs are highly poignant, rhetorically accomplished, settings of words by Thomas Campion (1567-1620), written on the occasion of the death of Charles's brother and intended successor to James I, Prince Henry (1594-1612): 'O greife how divers are thy shapes' and ' 'Tis now dead night, & not a light on earth', dedicated to King James and Queen Anne, respectively. Six of Coprario's seven elegies, including those copied in the Smith Books, were copied also in notable, likely 1640s, Oxford source of royal-psalmic and metrical repertory, *Och* Mus. 365-366, which contains psalms copied from printed collections, alongside the sole-surviving copy of two-voice *concertato* work by Child, with continuo, transcribed in Volume Two, 'Ye Sons of Sion Now Rejoice'. The latter sets a Christmastide text stylistically akin to those of Child's 'Alleluia Hymns', with words of Thomas Pierce, and a work, perhaps surprisingly, not included in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37. *Och* Mus. 365-366 includes metrical psalms of Henry Lawes (1638), Orlando Gibbons (1623), and earlier French-texted psalms (1533-1543) by Theodore Beza and Clément Marot, whose distinctive Latin settings by Child will be discussed in Chapter 6. This set of two partbooks was likely copied by 'S.C.' in the 1650s, possibly Simon Coleman, Organist at New College (*c*. 1640-1648).[37] The Coprario laments, in both 'S.C.' and Bishop Smith sources, expressed poignant grief for

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[36] John Coprario and Thomas Campion, *Songs of mourning bevvailing the vntimely death of Prince Henry. VVorded by Tho. Campion. And set forth to bee sung with one voice to the lute or violl: by Iohn Coprario* (London: Printed by Thomas Snodham for John Browne, 1613).

[37] For details of the manuscript, please see *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue,* November 14th 2007, accessed March 28th, 2022: http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+365--6.

Prince Henry, whose household was a centre of progressive artistic, musical, and scientific developments, as scholarship by Wainwright has shown.[38]  Charles himself inherited highly accomplished professional musicians from his brother's household, including the pioneering Italian composer, Angelo Notari, who published *Prime musiche nuove* in London in 1613, proximate to the publication of the Coprario-Campion elegies.

Additional royal-dedicated works within the Smith Books, are the fifteen, centrally placed, *concertato* psalms of Henry Lawes, written in politically challenging times: member of Charles I's 'Lutes and voices' from 1631, setting words of poet and translator, George Sandys (1578-1644), and published within the Lawes brothers' *Choice Psalmes put into Musick, for Three Voices* of 1648, dedicated to 'His Most Sacred Majestie, Charles, by THE GRACE OF GOD, King of great Brittaine, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.'.  These works fully aligned with Child's 1639 psalms 'Newly composed after the Italian Way', setting royal-dedicated psalmic texts translated by Miles Coverdale: first published in 1639 and, similarly dedicated to the king, in times of rising challenge.  Pepys recounted the close friendship between Henry Lawes and Child, as will be seen, and, notably also, Lowe donated copies of both royal-dedicated, Italianate, psalm publications to the Music School in 1682.

The Smith Books contain a small number of *concertato*-work concordances with Edward Lowe's personal manuscript book (*Ob* MS Mus. Sch. MS E. 451), not included in the 1682 inventory, compiled across his long professional career in Oxford from the 1630s onwards, as Wainwright has demonstrated, and post-Restoration tenure as Heather Professor.[39]  The two sources notably share Grandi's 'O bone Jesu' in common, in addition to seven of the Henry Lawes-Sandys psalms printed in 1648, copied in the practical and useful orientations of table-book format.[40]  The manuscript also functioned as Lowe's 'working' continuo book, and it contains this instrumental-accompanimental part for Grandi's 'O bone Jesu', notable Italian motet present within the Smith books, which in Lowe's compilation is 'surrounded' by concordances with *US-NYp* Drexel 4300: eight Dering motets, later printed in Playford's *Cantica Sacra* of 1662, and also Jeffreys's 'Sing unto ye Lord'.  Lowe's book also contains the accompaniment for settings of this Bernardino text by his Chapel Royal organist colleagues,

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[38] Jonathan Wainwright, 'The King's Music', in *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I*, ed. Thomas N. Corns (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), 162.

[39] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 326-335.

[40] *Ibid.*, 327.

Child and Christopher Gibbons, which are within a distinct section, 'sandwiched' between accompaniments for dance suites, including instrumental works by Cook, Locke and Baltzar (with parts for both composers' works in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. D. 241-244), and 'The 3 things I brought from Court in B [flat]'. This source 'proximity' of motet and dance-suite repertory will be highlighted later in relations to *Encaenia* motets, where 'Latin Songs', 'English Songs', and dance-suite movements would have been performed alongside each other, and even immediately before or after. Lowe's *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451 has direct links to his set of partbooks *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. D. 233-236 (ten Dering motets, eight of which appear in *US-NYp* Drexel 4300),[41] and to *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. D. 241-244, the latter copied collegially by Lowe, Matthew Hutton, and an anonymous scribe.[42] The former were originally a set of six 'parchment books' bought in October 1636: two books of which were later separated, with the remaining four becoming Lowe's number '23, 4 Bookes', catalogued in his 1682 bequest list to the Music School.[43]

As highlighted in relation to *US-NYp* Drexel 4300 and the Smith Books, also, the presence of Courtly and royal-dedicated music in *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451, is notable, with Lowe's manuscript containing examples in vocal and instrumental genres. In addition to the Lawes psalms of 1648, dedicated to Charles I, 'The 3 thinges I brought from Court', and Dering motets later-dedicated to Henrietta Maria, Lowe's *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451 also provides accompaniment for William Lawes's 'Sharp Ayres' in D and 'Flat Ayres' in D, from *The Royall Consort*, associated with the Court of Charles I, in the 'new', 'expanded' version (for two treble, and two bass viols, with two theorbos) of its two, complex incarnations. John Cunningham, for example, has detailed the complex history of the work, including historical-contextual uncertainties, suggesting the earlier version (two treble, tenor and bass viols, with theorbo) to be suitable for formal dancing in the Presence Chamber or the Banqueting House, 'although such entertainments were also presumably held in the Privy Chamber (the most likely place for the 'Lutes, Viols and Voices' to perform)'.[44] Concerning the version copied in *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451, 'certainly one imagines that the Privy Chamber would provide an ideal setting for the new version. Most ambassadors and courtiers awaiting royal summons were entertained in the Privy Chamber. The Royall Consort would seem to be the ideal background

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[41] *Ibid.*, 332-331.

[42] Please see *Ob* Mus. AC. 4, *Revised Descriptions of the Music School Manuscripts*, 138

[43] *Ibid.*, 132

[44] John Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes 1602-1645* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010); see Chapter 4, 'The Royall Consort' (126-149), 148.

music to impress upon visitors the musical sophistication of the Caroline Court: the music fashionable, the scoring innovative.'[45]  Having affirmed the suitability for Child's motet work in the domestic-devotional contexts of such regal and courtly circles, especially through discussion of *GB-Ge* R.d.3/1, with Child's 'O bone Jesu', and the Court-Oxford axis outlined in Chapter 2, it is perhaps no surprise to see Child's and Dering's (two-part) 'O bone Jesu' settings within Lowe's same manuscript. Such functional flexibility of courtly repertoire was facilitated by cross-institutional personnel, and by travel and 'translation' of musicians and manuscripts.  Before addressing specific examples of larger-scale 'public' repertories and performing contexts for motets, the following section will outline the visits of the royal court to Oxford at significant junctures across the century, including effects of the civil wars and Commonwealth on its musicians.  The figure of Lowe will be focal to the discussion, also, with further reference to his pre-Heather work and manuscripts, from the 1630s onwards: aiming to provide a broad, cross-century perspective of his roles at the Music School and Christ Church, and also to address aspects of continuity to his courtly repertorial concerns across the turbulent central decades, with career-long interest in Italianate compositional idioms and genres. Overview of interactions between London and Oxford musicians will be provided, where accounting evidence survives, including rare examples of court-connected motet performance, and discussion of Oxford's role as a 'courtly' space loyal to Stuart monarchs.

### Royal visits to Oxford, and Court residencies, in the seventeenth-century

Having affirmed the presence of courtly repertoire, including *concertato* motets and works by Child, in Oxford manuscripts of the 1630s, *US-NYp* Drexel 4300, the *CL* Bishop Smith Books, and Lowe's book, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451, with discussion of the cultural flourishing epitomised by the endowments of Heather, Laud, and Bodley, was the grand, and expensive visit to the city of King Charles and Queen Henrietta Maria, and Court,  in the last week of August, 1636.  The visit took place just a matter of months after Laud's new statutes for the university, a central period within the decade of Charles's Personal Rule, without recourse to Parliament.  The Oxford events followed a similar pattern to the monarchs' presence at the University of Cambridge in March 1632.  In the words of A. J. Taylor, 'For Laud, the Court's stay at Oxford was at once the crowning mark of royal favour to the University and the climax

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[45] *Ibid.,* 148.

of a Chancellorship of unprecedented activity.'[46]   With the King resident at Christ Church, Lowe's college, and the Queen at Merton College, as they would be during the next decade under highly changed circumstances, the royal visit saw extensive ceremonies, speeches, services and sermons, banquets, and dramatic plays with especially composed songs performed by royal musicians.  Laud hosted a visit of the monarchs to his own college, St. John's, on August 30th to view his newly commissioned quadrangle, with statues of the King and Queen by royal sculptor, Florence-trained, Hubert Le Sueur, with unrecorded choral music sung and poetry recit during the monarchs' ascent of the staircase leading to the new library.[47] Following an afternoon banquet, George Wilde's comedy *Love's Hospital* was performed in the college hall.  Lowe copied the continuo part to three brief instrumental 'Symphonies' for this play in D Minor, by Henry Lawes, in *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451 (with parts in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. D. 233-236); on page 205, Lowe labels the Lawes items, 'Thes 3 belonge to St Johns play'.[48]   The early items in Lowe's book of 106 songs, *Lbl* Add. MS 29396 are also likely to date from this time, and include three songs by Henry Lawes from evening plays presented at Christ Church: two items from *The Floating Island* by William Strode, Orator to the university, performed on August 29th, and one from *The Royal Slave* by William Cartwright, the tragicomedy performed the following night by the King's Men.[49]  Research by John Elliott and John Buttrey has affirmed the collegial, Court-Oxford collaborative nature of the dramatic productions and musical provision and, significantly, has shed light on Lowe's musical work for the two highly lavish Christ Church plays, and surviving documentation of payments.[50] Lowe most likely provided keyboard-continuo accompaniment, and worked alongside notable, royal musicians: Henry Lawes singing countertenor, his brother, William, performing on lute, together with virtuoso violinist David Mell, and Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal.[51]   Royal architect, Inigo Jones was principal designer for the plays, and a further

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[46] For discussion of the 1632 Cambridge visit, including music written by George Jeffreys for a royal production, Peter Hausted's comedy, The *Rivall Friends*, please see: *George Jeffreys, English Sacred Music*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright, *Musica Britannica*, Vol. CV (London: Stainer and Bell, 2021), xxii-xxiii.
A. J. Taylor, 'The Royal Visit to Oxford in 1636, A Contemporary Narrative', *Oxoniensia* I (1936), 151-15.

[47] Please see Taylor, *Ibid.*, 153; Crosfield, *Diary*, 92; Wood, *Life and Times*, Vol. I, 46, and online article of St. John's College, Oxford, August 25 2017, accessed April 5th, 2022:
https://stjohnscollegelibraryoxford.org/2017/08/25/on-this-day-the-laudian-library-opens/.

[48] See Wainwright, *Musical* Patronage, 332.

[49] Mary Chan, 'Edward Lowe's Manuscript British Library Add. MS 29,396: The Case for Redating', *Music & Letters* 59, No. 4 (1978): 440-454.

[50] The expense account for the Christ Church plays survives in the Christ Church Archives, D.P.xi.a.15.f.23(b), presented and contextualised by John R. Elliott, Jr., and John Buttrey, 'The Royal Plays at Christ Church in 1636: A New Document', *Theatre Research International* 10, No. 2 (1984), 93-109; 100-101.

[51] *Ibid.*, 100-101; the Dancing Master for the productions was William Stokes.

accounts' document at Christ Church highlights the productions' vast cost.[52]  Such documents, surrounding Lowe's work, give strong affirmation to the broad court-connected and court-aligned nature of his performances and copying, and surrounding professional networks, discussed in Chapter.  It is notable, also, that Lowe's manuscript of the 1636 songs which he likely accompanied for the monarchs in Oxford, *Lbl* Add. MS 29,396, includes the popular two-voice Spanish-texted song, 'Replicavan las campaniglias [*sic*.]' (item 65, f. 77) by Étienne Moulinié, in a melodically embellished version.[53]  Though likely copied later than 1636, Moulinié's 'transnational' court air provides repertorial alignment and point of cultural connection, rather than direct concordance, with the nineteen Moulinié court airs in *Ge* R.d.3/1, the complete works of a collection published in Paris in 1625, dedicated to King Louis XIII.  These works were associated with Louis's sister, Queen Henrietta Maria, not only through the close-familial royal dedication, but also through the further repertory of *Ge* R.d.3/1 itself, which contains Child's 'O bone Jesu' and 'Plange Sion' and works by pre-Commonwealth composers and performers of the 'Lutes, Viols and Voices', including Smegergill's elegy to Dering.  Moulinié's air was originally published by Ballard in Paris, 1626, and later by Playford (London, 1673); Lowe's notated embellishments, including semiquaver passing notes, are comparable to those to be discussed for Lanier's 'O amantissime Domine', a motet copied by both Lowe and Aldrich, as will be seen.[54]

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[52] Current Archivist at Christ Church, Judith Curthoys has recently drawn attention to Christ Church Archives DP ii.c.1,f.36, and to the 'astronomical' cost of the productions: a total expense of £843 15s 6d, 'perhaps as much as £2 million today.'  See, Judith Curthoys, 'What's good for the goose…?', published online by Christ Church, 'The Archives Blog', 'Document of the Month' (August 2019), August 2019, accessed April 6th, 2022: https://chch.ox.ac.uk/staff/judith-curthoys-mst-daa.

[53] John Baron and Georgie Durosoir have highlighted that though Spanish song and dance were popular in seventeenth-century Paris, Moulinié alone published airs in Spanish and Italian (the latter of which there are two anonymous examples in *Ge* R.d.3/1, alongside Child's two motets and Moulinié airs.
See, John H. Baron, revised Georgie Durosoir, 'Moulinié, Etienne', *Grove Music Online*, 20 January 2001, accessed April 6th, 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.19240.

[54] John Playford, *The Musical Companion* (London: W. Godbid, 1673); with Moulinié's courtly air on p. 110.  'Replicavan las campanillas' was first published by Ballard, Pierre: *Livre D'Airs De Cour, et de Differents Autheurs*. Book VII. Paris: Ballard, 1626; ff. 54v-55.  Moulinié's name, however, is not referenced by Lowe or Playford.

Whilst the early years of the Heather professorship were undoubtedly a time of cultural flourishing both in Court and in Oxford, aspects of Charles's Personal Rule and highly ambivalent attitudes to Parliament, alongside antagonistic policies towards Scotland and Ireland sowed the seeds for ever-increasing discontent and dissent of his rule.  The political situation was drastically different when Charles and Henrietta Maria were next resident in Oxford at the very same residencies and colleges respectively: this time as a Court in exile from 1642 to 1646, with the Royalist city as a garrison, at the height of Civil War.  The country's institutions of government, finance and law were moved to Oxford and, in the words of Jerome De Groot, 'Political power became mapped on to university hierarchical systems and hegemonies'.[55]  Recent research also has affirmed the complex nature of royalism and political allegiances at this juncture, and it can be said perhaps, that both 'political' and 'cultural' (including musical-artistic), royalisms met and merged closely in Oxford, not least following the events of 1636 outlined above.[56]  The small city, perhaps inevitably, became crowded, and infections were an ever-increasing challenge, but the King and household maintained a level of opulence.  At Christ Church, Christopher Hatton III, owner of notable library of Italian music and patron of George Jeffreys, was Comptroller to the King's household at this time.  Indeed, at this college with diocesan cathedral incorporated, it appears that Lowe and Jeffreys shared organist duties for the King.[57]

Lowe would undoubtedly have had close and regular contact with Jeffreys at this time, and it is notable that, though possibly copied later, Lowe copied the continuo parts for a group of four motets by Jeffreys in *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451, whose courtly repertories were discussed above, and the same motets again within *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 11 for 'G.S.'.  Jonathan Wainwright has undertaken significant research into the large quantity of 159 motets (*Lbl* Add. MS 31,479, and Mad. Soc. MSS. G. 55-59), for one to five voices, with continuo, by Italian composers, copied across the challenging central years of the century by Hatton employees, Jeffreys and Stephen Bing. Wainwright's 2008 chapter, for example, affirms the works' relations to prints in Hatton's library, direct connections to Queen Henrietta Maria, Marian repertories for her

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[55] Jerome De Groot, 'Space, Patronage, Procedure: The Court at Oxford, 1642-46', *The English Historical Review*, 117, no. 474 (2002), 1204-1227: 1214.

[56] For example, Jason McElligott and David, L. Smith, ed., *Royalists and Royalism During the English Civil Wars* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007): 15. 'We might no longer be able to think of allegiance as a fixed, unchanging and unchangeable entity.' and, 'Royalism emerges from this collection as a much more variegated, complex, heterogeneous and interesting creed than has hitherto been described.'

[57] *George Jeffreys English Sacred Music*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright, xxiv-xxv.

Chapel in Merton College, and to the Oxford Court, with core repertory copied from Hatton's collections, prints built up from the mid-1630s.[58] The presence of royal-favoured motets by Grandi and Sances, alongside Merula and Trabattone, is especially notable in relation to Child, and the enabling scribes for his motets and post-Restoration Chapel Royal colleagues, Husbands Sr and Lowe, given Child's quotations of Grandi's 'Quam pulchra es' already seen, with nexus of 'O bone Jesu' links to works by English composers, including Jeffreys, to be discussed. This is notable, also, given the copying of Sances motets initially dedicated to Habsburg Holy Emperor Ferdinand III, seen by Husbands Sr and Lowe, including Lowe's bequest of Husbands Sr's edition alongside the Child partbooks in 1682. Wainwright's comment that the Jeffreys manuscripts' late-1650s copying suggests the preservation of a royalist repertoire at that time, or the inspired hopes for royalist renewal, also perhaps affirm the continuing presence of motets by Child and Dering, alongside Sances, in Oxford sources from the Restoration onwards. The strong element of curation and preservation, together with connoisseurship of valued, internationally orientated and courtly repertory in Music School motet sources, can also be said to be following in the traditions of Heather himself. Similarly, concerning mid-century onwards copies of motets (including works by Grandi in, *Och* Mus. 880 in the hand of Bing; and by Sances, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 10, in the hand of Husbands Sr.), *concertato* works can be said to participate in a court-cultural process parallel to the purposeful 'restoration' of Charles I's highly regarded collection of Italian artworks in 1660.[59] The King's costly collection included many significant works acquired from the Duke of Mantua: prestigious Italian paintings embodying processes of cultural transaction and 'translation' initially co-facilitated by Lanier, the first Master of the King's Music and accomplished artist, in the early 1630s.

Alongside the presence of Italian motets at the Oxford court of the 1640s was the continuing, and occasionally co-related, appropriation of psalm texts, psalmic themes, vocabulary and imagery of Davidic-biblical kingship. The musical use of such psalm texts, with Stuart-regal social-political resonance, will be addressed especially in subsequent chapters discussing motet settings of 'royal' psalms in Latin translation by Calvinists Tremellius and Junius, and Stuart-contemporary biblical-text changes by composers in, for example, Child's 'Cantate Jehovae'

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[58] Jonathan P Wainwright, 'Sounds of Piety and Devotion: Music in the Queen's Chapel', in *Henrietta Maria, Piety, Politics and Patronage*, ed., Erin Griffey (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 195-213.

[59] Lucy Whittaker and Martin Clayton, *The Art of Italy in the Royal Collection* (London: Royal Collection Enterprises Ltd., 2007), 30.

and Purcell's 'Jehova quam multi sunt'.   Having highlighted the royalist purposes and dedications of *concertato* domestic-psalm collections published by Child and the Lawes brothers from 1639 onwards, and traditions of Stuart psalmic appropriation, both musical and visual as their frontispieces show, it is no surprise to see that the 1643 edition of the newspaper *Mercurius Davidicus, or A Patterne of Loyall Devotion wherein King DAVID Sends his PIETIE TO KING CHARLES, His Subjects,* published in Oxford, continue to use extensive psalm quotations to aid royalist loyalty.[60]   Similarly, the 'Triple Unite' gold coin, seen in Figure 3.2, below, and the highest-value hammered coin in the seventeenth century, was minted solely in the city, between 1642 and 1644.   The coin featured a striking image of the King on one side, and the first verse of Psalm 67 in Latin on the reverse, in Vulgate translation, 'EXURGAT DEUS DISSIPENTUR INIMICI' ('Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered'), which are headed in this translation, 'Psalmus cantici ipsi David', 'A psalm of a canticle for David himself'.

**Figure 3.2** 'Triple Unite' coin, 'Exurgat Deus', minted in Oxford, 1644, image reproduced with permission from the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (image HCR6571)



It appears notable that royal-employee, accomplished lutenist and singer, John Wilson (awarded DMus from the university in 1644, and Heather Professor from 1656), and close colleague of Lowe, set these very words, and following verses, as a three-voice *concertato* motet, an aligned musical image, perhaps, of and for the King, and supporters at a time of devastating civil war.  Chapter 7 will discuss the parallel turbulent political contexts, psalmic

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[60] 'Published by His Majesties Command' (Oxford: Printed by Leonard Lichfield, 1643).

text resonances and royalist-consolatory function of Purcell's 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei', with its related *concertato*-set 'enemies' opposing Stuart monarchic-rule: Wilson's 'inimici' from the Vulgate, also seen on the Triple Unite coin and speaking to contexts of the 1640s, as parallel to Purcell's 'hostes', Tremellius-translated Latin set in the challenging times for Charles II in the later 1670s.  Only the second-canto part survives of Wilson's 'Exurgat Deus', with continuo notated below, but notably in the hand of John Hilton (1599-1657), who had earlier dedicated his *fa las* to Heather who, in turn, gifted a copy to the Music School with his endowment. This sole-surviving source for 'Exurgat Deus' is the tenor partbook, of an original set of three or four, *Och* Mus. 435.  The motet is followed by Wilson's only other extant motets, Vulgate settings 'Usquequo oblivesceris mei' (Vulgate Psalm 12, on a theme of desertion, 'How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord', KJV), and 'Surge amica mea' (Vulgate Song Of Solomon 2, verse 10b-12, starting, 'Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away', KJV), at the end of the manuscript, all three transcribed in Volume II.  The three Wilson works highly likely copied by Hilton very proximate to this time, conclude an earlier collection of eighteen Italian madrigals by Richard Dering, copied in the first quarter of the century.[61]  It appears that 'Exurgat Deus' speaks to the contexts and times of the Oxford Court, where Wilson himself was based.  Even the sole-surviving second-canto  part alone, with continuo, gives a strong sense of the dramatic and declamatory quality of 'Exurgat Deus', including aspects of vocal virtuosity: ascending semiquaver-sextuplet run for 'fugient', bar 15 ('flee', within verse 1b) and climactic top A at bar 61, for the final, melismatic 'Amen'.[62]  'Usquequo oblivisceris', like 'Exurgat Deus' survives only in *Och* Mus. 435, and with second cantus alone, but 'Surge amica mea' survives additionally in two sources: the set of five partbooks, early century, from an original set of six, *US-NH* Misc. MS 170, Filmer MS. 1 (alongside Grandi's 'O bone Jesu'), and in *Ob* MS Mus . Sch. C. 204 (CC bc only), copied, significantly, by Lowe.[63] The latter highlights Oxford use within Music School and Heather circles, though of uncertain copying date. The Filmer source is attributed to 'M^r: John: Willson [*sic*.]', therefore suggesting a pre- or early 1644, date of composition, before Wilson's DMus conferral in March that year.

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[61] Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*, February 22nd 2007, accessed April 9th, 2022: http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+435.

[62] The sextuplet run, however, could have been added by Hilton, however, in light of his added vocal embellishments to three Dering motets in *Lbl* Add 11,608, noted in preceding reference.

[63] For details of the Filmer MS, please see *RISM Online*, January 16th 2022, accessed May 25th, 2022: https://opac.rism.info/metaopac/search?View=rism&db=251&id=900000097.

These years were times of intense political uncertainly across the three Kingdoms of England, Ireland and Scotland, and the city of Oxford itself saw three sieges by Parliamentarian forces between 1644 and 1646. Queen Henrietta Maria left the city for France in April 1644, and Charles escaped the city, for the last time, in April 1646. The third siege concluded with the keys of the city being given to Oliver Cromwell's military leader, Sir Thomas Fairfax, in June that year. These years were of great upheaval for cathedral and chapel musicians. As Parliamentarian authority increased, such musicians were ejected from their posts, alongside clergy colleagues. Child's services at Windsor ceased in June 1644, though services appear to have continued further into the decade, for Lowe, in Oxford until April 1646, when Charles I fled the city; the city surrendered to the Parliamentarians on June 20th.[64] Chapter 6, discussing Child's unique motet settings of Calvinist Latin translated by Theodore Beza, will highlight aspects of cultural, musical and psalmic appropriation that continued at this time for the king, as events led to the execution of Charles I, which royalists saw as a martyrdom. Indeed, this theme has already been addressed in Chapter 2, in discussion of Child's psalm settings of 1639. In further relation, the words of Child's 'Converte nos', alongside related settings of the same words in English, were associated, post-1660, with annual services to commemorate Charles on the anniversary of his beheading, January 30th, 1649. Royal musician, present at Oxford during the early 1640s, and Heather Professor from 1656, John Wilson, wrote an elegy for the king on the day of Charles's execution and, poignantly, dedicated this pastoral-allegorical work for cantus and continuo alone, to Lowe.[65] 'Mourne, mourne till your cheeks as pale doe grow, as primrose of the winter snow' survives within Lowe's songbook, *Ob* MS Mus. D. 238 (pp. 57-59), in his own hand, and inscribed, 'dedicated, & sent to mee 30 January. 1649.', in full affirmation of courtly musical networks and repertory, shared creative contexts, with resonances of aligned social-political allegiances, as Wilson's 'Exurgat Deus'. The related creative contexts, both musical and textual, of Child's 'O si vel' will be addressed in Chapter 6. Lowe's words on Wilson's elegy also affirm patterns of courtly gifting and musical 'tradition', as repertorial 'handing over', already addressed above, and in the preceding chapter concerning Smegergill's elegy for Queen Henrietta Maria's organist, Dering, in *Ge* R.d.3/1,

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[64] See Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'Images of Virtue and War: Music in Civil War Oxford', in *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on His Life, Times and Work, ed. Andrew Ashbee* (Aldershot and Brookfield VT: Ashgate, 1998), 123. Wainwright notes that many court musicians chose not to join Charles in Oxford, due to the lack of pay.

[65] A further seventeenth-century manuscript source, additionally including 'Here lyes Charles the first the great', is the collection of fourteen Wilson songs now in Edinburgh University Library Special Collections: GB 237 Coll 536. See also Mary Chan, 'Drolls, Drolleries and Mid-Seventeenth-Century Dramatic Music in England', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 15 (1979), 138

'How Solitarie are ye groves', with concluding text, 'Dering is dead from whome we learnt our Ayres.'[66] Wilson's poignant song, with text set simply and syllabically, expresses deep grief and devotion for the monarch, and the sense of shared space conveyed by 'our plaine', could be said to hint of the now-past close personal proximity of both musicians to Charles I, highlighted above at the Oxford Court in the early 1640s, 'nothing's now due, but from your eyes; for Pan hath left our plaine, & satyres onely raigne.'[67] Eight years later, as Heather Professor during the Commonwealth, but with increasing sense perhaps of royalist hope, Wilson published *Psalterium Carolinum* in 1657, setting psalm-like verses by Thomas Stanley for three voices and continuo, in related idioms and textures to Child's 'Italian Way' psalms dedicated to Charles in 1639.[68] Wilson's settings, though, were notably more subdued in Italianate idiom, with poetic texts directly related to Charles' own words in *Eikon Basilike*, portraying the monarch's sufferings.

Significantly for professional musicians at this time, especially those ejected from liturgical roles and now-forbidden musical contexts, the Commonwealth saw the development of music meetings, by subscription, which can be seen as a type of precursor to the public concert: important venues, in relation the networks of musicians and also of Calvinist biblical translation and motet-setting to be explored, include Oxford, London, and Hereford. In Oxford, ejected organist of choral foundation, St. John's College, William Ellis, started music meetings in his home by subscription, detailed accounts of which were portrayed by Anthony Wood, which have been addressed by scholars, including Bruce Bellingham.[69] Wood attended these meetings from the mid 1650s to the later 1650s, and his diary recounted presence of the 'scholastical musicians', including Lowe and Wilson. Indeed, in the 1650s, the professorial colleagues also sought to improve the fabric of the Music School, undoubtedly suffering from the effects of the civil wars. These years also saw an increase in number of 'songsters' at Ellis's meetings, and later discussion of Tremellius-texted motets by Silas Taylor and Locke, both with connections to the Music School, as will be seen, will highlight a concordant motet in Oxford- and Hereford-connected motet sources. The varied nature of repertory, instrumental and vocal, sacred and secular, of mid-century music meetings, as evidenced by surviving associated music manuscripts (including London source *Ge* R.d.58-61, which includes motets

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[66] *Ge* R.d.3/1, f. 24.
[67] *Ob* MS Mus. D. 238, p. 59.
[68] Please see, *Psalterium Carolinum*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright (York: York Early Music Press, 2017).
[69] Bruce Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony Wood During the Commonwealth and Restoration', *Journal of the Viola Da Gamba Society of America* 19 (1982): 6-70.

by Dering and Rogers), whether Ellis's in Oxford, or those connected to John Playford in London, affirm the variety present in Music School inventories across the century, including Heather's founding endowment. Such meetings also highlight the varied and flexible nature of both the repertory, and also the musical 'status' of those attending: a blend and balance of 'professional' and 'amateur', which will later be discussed in relation to Tremellius-motet source, *Cfm* 163F.

**Further contextual evidence of seventeenth-century motets in Oxford sources, by colleagues of Child: London-Oxford musical interactions in historical writing by Rogers and manuscript annotations by Lowe**

Before addressing distinctive examples of 'public' contexts for Latin motets in Oxford, including DMus works performed at *Encaenia* ceremonies, it remains to highlight two further notable London-Oxford musical 'translations' and courtly interactions between Court and Oxford musicians and materials in the 1650s and 1660s, speaking further to the dynamics outlined in the previous chapter concerning Child sources *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 and *Ge* R.d.3/1. Having affirmed the presence of Dering motets in the early contexts of the Heather Professorship, highlighting *US-NYp* Drexel 4300 and *CL* Bishop Smith Books, with the first professors and James Clifford (owner of the Dering-Child Drexel manuscript) having institutional base at Magdalen College, a curious, and seemingly ironic, example of musical-material traffic from Oxford to London concerns the commandeering of the organ of Magdalen chapel, the very instrument of the first Heather Professors, for 'domestic' use in the main ceremonial hall of Hampton Court by the country's mid-century 'puritan' Protector, Oliver Cromwell, during the Commonwealth, and employment of John Hingston as a household organist. Discussion of Rogers's own motets in the following section will go on to highlight the related banqueting and dual use of Rogers's 1658 multi-section motet, 'Exultati Justi', with accompaniment including instrumental ensemble, for both BMus performance at the University of Cambridge, and Restoration banquet for Charles II at London's Guildhall, alongside the role of Rogers's 'Te Deum Patrem colimus' as a sung grace for formal meals in the dining hall of Magdalen College, Oxford. Indeed, the account of Cromwell's organ use is in the hand of Rogers himself, a Windsor colleague of Child and Restoration organist at

Magdalen.[70]  Furthermore, Rogers states that Cromwell, who forbade singing and use of organs in churches, was 'most taken with' Dering's Latin motets, and that he had Hingston sing these with two trebles, trained especially for the purpose, in the Cockpit theatre at Whitehall Palace, which itself had been redesigned to stage Court masques by Inigo Jones in 1629, royal architect, stage designer to the 1636 royal plays performed in Oxford, as has been seen.[71]  The Cockpit was, furthermore, also associated with Henrietta Maria, through the long-term residence of her dramatic troupe 'Queen Henrietta's Men', from 1625.[72]  Such 'secular' performance of three-part motets by Dering, with continuo, can even be seen to echo and parallel the 'minimum' performance requirements outlined in Heather's professorship stipulations for the early meetings at Oxford's Music School from 1626.  Perhaps this use and function of such motets, with roots in Roman Catholic compositional and worshipping traditions, affirms their very nature in seventeenth-century England as non-liturgical, domestic-devotional, courtly items of Italianate cultural prestige.  Ironically affirmed, too, are the motets' associations with the Stuart monarchy, and here Dering's motets appearing to cross seeming categories of 'Cavalier' and 'Parliamentarian' in use and function, alongside other distinct royal-cultural appropriations of Cromwell, who was referred to officially as 'his Highness'.[73]  Such appropriations included residence in royal palaces and the commissioning of 'monarchical' portraits, though the latter in an increasingly 'plain style', as research by Laura Lunger Knoppers has shown, with Cromwell borrowing from, and revising, the medium as used by the Stuarts.[74]

A second example of London-Oxford musical-courtly interaction provides rare descriptive evidence of attributed motet performers and performance context, in highly informative

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[70] Rogers's words are added to the work of Anthony Wood: *Ob* Wood MS D.19(4): please see Jonathan Wainwright, ed., *Richard Dering Motets for One, Two or Three Voices and Basso Continuo*. *Musica Britannica*, LXXXVII (London: Stainer and Bell, 2008), xxiv, with footnote 11.

[71] John H. Astington, 'The Whitehall Cockpit: The Building and the Theater', *English Literary Renaissance* 12, No. 3 (1982): 301-318.

[72] Eleanor Collins, 'Queen Henrietta's Men [known as Queen's Men]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, May 26th 2016, accessed May 9th 2022: https://doi-org.libproxy.york.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/107514.

[73] See, for example, *The articles signed by his Highness Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on Friday the 16. November of December, 1653. In presence of the judges, barons of the exchequer, and the Lord Major and court of aldermen, in the chancery court in Westminster-Hall* (London: Printed for G. Horton, 1653).
See also, Patrick Little, 'Music at the Court of King Oliver',  *The Court Historian* 12, no. 2 (2007), 179, highlights Cromwell's banquet for MPs, 20th February, 1657, where 'rare music, both of instruments and voices' was performed at the Cockpit theatre, associated above with Hingeston's performances of Dering, to provide post-dinner entertain for distinguished guests.

[74] Laura Lunger Knoppers, 'The Politics of Portraiture: Oliver Cromwell and the Plain Style', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 51, no. 4 (1998): 1287.

manuscript notes, akin to Lowe's description of Wilson's elegy to Charles I, composed on January 30ᵗʰ 1649. Lowe endorses the surviving autograph manuscripts of two motets by Matthew Locke, Organist to Restoration Queen, Catherine of Braganza: 'Gloria Patri' (AB, bc, with two violins and bass viol) and 'Ad te levavi oculos meos' (CAB, bc, with two violins and two bass viols). Lowe's note for the 'Gloria Patri' on f. 146 of *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 44 states, 'This Prelude for 2 Violins and a Bass Violl was made, prickt and sunge at ye Musick Schoole between the Howers of 12 and 3 afternoone ye 9ᵗʰ November by Mr. Locke who did add it to his Songe Jubilate, and sung the Bass him-selfe: and Mr. Blagrave ye Countertenor.' Lowe's words for 'Ad te levavi' in the same source (f. 1 of the bc part) affirm this motet to the following week's meeting, 'This songe & Phantasye was made by Mr Matthew Locke to carry on the Meetings at ye musick schoole. Thursday ye 16 Novem: 1665.' The presence of London-Court royal musicians, singers and instrumentalists, in Oxford at this time is notable: the royal court was in residence in Oxford at this time due to the outbreak of plague in London, the tightly packed university city yet again providing royal residence in different circumstances of social challenge, as already seen during the 1640s, and in contrast to the festivities of the 1636 Laudian visit. Notably, Thomas Blagrave sung Countertenor for Locke's 'Gloria'. Blagrave, as Child, was a friend of diarist Samuel Pepys, and also, like Hingeston, he had been a household musician to Oliver Cromwell in the Commonwealth; in the 1660s, Blagrave was both a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and a violinist to the king, who had acquired a taste for the instrument and its contemporary repertory from time of exile at the French Court, and experience of the *Vingt-quatre violons du Roi* of Louis XIV.[75] Furthermore, during this royal visit, Professor Lowe, himself also a Chapel Royal Organist at this time, alongside Child and Christopher Gibbons, is recorded to have performed in the private rooms of Queen Catherine, with colleagues from the Music School, when resident at Merton College, as Queen Henrietta Maria had been in both 1636 and the 1640s. Lowe and colleagues received a New Year gift of £5 in January 1666, during the Court's continuing residence in the city.[76] Locke's 'Gloria Patri', features notable use of triple time, as Child's 'Laudate Deum', lively two-part dialogue (especially bars 131 to the end, 'secula', 'to the ages', and 'Amen'), on occasion, *trillo* (bar 122, for 'sancto', 'holy', in *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 138, f.1) and 'virtuosic' use of semiquaver

[75] Ashbee and Lasocki, *A Biographical* Dictionary, Vol. I: 154-159.

[76] Lincolnshire Archives. Worsley MS., 'Accounts of the Queen's Privy Purse.' 1663-1681, vi: 1663-1668; discussed by Peter Leech in, 'Musicians in the Catholic chapel of Catherine of Braganza, 1662-92', *Early Music* 29, No. 4 (2001): 577.

melismas for the concluding 'Amen' (bars 141 to 143).[77]   The scoring, with independent instruments, is perhaps reminiscent of Child's 'Cantate Jehovae', although Child's work may more likely have been intended for cornetts, alongside sackbutts, using spatial unison, as will be discussed in Chapter 5. Nonetheless, the elements of vocal virtuosity and Italianate ornamentation in Locke's 'Gloria Patri' readily accord with such elements in Child's motets, and certainly affirm that Child's set of thirteen Latin motets, likely performed from Lowe's partbooks which he bequeathed to the Music School in 1682, would have been thoroughly at home at the Music School and its collegial networks, under Lowe's musical direction.   The Vulgate text of Locke's 'Ad te levavi', Psalm 122, is an emphatic prayer for divine mercy, preservation and solace for Israel, especially resonant during a time of national plague.  'Ad te levavi' is stylistically akin to the 'Gloria Patri', but with extended, sectional, structure for the longer text, and use of instrumental 'simphonie' and 'ritornello'.   Indeed, the opening instrumental and vocal sections, featuring dotted rhythms and fugal writing, respectively, can be seen to function as a type of French Overture.[78]  Especially notable is the bass solo (bars 35 to 51) for the psalm's second verse, possibly sung by Locke himself, expressing servants' dependence on 'masters' and advocation of attendance on God 'until he have mercy on us' ('donec misereatur nostri').[79]   This final phrase of the solo receives semiquaver-melismatic treatment in roulade-shaped melodic outline (bb. 45-49), which in turn is taken up by the two violins (bb. 51-54) for the start of the subsequent, brief, instrumental ritornello.   Such punctuating purpose, and integrated use of instrumental passages, had earlier been made by Child for 'Cantate Jehovae', his setting of royal psalm, number 98.  The ready use of Italianate motets by Locke, organist to Queen Catherine of Braganza, in the Music School of the 1660s, can perhaps be seen as parallel to the use of Dering in the 1630s, organist to Queen Henrietta Maria: both Professors Nicholson and Lowe performing and facilitating royal, devotional music.

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[77] For modern edition, please see, Peter Le Huray, ed., *Matthew Locke Anthems and Motets*, *Musica Britannica* XXXVIII (London: Stainer and Bell, 1976), pp. 36-38, with the 'Gloria Patri' forming the conclusion (bb. 103-145) of Locke's 'Jubilate Deo', pp. 33-35.

[78] *Ibid*., 1-6, for 'Ad te levavi oculos meos', with Textual Commentary on 153. The plates, 1 to 2, following p. xx provide images for the autograph score of this motet, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 44, ff. 4-5

[79] *Ibid*., 3.

**Motets in Restoration Oxford: academic and ceremonial contexts**

As highlighted above, the summer ceremonies of *Encaenia* or 'dedication of the house' were part of the University's central, public-ceremonial, occasion of the year, with central use of the Latin language, held in the University Church of St-Mary-the-Virgin until 1669, and thereafter in Christopher Wren's Sheldonian Theatre.  The Laudian statutes of 1636 gave clear guidance of the requirements for BMus and DMus Latin works for submission, for these awards which were in practice, however, given to a relatively small nexus of court- or cathedral-employed musicians; perhaps surprisingly, also, surviving evidence only enables a small number of works to be known for certain as such submissions.  There is no 'direct' evidence for Child's own works which may be have been submitted for his BMus in 1631, or DMus of 1663, and the later chapters focused on Tremellius- and Beza-texted works will address these motets in greater details, with focus also on the texts themselves as a means of ascertaining or enabling discernment of function or performance contexts.  Potential BMus use will be discussed for Child's 'Cantate Jehovae', highlighted above in discussion of *US-NYp* Drexel 4300, and potential DMus use in 1663 for 'Laudate Deum' (text from the Book of Revelation, in Latin of Calvinist, Theodore Beza as will be detailed in Chapter 6) for the latter, very likely written in the early years of Charles II's reign, as will be discussed.  Known for certain to be Restoration DMus submissions, however, are Vulgate-texted works within Oxford sources by Child's close colleagues, both setting words of the same psalm, 116: 'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes' by both Christopher Gibbons, for his DMus of 1664 at St. Mary's, and by Benjamin Rogers, written for his DMus ceremony of 1669, which was part of the Sheldonian Theatre's opening events in July of that year.  The works share much in common in text and musical style, including incorporation of string instruments, as discussed above in relation to Matthew Locke's 'Gloria Patri' and 'Ad te levavi', written when Court musicians attended Music School meetings whilst in Oxford, due to presence of plague in London.

Surviving Restoration-Oxford manuscript sources for DMus works provide a suggestion of the ceremonial juxtaposition and integration of both motets and English-texted sacred works alongside instrumental dance movements, supported by surrounding and enabling network of Court-Oxford professional musicians, with Lowe as a central figure, an integration and balance seen on a larger scale also, for example, in the Music School inventory of the 1680s.  The source, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 138, for example, is a collection of parts, which include: Locke's autographs for his 'Gloria Patri', discussed above in relation to 1665 meetings at the School

with Court-Oxford musical nexus, and Gibbons's own autographs for instrumental movements; alongside instrumental parts for his works in the hand of Lowe (Gibbons's Chapel-Royal organist colleague, alongside Child himself), performed at Gibbons's DMus ceremony on July 11th 1664, at the University Church of St. Mary. Related, also, is *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 139: Gibbons's autograph parts for the 'English Song' performed at the same ceremony, the eight-part, contrapuntally and harmonically accomplished, 'Not unto us', accompanied by continuo, with bass viol, and with concluding 'Halleluia' section. Scribal notes before and after movements and works, and notes of Oxford performers, within these sources provide significant contextual details for this ceremony at the University Church of St. Mary. In *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 138, for example, the first violin / treble-viol part's untitled allemande-like introductory dance, and following movements, in Lowe's hand, are entitled by Lowe (f. 8), 'Thes [*sic*., and continuing] thinges following are D[r] Gibbons. & were performed at his Act to bringe in his songes. 11 July:1664.' This comment provides a sense of the ceremonial, instrumentally accompanied, nature of the physical presentation or submission of vocal works, including Gibbons's Latin motets.[80] Annotations which surround the dance movements throughout the manuscript, across parts in the hand of both Gibbons and Lowe within the same source, give the likely order of the movements, presented in Table 3.3, vocal and instrumental (a3).

**TABLE 3.3** 1664, *Encaenia*, Monday July 11th: Christopher Gibbons's works performed at his DMus ceremony, University Church of St. Mary-the-Virgin: likely musical order, constructed from combined annotations to viol-consort parts in *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 138 (ff. 5-20), copied 'collegially' by both Gibbons and Lowe. The first and third dances, notably, were from Shirley's masque, *Cupid and Death*, revised production, 1659 (potentially used, previously, for the 1653 production), with music by Gibbons and Locke.[81]

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[80] For recent scholarship on instrumental parts, musical functions and contexts, in Restoration Oxford, please see, Peter Holman, 'Original Sets of Parts for Restoration Concerted Music at Oxford', in *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell*, ed. Michael Burden (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 9-19 and 265-271. See, also, Fiona Smith, 'Original Performing Material for Concerted Music in England, *c.* 1660-1800', (PhD Thesis, University of Leeds, 2014): Chapter 2, 51-110, provides full discussion of performance-part sets during Lowe's Professorship, 1661-1682, with overview of music's role, and likely occasions for performance across a period of days, at Oxford-Act events, 60-64.

[81] For recent work on these parts, their repertories, and the 1664 ceremony, please see also Smith, 'Original Performing Material', 73-76.

Dance 1:   Almain [in G minor, a3, TrTrB, & bc; VdGS, No. 47; dance accompaniment for *Cupid and Death*, 1659 masque by Gibbons and Locke, *Lbl* Add. MS. 17,799, f. 18][82]

Dance 2:   Galliard [in G minor, a3 & bc; VdGS, No. 52]

Dance 3:   Sarabande [in G minor, a3 & bc; VdGS, No. 50; *Cupid and Death*, *Lbl* Add. MS. 17,799, f. 18v]


## 'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes'
### [in G major, CCAB, bass viol, bc; concluding CCCATB chorus]


Dance 4:   Almain [in D minor, a3 & bc; VdGS No. 31]

Dance 5:   Corant [music not provided in *Ob* Mus. Sch. C.138]

Dance 6:   Almain [in D minor, a3 & bc; VdGS No. 33]

Dance 7:   Galliard [music not provided in *Ob* Mus. Sch. C.138]


## 'Act Songe, 8 partes': 'Not unto us' [in D minor, CCMAATBB, bass viols, bc: *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 139]


Dance 8:   'Almonde' [in D, a3; VdGS, No. 54]

Dance 9:   Sarabande [in D, a3; VdGS No. 53]


## Gloria Patri [in C, CCB, bc]


Overseen by Lowe, who had overall responsibility for the ceremonial music and musicians, the above items would have been surrounded by Latin speeches and ceremony. The order also demonstrates how Gibbons's vocal music is punctuated and 'preluded' by brief and courtly instrumental dance-movements, with the Latin works themselves 'framing' the larger-scale English psalm-setting, 'Not unto us', as vocal items. Instrumentally accompanied sectional or multi-movement 'secular' 'Act Songs' or odes with English or Latin text akin to Blow's 'Awake my Lyre' (performed at the 1679 Act, and a work likely written in memory of Gibbons himself), may have been performed, also. Confirming evidence of such works for the

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[82] This manuscript, Locke's autograph, provides a short score (lacking much inner-part, tenor and viola, material); see Curtis Price, 'Cupid and Death', *Grove Music Online*, accessed April 16th 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O900924.

ceremonies of 1663, 1664, and 1669, the years Child, Gibbons, and Rogers received their DMus degrees respectively, is sparse, though Lowe's 'Nunc est canendum' (SSATB, two violins and bass; comprising almond, bass solos for 'M$^r$ Crispion', and two choruses) is very likely to have been written for the July 1669 opening ceremonies of the Sheldonian Theatre, as Holman has shown.[83]  For Gibbons's own ceremony of 1664, an element of musical continuity across the works of Table 1, is provided by the continuo and organ accompaniment, the latter most likely taken by Lowe himself, Heather Professor, and organist of St. Mary's.   Gibbons's two dances from Shirley's *Cupid and Death*, the 1659 London production, if not the original of 1653 (without musical contributions from Locke), are from the masque's second of five dramatic entries, and would have been choreographed to dancing (likely by dancing-master Luke Channell in the 1653 production), despite Commonwealth restrictions on dramatic productions.    The 1653 production was staged to entertain a visit from the Portuguese ambassador, Condé de Penaguiõ, present in London prior to signing a peace treaty between Cromwell and King John IV, father of Catherine of Braganza, later wife of Charles II.[84]  Dance music associated with this Commonwealth, courtly connected, dramatic production provides a fascinating accompaniment to the ceremonial 'procession' of Gibbons' compositions, and element of musical prelude to his 'Laudate Dominum', whose initial triple-time would have been, in a manner, 'prepared' by the sarabande.

Gibbons's 'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes', transcribed in Volume II, is accompanied by bass viol and continuo, and features a balance of choral homophony (bb. 1-22) with imitative writing (b. 22, onwards) akin to that of Dering's few-voice *concertato* works, with

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[83] Holman, 'Original sets of parts', 15-16.
Concerning compositional intention for Blow's 'Awake my lyre', performed at the 1679 Oxford Act, the autograph parts, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 122, include the note 'for Gibbons', who died in 1676; see, also, Peter Holman, essay within the CD booklet for the recording, 'John Blow, *Awake my Lyre*' by the ensembles Red Byrd and The Parley of Instruments, published by Hyperion Records, CDA66658, in 1993, pp. 4-7.
For detailed study of post-Restoration 'Act Songs' at the University of Oxford, and their place within the wider history of the ode genre in Britain, please see Tony Trowles, 'The Musical Ode in Britain, *c.* 1670-1800', DPhil thesis, 2 Volumes, University of Oxford, 1993; see https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:2c30162d-7b1d-45ba-9e3c-301129ecb38c , accessed April 18$^{th}$, 2022.
In Vol. I, chapter 3, Trowles discusses odes written for the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, including Locke's 'Descende coelo' and Carissimi-like 'Eia eruditam', now confirmed to be by Lowe, pp. 32-74; discussion of Blow's *Awake, my lyre*, 'the most notable of the early Oxford odes and the only one to achieve popularity beyond the University', is on pp. 44-46. Herissone has discussed the surviving materials, with 'private, preliminary notation' (p. 204), for Lowe's 'Eia eruditam', including different autograph versions, Lowe's compositional techniques, and preparations for performance, in relation to practices of Ode composition by London-based composers.  See, Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 188-208.
[84] Price, 'Cupid and Death', *Grove Music Online*: please see footnote 82 for details.

predominance of syllabic text setting; an element of textural-structural symmetry is provided by the two 'Alleluia' sections, the first featuring imitation across four vocal parts (bb. 49-64), and the second (bb. 65-80), a return to choral homophony, now with six vocal parts. The extended use of triple time is notable, also, certainly in comparison to its relative infrequency in Dering's Latin motets; Child's 'Laudate Deum' also features extended use of triple metre. Gibbons's 'Gloria Patri' (CCT, bc), transcribed in Volume Two, is solely in duple time. This was written for his Oxford DMus ceremony of 1664, and features Dering-like use of imitative syllabic writing, with intricate textural and motivic variety. Significant musical context, and contrast, to Gibbons's Latin works of 1664 is provided by the eight-voice 'Act Songe' composed for the same occasion: 'Not unto us', with parts in *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 139 (including 3 canto parts for trebles, as required for the conclusion of 'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes'), accompanied by continuo and bass viol. This work, with highly sophisticated motivic and harmonic control and 'build-up', features kaleidoscopic textural variety in presentation and expression of Coverdale's psalm text, bars 1-80, including evocative repetition of 'wherefore should the heathen say, where is now their god?', bars 46 to 62; the F-major cadences in bars 45 to 46 and 61 to 62 provide climactic points, enabling subsequent textural reduction and build-up. As seen in 'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes', there are two 'Halleluia' sections: a three-part homophonic section in triple time, bars 81 to 102, for the same voices as the 'Gloria Patri' (CCT, with bc), and a concluding eight-voice section, bars 103 to 115, in duple time, which is predominantly homophonic. Significantly also, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 139, provides an important detail of the singer who took the first canto part, 'Steven Crispin' (f. 1), a treble at this time, who would also have sung Gibbons's Latin motets at the same ceremony. This is the very same accomplished singer, styled 'Stephen Crespion' or 'Crispine' on occasion, who (five years later, on May 4th, 1669), sang a 'Latin Song' for the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo de Medici, close family relation of the Stuarts through Henrietta Maria, now resident in France. Wood recorded significant details of this three-day visitation of Italian royalty to the university (May 3rd to 5th).[85] This work was highly likely to be a sacred setting given the frequent usage of 'Latin Song' for such works in Oxford sources, within which, for example, there are notable copies of Sances's solo motets. These included copies by Husbands Sr. from the *Motetti*, printed in Venice, 1638, alongside respective examples by Lanier and Locke,

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[85] Wood, *The Life and Times*. Vol. II, 156-162. Wood records, p. 161, 'The last School they [the 'prince' and Italian courtiers] went into was the Musick where they had a consort of the organ and a set of viols, and a Latin song.' Giving related material, Wood had earlier recorded of the Duke's visit, on p. 158, 'Then to the Musick Schoole, where he heard a song sung by … Crispine, an undergraduate of Ch. Ch. and a division by Mr … Withie on the base viol.'

transcribed in Volume Two.  Notably also, concerning Child's and Lowe's musical networks, Benjamin Rogers played the organ for the Medici visit to Magdalen College chapel on the same day.[86]  *Alumni Oxonienses* records that Crespion matriculated within the university, at Christ Church, on July 13th 1666, aged 17 (placing him at age 15, or near, for Gibbons's ceremony), where he would have continued to sing under Lowe.[87]  Crespion also composed for Lowe, including music for an Oxford Act of unknown year. A six-movement, three-part dance suite, with continuo, survives in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. E. 447-449 and *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 450 (attributed 'Mr. Crispion'); the latter is in Lowe's hand alongside an Act song, with text beginning 'False bard', accompanied by two violins and organ.  Crespion went on to become a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1673, working further with Lowe, alongside both Child and Husbands Sr., then becoming Confessor to the Royal household in 1675, and 'Chaunter' of Westminster Abbey in 1683.[88]  It is certainly feasible that Crespion sang treble at Child's DMus ceremony of 1663, the year prior to Gibbons's, itself likely to have been in a similar musical format to that of 1664.[89]

Akin to Gibbons's 1664 motets, surviving sources for Rogers's 'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes' affirm the function, occasion and date of the setting of this same psalm, 'D[r] Ben Rogers's Act Song perform'd July 12 1669', for example in the score *Ob* MS Mus. C. 96, p. 153.  Highly notably, autograph manuscripts or seventeenth-century sources for this work do not survive, and these words are written in the hand of later Heather Professor, Philip Hayes; indeed the manuscript is a score book solely dedicated to sacred vocal works of his predecessor as organist at Magdalen College; 'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes', alongside Rogers's grace written for formal meals in the college's dining hall, 'Te Deum patrem colimus (p. 91, dated 1685), are the sole Latin settings.  Hayes's scorebook of works by Rogers, then, itself can be seen as a further example of motet-related scribal continuity, as Husbands's books of Child's works (owned and bequeathed by Lowe), with repertorial 'giving across' (in 'tradition', with

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[86] *Ibid*., 157.

[87] Joseph Forster, ed., *Alumni Oxonienses*, 348, 'Crespion, Stephen'.

[88] *Ibid*.
Recent scholarship by Bryan White has highlighted Crespion's position at the Chapel Royal in relation to James II's Declaration of Indulgence for Liberty of Conscience, issued in April 1687, which Crespion refused to support: 'Anthems and Politics in the Restoration Chapel Royal'. *Music & Letters* 102, No. 3 (2021): 459-460.

[89] Given the use of consort music in Table 1 by Gibbons, it is a possibility, also, that the 1663 ceremony incorporated instrumental dance-movements by Child, whether potentially selected from Child's three from *Court Ayres*, published by Playford in 1655, or from *Lbl* Add. MSS 18940-1, 18943 (three pre-1663 items, attrib. 'M[r] W. Childe' and 'W. Childe'); or 31423 (four items copied, mid-century, by Francis North, attrib. 'W Child'); there are no extant Oxford-related seventeenth-century manuscript sources for these works, however.

Latin roots of '*trans-dare*'): curatorial bequeathing of valued repertory within Oxford contexts of the Heather Professorship and Music School. Hayes describes the work an 'excellent composition' (*Ob* MS Mus, C. 96, page 166). Furthermore, Hayes even completes Rogers's work in idiomatic style, due to the incomplete state of the autograph source he was copying from; he writes at the head of page 166, 'what follows on this side has been added to complete the whole as, unfortunately, Dr Rogers's original from whence the foregoing pages were transcribed goes no farther; in which I have endeavour'd to preserve the same style. P. Hayes, July 24, 1778.' Notably, also, the sole-surviving source for Child's 'Laudate Deum', which might, at first sight, seem an analogous setting appropriate for DMus submission (though, significantly, with Revelation verses, rather than psalm text) does not receive such contextual manuscript-description.

Akin to Gibbons's setting of the same text for DMus, Rogers's 'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes' features an accomplished balance of choral homophony to imitative writing. Rogers's increased number of voices allows for much greater textual variety, with fuller sonorities akin, however, to textures in Gibbons's 1664 'Not unto us'. Syllabic choral homophony, with text repetition punctuated by rests, as featured for 'Jesu' in Child's 'O bone Jesu', provides affirmation for Rogers of 'et veritas Domini', 'and the truth of the Lord', followed by relatively brief, ten bars, of triple time for imitative repetitions 'manet in aeternam' ('remains in eternity'). Highly significant too, is Rogers's use of violin doubling for all eight vocal parts during the 'Gloria', bars 77 to the end. This provides a unique notated example of a seventeenth-century Latin motet composed in England being accompanied by violin band, an ensemble favoured by Charles II, with his own violin orchestra being modelled after the *vingt-quatre violons du Roi* of Louis XIV. Nonetheless, string accompaniment of English-texted sacred works certainly had sixteenth-century precedents, as Chapter 5 will affirm when discussing further Child's 'Cantate Jehovae' and its relation to 'Sing we merrily' submitted for Child's Oxford BMus in 1631. Lowe, in his capacity as Heather Professor, was present in the gallery of Christopher Wren's new Theatre for all the public events of July 1669, and would undoubtedly have had a significant role in coordinating and facilitating the music and musicians in this new ceremonial space, opened just three days prior to Rogers's own ceremony.[90] Notably, Stephen Crespion was present also, who had just months earlier sung a 'Latin Song' for the Duke of Tuscany's visit to Oxford, and had previously sung at Gibbons's

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[90] See, Trowles, 'The Musical Ode', Vol. 1, 38-39; Wood, *History*, ii, 801-802.

1664 DMus ceremony, as highlighted above.[91]  The Sheldonian gallery may also have enabled creative use of the new space for antiphonal effects, for example during Rogers's first 'Alleluia' section, where the firsts parts (CI, AI, TI, BI) are answered twice by their counterparts (CII, AII, TII, BII), bars 62-70, before coming together for final statements (bars 71 to 76).[92]  Further defining the ceremonial space, the crest of the Royal Order of the Garter is significant above the north entrance of the theatre, modelled by Wren after ancient-Roman theatrical spaces; words of dedication to Charles II above the crest further affirmed the royal nature of Oxford's new ceremonial space, alongside the theatre's 32-panel ceiling fresco, 'Truth Descending on the Arts and Sciences'. [93]  This 'spectacular allegory' was painted in London by Robert Streater (1621-1679), Serjeant Painter to Charles II, and transported to Oxford by barge.[94]

In close functional relation to the Sheldonian Theatre motet, Rogers's own BMus work, 'Exultati justi' with text by Dr. Nathaniel Ingelo (*c.* 1621-1681) and instrumental 'symphonies', was performed at the University of Cambridge on July 3rd, 1658, and undoubtedly the same work, given dual use, which was arranged and performed to 'very great content', as described by Wood, at the Guildhall banquet to celebrate Charles II's Restoration. This was accompanied by twelve voices, twelve instruments, and an organ, 'mostly performed by his Majesty's servants'.[95]  Unfortunately, the music does not survive, but surviving text, with extended psalmic Neo-Latin by Ingelo, gives indications of voices and scorings across the movements.[96]  Ingelo was a chaplain to Bulstrode Whitelocke's 1653 embassy to Queen Christina of Sweden, and presented instrumental music by Rogers to the Queen, which was performed by her Italian musicians some of whom later, including Vincenzo Albrici, worked

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[91] Wood, *Ibid*.

[92] For musical use of the gallery at the Sheldonian Theatre, see Trowles, 'The Musical Ode', Vol I, 37, including words by Wood concerning a subsequent ceremony, 'musick both vocal and instrumental for about half an houre, of Mr Aldriges comp[osing]': *Ob* Wood 276a, 395.

[93] In connection to Child's related professional institutions, it is significant that the Order of the Garter's 'spiritual' home and base was the chapel of St. George, Windsor Castle, with Restoration repertory preserved and affirmed by Husbands's highly ornate manuscript of English liturgical works, *Lbl* Add 17,784, including Garter imagery and portraits of Charles II, as highlighted in Chapter 3.

[94] See, Anne Thackray, 'Streater, Robert', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, 23 September, 2004, accessed, April 21st, 2022 ; https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26657.

[95] Wood gives account of the 1660 royal performance, *Athenae Oxonienses: The Fasti*, Vol. 1., ed. Philip Bliss. (London: printed, Thomas Davison, 1820), 306. The text is reproduced in Appendix VI.

[96] The occasion of Rogers's BMus is recounted by Dr. John Worthington (1618-1671, Master of Jesus College and University Vice-Chancellor from 1657), including Rogers's complete text by Ingelo, and scoring indications (for example, 'Treble solus' and 'Chor. 5 voc.'), reproduced in Appendix VI; John Worthington, *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington*, ed. James Crosley. Vol. I. (Manchester: The Cheatham Society, 1847).

for Charles II's 'Italian Musick'. On a much smaller scale, Rogers's strophic, homophonic, grace for Magdalen, with text also by Ingelo and additionally entitled 'Hymnus Eucharisticus' provides a further example of public, 'banqueting', use of a motet, where function of 'sacred' blessing is incorporated into a 'secular' public context; according to Wood's account, the strophic setting was composed proximate to 'Exultati justi', with Latin words by the same author.[97] Rogers's grace is still sung regularly today in Magdalen's hall, and featured annually from the college's tower for the May Morning service and public celebrations. Musical accounts of Rogers then, close Windsor colleague of Child, discussed above, show his compositions, both vocal and instrumental, to have been held in very high contemporary regard, and to have been performed to Stuart monarchs in England, alongside royalty from Italy and Sweden: enabled through courtly musical networks, personnel and circles, intersecting with the contexts and work of Child and Lowe.

A picture of further likely repertory for the University's ceremonial events at the Sheldonian Theatre in July 1669, is provided by the miscellaneous set of Music School parts in eighteen sections, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 204, which includes Latin works by Bowman, Child (including 'O bone Jesu, to be discussed in Chapter 4), Lowe and Wilson, alongside Antonelli, Carissimi, and Cazzati ('O quam pulchra es', ff. 4-9v), notably in the hand of Husbands Sr, the central scribe of Child's Italianate compositions, as affirmed in Chapter 2.[98] The manuscript's original cover is now within the folder *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. A. 641, and has inscription by Lowe referencing, 'My score song [crossed out] / 'Latin and 'Dialogue and Ayres for Saturday', with verso, '… use at ye / Theatre in the Act / Act [*sic*.] Saturday 9th July / 1669.', with reversed reference to 'Dialougs [sic.] of Dr Wilsons'.[99] Additional works, further, are given repertorial and functional connection and 'proximity' to this very same occasion by the loose-leaf index from *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 9, in Lowe's hand, listing 'loose papers' for works included in *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 204. Significantly, and distinctly, concerning texts and settings to be addressed in subsequent chapters, this list includes Child's 'O bone Jesu' (itself in *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 204 in unknown hand),[100] associated with Henrietta Maria, and also Bowman's

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[97] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses: The Fasti*, Vol. 1, 306.

[98] See Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, for full details of the manuscript, contents, sections, and foliation, 321-326.

[99] *Ibid*.

[100] There is the small possibility these parts could be Child autographs due to scribal connections with Child's signature in Windsor: a very small sample, however, and by no means enough to be conclusive, to be tested perhaps in light of future research.

'Cantate Jehovae', to be discussed in relation to settings of Calvinist Latin translations of biblical texts, with origins in sixteenth-century Geneva. Furthermore, Lowe's reference to musical dialogues by John Wilson, may further point to the possibility of Child's 'Damon and Daphne', in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, being performed at Child's own DMus ceremony in 1663. *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C 204, with its repertory of likely 'use at ye / Theatre in the Act .. Saturday. 9th July / 1669' features multiple, and duplicate, parts for Lowe's 'Quam dulcis es', which is very likely Lowe's 'Latin Songe' for 1669 described on the manuscript's original cover.

Wainwright suggested in 1998 the possibility of 'Quam dulcis es' being by Lowe and, indeed, Lowe's authorship can be confirmed by the lightly stated self-attribution by Lowe himself in four of the partbooks from the set *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 12-19 ('E:L' at the end of parts in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 14, 17-19).[101] Transcribed in Volume Two, Lowe's motet is highly Italianate in style, reminiscent of similar-scale and similarly scored works by Venetian, Giovanni Rovetta (1596-1668), for example, such as 'Laudate pueri', setting the Vulgate text of Psalm 112, words sung at major Jewish festivals.[102] The latter was copied by Lowe into a manuscript of Italian motets initiated, significantly, by Husbands Sr., *Och* Mus. 1178 (ff. 2-3): the two scribes, Child's Chapel Royal colleagues, also responsible for Child-motet partbooks, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37. Lowe's own motet features many Rovetta-like devices, though without extended vocal-solo use, for example.[103] Lowe's extended triple-time section (bars 72-153) features a predominance of imitative two-part vocal writing, with brief melodically punctuating material for the violins, including featured passages in thirds, in similar manner to Rovetta's opening section (bars 1-46).[104] Lowe's Italianate five-part vocal requirements (CCATB, rather than 'cathedral-texture', CAATB), accompanied by continuo, were also used by Child ('Venite gentes'), Blow ('Salvator mundi') and Purcell ('Jehova quam multi sunt', to be discussed in chapter 7). As highlighted for Rogers's own 1669 Sheldonian Theatre work,

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[101] Please see the Critical Commentary for 'Quam dulcis es', Volume II, for full details of Lowe's self-attribution; see, also, Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 311, 322-323, for initial suggestion of Lowe attribution.

[102] Henry Wandsbrough, ed., *Revised New Jerusalem Bible. Study Edition.* (London: DLT, 2019), note on p. 1096.

[103] Notably, Rovetta's 'Laudate Pueri' was also copied by Lowe's Oxford colleague, Bowman, in the part books, *Och* Mus. 623-626, which also contains motets by Sances and other Italian composers, alongside English settings by contemporary court composers. Rovetta's 'Laudate pueri' was published in *Salmi concertati a cinque et sei voci con doi violini*. Opera prima. Bartolomeo Magni: Venice, 1626, reprinted 1641. Surprisingly, perhaps, there does not appear to be a surviving Oxford-connected copy of this printed source.

[104] Giovanni Rovetta, 'Laudate pueri', ed. Wim Looyestijn, 2005, *CPDL* online score, posted July 27th, 2017, by Wim Looyestijn, accessed May 2nd, 2022, https://www.cpdl.org/wiki/images/a/ad/Rovetta-Laudate_pueri.pdf.

'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes', violins play an important role, but here as two independent soloistic parts. Whilst a variety of imitative techniques are used, with predominantly syllabic text setting, Lowe's work features a degree of Italianate virtuosity and confident panache, motivic and textural variety highlighted previously, for example, in discussion of Child's five-part 'Venite gentes'. Notably for a central section of praise ('sit tibi gloria laudemus', bb. 24-46), Lowe's semiquaver setting of 'laudemus', featuring imitation, is taken up by the violins, as seen in Example 3.1; such instrumental-vocal motivic integration will also be highlighted in Chapter 5, in relation Child's 'Cantate Jehovae', datable to 1633.

**Example 3.1** Lowe, 'Quam dulcis es', bb. 38-42



Instrumental and vocal dialogue is also used by Lowe to praiseful, dramatic and mimetic effect in bars 47 to 72, notably to set the text's incorporation of a single Vulgate psalm verse (psalm 46, verse 2, translated as 'Clap your hands together all peoples. Sing praise to God with the

voice, with the voice of exaltation.'); Examples 3.2 and 3.3 provide bars 47-50, and 57-59, respectively.

**Example 3.2** Lowe, 'Quam dulcis es', bb. 47-50



**Example 3.3** Lowe, 'Quam dulcis es', bb. 57-59



Significantly also, concerning the Latin text, by unknown author, a high, devotional Christology is featured, as will be seen in Child's 'O bone Jesu'; the public performance of such works in the Sheldonian Theatre perhaps provides a significant public statement and

affirmation of cross-denominational devotional traditions and repertories, demonstrating its ease of incorporation and presence alongside 'secular' Latin speeches and ceremony, and likely instrumental dance movements. The Critical Commentary for 'Quam dulcis es', in Volume Two, provides details of the two sources for the motet, both *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 204, and Lowe's autograph parts, in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 12-19. The parts, vocal and instrumental, in *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 204, in the hand of both Bowman, and Lowe's successor as Heather Professor, Goodson I, likely demonstrate the sustained use of this accomplished ceremonial work, with parts, even, for 'chorus' continuo, facilitated by scribal network at the Music School, in Oxford from the late 1660s, until, at least, the 1680s.[105]

This chapter has addressed the dynamic and vital role played by musicians in Oxford in fostering and curating the Latin-texted motet genre from the foundation of the Heather Professorship onwards, by both English and Italian composers, with strong element of facilitating, gifting, and curating an internationally orientated courtly culture. Discussion has highlighted, especially, the close, cross-century, institutional connections between University and the Court, with shared repertories and musicians and, on notable occasions, spaces: affirming the court-cultural function, and Whitehall-Oxford nexus, outlined for Child sources in the previous chapter, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 and *Ge* R.d.3/1, in hand of Husbands Sr. The important institutional role of the university, and of the Heather professors, can also be seen to have nurtured young musicians such as James Clifford, Thomas Pierce, Stephen Crespion, who went on to hold senior church and academic positions in London and Oxford. Their *concertato-* and Latin motet-related work, whether through Oxford performance (Clifford and Crespion), or as text author (Pierce for Child's concertato hymns in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37), intersected with Child's own *concertato* work. Broad themes of cultural and artistic 'translation', court culture, and Latinity can be seen to converge in Oxford and its university, in complex and dynamic relation across the century: a city of cultural wealth, materials and scholarship, of Court residence on significant occasions, and the very city even, where the translators for King James's Authorised translation of the Bible worked at the start of the century. Lowe himself, a Restoration Chapel Royal organist, can be seen as a focal figure of professional-musical continuity from the early 1630s onwards, even across the challenging central years: as performer and facilitator of performance, and as scribe and curator

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[105] Holman, 'Original sets of parts', discusses the use of more than one continuo instrument in relation to Oxford 'Secular' Odes of the 1670s and 1680s, 16-19.

of manuscripts and prints who, in 1682, bequeathed cherished *concertato* repertory, including Child's motets, to the Music School, giving Child's 'Latin Songs', alongside those Dering, a cross-century presence and function in Oxford.

Indeed, this chapter has affirmed the significant presence of Italian and Italianate *concertato* motets, manuscripts and material resources, in Oxford from the early 1630s onwards, with significant number produced during the central decades of the century by George Jeffreys and Stephen Bing at the Oxford court of the 1640s. As scholarship by Wainwright and Shay has analysed and affirmed, musically and historically important cultural impetus to such work was also given, for example, by the purchasing, collecting, and curating of Italian prints and manuscripts, by both Christopher Hatton III, and Henry Aldrich, who matriculated at Christ Church, Lowe's College, in 1662, where he became Dean in 1689. Notably, and in process akin to Lowe's own bequest, many of Hatton's numerous prints of Italian motets were inherited by Aldrich, providing a significant foundation for his own collecting endeavours. Much of Hatton's collection survives today in Christ Church library, including no less than 34 unique Italian publications.[106] Such materials, akin to those associated with Oxford's Music School, including motets copied by Lowe's scribal networks, including work of Henry Bowman and Husbands Sr, for example, were undoubtedly a creative inspiration to Aldrich's own musical endeavours, later in the century. Aldrich himself made musical copies, composition of two *concertato* motets, 'O bone Jesu' and 'Salvator Mundi', transcribed for the first time in Volume Two, alongside his significant 'recompositions': thirty-five works based on Latin motets by Carissimi, alongside Byrd, Palestrina, and Tallis. These unique examples of 'newly Englished' works, in their reworking of borrowed material, have been addressed by Robert Shay, who suggests they likely form the 'intersection of the collector-copyist and the composer', and demonstrate a creativity developed from, 'a thorough grounding in scholarly imitation'.[107]

Notably, also, Aldrich hosted music meetings at Christ Church, which would have been a likely venue for his own recompositions of Carissimi, for example, and even Aldrich's own motets, including Carissimi-like idioms and structures seen in 'Salvator Mundi', transcribed in Volume II (CCB, bc: 212 bars), with a first part of four sections, and a *Parte seconda* outlining five

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[106] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 209-210.
[107] Robert Shay, ' Naturalizing' Palestrina and Carissimi in Late Seventeenth-Century Oxford: Henry Aldrich and His Recompositions', *Music &* Letters 77, No. 3 (1996): 385 and 387. Notably, also, Shay highlights how such Aldrich's recompositions were occasionally termed 'translations', including two such descriptions by John Gostling, 386, and footnote 80.

sections; the *Parte terza* features an extensive 38-bar Bass solo, predominantly in triple time, followed by an imitative and 'virtuosic' coda for the three voices.[108]  Though setting a different text (Psalm 110, Vulgate) to Aldrich, Carissimi's 'Confitebor tibi Domine' (CCB, bc: 332 bars), for example, features related compositional idioms and structural patterning, small- and large-scale: sectional contrast (including contrasts of duple and triple metre), textural and imitative variety, with extensive structure, including a focal Bass solo of 34 bars (222-255).  Originally published in Loreto, 1646, Carissimi's motet survives in Oxford sources, including *Och* Mus. 13, copied by Aldrich, and also in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 12 to C.18, which includes autograph parts for Lowe's 'Quam dulcis es', associated with the opening events of the Sheldonian Theatre.  The latter source includes new parts, for two violins, to accompany the concluding, 'sicut erat': parts in the hand of Lowe (f. 11v, C. 17; f. 18, C. 18), not composed by Carissimi.  Given the unique nature of these Carissimi accompanimental 'additions', and Lowe's own composition skill in using such a pairing in 'Quam dulcis es', it may well be that these parts are by Lowe himself, and provide a further, instrumentally creative, example of the assimilation of the Italian motet in Oxford.  Aldrich himself, who recomposed between four and nine Carissimi motets, seen in *Och* Mus. 16, would certainly have been a close colleague of Lowe at Christ Church, not least though singing in the Cathedral choir, and Shay also suggests the possibility of Aldrich, primarily a clergyman and scholar in occupation, receiving musical tuition from Lowe.[109]

Discussion of the 1669 opening ceremonies of the Sheldonian Theatre above, for which Lowe had a crucial musical role, not least compositional and scribal, showed a likely functional convergence and Oxford-based 'proximity' of motet settings with distinctive Latin texts by St. Bernardino ('O bone Jesu', by Grandi, Dering and Child) and Immanuel Tremellius ('Cantate Jehovae' by both Child, *c.* 1633, and Bowman, *c.* 1669).  The next chapters will discuss settings of these texts in England as 'networks of translation', addressing the notable use of these Latin

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[109] Robert Shay, 'Aldrich, Henry', *Grove Music Online*, January 20th 2001, accessed August 20th, 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.00505. Shay, ' 'Naturalising' Palestrina', 389-390, lists Aldrich's recompositions in *Och* Mus. 16.  In relation to Aldrich's music meetings, also, William Weber has suggested a royalist-political, element to Aldrich's interest in 'ancient music': *The Rise of Musical Classica in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 32-36.

texts by composers in England, and aspects of court-connected tradition in their use. The aim is to ascertain futher the seventeenth-century functions and text resonances of these settings: seeking to provide further distinctive musical contextualisation from composers' choice and use of such texts, including Latin additions and revisions. Viewing motets by shared networks of distinctive Latin texts and Latin translations, the following chapter will address 'O bone Jesu' settings in seventeenth-century England. Subsequent chapters, 5 to 7, will discuss the distinct network of *concertato* settings of Genevan, Calvinist-originating, biblical Latin in England, from Child's 'Cantate Jehovae' and Dering's 'Canite Jehovae', both in James Clifford's, Heather-contextual, *US-NYp* Drexel 4300, to Purcell's 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei', with its highly significant court connections, to be addressed.

## Chapter 4

## 'O bone Jesu' settings in seventeenth-century England, with text attributed to St. Bernardino of Siena (1380-1444)

Having located the functions and sources of Child's Latin motets within courtly musical traditions, and networks associated with the Heather Professorship in Oxford, the next chapters seek to explore and develop contextual insights discernible through further study of networks of texts and biblical translations, with focus on highly notable groupings in seventeenth-century England which intersect in and with Child's Latin works:

- in this chapter, study of the distinctive group of *concertato* motets in England which set the high-Christological prayer of devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, 'O bone Jesu', traditionally attributed to the Franciscan, St. Bernardino of Siena (1380-1444).  Child, alongside Dering and Christopher Gibbons, set this text, following in the footsteps of the Venetian, Alessandro Grandi (published in Venice in 1613, and later in London by Playford, 1662).[1]

- Subsequent chapters (5 to 7), will address settings of biblical Latin with origins in sixteenth-century Calvinist Geneva: Latin psalms of the Old Testament, co-translated by Immanuel Tremellius and his son-in-law, Franciscus Junius (featuring dictinctive Latin for the name of God, 'Jehova'). Chapter 6 will address Child's and Jeffreys's settings of the aligned New Testament translation by Calvinist Theodore Beza.  Beza's translation work was frequently printed together with work of Tremellius and Junius, in Latin bibles, including that printed by Henry Middleton in London in 1581.

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[1] Jeffreys and Aldrich also wrote 'O bone Jesu' settings, though not following Bernardino texts: words of personalised Christological devotion, possibly of their own authorship, following the initial shared text invocation, though in closely related idioms to the settings addressed here.  Aldrich's motet, surviving in *unicum* in his autograph *Och* Mus. 18, may well have connection with the music meetings he held at Christ Church, where Lowe was Organist, from the 1670s, if not also the Music School. Aldrich's 'O bone Jesu', and Child's 'Cantate Jehovae' (*c*. 1633) appear to be the only seventeenth-century *concertato motets* by English composers which incorporate a thematically integrated instrumental accompaniment (treble in Child's case, possibly for cornett as will be discussed in the next chapter, and continuo bass in the Aldrich).  The texts of the Jeffreys and Aldrich 'non-Bernardino' settings are given in Appendix I; Aldrich's motet is transcribed in Volume Two.

Contextual study of the Bernardino settings, the texts of which are given in Appendix I (p. 294), will explore their presence and function within Child's professional networks; and discussion of the Tremellius-Junius settings will seek to draw out the notable ways composers use these distinctive texts, including text alterations and Vulgate incorporations, in addition to their seventeenth-century political resonances. Tremellius-Junius texts, and their compositional adjustments, are presented in Appendix II (p. 297). Chapters 5 and 6 will, respectively, focus on the distinct network of Tremellius-Junius psalm settings in *concertato* idioms, appearing to be unique to seventeenth-century England, and the Court-resonant 'Jerusalem' motets by Child and Jeffreys, setting New Testament texts in Latin by Theodore Beza, speaking to the mid-century situation of Charles I and Restoration contexts of Charles II; Beza texts are given in Appendix III (p. 305). Chapter 7 presents the latest-known Tremellius setting, Henry Purcell's 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei', in new intertextual relation to a setting of the same psalm in the Vulgate setting by a member of Charles II's French Music, within social-political contexts of the later 1670s: Purcell's motet speaking to the vicissitudes of Stuart monarchic contexts, akin to Child's works.

Whilst discussion of Child sources in Husbands's hand, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 and *Ge* R.d.3/1, highlighted a London-Oxford Court-contextual axis, with musicians including Lowe, aligned to both Court and university, study of the latter source notably affirmed Court contexts, placing Child's 'O bone Jesu' and 'Plange Sion' alongside works and performance contexts of composers associated with the Stuart ensemble, the flexible grouping of 'Lutes, Viols and Voices', alongside works with close connections to the circles of Henrietta Maria. These included an elegy to her organist, Dering, and French-texted *airs de cour* by Moulinié, including secular texts of Franciscan poetic authorship, dedicated to her brother, Louis XIII of France, in publication of 1625. Through *Ge* R.d.3/1, Child's own 'O bone Jesu', with compositional connections to four-part settings of the same text by both Grandi and Christopher Gibbons, Child's Chapel Royal colleague, to be addressed below, was seen in greater proximity to Charles I's Queen and to Stuart domestic-contexts than has perhaps been recognised previously. Indeed, I would like to suggest that the significant manuscript presence of 'O bone Jesu' settings, with texts connected to Franciscan, St. Bernardino of Siena, across seventeenth-century England, with highly turbulent central years, had particular impetus and originating functional connection to the Queen, whether potentially liturgical (as suggested by *Lbl* Add. MS 78,416 B, to be discussed) or more broadly

courtly 'domestic-devotional', with close source relation to collections of few-voice motets by her organist, Richard Dering: motets by Grandi, Dering, Child and Christopher Gibbons. Indeed, Highly notably, Gibbons himself was a royal 'musician-in-ordinary' and a member of Charles II's 'Private Musick', and the Oxford sources fully affirm the presence of Gibbons's setting within Heather-Professorship contexts, within manuscripts of *concertato* works by Italian composers.[2] In light of previous discussion of Ge R.d.3/1 in relation to Child's 'O bone Jesu', such royal-domestic performance contexts would be highly likely for Gibbons's own 'O bone Jesu'. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 provide details of the inter-related sources (Grandi, and settings by English composers, respectively): no less than twenty-six different collections, both manuscript and print in the country, from the 1620s to the 1690s, for Bernardino settings in seventeenth-century England, by Grandi, and by Court composers, Dering, Child and Christopher Gibbons. Editions of the settings by Child, Gibbons, and Grandi are provided in Volume II. It is notable, also, that whilst the texts set by all four composers are highly similar, different composers have individual preferences of text-phrase ordering and repetition. In this respect, the texts set by Child and Gibbons are closer to that of Grandi (who omits Dering's, notably Marian-devotional, description of 'plene misericordiae et veritatis' ('full of mercy and truth', Dering's version of 'plenus misericordia et veritate' of the Sarum Bernardino text of *c*. 1470 quoted by Patrick Macey).[3]

**TABLE 4.1**    Grandi's 'O bone Jesu' (printed Venice, 1613): initial outline, and sources, in suggested chronological order of copying / printing:

| composer | scoring | key | bars | sources |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alessandro Grandi (1586-1630) | ATTB bc | 'G minor' | 58 | *Secondo Libro* (1613, with 1628 reprint in Christ Church, of Hatton 1638 provenance)[4] *Lbl* Add. MS 78,416 B |

[2] Christopher D. S. Field, 'Gibbons, Christopher', *Grove Music Online*, January 20th 2001, accessed, May 29th, 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.11089.
Lowe's manuscript score, *Och* Mus. 621 (ff.1-41, copied pre-1677), for example, includes Gibbons's 'O bone Jesu' and 'Laudate Dominum' (CCAB, bc), alongside Italian works including 'Bone Jesu, verbum patris' (text not by Bernardino) and 'O dulce nomen Jesu' (also non-Bernardino), by Casati, and 'Regina caeli laetare' by Monferrato; together with English anthems by Chapel-Royal-associated musicians Humfrey and Blow.
[3] Patrick Macey, 'Josquin, Good King Réne, and *O bone et dulcissime Jesu*', in, ed. Dolores Pesce, *Hearing the Motet* (Oxford and New York: OUP, 1997), 237.
[4] *Och* Mus. 926-930(6).

(A & B parts only,
   *c.* 1625-1640,
reflective of Henrietta
Maria circles)
*US-NH* Misc. MS 170,
   Filmer 1 (*c.*1625)
*CL* Smith Books (Oxford,
1637)
*Lms* MSS G. 55-59
  (Jeffreys, Court, 1640s)
*Och* Mus. 877-880
   (Bing's hand, Oxford
Court, 1640s; Jeffreys
   supervised)
*Lms* MSS G. 33-36
   (*c.* early 1650s)
*Cjc* Partbooks, Chapel
   MS Box of Fragments,
   Envelope 2 (Playford,
   1650s)
*Och* Mus. 747-749
   (Playford, *c.* 1650)
*Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E.451
(Lowe, pre-1663, within
book copied from *c.*
1636)
*Cantica Sacra* (1662,
   Playford)

**TABLE 4.2** Seventeenth-century **'O bone Jesu'** settings by English composers, with Bernardino text, and sources, in suggested chronological order of copying / printing for each composer respectively:

| composer | scoring | key | bars | source |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Richard Dering (*c.* 1580-1630) | TT(B)$^5$ bc | 'G minor' | 47 | *US-NYp* Drexel 4300 (1630s Oxford, owned by Clifford in 1633) *Lcm* MS 2034 (*c.* 1640s) *Lcm* MS 2039 (Court connected, *c.* 1640s to 1660s) *Och* Mus. 878-880 (copyist unidentified, though Jeffreys supervised, *c.* 1650s following) *Cjc* Partbooks, Chapel MS Box of Fragments, |

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[5] B in *Lcm* 2039 only; a vocal-bass part appears to be missing from *Och* Mus. 878-880: see Critical Commentary on 'O bone Jesu' edition, Wainwright, Richard Dering *Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 134.

| | | | | Envelope 2 (Playford, 1650s)<br>*Och* Mus. 748-749 (Playford, copied *c*. 1650, with later additions)[6]<br>*Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451<br>*Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. D. 233-234 (Oxford, copied Lowe, bought, Oct 6th, 1636, & prepared before then)<br>*Cantica Sacra* (1662) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dering (a5, Part 1) | CATQB bc | 'G minor' | 38 | *Cantiones Sacrae Quinque Vocum* (1617)[7]<br>*Cantiones Sacrae Quinque Vocum* (1634)<br>*Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. D. 233-4 (Altus only, f. 16)<br>*Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451 (two-stave short-score, copied by Lowe, C & bc) |
| William Child (1606-1697) | CATB bc | 'E minor' | 36 | *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451, attrib. 'Mr Child' (ie. pre-1663).<br>*Ge* R.d.3/1 (Husbands, Sr: 1663 f.)<br>*Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32, 34-37 (Husbands Sr.)<br>*Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 204 (links to the opening of the Sheldonian Theatre, *Encaenia* 1669)<br>*Och* Mus. 14 (Blow, copied mid-1670s)<br>*Lbl* Add. MS 33,235 (copied Heather Professor, Goodson Sr.)[8] |

[6] Milsom, '*Och* Mus. 747-9' (please see footnote no. 1 for online details).

[7] With *unicum* in Christ Church Library, *Och* Mus. 881-886(4), bought by Christopher Hatton III in 1638 from Robert Martin in London, for use by his musicians, undoubtedly including Jeffreys and Bing, who both copied Grandi's setting of 1613, to be discussed above; see Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 426, within the index. 'The Hatton Music Collection', 425-430.

[8] Though Goodson I would also have had ready access to Husbands's partbooks of Child's works, there are eight distinct notational / textual variants shared between Goodson's score and that of Blow, which suggest Goodson to have copied directly from Blow's score, *Och* Mus. 18; though these variants include perhaps minor, small-scale, details of rhythmic adjustment, the notable shared changes of underlay (tenor, bar 22; and alto, 21-22 for example), likely point to a closer 'familial' connection. Indeed, in turn, *Ob* MS Ten. 713 shares six variants in common with Goodson I's score, including notable aspects of vocal-bass underlay (bars 32, 34-35), and it may be that this eighteenth-century source was copied from Goodson's score. Goodson's *Lbl* Add. MS 33,235 and the later Tenbury source also share in common Sances's 'Plagae tuae', unattributed, with text connected to Franciscans, Saints Bernardino

|  |  |  |  | *Ob* MS Tenbury 713 (late 18th-century collection of 27 motets: 19 motets by Dumont, 12 with violin parts).[9] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christopher Gibbons (1615-1676) | CAAB bc | 'G major' | 35 | *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 44 (bc only, *c.*1660) *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451: copied Lowe (pre-1663) *Och* Mus. 621 (copied Lowe, pre-1677) *Och* Mus. 14 (Blow, Mid-1670s) |

Henrietta Maria's association to Grandi's four-part 'O bone Jesu' was fully affirmed after the Restoration by John Playford in his first edition of *Cantica Sacra*, published in London in 1662: twenty-four two- and three-voice *concertato* motets by Dering, with Grandi's motet featuring as a coda.  Indeed, Playford's particular publication of few-voice motets by Dering, together with Grandi's 'O bone Jesu' as a 'coda', can be seen to have manuscript 'precursors' through St. John's College, Chapel MS Box of Fragments, Envelope 2 (two vocal partbooks from an original set of four) and *Och* Mus. 747-749,  (three partbooks from an original set of four), both copied by Playford, *c.* 1650, and both sets likely examples of Playford's 'scribal publication', made-to-order manuscript copies from his London premises.[10]  Furthermore, the *Cjc* set concludes with three English-texted *contrafacta* of three of Dering's Latin works in the set, which may indicate a particular element of cross-denominational intention, and Playford's potential testing of the commercial appeal of these Italianate works with heritage of Roman Catholic liturgical function, within the challenging religious-political contexts of Commonwealth England.[11] The *Cjc* manuscripts feature twenty-one of the twenty-four Dering motets published in 1662, together with Grandi's 'O bone Jesu' as the final item, and the *Och* Mus. 747-749 books, nineteen Dering concordances in addition to

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and Bonaventure. For full details of source variants for Child's 'O bone Jesu', please see Volume II, Critical Commentary.

[9] The 19 Dumont motets were published in 1681, with 40 works in total: Henri Dumont, *Motets à 2, 3 et 4 parties pour voix et instruments, avec la bass-continue* (Paris: Ballard, 1681).

[10] Jonathan Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice 'Concertato' Motets', *Music & Letters* 89, No. 2 (2008): 183-185.

[11] *Ibid*., 185. Wainwright also provides full contents of early- and mid-century Dering manuscripts in Appendices B to E, pp. 191-194: respectively, *Lbl* Add. MS 78,416 B (*olim* Evelyn MS 189), *Cjc* Chapel MS Box of Fragments, Envelope 2, *Och* Mus. 878-880, and *Lcm* MS 2034.

*concertato* works by Jeffreys in Latin and English.[12]   Indeed, as highlighted in the discussion of the broad repertory of *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 in Chapter 2, the Playford manuscripts, *Och* Mus. 747-749, also provide the sole concordance of Child's English-texted *concertato* Epithalamium, in a later, unknown hand.   Playford had significant mid-century connection with royalist works by Child, also, through his publication of the reprints of Child's 1639 'Italian Way' psalms in 1650 and 1656 (with new title, *Choise Musick to the Psalmes of Dauid*), notably without the frontispiece image of Charles and dedication to the King, executed by Parliamentarians in 1649, during these Commonwealth years.[13]

Furthermore, Playford himself can be seen to have an earlier, liturgical, manuscript precursor to incorporating Grandi's 'O bone Jesu' as the coda to a Dering set.  *Lbl* Add. MS 78, 416 B (*olim* Evelyn MS 189), features eleven Dering few-voice motets, with Grandi's motet as the final item.  This set may very well date from the early years of Henrietta Maria's time in England (1625 onwards), and I would like to suggest that this set of works by her organist of the time, Dering, may have had likely function related to her own courtly circles, whether liturgical or domestic-devotional: not least due to the two examples of Franciscan spirituality, which would have resonated fully with her Franciscan-Capuchin spiritual staff and supervisors, and her newly founded Confraternity of the Holy Name in her chapels, outlined in the previous chapter in discussion of *Ge* R.d.3/1 and its texts of Franciscan authorship, set by both Child and Moulinié.[14]  In *Lbl* Add. MS 78, 416 B, both Dering's 'O nomen Jesu' (CCB, bc), and Grandi's 'O bone Jesu', set texts traditionally attributed to St. Bernardino of Siena, the very person responsible for the flourishing of this devotion across Europe.[15] Furthermore, sustained, cross-century, Stuart domestic-devotional contexts for

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[12] John Milsom, 'Mus. 747-9', Christ Church Library Music Catalogue, May 16th 2006, accessed May 23rd, 2022: http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+747--9.

[13] Please see Jonathan Wainwright, ed., *William Child (1606/7-1697) The First Set of Psalmes of .III. Voyces (1639)* (York: York Early Music Press, 2015), with introductory essay, iii-vi, and source details, 43-44.

[14] Gamache, 'Mission in England of the Capuchin Friars of the Province of Paris', 316, in Birch, *The Court and Times of Charles the First*.

[15] Dering's three-voice 'O nomen Jesu' survives only in *Lbl* Add. MS 78,416 B (unattrib.) and *Lcm* 2033, attrib. 'Rich. Dering'; see Wainwright, *Richard Dering Motets*, for a modern edition: 90-93, with Commentary, 147. 'O nomen Jesu' shares key and stylistic idioms with Dering's 'O bone Jesu' (a3 in *Lcm* 2039), including a brief section of triple-time homophony, akin perhaps to bb. 20-22, and 34-36; indeed this motet incorporates a clear, 2-part homophonic presentation of this text itself, 'O bone Jesu' (bb. 28-30). Dering's 'O nomen Jesu' might even appear as a *secunda pars* to 'O bone Jesu', akin to the ordering of Dering's 5-part motet, although these works, a3, do not appear together in surviving sources.

*concertato* settings of Bernardino's prayer of the Holy Name, are further suggested by the presence of Dering's own 'O bone Jesu', a2, in *Lcm* MS 2039: three surviving partbooks from an original set of five, containing consort music and devotional songs, in the hand of six scribes, with final item of four motets by Child's colleague, Benjamin Rogers.[16] Discussion of Tremellius settings in the next chapter will highlight Rogers's 'Canite Jehovae', seen here, and will suggest the scribal hand, indeed, to be the distinctive work of Child's ornate motet-scribe, Husbands Sr.   The preceding five scribes of *Lcm* MS 2039 do not appear to be known.  Whilst the majority of the works may have been copied in the central years of the century, I would like to suggest that the coat of arms of the Prince of Wales on the books' covers, alongside initials 'RB', indicates initial provenance of this set is highly likely to be within the circles of Charles, son of James I, before he became King in 1625. Indeed, the only know musician employed by, or associated with, a seventeenth-century Prince of Wales, whether the subsequent Charles I or II in relation to this set, is Richard Ball, who was a musician of Charles (later Charles I) between 1617 and 1622.[17]  In light of the books' subsequent repertory by court-connected composers, including works Dering, and two *unica* by Rogers, copied *c*.1669 onwards ('Canite Jehovae' and 'Quem vidistis', both texts set by Child), it appears likely the books, including Dering's 'O bone Jesu', remained in close service to Stuart monarchs and their musicians at least until the 1670s.[18]

The remaining 'early' source for Grandi's 'O bone Jesu',  *US-NH* Misc. MS 170, Filmer 1, unattributed, does not feature works by Dering, and indeed, highly likely predates Henrietta Maria's arrival in England in 1625; nonetheless, the 147 items associated with Baronet Filmer of Kent (a title created in 1674 by Charles II for Sir Robert Filmer, 1622-1676) feature courtly vocal and instrumental works (dances and ricercars), with madrigals by Marenzio, together with motets by Lassus, and repertory by notable employee of Elizabeth I, Alfonso Ferrabosco I, and 'Suites' by Stephen Nau, later 'Composer to the Violins' at the Stuart court (in post, 1627-1642).[19]  Similarly, the mid-

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[16] Please see Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 293-297, for full details of the manuscripts.

[17] Ashbee / Lasocki, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1192.
Ball was succeeded by eminent Italian-born musician, Angelo Notari, who continued Ball's duties for Charles in training two singing boys. Cunningham notes how payments for such trebles appears to have ended in 1625: John Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes 1602-1645* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 11.

[18] Items one and four of the final-four works in *Lcm* MS 2039 are attributed to 'Dr Rogers', proximate to 1669, and the opening of Oxford's Sheldonian Theatre; subsequent Tremellius writing will suggest all four to be attributable to him.

[19] For details of the manuscript, please see *RISM Online*, accessed May 30th, 2022: https://opac.rism.info/metaopac/search?View=rism&db=251&id=900000097.

century source, *Lbl* Mad. Soc. MSS G. 33-36, copied *c*. 1650s by unknown scribe, features sacred and secular 'domestic' vocal music alongside works for instrumental ensemble, here by Thomas Lupo (1571-1627), and Richard Mico (*c*.1590-1661), the latter who succeeded Dering as Henrietta Maria's organist in 1630.[20] Details of the partbooks' provenance are, unfortunately, not known, though the bass partbook is inscribed with the name 'Abraham Ratcliff'. These books, containing 121 items, however, provide further, mid-century, evidence of the close manuscript association of compositions by Dering with Grandi's 'O bone Jesu', though here through English-texted *contrafacta* of Dering's Italian-texted, secular, three- and four-voice canzonettas, accompanied by continuo, from collections printed in Antwerp in 1620.[21] Twenty-eight such 'translations', unattributed, are in the manuscript, many transposed down a fifth: seventeen three-voice canzonettas, and eleven for four voices.[22] In relation, also, the mid-century Grandi source in Playford's hand, *Cjc* Chapel MS Box of Fragments, Envelope 2, discussed above, also contains Dering *contrafacta*: three Latin motets given English texts.[23] The Madrigal Society partbooks, G. 33-36, also contain thirty-two, three-voice, *concertato* psalms by William and Henry Lawes, from *Choice Psalmes put into Musick*, for Three Voices (London, 1648), with continuo, dedicated to Charles I. Similarly, Oxford-connected sources, Lowe's *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451, and *CL* Bishop Smith Books, also include psalms from *Choice Psalmes*, together with Grandi's 'O bone Jesu'. The three-voice 'Gloria Patri' in *Lbl* Mad. Soc. MSS G. 33-36 provides the sole Dering Latin work, a motet seen also in Playford's parts in the mid-century *Cjc* source, and in *Cantica Sacra* I of 1662.

Playford's *Cantica Sacra* can be seen to be a focal moment in the wider dissemination of the *concertato* motet in seventeenth-century England, and an affirmation and consolidation, perhaps, of Dering's important compositional and historical role within the genre. Here was a public presentation of motets by the former Organist of Queen Henrietta-Maria, mother of King Charles II, and dedicated to her in a publication

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For Nau's listing as a 'Composer to the Violins', please see, Ashbee / Lasocki, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1195.

[20] See J.S. Bennet, revised Andrew J. Hanley, 'Mico [Micoe, Micho, Meco, Myco], Richard', *Grove Music Online*, January 20th 2001, accessed August 24th 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.18607.

[21] Richard Dering, *Canzonette a tre voci con il basso continuo* (Antwerp: Phalèse, 1620), and *Canzonette a quattro voci con il basso continuo* (Antwerp: Phalèse,1620).

[22] See, also, Richard Charteris, 'Newly Identified Italian Madrigals Englished', *Music & Letters* 63, No. 3/4 (1982): 278, 280.

[23] Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice 'Concertato' motets', 193.

printed thirty-two years after the composer's death in 1630. Whilst a number of the motets were significantly present in manuscript form from the 1630s onwards, the 1662 publication can be seen to provide a ready and wider public access to works that had been the preserve predominantly of royal circles or 'aristocratic' environments, whether domestic, liturgical or devotional, or potentially for circles of private music meetings, including London and Oxford, for example.[24]

Suggestive of the motets' performance and devotional contexts too, is the seemingly anomalous four-part work by Grandi to conclude a publication of two- and three-part works by Dering.  By 'familial' connection, Dering's own two-part setting of this text, with continuo, was published within the same 1662 collection, and forms a counterpart to Dering's five-voice setting, with continuo, published by Phalèse of Antwerp in the composer's 1617 printed collection, with reprint in 1634.  Whilst Dering's 2/3-part setting has clear associations of function and sources within English courtly contexts and aligned circles, including Oxford's Music School, his 5-part setting would have been composed whilst Dering was resident in Brussels (*c.*1617-1625), including role as Organist to the community of Benedictine nuns of the Convent of the Assumption.[25] Dering's two settings even share motivic material, as will be seen below.[26] As a 'delegated' coda and conclusion to the 1662 publication, not advertised on the cover, the printing of Grandi's work can be viewed as Playford's subtle, yet significant,

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[24] For full discussion of Dering's few-voice *Concertato* motets, background, sources and stylistic contexts, please see Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice 'Concertato' Motets': 165-194.  Details of the primary manuscript sources for *Cantica Sacra* are given on 168-171.

For discussion of music meetings in London at the 'old Jewry', with connections to Playford and the manuscript *Ge* R.d. 58-61, please see Ian Spink, 'The old Jewry 'Musick-Society' A 17th-century Catch Club', *Musicology Australia*, 2:1 (1967): 35-41.

The repertoire of 'Bishop Smith's Part-Song Books', Carlisle (*CL* Smith Books), including works by Child, Dering and Grandi, also embodies that of the Heather Professorship and aligned musical circles (including members of the Queen's College, during the 1630s) through Thomas Smith, as highlighted in the previous chapter.

[25] Andrew Cichy, for example, has highlighted the uncertain provenance and function of Dering's 5-part works, given their unlikely use of the convent: ' "How shall we sing the song of the Lord in a strange land?" English Catholic Music after the Reformation to 1700: A study of Institutions in Continental Europe,' (DPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, 2013), 160.  The presence of Dering's 'O bone Jesu' a5, in Lowe's practically orientated short-score, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451, demonstrates clear function within Oxford and Heather-Professorship circles and traditions outlined in the previous chapter.

[26] Please see the recent editions of Dering's two- and five-part 'O bone Jesu' motets, respectively, in: *Richard Dering, Motets for One, Two, or Three Voices and Basso Continuo*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright, *Musica Britannica*, Vol. 87 (Stainer & Bell, 2008), 8-9 (including the part for bass voice from *Lcm* 2039), with textual commentary, 134-135;
*Richard Dering, Motets and Anthems*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright, *Musica Britannica,* Vol. 98, (Stainer & Bell, 2015), 3-5 (followed by the *secunda pars*, 'O nomen Jesu, pp. 6-9), with textual commentary, 123. Discussions of Dering's 'O bone Jesu' settings in this chapter, including musical examples given, are based on Wainwright's editions.

homage to an esteemed Italian composer and compositional influence on Dering, and as a motet favoured perhaps by Henrietta Maria herself, the publication's dedicatee. Grandi's four-part 'O bone Jesu' will be seen to feature in a diverse range of seventeenth-century manuscript collections and, indeed, the Bernardino text itself was also popular within books of hours and primers: texts and music thereby connected to the wider devotional, scriptural and devotional traditions of reverence to the Holy Name.

The naming and circumcision of Jesus eight days after his birth is presented in Luke's gospel.[27] An early devotion to the Name of Christ can be seen in Paul's Letter to the Philippians in words which predate the gospel, and connect to themes of both incarnation and crucifixion: 'Therefore God also highly exalted him and gave him the name that is above every name, so that at the name of Jesus every knee should bend'.[28] Whilst frequent psalm verses and scriptural prayers addressed the name of God, including the 'Our Father' prayer instituted by Jesus in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, devotion to the name of Jesus was later emphasised by prominent clergy including St. Anselm (1033/4-1109) whose words may even have influenced those of Bernardino's prayer,[29] and the founder of the Cistercian Order, St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), who preached on the Holy Name.[30] Denis Renevey has written on the devotion of Richard Rolle (1300-1349) and Walter Hilton (1340-1396) to the Holy Name, and has highlighted the close connection between renewed devotion to the Holy Name and the inauguration of Corpus Christi, the Church feast dedicated the Body Of Christ, which was initiated and established in the thirteenth century; also highlighted by Renevey is the work of the Franciscan, Guibert de Tournai (c. 1200-1284), who was commissioned by the Order of Friars Minor to write a treatise of ten sermons on the Name of Jesus.[31] Indeed, devotion to the Holy Name can be seen to be a foundational

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[27] Luke 2.21, 'After eight days had passed, it was time to circumcise the child; and he was called Jesus, the name given by the angel before he was conceived in the womb.'; quoted from the *Holy Bible*, New Revised Standard Version (London: SPCK, 2011), 1063.

[28] Philippians 2.9-10, *Ibid*., 1211.

[29] St. Anselm's first 'Meditation', composed between 1070 and 1080, concluded with a fervent appeal to the repeated name of Jesus: see Benedicta Ward, tr. and ed., *The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm* (London: Penguin Books, 1970), 258-259.

[30] Bishop John Hedley, tr., *Sermons of St Bernard on Advent and Christmas* (London: R.&. T. Washbourne Ltd., 1909): 'On the Holy Name of Jesus and other Scriptural Titles of Our Lord', 141-147.

[31] Denis Renevey, 'Name above Names: the Devotion to the Name of Jesus From Richard Rolle to Walter Hilton's Scale Of Perfection I', *The Medieval Mystical Tradition, Exeter Symposium VI: Papers read at Charney Manor, July,* 1999, ed. Marion Glasscoe,103-122 (Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 1999): p. 103 gives details of the treatise, its popularity, and misattribution to St. Bonaventure.

aspect of the Franciscan tradition and charism, stemming from the life and teaching of St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) himself.[32]

The life and preaching of the Franciscan St. Bernardino, the author of 'O bone Jesu' by traditional attribution, enabled devotion to the name of Jesus to gain wider use and significance, coupled with strong associations to the 'IHS' Christogram.[33] Bernardino popularised the devotion, and used images of the three letters, backed by a vivid sun, to counter the symbols and seals of rivalry between the political factions the Guelphs and Ghibellines, for example, with their struggles rife in Florence during the lifetime of Dante Alighieri (*c.* 1265-1321). Dante himself was a member of the Third Order of St. Francis, and his narrative poem *La Divina Commedia* (composed *c.* 1308-1320), makes reference to these rivalries in Italian city states. Within England during the following century, Eamon Duffy has noted how the capacity of popular piety to effect liturgical changes was 'demonstrated in the raising of the characteristically English affective devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus to the status of a feast, with its own compulsory Mass and Office, in the late 1480s.'[34] In 1530 Pope Clement VII permitted the Franciscan Order of Friars Minor to celebrate an annual Feast of the Holy Name with its own liturgical office, a feast which was extended to the wider Catholic Church in 1721 by Pope Innocent XIII, and through the advocacy of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI.[35] Representative perhaps of this sustained Franciscan tradition, Bernardino's words received wide dissemination through primers, devotional writings and publications in Latin and English, and through musical settings.[36]

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[32] Examples can be seen in chapter ten of St. Bonaventure's account of Francis's life, the *Legenda Maior*, for which fifteenth-century manuscript sources can be found in the Bodleian Library Oxford: MS Canon. Misc. 148, MS Canon. Misc. 153, MS Laud Misc. 163. In words from Ewart Cousins's translation, Francis 'wanted to honour with special reverence the Lord's name not only when thought but also when spoken and written.'; similarly, 'When he pronounced or heard the name "Jesus," he was filled with joy interiorly and seemed to be altered exteriorly as if some honey-sweet flavour had transformed his taste or some harmonious sound had transformed his hearing.': *The Life of St. Francis*, tr. Ewart Cousins, ed. Emilie Griffin (New York: Harper Collins, 2005), 110.

[33] Loman McAodha, 'The Holy Name of Jesus in the Preaching of St. Bernardine of Siena', *Franciscan Studies* 29 (1969): 37-65.

[34] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (Yale: YUP, 1992): 45.

[35] Joseph Tylenda, *Saints and Feasts of the Liturgical Year* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2003): 5-6.

[36] Margaret Connolly & Linne R. Mooney, ed., *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England*. (York: York Medieval Press, 2008): p. 147.
Bernardino's words can be seen in books of hours catalogued, by Edgar Hoskins, ed.: *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis or Sarum and York Primers with Kindred Books and Primers of the Reformed Roman Use*. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901); for example, in the primer printed by Wynken De Worde in 1494, in the Rouen Primer of 1536, and the London Primers of 1536 and 1560, with details given by Hoskins on pp. 112, 167, 218, and 256.

A significant range of 'O bone Jesu' settings can certainly be seen from the fifteenth century onwards, using both the Bernardino text, and also different texts which share only the initial three words in common, as indeed the texts of Jeffreys and Aldrich, with texts and translations, in Appendix I. Composers of unaccompanied settings include Josquin (1450/1455-1521) a4, Fayrfax (1464-1521),[37] Carver (1485-1570) a19, Palestrina (1525-1594) a4 and a6, Lassus (1532-1594) a4, Ingegneri (1535-1592) a4, and Parsons (*c*.1535-*c*.1571) a5; composers writing in *concertato* idioms, accompanied by continuo, include Viadana (1560-1627), Peter Philips (*c*.1560-1628) a2 in *Paradisus Sacris* (Antwerp, 1628), Monteverdi (1567-1643), Schütz (1585-1672), Tarquinio Merula (1595-1665), Galazzeo Sabbatini (1597-1662), Bonifazio Graziani (1604/1605-1664), Du Mont (1610-1684), Maurizio Cazzati (1616-1678). Whilst *concertato* 'O bone Jesu' settings by Italian composers survive in many English manuscripts and printed collections, it appears significant that a nexus of English composers with close professional connections to the Court chose, after Grandi, to set the Bernardino text: *concertato* works which share much in common with the Grandi, both in compositional techniques and through shared manuscript sources, as will be seen.

The prevalent 'O bone Jesu' text, used by the composers given in tables 4.1 and 4.2, is taken from the initial portion of a longer prayer attributed to St. Bernardino in many sources, including the Elizabethan *Orarium* of 1560. The texts used by the respective composers are given in Appendix I, and the heading and opening words are as follows:[38]

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[37] A *Magnificat* and *Missa* 'O bone Ihesu' by Fayrfax survive, with only a single voice surviving from the antiphon which was the likely model; the works are in the Arundel Choir-book: Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1, with the *Magnificat* on ff. 63v-66r, and the *Missa* on ff. 70v-78r.

[38] These words are from the Elizabethan *Orarium* of 1560: *Orarium seu libellous precationum per Regiam maiestatem, Latinè aeditus* (London: William Seres, 1560): quoted from *Private Prayers, Put Forth by Authority During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. William Clay (Cambridge: CUP, 1851): 202. The ensuing full text of the prayer, with attribution to Bernardino, was here presented as an 'official' prayer of Christological devotion; the 1560 book was originally prepared in the reign of Henry VIII.

An earlier presentation of this same complete text, with the heading 'Sequitur oratio sancti bernardi confessoris ordinis minorum', can be seen in the Book of Hours in the Sarum rite (*c*. 1470) now in the Piermont Morgan Library, New York, USA: M. 24, f. 69; this text is quoted in P. Macey, 'Josquin, Good King René, and *O bone et dulcissime Jesu*', in Delores Pesce, ed., *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: OUP, 1997): 237. On p. 236, Macey also quotes a closely related and unattributed text from *Hours of Louis de Laval* of *c*. 1480, which uses the word 'dulcissime' seen in the motet settings by Grandi, Child and Christopher Gibbons, for example: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 920, f. 294.

**Devota oratio ad Jesum Christum**

*O bone ihesu, o dulcis ihesu,*
  *o ihesu fili virginis marie*
  *plenus misericordia et veritate.*
*O dulcis ihesu miserere mei*
  *Secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.*


[O good Jesus, O sweet Jesus,
O Jesus, son of the virgin Mary
full of compassion and truth.
O sweet Jesus, have mercy on me,
according to your great mercy.]


The Bernardino settings composed in England, especially the four-part settings by Child and Christopher Gibbons, will be seen to share much in common with Grandi's four-part motet, originally published in 1613. Notably, a copy of the second edition of this publication, bought by Christopher Hatton III, patron of Jeffreys and Comptroller to the Oxford Court of Charles I in the early 1640s, survives in Christ Church, *Och* Mus. 926-930(6), printed in Venice in 1628. Though not acquired within the prints of Italian music bought from bookseller Robert Martin in 1638, this Grandi edition was used by Hatton's musicians and copyists, including George Jeffreys and Stephen Bing, and was subsequently bequeathed to Aldrich. Scholarship by Wainwright has affirmed Bing's copies of Italian motets in *Och* Mus. 880, second sequence (ff. 1-23v, with fifteen motets by Grandi, including the four-part 'O bone Jesu' of his *Secondo Libro*, f. 3) were very likely copied for Royalist use and function at the Oxford Court, resident at Christ Church, in the turbulent times of the early 1640s:[39] contexts highlighted in the last chapter in relation to Jeffreys, Lowe and John Wilson, including connections discussed between the latter's Vulgate-texted motet 'Exsurgat Deus' and the 'Triple Unite' gold coin minted in Oxford between 1642 and 1644, featuring the same Latin text of Psalm 67, verse one (translatable as, 'Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered'). Jeffreys's copies of Italian motets, *Lbl* Add. MS 31,479 (62 two-voice items, 36 three-voice items, with bc) and *Lbl* Mad. Soc. MSS G.55-59 (49 items, for four and five voices, with bc), including a copy of Grandi's four-part 'O bone Jesu' in the latter, item 9, form part of very this same repertory. It could be suggested, perhaps, that Grandi's setting of Bernardino's devotional, high-Christological prayer, offered

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[39] See Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 31; and 174, 'it is the manuscripts of sacred music - Jeffreys British Library Add. MS 31,479 and Madrigal Society MSS G. 55-9 (Part II, MS IX [pp. 254-260]), and Bing's Christ Church Mus. 880, second sequence ff. 1-23v (Part II, MS LVIII [pp. 405-414]) – which offer the best hint that we are dealing with Royalist repertoire from the time of the Oxford Court.'

particular devotional solace to the Court at this time, if not especially to Henrietta Maria in light of Playford's deliberate use of this work as the conclusion, and sole four-part setting, in his 1662 publication dedicated to her, in addition to the presence of Child's closely related setting in *Ge* R.d.3/1 alongside his Civil War / Commonwealth resonant 'Plange Sion'. Indeed in tandem perhaps, Bing's copy of Sances's 'O Jesu mi dulcissime' (CCAB, bc, from *Motetti* of 1638, popular in English sources, including copy by Husbands Sr, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 10) within the same part of *Och* Mus. 880, gives a further element of high-Christological devotional spirituality, with Franciscan connections.[40] Sances's initial words, attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, are akin to Grandi's Bernardino text, 'O Jesu mi dulcissime' ('O my Jesus, most sweet to me') and, indeed, words actually from Bernardino's 'O bone Jesu' in the motet's second part (bar 27 onwards, with differentiated triple time, $\frac{3}{1}$), 'O amantissime Jesu, nomen dulce' ('O name of Jesus, sweet name').[41] The manuscripts and printed sources for 'O bone Jesu' motets in England also show a strong and continued presence of Bernardino settings, in *concertato* idioms, across the wider portion, approximately sixty years, of the seventeenth century, thereby demonstrating and affirming a particular and sustained musical and devotional tradition connected to Franciscan spirituality. As affirmed in Chapter 2 through discussion of *Ge* R.d.3/1, source for Child's 'O bone Jesu', this was significant feature of Henrietta Maria's devotional life, not least through her chapels being staffed by Franciscan-Capuchins, and through her founding of a Confraternity of St. Francis.

As an introduction to discussion of the motets' shared compositional features, Table 4.3 gives structural summaries of the Bernardino settings, including use of sectional repetition (indicated by capitals) and triple time (underlined).

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[40] Please see Wainwright's list of 'Popular pre-1638 Italian Pieces in English Restoration Manuscripts', *Musical Patronage*, 203. Indeed, Sances's most-copied motet from the *Motetti* of 1638, in English manuscripts sources, features words by Franciscan authors: 'Plagae tuae Domine' (19 manuscript copies), with words derived from Franciscans St. Bonaventure and St. Bernardino of Siena. Saunders provides full text details in, *Giovanni Felice Sances, Motetti*, xxix. As highlighted in the previous chapter, Husbands Sr, the Scribe of Child's partbooks bequeathed to Oxford's Music School by Lowe in 1682, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, also copied the complete works of Sances's 1638 publication in his ornate 'Latin-motet' calligraphic style, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 10.

[41] Saunders, *Giovanni Felice Sances Motetti*, details of texts on xxx, with transcription, 169-176.

**Table 4.3** Structural summaries of seventeenth-century Bernardino settings in seventeenth-century English sources:[42]

**Grandi** (ATTB bc; 'G minor'; 31 bars; duple metre throughout)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bars 1-5 | Motif A, 'O bone Jesu' in TI, imitated by TII |
| Bars 5-10 | Motif B, 'O dulcissime Jesu' in imitation and canon: A, TI, B, TII |
| Bars 10-16 | Motif C, 'O piissime Jesu' first used alongside motif B, then imitated canonically by TII and TI |
| Bars 17-18 | Motif D, 'O Jesu': 4-part homophonic declamation |
| Bars 18-22 | Motif C in imitation and canon |
| Bars 22-23 | Motif D |
| Bars 24-29 | Motif E, 'fili Mariae virginis', imitated |
| Bars 29-32 | Motif F, 'O dulcis Jesu', imitated |
| Bars 32-38 | Motif G, 'secundum magnam': 2-part homophony in paired parts, the 4-part harmony, with 3$^{rd}$-related harmonic shift to G major (from a B-flat major chord) for 'magnam misericordiam', bars 32 to 33 |
| Bars 38-43 | Motif AI, 'O bone Jesu, miserere mei', in imitation |
| Bars 43-46 | Motif F in imitation across the 4 parts |
| Bars 46-53 | Motif C, featuring imitation, and dove-tailing 2-part textures |
| Bars 53-58 | Motif B, used in imitation and canon |

**Dering, a2** (TT [B, additionally, in *Lcm* MS 2039] bc; 'G minor'; 47 bars; duple metre, with two three-bar 'interludes' in triple time)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bars 1-5 | Motif A, canonic: CI followed by CII |
| Bars 5-7 | Motif A1, 2-part movement to the relative major |
| Bars 7-13 | Motif B, featuring homophony and imitation, and harmonic movement to the 'dominant' |
| Bars 13-19 | homophonic motif C with initial syncopation for 'plene misericordia', followed by imitation for 'et pietate'; bar 14 includes 3$^{rd}$-related harmonic movement from B-flat major to D major, following the initial rhythmic syncopation, to heighten text expression |
| Bars 20-22 | Motif D: triple time for 3 bars, for 'O bone Jesu, O dulcis Jesu'.; the start of the motif is accentuated by a 3$^{rd}$-related harmonic shift from bar 19: D (3$^{rd}$ of chord not specified) to B-flat major (bars 19-20) |
| Bars 23-27 | Motif E1: 'Secundum magnam misericordiam tuam', imitated |
| Bars 27-33 | imitative motif E2, 'miserere mei' |
| Bars 34-36 | Motif D, featuring inversion of parts from bars 20-22; |

[42] The Child, Gibbons and Grandi summaries are based on the transcriptions in Vol. II; the two Dering summaries on Wainwright's editions, *Musica Britannica* Vols. LXXXVII and XCVIII. *Op. Cit.*, footnote 26.

| | |
|---|---|
| | as before (bars 19-20), the start of the motif is given a 3$^{rd}$-relation harmonic progression from the previous bar, G (3$^{rd}$ not specified) to B-flat major (bars 33-34) |
| Bars 37-47 | Motifs E1 and E2, with inversion of parts from bars 23-33 |

**Dering, a5** (CATQB, bc; 'G minor'; 38 bars [part one]; duple metre)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bars 1-7 | Motif A: 5-part harmony for 'O bone Jesu, O dulcis Jesu', with 'punctuating' solo notes for  A and Q parts; bar 2 features a 'colourful' shift in harmony and texture, including brief use of a tritone (2$^{nd}$ minim beat), to create perhaps a mood of lament or supplication to heighten expression of the initial words<br>Bars 4-5 feature evocative use of the dominant major, followed by the dominant minor for the 'O' repetition. |
| Bars 8-9 | Motif B: homophonic statement of 'O Jesu' |
| Bars 9-15 | Motif C for 'fili Maria virginis' featuring rhythmic syncopation, and fluctuating textures;<br>bars 12-13 include 3$^{rd}$-relation harmonic progression: G major to E minor (with passing note in the vocal bass and *bc*) |
| Bars 15-18 | imitative motif D for 'plene misericordiae' |
| Bars 18-21 | imitative motif E for 'et veritatis', featuring varied textures, from 2 to 5 parts |
| Bars 22-23 | development and expansion of motif B for 'O dulcis, O dulcis Jesu', with a 3$^{rd}$-related harmonic connection to the preceding bar to heighten the presentation of 'O dulcis' (B-flat major to D major, bars 21-22) |
| Bars 24-31 | imitative material for motif F, featuring textural variety, and beginning with a 3$^{rd}$-related progression: D major to F major to lower the tonality and 'mood', in conjunction with the use of lower voices, for presentation and expression of 'miserere mei' (bars 23-24) |
| Bars 31-38 | Motif G, featuring imitation, including canonic writing (bars 36-37), and textural variety for 'Secundum magnam misericordiam tuam'. Motif G shares much in common with motif E1 from Dering's 2-part motet, setting the same text (the first ten notes are identical, though set in different pitch areas; both motifs function in a 'modultory' capacity). |

**Child** (CATB bc, 'E minor', 36 bars; duple metre throughout)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bar 1 | Motif A: tenor only |
| Bars 2-3 | Motif A1: rhythmic augmentation of A in thirds (canto and alto) |
| Bars 3-5 | Motif B, featuring 4-part imitation (including a canonic entry |
| Bars 5-6 | Motif C: 4-part homophonic statement of 'O Jesu' preceded by a rest |
| Bars 6-8 | Motif B |

| | |
|---|---|
| Bars 8-12 | homophonic motif C expanded |
| Bars 13-17 | Motif D for 'Fili Maria virginis' stated in 4-part imitation |
| Bars 17-22 | Motif C homophony: 3 statements of 'O dulcis Jesu' with brief imitation on the 3$^{rd}$ rendition; statement 2 effects a 3$^{rd}$-related harmonic shift to F-sharp major, from D major (bars 18 to 19) |
| Bars 23-27 | Motif E: homophonic material for 'Secundum magnam misericordiam tuam', featuring 3$^{rd}$-related harmonic progressions in bars 24 and 25 (A major, to F-sharp major, the D major) to heighten textual expression |
| Bars 28-30 | Motif A2: development and expansion of 'O bone Jesu' A material, featuring 4-part imitation with staggered entries – compositional techniques in common with Grandi's 4-part 'O bone Jesu' (bars 22-23, setting the same words at a similar structural juncture) |
| Bar 30 | Motif C: a single statement of 'O Jesu' in 4-part homophony, punctuated before and after by rests. |
| Bars 31-33 | Motif F: 'angular' melodic motif for 'O dulcissime Jesu', in 4-part imitation |
| Bars 33-36 | imitative motif B, 'O dulcissime Jesu', expanded |

**Child's 'O bone Jesu' in broad overview:**

| | |
|---|---|
| Bars 1-22 | imitative passages with varied textures contrasting with declamatory choral writing; chordal renditions of four statements of 'Jesu', featuring punctuated by rests; |
| Bars 23-36 | declamatory homophony followed by imitative writing, and a central, homophonic, 'O Jesu' punctuated again by rests |

**C. Gibbons: structural summary** (CAABbc, 'G major', 35 bars; duple metre)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bars 1-3 | Motif A: Alto II, followed by Alto I imitation to lead to 'dominant' area |
| Bars 6-8 | Motif B for 'O dulcissime Jesu': 4-part imitation |
| Bars 9-10 | Motif C: 4-part homophony for 2 statements of 'O Jesu', punctuated by a rest |
| Bars 11-12 | Motif B1: homophonic statement of ' O piissime Jesu', developing the rhythm of motif B |
| Bars 12-13 | Motif C: a further 4-part statement; bars 9-13 feature significant use of 3$^{rd}$ related Progressions to 'heighten' expression of text: C major to A major (bar 9); D major to B major (bars 9-10); E minor to C major (bars 10-11); D major to F-sharp major (bars 12-13); F-sharp major to A major (bar 13) |
| Bars 13-16 | triadic Motif D for 'Fili Maria virginis', imitated |
| Bars 15-17 | overlapping motif B1 for 'O dulcis Jesu', developing the rhythm and melodic shape of Motif B |
| Bars 17-19 | Motif C1, developing and extending the 4-part homophonic material of C; the repetition of 'O dulcis' |

|  | in bars 18 features a 3rd-related harmonic shift from B major to D major |
|---|---|
| Bars 19-22 | Motif E: 3- then 4-part homophony for 'Secundum magnam misericordiam tuam', stated twice |
| Bars 22-25 | Motif A1: Alto II (with 3rd-related harmonic shift from E minor to C major), then canto and alto I, in imitation |
| Bars 24-30 | Motif F, overlapping, for 'miserere Jesu': texture built-up through imitation |
| Bars 30-35 | Motif B2: transformation expansion of Motif B, with use of the Motif-B rhythm and words, built-up through imitation; the repetition of 'O dulcissime' in towards the end of bar 31 features a 3rd-related harmonic movement from D major to F-sharp major; 4-part declamatory homophony for the final statement |

## Compositional comparisons of Bernardino settings: Grandi, Dering (a2/a3, a5), Child, & C. Gibbons

The above structural summaries give an initial perspective on the core musical features in common between the five Bernardino settings, and especially between those by Grandi, Child, and Christopher Gibbons. The motets are close-knit and condensed in motivic technique, with varied and distinct melodic patterns (Grandi, seven in total; Dering a2, five; Dering a5, seven; Child, six; Gibbons, six), with rhythms and textures guided and enabled by the Latin text. The works also can be seen to share similar or related melodic shapes, harmonic vocabulary and techniques (including use of third-related progressions), similar use of textural variety, with frequent imitation, and occasional use of canonic writing. The text-setting is mostly syllabic, with little use of melisma, and the incorporation of triple time is infrequent: of the five settings, only Dering's motet a2 uses triple time for two brief homophonic interludes, to highlight the text 'O bone Jesu, O dulcis Jesu'. Concerning melodic decoration, also, of the five motets, only Child's setting incorporates ornamentation, and use of the 't.' symbol.

A core compositional connection between the Bernardino settings is the use of differentiated choral homophony to set 'O Jesu', often punctuated by rests, with occasional third-related harmonic progressions, thereby enabling clear affirmation and musical expression of the text's central Christology.[43]   Examples 4.1 to 4.3, below,

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[43] This technique can also be seen in *stile antico* settings, for example by Robert Parsons (*c*. 1535-1572): bars 1-7, in the transcription edited by David Fraser; *CPDL*, 2010, accessed, September 10th 2022: https://www.cpdl.org/wiki/index.php/O_bone_Jesu_(Robert_Parsons).

show the use of this technique by Grandi, Child, and Gibbons. The shared use of punctuating rests gives stark presentation to Bernardino's Holy Name. In addition, the harmonic progressions move typically towards the sharp direction or by 'ascending' key relations, creating a musical sense of 'ascent' to express 'Jesu', with connected epithets.  Similar use of punctuating and differentiated homophony can be seen in Dering's 2-part motet (bars 20-22, and 34-37) and 5-part setting (bars 7-9).[44]  In addition, the use of third-related harmonic progressions seen in Gibbons's setting (Example 4.3: between bars 10 and 11, and between bars 12 and 13) demonstrates a technique favoured especially by Gibbons and Child to further heighten and affirm the musical presentation of Jesus's name.

**EXAMPLE 4.1**    Grandi, 'O bone Jesu', bars 19-24



**EXAMPLE 4.2**    Child, 'O bone Jesu', bars 7-10



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[44] Please see the Wainwright editions cited above in footnote 26: *Musica Britannica* LXXXVI, 2008 (pp. 8-9 for Dering a2 / a3) and *Musica Britannica* XCVIII, 2015 (p. 3 for bars 8-9 in the a5 setting).

**EXAMPLE 4.3**    Christopher Gibbons, 'O bone Jesu', bars 10-13



The Grandi, Child, and Gibbons settings also share in common a similar homophonic and declamatory approach to 'secundum magnam misericordiam tuam', as can be seen in examples 4.4 to 4.6, with Grandi and Child incorporating third-related harmonic progressions.  It is notable that the three composers all provide musical differentiation, clarity and focus, on these words imploring for Christ's mercy in setting this prayer of personalised Christological devotion.    There are especial similarities of rhythm, repeated-pitch patterns and textural contrast, between the settings by Grandi, in English sources, and Gibbons, as can be seen through comparison of Examples 4.4 and 4.6:[45]

**EXAMPLE 4.4**   Grandi, 'O bone Jesu', bars 31-37



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[45] Of the 11 extant sources for Grandi's 'O bone Jesu' in England, only the 1628 printed edition, transcribed in Volume Two, gives reciting-notes for 'secundum magnam misericordiam tuam'. Ex 4.4, is taken from *US-NH* Misc. MS 170, Filmer 1 (the part-books were copied between *c*. 1575-1625, and are without bc).  This demonstrates the way the passage is presented in all other vocal sources, including all Playford sources, though excepting that in Jeffreys's hand (see Critical Commentary, Volume Two).

**EXAMPLE 4.5**   Child, 'O bone Jesu', bars 22-25



**EXAMPLE 4.6**   Gibbons, 'O bone Jesu', bars 19-21



In setting the same words, and by contrast, the two Dering settings show a preference for imitation and subsequent canon for this section, and the composer even shares melodic material between the works, as can be seen in Examples 4.7 and 4.8. The canto motif in example 4.7, bars 23-24 (for the words and syllables, 'Secundum magnam miseri-') is identical to the canto motif in bars 33-34 of Example 4.8, though set in the pitch area of G minor, rather than C minor.

**EXAMPLE 4.7** Dering, 'O bone Jesu' a2, bars 23-27[46]



**EXAMPLE 4.8** Dering, 'O bone Jesu' a5, bars 31-33[47]



Concerning further compositional connections between Bernardino settings, the Grandi and Child motets also feature very similar rhythms, though different melodic shapes and tonal areas, to set 'fili Maria virginis', as seen in Examples 4.9 and 4.10:

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[46] Quoted from Wainwright, *Richard Dering Motets*, 8-9, omitting the bass part (*Lcm* 2039 only).
[47] Wainwright, *Richard Dering Motets and Anthems*, 5.

**EXAMPLE 4.9**   Grandi, 'O bone Jesu', bars 24-27



**EXAMPLE 4.10**   Child, 'O bone Jesu', bars 13-14



A comparison of Gibbons's setting of the same words, however, reveals closer connections to the Child. The melodic shapes, harmonic and imitative patterns, are very similar and, though the pitch relations to set the syllables '-li Ma-' are not identical, nonetheless they follow the same melodic direction and harmonically related triadic patterning, as can be seen in Example 4.11:

**EXAMPLE 4.11** Christopher Gibbons, 'O bone Jesu, bars 13-15



Though featuring different harmonic patterning, it is notable that Examples 4.10 and 4.11 show very similar use of textual reduction and subsequent build-up at exactly the same structural juncture and bar, following the same metre. Indeed, the two passages are perhaps related to a degree that, assuming Child's setting to be earlier, it could even be suggested that Gibbons is paying subtle homage or allusion to the work of Child, a Chapel Royal organist colleague of his after the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660. Whilst it is not possible to give an exact date of composition for the Child and Gibbons settings, the suggestion that Child's setting is the earlier of the two may perhaps be put forward through him being the older composer, by nine years, with known and significant experience of English- and Latin-texted 'Italianate' *concertato* techniques from at least 1633 onwards. It could be noted also that Child received his Oxford DMus in 1663, one year before that of Gibbons, if the settings were showcased or required as submissions for their respective graduating Act Ceremonies, within *Encaenia*; however, the index to Lowe's manuscript *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451, attributes the works respectively to 'Mr Child' and 'Mr Gibbons', showing the works undoubtedly date before 1663.[48]

Further similarities can also be seen between the Grandi and Child settings. Both composers make use of canonic writing to set 'O dulcissime', using very similar rhythms at the same structural juncture: Grandi, between the two tenors (bars 7-8), and Child, between the bass, canto and tenor (bars 3-4), as can be seen in examples 4.12 and 4.13. There may even be the possibility of Child subtly alluding to Grandi's setting through inverting the Italian composer's melodic shapes, both for the 'O dulcissime'

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[48] *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451, f. iᵛ.

motif below, and also for the very opening solo melody, with both motets following a minim rest by a dotted minim and two quavers in their first bars: with Grandi's initial melody moving up from the fifth note of the tonic (minor) chord, and Child's melody moving upwards from the same pitch area within his harmonic scheme. A connected similarity includes both composers using a development and variation of the opening material later in the motet, incorporating very similar techniques of textural varity and *stretto*-like build-up, including use of voices in paired thirds (Grandi, bars 39-42; Child, bars 28-29). Such connections would certainly concord significantly with Child's direct imitation of Grandi, already seen in 'Quam pulchra es', and show both Child and Gibbons to have fully assimilated the *concertato* style, compositional idioms, and text-setting techniques of the Venetian composer. Whilst acknowledging, also, notable compositional differences between the 'O bone Jesu' settings of Grandi, Child and Gibbons, the English composers can be said to translate the genre, its texts and functions, to new contexts in England.

**EXAMPLE 4.12**  Grandi, 'O bone Jesu', bars 7-11



**EXAMPLE 4.13**  Child, 'O bone Jesu', bars 3-5

Child's setting certainly predates his 1663 DMus, and there may be the possibility that his 'O bone Jesu' received impetus from Playford's publication of Grandi's four-part setting of the same text in Playford's *Cantica Sacra* of 1662. Whilst this cannot be known for certain, whether for Child's work or for Gibbons's, I would like to suggest that there is the strong possibility the composers would have been aware of Grandi's setting in years prior to the Restoration due to the clear presence of the work in Court-Oxford manuscript sources before 1660, seen in Table 4.1, and also the potential availability of Grandi's work in printed edition: if not the first edition of 1613, then potentially the second edition of 1628 which was certainly available in the catalogues of London bookseller Robert Martin, a copy of which survives in Christ Church, through the Hatton Collection.[49] This very set of part-books in Oxford is the undoubted source text for *Och* Mus. 880 (copied by Stephen Bing) and *Lbl* Mad. Soc. G. 55-59 (in Jeffreys's hand), both likely copied for the Oxford Court in the 1640s. Child's 'Cantate Jehovae' and published psalms of 1639, nonetheless, demonstrate his fluency with Italianate idioms in the 1630s, and it may be plausible even that his 'O bone Jesu' setting dates from this decade, although this cannot be proved.

Such issues also raise complex questions concerning how the meanings of motet texts may have changed across the century, as experienced by performers and listeners across successive decades. Following the discussion in Chapter 2 of Bernardino's 'O bone Jesu' text in relation to the source for Child's own setting, *Ge* R.d.3/1, and Henrietta Maria's Franciscan circles (together with the presence of the Grandi in Playford's 1662 publication, dedicated to the Dowager Queen), I would like to suggest that the Grandi setting may have had a sustained association with Henrietta Maria: potentially from *c.* 1625 (feasibly in relation to *Lbl* Add. MS 78,416 B, which dates from this time) until at least *c.* 1662.[50] As the Grandi received wider dissemination through Playford's prints, perhaps, there may be the possibility of such potential associations either diminishing or even not being perceived by those listening to the work, or its performers. Following the Restoration, Bernardino settings, whether by Grandi, Child or Gibbons, would have remained domestic-devotional works of high Christology, with likely Court-cultural resonances, however, given the nature of the musical sources and potential performance contexts, addressed in Chapters 2 and 3. Unfortunately,

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[49] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 36-39.
[50] *Ibid.*, 285 (in 1997, when *Musical Patronage* was published, *Lbl* Add. MS 78, 416 B was referred to as '*Lbl* Evelyn MS 189').

corroborating evidence of motet use across the century, does not survive to provide definitive answers to these questions.

The 'O bone Jesu' settings by Grandi, Child, Christopher Gibbons, together with of Dering, can be seen to share significant musical features in common, in addition to their shared text. The connections give evidence for a small-scale but distinct and resonant, court-connected, nexus of 'O bone Jesu' composition and copying, together with publication of the Grandi by Playford in the Dering collection, *Cantica Sacra* (1662), across the seventeenth-century in England. Having highlighted aspects of Child's *imitatio* of Grandi in Chapter 1, in 'Quam pulchra es', with further use of such techniques by Child and Aldrich to be seen in Chapter 5, it can even be said that Child's and Gibbons's 'O bone Jesu' settings demonstrate *emulatio* of Grandi's setting of the same Bernardino text, whereby the English composers 'transform' their undoubted model, into new works, for new purposes and contexts.[51] The settings by English composers can be seen to participate actively in the 'translation', appropriation and assimilation, of Grandi's own setting published in 1613, its techniques and idioms, centred especially on a London/court-Oxford axis, highlighted in Chapter 2 in relation to *Ge* R.d.3/1.

The most 'public' presentations of 'O bone Jesu' settings with Bernardino text, and peak of dissemination, appear to be in the 1660s then, following the Restoration. These are Playford's distinct 'coda' to his publication of Dering motets, *Cantica Sacra* (1662), dedicated to Henrietta Maria, and the 1669 association of Child's setting of the same text with the opening-week ceremonies of Christopher Wren's Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford, through *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 204: discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to Lowe's inscriptions on the original cover, now in the folder *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. A. 641. As highlighted, likely repertory for the 1669 ceremonies included Lowe's highly Italianate 'Quam dulcis es' (a5, bc, with 2 violins), alongside Rogers's 8-part 'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes', including accompaniment by violin ensemble for the concluding 'Gloria Patri'. It is likely that Lowe's Act Song, 'Nunc est canendum', was sung at this time, also, a work scored for the same forces, vocal and instrumental, as his motet, with bass solos sung by Stephen Crespion, who had sung previously at *Encaenia* in 1664, when Christopher Gibbons received his DMus.[52]

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[51] Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, 32.
[52] See, also, Holman, 'Original Sets of Parts', 15-16.

A further small inventory by Lowe in *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. A. 641, notably with elements of shared repertory with *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 204, listed items in the Music School's 'Cubberd. Vocall', which may indicate further potential works for the 1669 ceremony, or at least for closely related use in the School itself, located in the Bodleian Library's Schools Quadrangle, adjacent to the Sheldonian Theatre. Notably, this lists Child's 'O bone Jesu' in repertorial and functional 'proximity' to Bowman's 'Cantate Jehovae' (Psalm 9), itself sharing a biblical-translation source with Child's own 'Cantate Jehovae' (Psalm 98): Tremellius settings to be discussed in subsequent chapters as part of a distinctive network of translation and seventeenth-century *concertato* use of sixteenth-century Genevan biblical translation, appearing to be unique to England. Described in Lowe's additional list in *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. A. 641, the 'Loose papers in this Cubberd. Vocall.' are:

> 5 papers, all the parts of D$^r$ Childs O bone Jesu 4 parts
> A score of Matt Locks Anthem for 2 Basses. And a voice came
> > Out of the Throne
> 3 papers of Amante Senite for 2 voices
> O quam pulchra for two Meanes with a through base/.
> Cantate in papers for 2 (or 3) of M$^r$ Bowmans
> Usque quo – M$^r$ Bowmans.
> His Miserere with a through base in loose papers
> His Tribularer alsoe in loose papers[53]

The list continues briefly with 'Instrumental' items, including ayres by 'Halls', 'Cobb' and 'Goodsons', together with '4 papers of an Italians Latin Songe O dulcis Jesu. w$^{ch}$ I had of M$^r$ Jeffreys.' and 'Loose papers all ye partes of Mortale qui fate'.

Concerning Child's 'O bone Jesu', with likely use at the Sheldonian Theatre opening ceremonies of 1669, the parts of *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 204, alone of existing sources, show subtle adjustment of Bernardino's text 'O piissime Jesu' ['O most-pious Jesus'], vocally distinct through choral homophony punctuated by rests, to 'O dulcissime Jesu' ['O most-sweet Jesus']: bars 11-12 in the edition of Volume Two, with text details in the Critical Commentary. The change from 'piissime' to 'dulcissime' may possibly suggest a deliberate, small-scale, textual 'softening' of a word of sacred-contextual associations, or associations of personal piety even, for the large-scale and more 'secular' venue and occasion of *Encaenia*. This cannot be known for certain, however.

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[53] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 321.

Of the further Child sources, the score in the hand of Lowe's successor as Heather Professor, Richard Goodson I (*Lbl* Add. MS 33,235), likely suggests continued use of Child's Bernardino setting in Oxford contexts. Indeed, the Oxford-Court axis discussed for Child's works in the previous chapter is perhaps affirmed through Blow's score of both Child's and Gibbons's 'O bone Jesu', alongside the latter's 'Laudate Dominum' (CCAB, bc), in his autograph score, copied in the mid-1670s (*Och* Mus. 14). This scorebook also includes all nine of Blow's own Latin motets (seven a2, with bc, and two, a5, with 'Italianate' scoring of SSATB, bc), alongside 'secular' Italian-texted vocal works by composers including Monteverdi, Rovetta, Pesenti and Carissimi, alongside English anthems by Blow, Christopher Gibbons, Locke and Cooke.[54] Blow would have worked closely alongside Child and Gibbons from his early years as a Restoration chorister at the Chapel Royal, where they were organists, alongside Lowe, all three musicians associated with composing and / or copying settings of the Bernardino text. Indeed, there is the strong possibility that Blow sang canto for these works as a treble, not least given the known 'annexing' and overlap of Chapel Royal singers within the 'Private Musick' for Stuart monarchs, when required.[55] Furthermore, and fully reflective of Child's professional networks, Child and Cooke were present at the London house of Child's Restoration patron, Edward Mongagu, first Earl of Sandwich on the evening of December 21st, 1663. Pepys, co-beneficiary of Montagu's patronage, recounted their presence together with 'Captain Cooke and his boys': Cooke, the Master of the Chapel Royal Choristers, member of the 'Lutes, Viols and Voices' (1660-1672) of Charles II, famed singer in the 'Italian style', therefore very possibly present with the young Blow, Restoration chorister of the Chapel Royal.[56] In Pepys's words, 'Captain Cooke and his two boys did sing some Italian songs, which I must in a word say I think was fully the best musique that I ever yet heard in all my life, and it was to me a great pleasure to hear them.'[57] Whilst Pepys does not write of Latin-motet performance here, there could be the possibility of him eliding Latin and Italian repertories, and referring to a Latin work by an Italian composer; nonetheless, this comment demonstrates that Cooke and his choristers, including Blow, were fully

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[54] See *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*, 'Mus. 14', February 18th 2010, accessed May 30th, 2022: http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+14.
For modern edition of Blow's complete Latin motets, please see, Jonathan P. Wainwright, ed., *John Blow (1649-1708) Latin Motets* (York: York Early Music Press, 2006).

[55] See Ashbee / Lasocki, *A Biographical Dictionary*, 1189.

[56] *Ibid.*, 1193.

[57] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Nine Volumes, edited by Robert Latham and William Matthews (London: Harper Collins, 2000), Vol. IV, 428.

accomplished in presenting Italianate vocal music, of which Child's 'O bone Jesu', later copied by Blow, is a prime example, not least with its highly Italianate pre-*trillo* ornamentation for the canto, in Husbands's hand, discussed in Chapter 1 (*Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 35, bar 22 in transcription, Volume Two).[58]

As discussion of *US-NYp* Drexel 4300 affirmed in the previous chapter, the presence, long-term use and function, of few-voice *concertato* motets by Dering, including 'O bone Jesu', is seen in manuscripts and repertory associated with Oxford's Music School from the early years of the Heather Professorship, at least from the early 1630s onwards. Indeed, Grandi's own four-part Bernardino setting is present in *CL* Smith Books, dated 1637, and also Lowe's personal continuo book, copied over a long period (*c.* 1633-1682), *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451, associated with these very same Heather contexts and Oxford-based musical networks.  Lowe copied parts for Dering's motets, likely after the Restoration, including 'O bone Jesu' in his partbooks, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. D. 233-236 and long-term basso continuo book, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451.[59]  Furthermore, alongside Lowe's gifting of partbooks in the hand of Husbands Sr (the set of 'Latin Songs' by Child, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, and copies of Habsburg-dedicated motets by Sances, printed in 1638, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 11), Child's close colleague bequeathed a printed edition of Playford's *Cantica Sacra* of 1662 to the Music School in 1682.  These partbooks were entitled 'Mr Richard Deerings Lattin Songs for 2 & 3 voices in Folio cover'd with Marble Paper', under the list's heading, 'The Gift if Mr Lowe late Professour',[60]  and incorporate the 'O bone Jesu' Bernardino settings by both Dering and Grandi, alongside Dering's Tremellius setting, 'Canite Jehovae' to be discussed further in the next chapter in relation to distinct *concertato* settings in seventeenth-century England of Latin with origins in Calvinist Geneva.  Playford's own printing of Grandi's work in context of Dering's *concertato* works, provides further example of the publisher's important role in disseminating and 'translating' Italianate repertory, idioms and practical techniques, to a wider public: seen even from his republications of Child's Italianate psalms in the 1650s, but also including his highly popular, didactic, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (first edition: London, 1657).

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[58] In broader contexts of 'Latinity' in seventeenth-century England, highlighted for Oxford contexts in the previous chapter, Cooke himself was responsible for acquiring a Latin teacher for his young choristers, ensuring their early familiarity with the language.  See Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes*, 11-12.

[59] Concerning the post-Restoration dating of these copies of Dering motets by Lowe, please see work by Wainwright, *Richard Dering Motets*, 129; *Musical Patronage*, 326.

[60] Crum, 'Early Lists', 31.

Indeed, the editions printed between 1664 and 1694 included extensive and detailed English translation of Caccini's preface to *Le Nuove Musiche*, the pioneering and influential collection of continuo-accompanied monodies, first printed in Florence, 1602. Playford, likewise, provided Caccini's examples and extracts from Italian vocal works, with notated techniques of Italian vocal ornamentation, including *trillo*, (indicated by '*t*.' symbol): used by Child for his 'O bone Jesu' canto, notably to set 'Jesu' (see bb. 4, 7, 22, 33 and 35 in transcription, Volume Two).[61] Furthermore, in terms of dissemination of Italianate vocal idioms by networks of skilled court-connected musicians in England, there may be the possibility that the 'English Gentleman, who had lived long in Italy', who translated the Caccini preface for Playford was Walter Porter, a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1617, composer of the highly Italianate, English-texted, *Mottets of Two Voyces* (London: Godbid, 1657), and theorbo player, who described Monteverdi as, 'my good Friend and maestro'.[62]

The repertorial collegiality, close network and small-scale 'tradition', after Grandi, of these Bernardino settings by royal employees, Lowe's organist colleagues at the Chapel Royal, is demonstrated and symbolised, perhaps, by Lowe's index to his personal manuscript, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451. Indeed, in similar fashion, the later (*c.* 1677) autograph scorebook of John Blow, Chapel Royal chorister working with Child, Gibbons and Lowe, *Och* Mus. 14, itself presents the Child and Gibbons Bernardino settings in close proximity. Lowe's list, shown in Figure 4.1, would have enabled Lowe practical and easy access to his accompaniments for these Latin 'Songes': works with performance contexts, as suggested by his original cover to *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 204,[63] potentially including the opening-week ceremonies of the Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford, July 1669, for Child's setting, with its close compositional connections to Gibbons's setting, and to Grandi's setting (first published in Venice, 1613). Child's 'homage' to Grandi here can be seen to affirm further his affinity for the Venetian composer whose opening of the solo motet, 'O quam tu pulcha', published in *Ghirlanda*

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[61] See for example, the sixth edition, Playford's, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick in Two Books* (London: W. Godbid for J. Playford, 1664), 37-56, 'Brief Discourse of the Italian manner of Singing; wherein is set down, the use of those Graces in Singing, as Trill and Gruppo, used in Italy, and now in England: Written some years since by an English Gentleman, who had lived long in Italy, and being returned, Taught the same here'.

[62] Ian Spink, 'Playford's "Directions for Singing after the Italian Manner"', *Monthly Musical Record* 89 (1959): 130-135.

[63] Now within the folder, *Ob* Mus. Sch. A.641; see, also, Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 321.

*Sacra* (Venice, 1625), he referenced in his four-voiced 'Quam pulchra es', as demonstrated in Chapter 1.

**Figure 4.1** Lowe's index to *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451, f. iᵛ



Below the settings of his Chapel Royal colleagues, Lowe here attributes Grandi's favoured 'O bone Jesu' setting to 'Legrand', listed without title in contracted form. This is the very Bernardino setting associated with Playford, and the coda to the London publisher's 1662 collection of Dering's works dedicated to Queen Henrietta Maria: unique evidence, perhaps, of an Italian composer given an appellation by Lowe in French, the Queen's first language: Grandi, 'the Great'. Whilst any such resonance of the composer's name cannot be confirmed, the subsequent, and singular, misattribution of this motet to 'Mr. Deeringe' within the very manuscript, folio 246, however, can be said to demonstrate the entwined court-cultural functions, stories, and wider dissemination of motets by Dering and Grandi in seventeenth-century England, of which Playford's 1662 *Cantica Sacra* is emblematic.

**Chapter 5**

***Concertato* settings of Tremellius-Junius, *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra*, in seventeenth-century England**

One important biblical source for composers of Latin-texted *concertato* motets in seventeenth-century England was the *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, known as the Vulgate, or 'common' version, set by Dering, Child, Jeffreys, Christopher Gibbons, Locke, Rogers, Blow, and Henry Purcell, for example, to name just a selection of composers working creatively in the genre across the century.[1]  Such motets were given wider 'public' dissemination following the Restoration, in Playford's first edition of *Cantica Sacra*, in 1662, a publication dedicated to Henrietta Maria. The Latin of the Vulgate, a name acquired only in the sixteenth century, was predominantly the work of St. Jerome (*c*. 347-420), who had been commissioned by Pope Damascus in 382 to produce an authoritative and widely acceptable translation of biblical Hebrew and Greek texts for liturgy and study within the Catholic church.[2]  In 1546, the Vulgate was decreed to be the Catholic church's exclusive biblical authority during the Council of Trent (1545-1563), with the edition fostered by Pope Clement VIII becoming the sole text of the Roman Rite from 1592 until 1979: therefore a 'unifying', and central liturgical text alongside its use for private devotion, and significant inspiration to composers, painters, to ecclesiastical art and church design, and other creative domains connected to church life, practices and culture.[3]

In addition to the significant number of Vulgate motets of seventeenth-century provenance in England, both composed within the country and imported from overseas, not least in the many printed editions from Italy or in manuscripts copied from such sources, there is also a much smaller nexus, and tradition perhaps, of motets which set Latin from distinctly Protestant bibles, either exclusively or combined with Vulgate passages on select occasions later in the

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[1] Child's texts for 'Servus tuus' (psalm 118, vv. 125-126) and 'Quam pulchra es' (Song of Songs: 4, vv. 1 and 9) are taken from the Vulgate, as that of 'Plange Sion' (Joel 1: vv. 8-9, 12-13), with its notable single-word addition of 'Sion'. Please see Chapter 1, Table 3 (a-d), for overview of Child's Latin texts, including those he set uniquely.
[2] E. F. Sutcliffe, 'Jerome',  in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe, Vol. 2, *The West from the Fathers to the Reformation* (Cambridge: CUP, 1969), 80-101.
[3] See, F. J. Crehan, 'The Bible in the Roman Catholic Church from Trent to the Present Day', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*. ed. S. L. Greenslade,  Vol. 3 (Reprinted), *The West from the Reformation to the Present Day* (Cambridge: CUP, 1976), 199-237.

century. These Latin translations have crucial links to the French-born Reformer John Calvin (1509-1564, born Jehan Cauvin) and scholastic traditions of Calvinism, and to the important Reformation cities of Geneva, Basel and Zurich, in Switzerland, alongside Heidelberg in Germany, with its university, founded in 1386. In particular the work of Calvinist translators Immanuel Tremellius (1510-1580), his son-in-law Franciscus Junius, Sr. (1545-1602), and Theodore Beza (1519-1605), all with direct and personal connections to both Calvin and the city of Geneva, will be seen to be important in seventeenth-century England. Their motet texts and theological influence across the Stuart monarchies will be addressed below.

Table 5.1 gives an initial outline of the *concertato* settings of Calvinist Latin translations by composers in seventeenth-century England: their sources, textual and musical.[4] Whilst few of the Tremellius-texted works, copies and manuscripts, offer precise dating, the list is in suggested chronological order, excepting the eleven mid-century 'devotional songs' from *Cfm* 163, ff. 45-72 (labelled '*Cfm* 163' in following discussions) connected to both Silas Taylor (1624-1678) and Matthew Locke (*c*.1621-1677), and excepting the three-voice canon by Henry Lawes, printed in 1652.[5] The *Cfm* 163 works, surviving as a distinct manuscript collection of Herefordshire provenance, have a single Oxford-source concordance; these eleven items are presented as a unit, following the initial list, alongside Lawes's canon. Overall, the works listed are the only motets, or 'Latin Songs' to use a term associated with Oxford sources (for example, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37), that I am aware of, that set texts from such Protestant Latin bibles, whether composed in England or elsewhere.

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[4] A single, *stile-antico* Tremellius setting, not discussed in the following *concertato*-focused survey, survives, incomplete (three parts, CTB, from an original 6-part work), by Thomas Tomkins, 'Celebrate Jehovam' (*US-CLwr* Blossom partbooks). Ross Duffin has recreated this work, and suggested the possible Stuart-royal provenance of the highly imitative motet to be the wedding of Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I/VI, to the Elector Frederick of Palatine at Whitehall in February 1613. See *Cantiones sacrae, Madrigalian Motets from Jacobean England*, ed. Ross W. Duffin (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, Inc., 2006), 41-53, and xiii. Indeed, Stuart-royal and royalist contexts and networks will be seen to be central to the *concertato* Tremellius settings to be discussed above.

[5] For recent discussion of *Cfm* 163, please see, Alan Howard, 'A Mid-century Musical Friendship: Silas Taylor and Matthew Locke', in *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England*, ed. Linda Phyllis Austern, Candace Bailey, Amanda Eubanks Winkler (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2017), 127-149; 130-132, detail the manuscript contents and text sources, with compositional attributions, where possible, through reference to other musical sources.

**TABLE 5.1** Settings of Tremellius-Junius and Beza, Genevan-Calvinist Biblical translations in seventeenth-century England

| MOTET | COMPOSER | TEXT & BIBLICAL SOURCE | MUSICAL SOURCE(S) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Canite Jehovae CB bc | Richard Dering (1580-1630) | Psalm 96, vv.1-5: Tremellius-Junius Bible | *Cantica Sacra I.* Playford: London, 1662, No. 2; attrib 'M. *Ric. Dering*'. <br> *Cjc* Chapel MS Box of Fragments, Envelope 2, Partbooks, No. 14: C & B only; unattrib. <br> *Lcm* MS 2034, No. 1; *i* ff.1v-2: C, *ii* ff.1v-2: bc; unattrib. <br> *Och* Mus. 748, f.5: B; *Och* 749, f.5: C; attrib 'Mʳ Deering' [bc book missing from *Och* 747-749]. <br> *Y* M.5/1-3: copied from *Cantica Sacra*, 1662. Three partbooks arranged by J.W., 1688: M.5/1, f.10: B; M.5/2, f.8: C; M.5/3, f.13v: bc; attrib 'Richard Deering'. <br> *US-NYp* Drexel 4300: book II, pp.53-54: C; book III, ff.25-25v: B; attrib 'Richard Deering' [bc book missing]. |
| Cantate Jehovae CCBbc & instrms. [unspecified; possibly 2 cornetts & sackbut] | William Child (1606-1697) | Psalm 98, vv. 4, 1-9: Tremellius-Junius Bible, with text additions describing wind instruments | *US-NYp* Drexel 4300: book I,ff.36v-37v: CI; book II, pp.88-89: CII; book III, ff. 44-44v; attrib 'W.:Child' [bc book missing]. <br> *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 (hand of Charles Husbands Sr): C.32, ff.23-24v: B; C.34, ff.25v-26: CI; C.35, ff.23v-24: CII; C.37, f.12v-13: bc; attrib 'Dʳ Childe'. |

| | | | Instrm. parts in C.35 (hand of Edward Lowe): chorus treble, f.45; solo treble, ff.47-f.47v; chorus bass, f.46; texted chorus bass, f.44; unattrib. |
|---|---|---|---|
| O si vel<br>CATB bc | Child | Luke 19, v.42:<br>Theodore Beza's translation from NT Greek. | *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37: C.32, ff.29-30: B; C.34, ff.31-32: A; C.35, ff.29-30: T; C.36, ff.4-5: C; C.37, f.23v: bc; attrib 'D<sup>r</sup> Childe'. |
| Predicate in gentibus<br>B bc | Lawes | Psalm 96, vv. 10-13 | *Mr* 1408, ff. 19v-20v: 'M<sup>r</sup> H Lawes' |
| Laudate Deum<br>ATTB bc | Child | Revelation 19, vv. 5-7:<br>Beza translation | *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37: C.32, ff.27-28v: B; C.34, ff.29-30v: A; C.35, ff.27-28v: T; C.36, ff. 2-3v: C; C.37, ff. 22-23: bc; attrib 'D<sup>r</sup> Childe'. |
| Cantate Jehovae<br>CB bc | Silas Taylor<br>(1624-1678) | Psalm 9, vv. 12, 3, 6,<br>Tremellius-Junius Bible, adapted;<br>Psalm 9, v.12 & 104, v. 1:<br>Vulgate | *Cfm* 163, ff. 72v-73, attrib. 'M<sup>r</sup> Silas Taylor'; *Och* Mus. 623-626 (four partbooks, copied by Bowman): *Och* Mus. 623, p. 47: C; *Och* Mus. 625, p. 42: B; *Och* Mus. 626, p. 41:attrib. 'C. [ie. 'Captain'] Taylor'. |
| Cantate Jehovae<br>CCB bc<br>[A minor] | Henry Bowman<br>(*fl.* 1669-1685) | Psalm 9, vv. 12, 2, 3, 6<br>Tremellius-Junius Bible, adapted; &<br>psalm 80, v. 3 & 104, v. 1<br>Vulgate | *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 203 (Bowman's vocal parts): ff. 5-5v: CI; ff. 6-6v: CII; ff. 9-9v: B; ff. 10-10v: bc; unattrib. |

| Title | Composer | Source text | Sources |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cantate Jehovae CC bc<br><br>[G minor] | Henry Bowman (fl.1669-1685) | Psalm 9, vv. 12, 2, 3, 6 Tremellius Junius adapted; &<br><br>Psalm 9, v.12; psalm 80, v.3 & 104, v.1 Vulgate | *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 203 (Bowman's vocal C parts): ff. 7-7v: CI; ff. 8-8v: CII; attrib. 'H.B.'.<br><br>*Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 19 (bc only, from partbooks C 12-19, copied by Lowe): p. 80-81; attrib. 'Mr Henry Bowman'.<br><br>*Lcm* MS 2039, book I, ff. 46v-47; unattrib. |
| Canite Jehovae [C] A [TB bc] | likely, Rogers (1614-1698) | Psalm 96, vv. 1, 3-4 Tremellius-Junius Bible | *Cantica Sacra II*. Playford: London, 1674, No. 11; attrib 'Dr. Christopher Gibbons'.<br><br>*Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 9 (scorebook of Richard Goodson II), p.287 following; attrib 'Dr Chris. Gibbons'.<br><br>*Ob* MS Mus. Sch. d.10 (early eighteenth-Century copy of *Cantica Sacra II*, in score). |
| Celebrate Dominum C/T B bc | Christopher Gibbons (1615-1676) | Psalm 105, vv. 1-4 & 7; Psalm 96, vv. 6 & 4: Tremellius-Junius Bible, adapted | *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 12-19, copied by Lowe: C.12, p.3 following, *First Treble*; C.16, p.11 following, *Singeing Base*; C.19, p.17 following, *Basso Continuo*; attrib 'Dr Christopher Gibbons'.<br><br>*Och* Mus. 18: Aldrich's scorebook, pp.11-13; unattrib.<br><br>*Y* M. 5/1-3 (S): three partbooks arranged by J.W., 1688: book I, f.83v following: B; book 2, f.86v following: C; book 3, f.70v following: bc; attrib. 'Gibbons'. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei | Henry Purcell (1659-1695) | Psalm 3, complete (9 vv.) Tremellius-Junius Bible | *Lbl* Add. MS 30930 (Purcell's scorebook): ff. 8v-11; attrib 'Hen:Purcell' on MS cover. *Och* Mus. 628 (Blow's scorebook): pp. 135-140; attrib 'H. Purcell' |

CCATB bc

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All eleven Tremellius-texted works from the thirty items in *Cfm* 163 (including Taylor's 'Cantate Jehovae', also listed above alongside its concordance, *Och* Mus. 623-626 in Bowman's hand):[6]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Civitas amplissima populo | Lamentations 1, vv. 1-2 Tremellius-Junius | *Cfm* 163, f. 60 (p. 31) attrib. 'Mr Taylor' |
| Miserere mei Deus | Psalm 51, vv. 3-4, 6, Tremellius Verse 11, Vulgate | *Cfm* 163, f. 60v (p. 32) unattrib. |
| Dominantur in nos servi | Lamentations 5, vv. 8, 16-17, 15 Tremellius-Junius | *Cfm* 163, f. 61v (p. 34) attrib. 'Mr Silas Taylor' |
| Domine caelos tuos | Psalm 144, vv. 6-7 Tremellius vv. 5 & 9, Vulgate | *Cfm* 163, f. 63v (p. 38) attrib. 'Mr Silas Taylor' |
| Candore et rubore dilectus meus | Song of Songs, vv. 9-11, 15 Tremellius-Junius | *Cfm* 163, f. 64v (p. 40) attrib. 'Mr Silas Taylor' |
| Dilecto meo ostium aperui | Song of Songs 5, vv. 5-7 Tremellius-Junius | *Cfm* 163, f. 65v (p. 42) attrib. 'Mr Silas Taylor' |
| O Deus, mi Deus | Psalm 63, vv. 2-5 Tremellius-Junius | *Cfm* 163, f. 66v (p. 44) attrib. 'Mr Silas Taylor' |

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[6] *Cfm* 163 items referenced from Howard, 'A Mid-century Musical Friendship', 130-132.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Incubili meo per noctes | | Song of Songs 3, vv. 1-2 Incorporating Vulgate phrases | Cfm 163, f. 67v (p. 46) attrib. 'Mr Silas Taylor' |
| Vox dilecti mei | | Song of Songs 2, v. 8, 10-12 Tremellius-Junius & Vulgate, combined | Cfm 163, f. 68v (p. 48) attrib. 'Mr Silas Taylor' |
| Revertere ô Sullammitis | | Song of Songs 6, vv. 12, 7, 1 & 6 Vulgate, influenced by Tremellius | Cfm 163, f. 69v (p. 50) attrib. 'Mr Silas Taylor' |
| Cantate Jehovae [also listed above, alongside Oxford concordance: Och Mus 623-626] | | Psalm 9, vv. 12 & 6 Neither Tremellius nor Vulgate v. 6 close to Tremellius; v. 12 close to Vulgate | Cfm 163, 71v. (p. 54) attrib. 'Mr Silas Taylor' |

Canon by Henry Lawes

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Laudate Jehovam canon a3 | Henry Lawes (1596-1662) | Psalm 117, vv. 1-2, Tremellius-Junius, v. 1 first phrase, & v. 2 first phrase.[7] | Catch that Catch Can, 'Collected and Published by John Hilton'(London: Godbid for John Benson and John Playford, 1652). |

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[7] Lawes changes a single word of Tremellius, *benignitas* ('benevolence'), to *amor* ('love'), to heighten the devotional fervour of the psalm.

The settings notably feature textual themes of kingship and lordship as translated by Tremellius, and these Latin works, their sources and functions, and particular musical contexts, will be seen to speak of England's very particular, court-cultural, assimilation of *concertato* idioms in a century of religious-political challenges and changes to be outlined below. This chapter aims to provide historical and musical context to these settings of 'Calvinist' Latin Bible in seventeenth-century England: *concertato* settings of the Tremellius-Junius Old Testament, predominantly psalms, and texts from Beza's New Testament translation, often paired with Tremellius-Junius. Discussion will also highlight occasions when composers adjust and alter their biblical texts, and even incorporate passages from the Vulgate, drawing also on recent research undertaken by biblical scholars and church historians. To date, discussion of compositional settings of Protestant Latin bibles, and their musical, performance and social contexts, has not been extensive. Fascinating discussion of Purcell's psalm-3 setting, Tremellius-texted 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei', in relation to the Popish Plot of 1678, though, has recently been presented by Robert Fraser.[8] It is my intention to develop such political-cultural themes further and within context of the broader history of the Protestant Latin bible, its musical settings, and related creative engagements with its text in England. Tremellius-Junius use has also been addressed by Ross Duffin, in relation to the Blossom partbooks: work discussing the texts and musical contexts of Tomkins's *stile antico* motet, 'Cantate Jehovam', with brief reference to Child's 'Cantate Jehovae', Dering's 'Canite Jehovae', Christopher Gibbon's 'Celebrate Dominum', and Purcell's 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei.'[9]

A core number of Tremellius-Junius *concertato* sources also have provenance and function in the contexts of Oxford's Music School and its Heather Professorship of Music, as will be seen, significant nexus for Italianate repertories and motet use as addressed in Chapter 3. Chapter 6 will provide new discussion of settings with New Testament Latin texts translated from the Greek by Calvin's primary assistant, and successor, Theodore Beza (1519-1605): a reformist

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[8] Robert Fraser, *Literature, Music and Cosmopolitanism: Culture as Migration* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 85-96.

[9] Ross Duffin, 'Voices and Viols, Bibles and Bindings: The Origins of the Blossom Part-books', *Early Music History* 33 (2014): 89-92, and footnote 78 on p. 92. Concerning Tomkins's use of Tremellius text, Duffin writes that, 'It seems certain, at least, that the mere use of it was a Protestant statement, since all Bibles but the Vulgate had been banned by the Roman Church.'

scholar whose translations often featured alongside Tremellius's Old Testament within printed bibles in England from 1580 onwards, and whose work had significant impact in England, including on the English translation of the Authorized Bible, the *King James Version* of 1611. Before discussing the *concertato* settings of Tremellius-Junius, below, and of Beza in Chapter 6, the following section aims to provide broad historical contextualisation of the Protestant Latin Bible and its roots in 'Reformed' centres of post-Reformation mainland Europe, providing a significant lens through which to locate the later, seventeenth-century, motets themselves, their distinctive texts, themes, and musical contexts in England.

## The Protestant Latin Bible, a 'new' post-Reformation genre

Following the decisive challenges to the Catholic Church and to papal authority posed by the publication of Martin Luther's Ninety-Five Theses in 1517, and the countering response in the 1521 edict of Worms by the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, the shape and structures of institutionalised Christianity across Europe were forever changed in the events of the Reformation, and emergence of Protestant churches, theologies and practices.[10]  Whilst there had been significant reformers before Luther, including John Wycliffe (*c*.1320s-1384) and Jan Hus (*c*.1372-1415), it was into this turbulent European context of the 1520s that the first, partial, Latin-language Protestant Bible was printed in Wittenberg, in 1529: coordinated by a team of ten German scholars including Luther and close collaborator, Philipp Melanchton. This was the first of a new genre of printed biblical texts and translations which were widely disseminated across Europe over the following century, and beyond, with many editions produced in England.  The Latin Bibles produced by Protestant scholars had a different purpose to the Vulgate text of St. Jerome.  These texts were essentially finely produced study Bibles, as will be seen, and often incorporating highly detailed textual and linguistic apparatus.  They were intended primarily for educative use and for Protestant clergy: an endeavour dependent on a high level of biblical and linguistic scholarship, and on the medium of print itself, with European networks of distribution.

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[10] Patrick Collinson, *The Reformation* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2003); 3, highlights the seminal role of Luther, 'For without Luther, we can be reasonably certain that there would have been no Reformation, or not the same Reformation.'

Over recent years, new research has been undertaken by biblical scholars and church historians on this Latin-texted 'reformed' Bible, its role and broad social and religious contexts across post-Reformation Europe, including scholarship by Bruce Gordon, Matthew McLean, and Kenneth Austin. Professor Gordon was the Principal Investigator of an AHRC-funded project at the University of St. Andrews, 'The Protestant Latin Bible of the Sixteenth Century, 1516-1600', from 2006 to 2010, which was followed by ten publications by Gordon and McLean across the last decade, from 2010 onwards.[11]

One key role of the Protestant Latin Bible, highlighted by the St Andrews project, was to provide educated clergy with an international, and internationally galvanising, nexus and means of promoting reformed texts and theology, aiming for the highest standards of philology and scholarship. The Latin translations were also an intended source for the reformist ideal of vernacular biblical translations, and Bruce Gordon has emphasised the important role of detailed commentary within Protestant Bibles, which were often finely produced, printed 'compendia of learning' and 'tools of confessional argument'.[12] In Gordon's words, 'The Protestant Latin Bibles were not read in churches either directly or mediated through some other form of literature; they were never intended for contact with the faithful. Their place was in the lecture hall, the scholar's and pastor's study, and as part of early modern gift culture, where they served as rather heavy calling cards.'[13] Crucial for the study of motets which set texts from these books, then, is the perspective that such reformed Bibles were not intended to be liturgical texts, as the Vulgate was primarily, but as texts for study and network of Protestant ideals and doctrines, though nonetheless accessible to those of a wide spectrum of reformed beliefs, as will be seen through the Tremellius-Junius and Beza texts. In light of these Bibles' prime purposes and perspectives, it can be said that motets of Table 1, with Latin texts by such scholars working from and representing Calvinist networks, to be outlined below, would not have been intended for liturgical use or musical performance within Catholic worship and its chapels, which were obliged to use the Vulgate: whether the chapels of the Queens Henrietta Maria or Catherine of Braganza at St. James's Palace, Somerset House, or itinerant, or chapels

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[11] *UK Research and Innovation* Online, accessed June 20th, 2020: https://gtr.ukri.org/projects?ref=AH/D503442/1.

[12] Bruce Gordon, 'Chapter Five: Creating a Reformed Book of Knowledge: Immanuel Tremellius, Franciscus Junius, and Their Latin Bible, 1580-1590', in *Calvin and the Book*, Vol. 25, ed. Karen E. Spierling (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 95-122; 99.

[13] *Ibid.*, 106.

of the London embassies connected to mainland European nations or states, and other institutions potentially able to host professional musical performance within the Roman Rite.

Concerning potential cross-confessional relations and use of Latin Bibles, in general, from the sixteenth-century onwards, it is important to note aspects of fluidity there also, though, and that Jerome's Vulgate was still able to maintain an authority, use and spiritual tradition, in Protestant countries and regions. Luther upheld the legitimacy and pastoral purpose of the Vulgate, and this bible maintained a heritage especially within Lutheranism, for example: an aspect of textual reception which gives wider historical perspective to the works in Table 1 by Christopher Gibbons, Bowman and Taylor, and within *Cfm* 163, which combine Vulgate and reformed texts.[14] However, protestant Bibles exhibited and maintained a distinct character of purpose and linguistic heritage, with many printed editions: as many as eighty complete editions printed between 1521 and 1570, alone, as shown by John M. Lenhart.[15]

The first overtly Protestant Latin Bible printed in England was Henry Middleton's 1580 edition of the Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius joint translation, the *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra, sive, Libri canonici, priscae Iudaeorum ecclesiae a Deo traditi: Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti, brevibusque scholiis illustrati*. This widely disseminated text was a crucial source for nine motets in Table 5.1. Bruce Gordon has also highlighted how the Tremellius-Junius bible was popular in very diverse spheres of the reformed church in England, from its publication and into the seventeenth century: with Puritans, Laudians, and Scots Presbyterians.[16] Tremellius held influential and prestigious teaching positions across Europe, including the Regius Professorship of Hebrew at the University of Cambridge (1550-1553) during Edward VI's reign, a time of Calvinist influence on the church in England. Further English-monarchic connections and patronal links, actively cultivated by Tremellius, include his dedication of the 1569 edition of his translation to Elizabeth I. Themes of kingship and 'right rule' will be discussed in the Tremellius psalm motets, and connected to the concept of the Divine Right of Kings: an aspect of Stuart monarchical presentation from the reign of James onwards: King of Scotland from 1567 and England, additionally, from 1603. Indeed, James himself engaged creatively with this bible long before acquiring the English throne. In his

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[14] Gordon, 'Creating a Reformed Book of Knowledge', 105.

[15] John Mary Lenhart, 'Protestant Latin Bibles of the Reformation from 1520-1570: A Bibliographical Account', *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 8, no. 4 (1946): 416-432; 430-431.

[16] *Ibid.*, 95.

1585 *The Essayes of a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie*, published in Edinburgh, James presented his version of Psalm 103, 'The CIII. Psalme, Translated out of Tremellius', in creative versification: intended for church use, and, as James Doelman highlights, part of the King's life-long desire to reform the metrical psalter across his kingdoms.[17]   Significantly, this 'earthly' king, and first Stuart monarch, emphasises and pays fullest allegiance to the very name of God, his 'divine' king, *Iehova*, the characteristic name emblematic in Tremellius idioms, 'Jehova' and 'Jehovae', in the *concertato* settings of Table 5.1: idioms denominationally distinctive even, not used at all in the Vulgate which features, instead, use of 'Dominus' and its derivatives. In royal-creative engagement with Tremellius in England, this Stuart psalm-poem's concluding lines include:

> To *Iehova* I all my lyfe shall sing,
> To sound his Name I ever still shall cair:
> It shall be sweit my thinking on that King:
> To him I shall be glaid for ever mair.[18]

Significantly also, especially in relation to the royal themes, these aspects are especially notable within Psalms 93, 95-100, all grouped within the fourth book of the Psalter: the grouping, Psalms 90-106, from which texts are set by Bowman, Child, Dering, Christopher Gibbons, and Silas Taylor.[19] Praise, rejoicing and music-making, are thematised in these Tremellius texts; and Psalm 105, for example, set by Gibbons.  The texts also include reference to 'Sion' or Jerusalem within the Psalm-9 portions, attributed to King David and set by Bowman (three versions) and Silas Taylor: a term for the royal city of Jerusalem significantly emblematic of English court and monarchic situation, including use by Charles I at the Oxford court of the 1640s, as outlined in Chapter 3.

The particular presence and role of monarchic themes within the Old Testament Psalter, have also been recognised and addressed by biblical scholars over recent years and, following the work of pioneering 'form critic' Hermann Gunkel (1862-1932), scholars have recognised and categorised groupings of 'Royal Psalms', addressing the spiritual role of kings in the worship

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[17] James Doelman, *King James I and the Religious Culture of England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), 135.

[18] King James Charles Stuart, *The Essayes of a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie* (Edinburgh: Thomas Vautroullier, 1585), 70-72. The publication is available online in the 1585 edition digitised by the University of Michigan, USA, accessed June 24th 2020:
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=miun.acb2062.0001.001&view=1up&seq=76&q1=CIIII.

[19] See Susan Gillingham, 'Psalms 90-106: Book Four and the Covenant with David', in *European Judaism: A Journal for the New Europe* 48, no. 2 (2015), 83-101.

of 'YHWH', translated 'Jehova' by Tremellius.[20]  Gunkel emphasised the significance of the community to biblical authorship, and discussed the way in which tradition is handed down orally within the community.  He recognised ten Royal Psalms as a formal means of group classification, alongside seven psalms which celebrate God as King. More recently, biblical scholar, Professor Susan Gillingham, has provided a concise overview of trends in psalm scholarship, including the study of psalm groupings and the legacy of Gunkel, and reference to psalms 93 to 100 as 'Kingship psalms':[21] Tremellius-translated verses from which are set by Dering, Rogers, Child, Gibbons, Bowman and Taylor.  Indeed, passages within Psalms 96 to 98 address the Lord as 'King' and verse 6, set by Gibbons, makes reference God's holiest place, his sanctuary, a term which will be addressed in Chapter 7, also, in relation to the Psalm-3 settings of Purcell and Claude Desgranges.

**Tremellius settings: musical Contexts in seventeenth-century England**
**Works by Dering and Child**

Discussion above, then, has highlighted how, whilst the *concertato* settings of Tremellius-translated Psalms 96 and 98, set by Child, Dering, Christopher Gibbons, Rogers, and Silas Taylor, could undoubtedly have wide potential use in varied and flexible domestic-devotional contexts where 'praiseful' music was required, the psalm texts have deep-rooted biblical origins, which could be seen, from Stuart-royalist perspective, as expressions of affirming divinely-ordered, Davidic, kingship.  As an example of a royalist composer's consciousness of the Stuart resonances and appropriation of psalm texts, one could note Henry Lawes's dedication of *Choice Psalmes*, published in 1648, with Sandys-texted *concertato* settings by both himself and his brother, William,  to Charles I, being confident in dedication due to 'Your Majesties known particular affection to David's Psalmes, both because the Psalter is held by all Divines one of the most excellent parts of holy Scripture, as also in regard much of Your Majesties present condition, is lively described by King David's pen.'[22] As Lawes's psalms,

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[20] Gunkel's work, which recognised six broad categories of psalm genre, rooted in sociological study, is available in *The Psalms: A Form-Critical Introduction by Hermann Gunkel*, transl., Thomas M. Horner (Fortress Press, 1967).
[21] Susan Gillingham, 'Studies of the Psalms: Retrospect and Prospect', *Expository Times* 119, no. 5: 209-216; 210.
[22] Henry and William Lawes, *Choice Psalmes put into Musick for Three* Voices (London: Printed by James Young for Henry Moseley, 1648). Sandys's psalm paraphrases, court poetry even, had previously been dedicated to

even, the Tremellius-Junius settings are also, notably, few-voice works, portable and flexible, perhaps, and certainly fully suited to small-scale, domestic, 'intimate', and chamber contexts. The texts and translations given in Appendix II in this this volume, with details of composers' adjustments and additions to Tremellius's biblical texts highlighted, also show how seventeenth-century composers in England treated Tremellius's words with a greater degree of flexibility than appears to be the case with their Vulgate settings which, typically, receive little or no textual emendation. As highlighted previously for Child, his single-word addition of 'Sion' to his Vulgate-texted lament 'Plange Sion', with concordance in *Ge* R.d.3/1 associated with domestic musical contexts of Henrietta Maria, as discussed in Chapter 2, may speak strongly to mid-century political challenges from a royalist perspective, and to threats to 'Jerusalem', emblematic of the Court and Royal London, as epitomised by Charles I's use at the Oxford court in 1643.[23]

Discussion of the earliest source for Tremellius-text *concertato* settings in Chapter 3, Oxford-connected *US-NYp* Drexel 4300, including Derings's 'Canite Jehovae' and Child's 'Cantate Jehovae', affirmed the suitability of these motets for courtly domestic-devotional contexts, certainly musical contexts and physical spaces associated with the Heather Professorship in Oxford, but also those more directly connected with the Stuart monarchs, performable by members of the royal ensemble, the 'Lutes, Viols and Voices', of which Dering was a member, in addition to his role as organist for Henrietta Maria. Whilst Dering's setting of the Corpus Christi Eucharistic hymn, 'Panis angelicus', by Thomas Aquinas, in Drexel *US-NYp* Drexel 4300 may have been suitable for liturgical performance in contexts of Henrietta Maria's chapels, it can be said with certainty that Dering's 'Canite Jehovae', alongside Child's 'Cantate Jehovae' within the same Oxford-provenance source.

Concerning 'Cantate Jehovae', with cross-century presence through *US-NYp* Drexel 4300 and *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, it can even be suggested that Child's distinctive text alterations

and additions, in addition to its very scoring, with unique and highly distinctive use of instruments, including *obbligato*, is suggestive of courtly, if not 'regal' performance contexts.

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Charles I, described as 'god-like king': George Sandys, *A Paraphrase upon the Psalmes of David* (London: A the Bell in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1636), i (page unnumbered).
[23] De Groot, 'Space, Patronage, Procedure', 1207.

Heard characterfully even before the voices enter in the initial verse section, a significant feature of this early example of Latin composition within Child's career, from the same decade as his continuo psalms of 1639, 'Newly Composed after the Italian Way', is the presence of an instrumental *obbligato*. A second treble-instrument doubles the first exactly at vocal-chorus sections, and is joined also by instrumental-bass and vocal-bass parts: all additional parts surviving in the hand of Edward Lowe, and incorporated into the post-Restoration source, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32 to 37. These instrumental parts and chorus additions do not appear within the earlier source, dated 1633, *US-NYp* Drexel 4300; indeed, the Drexel *continuo* book itself, within which the 1630s parts may feasibly have been contained, has not survived. The *obbligato* instrument, though, is fully integral to the composition, with thematic role in the introduction and subsequently, and imitative features.

Whilst the instrumental parts could certainly be taken by string instruments, especially perhaps in domestic and smaller-scale performance environments, given the *obbligato* part's ease of idiomatic execution on the cornett, however, representative and characteristic of the festal wind instruments described in this 'royal' psalm, I would like to suggest a cornett solo to be thoroughly feasible for this role. The seventeenth-century cornett was a highly versatile instrument, frequently featured within wind ensembles, and used alongside sackbuts, whether for 'secular' repertory or liturgical accompaniment on festive occasions, as will be discussed. The instrument also had strong regal associations, and combined trumpet-like mouthpiece and embouchure with recorder-like finger-holes. With a timbre described by French Franciscan philosopher, theologian and mathematician, Marin Mersenne (1588-1648), as resembling 'a brilliant ray of sunshine which pierces in the shade or shadows, when heard amongst the voices in cathedrals or chapels', this instrument was very highly regarded in the seventeenth century, and able to produce a colourful range of brass- and voice-like sonorities fully compatible with choral textures.[24] Cornett scoring is especially likely in light of Child's subtle instrument-related changes to the Tremellius text, alongside the nature of the instrumental sources and accompanimental doubling, to be discussed. Indeed, the additional instrumental parts may even suggest that paired cornetts and sackbuts for the choruses were intended by Child: himself also a professional cornettist, alongside his organist and compositional work.[25]

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[24] Marin Mersenne, *L'Harmonie Universelle* (Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1636-1637). I have translated these words from the book's 'Seconde Partie, Livre V: Des Instruments à Vent', 274; see *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, website, accessed July 2nd, 2020: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k54710466?rk=42918;4.

[25] I am exceptionally grateful to Professor Jamie Savan and Dr. Helen Roberts, both members of *His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts*, for their kind advice concerning Child's instrumental writing in 'Cantate Jehovae'. Both

Child makes a range of adjustments to Tremellius's psalm, as seen in Appendix II, some undoubtedly of minor significance for textual meaning. Significantly concerning the motet's very scoring, however, are the changes that Child makes to the words which concern music making and the sounds of worship. Child replaces Tremellius's expressions of robustly emphatic 'clash' ('fragore') and 'clang' (two instances of 'clangite'), with the more musically suggestive, perhaps, 'resound' ('resonate') and 'praise' ('jubilate'). Furthermore, he enhances the references to the instruments, 'trumpets' (tubis) and horns (buccinae), through the more personalised and performative use of 'with trumpeters' (buccinis) : this subtle shift of emphasis from the instrument to the musician, being suggestive perhaps of the intended presence of skilled wind performers, given the dextrous instrumental writing in the key of F, comfortable on the cornett, with occasional fanfare idioms: writing less idiomatic and sonorous for the violin perhaps, by contrast, through lacking potential for open-string overtones within the home key.[26] Indeed, the text itself can be seen to thematise music-making and festal wind instruments, with their regal associations resonant in Stuart celebratory contexts, as will be seen.

In Child's verses, the ever-present *obbligato* writing, including thematic introductions for two of the three verses, often juxtaposes dextrous, step-wise scalic writing in quavers with shorter-phrased, more intervallic, writing: featuring dotted rhythms and syncopation effects used in imitation and dialogue with solo or duet vocal passages. Three-part vocal textures are reserved for the choruses, with voices and instruments fully integrated in homophonic or briefly imitative phrases. Child's personalised 'buccinis' ('with trumpeters') is highlighted and 'personified' through short-phrased dialogue with the *obbligato*, repetition and ascending sequence; the vocal setting of 'sono tubae' ('sound of trumpets') allows the instrument to be heard clearly above Canto I's lower tessitura and longer rhythmic-values. These features are seen in Example 5.1:

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musicians kindly played though Child's *obbligato* part independently, and agreed that the writing was fully comfortable and idiomatic for the instrument.

[26] Child was not the first seventeenth-century English composer to adjust text to present and thematise festal wind instruments in celebratory musical settings, with monarchic connections. Edmund Hooper (*c*. 1553-1621), Organist of both Westminster Abbey and, concurrently, the Chapel Royal, added concluding words in similar manner to his verse text for the consort anthem, 'O God of Gods'. I am very grateful to Dr. Helen Roberts for drawing the Hooper example to my attention in e-mail correspondence, April 2020.

**Example 5.1** Child, 'Cantate Jehovae', bars 39 to 47:



The two-part instrumental writing from bar 44 onwards even suggests the performance practice of spatial unison, here likely in 'domestic' para-liturgical contexts, in light of the source contexts and Tremellius's Latin itself: a known method of liturgical accompaniment by four wind musicians in the seventeenth century, alongside organ, heard in the cathedrals of Canterbury, Durham, and York, for example.[27]  A pairing of cornett and sackbut would be placed potentially on the north and south sides of the building within the quire, *decani* and *cantoris*, or alternatively spaced at separate ends of an organ loft if feasible, and perform in unison 'across' the space for vocal choruses, for example in verse anthems.  Frequently cornett and sackbut players would simply double the 'outer' parts of the vocal texture, the *medius* and *bassus* lines, in a *colla parte* manner, with instrumentalists reading from vocal scores  Indeed the 'additional' parts for 'Cantate Jehovae', notated without ornamentation symbols and bound

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[27] See, Helen Roberts, 'Wind Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals, *c*. 1580-*c*. 1680: Towards a Performance Practice'.  Concerning cornett usage at Durham and Exeter cathedrals, pp. 63 and 99 suggest paired cornett and sackbut players to be the 'standard approach to instrumentation in early seventeenth-century repertoire'.

within *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 35, align with this practice, as one of the two bass parts includes the vocal text ('chorus' bass, with text, f.44; the other parts, untexted and unlabelled, are: 'chorus' treble-instrument, f.45; 'chorus' bass-instrument, f.46; *obbligato* treble-instrument, ff.47-47v). These four accompanimental parts, those for chorus alone truncated as 'half pages', are in the hand of Edward Lowe, rather than Charles Husbands Sr, who was the scribe for all other items within the books dedicated to Child's non-liturgical vocal works, owned by Lowe: *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32 to 37. These instrumental characteristics of 'Cantate Jehovae' highlight the new and distinct aspects of Child's work, undoubtedly informed by his practice as a professional cornettist grounded in *colla parte* accompanimental traditions for polyphonic vocal music: the composer applying *colla parte* technique to the cornett itself, where the lead performer takes the role of *obbligato*. Such potential cornett use in 'Cantate Jehovae' would suggest a 'new' role and texture for the instrument within the relatively new genre of Latin-texted *concertato* motet in seventeenth-century England: techniques connecting to the Italian heritage of the cornett itself, and to traditions of performance practice developed, for example, by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, Giovanni Bassano, and Claudio Monteverdi, at the Basilica of San Marco, Venice.[28]

Accompaniment by paired cornetts and sackbuts in spatial unison would have contributed a ceremonial, colourful and thrilling, timbral quality to Child's chorus sections, especially as the unison treble instruments perform at a higher tessitura than the two canto parts. Child's text-setting at the choruses is syllabic within the, predominantly, homophonic or mildly imitative three-part writing for the singers: enabling clear presentation of themes and aspects of kingship and 'right rule'. To a royalist hearing the motet in the early 1630s, especially in a para-liturgical context implicit, perhaps, through Tremellius use, the words would perhaps suggest the sovereignty of both Jehova and his Stuart 'representative', Charles I.

The presence of 'Cantate Jehovae' within *US-NYp* Drexel 4300, dated 1633, can be seen to locate the motet firmly in performance contexts of Oxford's Music School, and environments of the recently established Heather Professorship in music, seeking to revitalise the intentional practice and cultivation of practical music-making within the university. There may even be

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[28] Roberts, 'Wind Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals', 156-157, with reference to research by Savan and Meyer Brown, highlights aspects of Florentine precedence in cornett and sackbut doubling of *medius* and *bassus* parts.

See, also, Jerome Roche, *North Italian Church Music in the Age of Monteverdi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 82-88, section entitled, 'The motet with obbligato instruments'.

the possibility that Child's 'Cantate Jehovae' was performed for Child's BMus ceremony in Oxford, in 1633, and / or with potential for Garter-ceremony use at St. George's Chapel Windsor, if not Garter ceremonies in Windsor castle: the chivalric order revitalised by Charles I, and integral to his concept of 'divinely-ordered' kingship. According to Thomas Tudway (1656-1726), very likely a treble in Child's choir at St. George's, Windsor, Child submitted the 7-voice, 'Sing we merrily', accompanied by continuo, for his 1631 BMus.[29] This work opens-up potential Oxford-Windsor-Whitehall musical connections with seventeenth-century repertoire for Garter ceremonies on St. George's Day (April 23rd), accompanied by wind ensemble, including potential connections even with the repertory of the Royal Wind Band, including celebratory English-texted works in *Och* Mus. 55 to 60.[30] Following such performance contexts and accompanimental wind-practices outlined by Duffin, Child's anthem could feasibly have been performed in Windsor at Garter events in the 1630s with accompaniment by wind ensemble: Child, then, following the example of the similar work, 'Sing Joyfully', by his Windsor predecessor, John Mundy (*c*. 1555-1630); it is certainly suggestive that the texts of both works make direct reference to wind instruments. In light of such instrumental connections, there may even be the possibility that both 'Cantate Jehovae' and 'Sing we merrily', though different in style and texture, could have been performed both at Child's BMus ceremony in 1631, in addition to Garter events at Windsor in the 1630s.

An account of instrumental accompaniment of voices during the 1603 Garter Investiture of Frederick, Duke of Wirtemberg, at Windsor, is given by the antiquary and politician, Elias Ashmole (1617-1692), which describes a scoring not dissimilar to that required for Child's motet, though likely in an earlier stylistic idiom, 'Sermon ended, the Musick was again renewed, which consisted of the voices of two Youths standing opposite one to another; so after a Tenor, an Altus, and a Base was sung, the organ and other instrumental Musick, together with vocal, went together in consort.'[31] Ashmole later describes a Restoration processional hymn by Henry Cooke for voices, accompanied by two 'double Sackbots' and two 'double

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[29] See Tudway's edition of the work: *Lbl* Harl. 7338, f. 18r

[30] For details of the connections of the Royal Wind Band's repertory to Mundy's 'Sing Joyfully' (Myriell anthology: *Lbl* Add. MSS. 29372-77) and the repertory of *Och* Mus. 55 to 60, see Duffin 'Cornets & Sagbuts', 64 to 66; the contents of the Christ Church manuscripts is listed on 67 to 70.

[31] Quoted by Duffin, 'Cornets & Sagbuts', 63.

Courtals'.[32]  Evidence for cornett accompaniment at royal ceremonies survives in Oxford contexts, also.  Christ Church, for example, the college, with Cathedral foundation, associated with Dering, Child, Lowe, Jeffreys, Christopher Gibbons, and Aldrich, acquired 'two trebill cornets for the quire' of high quality, for the visit of King James to the college on August 27th, 1605.[33]  On this occasion, 'the King and Queen heard excellent voices mixt with instruments at a service in the Cathedral', and the two cornetts survive to this day in Christ Church library.[34] Cornetts were central to the work and repertories of the Oxford Waits also, for example, and recent scholarship of Helen Roberts, for example, has highlighted the role of such 'non-court' musicians in accompanying the choir at the cathedrals of Exeter, Canterbury and York, with seventeenth-century cross-over of personnel between cathedral and civic ensembles.[35]

Whilst it may be surprising, perhaps, that no Windsor source survives for 'Cantate Jehovae', the above discussion has highlighted close relations between Child's ceremonial work for Oxford and Windsor, with associated traditions of cornett accompaniment. The close institutional connections between Oxford and Windsor, for example, not least through composers connected with both institutions such as Child and Rogers, have highlighted an aspect of the use and dissemination of 'regal' repertory within university performance and ceremonial contexts, such as the smaller-scale, 'private' environments of Oxford's Music School and the larger-scale 'public' performances at *Encaenia* ceremonies.

An additional aspect of Child's 'Cantate Jehovae' that further represents and embodies, perhaps, broad themes of motet dissemination and 'heritage' in seventeenth-century England, together with the related role and impact of printed collections, may well be present in the very opening vocal motif of Child's Tremellius-texted motet.  There are striking similarities between Child's cantus-I melody and the opening contratenor theme of Byrd's six-voice 'Laudate Dominum', setting Psalm 116 in the Vulgate version, seen in Example 5.2, below.

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[32] *Ibid.*, 64, footnote 34.  For Ashmole's full text, see Elias Ashmole, *The institution, laws & ceremonies of the most noble Order of the Garter collected and digested into one body by Elias Ashmole* (London: Printed by J. Macock, for Nathanael Brooke, 1672).  The text is available in digital form at *Early English Books Online*, accessed July 5th 2020: https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A26024.0001.001/1:27.2?rgn=div2;view=toc.

[33] See Andrew Parrott, 'Grett and Solompne Singing: Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War', in *Early Music* 6, Issue 2 (1978): 182-187; 183.

[34] Words taken from the plaque attached to the cornetts' case, and referenced in Jamie Savan, 'Unlocking the Mysteries of the Venetian Cornett: *ad imitar piu la voce humana*', In *Historic Brass Journal* 28 (2016): 31-55; 40. Savan has undertaken seminal research on fingering systems applicable to the Christ Church cornetts, and related aspects of transposition for their accompanimental purposes.

[35] Roberts, 'Wind Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals', 22, 13, 108 (footnote 9).

Having discussed Child's *imitatio*, and emblematic use of Grandi's 'O quam pulchra es', published in *Ghirlanda Sacra* (Venice, 1625) in his 'Quam pulchra es', it appears here that Child may be paying clear musical-motivic homage to a significant compositional 'ancestor' working in earlier *stile antico* idioms, even as Child explores and facilitates new idioms, techniques, scorings and contexts, for the motet genre in seventeenth-century England. Though Child sets a different psalm in Tremellius version, the opening words 'match', cross-translation, and have shared praiseful character; Child appears to embellish the second 'half' of Byrd's melody, as if to thematise his Tremellius text's 'new song'. Byrd's work, unlike Child's here, has distinctive purpose for Catholic liturgical worship, published in Byrd's second volume of *Gradualia* (London: Thomas Este, 1607), with printed dedication to prominent Catholic, John Petre, First Baron Petre, knighted by Elizabeth I, a close friend of Byrd, in tandem to the first edition of *Gradualia* (1605), with dedication to the Catholic Privy Councillor, Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton. Byrd's *Gradualia* books, featuring 109 polyphonic works of extensive liturgical scope, 'the single most ambitious project of his career', were reissued in 1610.[36]

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[36] Kerry McCarthy, ' 'Notes as a Garland': The Chronology and Narrative of Byrd's 'Gradualia' ', in *Early Music History* 23 (2004): 49-84; 50.
William Heather gifted a copy of Byrd's 1605 *Gradualia* to Oxford's Music School as part of his foundation of the Heather Professorship. See Crum, 'Early Lists', 26.

**Example 5.2**

Byrd, 'Laudate Dominum', opening phrase: *Gradualia* II (London: Thomas Este, 1607), Contratenor Book, Motet XLV, pp. 53-54; transposed down a tone for purposes of comparison, with editorial g clef and bar lines:



Child, 'Cantate Jehovae', opening vocal phrase, bb.4-7, *US-NYp* Drexel 4300 (*c.* 1633) & *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 34 (pre-1679):



Furthermore, Child's Tremellius-texted motet can be seen to have post-Restoration counterpart in use of *stile-antico* motivic reference and *imitatio*: Aldrich's 'large-scale' 'Salvator Mundi' (CCB, bc), transcribed in Volume Two, whose opening motif appears to reference the initial motif of Tallis's motet of the same name published as the first item in 1575, *Cantiones Sacrae* (London: 1575). Example 5.3 presents the opening bars of the two motets. Whilst Aldrich's high-Christological devotional text does not incorporate direct use of biblical Latin, the idiom and style of 'Jehova' (bb. 49-51) has distinct echoes of Tremellius's featured expression for the name of God, rendered 'Dominus' in the Vulgate, within the '*parte prima*' of this three-section work of 212 bars.[37]

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[37] Aldrich's two extant motets, within his autograph scorebook *Och* Mus. 18, are transcribed in Volume II: 'O bone Jesu' (non-Bernardino text) and 'Salvator Mundi'. Aldrich's copies of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian motets are a significant source of such works from seventeenth-century England. Aldrich also 'inherited' the significant music library of Christopher Hatton III. As Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, Aldrich was an important colleague of Edward Lowe, the college and cathedral organist, and Heather Professor. Robert Shay has detailed Aldrich's highly significant work of 'recomposing' motets by composers including Tallis, Byrd, Palestrina and Carissimi, with reference to Renaissance literary theories of *imitatio*: recompositions which can be seen 'to form the intersection of the activities of the collector-copyist and the composer.'
Robert Shay, 'Naturalizing Palestrina and Carissimi in Late Seventeenth-Century Oxford: Henry Aldrich and his Recompositions', *Music & Letters* 77, No. 3 (1996): 368-400; 385.

**Example 5.3**

Aldrich 'Salvator Mundi' (CCB, bc), *Och* Mus. 18



Tallis: 'Salvator mundi', opening phrase, *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (London: Thomas Vautrollerius, 1575), Superius Book, f. 1; note values halved, with editorial g clef and bar lines:



One highly notable aspect of the two Tremellius motets in *US-NYp* Drexel 4300, by Child and Dering, is that that later sources for both likely date from the first decade following the Restoration, and demonstrate a presence of these works on either side of the Commonwealth. Husband Sr's partbooks, *Ob MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37*, as discussed in Chapter 2, presented Child's predominantly non-liturgical vocal music in ornated books, likely gifted to Lowe and Oxford's Music School, to allow use and curation of this courtly repertory. Gaining significantly wider and 'dispersed' court-cultural dissemination, Dering's 'Canite Jehovae'

was printed in John Playford's first edition of *Cantica Sacra*, published in 1662 with Grandi's 'O bone Jesu' as a coda, and dedicated to Henrietta Maria, as discussed in Chapter 4, with reference to the presence of Grandi's work in Dering-motet manuscript sources from the early years of Charles I's and Henrietta Maria's reign. Indeed, Child's co-recipient of patronage from Lord Edward Montagu, Samuel Pepys, wrote about teaching this very Tremellius-texted work to his wife's maid, Mary Mercer, in his diary entry of May 10th, 1668; a previous diary entry, of November 1662, recounted Pepys's purchase of Playford's 1662 publication. Playford, then, has an important, and commercial, print and scribal role for this Tremellius-texted work, enabling its wider distribution and non-liturgical, domestic usage.[38]

Pepys's account of singing 'Canite Jehovae' gives a rare example of specified Latin-motet use in a domestic setting. His words give a picture of convivial teaching and music-making, and a certainty of the names and places of the two singers at Pepys's home: a property connected to the Navy Office buildings on London's Seething Lane, and where his household had lived since July 1660.

*The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Sunday 10 May 1668:

> by and by I sent for Mercer [Mary Mercer, companion of Pepys's wife, Elizabeth] to come and dine with me, and pretty merry, and after dinner I fell to teach her *Canite Jehovae*, which she did a great part presently, and so she away, and I to church.[39]

Playford's publication of *concertato* idioms and court-cultural, royal-dedicated, sacred music, can be said to align fully with his psalm publications, including reprints of Child's three-voice 1639 'Italian Way' psalms, alongside the similar psalm publications of the Lawes brothers, enabling broad dissemination of *concertato* idioms, and facilitating new performance contexts for motets in seventeenth-century England, wherby an Italian genre can be seen to 'cross' functional and spatial boundaries in England.

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[38] See Wainwright, 'Dering's Few-voice '*Concertato*' motets', for full discussion of Playford's astute commercial dissemination of Dering motets, and their popularity, including scribal publication and approaches to testing a print market.

[39] Pepys, ed. Latham and Matthews, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Vol. IX, 194.

## Henry Lawes's 'Predicate in gentibus'

Henry Lawes's solo-voice setting of Tremellius's Psalm 96 (vv. 10-13), is highly distinctive within its sole source, the 40-item Tabley House Song Book, *Mr* 1408.  Lawes's text is the very same 'royal psalm', and translation, which Dering (vv. 1-5), Rogers (vv. 1, 3-4)  and Christopher Gibbons (vv. 6 & 4) also set in *concertato* idioms: the psalm which initiates a grouping within the Psalter concerned with themes of kingship and divine rule (epitomised by verse 10, in Psalm 96, 'Jehova regnat').[40]  The *unicum* manuscript is bound together with, and follows, a printed edition of Henry Lawes's first book of *Ayres and Dialogues for One, Two, and Three Voyces* (London: Playford, 1653), and the three-book anthology, *Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues* (London: Playford, 1653).  For the latter publication, the first two books suggest  accompaniment by theorbo or bass lute, with the works in the third book being suitable for solo voice accompanied by instrument; the second book contains 'pastorall Dialogues' akin to Child's 'Damon and Daphne' (*Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37), transcribed in Volume II. Within the manuscript works that follow the printed editions, Lawes's 'Predicate in gentibus' is the only sacred Latin setting amongst a collection of solo, predominantly secular, English-texted songs by the Lawes brothers, John Wilson, Locke (including the sacred duet, 'Then from a whirlwind oracle') and Henry Purcell, alongside 'Cruda signora' by Italian composer, Rovetta.  These vocal items are followed, in turn, by anonymous instrumental dance-movements for unspecified treble instrument, perhaps for violin.[41]  Lawes unique-texted Latin within the hand-written section of *Mr* 1408 has a counterpart, also, with Lawes's sacred Latin solo-voice song within the printed section, from *Ayres and Dialogues*, 'Imbre lachrymarum largo genas spargo' ('An Eccho'), with Latin words by clergyman and author, Thomas Fuller (1608-1661), which Lawes set in a similar, predominantly declamatory and syllabic style, in the same 'key' of G major, without initial 'key-signature' sharps.

*Mr* 1408 survives in the musical materials and collection of Sir Peter Leycester (1614-1678), and is reflective of domestic-musical provenance and function in Tabley House, Cheshire.

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[40] Please see footnotes 20 to 22, above, for references to theological scholarship on the royal psalms, traditionally numbers 93 to 100 within the Psalter.

[41] Full details of *Mr* 1407 and *Mr* 1408, manuscripts and contents, are available in the catalogue by Barry Cooper, 'Catalogue of Pre-1900 Music Manuscripts in the John Rylands University of Manchester', 45-47, online, accessed July 20th 2020: https://www.escholar.manchester.ac.uk/api/datastream?datastreamId=POST-PEER-REVIEW-PUBLISHERS-DOCUMENT.PDF&publicationPid=uk-ac-man-scw:1m4018.

Incorporating both vocal and instrumental works, the manuscript was compiled post-1653 (the date of the manuscript's Playford editions), for use by the lawyer, antiquary, and royalist, Leycester, later first Baronet Leycester.[42] Notably, also, Leycester was in Oxford at the time the royal court surrendered to Fairfax, and it is not unfeasible perhaps, given Leycester's strong musical and collecting interests, that he had direct contact with royalist musicians based in the city at this time, including potentially Heather Professor John Wilson, whose songs featured in *Mr* 1408. As domestic music associated with Leycester, *Mr* 1408 also has direct association then with the Tabley Lute book, *Mr* 1407, a collection of 69 lute solos, two thirds of which are by French composers (including Confais, Dufau and Gaultier), many for 12-course lute.[43] This manuscript was discovered alongside several music sources at Tabley House, by Robert Spencer in 1989.[44]

Lawes's 'Predicate in gentibus' provides significant solo-voice example of a Tremellius royal-psalm setting, celebrating themes of kingship, within royalist-domestic, mid-century, 'secular' musical contexts. Lawes's musical setting is decidedly declamatory, rhythmically assured with elements of vocal virtuosity (including demi-semiquavers), and featuring melodic lines which incorporate melodic 'sequences' and octave leaps, in addition to Italianate *trillo* indications, referenced in Chapter 1 in relation to the Italian Way of Child, himself a long-term friend of Henry Lawes.[45] As motets by Child and Dering discussed in Chapter 1, Lawes's 'Predicate in gentibus' concludes with an 'Alleluia' section. Figure 5.4 provides the initial and concluding bars, before the 'Alleluia' section, demonstrating Lawes's declamatory techniques of word setting, aspects of virtuosity, melisma and *trillo*, together with vocal tessitura of a compound fifth:

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[42] For biographical details, please see, Jan Broadway, 'Leycester, Sir Peter, first baronet (1614-1678)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, accessed July 20th 2022 : https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16629.

[43] Cooper, 'Catalogue of Pre-1900 Music Manuscripts', 45-47.

[44] See Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain, A History of the Instrument and its* Music (Oxford: OUP, 2001), 439-442.

[45] For a modern critical edition, please see *Henry Lawes Sacred Music*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright, Early English Church Music, Volume 61 (London: The British Academy, published by Stainer and Bell, 2020), 148-149. Pepys provides a glimpse of the friendship between Child and Lawes, recounting in his diary entry for December 30th, 1660, 'Mr Hetly, Child and I dined together, and after dinner Mr. Child and I spent some time at the lute, and so promising to prick me some lessons to my theorbo he went away to see Henry Laws, who lies very sick.': Pepys, ed. Latham and Matthews, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Vol. I, 324.

**Example 5.4** Henry Lawes, 'Predicate in gentibus', bb. 1-5 and bb. 33-37



bb. 33-37



'Predicate in gentibus', then, provides notable and distinctive engagement with Tremellius's royal Psalm, 96, in Italianate musical idioms, by Henry Lawes, a musician closely associated with court domestic contexts throughout his career. The scoring and compositional techniques of Lawes's work demonstrate an element of common ground with Lanier's 'O amantissime Domine' and Locke's 'Bone Jesu Verbum Patris': the three works being rare examples of *stile nuovo*, domestic-devotional, solo motets by English composers. The solo-voice works by Lanier and Locke are transcribed in Volume Two, in their two versions respectively, demonstrating vocal embellishments in Oxford sources for the former, and structural changes in the latter work; both together, perhaps, highlighting aspects of flexibility in the composition and performance of solo motets in seventeenth-century England. The text-source of Lawes's work provides connection to his Tremellius-texted canon, 'Laudate Jehovam' (Psalm 117, vv. 1a & 2a), published proximate to the compilation of *Mr* 1408, by John Hilton, *Catch that Catch Can*, Second Edition (London: Godbid for John Benson and John Playford, 1658).[46] In such a secular source as *Mr* 1408, then, Lawes's work also provides an example of a solo motet, or 'Latin Song', for use in non-liturgical contexts, as if to spotlight how the continuo-motet genre, with broad liturgical-functional and compositional-stylistic heritage in Italy, in seventeenth-

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[46] Notable, royalist-iconographic, use of a Latin canon of Henry Lawes, was the depiction of notated canon, 'Regi Regis Regum', in the top right corner of the portrait of Lawes, with text immediately below, 'HENRICVS LAWES Regiae Majestatis ab utraq; Musica', which hung in Oxford's mid-century Music School. See, C. R. V. Blacker and David Pinto, 'Desperately Seeking William: Portraits of the Lawes Brother in Context', *Early Music* 37, no. 2 (2009): 159-160.

century England crosses apparent 'boundaries' of function and denomination, with Tremellius's words, of sixteenth-century Genevan-Calvinist origin, likewise receiving new spaces and resonances.

## 'Cantate Jehovae' settings by Silas Taylor and Henry Bowman: Hereford and Oxford musical contexts and sources

The Tremellius settings by Silas Taylor and Henry Bowman provide evidence of distinctive use of both Tremellius and Vulgate biblical translations within single motets, with close textual, musical, and manuscript connections between the works of the two composers, neither of whom undertook professional musical employment, whether at court, or for church, chapel or cathedral, as other composers whose Tremellius settings survive. Both Taylor and Bowman, however, were highly musically active and skilled, and were fully connected to the court-Oxford musical networks outlined in Chapter 3. Taylor was a close friend of Locke, as will be seen, and Bowman worked closely with Lowe in Oxford, as a performer and scribe of important sources of motets by both Italian and English seventeenth-century composers. The primary sources for both composers' Tremellius settings locate their compositional work to the domestic settings of music meetings in both Herefordshire, where Locke lived between 1654 and 1656, and Oxford.[47]

A key source for Silas Taylor's *concertato* work, and for domestic, court-cultural, use of Tremellius's Latin is *Cfm* 163 F, the details and significance of which have been addressed in recent scholarship by Alan Howard, outlining the musical friendship between 'Captain' Taylor, a pre-Commonwealth Parliamentarian soldier, and Locke, and the 'subtleties of, and porous boundaries between, the conventionally separate categories of professional and amateur, parliamentarian and royalist, Protestant and Catholic, and their public and private expression in seventeenth-century England.'[48] The manuscript may also represent repertoire at the mid-century music meetings organised by Locke and Taylor in Hereford, extensive details of which do not survive; Taylor certainly provided Locke with a house in Hereford, and meetings were known to take place in taverns.[49] The meetings were certainly known of by Captain Ben Mason, sequestrator colleague of Taylor, who was keen to portray his music meetings, as

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[47] Ashbee, *Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. I, 732.
[48] Howard, 'A Midcentury Musical Friendship', 127
[49] *Ibid.*, 137

politically neutral to such colleagues.[50]  *Cfm* 163 contains thirty 'sacred' *concertato* settings, for two voices (canto and bass) and continuo, fifteen with English text and fifteen with Latin, the latter either directly 'biblical' or setting biblical paraphrase, for example the English texts of George Sandys (items 1-7, 10-17) or Latin of George Buchanan (item 9).[51]  Stylistically, the works can be said to share much in common with Dering's few-voice *concertato* motets, which Playford published in 1662.  Twelve items of *Cfm* 163 are attributed to Locke in *B-Bc* MS 1035 (items 1, 3, 8-13, 15-16, 21-22), though Harding, significantly, stated these attributions to be 'doubtful'.[52]  The manuscript, then appears to be a bilingual 'collegial' collection of sacred *concertato* settings closely associated with two musical friends, and their mid-century musical contexts, who could be said to represent different political perspectives, though Howard demonstrates the fluidity of potentially 'fixed', binary, categories for the two composers.

Howard has further emphasised the 'persistent pre-Restoration royalist outlook' of the texts of the *Cfm* 163 set, both English and Latin, highlighting Taylor's setting of Psalm 137, with text of Jerusalem being laid to waste, the city emblematic of London and of the royal court, and rewriting of Psalm 27 text to include 'Hallelujahs to my King'.[53]  In parallel fashion and text use, perhaps, Child's setting of 'O Lord God, the heathen', composed in 1644 with text of Jerusalem becoming a 'heap of stones' was written 'On the Occasion of the abolishing The Common Prayer and overthrowing the constitution, both in Church and State'; Child, significantly, added 'Sion' to his Vulgate setting of verses of lament from the Book of Joel, 'Plange Sion'.[54]

The full texts of the *Cfm* 163 works which feature Tremellius's Latin, often paired with Vulgate material, are given in Appendix V, highlighting changes to the source Latin, as given in Appendix II for the works of Child and Dering, and other composers who set Tremellius in *concertato* idioms in seventeenth-century England, and Appendix III for Child's and Jeffreys's settings of Beza.

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[50] *Ibid.*, 138.

[51] *Ibid.*, 130-132. Howard provides details of the contents, texts, and text sources in Table 9.1.

[52] Rosamund Harding, *Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Matthew Locke: With a Calendar of the Main Events of his Life*, (Oxford: published for Harding by Alden & Mowbray, 1971): 27, 30-34; Howard, 'A Midcentury Musical Friendship', 129.

[53] *Ibid.*, 139.

[54] These words are from Tudway's heading to his score of Child's anthem, *Lbl* Harl. 7338, ff. 25v-28r.  Tudway was a Restoration chorister at the chapel Royal, at the time when Child was one of the three Organists.  The 'Jerusalem' settings of Theodore Beza's New Testament Latin by Child and Jeffreys will be presented and discussed in the following chapter.

Whilst there are certainly numerous biblical-text 'adjustments', the majority of these, appear mostly to be either minor changes to word order, or subtle shifts in idiom or phraseology, which does not impact vastly on textual meaning. It is notable, perhaps, that the setting, 'Civitas amplissa populo', has reordered Tremellius's words to give primary, and initial, presentation and placing to the 'Civitas', Jerusalem. As noted by Howard, some texts appear to 'blur' Tremellius and Vulgate translations of the same biblical text, making use of both source texts. Appendix V provides the text for item 22 of the manuscript, 'Domine caelos tuos', alongside the source texts of Tremellius's Psalm 144 and its counterpart, the Vulgate Psalm 143. Whilst the reason for the text's very particular blend of translations may be fully due to the composer's text-idiomatic prefences, it can be said for certain that such a setting was never intended for use in Roman Catholic liturgy, Locke's faith to which he may have converted whilst in the 'Low Countreys'.[55] What can be said for certain, is that this work, and any Latin setting which incorporated verses of Tremellius, would not have had use in any such liturgy, including post-Restoration use in the Chapels of Catherine of Braganza, for whom Locke worked as Organist. No less than seven of the Latin settings in *Cfm* 163, make direct reference to Jerusalem or Sion, whether in texts of broad lament, or praiseful texts such as Taylor's 'Cantate Jehovae, qui in Sion habitat'. Indeed, whilst Taylor's occasional reordering of Tremellius's words do not effect textual meaning in any significant way, he repeats his opening amalgamation of Tremellius and Vulgate words, 'Cantate Jehovae, qui in Sion habitat' at the end, as if to affirm this city ('Sion', as rendered in the Vulgate, rather than Tremellius's 'Tzijonem') whilst also creating a sense of musical and structural symmetry, the ancient-Davidic biblical city associated with God's presence and divine rule, and emblem frequently appropriated in Stuart England, not least by Charles I, as highlighted above. From a mid-century royalist perspective, the text of 'Dominantur in nos servi' ('Slaves rule over us'), appears emblematic of loss and desolation of kingship, 'cadit corona capitis nostri' 'the crown is fallen from our head'); these words are from Lamentations 5, which concern the desolation of Mount Sion.

Of the motets which incorporate Tremellius's Latin in *Cfm* 163, two, in particular use similar musical techniques to point and emphasise the setting of Jerusalem itself, in Latin verses from the Old Testament Song of Songs chapters three and five, respectively, 'Dilecto meo ostium'

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[55] See Peter Holman, ' Locke [Lock], Matthew', *Grove Music Online*, January 20th 2001, accessed July 21st 2022: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.16848. Locke annotates his manuscript collection of Italian motets, alongside personal Latin-motet autographs, as being compiled when in the 'Low Countryes' in 1638: *Lbl* Add. 31,437. Philip Hayes's annotations on the manuscript state that Locke gave this manuscript to Oxford's Music School.

(bb. 36-41) and 'In cubili meo per noctes' (bb. 47-54): both works blend Tremellius and Vulgate texts, though use the Vulgate for these 'Jerusalem' sections. Appendix V provides their texts and translations, together with Tremellius and Vulgate source-texts.[56] Example 5.5 provides these examples, by Taylor, which spotlight 'Jerusalem' through textural and harmonic differentiation, through text repetition and punctuating use of rests:[57]

**Example 5.5** Taylor's compositional techniques to highlight and differentiate 'Jerusalem' in Tremellius-Vulgate motets of *Cfm* 163, including use of declamatory homophony and punctuating rests:

Item 24: 'Dilecto meo ostium' (bb. 36-41), following 9 bars of canto solo (bb. 27-35)



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[56] Henry Cooke, Child's Chapel Royal colleague following the Restoration, also set verses from the Song of Songs, Chapter 5, 'Adjuro vos filiae Jerusalem', transcribed in Volume Two.

[57] These works have no additional attribution to Locke in other sources, and share much in common stylistically with attributed Taylor work, 'Cantate Jehovae'. Following Harding's strong doubts about the Locke attributions in *Cfm* 163 concordances in *B-Bc* MS 1035, also, one could also note, for example, the significant contrast in musical-expressive variety, compositional and text-expressive assurance between the Latin works of *Cfm* 163, and Locke's 'Bone Jesu Verbum Patris', transcribed in Volume Two.

Item 26: 'In cubili meo per noctes' (bb. 47-52), following 10 bars of canto solo (bb. 37-46)



The initial source of Silas Taylor's 'Cantate Jehovae', then, speaks strongly of mid-century domestic-devotional contexts in England, a time of challenge for musicians, when church worship, and its music, was forbidden.[58]    Taylor creates an element of punctuation to his presentations of 'Cantate' in bars 1 and 6, through use of duple-metre contrast, also seen in bar 11, which contributes perhaps to an element of interruption, and halting of musical momentum. Aligned to this less-assured word setting is Taylor's use of triple time to set 'Sion' itself (bb. 12-15), seen in Example 5.6, which put undue metrical emphasis on the city's second syllable, the same syllable which is also emphasised by the canto (b. 57) at the conclusion of the motet through tessitura.

**Example 5.6: Elements of text setting of 'Sion' in Taylor's Tremellius-texted 'Cantate Jehovae':**

bars 9-15



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58 The seeming anomaly of Cromwell listening to Dering motets in 'secular' courtly contexts, sung by trebles and his organist, John Hingeston, was addressed in Chapter 3.

bars 52-58



In addition to associations of Taylor's Tremellius-texted work with Herefordshire music meetings, Taylor also had known associations with music meetings both in Oxford and London, in addition to domestic-musical connections with Pepys. Howard has noted how Pepys's diary entry for April 16th, 1665, may well refer to Taylors's *Cfm* 163 set, suggesting Pepys to have had potential contact with 'Cantate Jehovae', akin to his later diary entry for May 10th 1668, teaching Mary Mercer Dering's 'Canite Jehovae'. Following his Sunday meal and evening service, Pepys recounts for April 16th, 1665:

> … by and by comes Captain Taylor, my old acquaintance at Westminster , that understands musique very well and composes mighty bravely; he brought us some things of two parts to sing, very hard; but that that is the worst, he is very conceited of them, and that though they are good makes them troublesome to one, to see him every note commend and admire them.[59]

In addition to London musical circles, Taylor had direct contact with Oxford's mid-century Music School, and had works performed there during John Wilson's tenure as Heather Professor, perhaps, not unfeasibly given Taylor's propensity for self-promotion later noted by Pepys, works potentially from *Cfm* 163 (likely copied in proximate time), in light of the ready presence and use of motets there, as discussed in Chapter 3. In Wood's words:

> He had great skill not only in the practical, but the theoretical part of music, did compose several lessons, some of which were tried and played in the public  school of

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[59] See, Pepys, ed. Latham and Matthews, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Vol. VI, 80-81.

the fac. in this university, while Dr. Wilson held the chair, before his majesty's restoration.[60]

Indeed, Henry Bowman's set of four partbooks, *Och* Mus. 623-626, provides what appears to be the sole-surviving concordance for Taylor's Tremellius-texted 'Cantate Jehovae' (attrib. 'C' [ie. 'Captain'] Taylor), and affirms Taylor's musical connection to Oxford's post-Restoration Music School, its circles and networks. Bowman's partbooks feature motets by Italian composers including Monferrato, Rovetta, Sances, and Carissimi, alongside Italian works by Monteverdi, and English anthems by composers including Child, Lowe, Orlando Gibbons and Christopher Gibbons; Bowman was also a key scribe for Lowe, and had his own works performed at the Music School, and *Encaenia*. Crucially for study of Tremellius settings, Bowman composed his own 'Cantate Jehovae', surviving in two distinct vocal versions (both in *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 203), with a third, further distinct motet, surviving in continuo part alone (*Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 19). Bowman's very particular combination of Tremellius and Vulgate, indeed, suggest Bowman to have used Taylor's text as springboard for his own Tremellius setting. Bowman's motet is, in a sense, a 'single' motet, in three distinct versions, all notably longer and more expansive than Taylor's setting. Crucially, also, Bowman's two versions with text expand and vary the ordering of Taylor's text; all three texts are given in Appendix II. Bowman's 'Cantate Jehovae' versions are transcribed in Volume Two, A minor (CCB, bc) and G minor (CC, bc), together with Taylor's Tremellius setting.

In characterful example of text expansion, Bowman adds the psalm text, Psalm 80, verse 3 (Vulgate), which presents and thematises musical celebration, and festive instruments, 'Sumite psalmum et date tympanum psalterium jucundum cum cithara' ('Take a psalm, sound the timbrel: the joyful psaltery with the lute'): this material, with triadic melodic figurations and triple time, is presented earlier in the G-minor (CC, bc) version (bb. 12-39; the A-minor version, CCB, bc, presents this material in bb. 92-119). The harmonic 'slow' rhythm here, coupled with the triadic harmony, alongside triple time, were not featured in the Tremellius settings of Dering, Child, Lawes, for example, and suggest the possible stylistic influence of Carissimi, whose motets were certainly popular in Restoration England, as demonstrated by the numerous copies in Oxford sources, alongside Aldrich's Carissimi recompositions, in *Och*

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[60] Anthony Wood, *Athenae* Oxonienses, Vol. 3, ed. Philip Bliss (London: F.C. and J. Rivington, et al., 1817): Column 1177.

Mus. 16.[61]  It may be that the G-minor, two-voice, setting was composed first, with scoring akin to Taylor's motet using the same verses, with the A-minor, three-voice version as a subsequent 'expansion'; however, it is not possible to confirm this. More certain, is that Bowman had the inclination and resource to adapt his material for varied forces, and the presence of three versions in Oxford sources, perhaps, suggests an element of compositional fluidity open to the musical resources and performance opportunities available to him in post-Restoration Oxford.  Having noted in Chapter 3 the presence of Bowman's 'Cantate Jehovae' in the list associated with the set of Music School parts, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 204 (now in the folder *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. A 641), it is entirely feasible that Bowman's motet was one of the possible repertorial options for the 1669 opening events of the Sheldonian Theatre in July 1669, alongside Rogers's 8-voice 'Laudate Dominum' submitted for DMus.[62]  Significantly, the list of likely repertoire for the 1669 ceremonies, in hand of Heather Professor Lowe, affirms such potential flexibility of scoring and compositional version, 'Cantate in papers for 2 (or 3) of Mr Bowmans'.[63]  Example 5.7 provides the start of Bowman's Vulgate section, demonstrating how he incorporates the additional, bass, voice into his imitative framework:

**Example 5.7**

Bowman, 'Cantate Jehovae' (G minor, CC, bc), bb. 12-18:



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[61] One could note in Carissimi's 'Audite Sancti' (SSB, bc), for example, copied in Bowman's part-books, *Och* Mus. 623-626, the same source of his copies of Taylor's 'Cantate Jehovae': the initial 3-bar melodic use of a C-major triad (bb. 1-3) followed by 2-bar outline of F-major triad (bb. 4-5).  For a modern edition, please see Andrew V. Jones, *The Motets of Carissimi*, Vol. II (Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982), 261-268.

[62] For a transcription of this list, please see Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 321, with full details of *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 204, 321-326.

[63] *Ibid*., 321.

'Cantate Jehovae' (A minor, CCB, bc), bb. 92-97.



The two versions of Bowman's 'Cantate Jehovae' are certainly more 'spacious' than previous Tremellius settings discussed, and the distinct use of large-scale contrast, with passages differentiated through metre, texture, and motivic patterning, gives these motets an almost 'cantata-like' quality. Notably, also, Bowman allows his added bass voice, in the A-minor version, a number of extended solo passages, 'Annunciate inter gentes' (bb. 12-35) and 'in sempiterna secula' (bb. 82-91), which have confident control of fifth-related harmonic progressions, melodic sequence, and textual repetition for dramatic and cumulative rhetorical effect.

In further example of compositional 'expanse', Bowman transforms his opening Tremellius-emblematic 'Cantate Jehovae' on return to these opening words at the motet's conclusion, in both versions.  Example 5.8 provides the opening bars of these two 'Cantate' sections from the G-minor version (CC, bc).

**Example 5.8**

Bowman, 'Cantate Jehovae' (G minor), bb. 1-5



'Cantate Jehovae' (G minor), bb. 106-112



Bowman's 'Cantate Jehovae', then, appears to have taken Taylor's Tremellius-Vulgate composite biblical text, that he copied in his partbooks *Och* Mus. 623-626, as a starting point for his own, more expansive versions, featuring additional words, both Vulgate and Tremellius, as can be seen in the list of Texts and Translations in Appendix II. The two versions suggest a fluid and flexible element to Bowman's compositional approach, practical and pragmatic perhaps, whereby the motet does not receive a single, 'fixed', presentation. The Critical Commentary for Bowman's 'Cantate Jehovae', presents a structural comparison of the two vocal versions. The following chapter will, similarly, address Jeffrey's varied versions of motets setting biblical Latin by Theodore Beza, New Testament words often paired with the Old Testament translations of Tremellius-Junius in Biblical editions from the sixteenth-century onwards, as will be seen.

***Lcm* MS 2039: 'Canite Jehovae'**

The next source for a Tremellius setting, featuring a motet known to have been copied *c.* 1669 or shortly after, features a varied repertory, with English- and Latin-texted sacred music situated alongside instrumental works by Tomkins, Weelkes and Sandley within three of a set of five part-books, likely copied between the 1620s and late 1660s / 1670s: *Lcm* MS 2039.[64] Dering motets feature in the fourth section, alongside two motets by Jeffreys. Although the majority of scribes are unidentified, due to very close similarities of the final-section script with that of works in both *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 and works by Child and Moulinié in *Ge* R.d.3/1, two sources discussed in detail in Chapter 3, I would like to suggest the scribe of these final pieces as Charles Husbands Sr.: close colleague of Child and Lowe at the Chapel Royal, St. George's, Windsor, and Christ Church, Oxford. As the books' final section ascribes two of its four Latin motets to 'Dr Rogers', the works will have been copied following Rogers's 1669 DMus, awarded at the opening ceremonies for Oxford's Sheldonian Theatre, for which he submitted his 8-part 'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes', transcribed in Volume Two. The unattributed 'Gloria Patri' in *Lcm* MS 2039 is ascribable to Rogers through concordance, significantly, with Playford's Old Jewry manuscript mentioned above, *Ge* R.d.58-61 (on the respective folios, f. 44, 31v, 44, and 30); the continuo part for the work also follows Rogers's four-part 'Laudate Dominum'(ascribed to 'Mr Rogers') in Lowe's manuscript, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E. 451, page 112. I would like to suggest the final, unattributed piece, Tremellius-texted 'Canite Jehovae', to be by Rogers also, as a completion to this set of four in hand of his Windsor colleague. Though only the alto part survives, of a likely four-part vocal texture, I believe there is sufficient idiomatic compositional kinship here to other Latin works by Rogers, seen for example in his four motets within Playford's 1674 *Cantica Sacra*, including memorable use of melody, rhythmic vitality and subtle repetition, to be reasonably certain of attribution.[65] 'Magnus Dominus' receives triple-time differentiation (bb. 23-30) in relation to preceding material, providing a return to the motet's opening metre, before the 7-bar duple-metre concluding material. The alto part to this setting of 'Canite Jehovae' is transcribed in Volume Two.

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[64] Please see Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 293-297.

[65] For full discussion of Rogers's compositional techniques in vocal works, anthems and Latin works, please see John Perry White, 'The Life and Vocal Music of Benjamin Rogers (1614-1698),' (PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 1973), 59-87, 105-115, together with transcriptions of 2-voice Latin-texted *concertato* works, with bc, published in *Cantica Sacra* II by Playford (London: Godbid for Playford, 1674) 'Jubilate Deo', 'Audivit Dominus', 'Deus Misereatur', and 'Exaltabo te Domine', 208-221.

**Figure 5.1** *Lcm* MS 2039, Book 2: ff. 46v-47: I believe Husbands Sr to be the scribe of these works, both likely to be by Rogers, with surviving contratenor part given here, indeed Husbands's own voice part, as discussed in Chapter 2:



Having discussed *Lcm* MS 2039 (three partbooks from an original set of five) in Chapter 4, in relation to 'O bone Jesu' settings in seventeenth-century England, with its highly significant arms of the Prince of Wales on the cover, I believe these books to have originated in 'Private Musick' contexts associated with 'R.B.', highly likely to be Richard Ball, musician to Charles Stuart both before and after his coronation in 1625. The manuscript very likely represents continued court-domestic repertory, with likely chronological span from *c.* 1620s - *c.* 1670s, with the Rogers items being copied *c.* 1669 – *c.* 1678, the year of Husbands Sr's death.[66] Concerning possible collegial, Windsor and Oxford links, also, it is noticeable that, of the four Latin texts in this section of the manuscript, Child, with whom Rogers worked closely at Windsor before moving to Magdalen College, sets three of the same: 'Gloria Patri', 'Quem Vidistis', and Tremellius's 'Canite Jehovae'. The scribal link with Husbands Sr, provides a further connection with Child's musical circles. It is unfortunate, perhaps, that seventeenth-century works do not survive from the choir library at Magdalen College, Oxford, Rogers's musical base after Windsor, and college of the first Heather professors, of chorister James Clifford, and of Thomas Pierce, author of Child's four English-texted *concertato* 'Alleluias' in

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[66] For details of *Lcm* 2039, please see Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 293-297.

Husbands Sr.'s hand (*Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37), to ascertain and contextualise this repertoire further.


Concerning Tremellius use in 'Canite Jehovae' here, fascinatingly, 'Jehovae' is adjusted to 'Domino', then 'Dominus', in the second half of verse one and the start of verse four, respectively: an idiomatic shift that will be seen in Christopher Gibbons's Tremellius setting published by Playford in 1674, and with strong source connections to the Heather Professorship, as will be outlined.  The other text changes are very minor, perhaps, simply demonstrating preferred textual idioms ('universa' for 'tota' and 'reverendus' for 'reverendum'), although his use of 'super' (for 'supra') and the addition of 'opera' ('works', in verse 3), were also seen in Dering's work: a small demonstration, perhaps, that Rogers (?) knew this earlier setting, which shares elements of metrical patterning in common, whether in Playford's 1662 edition or other source.  These changes, though, demonstrate continuity of flexible text-use, as seen in the previous Tremellius settings, within court-connected and royal musical contexts.


**Christopher Gibbons, 'Celebrate Dominum'; Playford's *Cantica Sacra* of 1674 and Royalist Psalm Culture in seventeenth-century England: texts and contexts**


As highlighted above for Dering's Tremellius-texted 'Canite Jehovae', Playford's *Cantica Sacra* books provide a distinctive and key conduit for publishing, promoting and disseminating, few-voiced Italianate *concertato* motets in seventeenth-century England, including Gibbon's Tremellius setting, 'Celebrate Dominum'.  Playford's 1674 dedication of its second volume to Charles II is more lengthy and effusive than the brief dedication of the 1662 books to Henrietta-Maria, affirming his royalist cultural purposes.  The publication will also be seen to make significant use of the words, themes, traditions, and Stuart appropriations of the psalter, to be outlined below.  The collection differs from the first volume, Playford's initial public presentation of Dering motets and concluding Franciscan-texted 'O bone Jesu' by Grandi, through being a bilingual anthology of works by ten composers, including Dering and Playford:

the greatest part of them being the Sense of the Royall Prophet King David; Which Some of Your Majesties Servants, my Self and Others, have dres'd in this Musicall, though modern Habit, principally to entertain Your own Royall and most Judicious Ear.[67]

Similarly, Playford's prefatory address on the following page, 'To all judicious Lovers and Understanders of MUSICK' explains his intentions and hope for the publication to uphold 'the Promotion and Divine Use of MUSICK'.[68]

The works in Playford's second *Cantica Sacra* publication, with more frequent use of Basso-Continuo figuring than the 1662 collection, draw on and expand the idioms and influence of Dering and Grandi, affirmed in 1662, with a new compilation anthology featuring individual 'Latine Hymns for Two Voices to the ORGAN' by Dering, Henry Lawes, Jeffreys, Christopher Gibbons and Playford himself, alongside four motets by Benjamin Rogers, six by Locke, Organist of Charles II's Queen, Catherine of Braganza, and also six unattributed motets 'of Mr Dering's Way'.[69]  Playford's preface further states that his initial Latin-texted conception of twenty-two motets was encouraged to expand to incorporate eighteen English-texted *concertato* work including four Playford settings, 'English Anthems and hymnes', by composers themselves: Gibbons, Rogers, Michael Wise, John Jackson, Locke, Isaac Blackwell.  Of the works, all are for two voices, except for two English settings which call for an additional voice, in similar fashion, perhaps, to the enhanced vocal texture of Grandi's four-part 'O bone Jesu' in 1662: the three-part choruses of Gibbons's 'How long wilt Thou forget me?' and  Playford's 'Anthem of Thanks-giving', the final English-texted work of the publication, 'O Lord, Thou hast brought up my Soul from the Grave' before Playford's own concluding 'Laudate Dominum Omnes Gentes', transcribed in Volume Two.[70]  In this way

[67] John Playford, *Cantica Sacra. The Second Sett*. London (Godbid for John Playford, 1674), Cantus Book, p. i.

[68] *Ibid.*, ii.

[69] In his 1674 preface, Playford himself questions Dering attribution to 'Laetatus sun', 'Hierusalem quae edificatur' and five other motets which he states, 'are much of Mr Dering's way, yet by some believed not to be his, but all that have heard them conclude them Excellently good'; however, 'O crux / Rex ave spes unica' is attributed to Dering in *Och* Mus. 877-880.  Please see Wainwright, ed. *Richard Dering Motets for One, Two or Three Voices and Basso Continuo*.  Musica Britannica LXXXVII (London: Stainer and Bell, 2008), xxv, including Playford quotation.

[70] The added chorus-part Bass for Gibbons's 'How long wilt Thou forget me?' and Medius part for Playford's 'O Lord, Thou hast brought up my soul', both unreferenced at the start of the 'a2'-headed works in each part-book, are included in the 1674 basso-continuo book, 17 and 30-32, respectively.  In a similar fashion, Child's two-part *concertato*-style  'Ye Sons of Sion Rejoice' discussed above (in mid-century Oxford source *Och* Mus. 365-366,

Playford's publication demonstrates the musical and commercial successes of the first *Cantica Sacra* set, and further popularity of the 'Italian Way', here also psalm focused, in England from Child's popular 1639 English-texted publication onwards.   The firm place of Gibbons's 'Celebrate Dominum' in Oxford and Music School sources, seen in Table 5.1 above, including the hand of 'Professors', Lowe, Goodson I, and Aldrich, all with Christ Church connections, also further affirms Playford's musical and commercial purposes and successes of the 1662 *Cantica Sacra* motets: described in the 1674 preface, 'those finding so kind acceptance abroad, (especially among the most judicious Professors of Musick) gave me Encouragement to spare nor Cost nor Pains to obtain more of that nature'.   Akin to *Cfm* 163 also, discussed above, *Cantica Sacra* II presents texts of royal resonance in both English and Latin.

Playford's 1674 volume, then, can be seen to consolidate, expand and diversify his publishing project and purposes of 1662, enabling Dering's pre-Commonwealth small-scale *concertato* work to stand alongside, and in continuity with, the later work of Playford's Restoration colleagues in both Latin and English settings: further expanding the market and dissemination for such Italianate works, with cultural 'credit' given to the King who, 'since Your most happy Restauration hath extended Your Royall Bounty to the Advancement of this Divine Service [ie. the encouragement of music and musicians in 'sacred' composition] more than any of Your Ancestors'.[71]   Furthermore, the 1674 publication, including Gibbons's Tremellius setting, can be seen as a key participant in the wider musical, literary, poetic and iconographic traditions of royalist biblical appropriation within Stuart England. Such cultural-political contexts were discussed above for Child's 'Cantate Jehovae' and pair of Beza settings, with reference also to his popular 1639 psalm publication 'after the Italian Way'.   Significant settings and publications also include those by the Lawes brothers, and *Eikon Basilike* ('The Royal Portrait') of 1649, with its biblical references and quotations, alongside the connected *Psalterium Carolinum* of 1657: versified odes derived from the text by poet, Thomas Stanley and set for three voices and continuo by the incumbent Heather Professor at Oxford, John Wilson.

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also containing Beza-Marot French-texted metrical psalms), concludes with a three-part chorus: unreferenced initially on the score.

[71] *Ibid.*, i.

Developing the theme of Stuart biblical use, such psalm-connected works, including Playford's publications of the 1660s and 1670s, and Oxford manuscript sources for the psalm-focused Tremellius motets from the 1630s inwards, for example, can be seen to contribute distinctly and actively to long-term cultural and creative traditions of Early Modern 'Psalm Culture' in England. Such traditions have received critical and contextual literary analysis, featuring wide-ranging discussion of diverse metrical-psalter publications and use, for example, in recent work of scholars including literature scholar, Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and early Modern English Literature* (CUP: 2004),[72] and Paula Loscocco, 'Royalist Reclamation of Psalmic Song in 1650s England' (2011).[73] Hamlin, for example, affirms the cultural centrality and devotional presence of the psalms in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, and vast number and variety of poetic metrical-psalm paraphrases from the 1530s onwards, including musical settings for church or domestic-devotional use. He expounds a key theme of translation, both linguistic and cultural, a theme discussed above in context of Child's Beza settings, and highlights its fundamental role in enabling cultural dissemination and assimilation of two ancient cultures and languages in early Modern England, biblical and classical: Hebrew, Latin and Greek, respectively. Discussing the 'originality' and literary 'status' of psalm translations in English, Hamlin demonstrates that the 'formation of culture has thus been typically and fundamentally an act of translation.'[74] These words are highly resonant, also, for *concertato* motets composed in seventeenth-century England: a genre uniting cultural assimilation of 'modern' Italian compositional idioms and 'ancient' Italian language. Such settings of 'early modern' Latin translations of biblical texts in England, including 'ancient' biblical Hebrew, were also dependent on networks of travel and dissemination of Italian vocal publications, as the madrigal genre also

In overview of the texts set in the second volume of *Cantica Sacra*, both Latin and English, the use of Stuart-resonant Old Testament royal psalms and those emphasising themes of kingship is notable. These sit alongside more recent English texts by royalist authors in England, and also devotional texts by Catholic saints: 'Agnosce O Christiane' by St. Leo the Great (*c*.400-461), set by Locke; 'O Domine Jesu Christe', attributed to St. Gregory the Great of Rome (*c*.

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[72] Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004).
[73] Paula Loscocco, 'Royalist Reclamation of Psalmic Song in 1650s England.' In *Renaissance Quarterly* 64 (2011): 500-543.
[74] Hamlin, *Psalm Culture*, 7.

540-604) and set by Dering, the first motet in the collection, and Locke; 'Recordare Domine' by St. Ambrose of Milan (*c*.340-397), also set by Matthew Locke, who became organist to Queen Catherine of Braganza after the Restoration, an analogous role to that of Dering for the Chapels of Queen Henrietta Maria, before his death in 1630. Ambrose's 'Recordare' words were intended as a prayer of devotion before Mass and, fascinatingly, Locke's setting truncates Ambrose's words: omitting a more overt theological reference to transubstantiation in the second half of its concluding sentence, 'ut, purificatus mente et corpore, digne degustare merear Sancta sanctorum' ('purify me in body and soul, and make me worthy to taste the Holy of Holies.'). The publication highlights the works of often royalist, royal-connected, or royal-employed musicians, though, with incorporation of texts highly resonant in Restoration cultural contexts. Furthermore, the very particular combination of psalms set by Gibbons, Psalms 96 and 105, has deep-rooted biblical association with themes of Davidic-monarchic kingly restoration, which can be said to be highly resonant for Stuart-Restoration cultural contexts, whether in Oxford (site of notable manuscript sources for 'Celebrate Dominum') or the wider circles of Playford's commercial market accessed through print publication, and for a festive, monarchic-celebratory Latin work in a publication dedicated to Charles II.

Significantly, Psalm 96, set by Gibbons, is traditionally said to have been composed by King David when he brought the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem / Sion on the rebuilding of the Temple, following its destruction. Tremellius makes reference to David's celebratory use of this 'universal' psalm in his Latin commentary, entitled 'Annotatio', below his translation of Psalm 96 in the 1580 edition, printed by Middleton in London.[75] Tremellius gives reference to the Old Testament book, First Chronicles, chapter sixteen, which describes King David's use of this 'royal' Psalm 96, 'Canite Jehovae', to offer praise before the ancient and sacred Ark of the Covenant. In First Chronicles, this psalm extract follows preceding words, just verses earlier, from Psalms 105 and 106 (both incorporating the words, 'Celebrate Jehovam'), a liturgy celebrating the Ark's restoration with psalm singing, and trumpets played by priests. Such biblical themes of praise for kingly temple restoration, appear highly significant and resonant in relation to 'Celebrate Dominum' by Gibbons, a member of Charles II's 'Private Musick'. His Tremellius setting received print dissemination through Playford's *Cantica Sacra* II, dedicated to Charles II, and Gibbons, in parallel fashion even to King David's festive

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[75] Tremellius-Junius, *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra* (London: Henricus Middletonus, 1580), 142.

celebration of the temple in Jerusalem as recounted in First Chronicles, juxtaposes identical verses from this very distinct pairing of Psalms, 96 and 105: a seventeenth-century, court-cultural, *concertato* setting, then, of a psalmic pairing, with ancient-biblical associations of divine-kingly restoration.  Following earlier discussion of *Cantica Sacra* II's 'royal' texts, Gibbons's setting of Tremellius's Latin can be seen to be emblematic of court-cultural appropriation and use of highly resonant psalm texts.


Indeed, Gibbons's compositional techniques clearly articulate and present the festive words and themes in celebratory major-key declamatory idioms, featuring triadic patterning, rhythmically lively scalic passages across wide tessitura, with confident harmonic patterning across a wide range of keys, and concluding 12-bar 'Alleluia' section.  Gibbons, notably and in differentiation, uses triple time to present and articulate, 'Canite Jehovae' (bb. 14-15) and 'Magnus Jehovae' (bb. 49-52).  Fascinatingly, Gibbons does not punctuate any division between the two respective royal-restoration psalms (Psalm 105 words, 'In tota terra sunt ejus judica', translated 'His judgements are in all the world'; and Psalm 96, 'Decor et majestas coram eo', 'Beauty and majesty go before him') presented together in I Chronicles, and commented on by Tremellius.  Rather Gibbons 'elides' the two, as seen in Example, 5.9. Gibbons characterises the texts through wide and 'majestic' melodic leaps, enabling vocal panache in performance.

**Example 5.9** 'Celebrate Dominum', bb. 37-51: Gibbons's 'elision' of biblical psalm texts (bb. 38-39, psalms 105 and 96), uniquely paired together and associated with restoration of the temple and 'right rule' in I Chronicles, and presented together in Gibbons's *concertato* work; textural and metrical differentiation of Tremellius-characteristic 'Magnus Jehovae', from bar 49:



'Celebrate Dominum', by one of the three Chapel Royal organists after the Restoration, Christopher Gibbons, colleague of Child and Lowe, and a friend of Playford, provides a fascinating example of regally resonant text in Stuart England.

In summary, then, the Tremellius *concertato* settings surveyed above, appearing to be unique to seventeenth-century England alongside the Beza settings to be discussed in the next chapter, have significant presence in court-cultural sources and contexts, with strong Stuart and royalist associations. These include presence in partbooks associated with Charles I's 'Private Musick', *Lcm* MS 2039, the final items by Rogers, which, I believe to be in hand of Husbands Sr, scribe of Child's Latin works, alongside royal-dedicated works by Sances and Moulinié, as addressed in Chapter 2. The Tremellius settings have significant manuscript presence in Oxford across the century from 1633 onwards, from *US-NYp* Drexel 4300, to the later sources for Gibbons's 'Celebrate Dominum' and, not least, the Child partbooks, also in hand of Husbands Sr, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37. Wider geographical dissemination, associated with Stuart royalists, is significant too, as represented by Henry Lawes's 'Predicate gentibus' in the Tabley House

Song Book of Sir Peter Leycester circles and, representing wider court-cultural outreach, the *Cantica Sacra* publications of John Playford dedicated respectively to Henrietta Maria and Charles II, featuring Dering's 'Canite Jehovae' and Gibbons's 'Celebrate Dominum'. The Tremellius settings, a very particular musical embodiment of Early Modern 'psalm culture' in England, to use Hamlin's phrase, have showcased a significant range of compositional expression, techniques and idioms, from the 'early' techniques of Dering, to the more expansive, Carissimi-like structures of Bowman, with 'Canite Jehovae' being performed, potentially, at the opening of Oxford's Sheldonian Theatre.[76] Whilst, stylistically, the Tremellius settings certainly have a great deal in common with Vulgate settings, surviving in the same, parallel and aligned, musical sources, overview of the history of the Tremellius-Junius Bible, has shown that such biblical settings would certainly not featured in any instance of Roman Catholic liturgy. The *concertato* settings of Tremellius, then, whilst not representing the 'continuous development of a unified tradition', can be said to represent a highly distinct network of translation in seventeenth-century England:[77] certainly the broad translation and dissemination of a predominantly royalist, Stuart-facilitated, court culture featuring Italianate compositional devices, but also, and particularly, the works embody a network of translation through their function as distinctive musical expressions and presentations of Latin-texted biblical translations of the previous century, with origins in Calvinist Geneva. The composers surveyed appear, in general, to treat Tremellius biblical translations with a greater flexibility than Vulgate texts, an openness to text adjustment and addition seen, notably, in Child's 'Cantate Jehovae', which features characterful text alterations which may well suggest cornett use for this highly unique *obbligato*-accompanied motet in seventeenth-century England. Before addressing the final seventeenth-century Tremellius-texted motet, Purcell's 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei', the next chapter will address the *concertato* settings of New Testament translations of Theodore Beza which, as the Tremellius-settings, appear to be wholly unique to seventeenth-century England.

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[76] Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), 11.

[77] Malcolm R. Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 7. Here Smuts is referring to pre-Commonwealth Stuart patronage in broad terms. In a preceding passage on the same page, Smuts emphasises how, 'The early Stuarts never developed well-organized program of cultural patronage or an official cultural philosophy, such as the court academies of the Valois, the Bourbons, and the Medicis tried to promulgate on the continent.' He continues, further, 'even in the 1630s the Crown usually dispensed its patronage haphazardly and opportunistically.'

**Chapter 6**

***Concertato* settings of Theodore Beza (1519-1605), *Novum Testamentum*, in seventeenth-century England: Child, Jeffreys, and Jesus's lament over Jerusalem (Luke 19: 41-42)**

Having addressed the distinctive body of Tremellius-texted *concertato* settings in seventeenth-century England, including musical contexts for Child's 'Cantate Jehovae', it is the aim of this chapter to provide new contextual discussion of the small body of motets setting Latin of Theodore Beza, appearing to be nine in total according to my present research and resources, with two motets by Jeffreys being revisions. These works set verses from the Latin New Testament frequently paired with the Old Testament corpus of Tremellius, itself also of Genevan-Calvinist origin. The nine settings appear to be unique to seventeenth-century England, and to the compositional work of William Child and George Jeffreys within the central decades of the century. Distinctly also, both composers, in no less than seven of the nine Beza motets extant, set Gospel-text verses narrating Jesus's arrival in Jerusalem at the start of the turbulent Passiontide events. Notably, furthermore, Child's 'O si vel' and Jeffrey's 'Visa urbe, flevit super ea' (in two versions), as if in tandem, set the highly poignant verses from Luke's Gospel, Chapter 19 (verses 39-40), where Jesus weeps over Jerusalem, expressing his words and tears of lament over this city of sacred heritage: Lucan words and imagery, indeed, used and appropriated in highly personal writing by Charles I not long before his execution, as will be seen. The resonances and appropriations of these particular verses, and of Jerusalem itself in seventeenth-century England, will be addressed in this chapter.

Beza's life-long, and extensive, work in biblical translation, 'Calvinist' commentary and exegesis, all fit into the scholarly functions and educative contexts outlined for work and biblical books of Tremellius and Junius outlined in the previous chapter, with his work receiving wide dissemination and influence across Europe through print. The pairing of his New Testament with the Tremellius-Junius Old Testament in publications from 1581 onwards demonstrates the aligned cultural projects and work of these three translators, based in Geneva, working in the contexts and circles of influential church reformer, John Calvin (1509-1564), himself of French origin as Beza.

Whilst Beza produced at least five distinctive editions of his New Testament in different textual versions and manifestations, especially in terms of commentary, presentation, and use of parallel texts, including the Vulgate, there are especial differences between the biblical texts of Beza's Latin for the 1565 edition and his 1582 edition, both printed in Geneva.[1]  The later edition, significantly in terms of European outreach and political purpose, was dedicated to Elizabeth I, 'Serenissimae Reginae', and presented updated translation and commentary, based on Beza's study of fifth-century New Testament manuscripts in his possession, which he presented to the University of Cambridge in 1581.   This particular 'late' edition of 1582 presented Beza's updated translation alongside columns of Greek biblical text, and Vulgate translation, all supplemented by Latin commentary, and providing a rich scholarly and educative resource, denominational-confessional even, for clergy and scholars alike. This was intended more for the study desk than for the church lectern, though certainly seeking to inform sermons and preaching; in the words of Bruce Gordon, such translations were not read in churches 'directly'  and 'they were never intended for contact with the faithful'.[2]  The full titles of the 1565 and 1582 editions, which both received numerous reprints, including publishers in seventeenth-century England, are:[3]

> *Iesu Christi Domini Nostri Novum Testamentum Foedus.* Geneva: Henricus Stephanus, 1565.

> *Iesu Christi Domini Nostri Novum Testamentum, Sive Novum foedus. Cuius Graeco contextui respondent interpretationes duae: una, vetus: altera, nova, Theodori Beze, diligenter ab eo* recognita. Geneva. Henricus Stephanus, 1582.

Notably, in terms of *concertato* settings in seventeenth-century England, Child's two Beza settings, 'O si vel' and 'Laudate Deum', both set words from the 1582 text.  Jeffreys makes use of texts from both editions, and his seven settings include two motets with revised versions, where the *Lcm* MS 920 versions are later-1650s 'reworkings', rather than wholly new and separate compositions.  As will be seen, for the purposes of the texts set by the two

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[1] Jan Krans provides concise overview of the five versions, with full bibliographic details, 'Theodorus Beza and New Testament Conjectural Emendation', in *Recent Developments in Textural Criticism. New Testament, other Early Christian and Jewish Literature – Papers Read at a Noster Conference in Münster, January 4-6, 2001*, ed. Wim Weren and Dietrich-Alex Koch (Assen, The Netherlands: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001), 109-112 and 127-128.

[2] Gordon, 'Creating a Reformed Book of Knowledge', 99.

[3] Beza's 1582 version was printed in 1642, for example, by Roger Daniel, printer and bookseller in London and Cambridge, and a printer to the University of Cambridge: *Jesu Christi Domini Nostri Novum Testamentum, sive, Novum Foedus…* (Cambridge: Roger Daniel, 1642).

composers, the differences between the 1565 and 1582 passages are not extensive or transformative of textual meaning and emphasis, however. Indeed, the shared portions of Luke, in respective editions, certainly share the majority of words in common, as will be seen. For three of Jeffreys's settings, Beza's Latin is identical in the 1562 and 1582 edition, and it is not possible to say which Beza translation he was working from, let alone any particular edition. Table 6.1 provides initial details of the Beza settings, New Testament texts, and musical sources.

**Table 6.1** Beza settings by Child and Jeffreys

**CHILD'S BEZA SETTINGS**

| MOTET | SCORING | TEXT | DATE OF LATIN | MUSICAL SOURCE & SCRIBE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| O si vel | CATB, bc | Luke 19:42 | 1582 | *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 Husbands Sr. |
| Laudate Deum | ATTB, bc | Revelation 19: 5-7 | 1582 | *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37 Husbands Sr. |

**JEFFREYS'S BEZA SETTINGS**

| MOTET | SCORING | TEXT | DATE OF LATIN | MUSICAL SOURCE & SCRIBE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Visa urbe, Flevit super ea | TTB, bc | Luke 19: 41-42 | 1565 | *Lbl* Add. MS 10,338 version Jeffreys, autograph score |
| Visa urbe, Flevit super ea | TTB, bc | Luke 19: 41-42 | 1565 | *Lcm* MS 920 version Jeffreys, autograph partbooks |
| Et recordatus est Petrus verborum Jesus | TTB, bc | Matthew 26: 75 | 1582 | *Lbl* Add. MS 10,338 Jeffreys, autograph |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ego sum panis ille vitae | CMTB, bc | John 6: 48-50, 54 | either[4] | *Lbl* Add. MS 10,338 Jeffreys, autograph |
| Hosanna filio David | TTB, bc | Matthew 21: 9b & Luke 19: 38 | either | *Lbl* Add. MS 10,338 version Jeffreys, autograph |
| Hosanna filio David | TTB, bc | Matthew 21: 9b & Luke 19: 38 | either | *Lcm* MS 920 version Jeffreys, autograph |
| Hosanna filio David | CCMATB, bc | Matthew 21: 9b & Luke 19: 38 | either | *Lbl* Add. MS 10,338 Jeffreys, autograph |

Whilst aspects of the dating of Husbands Sr's ornate partbooks dedicated to Child's non-liturgical works, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, were addressed in Chapter 2, these manuscripts themselves do not provide direct details of the dating of Child's Beza settings; no autographs appear to have survived.  Aspects of the text usage and musical features of Child's 'O si vel', alongside intertextuality with Jeffreys's setting of the same Luke text, will be seen to provide clues concerning dating, provenance and function, however.  Concerning the dating of Jeffreys's seven Beza settings, detailed analysis of Jeffreys's manuscripts by Wainwright and Thompson, in relation to the cultural contexts of both Christopher Hatton III and Jeffreys, has affirmed these works all to date from between 1638 to 1648, with the exception of the new setting of 'Hosanna filio David', highly likely to stem from the early years of the Restoration, with its six-part chorus, virtuosic bass solo, and text of Davidic kingship perhaps intended to celebrate the Restoration.[5]  Study of Jeffreys's autograph scorebook of 126 pieces, instrumental and vocal, English-, Latin- and Italian-texted, *Lbl* Add. MS 10,338, has enabled significant insights into Jeffreys's works, their dating and copying, both chronological and retrospective: insights gained, also, through study of the thirty-five

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[4] The 1565 and 1582 Beza editions have identical translations here.

[5] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 136-137, 159.  See, also: See *George Jeffreys, English Sacred Music*, Musica Britannica CV, transcribed and edited by Jonathan Wainwright (London: Stainer and Bell, 2021), xxxiv. Robert Thompson, 'George Jeffreys and the 'Stile Nuovo' in English Sacred Music; A New Date for His Autograph Score, British Library Add. MS 10338', *Music & Letters* 70, no. 3 (1989): 32-33.

gatherings of thirteen different types of paper.[6] Suggested through this work, there is the strong possibility that these works have close associations with the Royal court in Oxford in the early 1640s, addressed in Chapter 3, when Jeffreys was an organist to Charles I and Hatton III was Comptroller to the King's household. In this respect, the Jeffreys and Child Beza texts addressing themes of kingship, Christ's suffering, and 'that which belongs to peace', a phrase occurring only twice in the New Testament as will be seen, appear highly significant in terms of religious and political contexts surrounding these motets. These works certainly stem from exceptionally turbulent and challenging times for royalists, when public worship and choral foundations was disallowed by Parliament, and before the King's execution. Jeffreys's revision of 'Visa urbe, flevit super ea' in the partbooks *Lcm* MS 920 appear to have been copied in the later 1650s, possibly for use at Hatton III's Kirby Hall, or London, residence following his return from France.[7]

Before addressing distinctive aspects of Child's and Jeffrey's compositional techniques, the following section will outline the work, biblical translations and publications of Beza himself, aiming to address broader, post-Reformation, historical contexts, including English-monarchic print dedications, for the Beza texts, and to affirm the nature of the seventeenth-century *concertato* settings in England as a later, distinct and court-cultural, aspect of the reception history of Beza's Latin, with origins in sixteenth-century Calvinist Geneva. Following this, and initial compositional-stylistic overview of the nine Beza settings, it is the intention of this chapter to highlight musical, textual, and contextual points of contact between three Beza settings, in particular, aiming to ascertain pre-Commonwealth court-cultural themes and contexts for Child's and Jeffreys's works: compositional similarities and differences between Child's 'O si vel', and Jeffreys's 'Visa urbe, flevit super ea' (two versions), with shared Lucan text of Jesus's tearful lament over Jerusalem.

## A biographical survey of Theodore Beza: his collaborative work with theologians and musicians, influence in England, and royal dedications

The biblical and translation work of influential Calvinist Reformer, Theodore Beza, has been long-known to musicologists through his French paraphrase-texts in verse for the Genevan

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Psalter, for example, completed and printed with music by Louis Bourgeois and Pierre Davantès in 1562, and also for a dramatic French-verse rendition of the story of Abraham and Isaac from the biblical Book of Genesis.[8]  To date, though, there has been no discussion of 'direct' settings of Beza's biblical work: his Latin translations set as *concertato* motets in the following century.  Theodore Beza's New Testament translation from the original Greek, first published in 1556, was often paired with the Tremellius-Junius Latin translation of the Hebrew Old Testament in English publications of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from Henry Middleton's 1581 London edition onwards, as well as being available in print as a single Testament.  Beza's translation work would have been highly accessible to both Child and Jeffreys and, for Child, provides a text-source point-of-contact with his Tremellius setting 'Cantate Jehovae' addressed in te previous chapter.  Jeffreys does not appear to have set Tremellius's Latin.

Child's and Jeffrey's Beza settings, highly distinctive and relatively rare works through text source, feature musical presentation of words from the Gospel accounts spoken directly by Jesus. Both composers also set words from biblical-narrative contexts of Jerusalem, the ancient holy city and the heavenly New Jerusalem of Revelation, respectively.  Furthermore, in the seventeenth century, Jerusalem was long-held to be figurative for London, and England even, as will be seen initially when discussing 'O si vel'.[9]  For Child, the Beza settings are his sole-surviving Latin New-Testament settings which, when viewed together, will be seen to juxtapose St. Luke's presentation of Jesus's final arrival in Jerusalem alongside St. John's presentation of the Christ in the heavenly city.

Born in France, as Calvin himself, Théodore de Bèze was frequently addressed by the Latin version of his name, 'Beza'. In 1548, he published *Poemata Juvenelia* in Paris, a collection of Latin verse influenced by the Roman poet, Catullus (*c*. 84-*c*. 54 BCE), receiving at least twelve subsequent editions in Beza's lifetime.  Beza moved to Geneva in 1548, where he was received by Calvin, and became associated there with Protestant reforms, theological, political, educational, and spiritual.  In 1549 he became a professor of Greek at the University

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[8]  For a concise outline of Beza's connection with musicians, for example, please see: Paul-André Gaillard, revised Richard Freedman, 'Bèze, Théodore de', *Oxford Music Online*, January 20th, 2001. accessed, July 7th, 2020, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.03001.

[9] Ori Hanan Weisberg, 'The City and the Word: London, 'Jerusalem,' and the Early Modern English Nation', PhD thesis, University of Michigan, USA, 2011; p. 5  traces the earliest parallels between Israel and Britain/England to the sixth century, and to St. Gildas (*c*. 500-*c*. 570) , *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*, recounting the post-Roman history of Britain.

of Lausanne and, with Calvin a decade later, co-founder of the Geneva Academy: both a school (*schola privata*) and university (*schola publica*) for training Calvinist pastors, of which Beza was the first Rector.  The study of ancient languages was fundamental to the Academy's humanist and educative purpose.  Beza became a highly influential theologian and Protestant reformer and, following Calvin's death in 1564 and funeral at which he preached, Beza became chief pastor to the Republic and church of Geneva for the remainder of his life.[10]

Beza also undertook collaborative work on musical projects, including vernacular-versification work with French poet, Clément Marot (1496-1544), for the monophonic psalter set by the composer and theorist, Louis Bourgeois (*c.* 1510-1559), with subsequent additions composed by Geneva-based philologist and printer, Pierre Davantès (1525-1561); this substantial work, which incorporated solmization, was completed and printed in Geneva in 1562, *Les Pseaumes de David, mis en rhythme française*.[11]  In 1550, Beza also wrote a French-text biblical tragedy with pastoral presentation, *Abraham Sacrifiant*, with indications for sung performance of selected verses; this was translated into English in 1575 by eminent classicist, Arthur Golding (*c.* 1536-1606), though the  music has not survived.[12]  Child's and Jeffreys's Beza motets can be said to 'annex' in the following century, in *concertato* idioms, French-texted compositional precedents as settings of the Reformer.

Significantly, also, in terms of Beza's important theological influence in England and trajectory of regal text-reception and purpose into which Child's and Jeffreys's Beza motets will be seen, Beza dedicated no less than five publications to English and Scottish monarchs, Elizabeth I and James I, Tudor and Stuart respectively, alongside the 1581 Tremellius-Junius-Beza Bible, printed in London by Henry Middleton and dedicated to Frederick III, Elector Palatine.[13]  These six publications are detailed in the Appendix IV (p. 309), and show a significant and influential presence of Beza's European work in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, even though the number of extant musical settings in the country is small

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[10] For overview of Beza's life and work, please see, Karin Maag, 'Theodore Beza', *The Expository Times*, Vol. 126(6) (2015): 261-269.

[11] Notably, a copy of the Beza-Marot French psalter is included in *Och* Mus. 365-366, copied *c.* 1650, also a unicum for Child's 'Ye Sons of Sion now rejoice', discussed in chapter 2, and transcribed in Volume II.

[12] Golding's 1577 edition has been edited by Malcolm W. Wallace, *A Tragedie of Abrahams Sacrifice; Written in French by Theodore Beza and Translated into English by Arthur Golding* (Canada: University of Toronto Library, 1906).

[13] These included works of biblical translation, theology, church history, and even poetry.

and select; in such light, then, Child's and Jeffreys's motets are shown in sharper, and creative, relief.

The published works and dedications, given in Appendix IV, including Latin biblical-scholarship and poetry, show the significant presence, range, and availability of Beza's writing in England, its multi-generic, theological, spiritual, educative and aesthetic variety, alongside significant international scope and outreach, with direct and intentional cultivation of royal connection and influence. Though aligned with the republicanism of Geneva and Calvinism, and with discourse critical of absolutism, Beza can also be seen to support Protestant rulers in Scotland, England, and the Palatine, and to affirm reformist endeavours widely across Europe.[14] Indeed, as demonstrated through recent scholarship by E. J. Hutchinson, within *Icones* Beza does not just praise James VI's monarchy, 'promoting the reign of Christ among your own Scots',[15] but the Genevan reformer even aligns himself as a Stuart 'royalist' and member of James's 'flock'. In Beza's words to James from the book's introductory letter,

> Moreover, this Genevan church is also a part of this reign of Christ, I thought that it belonged to my duty to add myself to the flock of your peoples and to testify to your royal majesty to the welcome memory of so great a kindness in whatever way I could.[16]

To contextualise Beza's theological influence in England further, in 1581 Beza donated the 'Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis' to the University of Cambridge (MS Nn.2.41): a collection of fifth-century Greek and Latin manuscripts of the Gospels and Book of Acts, incorporating Beza's Calvinist commentaries. The manuscripts remain a significant contribution to English biblical-manuscript resources and scholarship, philology and translation.[17] Beza also had direct influenced English biblical translation: the Geneva Bible (1557 New Testament, and 1560 complete Bible), Laurence Tomson's 1576 translation of Beza's Greek New Testament, and the 1611 Authorized Bible, the 'King James Version', commissioned and sponsored by

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[14] Beza's *De Jure Magistratum* (1574, 'On the Rights of the Magistrate'), for example, defended civil rights to revolt against tyrannical regimes; the work was a response to the 1572 Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, and violence against Huguenots in Paris.

[15] E. J. Hutchinson, 'Written Monuments: Beza's *Icones* as Testament to and Program for Reformist Humanism', In *Beyond Calvin: Essays on the Diversity of the Reformed Tradition*, eds. W. Bradford Littlejohn and Jonathan Tomes (Nebraska: The Davenant Trust, 2017), 21-61, 42-43.

[16] *Ibid*., 44.

[17] 'Codex Bezae' is viewable online, *University of Cambridge Online Library*, accessed July 31st 2020: https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-NN-00002-00041/1.

the King: a fundamental text source for many anthems, including Matthew Locke's 'How doth the city sit solitary', for example.[18]   The committees charged with compiling and revising the Authorized Version before publication made significant use of Beza's 1598 edition of the New Testament: dedicated to Queen Elizabeth.  According to Irena Backus, Beza's influence on the Authorized Version increased as work progressed and, for the Revisers, Beza's authority wholly overshadowed that of any other New Testament scholar of the period.'[19]

The above discussion has highlighted the very significant role and presence of Theodore Beza's theological and translation work, alongside that of Tremellius, in England and Scotland from the sixteenth-century onwards, with purposeful and dedicated cultivation of monarchs, both Tudor and Stuart.  As with the Tremellius-text motets in England outlined in the previous chapter, Child's and Jeffreys's Beza settings will be seen to embody distinctive creative engagement with an internationally influential and high-profile Calvinist reformer's work at a date significantly later than the translations' initial publication and availability in England.

**Overview of Beza settings, aspects of Gospel-text use and musical presentation**

Having discussed Child's additions to his Tremellius text of 'Cantate Jehovae' in the previous chapter, it is notable that Child and Jeffreys typically use their Beza texts whole, and with no significant adjustment, excepting occasional minor alterations of verbal tense or phraseology.   Appendices II, III, and V provide complete presentation of the Tremellius-Junius and Beza texts set as motets by composers in seventeenth-century England, with translations, indicating composers' changes to their source Latin, especially text additions and alterations.  As introduced at the start of this chapter, nine of the Beza texts set Latin narrating Jesus's arrival into Jerusalem at the start of turbulent Passiontide events. It is notable also that five of the nine Beza texts present Gospel-narrative words spoken by Jesus, whether directly (Child's 'O si vel' and Jeffreys's two versions of 'Visa urbe, flevit ea', alongside the Eucharistic text of John 6, 'I am the Bread of Life', in Jeffreys's 'Ego sum

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[18] The work has been transcribed by Peter Le Huray, *Matthew Locke Anthems and Motets, Musica Britannica XXXVIII* (London: Stainer and Bell Ltd., 1976), 74-81, with textual commentary on 155.
[19] Backus, 'Influence of Theodore Beza', 197-198.

Panis'); or words of indirect nature, as memory of prophetic words spoken by Jesus concerning denial of Jesus following arrest, in 'Et recordatus est Petrus verborum Jesus'. *Concertato* settings of Jesus's words as Latin-motet texts in seventeenth-century England are certainly rare.[20]  Notably these texts address themes of Jesus's divinity alongside royal-Davidic heritage and kingship, the latter a key aspect of the Tremellius settings in seventeenth-century England as affirmed in the previous chapter, including Child's setting of royal Psalm, 98, 'Cantate Jehovae'.  Of the nine Beza settings, it appears that all are pre-Commonwealth except for Jeffreys's six-part setting of 'Hosanna filio David' and Child's 'Laudate Deum', both of which feature significant use of 'large-scale' sectional patterning and repetition, and vocal virtuosity.  Child's 'Laudate Deum', also, makes highly significant, extensive use of triple time, featuring varied mensuration and proportional relationships; indeed this work is Child's only motet to start in triple time.  Jeffreys's only use of triple time in a Beza setting is the imitative 'Alleluia' section in 'Ego sum Panis' (bb. 74 to 87, in $\frac{3}{1}$, before the duple-time 'Alleluia' conclusion, bb. 88-93, in *C*). Notably, both Child's 'Laudate Deum' and Jeffreys's 'Hosanna filio David', a6, feature dramatic-declamatory passages for bass solo in these works, fully affirmative of kingship, undoubtedly suitable for court-cultural, domestic celebratory, musical use within Jeffreys's and Child's musical networks, following the Restoration.[21]  These works, featuring melodic leaps of an octave, triadic patterning, and lively dotted rhythms, at times 'fanfare-like', certainly have a pre-Commonwealth royal-affirmative musical precedent in Dering's Tremellius-texted 'Canite Jehovae', itself made widely accessible from 1662, in Playford's *Cantica Sacra* I, dedicated to Henrietta Maria.  Examples 6.1 to 6.3, below, provide these musical examples, undoubtedly affirmative of Stuart kingship in their settings of Latin of Calvinist-Genevan origin.

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[20] Examples by Dering include his setting of John 11, 25-26: 'Ego sum resurrectio', published by Playford in *Cantica Sacra* II (1674), dedicated to Charles II, alongside Dering's setting of text based on John 21 1-17 (Jesus's three-fold 'rehabilitation' of Peter, following Peter's earlier three-fold denial), 'Si diligis me, Simon Petre', surviving incomplete (*Lbl* Add. 78416B).

[21] Concerning the potential for Child's use of Beza's 'Laudate Deum' text to be suggestive of dating for Child's work, there could even be the possibility, though currently unverifiable, that Child's omission of the final portion of Luke 19.7 omitting reference to monarchic 'wife', could suggest a composition date before Charles II married Catherine of Braganza (May 21st, 1662).

**Example 6.1** Child, 'Laudate Deum' (Beza text), bars 79-83

*79*

Quo-niam reg-num in -i-it Do - mi-nus De-us il - le nos-ter om - ni-po-tens, om-ni - po-tens, quo-niam

**Example 6.2** Jeffreys, 'Hosanna filio David' (Beza text), a6, bb. 32-36[22]

*32*

be-ne-di-ctus, be-ne - di - ctus, be-ne - di-ctus rex il - le qui ve - - - nit, qui

**Example 6.3** Dering, 'Canite Jehovae' (Tremellius text), bb. 28-33

*28*

Mag - num Je - ho - vam et__ lau-da-tum val - de et__ lau-da-tum val - de

Concerning the remaining Beza settings, all dating *c*. 1638-1648, these can be said to feature many broad compositional traits in common with the few-voice motets of both Dering and Child, with traits in common with works of Grandi, outlined in Chapter 1. There is no new, distinctive or 'separate' musical-compositional vocabulary to distinguish Beza, or Tremellius-Junius, settings from Vulgate works, for example, and its appears that any distinction attributable through use of Genevan-originating, 'Calvinist', Latin, is rather on the functional and performance-contextual level of the genre's 'translation' and appropriation in

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[22] Quoted from Jonathan P. Wainwright, ed., edition of Jeffreys's Latin motets currently in preparation, *Musica Brittanica* (London: Stainer and Bell, forthcoming). I am very grateful to my supervisor, Professor Wainwright, for kind sight of his transcriptions of Jeffreys's Beza settings, and for drawing Jeffreys's works, and revisions, to my attention.

England. Child's and Jeffreys's Beza settings certainly 'align' with the broad para-liturgical or non-liturgical, court-cultural, domestic-devotional circles, outlined in preceding chapters, whether Privy Chamber, Oxford's Music School, or potentially aristocratic residences, including those of Hatton III, Jeffreys's patron, or, feasibly even, that of the Earl of Montagu, patron of Child and Pepys after the Restoration.[23] As addressed in the previous chapter, it is certain, though, that Beza and Tremellius settings would not have featured in any instance of Roman Catholic liturgy, whether in the chapels of Henrietta Maria or Catherine of Braganza, for example, or those of the London embassies of Catholic countries and states. Broadly, as for example the Vulgate settings addressed in Chapter 1 and the Bernardino settings discussed in Chapter 4, the Beza settings likewise feature imitative use of small-scale motifs, regularly patterned over continuo, with syllabic vocal writing, using mild word-painting. Of the Beza settings, however, Child and Jeffreys present and frame Jesus's words in notably different ways in their settings of Jesus's lament over Jerusalem, especially his spoken words narrated in Luke 19.42. Child's very particular techniques of text setting and motivic patterning, unique to 'O si vel' within his set of thirteen motets and not featured by Jeffreys, will be discussed following discussion of this Luke text, and broader uses in England during the turbulent the central decades of the seventeenth century.

### 'O si vel' and 'Visa urbe, flevit ea': seventeenth-century uses of Luke 19: 41-42

Whilst the Tremellius-translated words of Child's 'Cantate Jehovae' have been seen to affirm festive, royal-related, occasions of celebration early in Charles's reign, the words from the Gospel of St. Luke, in Beza's Latin, immediately strike a very different tone, with prophetic sense of lament and foreboding. This Lucan passage is exceptionally unique within musical settings in general, and also as a seventeenth-century motet text featuring words from one of the four Gospels spoken directly by Jesus himself. Table 6.2 presents this Lucan passage, as set by Child and Jeffreys.

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[23] Addressing domestic performance of Italianate music, for example (albeit not directly referencing motets or Latin settings), in his diary entry for Monday, December 21st, 1663, Pepys recounts the singing of 'Italian Songs, by Henry Cooke and two of his trebles, in the presence of Child, 'fully the best musique that I ever yet heard in all my life'. See, *Pepys Diary*, online, May 2020, accessed July 13th 2020: https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1663/12/21/.

**Table 6.2** Luke 19:42, in Latin of Theodore Beza, set by Jeffreys (1565 edition) and Child (1582 edition):


O si vel tu nosses, vel hoc saltem tuo die
quae ad pacem pertinent, sed nunc occulta oculis tuis.

<div align="right">

Luke 19: 42
Beza's 1582 version

</div>


O, if only you, even you, had recognised hence, at least on this your day,
the things which belong to peace, but now are hidden from your eyes.


Visa urbe, flevit super ea, dicens:
Nempe si vel tu nosses vel hoc saltem tuo die
quae ad pacem tuam pertinent.
Sed nunc occulta oculis tuis.

<div align="right">

Luke 19: 41-42
Beza's 1565 version

</div>


He saw the city, and wept over it, saying:
Truly, if only you, even you, had recognised, at least on this your day,
the things which belong to peace
but now are hidden from your eyes.


Though notably tacit in Child's text (Luke 19.42), the scene and location of Jesus's heart-felt outcry, crucially, is the royal and holy city of Jerusalem. Jesus's anguish of Verse 41 is thoroughly implicit in Child's lamentful musical presentations of repeated, litany-like, text, this preceding verse translated in the Beza-influenced 1611 Version, 'And when he [Jesus] was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it'.

The following verse, Luke 19:42, set by Child in a range of musical presentations and compositional techniques to be outlined, including cumulative repetition, is distinctive also: within the New Testament, only this verse and Luke 14:32 contain the phrase 'that which belongs to peace' (in Beza's translation, with added use of underlined text to highlight the key phrase, 'quae ad pacem tuam pertinent'); in chapter 14 (Beza's 'quae ad pacem spectant'), these words concern a king considering war, a theme certainly pertinent to the 1640s, with the three civil wars between the 'Cavalier' supporters of the King and 'Roundhead' supporters of Parliament (1642-1646, 1648-1649, and 1649-1651, respectively),

with essential disputes concerning the manner of government in the Kingdom of England.[24] Child's and Jeffreys's Lucan phrases concerning such peace and the city of its location resonate also with words from psalm 122, verse 6 (121, Vulgate), the 'peace of Jerusalem' (with Vulgate translation as, 'Rogate <u>quae ad pacem</u> sunt Hierusalem et abundatiana diligentibus te'). Significantly, this psalm, with opening phrase 'I was glad', was sung as an 'Antheme' for the entrance of Charles I into Westminster Abbey on the occasion of his coronation on February 2<sup>nd</sup> 1626, and has been used at all subsequent coronations, including choral settings by Henry Purcell written for the coronation of James II in 1685.[25] The city of Jerusalem was certainly an important symbol and reference point for Charles throughout his reign, as can be seen by his use of the term in the very different circumstances of the first Civil War, seventeen years after his coronation. When the Royal Court was 'exiled' at Oxford in 1643, Charles referred to London as his nation's Jerusalem in an address given to the Vice-Chancellor and members of the University of Oxford, expressing his intentions to stay in the city, and his gratitude to the university. He hoped the situation would be temporary, though, 'till Wee can with safety to Our honour and Person in peace returne to the Jerusalem of Our Nation, Our City of *London*.'[26]

In a similar vein, even, Child himself made explicit and poignant use of the image of Jerusalem through the text of Psalm 79 (verses 1, 4, 5, a prayer for mercy on the holy city) in his anthem 'O Lord God, the heathen are come into Thine inheritance' in the English translation of Miles Coverdale (1488-1569). Child's words of the second half of the first verse, 'Thy holy temple have they defiled, and made Jerusalem an heap of stones', are given significant political, religious and cultural significance and resonance through the subtitle on the score within the Harleian Collection of Thomas Tudway (*c*. 1650-1726), a Restoration

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[24] The uniqueness of the theme and language of Luke 19:42, with connection to Luke 14:32, has been highlighted by biblical scholar, Nicholas King, SJ, for example, in his translation of the New Testament, with commentary: *The New Testament Freshly Translated* (Buxhall, Suffolk: Kevin Mayhew, 2006): commentary on Luke 19, 'Jesus, Jerusalem and the Temple', 199.

[25] Whilst details and sources for the 1626 musical setting of Psalm 122 do not appear to have survived. For discussion of Bishop Laud's order-of-service and possibility of Tomkins setting the psalm text, see Mattias Range, *Music and Ceremonial at British Coronations: From James I to Elizabeth II* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), 38. See, also, footnote 42.

[26] King Charles I, *A Speech Delivered By the Kings Most Excellent Maiestie in The Convocation House at Oxford, To the Vice-Chancellour, and other Doctors, and Students of the Universitie, expressing his intentions of abiding there. Together with hid gracious acception of their service and dutie to Him. As also his thanks for a Present offered Him by the said Vice Chancellour in the name of the whole Universitie* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the Universitie, 1643), 6. The quotation and reference is given in Jerome De Groot, 'Space, Patronage, Procedure: The Court at Oxford, 1642-46', *The English Historical Review* 117, No. 474 (Nov. 2002): 1204-1227, 1207.

chorister of the Chapel Royal when Child was an organist there: 'A full Anthem in 5 parts compos'd…in $y^e$ year 1644 On $y^e$ occasion of $y^e$ Abolishing The Common Prayer And overthrowing $y^e$ constitution, both in Church and State'.[27]  In a compositional style more akin to settings of penitential texts by Byrd than *concertato* works by Grandi or Dering, Child's anthem foregrounds the text, 'thy holy temple have they defiled' by the work's first clear use of five-part homophony, which also throws into relief the subsequent contrapuntal imitation for 'and made Jerusalem an heap of stones'.  This imitative passage uses both melodic descent, ascending sequence and textural variety to 'paint' subtly the words, as if to suggest perhaps physical destruction through motivic and textural fragmentation.

In light of the political resonances of Christ's lament over Jerusalem in 'O si vel' and the city's destruction highlighted by Child in 1644, it is possible to view Child as addressing the challenging circumstances of the 1640s and 1650s through the theme of Jerusalem in both a liturgical English setting and non-liturgical Latin work: a theme which connects strongly to Charles I and the mid-century monarchic situation.  Royalist composers at the time also acknowledged Charles's tribulations in musical publications and tributes, for example linking Charles's sufferings to those of the psalmist, King David.  In the dedicatory 'Epistle' of his 1648 publication of *Choice Psalmes put into Musick for Three Voices*, Henry Lawes expressed to Charles I such biblical and present-day contemporary narrative parallels, with public acknowledgement of,

> Your Majesties known particular affection to David's Psalmes, both because the Psalter is held by all Divines one of the most excellent parts of holy Scripture; as also in regard much of Your Majesties present condition is lively described by King David's pen.[28]

Publications such as *Eikon Basilike* (with subtitle, 'The Pourtrature of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings') also highlighted such themes and artistic-cultural representations and presentations of the monarchy. This work, a professed spiritual autobiography of the King published ten days after his execution at Whitehall on January 30th 1649,  drew clear connection between the suffering of Charles and Christ himself at Jerusalem: connections which had been expressed earlier in pamphlet and sermon form, for

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[27] *Lbl* Harl. 7338, f. 25v-28r.

[28] Henry and William Lawes, *Choice Psalmes put into Musick for Three Voices, The most of which may properly enough be sung by any three, with a Thorough Base* (James Young: London, 1648); the above quotation is from p. 9 of the *Canto Primus* book.

example, by the Royalist divine and military chaplain, Edward Symmons.[29] In Symmons's printed words, retaining original italics and orthography, 'I will set him [Charles I] forth in Christs *Robes*, as cloathed with *sorrowes*; and shew what a perfect similitude there hath been and is between our *Saviour* and our *Soveraign* in the foure last years of both their sufferings.'[30] In a similar fashion, Charles himself is shown to appropriate Christ's narrative and actions in *Eikon Basilike*, even with direct reference to Jerusalem and to the very scene of Luke 19, as set by Child in 'O si vel', with Christ's tears over the city, also, as narrated within the New Testament solely in Luke 19:41.  In words from chapter twenty-six, Charles offers Christ-like forgiveness to soldiers who have just snatched him from Parliamentary custody at Holmby House, not long before his execution:

> I pray God the storme be yet wholly passed over them; upon whom I look as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of my prayers and tears, with compassionate griefe, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their duty. [31]

The highly emblematic frontispiece of *Eikon Basilike*, seen in Figure 6.1, provides contemporary hagiographic visual parallels and connections between the lives of Charles I and Christ, the work of engraver and illustrator, William Marshall (*fl.* 1617-1649), with incorporated labels in Latin text.  The palm trees on the left side of the image, with symbolic connection to Palm-Sunday traditions within the church and Christ's entry into Jerusalem, are in close proximity to Marshall's temporally and geographically transposed Charles, portrayed as Christian martyr.  The King kneels in supplication with eyes set on the heavenly crown, symbol of divine kingship and royalty, rather than the crown of England by his feet, or the crown of thorns he holds, referencing that of Christ.[32]

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[29] *Eikon Basilike* may have been penned by John Gauden (1605-1662), either alone, or in collaboration with the King; Gauden became Bishop of Exeter at the Restoration.

[30] Edward Symmons (1607-1649), *A Vindication of King Charles, or, a Loyal Subjects Duty* (London: 1648), section xxvi, 241.

[31] King Charles I.  *Eikon Baskilike: The Pourtraiture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings.* London: R. Royston, 1648.  Quotation is taken from Edward Almack's edition: *Eikon Basilike or The King's Book.* Ed. Edward Almack (London: De La More Press, 1903), 150

[32] Digital source, *The Society of King Charles the Martyr*, online, accessed August 26th 2020: http://skcm.org/about-s-charles/eikon-basilike/.
Marshall's image as source of royal polemic, independent of the *Eikon*, has been discussed by Helen Pierce, 'Text and Image: William Marshall's Frontispiece to *Eikon Basilike* (1649)', in *Reading Texts in the History of Censorship and Freedom of Expression*, ed. Geoff Kemp (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 79-86; 81.

**Figure 6.1** *Eikon Basilike*, 1649 frontispiece by William Marshall, reproduced with permission from The National Portrait Gallery, London:



*Eikon Basilike*, written in the accessible form of a diary, proved to be highly popular and influential during the subsequent Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, and during the Restoration and reign of Charles's son, Charles II; thirty-five editions of the text were published in 1649 alone, which impacted significantly on Charles's posthumous reputation.[33] The work impacted on the creative life of royalist musicians, many of whom, such as Child, had been 'exiled' from professional duties and livelihoods during the early 1640s.[34] The lutenist, singer and composer John Wilson, for example, who became Oxford's Heather Professor of Music from 1656 and a Chapel Royal colleague of Child from 1662, published *Psalterium Carolinum* in 1657: three-part settings, with continuo, of Thomas Stanley's odes based on the *Eikon*, audaciously dedicated to the memory of Charles three years before the Restoration.[35]

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[33] Francis Smith, ''That Memorable Scene': The Image of King Charles the First in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Literature,' (D.Phil. Thesis, University of York, 1993), 10.

[34] Concerning the theme of exile, overt through compositions such as Child's 'O Lord God, the Heathen' (with text from psalm 79) and William Lawes's 'Judah in exile wanders', Judith Maltby has demonstrated how mid-century published poets additionally, such as Christopher Harvey (1597-1663), equated English exile from churches and public worship with Jewish exile from Jerusalem's temple, with the image of Synagogue as place of teaching applicable in both Jerusalem and England during displacement, past and 'present': Judith Maltby, 'From *Temple* to *Synagogue*: 'Old' Conformity in the 1640s-1650s and the Case of Christopher Harvey, in *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660*, ed. Peter Lake and Michael C. Questier, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2000), 88-124.

[35] For a modern critical edition, with detailed discussion of sources, historical and performance contexts, please see: John Wilson, *Psalterium Carolinum*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright (York: York Early Music Press, 2017).

These twenty-seven short, English-texted, continuo settings align readily in function, tradition, and aspects of style, with royalist-connected domestic-devotional publications such as Child's and the Lawes brothers' psalm settings of 1639 and 1648, respectively. Indeed Henry Lawes, a close friend of Child, whose dedicatory words connecting King Charles to the psalmist King David were quoted above, wrote a self-deprecating poem in homage to Wilson, printed at the start of the *Psalterium*.[36] A significant aspect of royalist homage and Stuart memorialisation, even, through musical and poetic settings of scriptural texts and themes, is made clear through Wilson's *Psalterium Carolinum*, which may well be seen through Child's work and choice of text for 'O si vel' in Beza's translation. In Stanley's own dedicatory words to Charles II in the Restoration edition of 1660, and as if to emphasise and echo Lawes's words within the *Choice Psalmes* of 1648, '*The Psalmes of* David *have been continued in verse through many Languages; in these your Majesty's Royal Father, (a Person of like Dignity, Sufferings and Piety,) breathes forth, (for so he calls them) the comforts of* David.'[37] In the concluding passage of Stanley's ninth ode further still, though not set by Wilson, Stanley has Charles I vocalise Christ's own words spoken from the cross, in quotation of Luke 23:43 in the Authorised Version, '*Forgive! They know not what they do.*'[38]

In light of such publicly affirmed poetic, theological, musical and visual representations of Charles I as both King David and as Christ,[39] from at least the 1640s Child-connected Civil War contexts onwards, alongside their published statements of royalist dedication in 1648 and 1657, for example, I would like to suggest that Child's and Jeffreys's settings of verses from Luke 19, in the Latin of Theodore Beza, are royalist, domestic-devotional, musical expressions of the Stuart monarchic situation before Charles's execution. As such, Christ's situation and prophetic words from Luke resonate significantly with seventeenth-century religious-political contexts and can be seen to portray the king as a Christ-like figure, soon to be martyred, through post-Reformation appropriation of biblical texts and themes. Jesus's words, set by Child and Jeffreys, also connect with a very strong tradition of 'current-situation' lament within Jewish scriptures and the history of ancient Israel, including the

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[36] The close friendship of Child and Henry Lawes is recorded in Pepys's diary, for example, which recounts Child visiting Lawes during a serious illness, on Sunday December 30th, 1660; Pepys, ed. Latham and Matthews, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Vol. I, 324. See, also, Chapter 5, fn 45.

[37] *Psalterium Carolinum*, ed. Wainwright, 68.

[38] *Ibid.*, 77.

[39] Francis Smith, 'That memorable scene', discusses the inter-relation between seventeenth-century presentations of Charles I as King David and as a Christ figure, also addressing Charles's personal views, 20.

Book of Psalms, and those of the Prophets Jeremiah and Joel: the latter being the source for Child's Jerusalem-connected 'Plange Sion', with Sion itself, notably added to the text by Child, being symbolic of England and its monarchy since at least the time of Elizabeth I.[40] Indeed, recent research has emphasised the longevity and complexity of such appropriation of the themes and narratives of Ancient Jerusalem and Israel within England from the Reformation onwards, and their very particular resonance to mid-seventeenth-century royalists. In the words of Achsah Guibbory, scholar of seventeenth-century English literature,

> Royalists thought *they* were the true Israel and turned to the Hebrew Bible and Israelite analogies to create an 'Anglican' identity during the 1640s and 1650s for those who remained loyal to both monarchy and an English Church that had been dismantled by Parliament. Devotions and collections of psalms appeared, to be used by loyal subjects of Charles I, who was now identified with biblical David – an identity further elaborated by *Eikon Basilike* and Royalist pamphlets after the King's execution. But the narrative Royalists found most compelling was the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 bce and the subsequent Babylonian exile of the Jews. Psalms and Lamentations expressed Royalist grief about exile and destruction of their Temple.[41]

Though Child's autograph score or parts for 'O si vel' do not appear to have survived, Child's motet, with compositional features to be outlined below, will also be seen to contribute distinctly to Charles I's posthumous cultural image within the post-1663 Restoration musical contexts of his Chapel Royal colleague and Heather Professor, Edward Lowe, surviving in *unicum* in copy made by their tenor colleague, scribe Husbands Sr.

**Compositional features of Child's 'O si vel'**

A highly distinctive compositional feature of 'O si vel' within Child's collection of thirteen Latin motets and within the seventeenth-century motets by English composers surveyed, is its use of melodically varied, frequent, consistent and cumulative small-scale motivic repetition as a technique of text setting for a brief, single, biblical verse. Uniquely, Child's single-verse, 'monothematic', Beza-translated text allusive of Jerusalem, is treated 'polythematically', with musically varied, yet integrated, motivic structuring. The motet's intricate use of such varied small-scale repetition can be seen significantly to emphasise and

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[40] In the words of Achsah Guibbory, for example, 'Elizabeth I's reign saw the frequent identification of England with 'Sion' and the Queen with the monarchs of Ancient Israel.': Achsah Guibbory, *Christian Identity, Jews, and Israel in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 28.

[41] *Ibid.*, 121.

embody the pathos and intensity of Jesus's words of lament, resonant of Charles I's mid-century situation as outlined above. Child heightens the intensity and exasperation of Jesus's words, even, as translated by Beza, by adding an initial 'O', as featured at the start of the Bernardino of Siena setting, 'O bone Jesu'; Child's very slight revision of Beza in 'O si vel', though, may even be influenced by the composer's awareness of the often Beza-paired Tremellius translation of Luke 19.42, which does incorporate this exclamatory vowel. Child's biblical verse also receives larger-scale structural emphasis and musical variety through use of two main sections (bars 1-46 and 47-110), each working towards a clear perfect cadence with '*Tierce de Picardie*' D-major chord, following a wide range of textures, and modulations using the same cadence across varied key centres. The differentiated, small-scale, motifs set and present distinct text-units, and are repeated in numerous statements as outlined in Table 6.3.

**TABLE 6.3** Distinct small-scale, and inter-woven, melodic motifs in 'O si vel', incorporated texts and number of individual statements (with homophonic passages counted singly):

**Bars 1-46**: **section one**

**Motif 1a:** *O si vel tu nosses***: 9 statements**

        bb. 1-2: C & A
        bb. 6-7: T & B
        bb. 15-16: C
        bb. 16: T & B
        bb. 20-21: T & B
        bb. 27-28: T & B
        bb. 36-37; T
        b. 37: C & A

**Motif 1b:** *vel hoc saltem tuo die***: 11 statements**

        bb. 2-4: C & A
        bb. 8-9: T & B
        bb. 17-18: T & B
        bb. 21-23: T & B
        bb. 24-25: T
        bb. 24-27: C (with two additional statements of 'vel hoc saltem')
        bb. 25-26: B
        bb. 25-27: A (with repetition of 'vel hoc saltem')
        bb. 28-30: T & B
        bb. 35-38: B
        bb. 38-39: C & A

**Motif 2:** *quae ad pacem tuam pertinent*: **9 statements (and concluding words of section)**

        bb. 4-6: T
        bb. 5-6: C
        bb. 9-13: A (with additional 'quae ad pacem tuam')
        bb. 10-11: T
        bb. 11-14: C
        bb. 12-14: T & B
        bb. 18-20: A
        bb. 41-46: C (with repetition of 'quae ad pacem')
        bb. 42-46: A, T, B (with repetition)

**Motif 3:** *sed nunc occulta sunt oculis tuis / sunt oculis tuis*: **6 statements starting with new**
       **four-semiquaver figure**

        bb. 13-16: A
        bb. 22-25: A
        bb. 29-36: A (with 2 additional statements of 'sunt occulis tuis')
        bb. 33-36: C
        bb. 31-34: T
        bb. 33-36: C

**Bars 24-55**: **section two**

**Motif 4a:** *O si vel tu nosses*: **2 statements (soloistic presentation)**

        b. 47-48: T
        b. 59-60: A

**Motif 4b:** *vel hoc saltem tuo die*: **2 statements (soloistic)**

        b. 49-50: T
        b. 61-62: A

**Motif 4c:** *vel hoc saltem tuo die*: **3 statements**
**(2-part textures, both imitative and homophonic)**

        b. 77-78: T
        bb. 78-80: C
        bb. 80-82: C & T

**Motif 4d:** *vel hoc saltem tuo die* **(accompanimental motif): single statement**

        b. 79-80: T

**Motif 5a:** *O si vel tu nosses*: **4 statements (new presentation, in four-part homophony)**

        bb. 55-58: C, A, T, B

bb. 68-70: C, A, T, B
bb. 72-73: C, A, T, B
bb. 87-89: C, A, T, B

**Motif 5b:** *vel hoc saltem tuo die*: **3 statements (homophony)**

b. 57-58: C, A, T, B
bb. 70-72: C, A, T, B
bb. 89-91: C, A, T, B

**Motif 6a:** *quae ad pacem tuam pertinent* **(incorporating variation, melismas & semiquavers, and motivic connections to 4b and 4c above,** *vel hoc saltem tuo die***):**
**5 statements**

bb. 50-55: T
bb. 64-67: A
bb. 82-86: C & A
bb. 93-99: T
bb. 94-99: A & B

**Motif 6b:** *quae ad pacem tuam pertinent* **(new imitative motif): 2 statements**

b. 75-76: T
bb. 76-78: C

**Motif 6c:** *quae ad pacem tuam pertinent* **(homophonic presentation): 2 statements**

bb. 91-93: C, A, T, B
bb. 100-102: C, A, B

**Motif 7a:** *sed nunc occulta*: **2 statements**

bb. 102-104: C, A, B (incorporating repetition of *sed nunc*)
b. 105-106: B

**Motif 7b:** *sunt oculis tuis*: **8 statements**

b. 103: T
bb. 103-104: T
bb. 103-104: B (in imitation of T)
bb. 104-105: C, A
b. 105-106: C, A, T
bb. 106-107: C, A, T
bb. 107-110: C, A, T

**Motif 7c:** *sunt occulis tuis*: **single statement, incorporating initial four-semiquaver pattern of Motif 3 from section one, and the stepwise descending semiquaver pattern from 6a**

bb. 106-110: B

Table 6.3 highlights the significant extent of text and motivic repetition in 'O si vel', with especial emphasis given to the words *quae ad pacem tuam pertinent* ('the things which belong to peace'), a phrase used on only two occasions in the New Testament, Luke 19:42 and Luke 14:32, with resonance also of 'the peace of Jerusalem' from Psalm 122, highly notably sung during the entrance procession of Charles I at his coronation in Westminster Abbey.[42]    Six emphatic statements of these words conclude the motet's first section, highlighted by imitation and cumulative use of four-part vocal texture, which sees the canto part in dialogue with alto, tenor and bass, in three-part homophony (bb. 41-46). The table also shows these same words to receive four distinct motifs throughout their no-less-than twenty-one iterations, nine in each 'half' of the motet (bb. 1-46, and 47-100, respectively), with three additional repetitions of 'quae ad pacem' in the first section through motivic extension: motif 2, bb. 9-13 (alto) , 44-46, (canto) and 42-46 (alto, tenor, bass).  The final musical presentation of 'quae ad pacem pertinent' (bb. 100-102) is highlighted by declamatory three-part homophony (canto, alto and bass), punctuated by crotchet rests before and after: only the second use of this technique, a notable text-setting technique of 'O bone Jesu', across this motet (the first being to highlight the text, 'O si vel tu nosses', in four-part homophony in bars 87-89, with striking third-related harmonic progression, d-minor to B-major in 'tonal' effect, across bars 87-88, and featuring 'lamentful' vocal ascending-semitone, 'solevatione', for the upper parts on the vocative 'O').   Table 6.3 also highlights small-scale motivic interconnections, for example, such as the shared melodic material between Motif 6a (*quae ad pacem pertinent*) and both 4b and 4c (*vel hoc saltem tuo die*), contributing to sense of motivic integration and consistency of melodic material across the piece.   In a similar fashion, perhaps, the concluding bass phrase, Motif 7c (in contrast to the canto, alto and tenor parts above), features echoes of both the distinct four-semiquaver introduction of Motif 3 (*sed nunc occulta sunt*, 'but now are hidden'), and also the melismatic semiquavers of Motif 6a.  The use of this device for the lowest line of a four-part texture, coupled with striking use of descending tessitura across all parts in the motet's concluding four bars, perhaps contributes to a sense of musical portrayal, painting and embodiment, of the 'hiding' (*sed*

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[42] Scholarship by Matthias Range has highlighted how a marginal note in Bishop Laud's order-of-service for Charles I's coronation stated, 'This Anthem was newlye appointed and made', though, also, that it is not known who composed it.  Thomas Tomkins had responsibility for the coronation music, assisted by senior members of the Chapel Royal: notably in terms of the Court-Oxford nexus outlined in 3, William Heather, who endowed the 1626 Professorship in Music at Oxford, Nathaniel Giles, and John Stevens.  Mathias Range suggests Tomkins's short full-anthem 'O pray for the peace of Jerusalem' (words from later in psalm 122, with initial text, 'I was glad') may be a fragment of a larger setting of the psalm.  See Range, *Music and Ceremonial at British Coronations*, 39.

*nunc occulta*) so central to the text.  Indeed, the distinct four semiquavers of this phrase are, to an extent, hidden initially through use of tessitura in their initial presentations, bars 7 and 11, before emerging more clearly in bar 15.  Example 6.4, shows the first presentation of *sed nunc occulta sunt*, in the Alto part of bar 13.

**Example 6.4** 'O si vel', bars 13 to 16



Example 6.5 shows the subsequent, 'hidden' and submerged, use of the four-semiquaver pattern within the motets' final bars, which feature descending tessitura.

**Example 6.5** 'O si vel' bars 105 to 110:



Indeed, the very narrative location of Child's text, the city of Jerusalem itself, resonant in seventeenth-century England, both theologically and politically, is hidden and allusive by comparison to 'O Lord God, the heathen', discussed previously.

Concerning another notable aspect of Child's techniques of text-setting, the motet's use of melisma shows aspects of 'virtuosic' vocal technique, which are thrown into relief by the preponderance of syllabic setting in 'O si vel'. Child's compositional intention for professional continuo-accompanied vocal ensembles such as the pre-war 'Voices and Lutes' of the royal Privy Chamber, for example, which Child would have undoubtedly experienced at Windsor and Whitehall, is shown, through: use of semiquavers in the bass line of example two above, through the musically 'rhyming' tenor and alto solos of bars 47 to 55 and 59 to 67, respectively, through the tenor and canto duet of bars 75 to 86, and also use of *trillo* ornamentation in the canto part on eight occasions.[43] The Beza text, also, would affirm a non-liturgical context, as above discussion of Protestant Latin Bibles has suggested, even potentially for domestic-devotional use during Holy Week, the week in the church calendar paying homage to and 'enacting' the very solemn events of Christ's last days in Jerusalem as narrated by Luke 19.[44] Such vocal ensembles would likely have included professionally

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[43] The Canto *trilli* are indicated by 't.' symbol in bars 6, 20, 14, 27, 80, 85, 91 and 92. All parts may have incorporated such expressive vocal techniques additionally, as outlined in the Critical Commentary of Child's thirteen motets.

[44] Concerning the seventeenth-century analogies between Charles I and Christ discussed, the death Charles I himself was subsequently commemorated by the Restoration Church of England, which canonised the martyred King as a saint at a Convocation on Canterbury and York on May 19th, 1660: a canonisation which was subsequently revoked in 1859 by Queen Victoria. Charles's feast-day on January 30th, was to be observed as a day of repentance and fasting, and Charles was the only saint canonised in this manner by the Church of England.

trained and experienced trebles such as James Clifford before the Commonwealth, for example, owner of the 1633 'Cantate Jehovae' source, *US-NYp* Drexel 4300, or Steven Crespion after the Restoration, discussed in Chapter 3. Child's use of ornamental *trillo* symbols, was highlighted, also, in previous discussion of 'O bone Jesu', and of Child's 'Italian Way' in Chapter 1: music intended for professional ensembles, and fully suited to performance in 'non-liturgical contexts, whether potentially Oxford's Music School or courtly performance spaces in associated with the work of royal musicians of the 'Lutes, Viols and Voices', discussed in Chapter 2. Performers could feasibly have included the motet's own scribe, Husbands Sr.

### Features of Jeffreys's 'Visa urbe, flevit ea' (*Lbl* Add. MS 10,338 and *Lcm* MS 920)

Whilst Child's four-voice 'O si vel' presents Jesus's words of Luke 19.42 in complex polythematic patterning across a wide range of choral textures, Jeffreys's three-voice 'Visa urbe, flevit super ea', rather, musically differentiates and narratively 'frames' Jesus's words as a structural unit, giving them clarity and a composition-contextual poignancy through initial use of single voice, as indeed Jeffreys presented Jesus's words, as remembered by Peter, in Beza-texted 'Et recordatus est': a text-setting device seen, yet further, at the start of Jeffreys's 'Ego sum panis ille vitae', also Beza texted, though here with small, imitative, element of dove-tailing, causing the tenor's 'vitae' to overlap, and sound simultaneously, with the bass's 'Ego'. Examples 6.6 and 6.7 demonstrate Jeffrey's initial presentation of Jesus's words in 'Visa urbe, flevit super ea' (earlier, *Lbl* Add. MS 10,338 version) and 'Et recordatus est Petrus verborum Jesus', both pre-Commonwealth. Before Jesus's words in Example 6.6, Jeffreys provides musical 'punctuation' through the rhymically differentiated semibreve chords of bars 19 to 21, with low and solemn tessitura.

**Example 6.6** Jeffreys, 'Visa urbe, flevis super ea', *Lbl* Add. MS 10, 338 version (bb. 17-26), setting of Jesus's words from b. 22: 'if only you, even you, had recognised, at least on this your day [the things which belong to peace]'

**Example 6.7** Jeffreys, 'Et recordatus est Petrus verborum Jesus' (bb. 31-38),
setting of Jesus's words from b. 33, 'Before the cock crows [you will deny me three times]'



Concerning Jeffreys's revision of 'Visa urbe, flevit ea' in *Lcm* MS 920, the composer creates a subtly different mode of preparation for Jesus's words by altering the tenor II and bass rhythms for 'dicens', also providing rhythmic variety on 'nosses' through use of syncopation. Indeed, Jeffreys's intricate revisions, in general, can be said to create a greater level of rhythmic variety and concision, in addition to greater textual variety. Example 6.8 presents Jeffreys's 'Visa urbe, flevit ea' from the *Lcm* MS 920 version, the same bar numbers as Example 6.6, above. The continuo part has been revised, and now also features figuring.

**Example 6.8** Jeffreys, 'Visa urbe, flevis super ea', *Lbl* MS 920 version (bb. 17-25)
Setting of Jesus's words from b. 21 (rather than bar 22, as Example 6.6): 'if only you, even you, had recognised, at least on this your day [the things which belong to peace]'



Following textural differentiation and framing of Jesus's lamentful words, 'Nempe si vel to nosses vel hoc saltem tuo die', together with their initial soloistic presentation, in both versions of the motet, Jeffreys goes to create a thicker-textured three-part imitative presentation of the same motivic material (bb. 33-39 in *Lbl* Add. MS 10,338; bb. 32-38 in *Lcm* MS 920).  In both versions of the motet, Jeffreys presents a similar cumulative build-up of texture for the new motif associated with 'quae ad pacem tuam pertinent' (bb.39-50 in *Lbl* Add. MS 10,338; bb. 39-50 in *Lcm* MS 920).  In both versions, notably, the material for 'sed ea nunc occulta sunt oculis tuis' ('but is now hidden from your eyes': bb. 52-67 in *Lbl* Add. MS 10,338; bb. 51-65 in *Lcm* MS 920), in mimetic fashion, does not give initial soloistic presentation of these words expressing that which is hidden.  Whilst Jeffreys's motivic patterning, overall, is not as intricate, complex, and varied as Child's 'O si vel', with its four-

part vocal scoring and larger canvas (110 bars for Child; 67 bars for Jeffreys's work in *Lbl* Add. 10,338, and 65 bars in *Lcm* MS 920), Jeffreys presents here the most intricate and dense textural writing of his work. In both versions, Jeffreys deliberately 'obscures' presentation of the Latin through simultaneous sounding of different words across the parts. Jeffreys's textures and rhythms for this passage in the later version, *Lcm* MS 920, are notably more varied and lively, including increased use of quavers.

Another composer who revised his motet work was Henry Bowman, whose Tremellius-texted 'Cantate Jehovae', notably, survives in three distinct versions, with varied scorings, addressed in the previous chapter. It seems that for Jeffreys's and Bowman's motet work, as indeed for Beza's Latin-translations of the previous century, also, works were adjusted according to resources and circumstances, and were open to revision. In Jeffreys's revision of Jesus's weeping, 'flevit', he incorporated new use of dialogue between the two tenors in relation to the bass: the three parts closely textured, and incorporating melodic use of semitones, to give enhanced 'mournful' effect. In light of Charles I's own use of this very verse of Luke 19 in *Eikon Basilike*, published ten days after the King's execution, and receiving no less than thirty-five English editions in 1649 alone, alongside criticism and riposte by John Milton, one could even suggest that, for mid-century royalists, Child's and Jeffreys's settings of this text may well have represented musical 'icons' of the King himself:[45] Charles I, whose martyrdom was commemorated in the Restoration prayer book through the text, 'Turn thou us, O good Lord', which Child set in motet form, 'Converte nos', itself also possible to be seen as a parallel musical commemoration of the King by Child.[46]

Child's 'O si vel' and Jeffreys's settings of 'Visa urbe, super flevit ea' are certainly courtly and 'royal' on numerous levels, international and inter-related across centuries: through the biblical text and narrative, with associations of the ancient-monarchic city of King David and seventeenth-century appropriations; and through the Latin translator and dedicatees, composers and the royal-employed scribe, Husbands Sr. The presence of 'O si vel' in

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[45] See, Elizabeth Skerpan Wheeler, '*Eikon Basilike* and the rhetoric of self-representation', in *The Royal Image*, ed. Thomas N. Corns (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), 122. Wheeler addresses Milton's text of response, *Eikonoclastes* (London: Matthew Simmons, 1649), noting that, 'In this battle over which memories of Charles's reign would survive, at base there was a fundamental disagreement over the nature of political representation, taken in the broadest sense.' *Ibid.*, 157.

[46] Discussion of Child's mid-century royalist-musical networks in Chapter 2, including his text author for the 'Alleluia Hymns' in *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, Oxford-based Thomas Pierce, also affirmed such themes of commemoration and creative expressions of allegiance to Charles I, musical and literary; see Chapter 2, p. 90 (paragraph 2, and footnote 22).

Oxford, after the Restoration, reflects the Music School's appropriation and preservation of such repertory, potentially to suggest the circles and function of the Music School at the time to be viewable as a 'type' of institutionally aligned or annexed musical 'court', curating and providing access to regal repertories.[47]   The Heather Professor can perhaps be viewed as over-seeing or 'presiding', even, over the presentation and preservation of a London-Oxford courtly-devotional repertory, with non- or para-liturgical purpose: whether by English royal- and/or Chapel-Royal connected employees such as Dering, Child, Jeffreys (at the Oxford Court in the 1640s), Christopher Gibbons and Rogers.

Discussion above has highlighted the very distinct musical and textual aspects of both Child's 'O si vel' and Jeffreys's settings of 'Visa urbe super flevit ea': appearing to be sole-surviving *concertato* settings of Jesus's tearful lament over Jerusalem, as narrated in Luke, using words of the Stuart-connected and Stuart-affirming Calvinist reformer, Theodore Beza, whose work certainly influenced the translation of the King James Bible.   Given the court-Oxford connections and musical networks of court-cultural translation discussed in Chapter 3, in is no surprise, perhaps, that, following the Restoration, Beza's New Testament was published and printed in the very space where Child's 'O bone Jesu' and Lowe's 'Quam dulcis es' were performed, likely alongside Rogers's DMus work written for opening celebrations of this very space: Oxford's Sheldonian Theatre, with Charles II's crest above the north door, surrounded by the motto of the Order-of-the-Garter, the chivalric order revived by his father which was central to the Stuart-Caroline concept of kingship.[48]   The Sheldonian edition of 1679, without textual annotations and commentary, used Beza's 'later' Latin of 1582, which, for further channel of physical translation and dissemination, was licensed to be sold in London by booksellers Moses Pitt, Peter Parker, Thomas Guy and William Leak, listed on page 377.[49]   Indeed, an image of the Sheldonian Theatre is featured on the frontispiece of this 'royal' edition of Beza's Latin, below an image of the same crest of Charles II, a focal and defining image in this book produced in the very same ceremonial building adjacent to the Bodleian Library's Schools Quadrangle, physical home and centre of the Music School, even.

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[47] In terms of Stuart monarchic structures, Kevin Sharpe has written that, 'The Court's most important political function was as a centre of patronage and access to the monarch.': Kevin Sharpe, 'Stuart Monarchy and Political Culture', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Tudor & Stuart Britain*, ed. John Morrill (Oxford: OUP, 1996), 239-257, quotation from 240.

[48] Richard Cust, 'Charles I and the Order of the Garter', *Journal of British Studies* 52 (2013): 368

[49] The complete 1679 Beza edition, *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Interprete Theodore* Beza (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1679), is viewable to view at *Early English Books Online*, accessed July 13th 2022: https://www.proquest.com/books/novum-testamentum-domini-nostri-iesu-christi/docview/2240920143/se-2.

Together with this 1679, Oxford-produced, Beza edition, Child's 'O si vel', surviving uniquely in Oxford's Music School Manuscripts, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, alongside Jeffreys's settings of 'Visa urbe, flevit super ea', with likely associations with the Oxford court of the 1640s through *Lbl* Add. MS 10,338, can be said to be form distinctive, court-cultural, evidence and materials in the seventeenth-century reception history, creative engagement and dissemination, of an influential and widely disseminated biblical translation originating in sixteenth-century Geneva. In an international, cross-century, network of translation, Child and Jeffreys can be seen to re-present Beza's Latin, from New Testament translations of both 1565 and 1582. Through *concertato* idioms, then, biblical words narrating and expressing Jesus's tearful lament over Jerusalem, in very particular translations, are given new musical contexts, meanings and resonances, in seventeenth-century England.

## Chapter 7

### Henry Purcell's 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei':
### contexts, and Tremellius text

Following the preceding contextual study of Tremellius- and Beza-texted *concertato* works in seventeenth-century England, including compositional reference of Venetian motets, and distinctive monarchic resonances of William Child, it remains to address what is most likely the latest-surviving Tremellius setting of the century, and the concluding work in the country's unique contribution to the reception history of biblical-translation work originating in post-Reformation Geneva: the Psalm-3 setting by Henry Purcell (1659-1695), 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei'.[1]  As already seen in the motets of Dering, Child, Christopher Gibbons, Bowman and Taylor, discussed above, Tremellius's Hebrew-derived psalmic 'Jehova' is distinctive in the motet's text and, as with the previous settings, notable adjustments to the original Latin, itself regally dedicated and the work of a Stuart-connected Calvinist scholar, will be seen to align with those of the preceding motets.  Royalist domestic-devotional function, with aligned performance contexts and musical networks, will be suggested to be 'embedded' in the work, through Purcell's treatment of the psalm-text itself, the themes and characters of which appear to be highly resonant of the political and monarchic contexts of the late 1670s.

The primary seventeenth-century manuscript sources for 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei' are Purcell's autograph score, *Lbl* Add. MS 30,930,[2] copied *c*. 1678 to 1681, alongside a score in the hand of John Blow copied from the autograph: *Och* Mus. 628.[3]   The autograph is a

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[1] The flyleaf of Purcell's autograph manuscript is inscribed, 'The Works of Hen: Purcell Anno Dom. 1680'. However, Shay and Thompson have highlighted how much of the manuscript's vocal repertory may date from 1678 or 1679.  Their work on the manuscript's codicology and internal evidence, alongside related aspects of dating for Purcell's text-source by John Patrick (*A Century of Select Psalms*. London: J.M. for Richard Royston, 1679), with imprimatur of November 21st, 1678, gives evidence for pre-1680 composition. See, Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts, The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000); chapter 3, 84-125, 'British Library Additional MS 30,930 and its repertories', especially, 87-100.  Concerning dating and chronology of the Tremellius setting most likely to have been composed immediately prior to Purcell's 'Jehova quam', Bowman's 'Cantate Jehovae' is likely to date from *c*. 1676.  This motet, with both textual and contextual connections to Silas Taylor's 'Cantate Jehovae' (*c*. early 1650s) as shown in Chapter 5, immediately follows Bowman's 'Tribularer ego' in *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 19, dated '15 Novem 1676'.

[2] For full details, please see: Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 84-125.

[3] For manuscript details, please see *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*, June 7th 2005, accessed September 25th 2021: http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+628; and Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 100-103.

scorebook of domestic music, with sixteen sacred-vocal settings in the vocal section (twelve English-texted, three complete Latin works, and an initial 11 bars of 'Domine non est exaltum cor meum'), scored for three to five voices with continuo, copied from one end, folios 3 to 29v; and instrumental fantasias, In Nomines and sonatas copied from the other, folios 72v to 30, reversed. Blow's score features three Latin works from Purcell's autograph, alongside six of his own English-texted together with those of other Chapel Royal musicians, Purcell and Humfrey. 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei' is the most extended, dramatic and Italianate of Purcell's five-surviving Latin motets and *concertato* work: scored for five voices and continuo, featuring a typically Italianate vocal texture of CCATB used, for example, by Carissimi, Rovetta and others. Carissimi's five-part 'Annunciate Gentes', with continuo, in Lowe's Oxford manuscripts, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 12-19, also features parts for two violins, though Lowe's copy of Rovetta's similarly textured 'Laudate Pueri', *Och* Mus. 1178, does not include the two violins from Rovetta's printed edition of 1626. Purcell's vocal textures and compositional dimensions are also akin to Blow's 'Salvator Mundi' and even Lowe's 'Quam dulcis es', though without the two violins featured in the latter.

Purcell's 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei', catalogued by Zimmerman as Z 135,[4] has often appeared to be somewhat enigmatic in musicological studies, and has received remarkably slim attention in general, not least given its frequently acknowledged and highly acclaimed compositional and expressive qualities, and presence even on present-day music lists of cathedrals and chapels, alongside concert programmes and commercial recordings.[5] This may be due partly to the perhaps natural bias of secondary literature towards discussion of Purcell's liturgical music, and its place within native liturgical traditions, given the notable quantity and quality of such music within Purcell's oeuvre, and its role within Chapel Royal repertories, for example. 'Jehova quam' is nonetheless acknowledged as 'domestic', non-liturgical and

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[4] Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell, 1659-1695; an analytical catalogue of his music* (London, Macmillan; New York, St. Martin's Press, 1963), 83-84. Zimmerman incorrectly states the Latin to be from the Vulgate translation, 83.

[5] Purcell's motet receives only fleeting discussion, for example, by Eric Van Tassel in *The Purcell Companion* of 1995 due to the affirmed liturgical nature and focus of his extended chapter, 'Music for the Church'; a brief notated example is given of bars 39-46, highlighting the dramatic nature of Purcell's declamatory writing. See, *The Purcell Companion*, ed. Michael Burden (London: Faber and Faber, 1995): 173-174, and 169. Single, brief-paragraph mention of the motet is made by Martin Adams, who notes Purcell's 'music of extraordinary intensity and drama, and which shows a remarkable sensitivity to textual nuance.', in *Henry Purcell: The Origins and Development of his Musical Style* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), 185.

soloistic. Eric Van Tassel, for example, in *The Purcell Companion*, labels the work and Purcell's other Latin-texted sacred settings as 'sacred madrigals with continuo'.[6]

Purcell's use of Latin has contributed to contextual uncertainties, perhaps, and the work has occasionally been assumed to have been composed for the Catholic Chapel of Queen Catherine of Braganza, with an adapted Vulgate text. Crucially, Zimmermans's *Henry Purcell: His Life and Times*, however, highlighted the surrounding contexts of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis, with key reference to satiric poetical work by Dryden to be addressed below, though without discussion of Purcell's very particular use of Tremellius.[7] Recent work by Robert Fraser has acknowledged Purcell's use of Tremellius, but without realising the composer's textual additions, or the full implications and broader musical contexts of this translation of Genevan-Calvinist origin, discussed in detail above in relation to the work of Theodore Beza and the settings highlighted in seventeenth-century England.[8] Purcell's very particular use of Psalm 3 will be seen to speak strongly to the political and creative contexts, including allegorical poetry by Dryden, as outlined by Zimmerman, and to suggest evidence of embedded royalist function, within broader perspectives of Stuart biblical appropriations and Tremellius-Junius-Beza use in English *concertato* motets. Purcell's motet is the sole-surviving setting of Psalm 3 with Tremellius text, although a post-Restoration solo-voice setting of this psalm, with Vulgate text, survives by Claude Desgranges (*d.* 1692), a member of Charles II's 'French Musick'. Purcell's setting is certainly the later of the two, *c.* 1679, with the Desgranges written before Blow was awarded his Lambeth Doctorate in 1677 as, within *Och* Mus. 350, Blow is entitled 'Mr' in works following on a little from the Desgranges; two of Blow's four English-texted secular settings which conclude the manuscript entitle him 'Dr'. Though it cannot be said whether Purcell knew Desgranges's work, the Vulgate setting will be addressed before discussing 'Jehova quam multi sunt', providing wider musical context to Purcell's work, and enabling its distinctive additions to be shown.

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[6] Van Tassel, 'Music for the Church', 105 and 108.

[7] Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell: His Life and Times*. Second, revised edition (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983): Chapter 5, 'Music and Restoration Politics', 54, following.

[8] Robert Fraser, *Literature, Music and Cosmopolitanism: Culture as Migration* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Chapter 7, 'Cultural Migration as Protestant Nostalgia: (3) Purcell, the Popish Plot and Politics of Latin', 85 to 96. Fraser provides engaging and useful perspectives on Purcell's 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei' and use of Tremellius in relation to the wholly fictitious, but widely spread, Popish Plot of 1678 onwards.

To develop the Oxford-Court contexts and networks outlined for Child's motets in Chapters 2 and 3, *Och* Mus. 350 is the sole-surviving source for a setting of 'Domine quid multiplicati sunt', by Desgranges, a professional singer with bass voice.[9] Desgranges spent more than twenty-five years of his later career in England as a court musician, from the early 1660s: established formally as a musician 'in ordinary' to Charles II on October 19th, 1663, alongside five French musicians, Ferdinand de Florence, Elenor Guigant, Nicolas Fleury (haute-contre voice and theorbist), Guillaume Sautre and Jean de la Volée (composer and harpsichordist).[10] The quadrilingual manuscript, *Och* Mus. 350, features predominantly solo vocal music, secular and sacred with continuo, in the hand of Lowe's successor as Heather Professor, Richard Goodson Sr (1655-1718), and is rich in court-connected and 'translated' international repertories. In further connection to Child's musical networks, as outlined in Chapter 1, Goodson Sr also copied Child's 'O bone Jesu' in *Lbl* Add. MS 33,235, a scorebook of sacred and secular music by English and Italian composers which also included scribal work of William Husbands, son of key Child scribe, Husbands Sr.[11] In Goodson Sr's manuscript, *Och* Mus. 350, alongside works by Carissimi, Graziani, Lully and Rossi, are those of Chapel Royal composers including Blow and Henry Purcell, alongside John Banister's settings of words by royalist poet Katherine Philips from *Pompey* (1663), highly resonant to events of the Stuart monarchy from 1649 to the Restoration: Banister's incidental music for Philips's translation from the French of tragedian Pierre Corneille's *La Mort de Pompée* (1643). Significant within Goodson's manuscript, also, are rare primary-sources for works by members of Charles II's domestic vocal-ensembles, the Italian Music and the French Music: Vincenzo Albrici, taught by Carissimi for five years, and Claude Desgranges, respectively, including two psalms set as *petits motets* by the French musician.

Recent scholarship by Andrew Walkling has also outlined evidence for Desgranges's long-term Court employment from 1663 to 1689.[12] Desgranges is known to have acted in John Crowne's highly lavish and regal masque, *Calisto*, in 1675, and to have left the country briefly with family in May 1679, at the height of the great challenges of the Popish Plot and Exclusion

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[9] Contemporary references to 'Desgranges' vary in style. He is styled 'Desgranges' in *Och* Mus. 350.
See *A Biographical Dictionary of Court Musicians*, ed. Ashbee and Lasocki, Volume 1, 506-507.
[10] *Records of English Court Music*, Volume 1, ed. Andrew Ashbee (Snodland, Ashbee: 1986), 221.
[11] See Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 264-267.
[12] Andrew Walkling, *Masque and Opera in England, 1656-1688*, Ashgate Interdisciplinary Studies in Opera (London & New York: Routledge, 2017), 270-273.

Crisis: discussed below. Desgranges later sang as one of the ten 'Gregorians' with the Catholic chapel of James II (*r.* 1685-1688), a role which included two extended visits to Windsor in 1687, where he may likely have encountered William Child.[13]

To address Desgranges's use of Latin in 'Domine quid multiplicati sunt', whilst in general seventeenth-century Vulgate settings by Italian and English composers alike tend to set their texts 'as given', in comparison to the flexibility noted above for the English Tremellius settings, Desgranges makes a single, but notable, adjustment. This is akin to Child, also, through the latter's addition of the single word 'Sion' ('Jerusalem'), emblematic of Stuart London and the Court, in the 5-voice Vulgate setting of verses from *Lamentations*, 'Plange Sion' ('Lament Sion'). It may be significant that Desgranges's sole adjustment changes narrative focus from 'his holy hill' to '*my* holy hill', as used in Psalm 2, and analogous to '*my* Zion / Sion' or '*my* Jerusalem'. Given the Court-significance of Jerusalem and Desgranges's very close musical connection to Charles II and regal circles through membership of the King's French Musick, I would like to suggest that Desgranges's change to the Vulgate serves to embed his solo motet in the direct presence or circles of the King: as if the soloist, perhaps a member of French Musick in original intention, was vocalising Charles II's presence or perspective, potentially even in the physical presence of the King himself, whether in London or during the Court visits to Oxford, as suggested by Peter Leech.[14] Desgranges's setting of 'de monte sancto meo' is given clear and punctuating musical presentation through its single occurrence to the end of a characterful phrase which 'paints' the psalmist's cry and God's presence on the mountain through scalic, stepwise ascent of a compound 2nd, with syllabic word setting, before brief descent to conclude with 'meo' (bb. 27-28): receiving an interrupted cadence (V-VI) in the passing key of C. The complete vocal phrase is punctuated by brief material for continuo alone on either side, a particular and recurring feature of the motet not seen in Desgranges's other surviving *petit motet*, the setting of Psalm 13 in the Vulgate, 'Usquequo Domine': a motet where Desgranges makes no text changes, and which may even be an intended companion of 'Domine quid multiplicati', given the musical and narrative-textual similarities, source and contextual links. This additional work shares many compositional techniques in common with

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[13] *Records of English Court Music*, Volume 1, ed. Ashbee and Lasocki, 507.

[14] Peter Leech, 'Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza', *Early Music* 29, No. 4 (2001), 577.

Desgranges's Psalm-3 setting, and similarly survives in *Och* Mus. 350, alongside its further Oxford source, *Lbl* Add. MS 31,460: in the hand of Bowman, whose own Tremellius setting, 'Cantate Jehovae', was discussed in Chapter 5. The brief and modulatory instrumental passage which immediately follows Desgranges's added 'meo' in 'Domine quid multiplicati sunt', as if a vocalisation of royal and courtly presence at the holy hill, Jerusalem even, gives clarity and presence to this word in a subtle and understated way. Transcriptions of Desgranges's two *petits motets* are provided in Volume Two.

Whilst Desgranges's setting of Psalm 3 was certainly written before Blow was awarded his doctorate in 1677, and undoubtedly has courtly domestic-devotional function, unfortunately it cannot be said exactly when it was written, or for what original purpose. Peter Leech, however, has suggested the motet's manuscript presence in Oxford is likely the result of direct contact with the composer, and he has highlighted the presence of the court, with musicians, in the city during the late summer of 1665, due to outbreak of plague in London.[15] To consider the originating circumstances of Purcell's setting of 'Jehova quam multi sunt', it appears that this later setting of the same psalm, however, resonates of highly challenging political and personal circumstances for Charles II, as suggested by Zimmerman. To affirm and develop Zimmerman's work, I would like to suggest, further, that Purcell's very particular use of Tremellius, to be seen, heightens the motet's political topicality. Particular domestic challenges for the king in the later 1670s were the Popish Plot conspiracy (1678-1681) and the Exclusion Crisis (1679-1681). The former was started by English priest Titus Oates (1649-1705), who alleged that Jesuits sought to assassinate Charles II and to crown his Roman Catholic brother, James (1633-1701), the Duke of York, who later ruled as King James II of England between 1685 and 1688 before the 'Glorious Revolution' put William and Mary on the throne, and saw James exiled to France. Oates made allegations against 43 religious orders, and 541 Jesuits in total, alongside Queen Catherine of Braganza and her doctor, and even Child's friend, co-beneficiary of the Earl Montagu's patronage, Samuel Pepys. The plot created immense troubles for the king and court, and for Roman Catholics, and saw the execution of fifteen innocent men before events turned in August 1681, when Oates was sentenced for sedition, fined and imprisoned; Oates was later imprisoned for life by King James II.[16]

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[15] Leech, 'Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza', 577.
[16] For concise overview of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis, see Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age* (London: Longman, 1980), 281-290.

Related to the plot, and specifically to anxieties about the Stuart monarchic succession with fears of another civil war, was the Exclusion Crisis (1679-1681): galvanised from May, 1679, when a parliamentary faction brought a bill before the House of Commons, with the intention of excluding James from the royal succession.[17] The parliamentary group was led by the Earl of Shaftesbury (Anthony Cooper) and Charles II's illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth (James Scott).  Three Exclusion bills aimed to exclude James from the thrones of England, Scotland and Ireland, though no laws were passed.  Two political parties were formed, however: the pro-succession Tories, and their rivals, the Whigs, who opposed absolute monarchy.  As Walkling has shown, the exclusionist Monmouth had earlier performed alongside Desgranges in *Calisto* of 1674 and indeed, both Monmouth and Shaftesbury are featured in *Absalom and Achitophel*: the anti-Whig satirical poem by John Dryden, Poet Laureate and Historiographer Royal, first published in November, 1681, and addressed below.[18]  Dryden provided the allegorical libretto for the opera by Louis Grabu (*fl.* 1665-1694) produced in June 1685, *Albion and Albanius*, the very protagonist of which, even, was Charles II and the historical events of his reign, including the Exclusion Crisis, depicted in Act II.[19]  Dryden was also a highly accomplished translator, as Katherine Philips, and a theorist of translation.[20]

Engagingly and rightly, Fraser comments on the broad contextual location of 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei' within these circumstances, and his succinct elucidation of the motet's broad themes of cultural and linguistic translation certainly affirm the discussions of previous chapters above, which relate these themes more widely and broadly even to the motet genre as

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[17] Tim Harris has highlighted scholarly debates surrounding the Exclusion Crisis, and its complexities, in *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (London: Allen Land, published by Penguin Books, 2005), 136-202.  Harris emphasises how the Crisis 'was not about one thing, but about several interrelated anxieties, all centring around the fear of popery and arbitrary government', including Charles's style of government in Scotland and Ireland, alongside England, and also the international dimension of France under Louis XIV: p. 139.

[18] See, for example, Michael J. Conlon, 'The Passage on Government in Dryden's "Absalom and Achitophel" ', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 78, no. 1 (1979): 19. Conlon states how Dryden wanted to reach both moderate Tories and Whigs.

[19] Recent scholarship by Bryan White has addressed the complexities, challenges, and creative results of the working relationship between Grabu, 'aiming at French-style practice, and Dryden, disparaging of French poetry for music and implicitly Quinault's practice': 'Lost in Translation? Louis Grabu and John Dryden's *Albion and Albanius*', in *Musical Exchange between Britain and Europe, 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Peter Holman*, ed. Bryan White and John Cunningham, Music in Britain, 1600-2000 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2020), 193.  White addresses the close connection between Grabu and Lully in their approach to recitative, highlighted in analysis of the very Act and scene dramatizing the Exclusion Crisis, Act II, scene ii, 193-204.

[20] See, for example, Dryden's preface to *Ovid's Epistles Translated by Several Hands* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1680): i-xix (unnumbered).  Dryden outlines three 'heads' of translation: Metaphrase, Paraphrase or 'Translation with Latitude', and Imitation, x-xi.

a whole in seventeenth-century England.  Fraser usefully describes the work as 'a history of multiple migrancy: physical, linguistic, theological, cultural and even textual',[21] and 'a vocal expression of loyalty to the king at a time when he was beset by pressures on all sides'.[22] However, Fraser suggests the work to have been suitable potentially for Westminster Abbey or the Catholic chapel of Catherine of Braganza.  These venues and contexts are wholly unlikely, given the soloistic domestic-devotional, non-liturgical / para-liturgical nature of the work, its musical style and sources and, not least concerning Roman Catholic worship, the adapted Tremellius text.  As discussed above, use of this translation would have fully excluded the work from any such liturgical use, whether a chapel of the Queen or within a London embassy of a Catholic country.  However, and following discussion in Chapter 2 of the Lutes, Voices and Viols in relation to Child's motets and the source, *Ge* R.d.3/1, it is clear that Purcell's work would thoroughly fit within royal domestic contexts for monarchs and courtiers, whether performed by such musicians as Henry Cooke and soloist colleagues, with Chapel Royal choristers, or members of the French Musick itself including Desgranges, or even flexible combinations of such royal or royal-connected musical employees.

Study of Purcell's use of Tremellius's translation of Psalm 3, notably a text expressing a significant time of personal trial for the biblical King David, demonstrates fourteen changes to Tremellius's original words or phrases. Particular details of emphasis which will be seen to align with previous Tremellius adjustments already noted: including Child's text additions to 'Cantate Jehovae', outlined in Chapter 5, which emphasise this royal psalm's themes of kingship, including associated instruments and performers.  Purcell's Latin is given in Table 7.1.  Bold words highlight the changes to Latin, with original words being given in square brackets. Brackets are also used to highlight additions or omissions to source Latin.

**TABLE 7.1** Purcell's Psalm-3 text, Tremellius, altered (Primary source: autograph, *Lbl* Add. MS 30930)

| | |
|---|---|
| Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei; | Lord, how many are my enemies, |
| Quam multi **insurgunt** [insurgentes] contra me! | how many rise up against me. |
| Quam multi **dicunt** [dicentes] de anima mea, | How many say of my soul |
| Non est ulla salus isti in Deo **plane** ['plane' *added*]. | there is no help in God **utterly**. |

[21] Fraser, *Literature, Music and Cosmopolitanism*, 92.
[22] *Ibid.*, 94.

**Ad** [At] tu, Jehova, **clypeus** [scutum] es circa me;

gloria mea et extollens caput meum.

Voce mea ad Jehovam clamanti,
respondit mihi e monte sanctitatis
suae **maxime** ['maxime' *added*].

Ego cubui et dormivi;
**ego** ['ego' added] **experfeci me** [experrectus sum]
quia Jehova **sustentat** [sustentabat] me.

Non timebo a myriadibus populi;
**quas circum disposuerint metatores**
[quae circumstantes posuerint castra]
contra me.

Surge, Jehova, fac **salvum** [serva]
me Deus mi,
qui percussisti omnes inimicos meos,
['ad' *omitted*] **maxilliam** [maxilla],
dentes improborum confregisti.
Jehova **est** [ipsa] salus; super populum tuum
sit benedictio tua **maxime** ['maxime' *added*].

But you, Lord, are the **valiant shield**;
around me;
my glory and raiser up of my head.

With my voice I cry to the Lord,
he replied to me from his holy hill
**most great**.

I lied down and slept;
**I** woke up again.
For the Lord sustained me.

I will not fear ten-thousand people;
that have marked themselves around

against me.

Arise, Lord, and help
me, my God
for you strike all my enemies
**greatly**
And have broken the teeth of the wicked.
The Lord is salvation, and on your people
be your blessing **most great**.

Purcell, then, can be seen to treat his Tremellius text with greater freedom and flexibility than Desgranges in his Vulgate setting referenced above, with single text change seen in the latter's solo motet likely copied in or before 1677. Some of Purcell's changes are certainly slight, and perhaps indicate the composer's preference of idiom and style: for example, 'insurgentes' for 'insurgent' and 'dicunt' for dicentes'. However, it is significantly notable that Purcell's three additions to Tremellius increase the contrast between the psalm's afflicted David and his enemies, and emphatically heighten the nature and strength of God's protection for the biblical king, a king already noted as an emblem and 'forebear' for Charles I, appropriated by Stuart royalists, outlined in Chapters 3 and 5: including the literary contexts and uses of *Psalterium Carolinum*, set to music by John Wilson.

Purcell's three text additions, repeated across varied choral textures and functioning as emphatic adverbs and adjectives, receive cumulative, climactic and full-textured, cadential

treatment at the end of pivotal sections. These are Purcell's words 'plane' ('utterly', bars 20-21), and 'maxime' ('most great', bars 51-52, with similar text addition at the motet's conclusion, bars 130-131). In Purcell's setting, the use of climactic perfect cadences for these added words, alongside use of immediate compositional contrasts, contributes to their firm tonal and structural emphasis, as outlined in Table 7.2.

**TABLE 7.2** structural location and tonal outline for Purcell's added words of emphasis

| Added word | Bar numbers | Cadence | Structural location / use |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'plane' ('utterly') | 20-21 | V-I, A minor | initial 5-part choral climax, followed by tenor solo (b.22) |
| 'maxime' ('most great') | 51-52 | V-I, D minor, with *tierce de Picardie* | second 5-part choral climax, followed by 3rd-related tonal shift to Bb major, with lower tessitura for music of 'rest' and 'sleep' |
| 'maxime' ('most great') | 130-131 | V-I, A minor | third 5-part choral climax, ending the motet and its final, imitative section. |

It is notable that Purcell's addition of the highly emphatic 'plane' ('utterly'), is used to heighten the description of God's lack of help in the eyes of the psalmist's enemies, thereby emphasising their distance from the narrator and depicting the 'godless' nature of their enmity for King David, with sheer contrast of perspective and actions. Characterfully also, Purcell replaces Tremellius's shield of protection in the psalm, the rectangular ancient-Roman 'scutum', symbol of divine help for the psalmist, with the earliest-known and long-lived shield, the 'clypeus'. This was a highly effective and portable round or oval iron-framed shield, which also acquired an honorific function of homage and dedication: including use on coins and iconography to mark significant events.[23] Furthermore, in relation to David, the psalmist and credited author of Psalm 3, both Tremellius and the Vulgate use 'clypeus' as the 'shield of heroes' in the Second Book of Samuel, chapter 1, verse 21. David himself used the words, translated

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[23] For a concise summary of such armour, with historical and historiographical overview, please see recent work of Archaeologist, M. C. Bishop, *Roman Shields* (Oxford: Osprey, Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2020), 4-6. Concerning use of the clypeus to mark significant sacred events of antiquity, Bishop references the frieze on Trajan's Column in Rome, Scene LXVIII, featuring the goddess Victoria dedicating a clypeus to Emperor Trajan (ruled AD 98-117), *c.* 103, between the two Dacian Wars, 6.

respectively as 'clypeus robustorum' (Tremellius) and 'clypeus fortium' (Vulgate), to describe the protection and armour of Saul, the first King of Israel, and his eldest son Jonathan, close friend of David. The words occur in David's heartfelt poetic elegy to the two men: sung on hearing news of their tragic deaths just before he was anointed Saul's successor as King of Israel (Second Book of Samuel, chapter 2, verse 4). In 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei', a motet written in challenging times, Purcell's added ancient shield, with particular heroic, biblical, and regal resonances, is given characterful expressive clarity in bars 23 and 25 through the tenor soloist's syllabic declamation, featuring repetition of pitch and motif. Purcell provides a 'colourful' melodic descent of a minor seventh to articulate the repetition of 'clypeus' on the tenor's quaver *f-sharps*: creating melodic and harmonic tension through tritone relationship to the continuo's simultaneous *c* semibreve in bar 25, resolved in bar 26. This bar concludes on a settling E-major chord, the motet's overarching 'dominant', and chord of the following bars' new material: the tenor's triadic 'Gloria mea', expressing God's protection.

The overall effect of such text changes, and Purcell's compositional techniques and structuring for the added words of emphasis in particular, serves to highlight the strength of comfort offered to David and to the afflicted, and the 'utterly' ('plane') contrasting stance of his enemies. In light of previous discussion of Child's Beza-texted 'Jerusalem' motets, and the significance of Jerusalem / Sion as an emblem of London and the Stuart court in seventeenth-century England, it is highly notable also the added 'maxime' of bars 51-52 is used to describe God's 'holy hill'. This references and emphasises Mount Zion from which Jerusalem, the City of David, took its synonym, 'Sion': the name added by Child to his Vulgate text for 'Plange Sion'. Purcell thereby heightens the psalmist's and translator's expression of the very presence and location at Mount Zion of the biblical Yahweh, the 'Jehova' of Tremellius and Purcell, Dering, Child, Christopher Gibbons and Bowman. This location featured in the Book Of Psalms, including the reference to David's coronation in the psalm immediately preceding that of 'Jehova quam', Psalm 2, verse 6, (*KJV* of 1611, 'Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion.') and across the Old Testament.

In light of Shay and Thompson's work on Purcell's autograph *Lbl* Add. MS 30930, demonstrating that internal evidence of the manuscript suggests copying before binding, *c.* 1680 (the year inscribed on the manuscript's flyleaf), 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei' appears to have been composed highly proximate to the time when the Duke of Monmouth was

seen as a potential alternative to the king's brother, James, as successor to the throne.[24]  In words of Tim Harris, 'Although the idea of excluding the Catholic Duke of York from the succession was not to be formally promoted in the Commons until the spring of 1679, Londoners were already beginning to think of Monmouth as a possible protestant successor in the autumn of 1678.'[25]  Monmouth was an accomplished and charismatic military leader, a commander of English troops at home and overseas, who had been appointed 'captain-general of all the land forces in England, Wales and Berwick' in April 1678.[26]  In this way, and to affirm Zimmerman's contextual discussion, Purcell's motet can be suggested to be a domestic-devotional musical expression of a psalm where the biblical author, King David, can be read as Charles II, and Absalom as the Stuart king's illegitimate son, James Scott, 1st Duke of Monmouth.[27]  Harris, further, highlights the political volatility of these months being 'brought to a head' when Charles fell ill on August 11th, 1679, and appeared close to death at this time when the king had prorogued Parliament (May 1679) to prevent it passing the Exclusion Bill against James.[28]  The king recovered, though these months were also characterised by a general election (August-September 1679).  The next Parliament was called in July, 1679, but did not meet until October 1680.

Indeed, and as noted by Zimmerman, the narrative world of *Absalom and Achitophel* is that of King David at the time of his own succession crisis, when his third son, Absalom, was seeking to acquire his throne by force and rise forces against his father.  Notably, Charles II always insisted on the right of his Catholic brother, James, to succeed the throne.[29]  Psalm 3 expresses David's heartfelt lament and prayer to God at a time of monarchic rebellion, which is narrated graphically in the biblical book of Second Samuel, Chapters 14 to 18.  Indeed, the psalm is the first in the psalter to incorporate a title: 'A Psalm of David, When he fled from Absalom his son'.[30]  Tellingly, it appears that Charles II himself commissioned the anti-exclusionist poem which included these biblical protagonists, *Absalom and Achitophel*. The poem was printed

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[24] Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 88-100.

[25] Tim Harris, 'Scott [*formerly* Crofts], James, duke of Monmouth and first duke of Buccleuch, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online, 8 October 2009, accessed February 5th, 2023: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:24879.

[26] *Ibid*.

[27] Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell: His Life and Times*, 64-65.

[28] Harris, 'Scott [*formerly* Crofts]' (see footnote 26, above, for online details).

[29] Coward, *The Stuart Age*, 288.

[30] KJV, 1611. The Vulgate title, preceding Desgranges's text, gives 'Psalmus David cum fugerent a facie Absalom filii sui.'  Purcell's Tremellius words are preceded by 'Psalmus Davidis cum fugeret metu Abschalomi filii sui.', labelled as the first verse. Tremellius's introductory words also highlight David's heavy affliction at the situation, 'David de gravitate afflictionum conquerens'.

anonymously, though contemporaries certainly knew the author's identity, as well as being able to identify the poem's 41 allegorical characters and locations, including: Absalom (Monmouth), Achitophel (Shaftesbury), Corah (Titus Oates) and Sion (London / the Court).[31] The previous chapters have addressed use of Davidic and biblical themes by Charles I and mid-century royalists, and traditions of psalmic appropriation by the Stuarts, including the royalist use of 'Sion'. Charles II's commission, and Dryden's use of Absalom to characterise the king's rebellious and exclusionist son, Monmouth, alongside related characters, do not seem surprising, therefore, and can be said to affirm significantly the highly topical monarchic themes, narrative associations and creative purposes, behind Purcell's earlier motet, with emphatic additions firmly articulated by perfect cadences at significant structural points.

Dryden's rich and imaginative poem is concerned with the central role and position of the monarchy in the political constitution, described as 'ancient fabrics' (line 801), within the poem's important 'passage on government' (lines 755-810).[32]   Indeed, music itself is thematised and plays a 'stately' role: musical images such as the harp are used to express and uphold long-standing metaphors of state 'harmony' (lines 196-197, 439-440), following long-emblematic traditions, where the harp represents the state and the harpist, the King: seen, for example, in Henry Peacham Sr.'s emblem book, *Minerva Brittana* (London: W. Dight, 1612).[33] The harp, played by King David, also featured in the frontispiece of Playford's second set of *Cantica Sacra* (London, 1674), dedicated to Charles II. Dryden's satire, in two parts, and has been shown to be influenced structurally and thematically, and in critical relation, by epic poetry by Cromwell's Commonwealth Latin Secretary, John Milton, *Paradise Lost* and *Samson Agonistes*, in addition to French political drama and the structural use 'anti-masque': juxtaposing 'chaos' (lines 1-753) against the ideal of 'order' (lines 754 to the end, line 1031).[34]

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[31] Leonora Leet Brodwin, 'Miltonic Allusion in "Absalom and Achitophel": Its Function in the Political Satire', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 68, no. 1 (1969): 25. Leet Brodwin here references how the poem's publisher, Tonson, stated Charles II's role in the preface to the 1716 edition of the poem's second part.

[32] See Conlon, 'The Passage on Government', 17 and 30. Lines 801-805 affirm the necessity of upholding and sustaining the inherited monarchy, 'divinely' ordained and constituted, 'If ancient fabrics nod, and threat to fall, / To patch the flaws, and buttress up the wall, / Thus far 'tis duty: but fix the mark; / For all beyond is to touch our ark.' The ark here is the Ark of the Covenant, brought Mount Zion, Jerusalem, by King David himself (2 Samuel, Chapter 6).

[33] George R. Levine, 'Dryden's "Inarticulate Poesy": Music and the Davidic King in Absalom and Achitophel' *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 1, no. 4 (1969): 305 and 293.

[34] Leet Brodwin, 'Miltonic Allusion: see 30 for the outline of the anti-masque thesis, and 31-33 for the 6-part structure of the 'chaos' section directly alluding to Milton's *Paradise Lost*, therefore suggesting the location of the poem's first part as hell itself.

In parallel fashion, perhaps, Purcell's Psalm-3 setting juxtaposes and balances thematic opposites in domestic-devotional musical form prior to Dryden's more public, literary, expression published later, in 1681: feelings of helplessness in attack, and strength in divine support, with strong articulation of a mid-point 'turn', initiated by the bass solo's strong advocation not to fear even monarchic rebellion, 'Non timebo' (bar 67). Purcell's work cannot be said to articulate the psalm's complex parallelisms and chiastic-poetic structure, although a clear mid-point axis is articulated by the 'subdued' texture, harmonies and choral homophony of bars 53 to 58. This provides a central passage of sleep, rising and divine sustenance, as if preparing for and initiating the dramatic and triadic setting of the bass solo which will follow the words: 'Ego cubui et dormivi, ego expergefeci me quia Jehova sustentat me.' Purcell's Tremellius additions can be said to heighten the effect of his wide-ranging and highly expressive compositional devices.

Dryden even describes God affirming the monarch's words and vindicating him, 'The Almighty, nodding, gave consent.' (line 1026). In the words of Leon Guilhamet, the King 'orders the ideological landscape of the poem', as indeed, perhaps, the Stuart monarchs ordered their courts, creative-artistic and musical domains, public and private.[35] Matthew Jenkinson has noted the sophisticated and astutely restrained nature of Dryden's poetic themes, with the poet resting his arguments 'both on the divinity and political pragmatism of kingship' to produce 'the most accomplished example of court propaganda during the period'.[36] In similar fashion, perhaps, 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei', a creative precursor to *Absalom and Achitophel* narratively and thematically, with parallels of royalist authorship and function, has been described by Zimmerman: 'this motet stands as one of the most dramatic compositions of Purcell's entire career.'[37] The years of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis were undoubtedly dramatic and turbulent for Charles II, and also for Desgranges even, member of the king's French Musick, who was exiled in May 1679.[38] Purcell's Tremellius setting can certainly be read as a powerful and intense musical expression of affirmation and solace to Charles II, and it is not unfeasible, perhaps, that Desgranges's own setting of the same text in Vulgate version,

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[35] Leon M. Guilhamet, 'Dryden's Debasement of Scripture in Absalom and Achitophel', *Studies in English Literature*, 1500-1900, Vol. 9, no. 3, Restoration and Eighteenth Century (1969), 408.

[36] Matthew Jenkinson, *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 169.

[37] Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell*, 65.

[38] Ashbee, *A Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. I, 506-507; by March 1681, Desgranges had returned, with Court position as 'Musician in Ordinary'.

surviving uniquely in the hand of Goodson Sr in *Och* Mus. 350, could have resonated such themes and meaning for supporters of the king, and those close to him, from *c*. 1679 onwards.

Purcell's creative, expressive and dramatic setting of Tremellius's Latin, with three notable and significant additions can be said to heighten the psalm's text, themes and presentation, and thoroughly embed its purpose and function, and of Psalm 3 itself, within very particular social contexts of the late-1670s as experienced by Court musicians. To develop Fraser's comments, I would even like to suggest that 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei' appears more than just an expression of loyalty to Charles II: it may, further, have been intended as a work directly for royal hearing by the king, known to have commissioned Dryden's later allegorical poem featuring the themes, characters, and narrative impetus of Psalm 3.

In this light, Purcell's highly expressive work, featuring accomplished ensemble and solo writing, rich textural variety, and emphatic additions to Tremellius's Latin, can be seen as a heartfelt 'chamber'-musical, *da camera*, solace and homage to the king and to the beleaguered Oates-accused Queen. In terms of such potential solace for the king and supporters, the bass soloist's fundamental words of strength, 'non timebo' ('I will not fear'), following the central and pivotal passage of rest, sleep and divine sustenance (bars 53-66), can be seen as crucial to the work's consolatory purpose. Whilst the tenor soloist had previously affirmed Tremellius-characteristic 'Jehova' as the narrator's 'valiant shield' (bars 22-26), here the bass soloist, as King David or Charles II, even, renounces fear (bar 67) and emphatically entreats Jehova to 'arise' ('*surge*', bars 73-84): featuring melodic writing outlining triadic shapes, text repetition, and ascending harmonic movement. Confirming or conclusive evidence for the motet and its initial purposes and function, though, does not survive. Further sources of the work, potentially manuscript parts or part-books, may even have been destroyed in the Whitehall fire of 1698: potentially also alongside sources for Latin motets by Child and others, akin to the uniquely surviving and royal-resonant *Ge* R.d.3/1 discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to the Lutes, Viols and Voices, Queen Henrietta Maria, and Court-Oxford musical networks.

Purcell then, alongside Dryden after him, can be said to contribute to broad networks and long-standing traditions of literary and cultural translation, whereby biblical and ancient-historical narratives, themes and characters, alongside international compositional repertories and stylistic idioms, are appropriated within Stuart courtly culture. In parallel with Child and Jeffreys, whose *concertato* settings of Beza's Latin were seen in Chapter 6 to express themes

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and narratives resonant of the turbulent monarchic situation before the Commonwealth, Purcell may be said to use, and amplify even, Tremellius's translation of Psalm 3 to express very particular challenges to Charles II in the late 1670s. The survival of Blow's copy of 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei' in Christ Church Library (*Och* Mus. 628, with provenance in the Aldrich bequest of 1710), furthermore, can be seen to affirm the strength and continuity of the Court-Oxford repertorial axis addressed in Chapters 2 and 3.

**Conclusions**

Having surveyed Child's motets in relation to their key surrounding contexts, musical, textual, and institutional, it can be said that contextual study of Child's Latin works has shown his 'Italian Way' in new light. Child's accomplished use of *concertato* idioms has been seen to work, and partner, with distinctive Latin texts, and to feature in musical sources and performance contexts previously unacknowledged in secondary literature. Locating Child's *concertato* works alongside other motets with related texts and translation sources, has demonstrated distinctive court-cultural characteristics of his own *concertato* settings and, more widely, of trends in the composition, and assimilation, of such motets in seventeenth-century England. The broad facilitating role of Stuart monarchs and Queen Henrietta Maria and been affirmed, also, and the centrality of networks of musicians and Oxford's Music School, including scribes, in enabling the genre to flourish from *c.* 1625, and in highly challenging circumstances, including Civil Wars, and religious-political vicissitudes of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis. Charles Husbands Sr, notably scribe of international royal-dedicated repertories, including Habsburg motets by Sances and Bourbon *airs de cour* by Moulinié, has been shown for the first time to be the primary hand of Child's motets, alongside integral contributions of Lowe within *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37: sources discussed in relation to the collaborative and gift-giving contexts and musical traditions of Oxford's Music School, and the Heather Professorship. In this way, discussion of the *concertato* compositional work of Child, together with, and in relation to, the Court-cultural scribal, performance and facilitating work of his colleagues Husbands Sr and Lowe, has enabled Child's Latin motets to be seen within dynamic institutional contexts and traditions, and creative, personal-professional, musical networks. Child's works have provided a fruitful lens through which to view the particular translation, incorporation, and assimilation of Italianate compositional idioms and distinctive Latin texts, from the high-Christological devotional prayer attributed to Franciscan, St. Bernardino, 'O bone Jesu', associated with Queen Henrietta Maria, and Latin texts from the sixteenth-century biblical translations of Imanuelle Tremellius, Franciscus Junius, and Theodore Beza, originating in Calvinist Geneva.

In summary of the initial research question on motet function, the motets by Child and colleagues have demonstrated their flexible, portable, and varied purpose as court-cultural domestic-devotional works, which would not have been sung in Anglican liturgical contexts; the latter point is pertinent, also, in relation to the mid-century religious-political circumstances

in England, when liturgical worship was forbidden. In relation, also, this thesis has demonstrated that settings of texts by Tremellius-Junius and Beza, would not have been sung in the chapels of Queens Henrietta Maria and Catherine of Braganza, those of the Roman Catholic King, James II even, or in London Embassies which had Roman Catholic chapels. Child's 'Ecce Panis', with Corpus Christi hymn-text by St. Thomas Aquinas, feasibly however, could have been sung in liturgical contexts associated with Henrietta Maria, for example. Discussion of Child's 'O bone Jesu' and 'Plange Sion' in relation to *Ge* R.d.3/1 has suggested and affirmed, equally, domestic-devotional use of these works in performance by musicians of the 'Lutes, Viols and Voices' within close proximity to Henrietta Maria.

Study of Child's stylistic idioms for his thirteen motets highlighted their assuredly Italianate idioms, though with highly personal, and perhaps more 'English' idioms, including the false relation and chromaticism, in counterpoint, for purposes of word painting, as featured in 'Plange Sion'. Child's skilful use of textural variety and contrast has been demonstrated, alongside aspects of vocal virtuosity, for solos and duets, in particular, alongside use of Italianate *trilli*. Such devices were highlighted at the service of distinctive texts. Discussion of Child's compositional devices in relation to those of Sances in his 1638 collection, dedicated to Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III, affirmed Child, in the words of Saunders, to be a 'third-generation' composer of *concertato* motets, stylistically. Child, alongside Richard Dering, was also shown to be a pioneer composer working in the genre in seventeenth-century England.

Child's Tremellius-texted 'Cantate Jehovae', uniquely featuring instrumental *obbligato*, thoroughly idiomatic for cornett, was suggested to have potential dual, court-cultural, use in both Oxford and Windsor. Similarly, dual University-Court function for Rogers's 'Exultate Justi' was highlighted: Rogers's 1658 work for his BMus at the University of Cambridge, being performed, with instruments, subsequently at the Restoration banquet in London's Guildhall for Charles II. Discussion of Oxford sources, also, highlighted the very close associations of Child's 'O bone Jesu' and Bowman's varied settings of 'Cantate Jehovae' with the opening ceremonies of Oxford's Sheldonian Theatre in July 1669. This was the occasion, also, at which Rogers received his Oxford DMus, and for which he wrote his 8-part 'Laudate Dominum', surviving in the hand of subsequent Heather Professor, Philip Hayes, who later completed the work due to the poor state of his source. Child's 'O bone Jesu', then, may very well have had 'public', ceremonial use, in addition to 'private', domestic-devotional use. Indeed, contextual study of motets in relation to Oxford contexts affirmed the University's facilitation of motets

with distinctive instrumental accompaniment, as Child's 'Cantate Jehovae': the Italianate use of paired violins for Lowe's five-voice 'Quam dulcis es' (with parts, instrumental and vocal, copied by both Lowe and Bowman), and the doubling of the eight vocal lines by violin ensemble in the 'Gloria' of Rogers's 'Laudate Dominum' (for DMus presentation), both with repertorial associations to the opening ceremonies of the Sheldonian Theatre in July 1669. Discussion of the Oxford sources for Gibbons's 'Laudate Dominum' (CCAB, bc, and bass viol) and his DMus submissions of 1664, highlighted how motets were broadly 'framed' by string-consort music in public performance, demonstrating particular juxtaposition of 'secular' instrumental music and 'sacred' vocal music at Latin-language degree ceremonies in Oxford's University Church, prior to the opening of the Sheldonian Theatre.

Chapter 3 can be seen to have fully affirmed the motet-genre's place within the court-cultural traditions, circles, and materials, of Oxford's Music School and Heather Professorship, alongside related contexts of Christopher Hatton and Henry Aldrich, the latter who acquired much of Hatton's extensive library of Italian motet prints. Indeed, following Heather's 1626 repertorial bequest to the University, Oxford, was shown to be a highly significant locus for the acquisition and curation of motet materials from this time onwards: prints and manuscripts, the latter produced by scribes associated with Child's musical networks, including Husbands, Lowe, alongside Bowman, and Goodson I, for example. Such materials can be said to have provided a creative inspiration and seedbed for the performance and composition of motets by Child and colleagues. Oxford's facilitating and fostering contexts, and musical networks connected to the Heather Professorship, also enabled the practical use and survival of Child source, *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 32-37, alongside key sources for motets by Child's colleagues, including Christopher Gibbons, Lowe and Rogers.

The thesis has sought to demonstrate, for the first time, the distinctive texts, set in England which are perhaps emblematic of the genre's broad translation from Italy, acquiring and enabling new functions in new spaces. Study of motets by networks of text groupings, 'O bone Jesu', and those translated by Tremellius-Junius and Beza, has demonstrated the variety of potential uses and performance spaces for such works. Comprehensive contextual discussion has also presented *concertato* settings of Tremellius-Junius and Beza together for the first time, the latter newly seen to be a text source for such works: Latin biblical-translation with origins in sixteenth-century Calvinist Geneva. Study of the Tremellius-Junius settings enabled a range

of court-cultural functions and contexts to be discerned, as if a particular and fragmentary English *concertato*-motet 'tradition', alongside the prominent source presence of such works in Oxford. Discussion of the mid-century network of Beza settings by Child and Jeffreys, with texts of Jesus's lament over Jerusalem (Luke 19), were shown to be resonant of contexts of the late 1640s for Charles I who, himself, used the same text from St. Luke's Gospel within his testimony, *Eikon Basilike*. Indeed, it was suggested that Child's Beza-texted 'O si vel', with highly distinctive use of textual repetition in tandem with motivic variety, could be read as a musical 'icon' of the King, who was also 'commemorated' in the text of Child's 'Converte nos', the English translation of which formed a fundamental part of the Anglican church's commemoration of Charles the Martyr, following the Restoration. In parallel to the volatile political themes addressed in relation to Child's and Jeffreys's Beza settings, discussion of Purcell's 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei', with notable additions to Tremellius's Latin translation of Psalm 3, affirmed the motet's high topicality in relation to the turbulent political contexts facing the Stuart monarchy in 1679.

On the level of musical material, also, this thesis has demonstrated Child's particular use of melodic translation and *imitatio* of Grandi and Sabino from the solo-motet collection, *Ghirlanda Sacra*, published in Venice in 1625, alongside Child's emblematic reference to a motet by Byrd, and Aldrich's reference to Tallis, both *prima prattica*, in *concertato* works. Discussion of 'O bone Jesu' settings by Court colleagues, Child and Gibbons, highlighted aspects of *emulatio* in relation to Grandi's four-part setting, published in 1613, a work later featured by Playford as the 'coda' to his *Cantica Sacra* I, notably dedicated to Henrietta Maria. Discussion of the work highlighted the Franciscan authorship of the Bernardino text, in relation to the Confraternity of St. Francis founded by Henrietta Maria in London.

Child then, together with motet composers, scribes, and performers, has been presented here in relation to a wide range of musicians and enabling people from the 1630s onwards, names who have not been associated with his works in previous studies, names including: Latin translator, Theodore Beza, scribe and singer, Charles Husbands Sr, and chorister, James Clifford, presented alongside Child's closer connection to the musical circles and repertory of Henrietta Maria, as represented in *Ge* R.d.3/1, including *airs de cour* by Moulinié. Alongside composers including Dering, Jeffreys, Locke, Blow and Purcell, Child has been shown as a significant contributor to a distinctive tradition of motet composition in seventeenth-century England. This study then, with Child as a focal figure within a complex set of musical and

social networks, has demonstrated distinctive, cross-century, aspects of the translation of the motet genre across seeming categories and boundaries of institution, denomination, or musical 'category' in seventeenth-century England, including: *da chiesa* / *da camera*, Roman Catholic / Protestant, sacred / secular, court / city, and professional composer / amateur, the latter seen in the motets of Silas Taylor, and Henry Bowman, self-styled *Philo-Musicus*.[1]

The new findings and materials presented in both Volumes One and Two are intended to be useful to both scholars and performers. It is hoped the thesis will enable subsequent possibilities for research and performance, and the discovery of further compositional and contextual relationships between works akin to those between Child and Grandi, for example, demonstrated in Volume One. There is undoubtedly further motet-contextual work which calls to be done in relation to Oxford sources, not least in the study of motets which adapt, vary, or add to, both Vulgate and non-Biblical Latin texts: study which would develop the approach taken, above, to Tremellius-Junius-Beza settings, which were shown above to treat such Latin, typically, with greater text flexibility than Vulgate verses. Alongside Child's reordering of Aquinas text for his 'Ecce Panis', and notable addition of 'Sion' to his Vulgate text from *Lamentations*, 'Plange Sion', Oxford sources contain, for example, motets where Marian texts are adapted, including Dering's 'Laetamini cum Maria' (with alternative text, 'Laetamini cum Messia'), and 'O Maria', possibly by Dering (with alternative text, 'O Messia'), in *Och* Mus. 878-880, copied by Jeffreys, Bing, and an unknown scribe.[2] Similarly, Child's colleague, Lowe, changes the Marian-antiphon texts of 'Regina caeli laetare' (TT, bc) and 'Salve Regina' (ATB, bc) by Venetian composer, Natale Monferrato, a singer at the Basilica of St. Mark from 1642.[3] Lowe provides the text 'Laudate Dominum' (Vulgate psalm 116, with single, minor, adaption of 'in aeternam' to 'in sempiternum' in verse 2) for the former in *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. C. 15 alone (f. 16); for the latter antiphon, Lowe gives the text, 'Salve beate Jesu, salve Messia' across the parts in MSS C. 14-16. Both examples are within the set of partbooks featuring Italian motets, copied by Lowe, Goodson I and Goodson II, and associated with Oxford's Music School: *Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. C. 12-19. Scholarship by Mary Frandsen has addressed the

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[1] See Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 270 and footnote 10, concerning Bowman's collection of songs, including verses by Abraham Cowley, for *1, 2 & 3 Voyces*, accompanied by continuo, and published in Oxford in the later 1670s.

[2] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 309.

[3] *Ibid*., 309 & 311. For overview of Monferrato's biography and works, please see, Denis Arnold, 'Monferrato, Natale', *Oxford Music Online*, January 2001, accessed August 12th, 2022: https://doi.org/gmo/9781561592630.article.18950.

significant examples of this adaption of Marian texts in the assimilation of Italian motets in seventeenth-century Germany, and in context of Lutheran, Christocentric, devotional traditions and developments of personal piety, *Frömmigkeit*.[4]   Her work has highlighted such processes for Marion antiphons, especially 'Salve Regina', notably a text adapted by Lowe, in Lutheran sacred-music collections (1640-1680), and editions of Italian *concertato* motets by German church musician, composer and editor, Ambrosius Profe (1589-1661), in his six extensive anthologies, printed between 1641 and 1649.[5]   There may be yet further examples of 'de-Marianisation', to use Frandsen's term, by Oxford scribes or in other English motet sources, alongside different and varied approaches to the Vulgate.  Such study, also, could potentially compare any evident trends and functions of Latin adaption through 'transalpine' travel, institutional or otherwise, with those, for example, made by Profe in Breslau; similarly, an initial text-oriented focus on the collections of Erhard Bodensatz (1576-1636), the German composer and cleric, based at Groß-Osterhausen in Querfurt from 1608, may open-up further points of contact and comparison in the assimilation of Italian motets of the early seventeenth century.[6]

Through contextual discussion of Child source *Ge* R.d.3/1, and the musical circles of Henrietta Maria, this thesis has presented for the first time Oxford source, *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. D. 218, in relation to these same circles, highlighting the royal function of this silk-embossed anthology of *airs de cour*, with crowned image of the Queen, to whom Playford dedicated his seminal collection of Dering's *concertato* motets in England, *Cantica Sacra* I (1662), with its concluding 'O bone Jesu' by Grandi.  Significant contextual work could undoubtedly be undertaken on this mid-century manuscript source, its music, French texts including dedicatory sonnet, iconography, physical attributes, and functions.

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[4] Mary Frandsen, 'The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe (1589-1661) and Lutheran Spirituality', in *A Festschrift for Kerala J. Snyder*, ed. Joel Speerstra et al., GOArt Research Reports 4. Gothenburg, Sweden: Gothenburg University, accessed August 12th, 2022, https://gupea.ub.gu.se/handle/2077/54750, 7.

[5] *Ibid*., 34-37.

[6] Bodensatz's compilation, editing and publication, of the two-volume *Florilegium Portense* (Leipzig, 1618 and 1621), included 365 Latin-texted works by 58 composers, including Hans Leo Hassler, Luca Marenzio, Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli.  Notably, Lowe bequeathed a copy of the first volume of this collection to Oxford's Music School in 1682 (*Ob* MSS Mus. Sch. E. 475-483), alongside motets by Sances and Child. See, Crum, Early Lists', 31, with reference to this collection, entitled in the 1682 inventory, 'Latine songs by several Italian Authors for 5, 6, 7 & 8 Voices in Quarto covered with Blew Paper'.

This study of motets, and texts, from Child and Dering to Purcell, alongside the discovery of distinctive examples of *imitatio* and *emulatio*, has sought to provide new insights into the motet genre, its composers, and court-cultural contexts. In England, unique historical contributions to the genre can be said to be more evident through new and varied functions, texts and contexts, of these *concertato* works, than through any compositional innovation per se. In musicological context of recent scholarship of David J. Smith on the interconnected networks surrounding the keyboard music of Peter Philips, addressed in the Introduction, studying the theme of networks and processes of cultural translation, through Latin biblical translations and their settings, further demonstrates the fruitful nature of study through relationality: musical, textual, and social-contextual.

This approach has affirmed the unique creative contributions, of seventeenth-century England, to the reception history of the sixteenth-century Calvinist Latin bible, alongside distinctive network of 'O bone Jesu' *concertato* settings, after Grandi's four-part motet, published in Venice in 1613. This motet, through its various sources, was made accessible to varied 'audiences' across the century in England: from partbooks of court-cultural, potentially Roman Catholic-liturgical, use from the early years of the reign of Charles I and Henrietta Maria (*Lbl* Add 78,416B), alongside manuscripts associated with Oxford's Music School, including the personal partbooks (1637) of Thomas Smith, later Dean of Carlisle. Further, private-domestic, contexts were later facilitated by Playford, through his printed coda to *Cantica Sacra* I in 1662, including those of Child's co-recipient of patronage from the Earl of Montagu, Samuel Pepys. Indeed, Playford's 1662 motet publication, in royal dedication of sacred *concertato* works to Henrietta Maria, can be said to follow the trajectory of the wider, court-cultural, dissemination of *concertato* works through print, initiated by Child's 'Italian Way' psalms, dedicated to Charles I in 1639. The Latin work of Child and colleagues, including 'O bone Jesu' settings, alongside settings of the biblical translators, Tremellius, Junius and Beza, can be said to have provided a significant lens through which to study the dynamics of translation: on both the small-scale of compositional and textual material, style and idioms, and the wider contexts of migration of culture, ideas, and ideals, across post-Reformation Europe.

A fascinating epilogue to Child's association with the cultural translation of Italianate idioms and repertories, including his quotations of Grandi and Sabino from *Ghirlanda Sacra*, published in Venice in 1625, can be seen in the nineteenth-century Italian source, surviving in Münster, Germany: *D-MÜs* SANT Hs 3616 (Nr. 4). Here one sees 'Benedic anima mea' in

manuscript score, with figured continuo accompaniment, attributed to 'Guglielmo Child', as if a fourteenth Latin motet by Child, with newly Italianized forename. Rather, this is a 'translation' by Roman priest and musician, Fortunato Santini (1777-1861) of Child's, likely post-Restoration, 'Bless the Lord, O my soul', presented alongside eight other works adapted from Boyce's *Cathedral Music*, Volume Two; these include works by Farrant, and Child's Windsor colleague, Rogers. Santini was associated with the church of Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rome, the very national Church of the Holy Roman Empire. Santini amassed a vast and significant collection of scores and manuscripts, many accessed from both church and aristocratic archives; his first catalogue, of 1820, included two-thousand items.[7] Santini sold his collection to the Catholic diocese of Münster, in northwest Germany, where it arrived, following his death, in 1862. Child's English work, originally with Coverdale's English translation of Psalm 103, posthumously, was given a Vulgate text by Santini, now numbered Psalm 102, and acquired source presence in Rome as a *contrafactum*, with potential for study, and even, potentially, to facilitate practical use (though individual parts are not apparent, or do not survive), at Santa Maria dell' Anima, Rome, before travelling to Germany, *Transalpina*.

This thesis has sought to present Child's Latin-texted *concertato* work, 'after the Italian Way', in fresh contextual light, in relationality, and in connection with distinctive texts and Latin biblical translations; and to demonstrate the key, enabling, and dynamic, role of Child's musical networks in the work of cultural translation, even during challenging religious-political circumstances in England, and across Europe. More than has perhaps been realised before, through unique combination of Italian musical and linguistic idioms, together with Genevan-translated Biblical texts, Child's work can be said to be truly international and transnational.

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[7] For details of the Santini collection, its history and scope, please see the website of Diözesanbibliothek Münster, accessed August 12th 2022: https://www.dioezesanbibliothek-muenster.de/dioezesanbibliothek-muenster/santini-sammlung/die-sammlung/die-sammlung-englisch/.

## Appendices

### Appendix I  'O bone Jesu' motet-texts in seventeenth-century England, & Translations[1]

### Texts attributed to St. Bernardino (with only slight variations)

**A) Alessandro Grandi** (ATTB, bc, *Cantica Sacra*, 1662)

O bone Jesu, O dulcissime Jesu, O piissime Jesu,
Fili Mariae virginis, O dulcis Jesu:
Secundum magnam misercordiam tuam,
O bone Jesu, miserere mei,
O dulcis Jesu, O piissime Jesu, O dulcissime Jesu.

O good Jesus, O sweetest Jesus, O most pious Jesus,
son of the virgin Mary, O sweet Jesus:
according to your great mercy,
O good Jesus, have mercy on me,
O sweet Jesus, O most pious Jesus, O sweetest Jesus.

**B) William Child** (CATB, bc)

O bone Jesu, O dulcissime Jesu,
O Jesu, O piissime Jesu,
O Jesu, fili Maria virginis:
O dulcis Jesu, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, miserere mei.

O good Jesus, O sweetest Jesus,
O Jesus, O most pious Jesus,
O Jesus, son of the virgin Mary:
O sweet Jesus, according to your great mercy, have mercy on me.

**C) Richard Dering** (CC, bc, *Cantica Sacra*, 1662)

O bone Jesu, O dulcis Jesu
fili Mariae virginis,
Plene misericordia et pietate.
O bone Jesu, O dulcis Jesu,
Secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, miserere mei.

---

[1] All translations are by the author, unless indicated otherwise.

O good Jesus, O sweet Jesus,
son of the virgin Mary,
Full of mercy and piety,
O good Jesus, O sweet Jesus,
According to your great mercy, have mercy on me.


**D) Dering** (CATQB, bc, *Cantiones Sacrae Quinque Vocum*, 1617; *Cantiones Sacrae Quinque Vocum*, 1634)

O bone Jesu, O dulcis Jesu,
fili Mariae virginis,
Plene misericordia et veritatis.
O dulcis Jesu, miserere mei
Secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.

Part II
O nomen Jesu, nomen dulce, nomen Jesu,
Nomen delictabile, nomen comfortans,
quid est enim Jesus nisi salvator?
Ergo Jesu propter nomen sanctum tuum,
esto mihi Jesus et salva me.


O good Jesus, O sweet Jesus,
Son of the Virgin Mary,
full of mercy and truth,
O sweet Jesus, have mercy on me,
in accordance with your great mercy.

Part II
O name of Jesus, sweet name, name of Jesus,
Name of delight and comfort,
for what is Jesus if not our saviour?
Therefore, Jesus, on account of your holy name,
be mine, O Jesus, and be my saviour.


**E) Christopher Gibbons** (CATB, bc)

O bone Jesu, O dulcissime Jesu, O piissime Jesu,
fili Maria virginis, O dulcis Jesu.
Secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, miserere mei.
O dulcissime Jesu.

O good Jesus, O sweetest Jesus, O most devout Jesus,
son of the virgin Mary, O sweet Jesus.
According to your great mercy, have mercy on me.
O sweetest Jesus.

**Variant, non-Bernardino, 'O bone Jesu' texts, of unascribed authorship**

**F) Henry Aldrich** (CCAB, bc)

O bone Jesu qui de caelo profectus est nos salva nos miseros;
opitulare nobis, O Jesu, salus mundi.
Tibi cantabo et psallam quotidie
Tibi confitebor in aeternum Domine
celebrabo te, O salus mundi Domine
laudabo te pie solum tibi tota aeternum,
celebrabo veritatem tuam in saecula et sempiternum.
Alleluia.

O good Jesus, who came from heaven to save us from misery,
help us, O Jesus, saviour of the world.
I will sing and make psalms to you daily,
I will confess you for ever, O Lord,
I will praise you devoutly all eternity, you alone,
I will praise you, O saviour, Lord of the world,
I will praise your truth for ever unto the ages.
God be praised.

**G) George Jeffreys** (CATB, bc)

O bone Jesu, per piissimam passionem tuam,
da mihi in tribulation auxilium,
in persecutione solatium et in omni tempore
tentationis virtutem
O bone Jesu da mihi queso de preteritis veniam
de presentibus emendationam.
O bone Jesu, O dulcis Jesu,
de futuris largiri digneris custodiam,
qui vivis et regnas, Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum.
Amen.

O good Jesus, through your most devout passion,
give me help in trouble, solace in persecution,
and in all times of temptation, virtue.

O good Jesus, give me peace about the past,
about the present, amendment.
O good Jesus, O sweet Jesus,
about the future, grant the help you deem worthy,
who lives and reigns, God through all, unto the ages of ages.
Amen.

**Appendix II: texts, revisions, and translations of Tremellius-Junius *concertato* settings in seventeenth-century England.**

- Words in bold, within the motet texts, highlight adaptions to Tremellius-Junius; words in square brackets provide the original, of 1580, or details of the nature of the change, in italics.
- Due to Child's extensive adaptions of Tremellius-Junius, the original is given, following Child's text.

**A) DERING, 'Canite Jehovae': a2 (CB, bc)**
**Tremellius-Junius Psalm 96: vv. 1-5 (of 13 verses in total)**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Canite Jehovae canticum novum, | Sing to Jehova a new song, |
| canite Jehovae tota terra. | sing to Jehova all the earth. |
| | |
| 2. Canite Jehovae benedicite nomini ejus, | Sing to Jehova, bless his name |
| predicate de die in diem salutem ejus. | proclaim his salvation from day to day. |
| 3. Narrate in gentibus honorem ejus in | Tell to the gentiles his honour, |
| omnibus populi mirabilia ejus **opera** [*added*]. | to all the nations his miraculous works. |
| 4. Magnum Jehovam et laudatum valde, | Jehova is mighty, and to be praised |
| reverendum esse **super** [supra] | greatly, he is to be worshipped above |
| omnes Deos. | all gods. |
| 5. Nam omnes dii populorum sunt idola, | For all the gods of the people are idols |
| Jehova vero caelos **condidit** [fecit] | But Jehova created the heavens. |
| | |
| 1. [*text repeat*] Canite Jehovae canticum novum, | Sing to Jehova a new song, |
| canite Jehovae tota terra. | sing to Jehova, all the earth. |

**B) Child, 'Cantate Jehovae': a3 (CCB, bc)**
**Tremellius-Junius, Psalm 98, vv. 1, 4-9 adapted.**

Words in bold highlight Child's alterations to Tremellius, including musical-thematic changes of vv. 5 and 6. The original Tremellius version of Child's text, unaltered, is given in below.

Child's text:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Cantate Jehovae cantionem novam | Sing to the Lord a new song, |
| quia mirabilia fecit | for he has done wonderful things |
| et salutem **ipsi suppeditavit** dextera **sua** | and by the right hand of his holy arm, |
| et brachiumque **sanctum ejus**. | he has delivered safety. |
| | |
| 4. **Jubilate Deo omnis** terra: | Praise God, all the earth: |
| **resonate ovate** et psallite | resound, rejoice, and sing to |
| 5. Jehovae et cithara **voce psalmi**. | Jehova with the harp and voice of a psalm. |
| | with the voice of a psalm |
| | |
| 6. **Buccinis**, sono **tubae** | With trumpeters, praise openly |

Jubilate coram rege iste Jehovae.

7. **Boet** mare et **plentitudo ejus**
orbis et qui **habitant** in eo
8. **simul** montes ovent
9. Coram Jehovae,
**nam venit ad regendum terra regit**
orbem **justitia et populum rectitudine**.

with the sound of trumpets, Jehova
the King.
Let the sea roar and the abundance
of his earth, and all that live there;
together, let the mountains be joyful
before Jehova.
For he comes to judge the earth:
he judges the world righteously,
and the people rightly.

Psalm 98: vv. 1, 4-9
*Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra*, adapted
Tremellius & Junius translators
London, Henry Middleton, 1580.

Tremellius text, as presented in 1580:

*Psaltes Iudeos, gentes, & res omnes creates horiatur, ut gratulentur Christo de inimicu triumphanti.*

'The singer for Judeans, all nations and created things: that they may be encouraged and give thanks to Christ for victory over the enemy.'

1. Psalmus. Cantate Jehovae canticum novum, quia mirabilia fecit: salute attulit ei Dextera ipsius, & brachium sanctitatis ipsius.

4. Clangite Jehovae tota terra, fragore edito cantate & psallite.
5. Psallite Jehovae cithara, cithara & psalmodia.
6. Tubis & sono buccinae clangite coram rege Jehova.
7. Perstrepat mare, & que implent ipsum, orbis habitabilis & habitantes in eo.
8. Flumina complodant manu, partier montes cantent,
9. Coram Jehova, quia advenit ad judicandum terram; judicaturus est orbem habitabilem juste, & populos rectissime.

## C) HENRY LAWES, 'Laudate Jehovam': canon 'in the unison', a3
**Tremellius-Junius Psalm 117, vv. 1-2: v.1 first phrase, v. 2 first phrase.**

1a. Laudate Jehovam omnes gentes,  
2a. Quia incalescit erga nos [*omits*, benignitas].

Praise Jehova, all nations,  
for his love warms towards us.

## D) ROGERS, 'Canite Jehovae' (A only survives, in *Lcm* MS 2034)
**Tremellius-Junius Psalm 96: vv. 1, 3-4**

1. Canite Jehovae canticum novum,  
canite **Domino** [Jehovae] **universa** [tota]  
terra.  
3. Narrate in gentibus honorem ejus  
in omnibus populis mirabilia ejus **opera** [*added*].  
4. **Magnus Dominus laudatus**  
[Magnum Jehovam & laudatum] valde,  
**reverendus** [reverendum] esse  
**super** [supra] omnes Deos.

Sing to Jehova a new song,  
sing to the Lord the whole earth  
earth  
Tell his honour to the peoples,  
to all the nations his miraculous works.  
The Lord is mighty,  
and to be praised greatly,  
he is to be worshipped  
above all gods.

## E) LAWES: 'Predicate in gentibus' (B, bc)
**Tremellius-Junius: Psalm 96: vv. 10-13**

10. **Predicate** [dicite] in gentibus Jehova regnat;  
['etiam' *omitted*] stabiletur orbis **eius**  [*added*]  
habitabilis ne dimoveatur.  
**Judicabit** [judicaturus est] populos rectissime.

Tell the peoples that Jehova reigns;  
His world is firmly established  
it shall not be moved.  
He will judge the people rightly.

11. Laetabuntur caeli et exultabit terra,  
perstrepet mare et quae ipsum implent.

Let the heavens rejoice and earth exalt,  
the sea roar, and all that fills it.

12. Exultabit ager et **quod** [quiquid est] in eo,  
tunc cantabunt omnes arbores sylvae

Let the field rejoice, and everything in it  
Then will all the wood's trees sing

13. ante faciem Jehovae **quum** [cum] venerit  
nam venit ad judicandum terram:  
**judicabit** [judicaturus est] orbem habitabilem  
per justiam et populos per fidem suam.

before Jehova, for he is coming,  
he comes to judge the earth:  
he will judge the world  
with justice, and his peoples with  
his fidelity.

Halleluiah.

Praise God.

**F) CHRISTOPHER GIBBONS, 'Celebrate Dominum': a2 (C/T, B, bc)**
**Tremellius-Junius: Psalm 105, vv. 1, 2, 4, & 7; Ps. 96, v. 6; Ps. 96, v. 4**

Tremellius-Junius: Psalm 105, vv. 1, 2, 4, & 7

1.  Celebrate **Dominum** [Jehovam]                     Praise the Lord,
proclamate nomen ejus                                       proclaim his name,
notas facite actiones ejus.                                   tell of his deeds.
2. Canite **Jehovae** [ei] **et** [*added*] **laudate ejum**   Sing to Jehova and praise him.
[psallite ei],
confabulamini de omnibus **miraculis**          Tell of his miraculous acts.
[mirabilibus] ejus.
4. **Quarite** [Requirite] Jehovam et robur ejus    Seek Jehova and his strength,
quarite faciem **in aeternum** [ejus jugitur].     Seek his face always.
7. **Ille Jehovae** [hic est Jehova] Deus noster.   He is Jehova, our God.
In tota terra **sunt ejus judicia**.[judica ejus     His judgements are in all the world.
sunt].

Tremellius-Junius: Psalm 96: v. 6
6. **Decor et majestas coram eo.**                   Beauty and majesty go before him.
**Robur et Gaudium in loco illius**.               Strength and praise are in his place.
[Gloria & decor coram eo, robur &
ornamentus in sanctuario ejus sunt.]

Tremellius-Junius: Psalm 96: v. 4
4. **Magnus Jehovae**                                    Jehova is great
**et est laudandus reverendus super omnes Deos**  and to be praised and revered above all
[Magnum Jehovam & laudatum valde,          gods.
Reverendum esse supra omnes Deo*s*.]
Alleluia.                                                          Praise the Lord.

**G) BOWMAN, 'Cantate Jehovae' (A-minor setting): a3 (CCB, bc)**
**Tremellius-Junius: Psalm 98, v. 1; Vul. Ps. 9 , vv. 12, 2 & 3; T-J Ps. 9, v. 6; Vulgate Ps. 80, v. 3; Tremellius-Junius Ps. 9, v. 6; Tremellius-Junius Ps. 96, v. 1; Vulgate Ps. 9, v. 12.**

Tremellius-Junius: Ps 98: v. 1, initial words, as set by Child and Charles Taylor
1. Cantate Jehovae                                    Sing to Jehova


Vulgate, Psalm 9, v. 12, 2 & 3
12. qui **in Sion habitat** [habitat in Sion];              who lives in Sion;
annunciate inter gentes **opera** [studia] ejus           tell of his works and marvellous deeds
et **mirabilia** [*from v. 2*].                            among the people.
3. **Exultate et canite nomini suo altissimo.**           Exalt and sing of his most-high name.
**In te exaltabo et nomini tuo altissimo canam**          I will exalt you, and praise your name,
[Laetebor et exsultabo in te;                             O most high,
psallam nomini tuo, Altissime]

Tremellius-Junius: Psalm 9: v. 6, concluding phrase [longer text incorporated below]
in **sempiterna secula** [secula sempiterna].            for ever and ever.



Vulgate Psalm 80: v. 3
3. Sumite psalmum et date tympanum,                      Take a psalm, sound the timbrel:
psalterium jucundum cum cithara.                         the joyful psaltery with the lute.

[Tremellius-Junius, by comparison, gives: v. 3, 'Sumite psalmodica instrumenta; & apponite tympanum, cytharam amoenam cum nablio.']



Tremellius-Junius: Psalm 9: v. 6
6. **Gentes increpasti, impios perdidisti**              You have struck the heathen, destroyed
**et nomen eorum delevisti**                             the wicked, you have erased their name
**in sempiterna secula.**                                for ever.
[Increpasti gentes perdidisti improbum;
nomen istorum delevisti in secula sempiterna.]

Tremellius-Junius: Psalm 96: v. 1, initial words, as set by Dering and Rogers
Canite Jehovae                                           Sing to Jehova,

Vulgate Psalm 9: v. 12, repetition of phrase from above
12. qui **in Sion habitat** [habitat in Sion].          who lives in Sion.

**H) BOWMAN, 'Cantate Jehovae' (G-minor setting): a2 (CC / TT, bc)**
**Tremellius-Junius: Psalm 98, v. 1; Vul. Ps. 9, v. 12 (extract); Vulgate Ps. 80, v. 3; Vulgate Ps. 9, v. 12 (continued), & v. 3; Tremellius-Junius Ps. 9, v. 6; Tremellius-Junius Ps. 6, v. 1; Vulgate Ps. 9, v. 12.**


Tremellius-Junius: Psalm 98, v. 1, initial words, as set by Child and Silas Taylor
1. Cantate Jehovae                                                 Sing to Jehova

Vulgate, Psalm 9: v. 12, extract
[omitting initial words, *Psalite Domino*, akin to Tremellius's phrase of address above]
12. qui **in Sion habitat** [habitat in Sion];                who lives in Sion;


Vulgate Psalm 80: v. 3
3. Sumite psalmum et date tympanum,              Take a psalm, sound the timbrel:
psalterium jucundum cum cithara.                      the joyful psaltery with the lute.

Vulgate Psalm 9: v. 12, continued, & v. 3
12. annunciate inter gentes **opera** [studia] ejus      tell of his works among the people.


3. **In te exaltabo et nomini tuo altissimo canam**      I will exalt you, and praise your name,
[Laetebor et exsultabo in te;                              O most high,
*psallam nomini tuo, Altissime*],


Tremellius-Junius: Psalm 9: v. 6
6. **Gentes increpasti, impios perdidisti**             You have struck the heathen, destroyed
**et nomen eorum delevisti**                              the wicked, you have erased their name
**in sempiterna secula.**                                 for ever.
[Increpasti gentes perdidisti improbum;
nomen istorum delevisti in secula sempiterna.]

Tremellius-Junius: Psalm 96: v. 1, initial words, as set by Dering and Rogers
Canite Jehovae                                                 Sing to Jehova,

Vulgate Psalm 9: v. 12, repetition of phrase from above
12. qui **in Sion habitat** [habitat in Sion].             who lives in Sion.

**I) SILAS TAYLOR, 'Cantate Jehovae': a2 (C/T, B, bc)**
**Tremellius-Junius Psalm 98, v. 1; Vulgate Ps. 9, vv. 12 & 3; Tremellius-Junius, Ps. 9, v.**
**6; Tremellius-Junius Ps. 96, v. 1; Vulgate Ps. 9., v. 12.**

Tremellius-Junius: Ps 98: v. 1, initial words, as set by Child and Bowman

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Cantate Jehovae | Sing to Jehova |

Vulgate, Psalm 9, vv. 12 & 3

[omitting initial words, ***Psalite Domino***, akin to Tremellius's phrase of address above]

| | |
|---|---|
| 12. qui **in Sion habitat** [habitat in Sion]; | who lives in Sion; |
| annunciate inter gentes **opera** [studia] ejus | tell of his works among the people. |

| | |
|---|---|
| 3. **In te exaltabo et nomini tuo altissimo canam** | I will exalt you, and praise your name, |
| [Laetebor et exsultabo in te; | O most high, |
| psallam nomini tuo, Altissime], | |

Tremellius-Junius: Psalm 9, v. 6

| | |
|---|---|
| 6. **Gentes increpasti, impios perdidisti** | You have struck the heathen, destroyed |
| **et nomen eorum delevisti** | the wicked, you have erased their name |
| **in sempiterna secula.** | for ever. |
| [Increpasti gentes perdidisti improbum; | |
| nomen istorum delevisti in secula sempiterna.] | |

Tremellius-Junius: Psalm 96: v. 1, initial words, as set by Dering and Rogers

| | |
|---|---|
| Canite Jehovae | Sing to Jehova, |

Vulgate Psalm 9: v. 12, repetition of phrase from above

| | |
|---|---|
| 12. qui **in Sion habitat** [habitat in Sion]. | who lives in Sion. |

**J) PURCELL, 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei': a5, CCATB, bc (Primary source: autograph, *Lbl* Add. MS 30,930)**

[v.1 Psalmus Davidis, cum fugeret metu
Abschalomi filii sui.]

[Psalm of David, when fleeing, when
he was fleeing from his son, Absalom.]

2. Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei;
Quam multi **insurgunt** [insurgentes] contra me!
3.Quam multi **dicunt** [dicentes] de anima mea,
Non est ulla salus isti in Deo **plane** [*added*].
4. **Ad** [At] tu, Jehova, **clypeus** [scutum] es circa me;

gloria mea et extollens caput meum.

Lord, how many are my enemies,
how many rise up against me.
How many say of my soul
there is no help in God **utterly**.
But you, Lord, are the **valiant shield**;
around me;
my glory and uplifter of my head.

5. Voce mea ad Jehovam clamanti,
respondit mihi e monte sanctitatis
suae **maxime** [*added*].

With my voice I cry to the Lord,
he replied to me from his holy hill
**most great**.

6. Ego cubui et dormivi;
**ego** [*added*] **experfeci me** [experrectus sum]
quia Jehova **sustentat** [sustentabat] me.

I lied down and slept;
**I** woke up again.
For the Lord sustained me.

7. Non timebo a myriadibus populi;
**quas circum disposuerint metatores**
[quae circumstantes posuerint castra]
contra me.

I will not fear ten-thousand people;
that have marked themselves around

against me.

8. Surge, Jehova, fac **salvum** [serva]
me Deus mi,
qui percussisti omnes inimicos meos,
['ad' *omitted*] **maxilliam** [maxilla],
dentes improborum confregisti.
9. Jehova **est** [ipsa] salus; super populum tuum
sit benedictio tua **maxime** [*added*].

Arise, Lord, and help
me, my God
for you strike all my enemies
**greatly**
And have broken the teeth of the wicked.
The Lord is salvation, and on your people
be your blessing **most great**.

Tremellius-Junius: Psalm 3: vv.

**Appendix III: texts, revisions, and translations of Beza settings in seventeenth-century England.**

### William Child's 'Jerusalem' settings of Theodore Beza (1582 translation)

- Words in bold, within the motet texts, highlight adaptions to Beza's Latin; words in square brackets provide the original, or details of the nature of the change, in italics.

### A) 'O si vel', a4 (CATB, bc)

v. 42. **O** [*added*] si vel tu nosses vel hoc saltem tuo die
quae ad pacem pertinent
sed '['ea' *omitted*] nunc occulta sunt oculis tuis.

<div align="right">Luke 19:42, translated by Theodore Beza (1519-1605)</div>

O, if only you, even you, had recognised, at least on this your day,
the things which belong to peace
but now are hidden from your eyes.

### B) 'Laudate Deum', a4 (ATTB, bc)

5b. Laudate Deum nostrum omnes servi ejus.
**Alleluia**. [*added* affirmation of praise]
et qui timetis eum parvi et magni.

[start of v. 6 omitted: Et audivi tanquam sonitum turbae multae, et tanquam sonitum aquarum multarum, et tanquam sonitum tonitruorum magnorum, dicentium:]

6. Alleluia.
quoniam regnum iniit Dominus Deus
ille noster omnipotens.

7. Gaudeamus, et exultemus, et demus gloriam
ei; quia venerunt nuptiae Agni.

[end of v. 7 omitted: et uxor ejus paravit se.]

Alleluia.

<div align="right">Revelation 19: 5b-7: translated by Beza<br>1582 version</div>

Praise our God, all you his servants.
Praise God.
And all who fear him, small and great.

[start of v. 6 omitted:
KJV: And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia…]

Praise God.
For the Lord our God takes reign,
the all-powerful.

Let us be glad and rejoice, and give glory
to him, for the marriage of the Lamb has come.

[end of v. 7 omitted:
KJV: and his wife hath made herself ready. V.8 And to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints.]

Praise the Lord.


**Beza texts set by George Jeffreys**


**Motet setting Beza's New Testament translation of 1565**


**C) 'Visa urbe, flevit super ea', a3** (2 versions: *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 10,338, and *GB-Lcm* MS 920)


41. Visa urbe, flevit super ea,
42. Dicens, Nempe si vel tu nosses vel hoc saltem tuo die
quae ad pacem tuam pertinent.
Sed nunc occulta oculis tuis.

<div align="right">

Luke 19: 41-42, translated Beza
1565 version

</div>

He saw the city, and wept over it, saying:
Truly, if only you, even you, had recognised, at least on this your day,
the things which belong to peace
but now are hidden from your eyes.

**Motet setting Beza's New Testament translation of 1582**

**D) 'Et recordatus est Petrus verborum Jesus', a3**

v. 75. Et recordatus est Petrus verborum **Jesus** [Iesu],
qui dixerat ei,
Priusquam gallus vocem mittat,
ter me abnegabis.
Et egressus extra, flevit amare.

<div align="right">

Matthew 26:75, translated by Beza
1582 version

</div>

And Peter remembered the words of Jesus,
who said to him,
Before the cock crows,
you will deny me three times.
And he left, and wept bitterly.

**Motets setting Beza's New Testament translation, with text identical in 1565 and 1582 versions**

**E) 'Hosanna filio David'**: 2 versions, pre-1648, a3; and post-1660, a6, with Vulgate-text incorporation

v. 9b Hosanna filio David  [Matthew 21: 9b][2]

v. 38. Benedictus Rex ille qui venit in nomine Domini.  [Luke 19, 38]
Pax in caelo, et gloria in locis altissimis.

v. 9b. Hosanna filio David  [Matthew 21: 9b]

<div align="right">

Matthew 21: 9b and Luke 19: 38: translated by Beza

</div>

Hosanna to the son of David.

Blessed is the king who comes in the name of the Lord.
Peace in heaven, and glory in the most high.

Hosanna to the son of David.

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[2] Here, Beza uses words identical to the Vulgate version; notably, this verse from Matthew's Gospel does not include 'rex ' ('king'), used in Jeffreys's passage from Tremellius-translated Luke.

**F) Ego sum panis ille vitae,** a4

48. Ego sum panis ille vitae:
49. Patres vestri comederunt manna in deserto, et mortui sunt.
50. Hic est panis ille **de** [qui è] caelo **descendens** [descendit]:
ut **ex ipso edat aliquis et** [qui eo vescitur]
non moriatur.

54. Qui edit **meam carnem** [carnem meam] et bibit meum sanguinem
habet vitam aeternam:
et ego **suscitabo** [excitabo] eum in **novissimo** [ultimo illo] die.

Alleluia.

John 6: 48-50, 54: translated by Beza

I am that bread of life:
our fathers ate manna in the desert, and died.
This is the bread that comes from heaven:
That you may eat
and not die.

Anyone who eats my body and drinks my blood
has eternal life:
and I will raise them up in the new day.

—

Beza editions:

**1565**:

*Iesu Christi Domini Nostri Novum Testamentum Foedus*. Geneva: Henricus Stephanus, 1565.

*Münchener DigitalisierrungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek*, accessed, July 9th 2022, https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb11059409?page=,1.

**1582**:

*Iesu Christi Domini Nostri Novum Testamentum, Sive Novum foedus. Cuius Graeco contextui respondent interpretations duae: una, vetus: altera, nova, Theodori Beze, diligenter ab eo recognita*. Geneva. Henricus Stephanus, 1582.

*Münchener DigitalisierrungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek*, accessed, July 9th 2022, https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb11203052?page=,1.

Dedicated to Elizabeth I, 'Serenissimae Reginae'; reference to source of ancient manuscripts. With parallel Greek and Vulgate.

**Appendix IV: Beza's published works dedicated to Tudor and Stuart monarchs**

A)  *Testamentum Novum. Est autem interpretation Syriaca Novi Testamenti…autire Immanuele Tremellio,*  Geneva: Henricus Stephanus, 1569.
**Dedicated to Queen Elizabeth I of England**

published in tandem with Tremellius's companion Hebrew and Syriac grammar, *Grammati Ca Chaldaea et Syra*  Geneva: Henricus Stephanus, 1569.
**Dedicated to Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker (1504-1575)**

Tremellius's polyglot translation of the New Testament from Syriac: incorporating Greek text, Beza's Latin translation from the Greek, Syriac text (written in Hebrew script by Tremellius), and Tremellius's Latin translation from the Syriac. The Printer, Stephanus, (the Latin name for Henri Estienne, *c*. 1528-1598) was a classical scholar, linguist and lexicographer, and third-generation practitioner of an eminent Geneva printing family.

B)  *Icones, id est verae imagines vororum doctrina simul et pietate illustrium.*
Geneva: Jean de Laon, 1580.
**Dedicated to King James VI of Scotland (from 1603, also James I of England)**

Beza's illustrated poetic tributes in Latin to ninety-three significant and eclectic Church Reformers, organised geographically: including Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Spanish martyrs.  Beza sought, and received, illustrations and patronage from King James.[3]

C)  *Biblia Sacra sive Libri Canonici*  London: Henry Middleton, 1581
**Dedicated by Tremellius and Junius to their Royal patron, Frederick III, Elector Palatine (1515-1576).**

Translation of the Hebrew Old Testament by Tremellius and Junius, with Junius's translation of the Apocrypha, and Beza's Latin translation of the Greek New Testament.

D)  *Iesu Christi Domini Nostri, sive Novum foedus*  Geneva: Henricus Stephanus, 1582.
**Dedicated by Beza to Queen Elizabeth I, SERENISSIMAE REGINAE**

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[3] King James sent  pictures to Beza in Geneva by the Flemish painter Adrian Vanson (died *c*.1602) in November 1579 (paying £8-10s in 1581), sending the artwork as diplomatic gesture: portraits of John Knox (*c*. 1514-1572), founder of Presbyterian Church in Scotland, and of George Buchanan, James VI's childhood tutor.  Vanson (1506-1582) became James's court painter from 1584, working in Edinburgh. See, Duncan Thomson, *Painting in Scotland, 1570-1650: the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 21 August to 21 September* (Edinburgh: Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, 1975): 26-27, with reference to source in the National Records of Scotland, NRS E21//62 f.135v.

Beza's New Testament Latin translation, alongside Greek and Vulgate texts in parallel columns; with introductory letter of dedication to the Queen, including reference to his source of nineteen ancient manuscripts, given by Beza to the University of Cambridge in 1581, and known as 'Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis' (MS Nn.2.41).

E)     *Ad Serenissimam Elizabetham Angliae Reginam*           London Broadside: 1588
       **Beza's Poetic tribute dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, following the Spanish Armada**, alongside two poems also dedicated to the Queen:
       *In Classem Hispanicam ab Anglis Oppressam*, published in Beza's poetic collection, *Poema Varia*, published, Geneva: Stephanus, 1597, itself dedicated to Georges Sigismond de Zástrizly (1582-1614);
       *Triumphale Carmen, 1588*, preserved solely in the diary of Parisian diarist and collector, Pierre de L'Estoile (1546-1611).[4]

F     *Maister Beza's Household Prayers, Translated out of French into English*
                                    London: V. S. for John Barnes, Fleet Street, 1603.
      Beza's domestic-devotional manual of twenty-eight prayers, including
      **Barnes's prayer dedication to Elizabeth, 'our Queen, and all Princes', revised for her successor to, 'our King, and all Princes' for the 1607 reprint**.[5]

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[4] The three poems dedicated to Elizabeth are accessible online through Birmingham University, with translation, edited by Dana F. Sutton: http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/beza//contents.html , accessed July 30th 2020.

[5] Scott Manetsch affirms Beza's authorship and connections with the Moravian family, Zástrizly (dedicatee of Beza's *Poemata Varie*, with included 1588 poem dedicated to Queen Elizabeth I: Scott M. Manetsch, 'A Mystery Solved? Maister Beza's Household Prayers', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 2003, T. 65, No. 2 (2003): 275-288; details of the revised royal dedication are on p. 276.

**Appendix V: Tremellius-Junius texts set in *Cfm* Mus. MS 163 F, with translations[6]**

**Ten 2-part motets, predominantly attributed to Silas Taylor (C/T, B, bc)**

**A) Item 18. 'Civitas amplissima populo', Tremellius-Junius: Lamentations I, vv. 1-2 (phrase 1)**

Lamentations: 1, vv. 1-2: Tremellius-Junius, adapted: with omissions and changes, including word order, and words / phrases used in the Vulgate (the Vulgate's 'domina' in v. 1, and 'Plorans ploravit' in v. 2).

*Cfm* 163 text:
1.  Civitas amplissima populo solitaria desidet; et inter gentes domina et similis vidua.  Et provinciarum princeps est tributaria.  2. (phrase 1)  Plorans ploravit in nocte et descendunt lacrimae in maxillas ejus.

<u>*NRSV*, Lamentations 1, vv. 1-2</u>
1. How lonely sits the city that was once full of people! How like a widow she has become, she that was great among the nations! She that was a princess among the provinces has become a vassal.  2. She weeps bitterly in the night, with tears on her cheeks.

[Tremellius-Junius, vv. 1-2:
1. Quomodo desidet solitaria civitas amplissima populo, similis est viduae? amplissima inter gentes, princeps inter provincias *quomodo* est tributaria?
2. <u>phrase 1</u>: *Quomodo* plane flet noctu, & lachrymae ejus descendunt in maxillas ejus.

Vulgate, vv. 1-2, following its initial introduction:
Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo!  Facta est quasi vidua domina gentium; princeps provinciarum facta est sub tribute.
2. <u>phrase 1</u>: Plorans plorabit in nocte, et lacrimae ejus in maxillis ejus.]

**B) Item 19. 'Miserere mei Deus', Vulgate (numbered, psalm '50') and Tremellius (numbered, psalm '51'),**

<u>Vulgate, Psalm 50, v. 3:</u>
3. Miserere mei Deus: secundum magnam misericordiam tuam et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum dele iniquitatem meam.

---

Tremellius-Junius, Psalm 51, v.4:
4. Multum ablue me ab iniquitate mea et peccato meo me munda.

[Tremelliu-Junius, v.5 omitted]

Tremellius-Junius, Psalm 51, v. 6, first phrase:
6 .Tibi soli peccavi, et quod malum videtur in occulis tuis feceram agnosco.

Vulgate, v. 11 (Tremellius's translation is nearly identical, replacing the Vulgate's initial 'Averte' with 'Absconde iratam').
11. averte faciem tuam a peccatis meis, et omnes iniquitates meas dele.

*NRSV,* Psalm numbered '51', vv. 1, 2, 4, 9:
Have mercy on me, O God, according to your steadfast love; according to your abundant mercy blot out my transgressions.

Wask me thoroughly from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin.

Against you, you alone, have I sinned, and done what is evil in your sight.

Hide your face from my sins, and blot out all my iniquities.

**C) Item 20. 'Dominantur in nos servi',  Tremellius-Junius: Lamentations 5, vv. 8, 16-17, 15**

8. **Dominantur in nos servi** [Servi dominantur in nos] asserente nomine e manu illorum.

16. Cadit corona capitis nostri; vae jam nobis quod peccaverimus.

17.Propter haec languidum est cor nostrum, et obtenebrati sunt oculi [*followed by* 'nostri' in the original].

15. **animi nostri gaudium cessat chorus noster convertitur in luctum.**

[Cessat gaudium animi nostri, convertitur in luctum chorus noster.]

[**The next verse (18), unset, continues**, v. 18: Propter **Tzijonis** qui desolates est, per quem vulpes eunt libere.  'Because of Mount Zion, which lies desolate; jackals prowl over it.' (*NRSV*, 2022)]

*NRSV*, Lamentations 5, vv. 8, 16-17, 15
8. Slaves rule over us; there is no one to deliver us from their hand.

16. The crown has fallen from our head; woe to us, for we have sinned!

17. Because our hearts are sick, because of these things our eyes have grown dim.

15. The joy of our hearts has ceased; our dancing has been turned to mourning.


**D) Item 22. 'Domine caelos tuos', Vulgate, psalm 143, and Tremellius-Junius: Psalm 144, vv. 5-9**


5. Domine caelos tuos inclina et descende, tange montes et fumigabunt.

6. Fulgura corruscationem et dissipabis eos. Sagittas tuas emitte et eos conturbabis;

7. manum tuam ex alto extende eripe me extende, libera me de aquis multis et de manu alienigenarum:

8. quorum os loquitur vanum et quorum dextera est dextera falsitatis.

9. Deus in psalterio canticum novum tibi cantabo, in decachordo tibi canum. Alleluia.


*NRSV*, Psalm numbered '144', vv. 5-9

Bow your heavens, O Lord, and come down; touch the mountains so that they smoke.

Make the lightning flash and scatter them; send your arrows and rout them.

Stretch out your hand from on high; set me free and rescue me from the mighty waters, from the hand of aliens,

whose mouths speak lies, and whose right hands are false.

I will sing a new song to you, O God; upon a ten-stringed harp I will play to you. [Alleluia.]


[Tremellius-Junius, Psalm 144:

5. Jehova, inclina caelos tuos & descende: tange istos montes, & fument:
6. Immitte fulgar, & disperge eos, emitte sagittas tuas, & funde eos:
7. Extende manum tuam ex alto: libera me & eripe me ex aquis multis, e manu alienigenarum,
8. Quorum os loquitur vanum, & quorum dextera est dextera falsitatis.

Vulgate, Psalm 143:
5. Domine, inclina caelos tuos, et descende; tange montes, et fumigabunt.
6. Fulgura coruscationem, et dissipabis eos; emitte sagittas tuas, et conturbabis eos.

7. Emitte manum tuam de alto: eripe me, et libera me de aquis multis, de manu filiorum alienorum:
8. quorum os locutum est vanitatem, et dextera eorum dextera iniquitatis.
9. Deus, canticum novum cantabo tibi; in psalterio decachordo psallam tibi.]

**E) Item 23. 'Candore et rubore dilectus meus', Tremellius-Junius: Song of Songs 5, vv. 9-11, 15**

9. **Candore et rubore dilectus meus vexillarius est e myriade.**

[Dilectus meus candore & rubore, vexillarius est e myriade.]

10. Caput ejus insigne aurum, purgatissimum; capilli **crispis** [crispi] **discriminibus** [*added*] nigri ut corvus;

11.  phrase 1 only: Oculi ejus ut columbarum; juxta alveos aquarium.
      [phrase 2: loti in ipso lacte, siti insitione.]

15. Palatum ejus dulcissimum totus est **desideratissimus totus; est hic est dilectus meus et hic amicus meus**.

[Palatum ejus dulcissimum est, denique totus est desyderatissimus; hic est dilectus meus, & hic amicus meus, ô **Jerosolymitane**.]

*NRSV*, Song of Solomon 5, verses numbered '10-12', '16'

My beloved is all radiant and ruddy, distinguished among ten thousand.

His head is the finest gold; his locks are wavy, black as a raven.

His eyes are like doves beside the springs of water. Bathed in milk, fitly set.

His speech is most sweet, and he is altogether desirable. This is my beloved and this is my friend.

**F) Item 24. 'Dilecto meo ostium aperui', Tremellius-Junius: Song of Songs 5, vv. 5-7**

- Due to extensive adaption, the original Tremellius-Junius texts follow those of *Cfm* 163.

5. Dilecto meo ostium aperui ab se subducens praeterierat: exanimata sum propter colloquium ejus, quaesivi eum; sed non inveni **vocavi** [T-J uses 'inclamavi'] sed mihi non respondit.

6. Custodes civitates me invenientes me percusserunt me vulnerarunt et mihi pallium meum tulerunt.

7. Filiae Jerusalem vos adjuro si **inveneritis** [T-J, inveniatis] dilectum meum ut nuncietis ei quod amore langueo.


*NRSV*, Song of Solomon 5, verses numbered '6-8'.

I opened to my beloved, but my beloved had turned and was gone. My soul failed me when he spoke. I siught him, but did not find him; I called him, but he gave no answer.

Making their rounds in the city the sentinels found me; they beat me, they wounded me, they took away my mantle, those sentinels of the walls.

I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem, if you find my beloved, tell him this: I am faint with love.


Tremellius-Junius, original (as printed in 1580):

5. Aperui ego dilecto meo, sed dilectus meus subducens se praeterierat: exanimata sum propter colloquium ejus: quaesivi eum, sed non inveni eum; inclamavi eum, sed non respondit mihi.

6. Invenientes me custodes qui obeunt civitatem percusserunt me, vulnerarunt me; abstulerunt carbasum meum a me custodes murorum.

7. Adjuro vos Jerosolymitanae; si inveniatis dilectum meum, quid indicaretis ei? Aegram amore me esse.

**G) Item 25. 'O Deus, mi Deus', Tremellius-Junius: Psalm 63, vv. 2-5**

2. O Deus, mi Deus; tempestive te requiro sitiens est tui anima mea ad respectans caro mea aresit, in terra sicca et falsa sine aquis:

3. Ad videndum robur tuum et gloriam sicut in loco sancto te viderim.

4. Quia benignitas tua est melior vita. Labia mea te laudabunt.

5. Sic benedicam tibi in vita mea et in nomine tuo manus meus attollam.

*NRSV*, Psalm numbered '62', vv. '1-4'

O God, you are my God, I seek you, my soul thirsts for you; my flesh faints for you, as in a dry and weary land where there is no water.

So I have looked upon you in the sanctuary, beholding your power and glory.

Because your steadfast love is better than life, my lips will praise you.

So I will bless you as long as I live; I will lift up my hands and call upon your name.

**H) 26. 'In cubili meo per noctes', Tremellius-Junius & Vulgate: Song of Songs 3, vv. 1-2, 5**

1. In cubili meo per noctes quaesivi eum quem diligit anima mea; eum quae et non inveni.

2. Surgam dixi et circuibo civitatem per vicos et plateas quaeram quem diligit anima mea. Eum quaesivi sed non inveni, tandem cum per transissem civitatis vigiles quem diligit anima mea in veni.

5. Filiae Jerusalem vos adjuro per capreas cervosque camporum ne suscitetis nec evigilare faciatis dilectum, donec **ipse** [Vulgate: ipsa] velit.

*NRSV*, Song of Solomon 3, vv. 1-2, 5

Upon my bed at night, I sought him whom my soul loves; I sought him, but found him not; I called him, but he gave no answer.

I will rise now and go about the city, in the streets and in the squares; I will seek him whom my soul loves.  I sought him, but found him not.

I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem, by the gazelles or the wild does: do not stir up or awaken love until it is ready!


Tremellius-Junius

v. 1: In cubili meo per noctes quaerens eum quem amat anima mea; quaerens eum, cum non invenissem eum, *dixi*.

v. 2: Jam surgam, & obibo civitatem, per vicos & per plateas quaeram eum quem diligit anima mea; sed quaerens eum non inveni eum.

v. 5: Adjuro vos Jerosolymitanae, emanate cum capreis, aut cum cervis agri: ne excitate, neque experge facite hunc amorem, usque dum voluerit.


Vulgate

v. 1: In lectulo meo, per noctes, quaesivi quem diligit anima mea: quaesivi illium, et non inveni.

v. 2: Surgam, et circuibo civitatem: per vicos et plateas quaeram quem diligit anima mea: quaesivi illium, et non inveni.

v. 5: Adjuro vos, filiae Jerusalem, per capreas cervosque camporum, ne suscitetis, neque evigilare faciatis dilectam, donec ipsa velit.


**I) Item 27. 'Vox dilecti mei', Tremellius and Vulgate: Song of Songs 2, vv. 8, 10-12**

8. Vox dilecti mei ecce venit saliens montibus transiliens colles.

> [Tremellius-Junius, v. 8: Vox dilecti mei est, ecce illium, advenit, saliens super istos montes subsultans super istos colles;

10. Dilectus meus mihi dixit, surge, surge amica mea formosa et veni.

> Combination and amalgamation of both T-J and Vulgate, v. 10; including 'dixit' from Tremellius-Junius, and 'formosa' from the Vulgate:

> [Tremellius-Junius, v. 10: Proloquens amicus meus dicit mihi; surge amica mea, pulchra mea, & veni.

> Vulgate, v. 10:
> En dilectus meus loquitur mihi. Surge, propera, amica mea, columba mea, formosa mea, et veni:'

Vulgate, v. 11:

11. Iam enim transit hyems [Vulgate: 'transit hyems'] imber abiit et recessit

Tremellius-Junius, v. 12:

12. Florencia conspicuuntur in terra; tempus minuritionis advenit, et vox turturis **est** [added to T-J] audita in terra nostra.

Repeated phrase from v. 10:
Surge amica mea formosa mea et veni.

*NRSV*, Song of Solomon 2, vv. 8, 10-12, with repeated portion of v. 10

The voice of my beloved! Look, he comes, leaping upon the mountains, bounding over the hills.

My beloved speaks and says to me: 'Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away;

For now the winter is passed, the rain is over and gone.

The flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing has come, and the voice of the turtle-dove is heard in our land.

Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away.'

**J) Item 30. SILAS TAYLOR, 'Cantate Jehovae': a2 (C/T, B, bc)**
**Tremellius-Junius Ps. 98, v. 1; Vulgate Ps 9, vv. 12 & 3; Tremellius-Junius, Ps. 9, v. 6;**
**Tremellius-Junius Ps. 96, v. 1; Vulgate Ps. 9., v. 12.**

Identical to Taylor's motet in Bowman's hand *Och* Mus. 623-626 (Appendix I)

See, Appendix II: Motet, letter 'I'[7]

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[7] p. 303

**Appendix VI**

**'Exultate Justi' by Benjamin Rogers:**
**account of the motet's performance for Cambridge BMus in 1658 by John Worthingon,**
**including motet text; and account of its Restoration performance at London's**
**Guildhall, 1660, by Anthony Wood**

The two surviving accounts of Rogers's 'Exultate Justi' provide significant contextual details for this work, and demonstrate its dual 'ceremonial' use, academic and courtly. These details are especially significant, perhaps, as musical parts or scores do not appear to have survived.

**Account of Rogers's 1658 Cambridge Act by Dr. John Worthinton (1618-1671), Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge:**[8]

Commencement.

Priores Preces in Comitiis aᵒ 1658.

Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini, qui fecit coelum et terra. Deus misereatur nostril et benedicat nobis, et illuminet vultum suum super nos, et misereatur nostri, ut cognoscamus in terra viam tuam, viam rectam, viam Veritatis et pacis.

Pater luminum, a quo descendit omnis donation bona, et omne donum perfectum, te humillime obtestamur, ut nobis in presentiarum, pro summâ tuâ benignitate affulgeas, ut in lumine tuo videamus lumen. Fae, ut liberi ab omni vitioso affectu et prejudicio, veritatem sectemur in charitate. Mitte lucem tuam, et veritatem. Ipsae nos adducent ad montem sanctitatis tuae, ad myriadas angelorum, et ad novi foederis mediatorem Jesum. Cui sit honos in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Exordium Determinationis in Comitiis aᵒ

1658.

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[8] Dr. John Worthington (1618-1671) was Master of Jesus College, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. His diary account references Rogers's 'Exultate justi' alongside sermon by Nathaniel Ingelo: please see John Worthington, *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington*. James Crosley, ed., Vol. 1. Manchester: Simms and Co., for the Chetham Society, 1847; pp. 111-1114: https://archive.org/details/diarycorresponde00wortuoft/page/110/mode/2up, accessed, September 30th, 2021.

Omnia ad salutem necessaria perspicue

traduntur in SStâ.

Quaest.        Linguarum et atrium peritia Theologiae

tractandae est apprime utilis.

De quaestione priori, nihil dicam post Doctiss. Respondentem, qui de eâ disseruit cum copiose, tum illuminate. De altera, quam brevissime, provideq non immorabor in terminorum explicatione; quin et ipsi sat perspicui sunt, et illos operosius enarrare nihil aliud esset, quam . Quibus haec thesis, quae asstruit linguarum et atrium usum in sacris, permolestum est, ii maxime in ore habent verbum Domini (ut Judaei olim, Templum Domini) in eo multum sibi placent, quod singulari quadam peritiâ imbuti sint; Quare ut istorum decutiam fastum, studii praetium duxi disquirere, annon linguarum et atrium peritia SStae. enarrandae, adeoq Theologiae tractandae apprime utilis cum Theologiae fundamentum sit sacra scriptura.

Preces posteriores in Comitiis aᵒ 1658.

Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo damus gloriam, propter misericordiam et benignitatem tuam. Pater misericordiarum apud quem est benignitas et copiosa redemption, condona infirmitates nostras, et gratiam fac nobis secundum amplitudinem miserationum tuarum in Christo Jesum. Concede quaesumus, ut quae a nobis hodie disputa sunt, cedunt in nominis tui gloriam et augmentum Veritatis, quae est secundum pietatem et pacem.. Quin et da, benigne Deus, ut studia nostra, et conamina universa, cedunt in gloriam tui nominis, et uberrimum ecclesiae emolumentum, per Jesum Christum &c.

The perfection, authority, & credibility of the Holy Scriptures, discoursed in a sermon, before the Univ. of Cambridge, at the commencement Jul. 4, 1658, by Nathaniel Ingelo D.D. & Fellow of Eton Coll. London printed &c.

[The beginning of the Epistle Dedicatory.]

To the Right Worshipfull Dr. John Worthington Vice Chancellor & the rest of the Heads, together with the Fellows of the several Colleges – the University of Cambridge.

Right Worshipfull & Revᵈ

I have made bold to prefix your names, to this short discourse, since you were pleas'd to honour it with your courteous acceptance, I cannot but pay it down, as your own by gratefull acknowledgement. The benignity of wᶜʰ I have had experience, makes me confident the second time. Your candor takes of those fears, wᶜʰ otherwise I should justly entertain, upon

the thoughts of your judgement.  I have here represented to your eyes, what you heard, with a small addition of some things, w<sup>ch</sup> could not conveniently be spoken for want of time, w<sup>ch</sup> was then more then ordinary, but very justly shortened by the commemoration.

The Anthem at Mr. Rogers his Musick

Act. July 1658

Praeludium

Exultate justi, in Domino, rectis est laus decora.  Cantate *Deum* Canticum novum, Scite pulsate cum laeto sonitu.      [Treble solus.]

Quia rectum est verbum Domini, et omne opus ejus in fide.  Diligit justitiam et judicium, misericordia Domini plena est terra.  [Tenor & contra: 2 voc.]

I.      Sympho.

Quam pretiosa est benignitas tua, Deus!  Filii hominum in tegmina alarum tuarum

Sperabunt, saturabuntur pinguedine Domus tuae.  De torrende deliciarum potabis cos.  [Contra solus.]

Nam apud te est Fons vitae, in luce tuâ lucem videamus.  [Treble solus.]

Extende tuam clementiam in eos qui te norunt, et justitiam tuam his, qui recto sunt corde.  Ne me superborum pes aggrediatur, ne moveat me manus impiorum.  [Chor. 4 voc.]

Deus est nobis spes et robur, Auxilium in adversis praesentissimum.   Ideireo non timebimus, licet moveatur terra, et montes transferantur in medium mare.  [Bassus solus.]

Flumen amaenum laetificat civitatem Dei, sacrum supremi domicilium.  [Treble solus.]

Deus est medio illius; non dimovebitur.  [2 voc.]

Deus illiam mature adjuvabit.  [3 voc.]

II.      Sympho.

Durat misericordia Domini a seculo in seculum, erga timentes eum, et justitia ejus erga Filios, erga observantes Foedus ipsius, et qui sunt memores mandatorum ejus, ad faciendum ea.  [2 voc.]

Collauda Dominum anima mea, et omnia interiora mea, benedicite sancto ejus nomini. [Bassus solus.]

Chorus Ultimus.

Sit Benedictus Dominus, Deus Israelis, qui solus facit mirabilia.  Sit benedictum nomen ejus gloriosum, et impleatur gloria ejus tota terra.  Nos benedicemus Deo, et nunc, et in seculum.   Ejus elementia erga nos excellit; Hallelujah, et Fides Domini in aeternum. Hallelujah.  [Chorus. 5 voc.]

—

Dr. Worthington's note &c.  B.[enjamin] R.[ogers] made B.M. 3 Julii.

Oratiuncula ad Professorum Th.[eologiae] in Comitiis anno 1658.

**Account by Anthony Wood of the performance of Rogers's 'Exultate justi' at the 1660 Guildhall reception for Charles II**[9]


In 1658 his [Rogers's] great favourer and encourager of his profession Dr. Nathaniel Ingelo fellow of Eaton [Eton],[10] conducted him to Cambridge, got the degree of batch. of music to be confer'd on him, as a member of Qu. Coll [Queen's College] (that doctor having been sometime fellow thereof, and at that time a proceeder in divinity) and giving great content by his song of several parts, (which was his exercise) performed in the commencement that year by several voices, he gained the reputation there of a most admirable musician, and had the greater part of his fees and entertainment defray'd by that noble and generous doctor. "When the same Dr. Nath. Ingelo went chaplain to Bulstrode lord Whitelock into Sweden, he carried with him some of the best compositions of B. Rogers, which were played several times before queen Christina with great liking." After his majesty's restoration, the lord mayor, aldermen and chief citizens of London being unanimously disposed to entertain the king, the two dukes, and both houses of parliament with a sumptuous feast, it was ordered among them that there should be added to it the best music they could obtain: and B. Rogers being then esteemed the prime composer of the nation, he was desired of them to compose a song of several parts to be performed while the king and company were at dinner. Whereupon, in order to it, Dr. Ingelo made *Hymnus Eucharisticus*; the beginnings of the prelude to which is, 'Exultate Justi, in Domino,' &c. This also he translated into English, and both were printed in single papers. These things being done, B. Rogers composed a hymn of four parts to that song, which was more than once tried in private. At length on the 5th of July (Thursday) 1660, being the day that his majesty, James duke of York, Henry duke of Gloucester, and both houses of parliament were at dinner in the Guild-hall of the city of London, the said printed papers in Latin and English being delivered to the kin, two dukes, and dispersed among the nobility, &c. purposely that they might look on them while the performance was in doing, the song was began and carried on in Latin by twelve voices, twelve instruments and an organ, mostly performed by his majesty's servants. Which being admirably well done, it gave very great content, and Mr. Rogers the author being present, he obtained a great name for his composition and a plentiful reward. Much about that time he became organist of Eaton coll. where continuing till Theodore Colby a German was prefer'd to be organist of Exeter cathedral, Dr. Thomas Pierce who had a great value for the man (he himself being a musician) invited him to Magd. Coll. and gave him the organist's place there, and there he continued in good esteem till 1685, and then being ejected, (the reason why let others tell you) the society of that house allowed him an yearly pension to keep him from the contempt of the world: in which condition he now lives, in his old age, in a skirt of the city of Oxon unregarded.

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[9] The account is extracted from Wood's writings on Rogers for the latter's DMus ceremonies at the University of Oxford in July 1669, the time of the opening of Christopher Wren's Sheldonian Theatre. Pleased see: Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses: The Fasti*. Vol. 4. Ed. Philip Bliss (London: Thomas Davison, 1820); columns, 305-307. See *Internet Archive*, accessed September 30th 2021 https://archive.org/details/athenaeoxoniense04wooduoft/page/n719/mode/2up.

[10] Wood gives the following footnote, '[Nath. Ingelo took the degree of D.D. the same year that Rogers had that of B.M. (see the next note.) *Reg. Acad*. One Nath. Ingelo (the same I presume) M. A. in acad. Edenburg. Was incorporated at Cambr. 1644. Nath. Ingelo electus socius coll. Regin. 1644, cui successit Simon Patrick 1648. Nath. Ingelo coll. Regin. Socius S. T. P. Cantabr. 1658. *Registr*. BAKER. See Dr. Ingelo's epitaph in my MS. Collection.'

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