

EDMUND HOOPER

(c.1553–1621)

**A CONTEXTUAL STUDY OF
SELECTED ANTHEMS**

Gillian Mary French

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Abstract

Edmund Hooper (c.1553–1621), onetime Master of the Choristers and later Organist of Westminster Abbey, was one of the most respected composers of his time. Yet, apart from one or two settings of service music that are occasionally sung in cathedrals and university chapels, his work is generally unknown today. This study seeks to reinstate Hooper through the presentation of new, scholarly editions of a selection of his anthems.

Chapter 1 provides a biographical sketch of Hooper's life and work in the context of the political turmoil of the Reformation, the emergence of Westminster Abbey as a collegiate church and the music within it. Little is known of Hooper's personal life but, through re-visiting sources, an extra piece or two has been found to add to the jigsaw.

Chapter 2 sets out the rise of the English post-Reformation anthem and the resulting new polyphonic landscape, along with sections on sources and texts. This is by way of introduction to an evaluation in Chapter 3 of seven of Hooper's anthems, both 'full' and 'verse' and including an attempted reconstruction of a verse anthem that exists only in a single organ source. A full anthem of doubtful authorship is also examined. Critical editions of these works, along with some variants and textual commentaries, are presented in Part 2.

Chapter 4 looks at the surviving sources, most of which are in manuscript form; a list of those consulted and some information about each is included as part of the edition.

Chapter 5 considers aspects of performance practice, including pertinent questions about voices, organs, choirs and pitch, looking at the work of Hooper and others in the context of how they might be heard; some reflections on how the works have been met by modern-day performers are also included.

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List of abbreviations

Part names	C	Cantus
	M	Medius
	MD	Medius Decani (etc.)
	MC	Medius Cantoris (etc.)
	1Ct	First Contratenor (etc.)
	A	Altus
	Q	Quintus
	T	Tenor
	B	Bassus
Clefs	C3	C clef on third line (etc.)
	F3	F clef on third line (etc.)

Pitch names are given in the Helmholtz system: C–B, c–b, c'–b', c''–b'' (c' = 'middle' C).

Other	EECM	Early English Church Music
	DIAMM	Digital Archive of Medieval Music
	RISM	Répertoire International des Sources Musicales
	TNA	The National Archives
	WAM	Westminster Abbey Muniment

ed.	edited (by)
b.	born
m.	married
d.	died
fl.	'floruit' (flourished)

Library sigla (for UK libraries, the *GB* prefix has been omitted)

<i>Cu</i>	Cambridge University Library
<i>Cfm</i>	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam College
<i>Cp</i>	Cambridge, Peterhouse Library
<i>Cpc</i>	Cambridge, Pembroke College
<i>CA</i>	Canterbury, Cathedral Library
<i>DRc</i>	Durham Cathedral Library
<i>GL</i>	Gloucester Cathedral Library
<i>Lbl</i>	London, British Library
<i>Llp</i>	London, Lambeth Palace
<i>Lcm</i>	London, Royal College of Music
<i>Lsp</i>	London, St Paul's Cathedral
<i>LI</i>	Lincoln Cathedral Library
<i>Ob</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library
<i>Och</i>	Oxford, Christ Church
<i>Osj</i>	Oxford, St John's College
<i>Omc</i>	Oxford, Magdalen College
<i>WRch</i> ¹	Windsor, St Georges Chapel Library
<i>Y</i>	York, Minster Library
<i>US-BEm</i>	University of California, Berkeley
<i>US-NYp</i>	New York Public Library

¹ Some St George's Chapel manuscripts are now referred to as SGC

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Author 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 a degree or other qualification at this University or elsewhere. All sources are acknowledged as references.

Chapter 1 – Edmund Hooper: a biographical introduction

Music and the Reformation

The suppression of the monasteries under Henry VIII brought with it a rapid and disorientating erosion of livelihoods, lifestyles and principles, and must have been as devastating for church musicians as it was for monks and clergy. Henry was succeeded in 1547 by his only son, the nine-year old Edward VI, with the new king's uncle Edward Seymour, a vehement Protestant, appointed by the regency council as Protector. Seymour, along with Archbishop Cranmer, established and published the first Prayer Book of 1549, the only form of legal worship in England, which replaced Latin with English as the language of liturgy. The implications for church music were severe, imposing a drastic change from the ornate and florid Catholic music of the early part of the century. Injunctions issued, for example, to Lincoln Cathedral in 1548 mandated anthems in English, 'setting thereunto a plain and distinct note for every syllable one: they shall sing them and none other'.²

The young king died in 1553, aged 15, after which there was a brief return to Catholicism under Queen Mary. The accession of Elizabeth I in 1558 settled religious turmoil through the 1559 Act of Uniformity, which sought a middle ground and brought about a sustained period of liturgical stability.³ Music for the early Anglican rite included anthems and canticles for Matins, Holy Communion and Evensong, with anthems becoming an important part of early Anglican repertory.⁴ Singingmen⁵ of the old secular (non-monastic) cathedrals were no longer expected to be in holy orders: the number of vicars choral (singingmen who were also priests) consequently declined in the later sixteenth century and were replaced by lay vicars, people who sought careers in music and probably turned to the church because there was so little available outside it.⁶

² Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549–1660* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967), 9.

³ John Morehen, 'English Church Music', in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: The Sixteenth Century*, ed. Roger Bray (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 95.

⁴ The English post-Reformation anthem is further discussed in chapter 2.

⁵ Sometimes known as Lay Vicars, the term applies to the adult members of a choir.

⁶ S.E. Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals: Cathedrals in English Society, 1485–1603* (Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 1988), 184.

The queen had a reputation as a musical monarch – she played the lute and virginals and enjoyed singing and dancing. Her private services in the Chapel Royal were more elaborate than those of the cathedrals, ultimately allowing for works such as the ‘Great Services’ by Byrd, Hooper and others that were probably beyond the scope of most cathedral choirs at the time. In 1575 she granted to Thomas Tallis and his pupil William Byrd a 21-year monopoly for polyphonic music and a patent to print and publish music. They responded in gratitude with the joint publication, *Cantiones que ab argumento sacrae vocantur*.⁷ The first major printed collection of music to be published in England, it consisted of 34 Latin motets, all dedicated to the queen and recognising her as an intelligent and musical patroness.⁸ Her reign brought about a period of increasing national self-confidence, and with it a significant artistic movement that achieved a great depth and brilliance in a cultural environment that nurtured talent.⁹

However, in a cautionary paper, Smith warns us against too cosy a depiction of cathedral music during Elizabeth’s reign. There is no question that there emerged an abundance of service and anthem compositions of the highest artistic merit, but the often-heard accolade of a Golden Age is one that should be used with caution, as it describes only the compositions at the time and should not be understood as being representative of the whole state of music in general. Other than at the Chapel Royal and a few cathedrals and collegiate foundations, conditions of pay, performance and residence were of a very low standard, discipline was poor and choirs often despised by their chapters because they had been established by statute.¹⁰

Conventions (in the broadest sense of anthem and service composition) pioneered by musicians of Elizabeth’s time retained their vitality under James I, partly because several composers were working actively across both reigns. This period has sometimes called the

⁷ ‘Songs, which by their argument are called sacred’.

⁸ K. Butler, ‘By Instruments her Powers Appare: Music and Authority in the Reign of Elizabeth I’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 65, No 2 (2012), 353–384.

⁹ John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music Vol 1: From the Beginnings to c.1715* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 345.

¹⁰ Alan Smith, ‘The Cultivation of Music in English Cathedrals in the Reign of Elizabeth I’, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 94 (1967–8): 47. Complaints about negligence and absence from services on the part of the lay clerks were common; other accusations included quarrelling and drunkenness.

‘madrigalian’, where ‘the ideals of the high Renaissance reached their finest flowering’.¹¹ One such ideal was in the expression of text, with music ‘framed to the life of the words’.¹² Caldwell suggests that, through its capacity to reflect a text, musical language of the time ‘became a fully expressive medium in its own right’.¹³

Musical responses to the text became more prominent during the Jacobean period, with composers such as Thomas Tomkins (1572–1656), Thomas Weelkes (1575–1623) and Orlando Gibbons (1583–1625) marking the start of a new generation of musical direction. It was also a period of the gradually increasing mastery of minor composers,¹⁴ Adrian Batten (1591–1637) and Michael East (1580–1648) being two such examples. The prominence of music in ‘High Church’ Jacobean worship is further indicated by the dramatic increase in the number of organs that were built or rebuilt in England during the period.¹⁵

All in all, as Lehmberg puts it, ‘despite troubles caused by parliamentary legislation, government rapacity, Puritan disapproval, inflation and indifference, cathedral choirs survived the Reformation’, in doing so providing the church with new English services and anthems ‘no less beautiful than the medieval Latin masses and motets... Within the cathedrals, a new Anglican musical tradition had taken firm root’.¹⁶

The music and musicians of Westminster Abbey

The Benedictine Westminster Abbey, where in around 1585 Edmund Hooper was to be appointed master of the choristers, surrendered to the Crown in January 1540, with the almost immediate dispersal of the monks. It remained empty until its re-foundation on 17

¹¹ Caldwell, *Oxford History of English Music*, 346. However, some of the most noted composers of the period, such as Byrd and Gibbons, composed little that could be described as a madrigal. Byrd’s *Sing joyfully*, with its contrapuntal imitation and lively word-painting, is perhaps the most madrigalian of his compositions, despite being a sacred piece.

¹² William Byrd, *Psalms, Songs and Sonnets* (London: 1611), title page.

¹³ Caldwell, *Oxford History of English Music*, 346. See also the discussion at the end of Chapter 2..

¹⁴ Caldwell, *Oxford History of English Music*, 346.

¹⁵ See, for example, Stephen Bicknell, ‘The Laudian revival 1590–1642’, chapter 5 of *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 69–90.

¹⁶ S.E. Lehmberg, ‘The Reformation of Choirs: Cathedral Musical Establishments in Tudor England’, in *Tudor Rule and Revolution: Essays for G.R. Elton from his American Friends*, ed. DeLloyd J. Guth and John W. McKenna (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 67.

December as a cathedral church for the new diocese of Westminster,¹⁷ when a bishop, dean (the former abbot, William Benson)¹⁸ and canons were appointed. The statutes provided for a choir of ten boy choristers and twelve men: the boys were nominated by the Dean and the adults – Lay Vicars (otherwise known as singingmen) but also canons, vergers and others – by the chapter, although the influence of the master of the choristers must have been significant for any musical appointments.¹⁹

The diocese of Westminster did not last long – it was abolished in 1550 and two years later the Abbey was declared a second cathedral for the diocese of London.²⁰ In 1556, during the religious chaos of Queen Mary's reign – an equally brief period in which the composition of elaborate Latin sacred music was once again encouraged – the cathedral was restored to a Benedictine monastery. It was finally re-founded by Mary's successor Elizabeth I, on 21 May 1560, as the Collegiate Church of St Peter, with its constitution largely unaltered to this day.

As a Royal Peculiar, Westminster Abbey was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction and was instead governed by a collective body of a dean, six canons and six minor canons, with the sovereign as its visitor. Its choral foundation, as Wilkinson suggests,²¹ would have provided a well-practised body of musicians for the queen's coronation in 1559. As with the present day, the Abbey played a significant place in the musical life of the realm, largely because there were otherwise few opportunities of employment for professional musicians, or for the public to hear high-quality performance.

We know little about the music that was sung and played there in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as no music lists, orders of service or choir library catalogues

¹⁷ So-called cathedrals of the new foundation are those with former monastic chapters; others include Canterbury and Durham. New dioceses were also created at Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford and Peterborough.

¹⁸ 'William Benson', *Westminster Abbey*, accessed 21 September 2023, <https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/william-benson#i11964>

¹⁹ S.E. Lehmborg, 'The Musicians of Westminster Abbey, 1540–1640', in *Westminster Abbey Reformed: 1540–1640*, ed. C.S. Knighton & R. Mortimer (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003): 95.

²⁰ C.S. Knighton, ed., *Acts of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, I, 1609–1642* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), xviii.

²¹ James Wilkinson, *Westminster Abbey: 1000 Years of Music and Pageant* (Leighton Buzzard: Evolution Electronics 2003), 31.

survive.²² This problem is not restricted to Westminster, although two 17th-century catalogues, one at Chichester dating from 1622 and a later one at Norwich, indicate that these choirs were capable of challenging works by composers such as Tallis, Byrd and Weelkes.²³ However, we do have substantial information about the musicians who served the Abbey during this period. The Act Books of the Dean and Chapter, which began in 1543, record the formal decisions of the Abbey's governing authority, many of which involve grants of leases and letters patent.²⁴ They tell us much about the day-to-day business of the chapter and are a source of information about the names, careers and lives of individuals – mostly musicians and minor canons – in the community. From these, and financial records, we know the names of most of the musicians and clergy, what they were paid, what responsibilities they assumed and often also where they lived. Edmund Hooper is the most frequently named individual,²⁵ no doubt because of his long association there, with several references to leases of property for him and his family as well as records of his numerous patents.

The singingmen were paid £8 per annum, a figure that was to remain unchanged from the foundation in 1540 to the start of the Civil War in 1643.²⁶ Financial distress was not uncommon in cathedrals,²⁷ especially in those individuals whose resources were additionally stretched to cover the needs of growing families. It was recognised from relatively early that stipends were inadequate,²⁸ and they came to be supplemented by occasional 'rewards' that added to a further £2-4 a year. An effort was made to house singers in the Almonry,²⁹ and the choir also benefitted from occasional dividends, increases in rent revenue and some communal meals.³⁰ The Master of the Choristers received an annual stipend of around £10. In a typical post-reformation arrangement, he would be responsible for the musical education and welfare – housing, feeding and clothing – of the boys, and would additionally

²² Lehmberg, 'Musicians of Westminster Abbey', 94.

²³ Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, 225.

²⁴ A patent is a sole right to an office.

²⁵ C.S. Knighton, ed., *Acts of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, III, 1609–1642* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2006), xlv.

²⁶ Lehmberg, 'Musicians of Westminster Abbey', 97.

²⁷ Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, 190.

²⁸ The cost of living more than doubled between 1550 and 1600 – see Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 39.

²⁹ Lehmberg, 'Musicians of Westminster Abbey', 108.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 98.

receive the money (£33 6s 8d) allocated for their expenses. The choristers were well educated, attending Westminster School for two hours a day.³¹ Such material benefits helped promote the development of the Abbey as a centre of musical excellence.³²

An entry in the Acts book mandated a regular Saturday 'quire chapitor' at which 'all the quire shall appere for redresses of faults in the weeke before committed'.³³ Interestingly, there are few records or references to any faults of Abbey choir members, in contrast to those of other cathedrals.³⁴

Singingmen and organists sometimes received additional payment for 'pricking' (copying) music, written by Abbey composers and others, for the use of the choir. Very few members of the choir were notable composers. The best-known is probably Adrian Batten, who served from 1614 until he moved to St Paul's Cathedral in 1626; others include the madrigalian composer John Farmer. Of the organists, Robert White, Edmund Hooper and Orlando Gibbons stand out as eminent composers of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods.

Edmund Hooper (c.1553 – 1621)

Edmund Hooper was one of the most respected musicians of his day. His prestigious and lengthy appointments at Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal demonstrate his importance, putting him at the heart of English church music of the period. Much of his music is ambitious and elaborately scored and can be found in almost every surviving pre-Restoration source of liturgical music.³⁵ In the following biographical sketch, I have built

³¹ Provided they could 'write moderately well and have learned the eight parts of speech' – see Wilkinson *100 Years of Music and Pageant*, 32.

³² Knighton, *Acts III*, xlv.

³³ C.S. Knighton, ed., *Acts of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, II, 1543–1609* (Woodbridge, 1999), 4.

³⁴ Lehmborg, 'Musicians of Westminster Abbey', 97.

³⁵ Caldwell, *Oxford History of English Music*, 357.

upon the work of Ashbee et al,³⁶ Morehen³⁷ and Shaw,³⁸ checked original sources and have been able to add a few further biographical details.

Hooper was born in 1553 or 1554.³⁹ Information about his early life comes from his will: he was born in Halberton in Devon, brought up at neighbouring Bradninch and ‘put to school’ at Greenwich by his ‘honourable master’ Sir James Dyer.⁴⁰ Edmund’s father seems to have been one John Hooper of Curham, a cluster of farms a mile from Halberton, and his mother a member of the Were family.⁴¹ A local historian states that the then Rector of Bradninch was Edmund’s uncle.⁴² Several publications suggest Edmund might have been a chorister at Exeter Cathedral,⁴³ but no sources are stated and there are no records at the cathedral archives which might provide corroboration. If he were, then he might have studied with Thomas Heath, organist there from 1558 until c.1583.⁴⁴

Sir James Dyer was Speaker of the House of Commons until 1553 and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas from 1559;⁴⁵ the origin of the connection between the two men is not known.⁴⁶ Dyer’s will hints that Hooper was a clerk⁴⁷ at his seat at Great Staughton in Huntingdonshire, an idea supported by the baptism in that parish of Hooper’s first two

³⁶ A. Ashbee, D. Lasocki, P. Holman & F. Kisby, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485–1714*, volume 1 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).

³⁷ John Morehen, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. ‘Hooper, Edmund’, accessed 8 August 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13704>

³⁸ Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

³⁹ Morehen, *Dictionary of National Biography*. Shaw (*Succession of Organists*, 328) gives 1563 and a local historian suggests the 1570s or late 1560s – see E. Voce, *Halberton and Halbertonians* (Halberton, 1994), 17.

⁴⁰ The will can be found at TNA: PRO, PROB 11/138, sig. 67.

⁴¹ P. Boyd, *Inhabitants of London and Family Units, 1200–1946*, accessed through familysearch.org, 27 September 2023.

⁴² Voce, *Halberton and Halbertonians*, 17.

⁴³ See, for example, Lehmborg, ‘Musicians of Westminster Abbey’, 194; Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 253; John Morehen, *Grove Music Online*, s.v. ‘Hooper, Edmund’, accessed 16 August 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.13313>. The references seem to lead back to the entry for Hooper in the fifth edition of *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, but this does not cite a source.

⁴⁴ Ian Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c.1547–c.1646. A Comparative Study of the Archival Evidence* (New York & London: Garland, 1993), 233.

⁴⁵ J. H. Baker, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. ‘Dyer, Sir James’, accessed 16 August 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8349>.

⁴⁶ Baker (Ibid.) states that Dyer was from Wincanton in Somerset, 50–60 miles from Halberton and Bradninch. Humphrey Were of Halberton Court, possibly a relation of Edmund’s mother, was an Inner Temple lawyer and MP for Callington in 1614 and Tiverton in 1624.

⁴⁷ Boyd, *Inhabitants of London* states that Hooper was Dyer’s secretary.

children, Philippa⁴⁸ on 8 October 1580 and James on 22 June 1582,⁴⁹ and by a bequest from Dyer to Hooper of 'my drinkinge cuppe and silver spoone for Sergeant's Inne and one of my wearinge gownes and one of my frocks'.⁵⁰ By 1582 it seems Hooper had become a member of the choir of Westminster Abbey,⁵¹ the start of a long and illustrious association that would continue until his death in 1621.

He married twice, producing eight children by his first wife Margaret,⁵² who died between 1595 and 1604⁵³ and is buried in the cloisters, and another eight by his second wife Mary, who survived him by over thirty years.⁵⁴ Ashbee states there were six children of this second marriage, the youngest being Catherine, baptised in 1617.⁵⁵ However, Hooper's will clearly mentions eight, and a search of the registers of St Margaret's Westminster shows the baptism on 4 December 1619 of a Christopher and a Margaret, born to an Edmund Hooper, who might be twins and his youngest children.⁵⁶

The family connection with Westminster Abbey continued for at least two more generations: sons James and Gabriel became Lay Vicars, James from 1601–1649 (the longest-serving choir member on record)⁵⁷ and Gabriel from 1620–21. James's son William was a minor canon from 1660–1663 and possibly a singingman from 1663–64; two other grandchildren,

⁴⁸ Most sources name her only as 'a daughter who married Mr Lee'. Evidence for her name comes from baptism and marriage records and from the Probate Sentence of Edmund Hooper, TNA: PROB 11/139/190.

⁴⁹ Huntingdonshire Archives, Great Staughton Composite Register (1540–1653), ref HP82/1/1/1.

⁵⁰ TNA: PRO PROB 11/64/sig.28.

⁵¹ Morehen, *Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 8 August 2023.

⁵² Most sources do not name her. Evidence comes from the Probate Sentence, and from Boyd *Inhabitants of London*.

⁵³ 'Edmund Hooper and family', *Westminster Abbey*, accessed 14 January 2024 <https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/edmund-hooper-and-family/#i13221> gives the date as 'around 1600', as she does not appear in the Abbey's burial register which is extant from 1607. A. Ashbee et al, *Biographical Dictionary*, 585 states that Thomas, the youngest child of his first marriage, was baptised in January 1595 and Elizabeth, the eldest of his second marriage, in March 1605.

⁵⁴ Morehen, *Dictionary of National Biography*. Many sources, such as Lehmborg 'Musicians of Westminster Abbey', 105, give Margaret as the name of Hooper's second wife and suggesting she died in 1652, but this seems to be a confusion with his daughter-in-law (James Hooper's wife).

⁵⁵ Ashbee et al, *Biographical Dictionary*, 585.

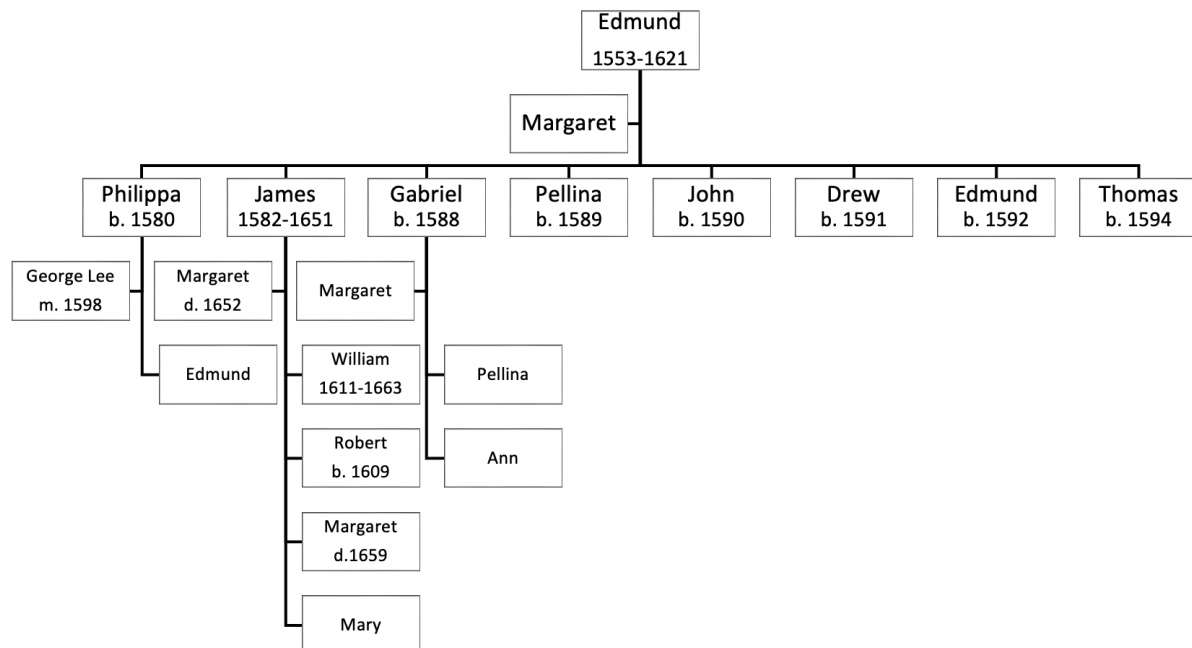
⁵⁶ A. M. Burke, *Memorials of St Margaret's Church, Westminster: The Parish Registers, 1539–1660* (London, Eyre and Spottiswode, 1914).

⁵⁷ Lehmborg, 'Musicians of Westminster Abbey', 99. If James had also been a singing boy, he would have been at the Abbey for around half a century.

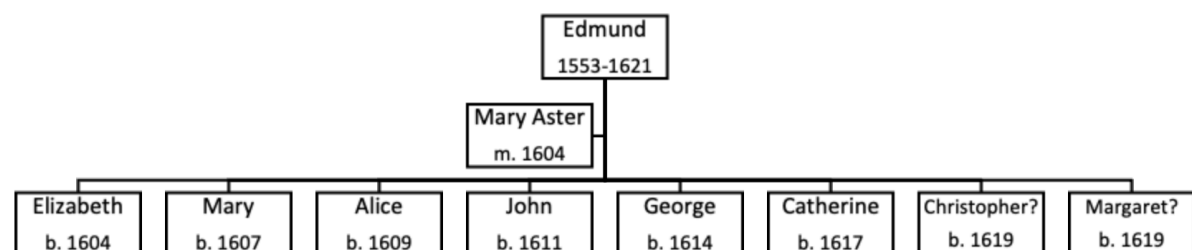
his daughter Philippa's son Edmund,⁵⁸ and James's daughter Margaret,⁵⁹ are also buried in the cloisters. A family tree showing the Westminster connections is shown in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1 – Edmund Hooper family tree

(i) Marriage to Margaret (n.d.)



(ii) Marriage to Mary (d.1652)



Nothing is known about Hooper's musical education – there are no records in the university archives at Cambridge or Oxford of anyone of his or a similar name being enrolled as a student at the time – and his starting date at Westminster is unclear. The year 1582 is surmised from his will of 1620, which contains a reference to 38 years' service, which (if he is right) suggests he arrived aged about 29. 1582 is also the year of Dyer's death and so, if he

⁵⁸ J. L. Chester, *The Marriage, Baptismal and Burial registers of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster* 10 (London: Harleian Society, 1876), 148.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 150.

was indeed some sort of clerk, Hooper must about then have had to look for other employment. There are no records of his being at the Abbey in any capacity before 1585, when an entry appears in the treasurer's accounts showing payment to him as Master of the Choristers.⁶⁰

In 1588, by a patent of 3 December that noted the 'good and faithful service our well-beloved Edmund Hooper hereforto done',⁶¹ he was appointed Organist and Master of the Choristers for life, for which he was provided with a yearly stipend of £14, along with the standard £33 6s 8d and a weekly 'bushel of good and seasonable wheat' for the upkeep of the choristers, a supplementary 'regard' (payment) for teaching them and the house in the Almonry which was usually 'held and enjoyed' by the Organist and Master of the Choristers. Duties of the organist included repairing and tuning the organ, copying music for the choir, and the payment of minor canons and Lay Vicars. In 1602/3, for example, Hooper received payment of 50s for repairing the organ bellows, and 2s 3d for four pair of hinges for the bellows.⁶²

Hooper's patent permitted his Abbey duties to be 'executed by himself or by his sufficient deputie or deputies'. This allowed for a long association with the Chapel Royal, the sovereign's personal religious establishment and the most prestigious and secure place of employment for a musician. Its members, called Gentlemen, served and travelled with the monarch anywhere that liturgical or ceremonial music was required. They were commissioned from among the ablest singers in English cathedral and church choirs and were appointed for life (unless they resigned, as did for example Thomas Morley in 1602).⁶³ Unsurprisingly, places in the choir were strongly coveted, as the work was well paid,⁶⁴ with long holidays and a status significantly above that of a cathedral singing man or minor canon. The Chapel Royal was the centre of musical creativity during Elizabeth's reign: it saw

⁶⁰ WAM 33643.

⁶¹ WAM Reg. VII f255v.

⁶² Lehmborg, 'Musicians of Westminster Abbey', 109.

⁶³ Alan Smith, 'The Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal of Elizabeth I: an annotated register', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle*, 5 (1965), 38. Morley resigned possibly for health reasons.

⁶⁴ £40 p.a. in 1604, nearly three times Hooper's salary as organist at Westminster (see Le Huray *Music and the Reformation*, 72).

quality music performed to the highest standards,⁶⁵ with nearly all the eminent musicians of the period rewarded with an appointment.⁶⁶ Furthermore, as the commitment was occasional,⁶⁷ it was not unusual for a musician to hold two posts at the same time: Thomas Tomkins, for example, was for 20 years at both the Chapel Royal and Worcester Cathedral. Rotas were drawn up each year, in the period immediately after Christmas, so that a 'competent number' of Gentlemen were appointed for each service. Singingmen attended one month in two except on important occasions, with long periods when the choir was not in session (such as from St Peter's Day to Michaelmas) and a reduced choir when the monarch was away from London.⁶⁸ An undoubted advantage of these dual appointments was that they would have kept provincial choirs in close touch with the highest standards of composition and performance.

By 1603 Hooper had become a Gentleman Extraordinary, a supernumerary position which usually came with an expectation that the holder would be entitled to fill the next full-time one that would occur on the death of an incumbent.⁶⁹ He is listed amongst those who sang at the funeral of Elizabeth I, which took place at Westminster Abbey on 28 April. The relative status of the musicians present is interestingly revealed by consideration of their allowances for mourning livery: the organist, John Bull, received nine yards of cloth, the same as the clergy, the 25 Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal were each allocated 7 yards for themselves and 2 for their servant, whereas the singing men of Westminster Abbey were entitled only to 4 yards and no servant. The Abbey boys received 1.5 yards each, a slightly more generous provision than that for the Children (singing boys) of the Chapel Royal, who were allocated only a yard.⁷⁰ Amongst the Abbey singing men on the occasion was one James Hoop, Edmund's son; a John Hoop is also listed as an Abbey boy.⁷¹ Both Edmund and James Hooper are likely to have sung at the coronation of James I on 25 July, which was

⁶⁵ Unlike in most provincial cathedrals – this is also discussed on pages 10 and 111.

⁶⁶ Thomas Weelkes being a notable exception.

⁶⁷ A Gentleman was entitled to over 100 free days a year – see Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 72.

⁶⁸ David Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal, Ancient and Modern* (London: Duckworth, 1990), 286.

⁶⁹ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 67.

⁷⁰ A. Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, IV (Snodland: Ashbee, 1991), 4.

⁷¹ Possibly the elder of Edmund's two sons of that name, who would have been about 13 at the time. 'Hooper' often appears as 'Hoop' in the records.

forcibly restricted in scale because of an outbreak of plague. The college at Westminster closed two days later and was to remain so until towards the end of the November.⁷²

Back at Westminster Abbey, perhaps because of his commitments elsewhere and, speculatively, maybe also because of the effects of the closures, Edmund's time as Master of the Choristers was proving to be not entirely without problem. In 1603 his patent was challenged: chapter minutes of 3 December record that, since 'there were many disorders in the choristers, Mr Deane and the prebendaries present there shall, in what tyme they think good, take order for the reformation of them, and the manner of their keeping, both in what sort and by whom'. Hooper was summoned to present himself 'both for the shewing of his patent, and also the lease which he claymes of the vicarige of St Margrets, and to order the same lease according to the right intendment in equity'.⁷³

There were also suggestions of financial irregularities. At around the same time, the Chapter received a petition from the Precentor, minor canons and Lay Vicars complaining that payments due to them had been withheld.⁷⁴ The Dean, Lancelot Andrews, demanded that Hooper answer the charge and withheld his wages covering the disputed amount until the matter was resolved.⁷⁵ No record exists as to the outcome.

Despite these issues, Hooper was sworn in at the Chapel Royal as a Gentleman Ordinary (a full place) on 1 March 1604, in succession to William Randall.⁷⁶ Gentlemen were appointed primarily as singers, but it is reasonable to assume that Hooper was also one of the organists at the time,⁷⁷ as on the whole there had been a tendency to share such duties out amongst able Gentlemen. One example of such can be seen when, after John Bull's abrupt departure

⁷² Knighton, *Acts II*, 204. Ashbee et al., *Biographical Dictionary*, gives the date as 7 October.

⁷³ Knighton, *Acts II*, 204–205.

⁷⁴ Knighton, *Acts II*, 205.

⁷⁵ WAM 65886.

⁷⁶ Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D318 (a register of the Chapel Royal), f. 29r: 'Edmund Hooper sworne the first of March [1603/4] in W^m Randolls Roome', (i.e., in place of William Randall); Ashbee *Records of English Court Music*, VIII (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1995), 321. Lehmborg, 'Musicians of Westminster Abbey', 104 gives 1612 but does not state a source.

⁷⁷ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 6

in 1613, 'beyond the seas without licence',⁷⁸ Hooper, along with Orlando Gibbons, was allocated a substantial share of his remaining wages, clearly suggesting the three men had together been recognised as organists.⁷⁹

In addition to a thriving professional life, this must have been a personally happy period. There is a record of a marriage at St Clement Danes of an Edmund Hooper and a Mary Aster, on 17 April 1604,⁸⁰ which would accord with his second wife known to have been called Mary⁸¹ and the baptism of their first child, a daughter Elizabeth, at St Margaret's Westminster on 13 March 1605.⁸²

In 1606, possibly as a way of dealing with some of the abovementioned problems, the Dean and Chapter of the Abbey divided the responsibilities of Master of the Choristers from those of the Organist. John Gibbs assumed the former, receiving the allowance for the choristers and the regard for teaching them whilst, in a patent dated 19 May, Hooper was appointed 'organist of the church', with a fee of £16.⁸³ Formal recognition of the separate posts came four years later, on 7 May 1610, where the Chapter Acts state that:

uppon due consideration of the good service which Mr Hooper, our organist, hath and doth continually performe in the service of the church it is decreed by us that the sayed Mr Hooper shall peacably injoye that part of the house allotted for the master of the queresters and the children them selves, the said queresters, in which he now dwelleth in and enjoyeth... and there being some defect in the sayed Mr Hoopers patent as organist sealed in the 4th year of his majesties raighne, there was this day a new patent sealed to his use as organist, with a fee of xvj li.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ A. Ashbee & J. Harley, eds., *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, 1 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 27. Bull fled possibly to escape charges of adultery, although he later insisted it was because he had been accused of catholicism – see Alan Brown, *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. 'Bull, John', accessed 20 August 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3905>.

⁷⁹ Ashbee et al., *Biographical Dictionary*, 8.

⁸⁰ ancestry.com, accessed 20 August 2023.

⁸¹ See, for example, *Knighton Acts III*, 21, 30, 42, 52, 64, 123. In the will of Mary Hooper's aunt (or cousin) Malyn Palmer, she is named as Malyn – see TNA: PRO, PROB 11/126/147.

⁸² Ashbee et al., *Biographical Dictionary*, 585.

⁸³ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 328.

⁸⁴ Knighton, *Acts III*, 10–11. The payment was made up of a £14 fee, housing in the Almonry, and a further annuity of £2.

In this way, Edmund Hooper notably became the first designated Organist of Westminster Abbey.

By 1615 Hooper was also an established organist at the Chapel Royal. An entry in the Cheque Book⁸⁵ of 2 November setting out regulations regarding the organists' duties – 'the most auncient Organist' took the 'eeve and daye of evry principall feast', with the second organist taking the second day and so on – was signed and witnessed by 'the now Organistes Edmund Hooper and Orlando Gibbons'.⁸⁶ Both were listed as the organists at Queen Anne's funeral in 1618; as Shaw points out, it was more evident by then of a 'much clearer consciousness of a definite position of organist in the Chapel'.⁸⁷

In 1616 Hooper's Westminster Abbey patent was again renewed for life, on the same terms but with added dividends (a share of the income which the Dean and Chapter enjoyed from their lands).⁸⁸ It is interesting to note that his basic rate of pay was the same as in 1606: cathedral stipends generally remained unchanged throughout Elizabeth I's long reign (and beyond), despite notable inflation and, towards the end of it, associated social unrest.⁸⁹ One reason for the stagnant pay was because cathedral income largely came from rents on property and land that had often, unwisely, been agreed on long leases.⁹⁰ At the same time, he and his wife were granted a lease of 'one tenement and a little yard in the little Almery, for 40 yeares', for an annual rent of five shillings. Their immediate neighbour was John Parsons, who was at the time Master of the Children and was to succeed Hooper as organist.⁹¹ The Chapter Acts books show several records of leases of property granted to the Hoopers: one of particular interest is that of 23 May 1620,⁹² which speaks of Edmund's 33 years' service, a reckoning that must refer to the 1588 patent.

⁸⁵ A ledger into which the business of the Chapel was entered.

⁸⁶ Ashbee et al., *Biographical Dictionary*, 97.

⁸⁷ Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, 6.

⁸⁸ Knighton, *Acts III*, 42.

⁸⁹ Butler, *By Instruments Her Powers Appeare*, 371; see also page 13.

⁹⁰ Smith, *The Cultivation of Music in English Cathedrals*, 42.

⁹¹ Knighton, *Acts III*, 45.

⁹² Knighton, *Acts III*, 64

Edmund Hooper died on 14 July 1621 and was succeeded as Organist of Westminster Abbey by Parsons (continuing also as Master of the Choristers) and at the Chapel Royal by Thomas Tomkins.⁹³ He was buried, at his request, in the Abbey cloisters alongside his first wife. His will, dated 20 October 1620 and proved on 31 July 1621 by his wife Mary, provided for money and household effects to his children, the largest sum being £100 for daughter Pellina; his sons Drew (b. 1592) and Thomas (b. 1595) are not mentioned and might have died young. There were further bequests to the poor of Halberton, Bradninch, Greenwich and Great Staughton,⁹⁴ and to 67 poor people (which might suggest his age at the time);⁹⁵ there were also several of property and pasture and 32 shillings toward a Feast of the Choir of Westminster. A particularly touching bequest was to his 'daughter Lee' of her mother's wedding ring.⁹⁶ Edmund Hooper was clearly a man of substance and generosity.

⁹³ Ashbee et al., *Biographical Dictionary*, 584; it also states Orlando Gibbons as Hooper's successor at the Abbey, although Gibbons assumed the post in 1623, after Parsons' death.

⁹⁴ Joyce Youings, *Sixteenth Century England* (London: Penguin, 1984), 88 points out that people in Tudor England felt a natural affinity for the places where they had been born and where they spent their childhood.

⁹⁵ Morehen, *Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 28 January 2024.

⁹⁶ His eldest daughter, Philippa, who married George Lee in 1598.

Chapter 2 – The English post-Reformation anthem

By way of introduction to an examination of Hooper's anthems, a brief discussion of Early English style and sources is in order.

Emergence and development

The post-Reformation anthem (from 'antiphon') was a polyphonic setting of a sacred English text, normally sung by the choir after the collects at Matins and Evensong, with texts mostly from the Bible and the Prayer Book.⁹⁷ It emerged out of the motet and developed as an alternative for the Catholic votive antiphon. Motets are polyphonic Latin sacred madrigals, whilst antiphons, so-named from the Greek 'sounding across', are short plainsong refrains to a versicle (short verse) intoned by a priest during Mass or at Lauds or Vespers. Polyphonic votive antiphons – a term commonly understood to refer to the four Marian antiphons⁹⁸ – appeared in England in the 14th century and were sung separately from the Mass and Office, often after Compline. During the 15th century, English composers produced expanded settings with increasing complexity, many of which can be found in the Eton Choirbook⁹⁹.

In the 1540s, opposition to what was seen as superstitious devotion to the saints, along with the call for worship to be plainly understood and based on scriptural authority, brought about the demise of the Marian antiphon. The 1548 Injunction served by Edward VI upon Lincoln Cathedral imposed drastic change,¹⁰⁰ instructing that they 'sing or say no anthems of our Lady or other Saints, but only of our Lord', prohibiting the use of Latin and replacing it

⁹⁷ Peter Le Huray and John Harper, 'Anthem in England', *Grove Music Online*, accessed 7 August 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/omo/9781561592630.013.90000382017>.

⁹⁸ Alma redemptoris Mater, Ave Regina caelorum, Regina Caeli, Salve Regina. However, there are others, such as the Great O antiphons associated with Advent.

⁹⁹ Magnus Williamson, ed., *The Eton Choirbook: Facsimile and Introductory Study*, DIAMM Facsimiles (Oxford, 2010)

¹⁰⁰ Although the injunction is specific to Lincoln, it is indicative of the wider trend.

with English, 'setting thereunto a plain and distinct note for every syllable'.¹⁰¹ Elizabethan Injunctions of 1559 added further guidance for music in cathedrals and churches with choirs:

And that there be a modest and distinct song, so used in all parts of the Common Prayers in the Church, that the same may be as plainly understood, as if it were without singing. And yet, nevertheless, it may be permitted, that in the beginning, or in the end of Common Prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn, or such-like song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence [sense] of the hymn may be understood and perceived.¹⁰²

A careful distinction has been made between the 'hymn' – understood in this context to mean 'anthem'¹⁰³ – and the 'modest song' of the congregation. The Edwardian prayer books avoid reference to the word 'anthem', whilst John Day's *Certaine notes* of 1560, the first published collection of English church music, uses the words 'anthem' and 'prayer' synonymously.¹⁰⁴

Two of the major sources of early Anglican polyphonic anthems are the Wanley¹⁰⁵ and Lumley¹⁰⁶ partbooks, which date from the late 1540s, a time when composers, perhaps not always certain of their direction, were experimenting with idiom. There are seventeen 'antems' in the Wanley books, most of which are biblical texts set in ABB form.¹⁰⁷

The required simplicity of early anthems helped ensure maximum clarity of diction. The insistence on clearly enunciated English inevitably allowed only for the simplest of

¹⁰¹ The source of this is a 1544 letter from Cranmer to Henry VIII: 'In mine opinion, the song... would not be full of notes, but as near as may be, for every syllable, a note; so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly'. See *State Papers of Henry VIII*, i (London, 1830), 760–61.

¹⁰² W.H. Frere and W.P.M. Kennedy, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions* III, 1559–1575 (London: Longmans Green & Company, 1910), 23.

¹⁰³ E.H. Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music*, rev. J.A Westrup (London: Methuen, 1969), 51.

¹⁰⁴ Le Huray and Harper, 'Anthem in England'.

¹⁰⁵ *Ob* MS. Mus. Sch. e 420–22, dating from 1549 and named after their 18th-century owner Humfrey Wanley.

¹⁰⁶ *Lb* Royal Appendix 74–6, dating from 1548.

¹⁰⁷ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 180.

polyphony, but at the same time providing opportunity for textual variation. A fine example is Thomas Tallis's exquisite miniature, *If ye love me*, which appears in the Wanley books. It opens homophonically with admirable syllabic conformity:

before moving into simple imitative polyphony, adding interest through a gentle interweaving of parts, immediately elevating the music whilst never detracting from the text.¹⁰⁸ It remains intelligible to the listener by employing only two or three voices at a time in polyphony:

¹⁰⁸ It should be remembered, of course, that Tallis's music was astonishingly varied in style – compare this with, for example, the monumental *Gaude gloriosa Dei mater*, which is now thought to be late Henrician (see David Skinner, 'Deliver me from my deceitful enemies': a Tallis contrafactum in time of war', *Early Music*, 44(2), 233–250 (2016)). Tallis, with remarkable assurance, symbolised the times in which he lived, his output reflecting the religious and political turmoil associated with four successive monarchs.

A relatively quick and straightforward way of dealing with the need for service music in the vernacular was to replace existing Latin motets with English texts, a practice known as *contrafactum*. The new English texts would likely be written to fit the existing music and usually to loosely the same meaning. A good indication of the existence of text adaptation is the presence of short-duration repeated notes, suggesting a phrase has been modified to allow for a larger number of syllables than in the original Latin.¹⁰⁹

An example is again taken from the works of Tallis, whose motet *Salvator mundi (I)* gave rise to two English versions, *Arise O Lord* and *With all our hearts*,¹¹⁰ the Cantus parts of which are reproduced below:

The image displays three staves of musical notation, each with a title and source on the left. The first staff is for 'Salvator mundi (Och Mus 984)' and shows the Latin text 'Sal - va - tor mun - di, sal - va nos, sal - - - va nos, sal - va nos,'. The second staff is for 'Arise, O Lord (DRc C1)' and shows the English text 'A - rise, O Lord, and hear my voice, and hear my voice, a - rise O Lord and hear my voice,'. The third staff is for 'With all our hearts (Lbl 29372)' and shows the English text 'With all our hearts and mouth we con - fess, praise and bless thee, bless thee'. All three staves use a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and the melody is written on a single line.

Interestingly, *Arise O Lord* appears only in Durham partbooks, suggesting it might have been made for the cathedral choir in the 1620s, whereas manuscripts containing *With all our hearts* can be found in ten libraries.¹¹¹

By 1600, the anthem had become one of the principal musical forms of English choral services of Matins, Evensong and Holy Communion, and the term had become well established. Anthems are to be found in both liturgical and domestic sources, indicating the overlap of religious observance in church and in the home.

¹⁰⁹ John Morehen, 'Lamentations and contrafacta', compact disc liner notes for *Thomas Tallis, The Complete Works, Volume 8*, Chapelle du Roi, directed by Alistair Dixon, Signum Records, SIGCD036, 2004.

¹¹⁰ Unusually, the text of *With all our hearts* has a different meaning from the original Latin version.

¹¹¹ <https://ecm.tcd.ie/titles/incipits/3574> (accessed 7 July 2025).

The most significant development of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods was the rise of the verse anthem, a genre that alternated sections for solo voice (or voices) and full choir, with an independent organ accompaniment. They grew in complexity during the period, employing a wide range of sonorities in both verse and chorus sections. Verse anthems are discussed further in chapter 5.

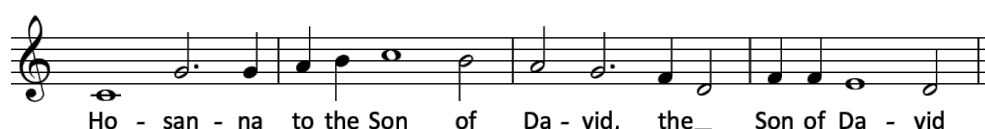
Late Elizabethan polyphonic style

Edmund Hooper's musical style is essentially that of Byrd and the Tudor polyphonists. H.K. Andrews, in his comprehensive analysis of Byrd's compositional style,¹¹² sets out the salient features, which include melody, text, counterpoint, tonality, and the use of dissonance.

A preference for a conjunct melodic line, through stepwise progressions of a diatonic semitone and tone, can be found throughout the music of Byrd and contemporaries. They are more often encountered in passages of shorter note values, giving rise to melodic lines that are always 'vocal'. In this extended passage, from Byrd's *Laetentur coeli*, there is a gradual ascent to a strong climax:



Another melodic feature is what Andrews describes as a curvilinear line, with balanced rises and falls, starting and ending at about the same level.¹¹³ Here, in Gibbons' *Hosanna to the Son of David*, the textual accent additionally coincides with the apex of the phrase:



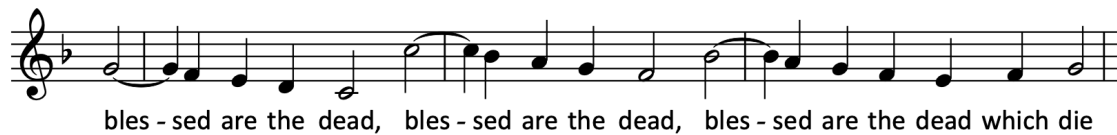
¹¹² H.K. Andrews, *The Technique of Byrd's Vocal Polyphony* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966).

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 74.

Byrd also makes use of melodic sequences, usually the repetition of short, self-contained phrases at different pitches, such as in this extract from *Vigilate*:



The intended effect of the Edwardian Injunctions was for clear declamation of text with little or no melismatic treatment. Composers often extended a melodic line by repeating sections of text, such as in Tomkins' *I heard a voice*:



Speech rhythm influenced musical setting, through manipulations of pitch and rhythm, with longer note-values representing stressed syllables and the apex of a phrase representing an important textual feature. An example is in the opening bars of the Cantus part of Byrd's *This day Christ was born*:



Madrigalian techniques such as word-painting, chromaticism and expressive ornamentation helped bring about an increasing depth of textual expression. Rising lines often accompanied an ascent to mountains or heavens, disjunct or fast-moving melodies were associated with anger or anxiety, lively melismatic passages with joy, and creative use of dissonance was often a delicious portrayal of anguish. Byrd's remarkable ability is gloriously manifest in such contrasting compositions as the exuberant six-part *Laudibus in sanctis* and the exquisitely moving *Ne irascaris, Domine*: in the latter he depicts an extraordinary atmosphere of desolation, in the major mode and without extensive dissonance, through

the use of subtle word-setting and expressive imitation. Such unity of textual declamation and musical expression can also be seen in the best works of Gibbons,¹¹⁴ Weelkes¹¹⁵ and Byrd's pupil Tomkins.¹¹⁶

Imitation as rhetoric can be seen in a simple form in Tallis's *If ye love me* (see page 26), where the words 'and I will' are set to a motif of three repeating minims in each voice followed by a leap to the word 'pray'. Tallis's *Salvator mundi I* shows a more formal imitative structure. The opening subject cascades down through the five parts; the first two entries are separated by a breve, as are the third and fourth entries, whilst a gap of two breves separates the second and third entries and the fourth and fifth.

The image displays a musical score for Tallis's *Salvator mundi I*, featuring five voices: Discantus, Medius, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus. The score is written in G-clef staves with a key signature of one flat (F major/D minor) and a common time signature (C). The lyrics are: 'Sal - va - tor mun - di, sal - va nos, sal - va nos, sal - va Sal - va tor mun - di, sal - va nos, sal - va Sal - va tor mun - di, sal - va Sal - va'. The score illustrates the imitative structure where the opening subject cascades down through the voices. The first two entries are separated by a breve, as are the third and fourth entries, whilst a gap of two breves separates the second and third entries and the fourth and fifth.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, *Hosanna to the Son of David*.

¹¹⁵ See, for example, *Alleluia, I heard a voice*.

¹¹⁶ See, for example, the spirited 12-part *O Praise the Lord*, or the declamatory solo verses in *O Lord, let me know mine end*.

¹¹⁷ Joseph Kerman, 'Byrd, Tallis and the art of imitation', in *Write these all down – Essays in Music* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 91.



Regularity in imitation was a principle followed by Tallis's younger contemporaries, such as William Mundy and Robert White, whereas Byrd was aware of but showed less concern for such symmetry.¹¹⁸

By the end of the sixteenth century, the old modal system had started to break down. The concept was focused on melody and characterised by certain intervals and a mode's final,¹¹⁹ whereas diatonic tonality was concerned with harmony. Polyphony is linear and melodic, with any harmonic element emerging from combining the strands, and its development led to a growing awareness of the vertical aspect of melodic lines in combination. With Byrd and other post-Reformation composers this vertical element grew in importance, but the main driving force was still one of horizontal progress.¹²⁰ Any resulting chords were a secondary outcome of contrapuntal juxtaposition rather than an entity in themselves.

Chromatic alterations to modal scales had also become increasingly common. They were usually employed, according to the centuries-old rules of *musica ficta*,¹²¹ to avoid forbidden intervals such as tritones and diminished fifths, to create cadences and to alter the last chord of a piece to the major, and helped ultimately to lay foundations for an eventual shift to major/minor tonality. Byrd tended to favour Ionian and Aeolian modes, corresponding to major and descending melodic minor tonality.

Intervals of a second, fourth or seventh above the bass were treated as dissonances and were prepared and resolved in stepwise motion. Suspensions postponed resolution and added to aural tension. Tritones, augmented 4ths and augmented 5ths are rare in sixteenth-century polyphony.

False relations, also called cross relations, are a distinctive feature of English Tudor polyphony. The term refers to the simultaneous or near-simultaneous occurrence of the raised and lowered forms of a pitch, usually a third or a sixth, and occur as a result of the

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 96.

¹¹⁹ The 'final' is the first note of a mode.

¹²⁰ See, for example, John Harley, *William Byrd's Modal Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), chapter 3.

¹²¹ See, for example, Margaret Bent, 'Musica Recta and Musica Ficta', *Musica Disciplina* 26 (1972), 73-100

interweaving of melodic lines in which horizontal progress takes precedence over any vertical harmony.¹²² A version of this appeared at cadences, where the seventh degree of a scale was raised in an ascending line and lowered in another descending line, a feature that became known as an ‘English cadence’. Byrd used the technique extensively, notably in English liturgical settings and Latin motets,¹²³ such as with this example from *Aspice Domine de sede*, with its descending e” flat in S against a rising e’ natural in M.



Another way Tudor composers dealt with dissonances is through so-called cambiata figures, an idiom in which the essential feature is a leap of a third from an unaccented dissonance which has been approached by step in the same direction as the leap.¹²⁴ They frequently occurred as a cadential formula for inner voices, such as in the final bars of Gibbons’ *Almighty and everlasting God*:



These abovementioned features appear in Hooper’s music and will be discussed further in Chapter 3 as they arise.

¹²² Thomas Morley, in *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Music* (London: Peter Short, 1597), 164, is highly dismissive of the practice: ‘amongst many evil this is one of the worst’.

¹²³ Andrews, *The Technique of Byrd’s Vocal Polyphony*, 107.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 159

Sources

The sources are mostly in manuscript, with Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick* (1641) being the only pre-Commonwealth source of printed Anglican service music. Choir partbooks are of particular importance, and can be found in libraries at cathedrals, collegiate churches, royal chapels and a few university chapels.¹²⁵ Only about a dozen sets have survived and most of them are incomplete,¹²⁶ meaning much of the extant music is imperfect and, in some cases, too fragmentary to be reconstructed. As partbooks were compiled by singers as well as organists, no two sets of books are likely to have contained the same choice of music and so it must be assumed that many anthems and services have entirely disappeared.

Over half the music in every source is by the same few composers, most of whom, such as Tallis, Byrd and Gibbons, held appointments at the Chapel Royal. Le Huray notes that, shortly before the Civil War, there were 321 anthems in the Chapel Royal music books, of which 302 were by 'royal' musicians and fifteen were anonymous, leaving only four by outside composers.¹²⁷ The music must have disseminated through the Gentlemen, some of whom held simultaneous appointments in the shires.¹²⁸

As indicated above, not all anthems were written as service music – some devotional anthems were composed for private performance in the home and it is not always obvious which is which. Devotional anthems are not liturgical pieces, although some appear in both cathedral and secular manuscripts and so must have had dual functions. Certainly not all music from domestic sources would have been appropriate for use in church, as is evident from considerations of scoring, harmony and rhythm: for example, there are no 2- and 3-part liturgical pieces of the period, whereas complex music would have demanded too much by way of rehearsal to have featured in services. Thomas Weelkes's highly chromatic *When*

¹²⁵ See 'List of sources' in Part 2 for those containing featured works by Edmund Hooper.

¹²⁶ These are listed in Peter le Huray, 'Towards a Definitive Study of Pre-Restoration Anglican Service Music', *Musica Disciplina*, 14 (1960), 170–171 and described in detail by John Morehen, 'Sources of English Cathedral Music, c.1617–c.1644,' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1969).

¹²⁷ Peter Le Huray, 'The English Anthem, 1580–1640', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* (1959–60), 4.

¹²⁸ See also page 19.

David Heard, for example, was likely to have been considered as ‘wanton [or] unsuitable harmony’,¹²⁹ as well as beyond the capabilities of his Chichester Cathedral choir.¹³⁰

Domestic sources include the Sadler,¹³¹ Dow¹³² and Baldwin¹³³ partbooks, the result of years of collecting (perhaps also for purposes of preservation) and beautifully copied by their eponymous authors, as well as a number of pre-Restoration manuscripts. Byrd and Tallis’s *Cantiones Sacrae* of 1575 – probably music intended for Queen Elizabeth’s privy chamber – appealed to a domestic readership rather than to church choirs: the full title signifies they are ‘songs, from which their contents are called sacred’, and from the preface we learn that ‘whoever possess wisdom honours music’. The contents – anthems for the home – are highly varied and designed to impress.¹³⁴

The sources of Edmund Hooper’s anthems are discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

Texts

John Morehen, taking as a starting point Daniel and Le Huray’s catalogue,¹³⁵ which lists known surviving sources of all settings of English sacred texts that might be assumed to have been composed between the Reformation and the Restoration, reasons that there were about 1,350 English anthem texts in use between 1549–1660.¹³⁶

The majority of these, a little over half, are taken from the psalms, and can be further divided into selected verses from a single psalm, settings of entire psalms and of verses from

¹²⁹ Le Huray, ‘The English Anthem’, 9.

¹³⁰ Caldwell, *Oxford History of English Music*, 361. The Chichester choir was a ‘half choir’, without decani and cantoris division.

¹³¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library: Mus.e.1–5.

¹³² Christ Church College, Oxford: Mus. 984–988.

¹³³ Christ Church College, Oxford: Mus 979–83.

¹³⁴ John Milsom, ‘Sacred Songs in the Chamber’ in *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge, 1995), 161–79.

¹³⁵ Ralph T. Daniel and Peter Le Huray, *The Sources of English Church Music, 1549–1660*, Early English Church Music supplement, 2 volumes (London: Stainer and Bell, 1972), 2 vols. [Now = EECM Online database].

¹³⁶ John Morehen, ‘The English Anthem Text, 1549–1660’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 117 (1992), 63–64.

more than one psalm. Of these, the first is most common, although longer psalm settings that include a Gloria might not have been intended as anthems.¹³⁷ Settings of verses from two or more psalms were more a feature of Jacobean than Elizabethan times: an example is Walter Porter's *O give thanks unto the Lord* (music lost), which calls upon six different psalms.¹³⁸ Texts from scripture other than Psalms are relatively few, around 10% of all anthem texts, mostly from the New Testament. That of Edmund Hooper's *Behold, it is Christ*, for example, is from Acts 10: 42–43.

Settings of metrical texts, such as those in Leighton's 1614 publication *Teares and Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule*, were likely intended for private devotions, despite shortcomings in quality of much of the material.¹³⁹ They can also be found in some early verse anthems, such as Mundy's *Ah, helpless wretch*. Different texts of the same metre could be easily interchanged, although Hooper's Easter anthem *The Blessed Lamb*, also existing as a Christmas version, *A fruitful branch of Jesse*, is one of only two such examples to have survived.¹⁴⁰

Collects are season-specific prayers: the Collects for the Day, being generally concise and occupying an important place within services of Holy Communion, Matins and Evensong, lent themselves well as anthem texts. Over 80 such compositions survive,¹⁴¹ including two by Edmund Hooper, *Almighty God, which hast given us thy only-begotten Son*, for Christmas Day, and *Almighty God, which madest thy blessed Son*, a verse anthem for the Circumcision. Collect-anthems were more a Jacobean than Elizabethan product, which helps explain why most such surviving sources are in verse form, with an independent organ accompaniment. Their liturgical function is unclear, but Morehen suggests they were more likely to have served as anthems rather than collect-substitutes.¹⁴²

¹³⁷ For example, Byrd's setting of Psalm 100, *Make we joy to God*, number 24 in 'Psalms, Songs and Sonnets' (1611), is often sung as a Jubilate.

¹³⁸ Morehen, 'The English Anthem Text', 66.

¹³⁹ Ibid: 'The appeal to composers of these metrical texts is out of all proportion to the intrinsic merits of the texts themselves'.

¹⁴⁰ The other is Nathaniel Giles's *O how happy a thing it is / O Lord, on whom I do depend* – see Morehen 'The English Anthem Text', 73.

¹⁴¹ Morehen 'The English Anthem Text', 75.

¹⁴² Ibid., 79.

Chapter 3 – The anthems of Edmund Hooper

Edmund Hooper was one of the most respected composers of his generation. Other than a handful of keyboard pieces, his surviving music is choral and sets exclusively sacred and semi-sacred texts. He wrote five services, including an elaborate verse setting of the evening canticles; seven or eight full anthems and five verse anthems also survive, with a further seven (five verse and two full) being incomplete.¹⁴³ Three of his full anthems, *Behold, it is Christ, O thou God almighty* and *Teach me thy way, O Lord* appear in John Barnard's pioneering 1641 collection, *The First Book of Selected Church Musick*, and he was described by the antiquarian Anthony Wood (1632–95) as an 'excellent composer of church anthems'.¹⁴⁴ His works can be found in almost all pre-Restoration sources, a testament to the esteem in which his works were held.¹⁴⁵

Hooper's style

Hooper had a unique musical voice. His ambitious works are often characterised by an expressive chromaticism and what Le Huray describes as an 'unusual and adventurous sense of tonality'¹⁴⁶ as well as, perhaps slightly contradictorily, a 'conservative, yet very personable harmonic vocabulary'.¹⁴⁷ Anthony Langford, writing about Hooper's service music, suggests that 'his conception of melodic line, combined with a judicious balance between homophony and polyphony, is quite unequalled and unrivalled in this period'.¹⁴⁸

Hooper's anthems, in 5-part polyphony with divided contratenors,¹⁴⁹ are richly textured. His melodic lines are disjunct, with larger intervals are frequently encountered. There is also

¹⁴³ Daniel and Le Huray, *The Sources of English Church Music*.

¹⁴⁴ This appears as a footnote in to Hooper's entry in Chester *Burial Registers*, 148.

¹⁴⁵ Morehen, 'English Church Music', 127.

¹⁴⁶ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 103.

¹⁴⁷ Le Huray, *The English Anthem*, 12.

¹⁴⁸ A. Langford, 'Music for the English Prayer Book from Tallis to Tomkins' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Reading, 1969), 202.

¹⁴⁹ See the section on voice types in Chapter 5.

frequent elision of polyphonic entries, in some cases ending on a weak beat and starting again without a rest, which can obscure phrase structure.

A feature often encountered (although it is not limited to the works of Hooper) is that of a raised form of a note immediately followed by lower form, for example in *Almighty God, which hast given*, bars 23 (M) and 37 (1Ct):

The image displays two musical staves from a score, labeled 23 and 37. Each staff has five parts: M (Melody), 1Ct (First Contratenor), 2Ct (Second Contratenor), T (Tenor), and B (Bass). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are written below the staves. In bar 23, the lyrics are 'Vir - - gin, of'. In bar 37, the lyrics are 'grace, may dai'. The score shows the elision of polyphonic entries and the use of raised and lowered notes.

Another is a tendency is for an augmented or diminished interval to be created from a preceding 'hanging' note. Here, for example, in *Almighty God, which hast given*, a compound augmented 5th appears on the fourth beat as a result of the prolongation of the bass f. It resolves on the last crotchet by step.

44

M
be re - new'd, be

1Ct
new'd, be re -

2Ct
may

T
dai - ly be re -

B
may dai - ly

Hooper's verse anthems are lengthy; they show a colourful and original choice of texts and a strong sense of individualism. His younger contemporary Orlando Gibbons, considered a master of the form, mostly set texts from the Book of Common Prayer and the King James Bible, and the 'extravagant, theatrical' style of his *See, see, the Word is Incarnate* has been unfavourably compared with that of Hooper.¹⁵⁰ Most of Hooper's verse anthems begin with solos for means,¹⁵¹ and three of them – *The Blessed Lamb*, *Hearken ye nations* and *O God of Gods* – appear in domestic versions (with the same text) for voices and viols.

Morehen suggests that the restricted nature of Hooper's compositional output suggests he was 'as uninspired by the secular vocal forms as by the instrumental ensemble genres' and that his few pieces of keyboard music are characterised by 'a sense of poise and a feeling for balanced phrases seldom found in his more extended works'.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Andrew Gant, *O Sing unto the Lord – A History of English Church Music* (London: Profile Books, 2015), 167. The text of the Gibbons anthem is by Geoffrey Goodman, Dean of Rochester; it traces Christ's entire life from birth to the Ascension.

¹⁵¹ Le Huray, *The English Anthem*, 12 states that all Hooper's verse anthems begin with solos for 'trebles' but, as the MD part for *O Lord, in thee is all my trust* is missing, I have been unable to verify this.

¹⁵² Morehen, *Grove Music Online*.

Edmund Hooper today

Very little of Hooper's music is available in modern editions. *Behold it is Christ*, edited by David Evans for a recording by the Brabant Ensemble, is published by Cathedral Press.¹⁵³ The four-part *Teach me thy way, O Lord*, edited by Watkins Shaw, is published by Oxford University Press and is available as a Church Music Society reprint, although its authorship is unclear and some sources ascribe it to (William) Mundy.¹⁵⁴ Similarly, *O how glorious art thou*, ascribed in some sources to Hooper and others to Robert White, was published in 1964 by OUP and appears attributed to White in volume 5 of the Tudor Church Music series.¹⁵⁵ Three sets of evening canticles are also in print.

Otherwise, editions of three anthems – *Almighty God, which has given, Behold it is Christ* and the verse anthem *O God of Gods* – as well as some service music and psalm harmonisations can be found in the Choral Public Domain Library; as might be expected from the nature of the site, the scholarship of these editions varies. Other recordings of a few selected full and verse anthems have been made by the choir of Selwyn College under Andrew Gant,¹⁵⁶ and by the Magdalena Consort with Fretwork.¹⁵⁷

One reason for the today's relative neglect of Hooper's works must be the incomplete state of many of his surviving compositions, leaving only a small number of performable works. Another suggestion is that of the poor quality of many of the metrical texts that he set, which have, for example, been described as 'inadequate Elizabethan and Jacobean verse',¹⁵⁸ 'expressive devotional poetry of questionable literary merit',¹⁵⁹ and 'colourful and original,

¹⁵³ Edmund Hooper, *Behold it is Christ*, ed. David Evans (Salisbury: Cathedral Press, 2011); the Brabant Ensemble recording is on the Hyperion label, CDA67695. Both are pitched a minor third above written. Peter Le Huray's 1960 edition, published by Schott, is long out of print.

¹⁵⁴ Edmund Hooper, *Teach me thy way, O Lord* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961). Manuscripts at Durham Cathedral ascribe it to (William) Mundy whilst Barnard's *The First Book of Selected Church Music* of 1641 and partbooks at Christ Church, Oxford and the British Library ascribe it to Hooper. Le Huray *Music and the Reformation*, 258 suggests on stylistic grounds that it is either an early work by Hooper otherwise by Mundy.

¹⁵⁵ *O how glorious* is discussed on page 72.

¹⁵⁶ The Choir of Selwyn College, Cambridge, *Behold, it is Christ – Edmund Hooper and his contemporaries*, Lammas Records, LAMM096 (1998).

¹⁵⁷ Magdalena consort with Fretwork, *In Chains of Gold – the English Pre-Restoration Verse Anthem*, Volume 2, Signum Records, SIGCD609 (2020).

¹⁵⁸ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 259.

¹⁵⁹ Gant, sleeve notes to Lammas Records, LAMM096.

verging on the bizarre'.¹⁶⁰ Le Huray further notes that Hooper's textual underlay is 'not, on the whole... as satisfactory' as Byrd's.¹⁶¹

Another part-explanation might come from the length and scale of many of his works: some, such as the verse anthem *Hearken ye Nations*, written to commemorate the Gunpowder Plot,¹⁶² are demanding, whilst his harmonisations for Thomas Este's 1592 psalter are short and slight works. Others are without an obvious context for their use, such as the 'baffling' *Wellspring of Bounty*.¹⁶³ Further, Caldwell suggests that 'the elaboration [of his verse anthems] is not matched by that unity of textual declamation and musical expression that is seen in Byrd' and would be in Gibbons and Tomkins.¹⁶⁴

William Allred, in a thesis comparing Hooper's *I will magnify thee O Lord* and Gibbons' *Almighty and everlasting God*, concludes that the relative obscurity of Hooper's music might in part be explained by the composer's conservative compositional style:

Many of the characteristics exemplified in Hooper's anthem represent a culmination of the stylistic traits of previous generations. The continuous polyphonic texture, irregular phrase lengths, and modal-based harmony are reminiscent of pre-Reformation music. Additionally, Hooper's music lacks the rhythmic vitality created by changing metric groupings that pervades Gibbons' anthem.¹⁶⁵

In the end, maybe as Gant suggests, Hooper's 'strong vein of individualism' explains 'both why his music was so popular in its day and, ironically, why it has largely failed to hold its place in the repertoire'.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ Gant, *O Sing unto the Lord*, 165.

¹⁶¹ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 257, although he goes on to say that in other respects Hooper's work is 'little inferior to the best of the period'.

¹⁶² A Thanksgiving Act of 1606 called for 5 November as a National Day of Commemoration, to be observed throughout the nation by attendance at a special services. It remained in force until 1859. – see <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/parliamentaryauthority/the-gunpowder-plot-of-1605/collections/thanksgiving-act/>

¹⁶³ Gant, sleeve notes to Lammas Records, LAMM096.

¹⁶⁴ Caldwell, *Oxford History of English Music*, 357.

¹⁶⁵ Allred, E.W., 'Edmund Hooper, A Study of his Style compared to Orlando Gibbons and Prevailing Tudor Polyphony', (D.M.A. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2008), 58.

¹⁶⁶ Gant, *O Sing unto the Lord*, 165.

Editing challenges

In Part 2 of this thesis, I present a critical edition of six of Hooper's anthems and a reconstruction of a lost verse anthem. In doing so, several editing challenges have had to be overcome.

There is no autograph manuscript. The Caroline manuscripts at Peterhouse College, Cambridge were chosen as primary sources, as they are not only one of the earliest surviving sources but also the most comprehensive and most complete. Where the tenor partbook is missing, *DRc* C11 has been employed as it is contemporaneous with those at Peterhouse.

However, there are considerable differences between the concordant sources,¹⁶⁷ mostly to do with underlay, polysyllabic words and the omission of accidentals arising probably from scribes working under pressure. For example, within the 29 sources consulted there are 19 variations of the tenor part in bars 44–49 of *Behold it is Christ*.¹⁶⁸ Casual positioning of accidentals and lack of clarity regarding the notes to which they apply – typical of the scribal practices of the time – are a further source of uncertainty.

The condition of the surviving secondary source manuscripts also presents occasional problems: some, such as *DRc* C1, are extremely difficult to read whilst others consist of torn or fragmentary pages (*DRc* C12 being the most challenging example).

It is also possible to overlook some sources if their existence is not documented. The Early English Church Music (EECM) site hosted by Trinity College Dublin, along with the Digital Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM) at Oxford and RISM (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales), list between them the known sources but they are not consistent – for example, RISM lists 11 manuscripts of *Behold, it is Christ* that do not appear on EECM. In some cases, individual librarians kindly introduced me to sources of which I was unaware, which included some at Canterbury Cathedral and several at St George's Chapel, Windsor.

¹⁶⁷ I am using this term to describe primary sources that have not served as the base of the editions.

¹⁶⁸ See the textual commentary in Part 2.

Selected full anthems

Almighty God, which hast given

A critical edition of the anthem can be found in Part 2. The text is an adaptation of the Collect for Christmas Day, from the Book of Common Prayer:

Almighty God, which hast given us thy only begotten Son
to take our nature upon him,
and to be born of a pure Virgin:
Grant that we, being regenerate,
and made thy children by adoption and grace,
may daily be renewed by thy Holy Spirit;
through the same our Lord Jesus Christ,
Amen.

Structure

Bars	
1–4	Introductory homophonic statement: 'Almighty God'
5–16	Polyphonic textual clauses
17–25	Some antiphonal upper/lower voice writing: 'and to be born...'
26–37	Some antiphonal decani/full voice writing: 'Grant that we being regenerate'
38–58	2 sections of imitative polyphony
59–64	Coda: Amen

This full anthem is 64 bars long and is scored, as is usual for the period, for 5-part voices with divided contratenors.¹⁶⁹ The Mean has a narrow range of a seventh, e' to d'', whilst contratenors sing up to a' and basses down to E. Here it should be noted that the late sixteenth century was a transitional period, where the old modal system was gradually replaced by the modern tonal system. I recognise that mention of keys and tonal centres

¹⁶⁹ See the section on voice types, page 110.

The anthem has a minor-key ‘feel’, being essentially in Aeolian mode with raised sevenths, although it passes constantly from one tonal centre to another. In particular, there are hints of e minor (with and without raised thirds), for example at the cadence at bars 24–25:

and of d minor, for example, in bars 38–42:

44

The setting is mostly one note for every syllable, with some melisma at the cadences, such as in bars 35–37; note also the cambiata figure in bar 37:

Bars 38–44 are an example of a melodic sequence in M, as are bars 55–56:

The polyphonic texture is almost continuous in all voices, with non-imitative counterpoint sustaining some of the texture until a new set of entries. Hooper largely avoids silence through the elision of polyphonic phrases and of polyphonic and cadential phrases. The texture is dense, largely as it is in 5 voices, and occasionally leads to some awkward word-setting, such as M bar 21:

21

M of a pure Vir - gin,

1Ct of a pure Vir

2Ct pure Vir - - - gin,

T a pure Vir - - - gin,

B pure Vir - - - gin,

Sometimes words are omitted from or added to imitative phrases: for example, in bars 5–8, the M entry in bar 6 omits ‘only begotten’ and the B part in bars 7–8 omits ‘begotten’, whilst 2Ct in bar 6 repeats ‘unto us’. Some word stresses are a little ugly, such as the second syllable of ‘only’ appearing on a strong beat in bars 6 (T) and 7 (2Ct), the latter with a short melisma. In bar 7, 1Ct has a weak stressed syllable on a strong beat:

5

M which hast gi - ven us thy_ Son, which hast given us thy on - ly

1Ct on - ly be - got - ten Son, thy on - ly be - got - ten_ Son, be -

2Ct us, which hast given un - to us, un - to us thy on - ly_ be - got - ten_ Son,

T given us thy on - ly be - got - ten_ Son, which - hast given us thy

B which hast given us thy on - ly Son, which hast

It should be said that awkwardness in word setting is not a feature that is found only in Hooper: much vocal music of this period contains such moments, perhaps indicating that precise word setting was not as valued then as it is now. This is supported by the variance in

In bars 9–12, 2Ct seems to be ‘stuck’, not joining in the new phrase until bar 14.

Entries overlap throughout, as a result of which it is not always evident where some textual clauses start and end.

The section from bars 17–20 sees both first and second contratenor dividing decani and cantoris. The 1Ct music appears in decani sources only, whilst the 2Ct music appears in cantoris sources in bars 17–19 and decani from the end of bar 19 into bar 20. However, the M, T and B parts are not divided in this way and so Hooper’s intention is unclear, especially as cantoris 2Ct is scored against decani 1Ct and, crucially, none of the organ sources contains ‘verse’ and ‘full’ indications. In the light of this, and of there being few surviving sources (two each of 1CtD, 1CtD, and only one of 2CtC), I have transcribed the parts as full throughout; this keeps the antiphonal sections, but between upper and lower voices. In bar 19, the high tessitura in 1Ct and the bright A major ‘tonality’ lends a certain radiance to the sound, coinciding with the first appearance of the words ‘of a pure Virgin’; a rising stepwise motion in all parts, with stretto entries all generated from the M line and perhaps symbolic of the Virgin Birth, helps create anticipation, which is resolved cadentially.

17

M him, and to be born of a pure Vir - gin,

1Ct him, and to be born of a pure Vir - gin,

2Ct him, and to be born of a pure Vir - gin, and to be born, of a

T him. and to be born of

B him, and to be born of a

Along with bars 26–37, the passage is a refreshing variation from the otherwise slightly heavy texture of the rest of the piece.

Starting slightly before the midpoint of the anthem, bars 26–37 feature what at first looks like a version of decani/cantoris antiphonal writing (although again it is unclear whether this was entirely Hooper's intention).¹⁷⁰ In the 'vers' sections, bars 26–28, 31–32 and 33–35, the 1Ct part divides into decani and cantor, the M and T parts appear in decani sources only and 2Ct and B are silent. One solution to the inconsistency would have been to have moved the 1Ct cantor part to 2Ct decani, but overlapping full entries in bars 32–33 and 35 make this impossible without some re-writing, so again it was left unchanged.

There are sections of apt word-setting and word-painting. One example is 'may daily be renewed', such as M, bar 38 – long-short durations of the two syllables in 'daily' corresponding to speech rhythm, and an uplifting leap on 'renew'd':

38

M may day - ly be re - new'd, may day - ly

¹⁷⁰ Morehen, 'English Church Music', 120.

The motif cascades through all 5 parts for 10 bars, further enriching a sense of renewal. The climax of the piece is possibly in bar 46, corresponding to the sixth iteration of the phrase and reaching to d'' in the mean.

A similar example can be seen from bar 49 onwards where, over 8 bars, polyphonic repetitions of 'through the same our Lord', in speech rhythm, reflect the constant quality of the subject-matter:



The whole piece has a certain sense of awe and solemnity, partly because of the general minor tonality and possibly also because of the narrow range of the mean line.

Dissonances are largely treated as standard. Suspensions are prepared with the dissonant note usually on a weak beat, sounded on the strong beat and resolved on a weak beat.

Hooper's music is enlivened by the incorporation of both augmented and diminished intervals. There are several instances of 'hanging' notes, where the prolongation of a note gives rise to a dissonant interval, such as in bar 22:

There are fleeting tritones in bars 6 and 47 (though the ear hardly notices them):

as well as a false relation – the close proximity of $g\#$ (B) and $g\flat$ (1Ct) – in bar 47.

In bar 44 there is both a fleeting augmented 5th (B–1Ct), as a result of a ‘hanging’ f in the bass, and a diminished 5th (1Ct–M):

50

The anthem ends with an extended six-bar melismatic ‘Amen’, with a prominent false relation in bars 60–61, where the rising *g*[#] of the T line coincides with a falling *g*^b in 1Ct.

60

M

1Ct

2Ct

T

B

men, A - - -

men, A - - -

men, A - - -

men, A - - -

men, A - - -

A later variation

Almighty God, which hast given appears in an eighteenth-century source, *LbI* Harley 7340,¹⁷¹ in which there are significant differences, particularly in the inner three parts. The manuscript score is barred, mostly with six minims to a bar but occasionally with 2, 4 or 8, which has been followed in the critical edition (see part 2). In a few instances, such as M bar 13 and T bar 15, decorative passing notes feature.

There is no *decani/cantoris divisi* in this version and, in some places, the Ct parts have been re-invented. Compare, for example bars 19–22 in my edition:

19

1Ct

2Ct

pure Vir - gin, of a pure Vir - gin, of a pure Vir - gin, of a pure

pure Vir - gin, and to be born, of a pure Vir - gin, of a pure

¹⁷¹ See ‘List of Sources’ in Part 2.

with the equivalent section (bars 14–16) in Harley 7340:

1Ct
pure Vir - gin, and to be born of a pure, of a pure Vir - gin, a pure Vir -

2Ct
pure Vir - gin, of a pure Vir -

There are instances where the variations have introduced dissonances, and it is unclear whether they are intended or not. A new false relation is introduced into bar 25, by omission of the T g# that appears in the earlier sources:

25
M
and grace:

1Ct
and grace, may

2Ct
by a - dop - tion and grace,

T
a - dop-tion and grace may

B
tion and grace,

and the omission of an f# on the second beat of the 1Ct part in bar 23 gives rise to a diminished 5th between 1Ct and T:

23

M by a - dop - tion and ____

1Ct by a - dop - tion and ____

2Ct by a - dop - tion and ____

T by a - dop - tion and ____

B

This Harley source is a good example of how a long-lasting and popular piece can ‘mutate’ over the years as it is copied and adapted from source to source, perhaps reflecting performance practices in different institutions. It is also, perhaps, a reminder of how many intervening sources we have lost over the years.

Behold it is Christ

A critical edition of the anthem can be found in Part 2. The text is adapted from Acts 10: 42–43 and is an extract from the Epistle for Easter Monday:

Behold, it is Christ, which was ordained by God
to be the judge of the quick and the dead.
To him give all the Prophets witness,
that through his name, whosoever believeth in him
shall receive remission of their sins.

Described by Fellowes as ‘strikingly original’ and by David Evans as ‘undoubtedly the best of [Hooper’s] full anthems,¹⁷² *Behold it is Christ* displays typical Hooperian characteristics of continuous, dense polyphony and elision of phrases; it is also harmonically idiosyncratic, characterised by recurring dissonances, an abundance of false relations and an intensity of expression. It survives in over 100 contemporary manuscripts, more than any other anthem of the period,¹⁷³ demonstrating its evident popularity of the time, and is said to have inspired other settings of the same text by Mundy, Tomkins and Henry Loosemore.¹⁷⁴

Structure

Bars	
1–5	Introductory homophonic statement: ‘Behold it is Christ’
6–14	6 bars polyphony, ‘which was ordained by God’, followed by 2 bars homophony, ‘to be the judge of the quick and the dead’
15–23	Polyphonic: ‘to him give all the Prophets witness’
24–41	18 bars polyphony: ‘whosoever believeth in him’.
42–52	Polyphonic: ‘shall receive remission of their sins’.

As with *Almighty God, which hast given*, the anthem opens with a short, homophonic declamatory statement, where the words ‘Behold it is Christ’ are followed by an extract from Acts Chapter 10. There are two further, short sections of homophony, perhaps employed as textual emphasis.

Other similarities include the vocal ranges – a 7th for means and an 11th for the other parts – and a prevailing a minor ‘feel’. The tonality again is fluid, especially towards the beginning of the piece: it both starts and ends in A major, but there is an abrupt change to minor as soon

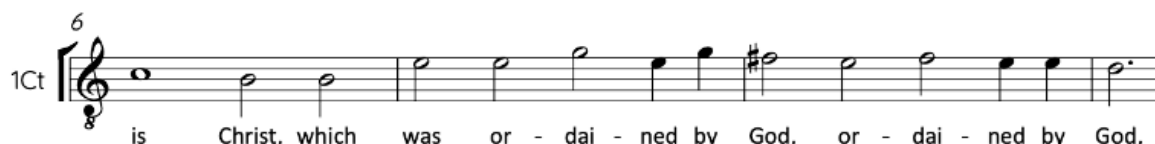
¹⁷² E.H. Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music* (London: Methuen, 1969), 104; Edmund Hooper, *Behold it is Christ*, ed. David Evans (Salisbury: Cathedral Press, 2011).

¹⁷³ Andrew Gant, sleeve notes to *Behold, it is Christ*, LAMM096 (Lammas Records), 2007.

¹⁷⁴ Le Huray, *The English Anthem*, 12. Tomkins’ version, a verse anthem, is published by Stainer and Bell (Early English Church Music, volume 14), edited by Bernard Rose. Mundy’s version is in Robert Reeve, ‘The Life and Works of William Mundy’ (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 2008), 11. Loosemore’s setting, also a verse anthem, is published by Antico Edition, AB21, edited by Ian Payne. In his article, Le Huray’s reference is to John Loosemore, Henry’s brother, but this seems to be an error.

as bar 3. An a minor – E major cadence follows in bar 5, there are hints of d dorian in bar 12, and progressions from F to C major in bars 16 and 19/20.

The polyphony in bar 6 begins with the 1Ct line rising to an apex on the second syllable of ‘ordained’, with ‘God’ just a semitone below – the most important text in the phrase – which is imitated in the other four voices.



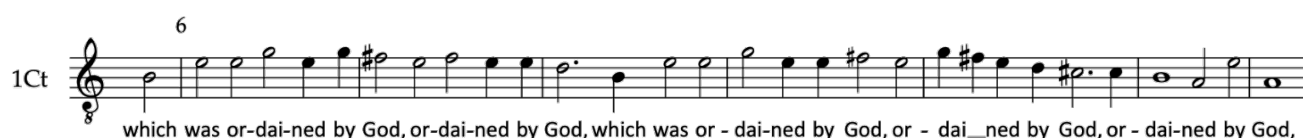
Similarly, in the section beginning in bar 15, the word ‘all’ is at the apex of the phrase, in all voices:



There are a few melodic sequences, such as this extract from bars 21–23:



though examples such as this longer one are more common, where the second appearance differs slightly from the first (here the second appearance has also been prolonged in bars 11–12 by textual repetition):



There are again some examples of less-than-ideal word-setting, for example T in bars 15–16 and M in bars 22–23:



In the 10 appearances from bar 42 onwards of the word ‘receive’ (‘shall receive remission of their sins’), 8 have the emphasis of the first syllable of ‘receive’, which might be indicative of pronunciation at the time.

The section ‘whosoever believeth in him’ is central to the piece. The rhythm of the music reflects the text, and the point of imitation is based on an ascending melodic diminished 4th:



The motif first appears in T in bar 24, overlapping with the preceding homophony, and continues in intricate imitation throughout the parts for 16 bars, achieving a distinctive depth of expression and showing Hooper’s mastery of contrapuntal writing. The climax of the piece is possibly at the end of this sequence, in bars 39–40, corresponding to a section of homophony in the lower parts and the g’ in 1Ct:

39

M
so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, be -

1Ct
lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in _____

2Ct
lie - veth in - him, in _____ him,

T
veth, be - lie - veth in _____ him

B
be - lie - veth in _____ him,

The work is characterised by dissonance, with the first of numerous false relations occurring in bar 6.¹⁷⁵ Bar 7 sees an augmented fourth on the first beat (on the word 'God') and an accented passing note giving rise to a momentary diminished triad; there is also an augmented 4th on beat 2 (a weak beat) of bar 8:

5

M
is Christ, _____ which was or - dai - ned by God,

1Ct
is Christ, which was or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God, which was or -

2Ct
is Christ _____ which was or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God, or -

T
is Christ, it is Christ, it is Christ, it is Christ, it is Christ,

B
is Christ _____ which was or - dai - ned by God, or -

¹⁷⁵ Arguably there is an earlier appearance in bars 2/3, between M (c'#) and 1Ct (c'), although the ear hears this as a change to minor tonality.

English cadences appear in bars 10 (a flattened 7th in 1Ct in the context of a cadence from E to A), 33 and 40, and the piece ends with a plethora of false relations:

The image displays two systems of a musical score for five voices: Soprano (M), Contralto 1 (1Ct), Contralto 2 (2Ct), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The first system covers bars 43 to 46, and the second system covers bars 47 to 50. Red circles highlight specific notes in each system, indicating English cadences or false relations.

System 1 (Bars 43-46):

- Bar 43:** M (re - ceive), 1Ct (re - mi - si - on), 2Ct (him shall re - ceive), T (-on of their sins, of their sins, shall re - ceive), B (shall re - ceive).
- Bar 44:** M (re - mi - si - on), 1Ct (of their sins, of their sins, shall re - ceive), 2Ct (re - mis - si - on), T (re - mi - si -), B (re - mis - si -).
- Bar 45:** M (their sins,), 1Ct (shall re - ceive), 2Ct (of their), T (shall re - ceive), B (shall re - ceive).
- Bar 46:** M (their sins,), 1Ct (shall re - ceive), 2Ct (of their), T (shall re - ceive), B (shall re - ceive).

System 2 (Bars 47-50):

- Bar 47:** M (shall re - ceive), 1Ct (re - mi - si - on), 2Ct (sins, of their sins, shall re - ceive), T (-on, re - ceive), B (-on of their sins, of their).
- Bar 48:** M (re - mi - si - on), 1Ct (of their sins, re - mi - si - on), 2Ct (sins, of their sins, shall re - ceive), T (re - mis - sion of their sins, shall), B (of their).
- Bar 49:** M (re - mi - si - on), 1Ct (of their sins, re - mi - si - on), 2Ct (sins, of their sins, shall re - ceive), T (re - mis - sion of their sins, shall), B (of their).
- Bar 50:** M (re - mi - si - on), 1Ct (of their sins, re - mi - si - on), 2Ct (sins, of their sins, shall re - ceive), T (re - mis - sion of their sins, shall), B (of their).

50

M
sins, of their sins, of their sins.

1Ct
of their sins, of their sins, of their sins.

2Ct
- si - on of their sins, of their sins.

T
re - ceive re - mis - si - on of their sins.

B
sins, of their sins, of their sins.

There are a few uneasy harmonic moments. In bar 21, beat 3, there is a clash of 2Ct with two other voices, resulting in c' , d'' , e' and f sounding simultaneously, albeit it only for a short duration; it is a 7–6 resolution in 2Ct with the 'resolution' already sounding in M. This bar also shows an example of a Hooperian dissonance caused by a 'hanging' b in 1Ct, clashing with T.

Another is the suspension in the next bar, 22, which gives rise to 3 $F\#$ s sounding at once:

21

M
him give all the Pro - phets wit -

1Ct
ness, wit - ness, Pro - phets

2Ct
Pro - phets wit - ness, give all the

T
the Pro - phets wit -

B
wit - ness, wit -

and, in bar 45, there are parallel unisons (b, c', d') between 1Ct and 2Ct:¹⁷⁶

Bar 45 of a musical score. The staves are labeled M, 1Ct, 2Ct, T, and B. The lyrics are: M: their; 1Ct: sins of their; 2Ct: mis - si - on; T: sins, shall re -; B: shall re - ceive. The 1Ct and 2Ct staves show parallel unisons in bar 45, with notes on B, C, and D.

Later variations

Behold it is Christ seems to have enjoyed an enormous popularity, as suggested by the number of surviving sources. Table 3.1 lists these in approximate date order:

Table 3.1 – Sources of *Behold it is Christ*, in approximate date order

Source	Date	Comments
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS, 29372–6	1616–25	Tristitiae Remedium
<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 1382	1617	‘Southwell Tenor Book’
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 17792–6	After 1624	
<i>Och</i> 6	1630	Organ
<i>Cp</i>	1630s	Primary source
<i>DRc</i> C4, C6	1620s and 1630s	
<i>Ojc</i> 180	1633	From Chapel Royal ¹⁷⁷
<i>DRc</i> A1, <i>Llp</i> 764, <i>Y M</i> 29(S)	1635	<i>DRc</i> A1: organ
<i>DRc</i> C2	1630s	

¹⁷⁶ In most sources. *DRc* and *Lbl* 29376 differ slightly (see textual commentary in Part 2).

¹⁷⁷ Morehen, ‘Sources’, 402.

Source	Date	Comments
<i>DRc</i> C11, C16	Late 1630s	
<i>Ob</i> f.20–24	1630–1650	
<i>WRc</i> 48–50	1640	
Barnard	1641	
<i>Och</i> 1220–1224	1643	
<i>Cpc</i>	1640s	
<i>Cu</i> Ely	Mid 17 th century	
<i>GL</i> , <i>Och</i> 47	1660	Organ
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30478	1664	
<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 1442	1665–70	
<i>Y</i> MS M1 2, 5–8	1668–79	
<i>Lbl</i> Add. MS 30579	Before 1671	
<i>DRc</i> C15	Post–restoration	
<i>Och</i> 525	1677	Organ short score
<i>Cfm</i> 117	1677–84	
<i>DRc</i> C17	1679 (replacement)	
<i>DRc</i> C12, <i>Lsp</i>	1670–1700	
<i>CA</i> 1, <i>Ob</i> Tenbury 1023	Late 17 th century	Some figured bass in Tenbury 1023
<i>Och</i> MS Mus. 16	1685–1702	‘Aldrich variant’
<i>DRc</i> C2*	1696–1706	
<i>LI</i> MS 1	1700–1720	
<i>Lbl</i> 31405	1700–1730	4vv score
<i>Ob</i> MS. Mus. d.162	1710	
<i>CA</i> 12	1714–1725	
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 7337	1715–1720	Score
<i>SGC</i> 5–10	1728	
<i>SGC</i> 82	1768	‘Windsor variant’
<i>Omc</i> , <i>SGC</i> 73	18 th century	<i>SGC</i> : organ

Manuscripts were clearly disseminated, probably through Chapel Royal personnel. Morehen quotes research which has shown that, of the 70 Gentlemen appointed between 1563 and 1640 whose provenance was known, 34 came from outside London, from places including

Cambridge, Canterbury, Lincoln, Durham, and Gloucester.¹⁷⁸ Some of the later sources show a significant evolution compared to earlier ones: these examples have each been transcribed and are discussed below.

Och Mus. 16 – the ‘Aldrich variant’

A full scoring of the Aldrich variant can be found in Part 2.

Henry Aldrich (1648–1710) was an English classical scholar, theologian, architect and musician, and one of the most respected academics of his day. He matriculated at Christ Church Oxford in 1662 and remained there for the rest of his life, becoming Dean in 1689 and university vice-chancellor in 1692. In 1682, after the death of Edward Lowe, he became *de facto* the director of the choir at Christ Church, where he insisted on high standards of musicianship and technical proficiency.¹⁷⁹

Aldrich was highly regarded as a composer and his works can be found in most of the extant partbooks of the late 17th and early 18th centuries; his output is impressive considering he was not a full-time musician. He also had a reputation as a music collector and produced a number of works that are best described as recompositions, mostly based on Palestrina, Carissimi, Byrd and Tallis, often revealing substantial alterations and at times introducing new material. As Robert Shay says, ‘Recompositions may be seen to form the intersection of the activities of the collector-copyist and the composer... [they] represent a fascinating growth of a traditional mid-seventeenth-century English education, grounded in the imitation of venerable models.’¹⁸⁰

Shay states that several English anthems in *Och Mus. 16* are ‘copies rather than recompositions’¹⁸¹ and includes *Behold it is Christ* in this category.¹⁸² However, there are

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 429.

¹⁷⁹ Stuart Handley, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. ‘Aldrich, Henry’, accessed 17 October 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/314>

¹⁸⁰ Robert Shay, ‘“Naturalizing” Palestrina and Carissimi in Late Seventeenth-Century Oxford: Henry Aldrich and his Recompositions’, *Music & Letters*, 77 (1996): 385.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 382.

¹⁸² Ibid., 389.

clear differences between Aldrich's version and the original, sufficient to suggest Aldrich's is more than just a copy.

In his edition of Aldrich recompositions, Shay notes that, in adapting polyphonic works, Aldrich usually worked by means of cuts and insertions and truncated imitative points, with any insertions often involving the reworking of a previously-used motif.¹⁸³ In *Behold it is Christ*, Aldrich does not insert significantly new material but he tidies up entries at each new point of imitation and changes text to allow for more consistency and a flow through the voice parts. For example, at the appearance of the first point of imitation in bar 6, he cuts the tenor line 'it is Christ', which lightens the texture, allowing the 1Ct, 2Ct and B entries to be clearly audible. Presumably for reasons of making textual sense, the T words in 7 and 8 have been changed from 'it is Christ, it is Christ' to those of all the other parts, 'which was ordained by God'.

5

Hooper

is Christ, it is Christ, it is Christ, it is Christ,

Aldrich

is Christ, which was or-dai-ned by God,

Similarly in bars 8–9, 2Ct line has been altered to fit textually and rhythmically with T and B:

8

Hooper

by God, or-dai-ned by God

Aldrich

by God, which was or-dai-ned,

The bars around the second point of imitation, 'To him give all the Prophets witness', have been treated in a similar way. 2Ct loses 'the dead' in bars 14–15, which again lightens the texture and allows for clarity of the individual polyphonic entries.

¹⁸³ Henry Aldrich, 'Selected anthems and motet recompositions', ed. Robert Shay. *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era*, 85, vii–viii (Madison: A-R Editions, 1998).

An extra false relation has been created in bar 42:



Aldrich was a careful scribe,¹⁸⁴ but it is possible that an error might have arisen in bar 22 – there is no g#’ in the source but musically one might be expected.



Alternatively, it might have been expected that the note be sharpened in performance, similar to the tenets of *musica ficta*. Certainly it is difficult to sing g^b’ here, so the edition gives an editorial g#’.

The major differences between Aldrich’s version and the rest of the main sources are in the contratenor parts in bars 27–28 and bar 39 onwards, where Aldrich’s 1Ct part is essentially Hooper’s 2Ct; from bar 43 onwards Aldrich’s 2Ct is based on Hooper’s 1Ct. This leads to some inevitable slight rewriting, but the essence of the lines is unchanged.

A Windsor variant

An edition of this ‘Windsor variant’ can be found in Part 2.

The partbooks at St George’s Windsor fall into two categories, some from mid-17th century and others from early-mid 18th century. The earlier sources, WRc 58–50 (recently

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 8.

renumbered as SGC 18–20) are contratenor and tenor partbooks dating from 1640 whilst the later ones, SGC 5–10, for decani and cantoris contratenor, tenor and bass, are from around 1728 and there is an organ book dating from about the same time. The only treble partbook is a late one from 1768.

These later sources show some marked differences that seem to have evolved over time. One of these is the presence of figured bass notation in the organ source, SGC 73.

The main difference between the two versions is the appearance of prominently rhythmical crotchet motif in the middle and at the end of the piece. It starts in the two contratenor parts in bar 26, where they replace a section that looks like a melodic extension with an alternative that is punchier and matches the texts of the other lines:

26

1Ct

that through his name

2Ct

name, that through his name, his name,

compared to the Windsor variant:

26

SGC 6

who - so - ev - er be-lie-veth in him_

SGC 5

ev - er be-lie-veth in him, be - lie - veth in him,

A similar effect is seen in bars 40 and 41, where the idea returns in 1Ct and fills an otherwise relative static space over the two bars:

39

SGC 82 - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him shall

SGC 6 lie - veth in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in

SGC 5 - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him shall re - ceive_

SGC 7 veth in him, be - lie - veth in him shall re - ceive_ re - mis - sion

SGC 8

SGC 9 who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him

SGC 10

compared to the original:

39

M - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth_ in_ him shall

1Ct - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in_ him shall re - ceive_

2Ct - lie - veth in - him, in_ him, be - lie - veth in_

T veth, be - lie - veth in_ him shall re - ceive_ re - mi - si -

B be - lie - veth in_ him, be - lie - veth in him

Note that the first and second contratenor parts are 'swapped' here, presumably for reasons of vocal continuity; they remain so until the final two bars.

Although these sections add rhythmic vitality, they do so at a loss of the signature augmented 4th leap of the melodic line in this section.

The 4-crotchet motif appears at the end of the piece in all parts except T:

50

SGC 82 re - mis - sion of their sins, re - mis - sion of their sins.

SGC 6 mis - sion of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mis - sion of their sins.

SGC 5 of their sins, of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mi - sion of their sins.

SGC 7 re - ceive re - mis - sion of their sins, of their sins.

SGC 8 re - ceive re - mis - sion of their sins, of their sins.

SGC 9 ceive re - mis - sion of their sins, re - mis - sion of their sins.

SGC 10

Lbl 31405 – a variant for 4 voices

This source dates from the early 18th century and is transcribed in Part 2. It is a 4-voice setting, without 2Ct. The result is, perhaps unsurprisingly, thinner in texture, lacking the fullness of tone that comes with the 5-part polyphony of the original.

It also lacks some of the dissonance-related interest of the 5-voice version, being possibly indicative of changes of taste over time. The augmented 4th in bar 7 becomes of fleeting duration as the c in T is here a crotchet,¹⁸⁵ and the loss of the 2Ct line removes the augmented 4th in bar 8:

7

M which was or - dai - ned by God,

Ct God, or - dai - ned by God, which was or -

T be-hold it is Christ,

B. was or - dai - ned by God, or -

¹⁸⁵ A feature shared with many of the variant versions – see the comparison extract on page 213.

Diminished 5ths are also lost from bars 44, through the absence of 2Ct, and from bar 50 by a sharpened c' in 1Ct. False relations disappear in bars 47–48, through a sharpened g in T, and in 51, the penultimate bar, through loss of 2Ct.

Wellspring of Bounty

This strophic miniature, 10 bars long, is found in a single source, William Leighton's 1614 publication *Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowful Soule*.¹⁸⁶ The text is Leighton's own.

Wellspring of bounty, God of fear,
beginning that makes all begin,
with what oblation to appear,
t'appease thy wrath that's due from sin.

I know not blood of bulls and beast,
Or sweetest incense that doth rise:
From earth of old, they were the least,
and are not now of any prise

O how should I be reconciled,
again unto they loving favour:
How long Lord shall I be exiled
from my sweet Lord and only Saviour.

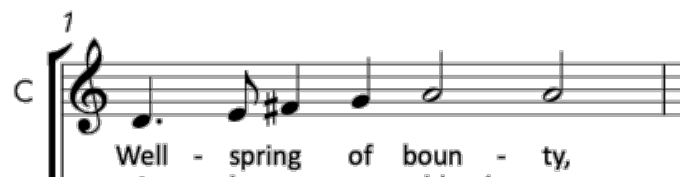
How long, O have I called to thee,
to thee in name of thy dear Son:
Yet what I asked thou gav'st not me,
and what I would is left undone.

I long have knocked at thy door,

¹⁸⁶ See page 107.

of mercy, but none entrance find:
Sorrows and troubles more and more,
increase and vex my soul and mind.

The music is in a bright D major 'tonality', perhaps indicative of a spirit of hopefulness despite the poetic angst. It opens with a rising motif with a certain bounce – 'spring' – on the second and third notes; subsequent entries in Q, A and B are spaced half a bar apart.



In bar 4, the 'God of fear' in C is set to a sweetly rocking off-beat rhythm that is almost consolatory:



In bar 5, f naturals in quintus and altus add to harmonic interest, including as part of an ascending diminished 4th in altus:

From bar 4 the chord progressions crawl up from C major through d minor and e minor via a couple of 5–6 progressions; a V–I in D returns the music to its home key.

The music is printed as a tablebook, with each singer having sight of their own line. Only the cantus, quintus and tenor parts have verses 2–5 printed, which raises the question as to whether the other parts (altus and bassus) sang only in verse 1. The altus singer could have read the quintus words, as these two parts share a ‘side’ of the table, but it would have been harder for the bassus singer to do similar. Of course, the words could have been memorised. As the compositions in the collection were designed for domestic use, instruments might have played alongside or instead of singers.

Verses 2–5 were printed underneath the music, rather as in a modern hymnbook, and it is not obvious how a singer would deal with the complications of uneven poetic meter and consequent far-from-obvious word underlay. Performed at one voice to a part, as the space around a table suggests, would remove problems of lack of unity between interpretations of different singers on the same line, but the piece in places eludes a suitable singable underlay. The A, T and Q lines in bar 5 exemplify the problem:

5

C
— makes all be - gin:
cense that doth rise:
thy lo - ving fa - vour:
of thy dear Son:
none en - trance find:

A
makes, that makes all be - gin: With what
cense, in - cense that doth rise: From Earth
thy lo - ving fa - vour: How long
of thy dear Son: Yet what
none, but none en - trance find: Sor - rows

Q
makes, that makes all be - gin: With
cense, or in - cense that doth rise: From
thy lo - ving fa - vour: How
of thy dear Son: Yet
none, but none en - trance find: Sor

T
makes, that makes all be - gin:
cense, or in - cense that doth rise:
thy lov - ing, lov - ing fa - vour:
of thy dear Son:
none, but none en - trance find:

B
all be - gin:
that doth rise:
lov - ing fa - vour:
thy dear Son:
en - trance find:

Here, where verse 1 has repeated text – ‘beginning that makes, that makes all begin’, after the first minim in bar 5 – I attempted to emulate it in subsequent verses. However, the extra syllable in verse 3 means there is not an obvious place within the music that allows for a similar ‘lift’, whilst in verse 5 a textual repeat after ‘of’ – ‘to thee in name of, name of thy dear Son’ – is awkward, especially when word stresses are considered. In both verses it therefore seemed less inelegant not to repeat text.

Word stresses are also problematic in these verses, as can be seen by the setting of ‘favour’ in the same example, where the second syllable is on a strong beat, although as previously noted it is not an uncommon ‘problem’ in music of this period.

The anthem is transcribed in Part 2.

O how glorious art thou

The authorship of this anthem, transcribed in part 2, is unclear. Most sources state it as the work of Robert White (1538–1574), but the organ part (*BEm* 751) and *Ob* Tenbury 1382 (the ‘Southwell Tenor Book’) attribute it to Hooper, and so there is some uncertainty.¹⁸⁷

The text is from Psalm 92, verses 4–5 and Psalm 113, verses 7–9:

O how glorious art thou, O God, and wonderful in all the works of thine hands.
Thou raisest the simple out of the dust, and liftest the poor out of the mire,
and placest him with princes, even with the princes of the people.
O blessed be the Lord.
Amen.

The musical style is not immediately suggestive of Hooper. The opening does not have the richness of texture seen in Hooper’s full anthems. For example, both *Almighty God, which hast given* and *Behold it is Christ* open with a short homophonic declamatory statement, whilst *O thou God Almighty* sees the fifth polyphonic entry as early as bar 3 beat 1;¹⁸⁸ in contrast, *O how glorious* takes until the third beat of bar 9 for all the voices to have made their entries.

The anthem is harmonically relatively unadventurous, lacking the radical approach of other works by Hooper. There is a false relation in bars 46–47 and English cadences – possibly more characteristic of Hooper than White¹⁸⁹ – appear in bars 13, 26, and 33. An augmented fifth appears in bar 19 and an affecting diminished 4th in bar 29:

¹⁸⁷ Additionally, the index of *Cp* 44 (f.11r) erroneously lists it as by William Byrd.

¹⁸⁸ Edmund Hooper, ‘O thou God Almighty’, notAmos Performing Editions, accessed 2 March 2025, <https://www.notamos.co.uk/detail.php?scoreid=148993>

¹⁸⁹ H.K. Andrews, *The Technique of Byrd’s Vocal Polyphony*, 105 states that in all the anthems by White in volume 5 of *Tudor Church Music* – some 28 pieces – there are 30 appearances of an English cadence, a number that seems at odds with 4 of them appearing in this one work.

19
M
thou
1Ct
dust,
2Ct
sim - ple out of the
T
dust,
B
rai - sest the sim - ple out

29
M
of the mire,
1Ct
him with prin -
2Ct
him with prin -
T
and
B
him with prin -

The closing 'Amen' is relatively short and does not match the elaboration seen in earlier Hooper anthems.

In bar 17 there is an instance of chromaticism within the same word:

17
1Ct
Thou rai - sest the sim - ple out of the dust,

although this is not seen in any of the other voices. The speech rhythm of the text at this point is also reminiscent of Hooper's style, as is the relatively short spacing of around a semibreve between each entry of the motif.

Another trait that might be Hooperian is the way that polyphonic entries sometimes overlap over several bars. By the time 2Ct makes its first entry, 'O how glorious' in bar 9, the other parts are well into the second part of the phrase, 'in all the works of thine hands', and in bars 10 and 11 there are three different parts of the text sounding in M, 2Ct and B:

9

M
thine hands, in all thy works of thine

1Ct
of thine hands, in the works

2Ct
O how glor - ri - ous art thou

T
won - der - ful in all the works, in all

B
- ous art thou O God, and won - der - ful

Also, the two contratenor parts seem to be filling out harmonies in bars 14–16, partly obscuring the entries at this point of imitation:

13

M
hands. Thou rai - sest the sim - ple out of the

1Ct
hands, of thine hands, in all the works of thine

2Ct
won - der - ful in all the works of thine hands,

T
of thine hand. Thou rai - sest the sim - ple out of the dust,

B
works of thine hand. Thou rai - sest the

Of the two sources attributed to Hooper, Ob Tenbury 1382 affords a comparison of tenor lines purporting to be from each composer. However, the exercise does not reveal much: the only significant difference between this and the Peterhouse source attributed to White seems to be the underlay in bars 37–40:

37

Cp thy peo - ple, even *with the* prin - ces of thy peo - ple.

Ob even with the prin - ces of thy peo - ple, of thy peo - ple.

One further observation is that the contratenor parts in some places have a different ‘feel’ from the other parts, seeming to sit less easily over the text. This could be accounted for in terms of a copyist’s accuracy, of course – an inspection of all sources and a full critical commentary has not been undertaken – but it is interesting to note that the underlay in some places, such as the 2Ct part in bars 39 and 40 below, seems Hooperian compared to the other parts around it where musical and rhythmic stresses are more aligned:

39

M - - - ple. O bles

1Ct of thy peo - - - ple, _____

2Ct of the peo - ple. _____

T prin - ces of thy peo - ple.

B prin - ces of thy peo - ple. _____

White, like Hooper, was Organist and Master of the Choristers at Westminster Abbey. He had died (along with his young family) in the plague of 1574, well before Hooper’s likely arrival there. Could it have been that Hooper, fifteen years the younger and possibly fifteen years or so later, found himself reconstructing a missing contratenor part...?

Selected verse anthems

Almighty God, which madest

The text is the Collect for the Circumcision (1 January). A critical edition can be found in Part 2.

Almighty God, which madest thy blessed Son
to be circumcised and obedient to the law for man,
Grant unto us the true circumcision of the Spirit.
That our hearts, and all our members, being mortified
from all worthy and carnal lusts, we may in all things obey thy blessed will,
Through Jesus Christ our Lord,
Amen.

Structure

Bars	
1–17	Verse, for two means, 1 st contratenor and tenor, in imitative polyphony. Predominant D major tonality.
18–25	Full, with initial bar of homophony.
26–33	Verse, for two means, tenor and bass, in imitative polyphony.
34–40	Full. Largely homophonic until the second appearance of 'to be mortified'.
41–53	Verse, for two means, 1 st contratenor and tenor
54–64	Full; four bars of antiphonal effects between upper and lower voices
65–73	Amen

Almighty God, which madest is an attractive verse anthem which shows relatively little of the chromaticism and rich harmonies that have been associated with many of the composer's

other works.¹⁹⁰ Hooper's verse anthems seem to be less 'adventurous' in this respect than his full anthems, although this does not necessarily point to an evolution in musical style.¹⁹¹ In structure the anthem is typical of its period, with verses for several soloists (led by two means) alternating with sections for full choir which are perhaps more concise than usual. The mood is one of reassurance and optimism.

It opens in D major but, as with the full anthems *Almighty God which hast given* and *Behold it is Christ*, there is ambivalence between (in modern terminology) major and minor, with the first sudden hint of minor in bar 5. The two means enter a breve apart:

The image shows a musical score for two parts: MD (Middle Voice) and MC (Lower Voice). The MD part begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The MC part also begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The MD part has a measure rest in the first measure, followed by a half note G4, a half note A4, a half note B4, a half note C5, a half note B4, a half note A4, a half note G4, and a half note F#4. The MC part has a measure rest in the first measure, followed by a half note G4, a half note A4, a half note B4, a half note C5, a half note B4, a half note A4, a half note G4, and a half note F#4. The lyrics for MD are "Al - migh - ty God, which mad'st thy bles - sed Son," and for MC are "Al - migh - ty God, which madest thy bles - sed Son,".

The second motif starts in the organ part before being picked up 2 minims later by 1Ct:

The image shows a musical score for the 1Ct (First Contralto) part. It begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The 1Ct part has a measure rest in the first measure, followed by a half note G4, a half note A4, a half note B4, a half note C5, a half note B4, a half note A4, a half note G4, and a half note F#4. The lyrics are "To be cir - cum-cised,".

Subsequent entries are also spaced two minims apart.

Lines are sometimes extended by textual repetition:

¹⁹⁰ See, for example, Morehen *Grove Music Online*

¹⁹¹ A chronology is impossible because of randomness of source survival, and a simpler source is not necessarily an earlier one.

8

MD

to be cir-cum-cised and o-be-di-ent to the law, and *ob-be-di-ent to the law* for man

The first full section, bar 18, begins with a strong, homophonic 'Grant unto us', with the subject of the request – 'the true circumcision of the spirit' – affirmed in rich 5-part polyphony.

The major tonality continues into the second verse, where it is only on the fourth repetition of the words 'being mortified' that the mood is darkened by the sudden appearance of b flats; a chromatic F# in the bass creates a diminished 4th with MC.¹⁹²

30

MD

be - ing mor-ti - fied, be - ing mor - ti - fied, mor - ti - fied.

MC

mem - bers be - ing mor-ti - fied, mor - ti - fi - ed, mor - ti - fied.

T

be - ing mor-ti - fied, be - ing mor - ti - fied.

Dec

B

be - ing mor - ti - - - - fied.

org

The minor tonality on 'mortified' reappears in bars 38–39, when the section returns for full choir.

¹⁹² Editorial flats in MD and MC are to agree with the organ part.

A 5–6 progression in bar 47 reminds the ear of bar 4 of *Wellspring of Bounty*; there is also a fleeting diminished 5th that adds harmonic interest to the passage in rising thirds (MD and 1Ct):

47

MD
lusts, we may in all things o - bey thy

MC
lusts, we may in all things o-bey thy

1Ct
lusts, we may in all things o - bey,

The full section starting in bar 54 displays some simple but effective antiphonal writing between the upper and lower three voices, with bars 54 and 55 in 2Ct, T and B echoed an octave higher in MC, MD and 1Ct. Bar 58 starts as if it might repeat the pattern, but instead a return to 5-part polyphony is brought about through the merging of the mean parts. The anthem ends with a customary melismatic 9-bar 'Amen'.

The Blessed Lamb

The dramatic text of this fine, richly-scored verse anthem for Good Friday is of unknown authorship. A critical edition is in Part 2.

The blessed lamb, the holy promised seed,
Sent in time's fullness sinful man to save,
For our sins guiltless on his cross did bleed,
Mocked, wounded, spit on, scourged like a slave.
Never was sorrow like his sorrow known,
Never was love like his by mother shown.

His eyes wept tears of blood to see their blindness,
 His heart was pierced with spear, but more with grief,
 In agony of soul for their unkindness,
 That for their Jesus they should choose a thief.
 He bore God's wrath, freely his life did give
 That freed from sin we might not die, but live.

This is the day of blessed memory,
 O keep it holy to the Lord, our King.
 From death he rose no more for sin to die,
 To whom the host and choir of heav'n do sing:
 Holy, O holy the Elders and the angels cry
 Blessed be the Lamb that for the world did die.
 Amen.

It exists also in two related forms: as a consort anthem, for performance with viols, and as *A fruitful branch of Jesse*, a setting of the same music to a Christmas text.

Structure

Bars	
1–20	Verse predominantly for two means; 1Ct and T join in bar 12
21–33	Full; 5-part texture.
34–55	Verse section in triple time. Predominantly for two means; T joins in bar 47 and 1Ct in bar 51.
56–64	Full section in C; 5-part texture.
65–88	Verse section for two means, divided 1Ct, T and B, in a largely 5-part texture.
89–111	Full; 5-part polyphony
112–118	Melismatic Amen

The music has an air of reverence, arising from its d minor tonality and sensitivity to the text; there is also relatively little by way of dissonance and the vocal ranges are low and narrow, especially for means.

As with the composer's other verse anthems it opens with two means, their parts intricately and subtly interwoven, before being joined by 1CtD and TD in a homorhythmic 'for our sins guiltless' before reaching a shimmering A major tonality 'on his cross did bleed':

13

MD for our sins guiltless, on his Cross did bleed,

MC save, for our sins guiltless on his Cross did

1Ct for our sins guiltless on his Cross did bleed, did

T for our sins guiltless on his Cross, on his Cross did

The composition displays typical characteristics of late Tudor polyphony, such as a walking ascent to a climax on 'Heaven' in bar 86:

86

T to whom the host and quire of Heaven doth sing,

B to whom the host and quire of Heaven doth sing,

and a linear sequence starting in bar 104:¹⁹³

¹⁹³ This extract is not dissimilar to that from Tomkins' *I heard a voice* quoted on page 29.



The text setting is in places exquisitely sensitive, such as in bars 28–29:



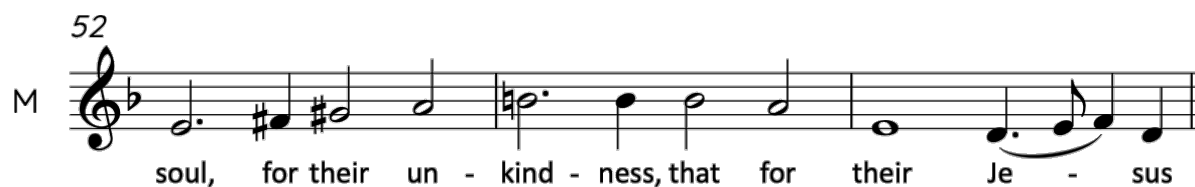
and bars 30–33:



although in other places it is a little awkward,¹⁹⁴ such as bars 105–108:



or slightly inelegant (bars 52–54):



¹⁹⁴ Although one should perhaps not read too much into scribes' placement of syllables, melismatic settings of 'the' appear in all sources.

There are a few instances of false relations, such as in bar 17 with the first appearance of ‘mocked’ and bar 59 on the first appearance of ‘life’:

The image displays two musical score excerpts. The first excerpt, starting at bar 17, shows five vocal parts: MD (Mezzo Soprano), MC (Mezzo Contralto), 1Ct (First Contralto), 2CtD (Second Contralto), and T (Tenor). The lyrics for bar 17 are: MD: 'mocked, wound -'; MC: 'bleed, mocked, -'; 1Ct: 'bleed, mocked, -'; 2CtD: (no lyrics); T: 'bleed, mocked, wound - ded, -'. The second excerpt, starting at bar 59, shows five vocal parts: M (Mezzo Soprano), 1Ct (First Contralto), 2CtD (Second Contralto), T (Tenor), and B (Bass). The lyrics for bar 59 are: M: 'ly his life did'; 1Ct: 'ly his life'; 2CtD: 'free - ly his'; T: 'life did give, that'; B: 'his life'.

Another prominent false relation can be seen at the start of the third verse, in bar 70:

The image displays a musical score excerpt for bar 70, showing two vocal parts: MD (Mezzo Soprano) and 1Ct (First Contralto). The lyrics for bar 70 are: MD: 'is the day of bles - sed me - mo - ry, -'; 1Ct: '- sed me - - - mo - - - ry, -'.

Later in verse 3, bars 75–78, Hooper divides 1Ct into decani and cantoris sections rather than introducing 2Ct into the verse:

The image displays a musical score excerpt for bars 75–78, showing two vocal parts: 1Ct (First Contralto) and Dec (Decani). The lyrics for bar 75 are: 1Ct: 'O keep it ho - ly to the Lord, to the Lord our'; Dec: 'O keep it ho - ly to the Lord our'.

The full section from bars 90–112, in luxuriant 5-part polyphony, are gloriously evocative of the host of heaven:

90

M - ly, O ho - ly, and the el - ders cry, ho - ly, O ho - ly the

1Ct doth sing. Ho - ly, O ho - ly the el - ders cry, ho -

2CtD Ho - ly, O ho - ly, ho - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly, ho - ly the

T Ho - ly, O ho - ly the el - ders cry, ho - ly O

B Ho - ly, O ho - ly, ho - ly O

In bars 78–81 there are in all organ-accompanied sources two versions of the text, one pertinent to Good Friday ('this day he died') and the other to Easter Day (where these words are replaced with 'from death he rose').

Other versions

A consort version

Och Mus. 56–60 is an interesting set of partbooks which include a consort version of *The Blessed Lamb*, for accompaniment with viols.¹⁹⁵ Morehen suggests that, for most verse anthems of the period where both organ and viol versions survive, the viol version is likely to predate the organ version,¹⁹⁶ although William Hunt, from a consideration of accidentals and a sometimes static tenor line, reaches the opposite conclusion for this piece.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ For more on the consort anthem, see page 131.

¹⁹⁶ John Morehen, 'The English consort and verse anthems', *Early Music* 6 (1978), 385. Morehen reasons that, where one of the two versions exists as a source that must have had the composer's authority, this is usually the viol version; also sources with organ versions tend to be later ones.

¹⁹⁷ William Hunt, *From Byrd to Gibbons by way of Hooper: the performance of consort anthems from the Golden Era* (Ph.D. dissertation, Birmingham City University, 2021), volume 2, cvii.

The viol version is in five parts throughout, for C, Q, Ct, T and B, without decani/cantoris divisi sections; the B partbook is missing. A reconstruction of this version is presented in Part 2. At 111/112 bars (427 minims), it is 6 or 7 bars shorter than the organ-accompanied version. The upper 4 parts are transcribed as in the source except for a few small points listed in the textual commentary. The viol/vocal parts differ significantly from the organ-accompanied version, but nevertheless the organ part was useful in helping to reconstruct the missing B line. Where the lowest line of the organ part corresponded to the T vocal line, for example in bars 7–9, the B line was allowed to remain silent:

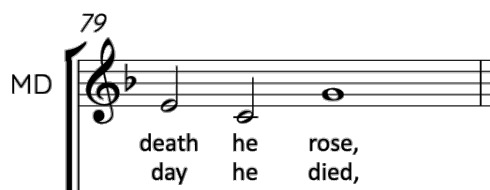
The image shows a musical score snippet with three staves. The top staff is labeled 'Och MS Mus 60 (T)' and is in treble clef. The middle staff is labeled 'Reconstructed bass' and is in bass clef. The bottom staff is labeled 'Organ bass' and is in bass clef. A bracket groups the middle and bottom staves. The first bar shows a whole rest in the 'Reconstructed bass' staff, while the 'Och MS Mus 60 (T)' and 'Organ bass' staves have notes. The second bar shows notes in all three staves.

The first verse is a bar longer than in the organ-accompanied version, the ‘extra’ bar being essentially the first in the piece: the viols make ‘staggered’ entries over three bars, compared with the 2-bar organ introduction.

Verse 3, ‘This is the day of blessed memory’, sees marked differences between the organ and consort versions. In bar 67 of the former, parts work in pairs – MD with 1Ct, T with B and divided 1st contratenors join after 8 bars – until bar 79. However, in the consort version, from bar 66, the upper three lines (C, Q, Ct) sing (and play) together over a wordless and relatively static T. Bar 72 is instrumental-only, after which C and Q work as a pair, as do Ct and T two bars later (bar 75) where T takes up the melody of 1Ct in the organ version. In keeping with the spirit of the original, the reconstructed bass line is also instrumental-only until the last minim of bar 78. The 5-part texture is resumed in bar 79.

In bar 79 the section ‘From death he rose’¹⁹⁸ is decorated with melismatic flourish on what would otherwise be a leap of a fifth on ‘rose’:

¹⁹⁸ The consort version does not include the alternative Good Friday text, ‘this day he died’.



I did not emulate this in the B line in bar 79, keeping instead to the organ line, because the leap here is of a third rather than a fifth and would have demanded a different pattern from the rise and fall of the figure; it was however possible to include the motif later in the phrase, in bar 81. The T line is especially decorated in this section, such as in bars 82–85, which appear as rests in the organ version:



These melismas are all clearly marked on the word 'he', rather than (the possibly more apt) 'rose'. Perhaps the intention was to emphasise who it is that is rising?

The last section of verse 3, 'Holy, O holy', beginning in bar 90, is 9 bars shorter than the organ version and so the bass line reconstruction was less obvious. I used the organ bass where possible and filled in a few bars where its absence in this newer version would otherwise have been problematic. In bar 92, for example, the *me* in B is necessary to provide the third and to avoid a 6/4 chord:

92

C El - ders

Q ho - ly O

Ct ho - ly ho - -

T ly ho - ly ho -

B ho - ly, ho -

The melismatic 'Amen' is 10 bars long, 3 more than the organ version, and is more optimistic in mood than its sombre predecessor.

There is some disagreement of accidentals between the organ and consort versions of the anthem, for example in the first few bars where the sacred version has b naturals and the domestic version b flats. This is a problem seen in surviving sources of full anthems as well, and might be as a result of scribal error, although it could also be ornamental in intention.

The consort version of the anthem has been recorded twice, by David Allinson and the Renaissance Singers,¹⁹⁹ and by Andrew Gant and the choir of Selwyn College Cambridge.²⁰⁰ However, both are arrangements, reportedly by Peter Le Huray,²⁰¹ wherein although the vocal lines are all from the consort version (with the missing B part reconstructed), the accompaniment is for organ and is a conflation of the two versions.

A nineteenth-century version

EECM erroneously lists *The Blessed Lamb* as appearing on page 333 of *Ob* MS Tenbury 1023. However, there are two other sources not listed by Daniel and Le Huray, being Y M 29 (S), a

¹⁹⁹ The Renaissance Singers, *Vigilate*, directed by David Allinson (ASIN: BOOBPBBPZM, 2013).

²⁰⁰ Selwyn College Cambridge, LAMM096.

²⁰¹ I am most grateful to Dr. David Allinson for making the music available to me.

bass partbook in which the anthem appears on page 333, and *Ob* Tenbury 1184, a late 19th-century score, so one explanation for the error might be that EECM has conflated a Tenbury and a York source. An edition of *Ob* Tenbury 1184 is presented in Part 2 (where the barring is original).

The differences between the earlier and later sources are minor. There are a few small text changes – ‘man’ to ‘men’ in bar 12, ‘as a slave’ rather than ‘like a slave’ in bars 19 and 20, and ‘the Cross’ rather than ‘his Cross’ in bars 14 and 15, although this last alteration features only in 1Ct and T and not in either of the mean parts. The MD and MC lines are ‘swapped’ in bars 67–72 and the 1Ct music appears instead in 2Ct in bars 80–85.

Musically there are a very few small rhythm changes, often to provide consistency, such as in bar 51 where the dotted rhythm in M agrees with that of the other parts and with the organ (they are equal crotchets in the earlier sources). Additionally, no proportional relationship is stated at bar 34 – maybe the scribes or editors felt it was not appropriate, or maybe they did not understand its meaning.²⁰²

There are also a few examples of embellishment, such as of the MD line in bar 8:

The image shows two staves of music for bar 8. The top staff is labeled 'MD later version' and the bottom staff is labeled 'MD original'. Both staves are in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The 'later version' staff has a melody that starts on G4, goes to A4, B4, C5, D5, E5, F5, and ends on G4. The 'original' staff has a melody that starts on G4, goes to A4, B4, C5, D5, E5, and ends on G4. The lyrics for the 'later version' are 'ho - ly pro - - seed' and for the 'original' are 'ho - ly pro - mised seed'.

and also of extending vocal lines slightly, possible to ‘flesh out’ the texture, such as with MD in bars 47–49:

²⁰² See the section on performance observations on page 131.

47

MD original
grief.

MD later version
more with grief, with grief.

MC
spear, but more with grief.

T
but more with grief,

It is of course hard to generalise on the evidence of a single later source, but the relatively few changes between older and 'newer' seem to suggest that use of the anthem has stood the test of time.

A version for Christmas – A fruitful branch of Jesse

A fruitful branch of Jesse shares the same music with *The Blessed Lamb*, but to a text celebrating the birth of Christ.

A fruitful branch of Jesse's blissful stem

This day did bud and forth a blossom bring,

Which sent a Saviour sweet from highest heaven,

And cured the wounds received by Satan's sting:

Never did blossom give so sweet a smell,

Never was precious balm that cured so well.

To bruise the serpent's head the seed most blessed
of woman promised this day was borne:

A Lion strong from Juda's house distressed

this day came forth, by whom hell-gates were torn:

O Blessed Seed, honour to thee we give;

O Lion stout, triumph and ever live.

This is the day of blessed memory,
O keep it holy to the Lord and King,
Who came from heaven, that we to heaven might fly,
To whom the host and choir of heaven doth sing,
Holy, O Holy: and the Elders cry
Blessed be the Lamb, blessed eternally.

The version survives only in two Bass partbooks, at the Royal College of Music and St John's College Oxford. However, it has been a relatively straightforward task to construct the other parts around the B line, with only a few rhythmic alterations to accommodate the text, using *The Blessed Lamb* as a guide. It is scored in Part 2.

Hannah Rodger states that *The Blessed Lamb* is a contrafactum of *A fruitful branch of Jesse* – in other words, that the latter is the earlier work – although she does not give her reasoning.²⁰³ As the principal sources for each version date from roughly the same period,²⁰⁴ it is hard to suggest one way or the other.

Remember not

Remember not O Lord is a verse anthem attributed to 'Hooper' that survives only in the Batten Organ Book (*Ob* MS. Tenbury 791). There are no other sources, textual or musical. An attempted reconstruction of the missing voice parts is presented in Part 2.

The music

As with *Almighty God, which madest*, the piece does not show the chromaticism and rich harmonies that are associated with some of Hooper's other works. The piece starts in d minor tonality. As with much else of Hooper there is some major/minor ambivalence, although the major is less pronounced. It first appears in bar 8:

²⁰³ Hannah Rodger, 'Revealing the Complexities that Surrounded Sacred Music Practices, Preferences, and Prejudices in Early Seventeenth-Century England,' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of York, 2021), 115.

²⁰⁴ See the List of Sources in Part 2.



and is otherwise mostly encountered at cadential points at the end of each verse and full section.

There are a few strong beat dissonances, such as these at the starts of bars 63–66:



as well as a few characteristic harmonic moments, mostly around B naturals, such as in bar 51 and 68:



The text

In attempting a reconstruction, an early problem that presented itself was in identifying a text. The only hints in the source are the title of the anthem, ‘Remember not, O Lord’, and a marking, ‘Be merciful unto us’, which appears at the start of the third verse.

A search of other anthems of the period turned up only two possibilities. One, *Remember not O Lord our offences*, from the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, is short and, crucially, no

section starts either wholly or approximately as ‘Be merciful unto us’. The other is from Psalm 79 and is also set by Thomas Tallis; it contains the line ‘Be merciful and forgive our sins’, and so I decided to use that as a working text. The verse and full sections are clearly marked in the source, but decisions were needed as to which parts of the text were likely to be sung in each category.

Structure

Bars		Suggested text
1–18	Verse	Remember not, O Lord God, our old iniquities, but let thy mercy speedily prevent us,
18–22	Full	for we be very miserable.
22–36	Verse	Help us God our Saviour, and, for the glory of thy name,
36–40	Full	deliver us.
41–60	Verse ‘Be merciful unto us’	Be merciful and forgive our sins, for thy name's sake. Let not the wicked people say, "Where is their God?"
60–88	Full	We be thy people, and the sheep of thy pasture. We shall give thanks unto thee for ever.
89–98	Verse	From age to age we shall set forth thy laud and praise
98–106	Full	To thee be honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

Reconstruction

In attempting to fit the text to the music, I looked for repeated rhythmic patterns and melodic sequences that more or less fitted the suggested words. I was further guided by occasional hints in the organ parts such as ‘directs’, which might be suggesting vocal lines that divide between the two hands of the organist, such as in bars 46–47:

46

T

org

for - give our sins, for thy name's sake,

Another consideration was that of the dissonances, which needed to be prepared and resolved in the vocal lines, such as at the start of bar 52:

51

MD

MC

T

org

for - give our sins for thy name's sake. Let not the wic - ked peo -

give our sins for thy name's sake. Let not the wic - ked peo -

sake, for thy name's sake. Let not the wic - ked

Changes in the mood of the music, such as in bars 53–54, where the texture becomes more homophonic, also suggest the start of a new textual clause.

The two verse and full sections before 'Be merciful' were relatively straightforward to assign. Hooper's other verse anthems generally start with a two-bar organ-only section leading to solos for means, so it seemed right to aim to do the same. His anthems usually contain narrow ranges for means, and for this reason I didn't always emulate the upper organ line in the verses. Bars 12 and 13 are an example:

Here, I felt the upper lines lay too high for a comfortable mean range; further, bringing MD in on beat 3 seemed to jar a little, so I decided against assigning to the voice.

In bars 29–32 a series of rising crotchets invited the setting of the word ‘glory’. It was tempting to continue into the full section in bars 37–40, but there wasn’t sufficient space in all parts for the ‘deliver us’ that had to follow.

The next combined verse and full sections, bars 41–88, were challenging as there is much music for relatively little text, especially in the full section from bar 60. Further, the wording in the source gives the third verse starting with ‘Be merciful unto us’ whereas that of the psalm (and Tallis’s text) is ‘Be merciful and forgive’, and it is after here that the fit between text and music becomes significantly less clear. Neither wording is quite satisfactory. One option was to add the words ‘unto us’, with ‘Be merciful and forgive our sins’ becoming ‘Be merciful unto us, forgive our sins’ (losing ‘and’ as well), and this is what I decided upon; the alternative was to repeat ‘forgive’ – ‘Be merciful and forgive, forgive our sins’ – but a gap of over two bars between the repetition of a word is unusual for Hooper.

A set of descending stepwise motifs in the final verse suggested an atmospheric ‘we shall set forth thy laud and praise’ that cascades through the parts:

Chapter 4 – The Sources

Background context

English choral music dating from before the Restoration in 1660 was generally hand-copied rather than printed. Surviving manuscripts of the period are not plentiful: not only were many destroyed at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, and later by Puritans during the Civil War, but there was also a pragmatic tendency to throw out what was no longer used. Remarkably, some music of the period has survived through successful reconstruction from, for example, their use as guard-leaves by binders or as document wrappers.²⁰⁵

Two major manuscript sources of interest to any study of Edmund Hooper's works are those at Durham Cathedral and at Peterhouse College, Cambridge. Close links existed between the two establishments through John Cosin, an important figure of the early Jacobean High Church movement and a crucial member of both establishments. Especially in the Peterhouse manuscripts, the 'towering personality of Cosin [is evident] behind almost all the important and unusual features of this important collection'.²⁰⁶ Before looking at these two main sources, therefore, it is important first to introduce the prevailing religious practices of the early 17th century as well as a brief biographical sketch of Cosin.

Arminian theology

In the early 17th century, Calvinism was the pre-eminent doctrine in England. Its tenets were predestination and divine determination, and led to a view amongst many in the church that its rites and ceremonies were unimportant. The doctrine postulated that God instituted in the scriptures all that is required for worship in the Church, with everything else prohibited.

²⁰⁵ See, for example, Margaret Bent, 'A Lost English Choirbook of the Fifteenth Century', *International Musicological Society: Report of the 11th Congress, Copenhagen*, ed. H. Glahn, S. Sørensen & P. Ryom (Kassel, 1972), 257–62.

²⁰⁶ J. Morehen, 'Sources of English Cathedral Music, c.1617–1644' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1969), i, 119.

This was often interpreted as to exclude any music other than metrical psalms sung by the congregation. Any disagreements were considered popish and subject to suppression.²⁰⁷

The Arminian school of Anglican theology,²⁰⁸ essentially a refutation of Calvinism, emerged as an attempt to reconcile God's foreknowledge with human free will. It flourished more vigorously in England than anywhere else in Europe, albeit for a short time, perhaps as a result of the survival of the Prayer Book but mainly because of political circumstance and the relative youth of the established church. English Arminianism, known as Laudianism after William Laud, the Bishop of London and a noted leader of the reform movement, gave special emphasis to the importance of attaining grace, emphasising ritualistic liturgy and clerical hierarchy. It had a strong ceremonial bias, with sacramental reverence and high aesthetic standards emphasising the 'beauty of holiness'.²⁰⁹ Congregational participation was reduced, in favour of a corresponding expansion of the musical aspects of divine service. Polyphony at the preparation and administration of communion was of central importance, whilst increased spending on organs brought about the emergence of the verse anthem.²¹⁰

John Cosin²¹¹

John Cosin was born in Norwich in 1595. He was educated at the grammar school there before going up to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge in 1609, where he obtained a BA in 1614 and MA in 1617. Between 1617 and 1619 he was librarian and secretary to John Overall, Bishop of Lichfield, a devotee of church ceremony and determined opponent of Calvinism: the close relationship that developed between the two must have been a powerful force in Cosin's development. After Overall's death in 1619, Cosin returned to Cambridge, becoming a Fellow of Caius in 1620.

²⁰⁷ See, for example, Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*', 14.

²⁰⁸ A branch of Protestantism based on the theology of the Dutch pastor Jacobus Arminius.

²⁰⁹ K.A. Newman, 'Holiness in Beauty? Roman Catholics, Arminians, and the Aesthetics of Religion in Early Caroline England', in D. Wood ed., *The Church and the Arts*, Studies in Church History, 28 (Oxford, 1992), 303–12.

²¹⁰ See the section on the organ in Chapter 5, especially page 126.

²¹¹ Biographical information from Anthony Milton, *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. 'Cosin, John', accessed 23 January 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6372>.

Cosin went on to become Domestic Chaplain to Bishop Richard Neile at Durham, an appointment which marked the start of a long and controversial connection with the diocese. In 1624 he became a cathedral prebendary, where his active high churchmanship aroused the opposition of the more Puritanical members of the cathedral chapter,²¹² particularly the senior prebendary, Peter Smart.

In 1627 Cosin published his *Collection of Private Devotions*, a compilation specially commissioned by Charles I 'for the benefit of English ladies at the Court of Henrietta Maria' and which regarded the Church of England as an integral part of the ancient and universal catholic church.²¹³ The book sold rapidly, with three editions in 1627 alone and five further impressions. By this stage, Cosin was firmly identified as an Arminian under the spiritual leadership of Laud. At about the same time, he had been engaged in 'aesthetic elaboration' of the liturgy at Durham,²¹⁴ succeeding in persuading the Dean and Chapter to spend a considerable amount on cathedral furnishings. In March 1628 Cosin was described as 'a most audacious fellow... [who] takes upon him impudently to bring superstitious innovation into our Church',²¹⁵ although it is interesting to note that much of what was perceived as 'advanced' practice in the 1630s is typical of services today.²¹⁶ The concern at the time seemed not so much to be one of 'popery', more that worshippers properly understood the language and ritual of prayers and services. Music, especially vocal embellishment, was seen to divert from such.

On 27 July 1628 Smart responded with his famous sermon in which he described the altar as a 'damnable idol' and the bishops as 'Rome's bastardly brood'.²¹⁷ The proliferation of music in services also did not escape Smart's ire. One fierce complaint was that the increasing use

²¹² Puritanism, a reform movement that sought to 'purify' the Church of England, was an English variant of Calvinism. See, for example, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Puritanism>, accessed 9 July 2025.

²¹³ 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 (1982–3): 94.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Hoffman, 'Beauty of Holiness,' 95.

²¹⁶ Such as, for example, facing East during the Creed, choral anthems, standing at the canticles during evensong, the wearing of copes and the use of candles etc.

²¹⁷ Peter Smart, *A sermon preached in the cathedrall church of Durham, Iuly, 7. 1628*. Oxford Text Archive, Literary and Linguistic Data Service, 2003 <http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14106/A12327>, accessed 9 August 2025.

of the organ had ‘driven away from the church all schollars and artificers, which were wont to frequent that morning prayer, when it was short, and plainly said... you also injoyne the organist to play upon the same organs, all the tyme that both the sacraments of Baptisme and the Holy Communion are administered’.²¹⁸ Several references were made to ‘the hideous noyse of musick, both of voyces and instruments’ and the music sung by the choir did not escape his displeasure. Metrical (congregational) psalms had been replaced by ‘profane ballads’ and ‘meere jigs... to be sung for Anthems,’ which he complained none of the people (and not all of the singers) understood.²¹⁹ It seems that the traditional congregational musical involvement – the chanting of metrical psalms – had been displaced by its antithesis, choral polyphony, with some texts wholly transferred to the choir.

The Puritan William Prynne set out his own opposition, in a 1628 publication *A Briefe Survey and Censure of Mr Cozens and his Cozening Devotions*, whilst Smart went on to publish a treatise comprising thirty objections to the Popish elements in the Durham Cathedral services.²²⁰

Arminian influence spread through the 1630s as Laud and the King used their absolute power to appoint sympathetic prelates. One example was in Cosin’s move to Peterhouse College, Cambridge, where he set about implementing an extensive programme of Laudian theology.²²¹

The Durham Cathedral manuscripts

The library at Durham Cathedral is best known for its early 17th-century manuscripts, 29 of which still survive.²²² The earliest date from about 1627. Music was a powerful element of

²¹⁸ George Ormsby, ed., ‘The Correspondence of John Cosin, DD, Lord Bishop of London’, *Surtees Society* 52, item 9 (1869), 167.

²¹⁹ Brian Crosby, ‘The Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral, c.1350 – c.1650’, (Ph.D thesis, University of Durham, 1993), 170.

²²⁰ Ormsby, ‘The Correspondence of John Cosin’, 161–199.

²²¹ 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 (1982–3), 94–105.

²²² In addition, the Dunnington-Jefferson MS, now at York Minster (M 29 S), originated at Durham. See W.K. Ford, ‘An English Liturgical Partbook of the 17th Century’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 12 (1959), 144–60.

Laudianism, and the composition, copying and performance of liturgical music was supported and encouraged at Durham. Morehen has shown, from careful study of the cathedral accounts, that there was an intensive period of music copying from 1629 to 1635, corresponding to the period of Cosin's main activity at Durham;²²³ an entry in the Treasurer's Accounts for June 1629 confirms Cosin's involvement in the production of new copies of material that had worn with use.²²⁴

Heppel has suggested that although by 1630 the amount of music at Durham would have been sufficient for most provincial cathedrals, copying continued probably until the collapse of church services in the early 1640s.²²⁵ The books are dominated by the works of early 17th century composers from the Chapel Royal. By the time of the Civil War the choir had a repertoire of over 200 anthems, some of which were musically demanding.²²⁶

Of the surviving manuscripts, five are organ books, all written on six-line staves, and the rest vocal partbooks. The partbooks can be arranged into sets, although for some of them there is only a single survivor.²²⁷

- C4–6, C7 (second fascicle), C9, C10 are six of an original set of 10 for general use. There are two sections: full anthems and verse anthems.
- C2–3, C7 (1st fascicle), C14 hold verse anthems for festal days and general use. The principal copyists are known to be John Todd (Precentor, 1631) and Toby Bookinge (a lay clerk)
- C11, 13, 16, E11a are composite books designed for private use.

Furthermore, manuscripts at the British Library, Add. MS 30478 and 30479, were produced for George Davenport, chaplain to Cosin as bishop, and for prebendary Isaac Basire.

²²³ Morehen, 'Sources', 3–6.

²²⁴ Peter Webster, 'The Relationship between Religious Thought and the Theory and Practice of Church Music in England, 1603–c.1640' (Ph.D. thesis, Sheffield University, 2001), 118.

²²⁵ Nick Heppel, 'Cosin and Smart: using musical evidence to untangle some historical problems', in *John Cosin – from Priest to Prince Bishop. Essays in commemoration of the 400th anniversary of his birth*, ed. Margot Johnson (Durham: Turnstone Ventures, 1997), 129.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 130. Heppel suggests that Durham was almost the only provincial choir capable of singing the up-to-10 part *Great Service* of William Byrd.

²²⁷ Brian Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1986), xii–xiii

The anthems in the later books are ordered by liturgical feast, with Advent and Lent coming first, followed by a cycle for saints' days. The non-festal anthems in the later sections are ordered by theme. These arrangements, as Heppel goes on to suggest, must have given a 'tangible sense of the rhythm of the church year'.²²⁸

The Caroline manuscripts of Peterhouse College, Cambridge

The High Church established a firm hold at Cambridge University, where Laud used his power as Archbishop of Canterbury to influence appointments.²²⁹ Arminians steadily gained important positions in the university, including the masterships of Trinity, Peterhouse and Jesus colleges.

Cosin became Master of Peterhouse College in 1634. It was his first position of authority, and the musical establishment essentially his creation.²³⁰ The custom of singing the entire communion service had fallen into general disuse towards the end of Elizabeth's reign and Cosin's intention clearly was for it to be reinstated, bringing the 'beauty of holiness' and associated ceremonial to Peterhouse.²³¹ The partbooks, for which he directed the gathering of material, contain three full sung Eucharists written between 1628 and 1645,²³² including sections which were not at the time usually set to music,²³³ such as a setting by Hooper of the responses to the *Sursum Corda*.

The Peterhouse manuscripts have been described as 'the High Church revival of the reign of Charles I translated in terms of music'.²³⁴ Cosin's churchmanship is evident throughout, such as in the inclusion of a number of Latin compositions²³⁵ and in the works commissioned for

²²⁸ Heppel, 'Cosin and Smart', 131.

²²⁹ Payne, *Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 93.

²³⁰ Payne, *Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 94, notes that none of the pre-17th century statutes mentions any kind of chapel music.

²³¹ Trevor Cooper, 'New-Divided anthemes to make themself merry': Choral Evensong in the Time of William Laud', *Ecclesiology Today* 28 (2002): 4.

²³² Ibid. As Cooper points out, this is extraordinary considering that the number of surviving choral settings from the period is no more than 5.

²³³ In Jacobean times only the Kyrie and Creed were customarily set.

²³⁴ Dom Anselm Hughes, *Catalogue of the Musical Manuscripts at Peterhouse, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1953), xv

²³⁵ For example, Tallis's two sets of Lamentations.

the Peterhouse choir.²³⁶ The manuscripts comprise two sets of partbooks, 14 in total, known as the Former and Latter Caroline sets, and a contemporary organ book.²³⁷ The Latter set is so named because it contains music by Thomas Wilson, a young protégé Cosin brought with him from Durham to become the first College organist,²³⁸ and seems to be a collection of the Cosin era between 1635 and 1643. The post of Organist was established in 1635²³⁹ and the organ book was probably put together by Wilson. The Former set does not contain any music by Wilson and so may have been assembled a little earlier, although there is little difference in the dates between the two sets. There was no boys' choir – all the Peterhouse music of this period is for men only. Organ music was a focus of the chapel's musical repertory and works are included by Durham organists Richard Hutchinson, Edward Smith and William Smith, as well as one attributed to Archbishop Laud.²⁴⁰

In compiling the Peterhouse manuscripts, Cosin was heavily influenced by the music sung at Durham. He brought some choir music with him to Peterhouse,²⁴¹ and some original leaves from Durham partbooks became incorporated into the Peterhouse manuscripts,²⁴² either because they had been superseded by newer copies or because they were no longer part of the Cathedral's repertory. The work of 7 different Durham copyists has been identified.²⁴³

Former set

<i>Decani</i>	<i>Cantoris</i>
M (47)	M (34)
1Ct (39)	1Ct (49)
2Ct (48)	2Ct (<i>lost</i>)
T (<i>lost</i>)	T (<i>lost</i>)
B (38)	B (33)

²³⁶ For example, Child's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*.

²³⁷ Hughes, 'Catalogue'.

²³⁸ Crosby, 'Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral', 24

²³⁹ Duties included instructing the poorer scholars in sacred music, playing in the chapel at their first evensong and on feast days. See Hoffman, 'Beauty of Holiness', 98.

²⁴⁰ Hoffman, 'Beauty of Holiness', 99.

²⁴¹ Cooper, 'New-Divised anthemes', 4.

²⁴² Crosby, 'Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral', 291

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 293–328.

Latter set

Decani

M (44)

CtC (42)

T (43)

B (37)

Cantoris

M (45)

CtC (*lost*)

T (35)

B (36)

Organ book (46)

The books are numbered in the order which they were discovered. Books 47–49 were discovered only in 1926, in a space behind the panelling of the Perne Library where they had presumably been hidden from Puritans in 1642.

Cosin's energetic revival of the cathedral service in the college chapel lasted only until 1643, when it was swept away by events of the Civil War. He was reinstated to the Mastership in 1660, after the Restoration, followed swiftly by consecration as Bishop of Durham later that year.

John Barnard – The First Book of Selected Church Musick (1641)

John Barnard (fl. 1625–49) is mainly known for his role as compiler of the *First Book of Selected Church Musick*,²⁴⁴ the only such collection printed between John Day's *Certaine notes* of 1560–65 and the abolition of church services by Act of Parliament in 1644.

When Barnard arrived at St Paul's Cathedral in 1622, James I seemed to be moving in a High-Church direction in the latter years of his reign. This shift grew in importance during the rule of Charles I and would have characterised Barnard's time at St Paul's. In a concentrated effort to bring together some of the best of Anglican church music, Barnard also assembled between 1625 and 1638 a large manuscript collection of English liturgical music by

²⁴⁴ John Barnard ed., *The First Book of Selected Church Musick* (London, 1641), facsimile edition ed. John Morehen (Greg International Publishers: Farnborough, 1972).

Elizabethan and Jacobean composers.²⁴⁵ In doing so he would undoubtedly have had access to manuscripts from across the country through colleagues who were also at the Chapel Royal.

Published in 1641,²⁴⁶ *The First Book of Church Musick* was at the time England's largest-scale music printing project, consolidating and preserving the texts and music of anthems and services which might otherwise not have survived, and is now a source of significant value. It further informs as an indicator of public taste, more so than manuscript partbooks which were compiled locally and indicated regional influences. The selection includes three anthems by Edmund Hooper: *O thou God almighty, Teach me thy way O Lord* and *Behold it is Christ*.

There are 10 partbooks, being decani and cantoris books for the standard five-voice disposition – mean, first and second contratenor, tenor and bass – for most anthems. The musical type and secretary script resembles that of some of the partbooks at Durham Cathedral.²⁴⁷ No organ book exists and Morehen suggests it is unlikely one was ever printed. Setting up keyboard music in moveable type was highly complicated and engraving was expensive; further, many provincial organists would have been likely already to have parts to the popular anthems in the collection. There are numerous errors throughout the books, mostly typographical, with incorrect clefs, misplaced accidentals and misplaced key signatures throughout and some key signatures omitted altogether.²⁴⁸

It was also not without its shortcomings, which were partly Barnard's lack of judgement in appointing a printer who had never before worked with music, and partly his inadequate control over a project that was probably over-ambitious.²⁴⁹ Lack of clarity in underlay

²⁴⁵ Royal College of Music MSS. 1045–51.

²⁴⁶ Morehen ('Sources', 287) and others have questioned this, stating that although the date on the title page is given as 1641 it is unlikely to be the case, given the political situation at the time, and suggesting that much of the content had been set up in type by 1639. However, Bamford has more recently asserted that the date is correct – see Daniel Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*: Genesis, Production and Influence' (Ph.D. thesis, University of York, 2009), 234.

²⁴⁷ C2,3,7,11,14,16 – see Morehen, 'Sources', 291 and Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*', 182.

²⁴⁸ Morehen, 'Sources', 296.

²⁴⁹ Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*', ii.

placement, careless typesetting and rushed checking compound the errors,²⁵⁰ and there must have been associated panic as the project was hurried through in response to the political situation. Another problem is that, in selecting certain works, Barnard inevitably excluded others according to his personal taste. This in turn limited the performance repertory of those establishments which used the books and might inadvertently have led to 19th century neglect of 16th and 17th century church music.²⁵¹

The collection would have been of great practical use at the time of publication, especially in helping circulate music from London to the provinces. Barnard states in his Dedication that one of the reasons for publication is to save this music 'from the danger of perishing, or corrupting in error and manuscript obscurity', and in doing so must have taken upon himself responsibility for a great tradition. A second volume was clearly intended.²⁵² Ultimately, and sadly, it turned out to be an ill-timed endeavour and financial failure, with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642 and subsequent suspension of church services giving rise to a collapse in demand (and which would help explain the rarity of complete sets that have survived until today).

Fortunately, copies circulated after the Restoration through the London bookseller John Playford, a specialist in music publications, who somehow acquired various sets and sold them on to cathedral libraries where they provided a foundation for rebuilding the repertory. In this way, much Tudor music continued in use alongside newer compositions, as evidenced by the large number of manuscript part-books made by cathedral copyists in the last quarter of the 17th century, especially at Durham.²⁵³ Nevertheless, it should be remembered that, as it is devoted entirely to the works of composers who were not living, the collection cannot be considered to be authoritative.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 359.

²⁵¹ Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music*, 114

²⁵² Morehen, 'Sources', 286.

²⁵³ Fellowes, *English Cathedral Music*, 113.

The Batten Organ Book

The so-called Batten Organ Book, dating from c.1630–1640, is a large collection of English anthems and services by composers of the Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods. Adrian Batten (1591–1637) was an organist and composer, active between the Reformation and the Civil War. He was a chorister at Winchester, became a Lay Vicar at Westminster Abbey in 1614 and in 1625 sang at the funeral of James I. Two of his sons were baptised at the Abbey, Thomas in 1616 and Richard in 1621; both succumbed to plague in 1625. A daughter Susan died in 1623. By 1626 he had moved to St Paul's Cathedral, where he was until 1635 a vicar choral and organist.²⁵⁴ His extensive surviving music is entirely liturgical and, for the large part, uninventive.

Whilst at Westminster Abbey, Batten supplemented his regular income with work as a copyist. It is generally thought that the eponymous Organ Book is in his hand and was compiled for his own use during his time at St Paul's. An inscription on folio 400 reads:

'... all these songs... [were] prict from his own hand pricking: in y^e years: 1635: by Adrian Batten, one of y^e Vickers of St Paules in London.'²⁵⁵

Although this has been questioned,²⁵⁶ Morehen has extensively considered the arguments for and against, determining that the scribe must have been either Adrian Batten or his fellow St Paul's organist John Tomkins.²⁵⁷ More recently, Bamford has provided further evidence and concluded that the scribe must have been Batten himself.²⁵⁸

Comprising 505 leaves of organ accompaniments, the Batten Organ Book is the most important and extensive single manuscript source of pre-Restoration English cathedral music. In some cases, such as for the texts of five complete services by Thomas Tomkins, it

²⁵⁴ Maurice Bevan, *Grove Music online*, s.v. 'Batten, Adrian', accessed 1 November 2023.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.02322>

²⁵⁵ *Ob* Tenbury 791; see also Morehen 'Sources', 223.

²⁵⁶ See, for example, Peter le Huray, 'Towards a Definitive Study of Pre-Reformation Anglican Service Music', *Musica Disciplina*, 14 (1960), 172 and Peter Lynan, *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. 'Batten, Adrian', accessed 5 November 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1713>

²⁵⁷ Morehen, 'Sources', 223–43.

²⁵⁸ Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*', 94–8.

provides the only currently known source of several works, and indeed it must be assumed to contain a very large proportion of the anthems and services that were in general use during the 1630s.²⁵⁹ It contains organ parts to two services and eight verse anthems by Edmund Hooper.

Bunker Clarke suggests that the Organ Book was compiled for use with Batten's St Paul's colleague John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Music*, which contains verse anthems and services that cannot be performed without organ but was not printed because the Civil War broke out at around that time.²⁶⁰ Bamford refutes this in some detail, suggesting that it is more likely that Barnard and Batten were engaged on their individual projects and the pieces were shared between them.²⁶¹

Sir William Leighton, *Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowful Soule* (1614)

William Leighton's family came from Shropshire gentry. He became a Member of Parliament for Much Wenlock in 1601, a Gentleman Pensioner to James I,²⁶² and was knighted in 1603.²⁶³ A series of ill-considered financial decisions and debts led to his downfall and imprisonment,²⁶⁴ during which, in 1613, he wrote a collection of mournfully repentant devotional verse and metrical psalms. The texts are undoubtedly poor, yet somehow compelling:

Outside the context of Leighton's personal plight one would not give this poetry a second glance. Yet in its context we have a very personal document, which is an intimate reflection of a man who was rather unwise and very unfortunate; a man

²⁵⁹ Morehen, 'Sources', 215.

²⁶⁰ J. Bunker Clark, 'Adrian Batten and John Barnard: Colleagues and Collaborators', *Musica Disciplina* 22 (1968), 207–29.

²⁶¹ Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*', 267.

²⁶² Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 388. Now known as a Gentleman at Arms, a Gentleman Pensioner was a bodyguard to the British monarch.

²⁶³ Daniel Hahn, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. 'Leighton, Sir William', accessed 31 January 2025, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16404>

²⁶⁴ For a full account, and biographical information, see Cecil Hill, 'Sir William Leighton: the tears or lamentations of a sorrowful soul 1614' (Ph.D. thesis, The University of St Andrews, 1966), ix–xvi.

who appears to have been somewhat eccentric; a man who tried, but didn't quite succeed; a man, who for all his faults arouses one's feelings of compassion.²⁶⁵

Keenly interested in music, and a minor composer himself, Leighton on his release managed to secure some of the best composers to set his verse. The result, published in 1614, was a collection of remarkably high quality works by, amongst others, Byrd, Gibbons and Edmund Hooper (who provided *Alas, that I offended ever* and *Wellspring of bounty*).²⁶⁶ 53 domestic compositions appear in three sections: consort songs, for voices accompanied by a broken consort of plucked strings (lute, bandora, cittern), bowed strings (viols) and wind (recorder),²⁶⁷ 'songs of four parts', and 'songs of five parts'. The songs are unaccompanied. The volume is printed in table book format, with parts arranged on the page in such a way that they can be read from around a table. As Wulstan suggests, the collection seems to have inspired other pietistic texts, such as those in Myriell's unpublished 1616 collection 'Tristitiae Remedium'.²⁶⁸

Thomas Myriell, 'Tristitiae Remedium' (1616)

'Tristitiae Remedium. Cantiones selectissimae, diversorum tum authorum, tum argumentorum; labore et manu exaratae THOMAE MYRIELL'²⁶⁹ is a set of partbooks in the hand of Thomas Myriell and others.

The English clergyman Thomas Myriell (1580–1625) was a music collector and scribe. He became Rector of Cold Norton in Essex in 1609 and moved to St Stephen Walbrook in 1616 where he became part of the musical life centred around St Paul's.²⁷⁰ 'Tristitiae Remedium' is a significant and well-preserved anthology of over 200 pieces and is an important witness

²⁶⁵ Hill, 'Sir William Leighton', xxv.

²⁶⁶ Cecil Hill, ed. *Sir William Leighton: The Tears or Lamentations of a Sorrowful Soul (Early English Church Music 11)* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1970).

²⁶⁷ An ensemble featuring instruments from more than one family.

²⁶⁸ David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London, 1985), 331.

²⁶⁹ A Remedy for Sadness. A selection of songs, by diverse authors and arguments; composed by labour and hand of Thomas Myriell, *Lbl Add. MS 29372–6*.

²⁷⁰ Donna M. Di Grazia, 'New Perspectives on Thomas Myriell's *Tristitiae Remedium* and Add. MS 29427', *Early Music* 38 (2010), 101.

of musical taste of its time. The collection includes instrumental music, English and Italian madrigals, motets, consort songs, full and verse anthems, with the vocal music organised systematically into sections for 4, 5 and 6 voices.

Myriell's taste was serious and discriminating but, as suggested by the omission of works by Tudor composers such as Tye, Tallis and Taverner, it was not old-fashioned. The inclusion of verse anthems represented the 'modern music' of the day, and the 'incessant false relations so beloved of the Jacobean' was represented by the inclusion of Hooper's *Behold, it is Christ*.²⁷¹ The presence of a number of laments to Prince Henry suggests that Myriell might have been linked to courtly circles, probably through St Paul's connections, and that the anthology might even have been an intended musical memorial to the prince.²⁷²

²⁷¹ Craig Monson, 'Thomas Myriell's Manuscript Collection: One View of Musical Taste in Jacobean London', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30 (1977), 441.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 439. Henry, Prince of Wales, who died in 1612 aged 18, was widely seen as a bright and promising heir to his father James I.

Chapter 5 – Performance practice

Voice types

Evidence from liturgical partbooks shows that by the end of the sixteenth century, maybe in part influenced by the rich sonorities of the Marian and early Elizabethan periods, a 5-part texture for means, two contratenors, tenors and basses had become firmly established.²⁷³

Charles Butler's 1636 treatise, *Principles of Musik*,²⁷⁴ describes the vocal types:

The Base is so called because it is the basis or foundation of the Song, which all other parties bee set, and it is to be sung with a deep, ful, and pleasing voice.

The Tenor is so called... becaus neither ascending to any high or strained note, nor descending very low, it continueth in one ordinari tenor of the voice and therefore may be sung by an indifferent voice.

The Countertenor or Contratenor, is so called, becaus it answereth the Tenor, though commonly in higher keyz: and therefore is fittest for a man of a sweet shrill voice. Which Part though it have little melodi by itself; (as consisting much of monotonies) yet in Harmoni it hath the greatest grace: specially when it is sung with a right voice: which is too rare

The Mean is so called, because it is a middling or mean high part, between the Countertenor (the highest part of a man) and the Treble (the highest part of a boy or woman) and therefore may bee sung by a mean voice.

The Treble is so called, because his notes ar placed (for the most part) in the third Septenari, or the Treble cleifs: and it is to bee sung with a high cleere sweete voice.

In the early part of the century two distinct upper voices, treble and mean, were recognised; both were sung by boys, of higher and lower voices respectively.²⁷⁵ Boys' voices typically changed later than is the case today, at somewhere around the ages of fourteen-and-a-half

²⁷³ Morehen, 'English Church Music', 101, who notes that subsequent 4-part writing was mainly encountered in the music of 'second rank' and less secure composers.

²⁷⁴ Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik* (London, 1636), 41–2.

²⁷⁵ Andrew Parrott, 'A brief anatomy of choirs c.1470–1770', in *Composers' Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical performance* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 28.

to fifteen.²⁷⁶ Falsettists were associated only with highest parts, which in turn were relatively low-lying in pitch.²⁷⁷

In the post-Reformation period the high treble voice became a rarity. This was possibly for aesthetic reasons, therein avoiding the 'aural opulence' associated with pre-Reformation music and encouraging the simplicity and comprehensibility that concurred with the prevailing taste for directness and clarity of expression.²⁷⁸ Wulstan suggests that the move away from Latin and towards English was deleterious to high treble singing, with the enunciation of consonants and differentiation of vowels being more difficult at higher pitches²⁷⁹ (something with which a modern soprano might sympathise!), but this is dismissed by Parrott, who points out that Latin had for some time been sung with English vowels.²⁸⁰ Other reasons for its decline might include a fall in musical standards and in the training of boys,²⁸¹ recruitment challenges associated with the destruction of choir schools, rampant inflation and reduced funding. Treble parts essentially merged with the mean to form a single mean line with a slightly raised range, which became the norm for Jacobean composers thereafter.

The tenor of Hooper's time – Butler's 'indifferent voice' – was the equivalent of today's baritone; indeed, a modern baritone would have little difficulty singing the tenor parts, even allowing for pitch at the time being around $a' = 474$, somewhere between one and two semitones above the $a' = 440$ of today.²⁸² It was the commonest of the male voices, with a range closely corresponding to that of the tenor clef on the stave, from c to f'. Solos for tenor (rather than contratenor) in verse anthems of the period are relatively rare, possibly as the voice-type was not held in high regard.²⁸³

²⁷⁶ David Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, (London: Dent, 1985), 241.

²⁷⁷ See for example Andrew Parrott, 'A brief anatomy of choirs', 27.

²⁷⁸ See for example Simon Ravens, 'A sweet shrill voice': the Countertenor and Vocal Scoring in Tudor England', *Early Music* 26 (1998), 123–34.

²⁷⁹ Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 240.

²⁸⁰ Andrew Parrott, 'Falsetto beliefs: the countertenor cross-examined', in *Composers' Intentions?: Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2015), 109.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 98

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 96. See also the section on pitch in Chapter 5.

²⁸³ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 121.

The contratenor – sometimes referred to as countertenor (although not in any of the sources of the Hooper works examined in this thesis) – was a high tenor voice and not, as has been believed and stated elsewhere, a falsettist.²⁸⁴ The only real reason to assume otherwise is the now-discredited suggestion that pitch in Tudor times was a minor third higher than today.²⁸⁵ There is no documentary evidence for falsetto singing in 16th-century England. The range of a contratenor, at the time of its appearance in the mid-fourteenth century, was the same as that of a tenor but, with the evolution of the bassus around 1450, contratenor lines rose a little, becoming consistently higher than a tenor around 1520.²⁸⁶

English organ pitch essentially rules out the possibility of contratenor lines being sung by falsettists, even given the slightly higher pitch standards of the day.²⁸⁷ Ravens suggests that Tudor singers had higher voices compared to modern singers, which if the case would put contratenor lines comfortably into the tenor range.²⁸⁸ He points to a study which he claims suggests a broad correlation between laryngeal size and height, with taller individuals generally having larger larynxes and hence longer vocal cords and deeper voices.²⁸⁹ The height of an individual depends partly on the genome and partly on environmental factors such as diet; higher social classes would therefore, on the whole, be better fed and hence taller.²⁹⁰ Ravens further notes that Tudor church musicians came from ‘unexceptional’ social backgrounds and so are likely to have been shorter. Further, he suggests that the average height of an English male increased by 5–7” between 1550 and 1998 (the date of his paper)²⁹¹ and that, by implication, the average Tudor man would have had a higher natural voice than the average modern man.

²⁸⁴ See, for example, Wulstan *Tudor Music*, 244.

²⁸⁵ This is discussed on page 119.

²⁸⁶ David Fallows, *Early Music* 26 (1998), 381.

²⁸⁷ Organs and organ pitch are discussed further from page 119 onwards.

²⁸⁸ Ravens, ‘A sweet shrill voice’, 124.

²⁸⁹ R. G. Williams & R. Eccles, ‘A New Clinical Measure of External Laryngeal Size Which Predicts the Fundamental Frequency of the Larynx’, *Acta Oto-Laryngologica* (1990) 110:1–2, 141–148.

²⁹⁰ Henry VIII was about 6’, considered noteworthy in his day.

²⁹¹ Some other evidence for shorter heights comes from the existence of relatively low door frames in surviving Tudor buildings, and of short life-size effigies.

This has been vigorously challenged by Selwood,²⁹² who states that the laryngeal research was misrepresented, correctly pointing out that it did not consider the physical height of individuals nor mention it in any conclusions. He also suggests that Ravens' reasoning implies that bass singers would not have been able to reach the low notes. However, subsequent research papers have suggested there does exist a positive correlation between height and vocal fold length,²⁹³ which helps rescue somewhat the essence of Ravens' position.

Falsetto singing was certainly known in seventeenth-century England – George Jeffreys (c.1610–1685), for example, was aware of practical issues of 'alto' parts and sometimes provided alternative octaves²⁹⁴ – but there was a distinction between falsetto and contratenor technique. René Jacobs, from an extensive study of vocal registers, concludes unequivocally that seventeenth-century countertenors were tenors.²⁹⁵ Falsettists sing exclusively in the falsetto register, where in the lower range they can sound weak, whereas countertenors of the period had a masculine sound that arose from combining registers. Composers, many of whom were also singers, crafted and evolved carefully-considered sonorities and textures; as Andrew Parrott says, 'when an un-needed falsetto voice is shoe-horned into a vocal texture there is an inevitable knock-on effect for other voice parts... the very process of accommodating the modern countertenor to these repertoires may have distorted our perceptions of the music itself'.²⁹⁶

Vocal production

Little seems to have been said about the methods of voice production. In Humphrey Bathe's *Introduction to the skill of song*, the only such instructions are a set of four 'ante-rules': distinct pronunciation of vowels and consonants, long breaths with a loose tongue, the

²⁹² Trevor Selwood, *Early Music* 26 (1998), 381–2.

²⁹³ See, for example, Necati Enver et al, 'Does size matter in Laryngology? Relation between body height and laryngeal morphometry', *Journal of Voice* 35, 2 (2021), 291–299, and J.A.X. Filho et al, 'Correlation between height and vocal folds dimensions', *Brazilian Journal of Otorhinolaryngology*, 69, (2003), 371–374

²⁹⁴ Jonathan Wainwright, ed., *George Jeffreys: English Sacred Music*, Musica Britannica 105 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2021), xlviii.

²⁹⁵ René Jacobs, 'The Controversy Concerning the Timbre of the Countertenor', *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis* 7 (1983), 288–306.

²⁹⁶ Parrott, 'Falsetto beliefs', 94.

importance of timekeeping and the importance of having one's 'voice clear'.²⁹⁷ All this seems to suggest a natural, unforced tone and maximum clarity of diction. Charles Butler urged cathedral musicians to avoid 'all harsh straining of their voices beyond their natural pitch' and 'too much shaking and quavering of the notes'.²⁹⁸ The sweetness of the best of English choral singing was remarked upon by one Lieutenant Hammond, on a tour of the English counties in 1634 and 1635: Exeter in particular was praised for a 'melodious and heavenly harmony'.²⁹⁹

Alison Wray notes that vocal production has changed significantly since Tudor times, when the basis of the sound was more likely to have been one in which the speaking voice is used for singing. Voices were probably lighter and more agile than those of today, smaller and less able to project, and with a speech-like clarity of words.³⁰⁰

Choir sizes

By the time of the introduction of the first Book of Common Prayer, in 1549, the major programme of dissolution and reorganisation of religious establishments had been completed. Full choral services were to be heard in cathedrals, churches³⁰¹ and chapels, sung by choirs ranging in size from about 8 to over 40.

In most cathedrals today boys outnumber men by more than 2:1, whereas in the late sixteenth century this may not have been the case. Le Huray gives by example the full Chapel Royal choir, which numbered 32 men and 12 boys,³⁰² although it should be remembered that the full complement of men rarely sang together and we don't know how many sang on any one occasion.³⁰³

²⁹⁷ Humphrey Bathe, *Introduction to the Skill of Song* (London: Thomas Este, c. 1597).

²⁹⁸ Butler, *The Principles of Musik*, 116

²⁹⁹ Stanford E. Lehmberg, *Cathedrals Under Siege: Cathedrals in English Society, 1600–1700* (University of Exeter Press, Exeter, 1996), xxiii–xxvii describes in detail Hammond's reports of his two tours.

³⁰⁰ Alison Wray, 'English Pronunciation, c.1500–c.1625', in *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge, 1995), 94.

³⁰¹ Including a number in Hooper's native Devon – see Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 18.

³⁰² Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 119. He does not state a date.

³⁰³ E. Rimbault, *The Old Cheque-Book of the Chapel Royal* (New York, 1966), 71–3: the 'Orders for the Attendance' drawn up while William Laud was Dean (1626–33) required Gentlemen to attend one month on

Statutes of cathedrals of the new foundation – those former monastic establishments founded or refounded in Tudor times – regulated the numbers of minor canons and lay clerks, whilst information about choir size can be gleaned from financial records. These two were not necessarily the same, and even at prominent cathedrals such as Canterbury it often proved necessary to bring in ‘substitutes’ for some of the minor canons.

Table 5.1 sets out some of the actual choir sizes, compared to those dictated by statute, at selected cathedrals during or just after Hooper’s time.³⁰⁴

Table 5.1: Choir sizes, statutory and actual, of selected cathedrals in the early 17th century.

Cathedral	Date	Boys	Minor canons	Lay clerks	Statutory*
Bristol	1610	4	6	6	6 + 6 + 6
Canterbury	1600	10	6 + 8 substitutes	12	10 + 14 + 12
Carlisle	1610	6	8	6	6 + 8 + 4
Chester	1601	8	6	6	8 + 6 + 6
Durham	1635	10	12	10	10 + 8 + 10
Ely	1604	8	9	10	8 + 8 + 8
Gloucester	1613	8	4 (only 2 in orders)	8	8 + 6 + 6
Norwich	1620	8	6	8	8 + 8 + 8**
Peterborough	1640	8	8	8	8 + 8 + 8
St Paul’s	1607	10	10	6	10 + 12 + 6
Salisbury	1603	14		8	14 + 36 + 12
Westminster Abbey	1580	10		12	10 + 12 + 12
Winchester	1600	7	7	7	10 + 12 + 12

* numbers are of boys, minor canons and lay clerks, in that order.

** at least 5 countertenors, 5 tenors and 5 basses.³⁰⁵

Minor canons, lay clerks and choristers were appointed by the Dean and Chapter. The statutes called for skill in singing as an essential qualification but provided no mechanism for

and one month off (i.e., only half the men were on duty at any one time), except for major festivals and occasions.

³⁰⁴ Adapted from Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, 159 and *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, 195.

³⁰⁵ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, 169.

removal in the event of any decline in vocal ability.³⁰⁶ Choristers often had a voice trial. They came from families with connections to the cathedrals, such as the sons of organists, clergy, vergers or tenants of cathedral lands, or from families of artisans such as brewers and weavers.³⁰⁷ Sons of gentlemen were less likely to become choristers. Occasionally boys had to be dismissed: reasons included 'sundry misdemeanours and absences', being 'unfit and unserviceable', and an unspecified 'immorality'.³⁰⁸ Minor canons and lay clerks were often nominated by the precentor; unless former choristers, they were usually auditioned or given trial periods. Once appointed, they tended to remain in post for many years: Edmund Hooper's son James, for example, was a Lay Vicar (singingman) at Westminster Abbey for 48 years³⁰⁹ and Osbert Parsley sung at Norwich Cathedral for over half a century.³¹⁰ Sometimes it was necessary to search for musicians, such as in 1623 when John Todd, a minor canon at Durham, went on a journey 'to procure voices for the church'.³¹¹ Considering the financial distress common to all who were associated with the cathedrals, the challenges of attracting new singers were perhaps not surprising.

Tempo

A note in the Tenbury copy of Tomkins' *Musica Deo sacra* of 1688³¹² gives a semibreve as the length of two heartbeats, or the swing of a 2' pendulum. In his *Brief Discourse* of 1614, Ravenscroft criticised composers for a failure to distinguish between C and C♯, its diminution,³¹³ suggesting that too many solemn pieces were lent an air of frivolity by use of the latter and that 'divine compositions' ought to be characterised by imperfect prolation (C), the 'slowest and gravest measure now in use'.³¹⁴ The symbol C indicated a semibreve

³⁰⁶ S. E. Lehmborg, 'The Reformation of Choirs: Cathedral Musical Establishments in Tudor England', in *Tudor Rule and Revolution: Essays for G.R. Elton from his American Friends*, ed. DeLloyd J. Guth and John W. McKenna (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 54.

³⁰⁷ Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, 200.

³⁰⁸ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under siege*, 169.

³⁰⁹ <https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/edmund-hooper-and-family>, accessed 5 June 2024.

³¹⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osbert_Parsley accessed 13 May 2024.

³¹¹ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, 168.

³¹² Nathaniel Tomkins' collected edition of the music of his father, Thomas.

³¹³ As did Thomas Morley: see *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, 179.

³¹⁴ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 110. Nevertheless, Ravenscroft did admit that speed was in the end a matter for the performer.

time-unit, or tactus, measured by two equal minims and represented by a downwards and an upwards movement of the hand. Sections in 3 (C₃ or O) had a dotted semibreve tactus, also indicated by two beats, with a downbeat of two minims twice as long as the upbeat of one minim.³¹⁵

Expression

Singers were trained to think of music in expressive terms, in an analogy with orators.³¹⁶ Choirs were expected to show liturgically-tempered devotion and Morley was critical of church musicians for their failure to sing expressively:

And to return to the expressing of the ditty, the matter is now come to that state that though a song be never so well made and never so aptly applied to the words, yet shall you hardly find singers to express it as it ought to be, for most of our churchmen, so they can cry louder in the choir than their fellows, care for no more, whereas... they ought to... [express] their words with devotion and passion, whereby to draw the hearer, as it were, in chains of gold by the ear to the consideration of holy things.³¹⁷

Persuasive delivery was considered best served through rhetoric and knowledge of punctuation, which made musical discourse intelligible and 'through its observance the meaning could be conceived, the ear delighted, and all the senses satisfied'.³¹⁸ Enunciation was considered equally important: Charles Butler, perhaps with 'one note for each syllable' injunctions in mind, advised singers 'to sing as plainly as they wolde speak: pronouncing every Syllable and letter... distinctly and treatably...'.³¹⁹

³¹⁵ Triple metres were rarely encountered in church music.

³¹⁶ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 124.

³¹⁷ Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, 179.

³¹⁸ Robert Toft, *Tune thy Musick to thy Hart – the Art of Eloquent singing in England, 1597–1622*, University of Toronto Press (1993), 71.

³¹⁹ Butler, *Principles of Musik*, 98.

Pronunciation

English pronunciation was not at all standardised at any time between the Reformation and the Restoration, and there were variations even amongst the well-to-do.³²⁰ Examples include words such as 'spirit' (one syllable, to rhyme with 'quite', or two, to rhyme with 'inherit?'), hear (sometimes pronounced as two syllables), and temptation, remission, adoption (three syllables or four?). Occasionally, two-syllable words are encountered with stresses in the 'wrong' places, although it has been suggested that composers were aware of the accentuation of the texts they were setting and that such 'disagreements' are not common.³²¹ Furthermore, vowel sounds have shifted over time.³²² Evidence for pronunciation comes from rhyme, meter, spellings and Renaissance authorities,³²³ although Wray, in an informative paper, summarises that 'identifying the 'correct pronunciation for a given piece is not only impossible but also nonsensical.'³²⁴

Ornamentation

Le Huray notes that although the practice of ornamentation was established in Italy and the Netherlands, it was intended for solo voices and so was unlikely to have featured in performances of full anthems in English churches.³²⁵ He suggests some sort of improvisatory tradition was alive in England at the end of the sixteenth century, and the development of the verse anthem would have afforded opportunities for such. The Duke of Württemberg, for example, on a visit in 1592 to St George's Windsor, was highly taken by the embellishment of a treble line.³²⁶

Ornamentation was perhaps more prevalent in a domestic-devotional situation, where the singing was likely to be one-to-a-part, than in liturgical performance involving a choir of

³²⁰ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 109.

³²¹ Timothy J. McGee ed., with A. G. Rigg and David N. Klausner, *Singing Early Music: The Pronunciation of European Languages in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Bloomington and Indianapolis IN, 1996), 16.

³²² Wray, 'English Pronunciation', 94-95.

³²³ McGee, Rigg and Klausner, *Singing Early Music.*, 14-15.

³²⁴ Wray, 'English Pronunciation', 107.

³²⁵ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 117-8.

³²⁶ Ibid.

several voices on each line.³²⁷ The presence of musical embellishments in some early 17th-century English manuscripts suggests that ornamentation was encouraged, and John Hilton's songbook, a domestic source dating from the late 1640s,³²⁸ includes written-out embellishments for a number of devotional pieces.³²⁹ The absence of ornamentation in sources does not necessarily mean that it was not used in performance: much was left to the taste (and skill) of the individual singer.³³⁰ Wainwright gives examples of decorative effects that 'would not be out of place' in early seventeenth-century sacred music;³³¹ he also notes, more generally, that 'the performance of sacred music in the seventeenth century was characterised by its variety and freedom'.³³²

Pitch

Organs were probably tuned to a mean-tone temperament.³³³ The study of organ pipes, in particular three originating from Dallam's 1630 organ for Magdalen College Oxford,³³⁴ the oldest known examples of the 5' standard, has shown that choir-pitch *a'* can be located between 475.2 and 476.1 Hz, around one-and-a-half semitones sharper than today's standard of 440 Hz.³³⁵

This is at odds with the still widely believed yet arbitrary presumption that Tudor pitch was a minor third higher than today, an assumption that led *in extremis* to some stratospherically high soprano lines and even a belief in the existence of some mysterious long-lost

³²⁷ Domestic music-making is discussed on page 127.

³²⁸ *LbI Add. MS 11608*.

³²⁹ Wainwright, *George Jeffreys: English Sacred Music*, li.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*

³³¹ *Ibid.*, lii.

³³² *Ibid.*, xlvii.

³³³ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 149. See also the Early English Organ Project, a remarkable reconstruction of two pre-Reformation instruments, one of which was tuned to a temperament given by Arnolt Schlick in his *Spiegel der Orgelmacher* published in Heidelberg in 1511. This is not a true mean tone temperament, but it deals with one or two otherwise awkward enharmonic difficulties: <https://i.rco.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/The-Early-English-Organ-Project.pdf> (accessed 13 August 2025).

³³⁴ These are now preserved at St Nicholas, Stanford on Avon, Warwickshire.

³³⁵ Andrew Johnstone, 'As it was in the beginning': Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music', *Early Music*, 31 (2003), 520–21.

technique. It arose from a misunderstanding by Frederick Ouseley³³⁶ (1825–1889) of the relationship between the pitch of an organ pipe and its quoted length and was perpetuated by Edmund Fellowes who, by 1928, was speaking of a pitch almost a minor third higher than it is now. More recently the cause has been furthered by Wulstan and others.³³⁷ Fellowes adopted a minor third higher transposition as a rule of thumb in his many performing editions but he did not do so consistently; his choice of transpositions, which are still in widespread use, seems to be essentially on editorial whim.³³⁸ Their only possible advantage is to make contratenor lines accessible to modern altos. An upwards transposition of a tone or semitone would be most concordant with pitch in post-Reformation England.

The organ

The first Act of Uniformity of 1549 enshrined in law the use of the Book of Common Prayer as the official order of worship in English churches and cathedrals. The Act did not forbid music – it allowed for that which was ‘moderate and distinct’ and required that cathedral choirs be maintained – but it was not encouraged either.

Some senior church figures considered choral and instrumental music to be of little value in worship and took opportunities to reduce it where they could. For example, an injunction in 1552 from the Archbishop of York to the Dean and Chapter at York Minster prohibited both solo music and organ accompaniments, instructing the organist instead to ‘help sing Divine service to the uttermost of his power within the quire’. The same year, the organ at St Paul’s Cathedral was also silenced.³³⁹ Puritans encouraged unaccompanied, unison singing of metrical psalms by the whole congregation, a practice that grew in popularity.³⁴⁰ By 1552

³³⁶ A misunderstanding in not realising that organs of the period were transposing instruments.

³³⁷ See, for example, D. Wulstan, ‘The Problem of Pitch in Sixteenth-Century English Vocal Music’, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 93 (1966–7), 97–112 and Harry Christophers’ 1988 recording of Sheppard *Libera nos, salve nos I* which appears in Hyperion Records’ *The Sixteen and the Golden Age of Polyphony* (CDS44401/10, 2009).

³³⁸ Johnstone, *As it was in the beginning*, 520–21.

³³⁹ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 24.

³⁴⁰ H. Roberts, ‘Wind Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals, c.1580–c.1680: Towards a Performance Practice’ (Ph.D. dissertation, Royal Birmingham Conservatoire, 2020), 3. Roberts expands on the Calvinist consensus of the time and on Calvin’s positive encouragement of congregational singing.

most organs had no liturgical purpose and, although some escaped destruction, parish records suggest that most were either dismantled or left to decay.³⁴¹

Cathedral music remained in decline in the early Elizabethan years. At the 1563 Convocation of Canterbury at St Paul's Cathedral, whilst a proposal to abolish 'all curious singing and playing of the organs' was rejected by a sizeable majority, a less radical programme of reform demanding the removal of organs was defeated by only a single proxy vote.³⁴² Many organs were dismantled in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, particularly in London where Puritanical influence was strong,³⁴³ although evidence of a decline in the actual craft of organ-building seems more varied.³⁴⁴

At the Hampton Court conference of 1604, convened by James I to settle religious differences between the Puritans and the bishops, the new king came down against the Puritans and thereafter influential opinion began to turn more in the direction of cathedral music. The growth of the 'High Church' movement that followed reintroduced relatively elaborate musical performance as part of divine service and encouraged use of the organ.³⁴⁵ Work for cathedrals and colleges provided a welcome change in fortune for organ builders, with several cathedrals installing new instruments in the 1620s and 1630s.³⁴⁶

Sixteenth-century organs were small, comprising one or two manuals and lacking reeds, mixtures and pedals, and relatively sober compared to those being built in parts of Europe.³⁴⁷ Most cathedrals possessed several instruments, positioned around the building,

³⁴¹ John Harper, 'Continuity, Discontinuity, Fragments and Connections: The Organ in Church c.1500–1640', in *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography*, ed. by Emma Hornby and David Maw (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2010), 217.

³⁴² A. J. Carlson, 'The Puritans and the Convocation of 1563', in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe – Essays in Honor of E.H. Harbison*, ed. Theodore K. Rabb and Jerrold E. Seigel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 148.

³⁴³ Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ*, (Cambridge, 1996), 49.

³⁴⁴ Bicknell, *History of the English Organ*, 45 notes 14 surviving documented instances of major expenditure in the second half of the century.

³⁴⁵ See, for example, Hoffman, 'Beauty of Holiness', 94–105; Newman, 'Holiness in Beauty?', 303–12; S. Bicknell, 'History of the English Organ', 69–90; Payne, *Provision and Practice of Sacred Music*, 93–100.

³⁴⁶ Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under siege*, 181; Bicknell, *History of the English Organ*, 72.

³⁴⁷ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 113.

each suitable for accompanying the choir.³⁴⁸ Some larger establishments seemed to have three organs – the great organ in the rood loft, a smaller one in the quire and another small one in the Lady Chapel, thereby providing two small instruments for use with the choir and a larger one for the whole building.³⁴⁹

The main organ builders of the first half of the seventeenth century were the Dallam family, from Lancashire. Thomas Dallam (1575 – after 1620) provided new instruments at King’s College Cambridge in 1605,³⁵⁰ built entirely on-site, and a slightly smaller one for Norwich cathedral in 1608/9; he also worked extensively on existing instruments at Westminster Abbey in 1606–9 and St George’s Windsor in 1609/10. Two-manual organs developed from the practice of standing two organs of different sizes on the same gallery and connecting the mechanisms.³⁵¹

Dallam’s two-manual instrument of 1613 instrument for Worcester Cathedral was typical of its kind and is central to our understanding of instruments of the period:³⁵²

Great organ

1–2	Two open diapasons of metal	10 ft
3–4	Two principals of metal	[5 ft]
5–6	Two small principals or fifteenths	[2 ½ ft]
7	A twelfth	[3 ¾ ft]
8	Recorder of metal, stopped	[Sounding 5 ft?]

Chaire organ³⁵³

1	Principal of metal	[5 ft]

³⁴⁸ For example, at pre-Reformation Durham Cathedral – see D.S. Knight, ‘The Organs of Westminster Abbey and their Music, 1240–1908’ (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2001), 12.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ At a cost of £370 (Bicknell *History of the English Organ*, 74), making it the most significant construction since that at Exeter in 1513.

³⁵¹ Bicknell, *History of the English Organ*, 50.

³⁵² Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 113.

³⁵³ A smaller organ, secondary to the Great, with its own case, separate from the main instrument and placed behind the organist’s back or chair. Later, secondary organs were placed within one case, whereby they eventually became known as the choir organ, as their sound was discreet enough for choral accompaniment.

2	Diapason of wood	[10 ft]
3	Flute of wood	[5 ft]
4	Small principal or fifteenth of metal	[2 ½ ft]
5	A twenty-second of metal	[1 ¼ ft]

Its sound, in the absence of reeds or mixtures, would have been gentle and warm, emphasising a rich, restrained tone rather than power or brilliance. It is limited for solo work but flexible for accompaniment purposes.

It also demonstrates the use of two related pitch systems, organ and choir, with organ pitch a fourth above that of the choir. Depressing a C key produced a sounding F a fourth higher, making the organ a transposing instrument. The 5-foot principal is the unison rank,³⁵⁴ with a range of four octaves from sounding F (keyboard C).³⁵⁵ The organist could select registration based on the 5-foot principal or flute and its octave (the ‘small principal or fifteenth’) and superoctave (the twenty-second), or the voices could be doubled an octave lower by adding the 10-foot diapasons.³⁵⁶

Andrew Johnstone has suggested that organ pitch might have originated pre-Reformation as a result of the instrument’s use in accompanying plainchant.³⁵⁷ Some modes would be sung lower or higher than apparently written, to avoid extremities of range. Part of the organist’s role would be to identify a comfortable vocal register and so transposition would have been a routine task. As Johnstone explains, ‘the ranges resulting from these transpositions could, however, be more easily obtained if the organ were constructed in such a way that it performed an aspect of the transposition itself – by sounding say a 4th higher than the pitch its keyboard implied.’³⁵⁸ Another advantage of a higher-pitched instrument is that the pipes would be shorter, reducing the cost of metal for construction.

³⁵⁴ J. Bunker Clark, *Transposition in Seventeenth Century English Organ Accompaniments and the Transposing Organ* (Detroit, 1974), 26.

³⁵⁵ A range corresponding to that of the human voice.

³⁵⁶ Bunker Clark, *Transposing Organ*, 27 points out that the word ‘diapason’ is derived from the Greek and means ‘sub-octave’, and that it was not until the late seventeenth century that the diapasons came to be considered as the unison rank.

³⁵⁷ A. Johnstone, ‘As it was in the beginning’, 511.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

Such transposing organs continued to be built after the Reformation because of their role in accompanying choirs. The organist played from six-line staves, which have the same upper and lower limits as the voice parts; the lowest written note, F, coincides with the lowest of the keyboard, C. The player would have to transpose either down a fourth (when playing on 5-foot principals) or up a fifth (when playing on 10-foot diapasons), which would be effected by reading the parts in different clefs. This is a relatively straightforward process: by mentally replacing the written F and C clefs with C and G clefs respectively, the music would be read a fifth higher while sounding the required fourth lower. In some cases, the organ parts would be already transposed – the direction ‘Play it as it stands’ is sometimes seen,³⁵⁹ as a way of informing the organist that the part is already transposed a fourth down – in which case the organist would play the written notes and it would sound in unison with the voice parts.

Organ books contain several transposed accompaniments, some a fourth below choir pitch and some a fifth above, and some alternating between the two.³⁶⁰ Le Huray states that the left-hand clef can be used as an indicator as to whether the accompaniment had been transposed.³⁶¹ Table 5.2 shows a list of the organbooks for the Hooper anthems that feature in this study. It supports the suggestion that non-transposing organ parts were written in LH F4 clefs and transposing ones in C4 clefs;³⁶² transposition could be effected simply by replacement of a C4 clef for an F4 clef, assuming the use of a 10-foot stop.

Table 5.2 – Clefs in organ parts of selected anthems by Edmund Hooper.

Source	Anthem	Transposing/ non-transposing?	LH clef
<i>BEm</i> 751	O how glorious	non-transposing	F4
<i>Cp</i> 46	Almighty God, which hast given	non-transposing	F4
	Behold it is Christ	non-transposing	F4
<i>DRc</i> A1	Behold it is Christ	non-transposing	F4

³⁵⁹ For example, in the Batten Organ Book (*Ob* Tenbury MS 791).

³⁶⁰ An example of alternating clefs is the organ accompaniment to Morley’s *Te Deum* for ‘verses’, quoted in Le Huray *Music and the Reformation*, 115.

³⁶¹ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 114–115.

³⁶² See Bunker Clark, *Transposing Organ*, 9 and Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 115 for example, although Le Huray’s examples indicate he was numbering from the top of the staff rather than the bottom.

Source	Anthem	Transposing/ non-transposing?	LH clef
<i>DRc</i> A2	The Blessed Lamb	non-transposing	F4
<i>DRc</i> A3	Almighty God, which hast given	non-transposing	F4
<i>DRc</i> A6	The Blessed Lamb	transposing (5th higher)	C4
<i>Cu</i> Ely 1	Almighty God, which hast given	non-transposing	F4
<i>Cu</i> Ely 4	Behold it is Christ	non-transposing	F4
<i>CM</i> 009	Behold it is Christ	transposing (5th higher)	C4
<i>Lbl</i> RM.27.a.13	Behold it is Christ	non-transposing	F4
<i>Ob</i> Tenbury 791	The Blessed Lamb	transposing (5th higher)	C4
	Remember not, O Lord	non-transposing?	F4
<i>Och</i> Mus 47	Behold it is Christ	transposing (5th higher)	C4

Different pitch standards are also seen in two-manual harpsichords made by the Ruckers family of Antwerp. The compass of the main manual was from C to c''' and that of the lower, transposing manual from C to f'', with the top notes aligned and their keys plucking the same strings.³⁶³ In this way, for example, c' on the upper manual and f' on the lower manual sounded at the same pitch. This would have assisted the player in making fourth-downward transpositions.

The organ books contain scores of Anglican service music, including full and verse anthems. Whether they were actually played on the organ is less clear, and Le Huray suggests that keyboard reductions of full services and anthems may have been copied into organ books as much for rehearsal purposes as for performance,³⁶⁴ although Harper's view is that evidence from early seventeenth-century organ books, such as the existence of transposing organ parts, suggests accompaniment of the whole sung church repertory was not uncommon.³⁶⁵ Certainly, in full anthems, the organ part is nowhere essential even though the parts exist. At Chichester in 1616, for example, Thomas Weelkes was instructed to 'remain in the choir until the last psalm be sung and then go up to the organs and there, having done his duty, return in to the Choir again to bear his part all along'.³⁶⁶

³⁶³ Bunker Clark, *Transposing Organ*, 21.

³⁶⁴ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 115.

³⁶⁵ Harper, *The Organ in Church*, 219.

³⁶⁶ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 115. His 'duty' was presumably to play a voluntary before the first lesson.

Many organ accompaniments to full anthems leave much to the imagination of the player, and no two separate accompaniments of the same work are identical.³⁶⁷ Some, such as the accompaniment to Hooper's *Behold it is Christ*, in *DRC A1*, consist of little more than a top and a bottom line: the intention may have been to strengthen the outer parts or, as the other parts include so much more, it might have been that the Durham organist was expected to fill in the texture.

The organ is of course an integral part of the verse anthem, a genre that appeared in England in the latter half of the sixteenth century.³⁶⁸ It grew out of the idea of the metrical psalm and the Elizabethan consort song, for solo voices and viols, with the significance of the form being its independent accompaniment.³⁶⁹ The genre was developed by Farrant, Mundy and Byrd, all members of the Chapel Royal, and is usually strophic in form. It also had the advantage of saving considerably on rehearsal time, allowing for lengthy solos to be assigned to the ablest singers with impressive effect, leaving the full sections for the whole choir. As Le Huray points out, this would have been especially advantageous in the provinces, where there were fewer good musicians to be found.³⁷⁰ Harper suggests that the rise of the verse anthem is paralleled by the emergence of the double organ,³⁷¹ presumably as composers responded to the flexibility of the instrument.

Domestic music

Settings of psalms and prayers for solo voices, choral ensemble and instrumental accompaniment may represent sacred music sung in a domestic-devotional context which subsequently became church anthems. The borderlines between sacred and secular (domestic) were much less sharply defined as they are today and several printed sets of partbooks contain at least some polyphonic music of a religious nature.³⁷² The Absalon

³⁶⁷ This can be seen in the organ-comparison documents for *Almighty God which hast given*, *Behold it is Christ* and *The Blessed Lamb*, all of which are in Part 2.

³⁶⁸ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 217.

³⁶⁹ However, it should be noted that the designation of 'verse' sections would not necessarily entail an independent organ part – Byrd's *Great Service* being an example. Here, the distinction is conveyed through the nature of the scoring of the voices.

³⁷⁰ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 225.

³⁷¹ Harper, *The Organ in Church*, 223.

³⁷² Some of these are listed in Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 403–5.

laments of Tomkins and Weelkes, for example, do not appear in any liturgical sources, and neither do anthems for non-standard combinations of voices, such as Byrd's SSSAT *Sing we merrily unto God*, from his *Psalms, Songs and Sonnets* of 1611.

The consort organ has been described as 'a distinct type of chamber organ made in England during the seventeenth century, which was principally intended for use with consorts of instruments (usually stringed) or with voices (often in a devotional rather than liturgical context) for secular purposes, most typically in a domestic or court environment'.³⁷³ Harper suggests that household organs were pitched in C, rather than F,³⁷⁴ an idea supported by some surviving instruments³⁷⁵ and which might account for why some organ books were written at choir pitch rather than organ pitch.³⁷⁶ The sound of these domestic instruments was tonally homogeneous with stringed instruments, particularly viols.³⁷⁷

Wooden pipes seem to be the single most defining feature of the consort organ, rather than the metalwork in seventeenth-century liturgical instruments. The pursuit of music was part of a civilised country life, and manifested itself through widespread copying and sharing of manuscripts between households.³⁷⁸ Consort organs were rarely recorded in houses of non-noble status, presumably because of their cost: by way of example, the first record of an organ at Hatfield House, the country seat of Robert Cecil, Secretary of State to Elizabeth I and James I, was the purchase for £24 of a second-hand portative organ.³⁷⁹

Domestic music-making was important in many aristocratic households, but it was usually conducted in private, particularly in Catholic houses. The domestic context extended to such arenas as choir schools, theatres, private music meetings and public music houses.³⁸⁰

³⁷³ D.R.S. Force, "'A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend': The Organ in Seventeenth-Century English Domestic Music', Ph.D. thesis (The Open University, 2019), 7.

³⁷⁴ Harper, *The Organ in Church*, 230.

³⁷⁵ An early seventeenth-century instrument survives at Knole in Kent, and a slightly later one, now at St Luke's near Smithfield in Virginia, originated from Hunstanton Hall in Norfolk. They are based on a 4/8-foot pitch standard rather than the 5/10-foot of the transposing organ. See Bicknell *History of the English Organ*, 198 and Wainwright, *George Jeffreys: English Sacred Music*, xlviii.

³⁷⁶ Although the possibility that some liturgical instruments were pitched in C cannot be ruled out.

³⁷⁷ Force, 'A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend', 2.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 80.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 82.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

Force has shown that most domestic contexts outside the court were found in London and East Anglia;³⁸¹ as aristocratic households were widely spread, he suggests one reason for this distribution might be the practical ease of access to London-based organ builders and organists.

Thomas Mace's 1676 description of the organ – 'Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly According to All'³⁸² – suggests at first that the instrument had some sort of supporting, background role in a consort ensemble. However, as Force says, the term 'sweet' was 'one of the most frequently applied positive epithets used in conjunction with music in the seventeenth century', but it was also used in other contexts, some of which a modern listener would not recognise by that description, and that the best that could be said of the term was that it expressed general approbation. He also suggests that 'quiet' meant, in this context, 'not excessively loud', rather than 'quiet' as such, and that Mace's intention might be best translated as suggesting that the organ should balance dynamically with the consort rather than to play quietly *per se*.³⁸³

Other instruments

The use of wind instruments in services is not documented until the 1590s, although they appear in records of earlier occasions when Queen Elizabeth was present. It seems likely they were at first used in cathedrals and churches only on royal visits.³⁸⁴ One of the earliest references concerns the queen's visit to Oxford in 1566, where she heard a 'Te Deum with cornetts'; in Worcester in 1575 the choir sang with cornetts and sackbuts.³⁸⁵ At Westminster Abbey in 1599, for a service to celebrate the anniversary of the queen's succession, Edmund Hooper received a payment of 13s 4d 'for the cornets and sackbuts of the queen's day'.³⁸⁶

³⁸¹ Ibid., 79.

³⁸² Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument, or a Remembrancer of the best Practical Musick...* (London, 1676).

³⁸³ Force, 'A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend', 180

³⁸⁴ Alan Smith, 'The Practice of Music in English Cathedrals and Churches, and at the Court, during the Reign of Elizabeth I,' (Ph.D dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1967), 449.

³⁸⁵ Ibid, 450.

³⁸⁶ Andrew Parrott, 'Grett and Solompne Singing': Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War', in *Composers' Intentions?: Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 370.

Waits were municipal musicians and were sometimes incorporated in services as part of their normal duties.³⁸⁷ Their principal instrument was the shawm (sometimes called a wait-pipe), a loud, reedy instrument best suited to outdoor occasions, but over time were added the viol, cornett, recorder and lute, all of which were more appropriate for indoor use. Most waits were competent in at least two instruments. Brian Crosby has identified the period between December 1624 and July 1628 as the point at which instrumentalists were first employed at Durham Cathedral, likely following the arrival of the Laudian Richard Neile as Bishop of Durham in 1617.³⁸⁸

Morley, in his introduction to *The First Book of Consort Lessons* (1599), describes the City of London Waits as 'excellent musicians', although others have been less kind.³⁸⁹ Roberts suggests that the 'formalisation of cathedral wind bands around the turn of the seventeenth century coexists alongside a continuing unease' associated with the social status of the town waits.³⁹⁰

Calvin held strong views against the use of instruments in worship. He considered that

when the clear light of the gospel has dissipated the shadows of the law and taught us that God is to be served in a simpler form, it would be to act a foolish and mistaken part to imitate that which the prophet enjoined only upon those of his own time.³⁹¹

Elaborate worship, including the use of instruments, was associated with insincerity of thought, enabling perhaps an outward display of faith that may not be mirrored by personal internal devotion.

³⁸⁷ Such as, for example, Christmas at Norwich Cathedral in 1575 – see Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 126.

³⁸⁸ This is discussed in detail in Roberts, 'Wind Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals', 43.

³⁸⁹ Ravenscroft, for example, described town minstrels as having brought a high art down to 'the basest almost of Mechanick Functions' – see Roberts, 'Wind Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals', 12.

³⁹⁰ Roberts, 'Wind Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals', 12.

³⁹¹ James Anderson, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms by John Calvin*, 5 vols (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1847), III, 312, quoted in Roberts, 'Wind Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals', 4.

References to wind instruments, particularly cornetts and sackbuts, become more frequent after about 1575, coinciding with a move towards a less austere approach to worship that eventually saw the growth of the 'High Church' movement and its emphasis on ritual. The cornett was thought to be similar in timbre to the human voice, with a useful dynamic range and with a bright, round tone quality, not dissimilar to modern cornets but without the brassiness. They were used in cathedrals to support the upper voices, with sackbuts, which resembled trombones and were capable of soft, clear sounds, on the lower. Roberts suggests that the presence of winds 'may be more closely related to the provision of organs than to the shortcomings or otherwise of the choir', inasmuch as they would reinforce a generally quiet organ timbre.³⁹²

However, Parrott cautions us against assuming that their use was commonplace.³⁹³ The only musical instrument regularly employed for general purposes prior to the Restoration was the organ – wind instruments were very much the preserve of the Chapel Royal and larger cathedral and collegiate choirs and heard only on special occasions. Wind instruments cannot, in a cathedral context, be considered in isolation from the organ.

Cathedral musicians probably played the viol, but for domestic rather than liturgical music-making. There are no instrumental parts in any of the pre-Restoration liturgical sources, and it is hard to imagine their use considering the necessity for tuning³⁹⁴ and the impossibility of their being able to accompany a choir in procession.

Many verse anthems, such as Hooper's *The Blessed Lamb*, exist in two forms, one for voices and organ and another (often termed a 'consort anthem') for voices and viols, which often differ sufficiently to make their use together impossible. Viol parts are found only in secular sources, indicating that they were used in domestic rather than church performance, a suggestion that is reinforced by the absence of any (surviving) settings of the canticles with viol accompaniment. In verse anthems, the verses were taken by soloists and the chorus or

³⁹² Roberts, 'Wind Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals', 162.

³⁹³ Andrew Parrott, "'Grett and Solompne Singing": Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War', in *Composers' Intentions?: Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 376.

³⁹⁴ This point was made by Butler *The Principles of Musik*, and quoted in Parrott *Composers' Intentions*, 375.

full sections by the whole choir, whilst consort anthems were intended for performance with a single voice and viol on each part. The consort anthem was intimate chamber music whilst the verse anthem was a choral and public one.³⁹⁵

Edmund Hooper was responsible for the care of viols at Westminster Abbey,³⁹⁶ which were probably used at the occasional performances which took place in the Jerusalem Chamber, as well as for chorister education. Viol consorts flourished in domestic settings, along with the verse anthem, whilst the organ was used in church. Knight states that the only event Hooper 'identifies with the viols' was at Westminster School, a secular location, whereas for services he mentions an (unidentified) wind instrument.³⁹⁷

Some observations for modern performance

Four of the anthems, two verse and two full, were worked on in rehearsal by Floreat (a vocal ensemble of 8 voices) and Cantandum (a chamber choir of about 20 voices), both able groups which I direct.³⁹⁸ Below are a few performance observations, as well as suggestions as to how one might approach or adapt the music to fit modern choirs.

Each work was transposed a tone above written pitch, corresponding closest to that of Hooper's time;³⁹⁹ this also had the advantage of making contratenor parts accessible to altos.

Almighty God, which hast given

The anthem works well pitched up a tone⁴⁰⁰ for SAATB (or SATTB), where the sound is warm and focused. A tempo of minim = 70, felt as two beats to a bar (a breve tactus divided into

³⁹⁵ Morehen, 'The English Consort and Verse Anthem', 383.

³⁹⁶ Knight, 'The Organs of Westminster Abbey', 31. The source appears to be one of the Abbey's muniments.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

³⁹⁸ Floreat went on to give, in February 2025, what might have been the first performance since Hooper's time of *Almighty God, which madest*.

³⁹⁹ See the section on Performance practice, page 120, where it is noted that pitch at the time was about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a tone sharp of modern a' = 440.

⁴⁰⁰ We also experimented up a minor third, but it resulted in a shrill tone as well as a loss of some of the depth of quality of the bass line.

two semibreves), gives the piece a lilting movement which propels the music forward. The dissonances added colour, passing by without jarring. One singer considered the 2Ct part in bars 10–11, noted on 47, rather than ‘stuck’ to be a well-considered piece of writing, its static nature leaving the ear unclear of its destination yet at the same time drawing the phrase to the G# in the bass; the tension then resolves on ‘Son’ at the cadence into bar 12. The relatively disjunct bass line, such as in bars 11–17, along with the canonic writing in bars 38–46, gave the line melodic interest, providing harmonic support in addition to any contrapuntal function.

The anthem can be sung both with and without organ accompaniment. The upwards transposition allowed the voices to resonate, and the rich 5-part texture provided few gaps in the sound that might have needed support. The four surviving organ parts, reproduced in the textual commentary in Part 2, are similar; the main difference is that the primary source, Cp 46, in the antiphonal bars 23–37 represents the M and B lines only whereas the others fill out the harmonies. This suggests that practices varied according to requirement as well as, perhaps, player ability and scribal preference.

Behold it is Christ

Sung up a tone from written pitch for SAATB, the piece has what a modern singer might describe as a warm tonality which sits well in most voices except tenor, where the part is, unsurprisingly, more like a first bass line.⁴⁰¹ At minim = 80 it had a ‘ploddy’ feel and the central ‘whosoever believeth in him’ section felt rather ‘wordy’, but at faster tempo it seemed to lose some of its nobility. The last four bars make for a satisfying, slightly expansive ending.

An organ accompaniment might help smooth out some of the wordiness although, as can be seen from the comparison document in Part 2, the sources vary notably as to the extent to which the inner parts were played: *DRc* A1 is essentially top and bottom parts only whilst *Och* 525 is a short score of all five parts. An organist would have responded to the pragmatic needs of the choir and wouldn’t necessarily have played every note.

⁴⁰¹ As noted on page 112, tenor lines of the period can be comfortably sung by modern baritones.

Almighty God, which madest

At a pitch a tone above written, the singers found themselves in some disagreement as to whether they preferred SAATB or SATTB. The 1Ct part is low for altos in bars 61 and 62 and one suggestion was to swap the two contratenor parts, putting altos on 2Ct and tenors on 1Ct; the T line could then be sung by baritones or tenors. However, to do this may not be desirable as it would lose the upper voices – vs – lower voices antiphonal effects of the previous bars.

The Blessed Lamb

The prevailing e minor tonality brings a warm reverence to the piece and the parts blended well. The verse sections in particular were satisfying to sing and aurally attractive. An appropriate tempo was not immediately apparent – there should be sufficient movement so as not to sound like a dirge, but not so fast as to oblivate the overall mood of penitential sorrow.

A tempo relationship of minim = minim was found to be more vocally comfortable and perhaps more appropriate for the triple time section in bars 34–48. The sign C is indicative of triple time but this sesquialtera relationship – six minims in the place of four, evocative of the galliard – risks trivialising the textual pathos, especially in bars 45–46. By 1600 the mensural system was beginning to break down, even to be misunderstood,⁴⁰² and it was felt that both text and music strongly suggest that the minim remains constant.

Melismatic settings of the word ‘the’ troubled some singers; it was felt this could be addressed in a modern performing edition by moving the melisma to another word or syllable.⁴⁰³ Whether this would be appropriate is, of course, a different question: a critical edition should present the best representation of the contemporary evidence.

⁴⁰² John Caldwell, *Editing Early Music* (Oxford, 1985; 2/1995), chapter 3.

⁴⁰³ Such word-setting does not appear in Hooper’s works alone; it is common in much music of the period.

The contratenor parts, even at this raised pitch, were low in the alto range, and a part distribution of SATTB was preferred to that of divided altos.⁴⁰⁴ The 1Ct line sits especially low in the 'Amen' section, and a suggestion was made that the two contratenor parts could be 'swapped' for a few bars.

⁴⁰⁴ This reinforces the suggestion that contratenor parts were sung by high tenors and not altos or falsettists – see page 113.

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Part 2:

A critical edition of selected anthems

Introduction

In this section, critical editions of the Hooper anthems detailed in Chapter 3, including variant versions, are presented. They have been selected so as to form a representative sample of his surviving works.

Each anthem is followed by: (i) its textual commentary; (ii) a supplementary organ comparison score where appropriate; (iii) variant versions where they exist; (iv) textual commentaries of the variant versions. All extant sources have been examined, except in the case of *Behold it is Christ*, where I was unable to access two sets in the New York Public Library, US-NYp MS Drexel 4180-4184 and 5469, and MSS Mus. Res. *MNZ (Chirk) 1-4.

Editorial notes

Prefatory staves

Original clefs, key-signatures and time-signatures are given on the prefatory staves, together with the first note of each part.

Barring and time signatures

Barring has been added editorially throughout.

Notes and note values

- Original note values are retained with the exception of final notes, where breves or longs are transcribed as semibreves or breves with fermate in accordance with the prevailing barring.
- Notes printed in small type are editorial realisations of custos.

Accidentals

- Sharps and flats used as naturals in the sources are modernised (i.e. replaced by naturals).

- Accidentals added editorially are printed in small type; these include those necessitated by added bar-lines, cancellations within the bar, cautionaries, and those suggested by considerations of *musica ficta*.
- Editorial accidentals are effective to the end of the bar in which they occur, and source accidentals are regarded as applying also to immediate repetitions.
- Accidentals that are redundant in a modern barred edition have been omitted without comment.

Fermate

The presence or otherwise of fermate in concordant sources is not noted.

Slurs

Editorial slurs have been added only when the underlay is potentially unclear.

Texts

The texts have been modernised without special comment.

Notes on the Textual Commentaries

The first sources listed have provided the copy-text, and all departures from it and variants in the concordant sources are recorded.

The following abbreviations are used in the Textual Commentaries (see also the general List of Abbreviations on pages 5–6).

Part names	C	Cantus
	A	Altus
	Q	Quintus
	M	Medius
	MD	Medius Decani (etc.)
	MC	Medius Cantoris (etc.)
	1Ct	First Contratenor (etc.)

	T	Tenor
	B	Bassus
	org	Organ
	sc	Score
	sh sc	Short score
Note values	<i>b</i>	breve
	<i>b.</i>	dotted breve (etc.)
	<i>b-rest</i>	breve rest (etc.)
	<i>sb</i>	semibreve
	<i>m</i>	minim
	<i>c</i>	crotchet
	<i>q</i>	quaver
	<i>sq</i>	semiquaver
Other	attrib	attribution/attributed to
	b	bar
	lh	left hand
	o	no accidental(s) in source
	om	omitted
	orig	originally
	rh	right hand
	sl	slur(red)
	unattrib	unattributed
	f.	folio
	p.	page
	MS	manuscript

Pitch

and [flat]: if functioning as a natural, are shown in the Commentary as [natural].

System of reference

References take the form: bar number, number of symbol (note or rest) within the bar indicated as a superscript Arabic numeral (a note tied across from the previous bar counts as ¹ in the new bar), the part name (unless the entries have been listed by part), the error or variant, followed by the source(s) in which it appears. A superscript roman numeral indicates a particular beat of a bar: thus 31ⁱⁱⁱ means third beat of bar 31.

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(London, 1641; facsimile edition, ed. John Morehen, 1972).
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Manuscript sources

Cambridge, University Library

- Cu* Ely 4 Organ book, mid-17th century, of anthems only, 'probably commenced by John Anmer'.⁴⁰⁵
- Cu* Ely 28 T partbook, mid-17th century, mostly in the hand of John Anmer.⁴⁰⁶

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam College

- Cfm* 117 Anthems and services, from the Tudor and Restoration periods, originating from Windsor and copied 1677-84.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁵ W. E. Dickson, *A catalogue of ancient choral services and anthems, preserved among the manuscript scores and part-books in the cathedral church of Ely* (Cambridge: CUP, 1861), 5.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁴⁰⁷ Rebecca Herissone, 'Musical Creativity in Restoration England,' appendix, accessed 26 January 2024. <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=16614>.

Cambridge, Peterhouse Library

- Cp* 33, 34, 38, 39, 47–49 The ‘former Caroline’ set of partbooks, compiled for Peterhouse in the 1630s.⁴⁰⁸
- Cp* 35–7, 42–5 The ‘latter Caroline’ set of partbooks, compiled for Peterhouse in the 1630s.⁴⁰⁹
- Cp* 46 Organ book, copied around 1625 – 40.⁴¹⁰

Cambridge, Pembroke College

- Cpc* 6.1–6.6 From a set of eight partbooks and an organ book, dating from c.1640, containing services, verse anthems and full anthems.⁴¹¹

Canterbury, Cathedral Library

- CCA-DCc/Music TD partbook dating from the late 17th century.⁴¹²
- Ms/1
- CCA-DCc/Music B partbook containing services and full anthems. The personal book of minor canon John Gostling (1650–1733), its principal copyist.⁴¹³
- Ms/12

Durham, Cathedral Library

- DRc* A1 Organ book containing anthems and services, dating from 1635.⁴¹⁴ *Behold it is Christ* was copied by Henry Palmer.⁴¹⁵
- DRc* A2 Organ book containing anthems and services, copied mostly in 1620s and 1630s and largely in the hand of John Todd, who was Precentor in the 1620s. Many organ parts correspond to the anthems of C4.⁴¹⁶

⁴⁰⁸ Morehen, ‘Sources’, 147.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ ‘GB-Cp MS 46 [Organ],’ DIAMM, accessed 30.12.23, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/3777/>.

⁴¹¹ Morehen, ‘Sources’, 359–367.

⁴¹² Canterbury Cathedral Archives, accessed 27.7.23, archives.canterbury-cathedral.org.

⁴¹³ Ibid.

⁴¹⁴ Morehen, ‘Sources’, 22–26.

⁴¹⁵ Brian Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts* (Oxford: OUP, 1986), 11.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 12.

<i>DRc A3</i>	Organ book of anthems and services, dating partly from 1630s but mostly 1660s and 1670s. ⁴¹⁷ <i>Almighty God</i> was copied by John Foster, a chorister in the 1630s.
<i>DRc A6</i>	Organ book, in the hand of Henry Palmer and compiled in 1638 for use in Durham Cathedral. ⁴¹⁸
<i>DRc B10</i>	CtC partbook, containing anthems copied in the 1720s. ⁴¹⁹
<i>DRc B27</i>	BC partbook, containing anthems and services, dating from 1714 and copied by Thomas Laye. ⁴²⁰
<i>DRc C1</i>	M partbook containing anthems and services, copied probably after 1665. ⁴²¹ It is mislabelled C21 on the front.
<i>DRc C2</i>	1CtD partbook, one of an original set of ten books containing anthems for ‘festival days’ and dating from the 1630s. ⁴²²
<i>DRc C2*</i>	Ct partbook containing anthems. <i>Behold it is Christ</i> copied by Robert Softley. ⁴²³
<i>DRc C3</i>	2CtD partbook, of the same set as C2, copied by Toby Brookinge in the 1630s. ⁴²⁴
<i>DRc C4</i>	2CtD partbook, originally from a set of ten, containing anthems copied in the 1620s and 1630s. <i>Behold it is Christ</i> copied by John Todd. ⁴²⁵
<i>DRc C5</i>	2CtC partbook, originally from the same set as C4, containing anthems. ⁴²⁶
<i>DRc C6</i>	1CtD partbook, originally from the same set as C4, containing anthems. ⁴²⁷

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 13.

⁴¹⁸ Morehen, ‘Sources’, 27–30.

⁴¹⁹ Crosby, *Catalogue*, 26–27.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., 31–32.

⁴²¹ Ibid., 35; see also S. J. Anderson, ‘Music by members of the Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral in the 17th Century,’ (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Durham, 1999), 8–15.

⁴²² Crosby, *Catalogue*, 35–36.

⁴²³ Ibid., 37.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 37–38

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 38.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

<i>DRc C7</i>	CtC partbook, containing festal anthems (first fascicle) and anthems (second fascicle) . ⁴²⁸
<i>DRc C9</i>	TD partbook containing anthems, from the same set as C4. ⁴²⁹
<i>DRc C10</i>	TC partbook, containing anthems, of the same set as C4. ⁴³⁰
<i>DRc C11</i>	TD partbook containing anthems copied in the late 1630s by Toby Brookinge. ⁴³¹
<i>DRc C12</i>	TC partbook, containing anthems and services, dating from 1670–1700. <i>Behold it is Christ</i> copied by Matthew Owen. ⁴³²
<i>DRc C14</i>	TC partbook of the same set as C2, dating from the 1630s. ⁴³³
<i>DRc C15</i>	T partbook containing anthems. Post-restoration copy facilitating the continued use of repertory from the 1630s. ⁴³⁴
<i>DRc C16</i>	B partbook containing anthems copied by Toby Brookinge in the late 1630s. ⁴³⁵
<i>DRc C17</i>	BC partbook, a replacement for the C4 series book dating from 1679. Copied by John White. ⁴³⁶
<i>DRc C19</i>	BD partbook containing anthems and services, copied in the 1660s. ⁴³⁷
<i>DRc C27</i>	B partbook containing anthems. Begun in 1690s by Matthew Owen, the first since 1630s to use round notation in partbooks. ⁴³⁸
<i>DRc C28</i>	B partbook containing anthems and chants. Earliest parts were transcribed in the 1690s by Matthew Owen. The partbook was still in use, and being added to, at the end of the 18 th century. ⁴³⁹

⁴²⁸ Anderson, 'Music by members of the choral foundation of Durham Cathedral', 2.

⁴²⁹ Crosby, *Catalogue*, 40.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴³¹ Morehen, 'Sources', 77–80; Crosby, *Catalogue*, 40–41.

⁴³² Crosby, *Catalogue*, 41.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁴³⁵ Morehen 'Sources', 80–82; Crosby, *Catalogue*, 43–44.

⁴³⁶ Crosby, *Catalogue*, 44.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, 48–49.

DRc C34 B partbook containing anthems copied by Matthew Owen in the 1690s, and belonging to the Dean⁴⁴⁰.

Gloucester, Cathedral Library

GL CM 005 T partbook, c.1660, copied by one or two main and several additional scribes, for use by the Cathedral choir.⁴⁴¹ Also marked SEECM 104, MS 104.

GL CM 006 TC partbook, c.1660, copied by one or two main scribes and several additional scribes, for use by the Cathedral choir⁴⁴². Also marked SEECM 105, MS 105.

GL CM 009 Organ book; also marked Gloucester Cathedral Library MS 109.⁴⁴³

London, British Library

Lbl Add. 17784 B parts for a collection of services, anthems and four-part psalm settings by English composers, compiled around 1676.⁴⁴⁴

Lbl Add. 17792-96 Partbooks, from a set of six, dating from the first half of the 17th century, after 1624.⁴⁴⁵

Lbl Add. 29372-6 A set of partbooks, *Tristitiae Remedium*, copied by Thomas Myriell, Rector of St Stephen's Walbrook, between 1616-25.⁴⁴⁶

Lbl Add. 30478 TC partbook copied in 1664,⁴⁴⁷ for George Davenport, chaplain to John Cosin, Bishop of Durham.⁴⁴⁸

Lbl Add. 30479 TC partbook copied before 1671,⁴⁴⁹ for Isaac Basire, a prebendary at Durham Cathedral.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁴⁴¹ 'GB-GL MS 104', DIAMM, accessed 12.7.23, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/2904/>

⁴⁴² 'GB-GL MS 105', DIAMM, accessed 12.7.23, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/2905/>.

⁴⁴³ Catalogue sheet, Gloucester Cathedral archives, email message to author, 19.6.23.

⁴⁴⁴ 'GB-Lbl Add. 17784', RISM, accessed 15.2.25, <https://rism.online/sources/806426946>.

⁴⁴⁵ 'GB-Lbl Add. MS 17792', DIAMM, accessed 3.7.23, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/1872/>.

⁴⁴⁶ 'GB-Lbl Add. MS 29372 (*Tristitiae Remedium* of Thomas Myriell)', DIAMM, accessed 29.6.23, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/1879/>.

⁴⁴⁷ Anderson, 'Music by members of the Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral', 19-26.

⁴⁴⁸ Crosby, 'The Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral', 227.

⁴⁴⁹ Anderson, 'Music by members of the Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral', 26-33.

⁴⁵⁰ Crosby, 'The Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral', 227

<i>Lbl</i> Add. 31045	Anthems and Odes from the late 17 th to late 18 th century. ⁴⁵¹
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 7337	Score, containing anthems, services and vocal canons and dating from the early 17 th century. ⁴⁵²
<i>Lbl</i> Harley 7340	One of six volumes of anthems and services copied by Thomas Tudway (1715–1720) and presented to Edward, Lord Harley. ⁴⁵³
<i>Lbl</i> RM.27.a.13	Organ parts for a collection of anthems and services. An early 18 th -century manuscript in the Chapel Royal collection. ⁴⁵⁴

London, Lambeth Palace

<i>Llp</i> MS 764	B partbook, containing psalms, services and anthems, dating from c.1635. ⁴⁵⁵

London, Royal College of Music

<i>Lcm</i> Printed Music I.A.1	BC, manuscript insertion in Barnard part-book, dating from the 17 th century. ⁴⁵⁶
<i>Lcm</i> 1051	BC partbook from a set originally of 8 volumes, dating from around 1625. ⁴⁵⁷

London, St Paul's Cathedral Library

(Unnumbered)	T and B partbooks of anthems, copied by John Gostling. ⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵¹ Herissone, 'Musical Creativity in Restoration England'.

⁴⁵² 'GB-*Lbl* Harley 7337', RISM, accessed 15.2.25, <https://rism.online/sources/800243941>.

⁴⁵³ 'GB-*Lbl* Harley 7340', RISM, accessed 15.2.25, <https://rism.online/sources/800243983>.

⁴⁵⁴ 'GB-*Lbl* R.M.27.a.13', RISM, accessed 15.2.25, <https://rism.online/sources/806931962>.

⁴⁵⁵ Morehen 'Sources', 408–416.

⁴⁵⁶ Daniel and Le Huray, *Sources of English Church Music*, i, 4.

⁴⁵⁷ 'GB-*Lcm* MS 1051', DIAMM, accessed 14.2.25, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/2125/#/>.

⁴⁵⁸ 'Behold it is Christ, Coro,' RISM, accessed 30.12.23, <https://opac.rism.info/search?id=806900424&View=rism>. An A partbook is mentioned in the reference but could not be located.

Lincoln Cathedral Library

- L*/ Mus 1 B part to anthems and services, 1650–1750.⁴⁵⁹
L/ Mus 14 B partbook, dating from the mid-18th century.⁴⁶⁰

Oxford, Bodleian Library

- Ob* MS 17th-century B partbook, containing services and anthems, copied
Mus. d.162 in Oxford for New College chapel choir.⁴⁶¹
Ob MS An incomplete set of partbooks belonging to Thomas Hamond,
Mus. f.20–24 dating from c.1630–50.⁴⁶²
Ob MS The ‘Batten Organ Book’, copied c.1633, probably by Adrian
Tenbury 791 Batten.⁴⁶³
Ob MS A collection of English church music in score, from the library of St
Tenbury 1023 Michael’s College, Tenbury Wells, dating from the late 17th
 century.⁴⁶⁴
Ob MS A collection of anthems in score, dating from around 1880.⁴⁶⁵
Tenbury 1184
Ob MS A single TC part-book from Southwell Minster (the ‘Southwell
Tenbury 1382 Tenor Book’), from an original set of 8, copied in Oxford. From the
 library of St Michael’s College, Tenbury Wells, dating from 1617.⁴⁶⁶
Ob MS B part-book of services and anthems, from the library of St
Tenbury 1442 Michael’s College, Tenbury Wells, and dating from 1665–1670.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁵⁹ ‘GB-*L*/ MS 1’, RISM, accessed 15.2.25, <https://rism.online/sources/806935449>.

⁴⁶⁰ ‘Lincoln Cathedral Library Music Collection, 17th–19th centuries’, accessed 14.2.25, <https://www.worldmicrofilms.co.uk/lincoln-cathedral-library-music-collection-17th-19th-centuries/>.

⁴⁶¹ ‘GB-*Ob* MS. Mus. d. 162’, DIAMM, accessed 24.7.23, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/2271/>.

⁴⁶² ‘One hundred and fifteen anthems and songs in English’, Bodleian Archives and Manuscripts, accessed 31.12.23, https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/archival_objects/173230

⁴⁶³ Morehen ‘Sources’, 215–43.

⁴⁶⁴ ‘A collection of English church music in score, late 17th cent.’ Bodleian Archives and Manuscripts, accessed 31.12.23, https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/archival_objects/150236

⁴⁶⁵ ‘A collection of anthems etc in score, c 1880’, Bodleian Archives and Manuscripts, accessed 24.11.24, https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/archival_objects/150375

⁴⁶⁶ ‘GB-*Ob* MS. Tenbury 1382’, DIAMM, accessed 24.7.23, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/2332/>

⁴⁶⁷ ‘GB-*Ob* MS. Tenbury 1442’, DIAMM, accessed 24.7.23, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/2333/>

Oxford, Christ Church

- Och* MS
Mus. 6 Organ book dating from c 1630, likely copied by the English organist and composer Benjamin Cosyn and originating from his association with Charterhouse.⁴⁶⁸
- Och* MS
Mus. 16 Vocal works copied in score by Henry Aldrich, dating from 1685–1702. They are mostly his adaptations of other composers' works.⁴⁶⁹ *Behold it is Christ* is not listed in the on-line catalogue, presumably by mistake.
- Och* MS
Mus. 47 Keyboard book containing organ accompaniments to English anthems and idiomatic keyboard music, dating from c.1660.⁴⁷⁰
- Och* MS
Mus. 525 Organ accompaniments to services and anthems, copied mostly by Edward Lowe and dating from before 1677.⁴⁷¹
- Och* MS
Mus. 56, 57, 59, 69 Partbooks from a set originally of 6 (B partbook missing), dating from around 1620.⁴⁷²
- Och* MS
Mus. 1220–1224 The Christ Church Cathedral partbooks, from a set originally of 8, containing services and anthems, copied in Oxford for use in the college chapel and dating from 1643/4.⁴⁷³

Oxford, St John's College

- Ojc* MS 180 B partbook, containing a mixture of services and anthems, begun in or after 1633, in the hand of John Stevens.⁴⁷⁴
- Ojc* MS 181 Second of a set (with MS 180) of two bass partbooks, prepared for use at the Chapel Royal, also in the hand of John Stevens.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁶⁸ Morehen, 'Sources', 457–463

⁴⁶⁹ 'Mus. 16', Christ Church Music Catalogue, accessed 30.12.23, <http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+16>.

⁴⁷⁰ 'Mus. 47', Christ Church Music Catalogue, accessed 15.2.25, <https://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+47>

⁴⁷¹ 'Mus. 525', Christ Church Music Catalogue, accessed 15.2.25, <https://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+525>

⁴⁷² 'Mus 56–60', Christ Church Music Catalogue, accessed 15.2.25 <https://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+56--60>

⁴⁷³ 'Mus. 1220–4', Christ Church Music Catalogue, accessed 17 February 2024, <http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+1220--4> ; also Morehen 'Sources', 349–358.

⁴⁷⁴ Morehen, 'Sources', 391–407

⁴⁷⁵ 'MS 181: English Part-Book', Manuscripts of St John's College, Oxford, accessed 7 February 2024, <http://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb473-ms/ms181>.

Oxford, Magdalen College

Omc OR/1/MS1/2 Services and anthems for B, possibly 18th century.⁴⁷⁶

Windsor, St George's Chapel Library

SGC MUS MS.5	CtD partbook, c.1728. ⁴⁷⁷
SGC MUS MS.6	CtC partbook of services and anthems, c.1728. ⁴⁷⁸
SGC MUS MS.7	TD partbook of services and anthems, c.1728. ⁴⁷⁹
SGC MUS MS.8	TC partbook of services and anthems, c.1728. ⁴⁸⁰
SGC MUS MS.9	BD partbook of services and anthems, c.1728. ⁴⁸¹
SGC MUS MS.10	BC partbook of services and anthems, c.1728. ⁴⁸²
SGC MUS MS.18 (<i>WRch</i> MS 48)	CtC partbook, dating from 1640 and copied by Thomas Tudway Snr. ⁴⁸³
SGC MUS MS.19 (<i>WRch</i> MS 49)	TD partbook, dating from 1640 and copied by Thomas Tudway Snr. ⁴⁸⁴
SGC MUS MS.20 (<i>WRch</i> MS 50)	TC partbook, dating from 1640 and copied by Thomas Tudway Snr. ⁴⁸⁵
SGC MUS MS.73 (<i>WRch</i> 51)	Organ book, containing anthems and services and dating from the first half of the 18 th century. ⁴⁸⁶
SGC MUS MS.82	Treble part-book, c.1768. ⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁷⁶ 'Collection of services and anthems for bass voice part,' Magdalen College archives, accessed 31.12.23, <https://archive-cat.magd.ox.ac.uk/records/OR/1/MS1/2>.

⁴⁷⁷ Clifford Mould, *The Musical Manuscripts of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle – A Descriptive Catalogue* (Windsor: Oxley and Son, 1973), 40.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, 41

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 53

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 56

York, Minster Library

- Y M1/2, 5–8 From 'Bing-Gostling partbooks', copied in Durham c.1668–79 by Stephen Bing with additions by John Gostling in the 1690s.⁴⁸⁸
- Y M 29 (S) The 'Dunnington-Jefferson Manuscript', possibly commissioned by John Cosin and copied by Toby Brookinge around 1632.⁴⁸⁹

University of California at Berkeley

- BEm* MS 751 Organ book from the late 17th century.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁸ 'Bing, Stephen (-1682)', DIAMM, accessed 15.2.25, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/people/3861/>

⁴⁸⁹ 'GB-Y M 29 S,' DIAMM, accessed 30.12.23, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/2730/>

⁴⁹⁰ 'US-Bem MS 751 A–B', RISM, accessed 15.2.25, <https://rism.online/sources/126400>

Almighty God, which hast given

M Al - migh - ty God, al - migh - ty God,

1Ct Al - migh - ty God, which hast gi - ven us thy_

2Ct Al - migh - ty, al - migh - ty God, which_ hast given to

T Al - migh - ty God, al - migh - ty God, which hast

B Al - migh - ty God, al - migh - ty God,

org

5

M which hast gi - ven us thy_ Son, which *hast* given us thy on - ly

1Ct on - ly be-got - ten Son, thy on - ly be - got - ten_ Son, be -

2Ct us, which hast given un-to us, un-to us thy on - ly_ be - got - ten_ Son,

T given us thy on - ly be - got - ten_ Son, which - hast given us thy

B which hast given us thy on - ly Son, which hast

org

9

M be - got - ten Son to take our na - ture up - on him, up -

1Ct got - ten Son, to take our na - ture up-on him, to take our

2Ct which hast given to us thy on - ly be - got - ten Son to

T - on - ly be-got-ten, be - got - ten Son, to take our na - ture

B given us thy on - ly be - got - ten Son, to take our na - ture up - on

org

13

M -on him, to take our na - ture up - on him, up - on

1Ct na - ture up - on him up - on him up - on

2Ct take, to take our na - ture up - on him, up - on

T up - on him, to take our na-ture up - on

B him, to take our na - ture up - on him, up - on

org

17

M him, and to be born of a pure Vir - gin,

1Ct him, and to be born of a pure Vir - gin,

2Ct him, and to be born of a pure Vir - gin, and to be born, of a

T him. and to be born of

B him, and to be born of a

org



21

M of a pure Vir - gin, of a pure

1Ct of a pure Vir - gin, of a

2Ct pure Vir - - - gin, of a pure

T a pure Vir - - - gin, a pure

B pure Vir - - - gin, a pure

org

23

M *Vir - - gin, of a pure Vir - - gin.*

1Ct *pure Vir - gin, of a pure Vir - - gin.*

2Ct *Vir - - gin, of a pure Vir - - gin.*

T *Vir - - gin, of a pure Vir - - gin*

B *Vir - - gin, a pure Vir - - gin*

org

26

M *Dec Grant that we be - ing re - ge - ne - rate, [full] grant*

1Ct *Dec Grant that we be - ing re - ge - - ne - rate, [full] grant*
Can Grant that we be - ing re - ge - ne - rate,

2Ct *[full] Grant*

T *[Dec] Grant that we be - ing re - ge - ne - rate, [full] grant*

B *[full] Grant*

org *vers cho*

29

M — that we be - - ing re - ge - - ne -

1Ct — that we be - ing re - ge - - ne -

2Ct that we be - ing re - ge - - ne -

T — that we be - ing re - ge - ne -

B — that we be - ing re - ge - - ne -

org

31

M - rate, and made thy chil - dren, and made thy

1Ct - rate, and made thy chil - dren, and made thy

2Ct and made thy chil - dren, thy

T - rate, and made thy chil - dren, and made thy

B - rate, and made thy

org

Dec [full]

Dec

Can

[Dec] [full]

vers cho

33

M *Dec*
 chil - dren by a - dop - ti - on and grace, by a - dop - ti - on and__

1Ct
 chil - dren by a - dop - ti - on and grace, by a - dop - ti - on and__

2Ct
 chil - dren, by a - dop - ti - on and grace, by a -

T *[Dec]*
 chil - dren, by a - dop - ti - on and grace, by a - dop - ti - on, a -

B
 chil - dren by a - dop - ti - on and__

org *vers* *cho*

37

M
 grace, may dai - ly be re - new'd, may dai - ly

1Ct
 grace, may dai - ly be re - new'd, may dai - ly be re -

2Ct
 grace, and grace, may dai - ly be re - new'd, may

T
 dop - ti - on and grace may dai - ly be re - new'd re - new'd may dai - ly be re -

B
 grace, may dai - ly be re - new - ed, may

org

41

M *be re - new'd, may dai - ly be re - new'd, may dai - ly be re - new'd, be*

1Ct *- new'd, re - new'd may dai - ly be re - new'd, be re -*

2Ct *dai - ly be re - new'd re - new'd may*

T *- new'd, re - new'd, may dai - ly be re - new'd, may dai - ly be re -*

B *dai - ly be re - new'd, may dai - ly*

org



45

M *re - new'd, may dai - ly be re - new'd, re - new'd by thy*

1Ct *- new'd, may dai - ly be re - new'd, may dai - ly be re - new - ed, by thy*

2Ct *dai - ly be re - new'd, may dai - ly be re - new'd by thy ho - ly -*

T *new'd, be re - new'd by thy ho - ly*

B *be re - new'd, may dai - ly be re - new'd by thy ho - ly Spirit, by thy*

org

49

M
ho - ly Spirit, through the same our Lord, our Lord Je - sus

1Ct
ho - ly - Spirit, through the same our Lord

2Ct
- - Spirit, through the same our Lord, through the

T
Spi - rit, by thy ho - ly Spi - rit, through

B
ho - ly Spirit, through

org



52

M
Christ through the same, through the same our Lord, through

1Ct
Je - sus Christ, through the same, through the same,

2Ct
same our Lord Je - sus Christ, through the same our Lord, through

T
the same our Lord, our Lord Je - sus

B
the same our Lord Je - - sus Christ, Je - sus

org

55

M *the same our Lord, through the same our Lord, our Lord Je - sus*

1Ct *through the same our Lord, through the same our Lord Je -*

2Ct *the same our Lord, through the same our Lord, our Lord, Je -*

T *Christ, through the same Je - sus*

B *Christ, through the same our Lord Je -*

org



58

M *Christ. A - - - - men, A -*

1Ct *- sus Christ. A - men, A - - - -*

2Ct *- sus Christ. A - - - - men A - -*

T *Christ our Lord. A - - - - men, A -*

B *-sus Christ. A - - - - men,*

org

62

M

1Ct

2Ct

T

B

org

men, A - men, A - - - men.

men, A - - - - - - - - - - - men.

men, A - men A - - - - - men.

men, A - - - - - men.

A - - - - - men A - - - - - men.

org

Almighty God, which hast given

Textual commentary

Sources

Cp 47, f.118r-v: MD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 39, f.137r-v: 1CtD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 48, f.75r-v: 2CtD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 38, f.130: BD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 34, f.123r-v: MC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 49, f.116r-v: 1CtC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 33, f.122: BC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 46, f.28r-29r: org; unattrib
DRc C11, p.82: TD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C15, p.45: TD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C9, p.24: TC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C10, p.31: TC; unattrib
DRc C1, p.3: MC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C6, p.42: 1CtD; attrib 'M^r Hooper', ends at bar 48
DRc C7, numbered 37, p.41 (EECM p.251): 1CtC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C4, p.44: 2CtD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C5, numbered 37 (EECM 37): 2CtC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C16, p.75: BD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C19, p.19: BD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C17, p.46: BC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc A3 p.112: org; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cu Ely 28 p.56: T; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cu Ely 1 p.9: O; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Lbl Add. 30478, p.139 (EECM 74): TC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Lbl Add. 30479, p.62 (EECM 35): TC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Lbl Harley 7340, p.54: sc; attrib 'M^r Edmund Hooper'
Ob Tenbury 1442, p.103: B; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Ojc MS 180, f.44r-45r (EECM p 42), BD, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Y M29 (S), p.233: BD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
US-Bem MS 751, p.17: O; attrin 'M^r Hooper'

Notes

1. The organ sources have been transcribed separately to aid comparison.
2. *Lbl* Harley 7340 is an 18th-century source with notable differences and has been transcribed separately.

These additional transcriptions follow directly after this textual commentary; variants are therefore not listed below.

Variants

Inscriptions:

'For Christmas Day' (*Cp* except org, *Cu* Ely 1, *Ym* M29)

'The Collect for Christmas Day' (*Cp* 46, *DRc* C11, C15, *Lbl* Add. 30478)

'Allmightie God' (*DRc* A3, C1, C4, C5, C6, C7, C7, C9, C16, *Lbl* Add. 30479, *Ojc* 180)

'Almighty God, collect for Christmas day' (*Cu* Ely 28, *Ob* Tenbury 1442),)

'Almighty God, The Collict for Xmas Day. A Full Anthem in 5 parts' (*Lbl* Harley 7340)

DRc C10 is untitled

M

6⁴⁻⁵: sl om (*DRc* C1)

15¹-16³: sl om (15), text 'him up-on (4 notes sl)' (*Cp* 34)

16¹: o (*Cp* 34, *DRc* C1)

32²: *m* '-dren' (*DRc* C1)

38⁴: *m* (*DRc* C1)

41³ *c c*, underlay unclear (*DRc* C1)

44³-45: sl '-new'd' (*DRc* C1)

44⁴-45³ and 47⁴-48³: sl om, 'may daily be (c) re- (c) -newed'

48⁴-49³: sl om (*DRc* C1)

51¹⁻⁴: sl om, *m m s* (*Cp* 34 and *DRc* C1)

56⁴⁻⁶: sl 'our' (*Cp* 34)

55⁴-57¹: *Cp* 34 reads as follows:



56⁵: o (*Cp* 34)

58⁵: fermata (*DRc* C1)

1Ct

- 4¹⁻³: 'given' (one syllable) sl 'us' (*DRc C6*)
7³⁻⁵: sl om (*DRc C7*)
17²⁻¹⁹: appears only in decani sources, i.e. *Cp 39, DRc C6*.
23¹⁻³: sl 'pure' (*DRc C6*)
23²⁻⁴: sl om (*DRc C7*)
24⁴⁻²⁵³: sl om (*DRc C6*)
27²⁻³: *m* (*DRc C6*)
35⁴⁻³⁶¹: note missing (*DRc C7*)
36⁴⁻³⁷⁴: sl om (*DRc C7*)
36⁴⁻³⁷⁵: sl until 37³ ('and') followed by sl 37⁴⁻⁵ ('grace') (*DRc C6*)
37⁶: # (*Cp 39, Cp 46, DRc C6, DRc C7*); [natural] (*Cp 49*)
48²⁻⁵ sl 're-' (2 notes) sl '-newed' (2 notes) (*DRc C6*)
48³⁻⁴: sl om (*DRc C7*)
57⁶⁻⁵⁸¹: sl om (*DRc C7*)
58³: fermata (*DRc C7*)
61² text: *Cp 39* has 'A-'

2Ct

- 6¹⁻²: *m*. 'given' (*DRc C4*)
6¹⁻⁵ text: 'giv-en to (2 notes sl) us' (*DRc C5*)
6⁵⁻⁶: sl 'to' (*DRc C4*)
7¹⁻⁶ text: 'to us thy on-ly (2 notes sl)' (*DRc C5*)
7²⁻⁶ text: 'thy (2 notes sl) only' (*DRc C4*)
10¹⁻³ text: 'given us' (*DRc C5*)
19³⁻⁴ *sb* (*DRc C5*)
22²: 2CtC re-joins (*DRc C5*)
24⁴⁻²⁵³ text: *sb c* sl 'Vir-' *c sb* sl '-gin' (*DRc C4*); sl om (*DRc C5*)
39⁴⁻⁴⁰²: sl om 're-new-ed' (*DRc C5*)
48⁴⁻⁴⁹³: sl om (*DRc C5*)
49³⁻⁴: 'Spi-rit' (*DRc C4, C5*)
51²⁻³ text: 'our Lord' (*DRc C5*)
52¹⁻⁵³² text: 'Our Lord Je- (4 notes sl) sus' (*DRc C5*),
52⁴⁻⁵: sl (*DRc C4*)

52⁴-53² text: 'Je- (2 notes sl) -sus (2 notes sl) (*DRc C4*)
 53¹⁻²: sl (*DRc C4*)
 57²-58² :text 'Je- (*m m.* sl) '-sus' (*c sb* sl) (*DRc C5*)
 58³: fermata (*DRc C4, C5*)
 62¹-63¹ text: '-men. A-' (5 notes), final syllable missing. (*DRc C5*)

T

3³⁻⁴: *m m* (*DRc C15*)
 3³-4¹: 'al-migh- (*sbb*) -ty' (*DRc C9*)
 3³-5⁴ text: 'migh-'(*sb*) -tie God, which hast given us thine (*m*) on-' (*m*)' (*DRc C10, Lbl Add. 30478 and 30479*)
 3³-4² text: 'migh- (*sb*) -ty (*m*), who' (*Cu Ely 28*)
 5³ text: 'thine' (*Cu Ely 28*)
 7²⁻³: sl om (*DRc C15, DRc C10, Lbl Add. 30478*)
 7⁵ text: 'who' (*Cu Ely 28*)
 8³-9¹: *m c c c* 'giv-en us thine' (*Lbl Add. 30479*)
 8⁵ text: 'thine' (*Cu Ely 28*)
 8³-9¹: 'giv-en thine (2 notes sl om)' (*DRc C10*)
 9³⁻⁵ text: '-ly be (2 notes sl)' (*DRc C15*)
 9³⁻⁷: sl '-ly' (*DRc C10, Cu Ely 28, Lbl Add. 30479*)
 9³⁻⁷: *m* 'on-lie (5 notes sl om)' (*Lbl Add. 30478*)
 10³ *m.* (*DRc C10*)
 15⁴: *a* (*DRc C10, Cu Ely 28, Lbl Add. 30478 and 30479*)
 16¹⁻² sl om, 16³⁻⁴ sl (*Lbl Add. 30479*)
 20²: # (*DRc C10, Lbl 30478 and 30479, Cu Ely 28*)
 22²: *c c* 'of a' (*DRc C10, Cu Ely 28, Lbl Add. 30478 and 30479*)
 22⁴: *b.* 'pure' (*Lbl Add. 30479*)
 23 text: om (*Lbl Add. 30479*)
 31¹: # (*DRc C10*)
 32¹: *o* (*Cu Ely 28, Lbl Add. 30479*)
 32²: *m* '-dren' (*DRc C10, Cu Ely 28, Lbl Add. 30478, 30479*)
 39³: *f* (*Lbl Add. 30479*)
 39⁴: *B* (*Lbl Add. 30478, 30479*)
 44⁴-45: sl 're-' (*DRc C9, C10, C15, Cu Ely 28, Lbl Add. 30478 and 30479*)
 46¹⁻²: *ma' cf' cg'* '-newd be re-' (*DRc C9, C10, C15, Cu Ely 28, Lbl Add. 30478 and 30479*)

46³-47¹: sl om (*Lbl* Add. 30479)
 47²⁻⁵ sl (*Lbl* Add. 30479)
 49⁴-50¹: *m* 'Spirit' c c sl 'by' (*Cu* Ely 28)
 50¹: # (*DRc* C9)
 50²-51⁴ text: 'the (2 notes sl) ho-ly (2 notes sl) Spi-rit' (*Lbl* Add. 30479)
 50³-51⁴ text: 'Spi-rit by the holy (4 notes sl) Spi-rit (*m*)' (*Lbl* Add. 30478)
 50³-51⁴ underlay: '-ly (3 notes sl) spi-rit, with 51³⁻⁴ *ma* (*DRc* C10)
 51³⁻⁴: *m* 'Spirit' (*Cu* Ely 28)
 52³: a (*Cu* Ely 28)
 53³-54¹: fermata, followed by double barline (*Lbl* 30478)
 56-58: sl om, text: 'through our Lord Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ' (*Cu* Ely 28)
 56³-58 underlay: 'the (sl om) same our (2 notes sl) Lord Je-sus Christ' (*DRc* C10)
 60¹⁻² underlay: 'men, A-' (*DRc* C10)
 61¹⁻³ underlay: '(A)-men, A' (*DRc* C10)
 62⁴, '-men' on 63¹, 'A-' on 63², final syllable missing (*Lbl* Add. 30478)
 63 underlay: '(A)-men, A' (*DRc* C10)
 64¹: *m* (*DRc* C11)

B

32³ note unclear (*DRc* C17)
 33¹: o (*Ym* M29)
 33²⁻³: *sb m*-rest (*DRc* C19, *Ob* Tenbury 1442)
 36³-37¹: *m m* sl 'on' *sb* 'and' (*Ob* Tenbury 1442)
 46⁴-47³ underlay: 're-new- (2 notes sl) -ed' (*DRc* C19)
 47¹⁻³: *m m* sl '-new', *m* '-ed' (*DRc* C16)
 55²-57⁵ text: 'Je- (2 notes sl) -sus Christ, through the same (sl om) our (2 notes sl) 57⁴-57⁵ sl om 'Lord Je' (*Ojc* 180)
 55²-58¹ text: 'Je – sus (2 notes sl) Christ, Je- sus (7 notes sl)' (*DRc* C16)
 55²-58² text: 'Je-sus (2 notes sl) Christ, Jesus ://:' (*Ob* Tenbury 1442)
 56²-57: sl 'Je-' (*DRc* C17)
 56²-57¹ underlay: 'our (2 notes sl) Lord' (*DRc* C19)
 57²-58¹ text: 'Je-' (2 notes sl) '-sus' (3 notes sl) (*Ym* M29)
 62³: o (*DRc* C17)
 63¹⁻² text: missing '-men, A-' (*DRc* C17, C19, *Ym* M29)

Almighty God, which hast given

Organ comparison

Organ comparison score for measures 1-5. The score is written for four staves, each with a treble and bass clef, and a common time signature (C). The staves are labeled on the left: Cp 46, DRc A3, Cu Ely 1, and BEm 751. The music features a variety of note values, including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests and accidentals (sharps and naturals).

Organ comparison score for measures 6-10. The score is written for four staves, each with a treble and bass clef, and a common time signature (C). The staves are labeled on the left: Cp 46, DRc A3, Cu Ely 1, and BEm 751. The music continues with a variety of note values, including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests and accidentals (sharps and naturals).

11

Cp 46

DRc A3

Cu Ely 1

BEm 751



16

Cp 46

DRc A3

Cu Ely 1

BEm 751

21 (verse)

Cp 46

DRc A3

Cu Ely 1

BEm 751

27 (cho) (verse) (cho)

Cp 46

DRc A3

Cu Ely 1

BEm 751

33 (verse) (cho)

Cp 46

DRc A3

Cu Ely 1

BEm 751



38

Cp 46

DRc A3

Cu Ely 1

BEm 751

43

Cp 46

DRc A3

Cu Ely 1

BEm 751



48

Cp 46

DRc A3

Cu Ely 1

BEm 751

53

Cp 46

DRc A3

Cu Ely 1

BEm 751



58

Cp 46

DRc A3

Cu Ely 1

BEm 751

62

Cp 46

DRc A3

Cu Ely 1

BEm 751

The musical score is written for four instruments: *Cp 46*, *DRc A3*, *Cu Ely 1*, and *BEm 751*. The score is in 2/4 time and consists of four measures. The first measure shows the beginning of the piece with various notes and rests. The second measure continues the melody. The third measure features a long note in the treble clef and a half note in the bass clef. The fourth measure concludes the piece with a final chord. The instruments are labeled on the left side of the staves.

Almighty God, which hast given

(Harley 7340)

M 13c

Al - migh - ty God, al - migh - ty God,

1Ct 13c#

Al - migh - ty God, which hast gi - ven

2Ct 13c

Al - migh - ty, al - migh - ty God, which hast

T 13c

Al - migh - ty God, al - migh - ty God, which

B

Al - migh - ty God, al - migh - ty God,

5

M

which hast gi - ven us thy on - ly

1Ct

us thy on - ly be - got - ten Son, thy on - ly be - got -

2Ct

given to us, which hast gi - ven us thy on - ly be -

T

hast gi - ven us thy on - ly be - got - ten

B

which hast given us thy

5

M be - got - ten, be - got - ten Son Je - sus Christ to take our

1Ct - ten Son, be - got - ten Son, to take our

2Ct got - ten Son, which hast gi - ven us thy on - ly

T Son, which hast gi - ven us thy on - ly be - got - ten

B on - ly Son, which hast given us thy on - ly be - got - ten Son,

8

M na - ture up - on him, up - on him, to take our na - ture up - on him,

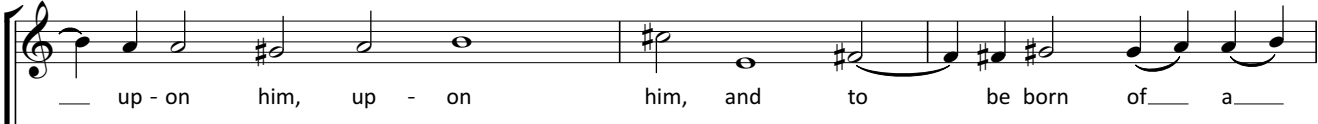
1Ct nat - ture up - on him, to take our na - ture up - on him, to

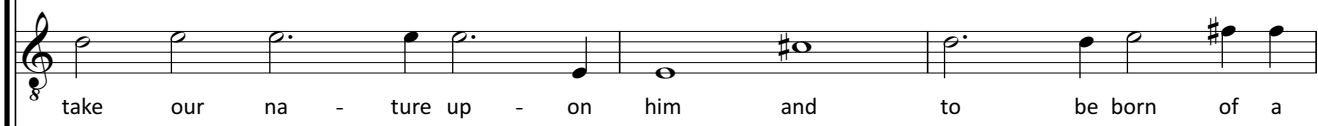
2Ct be - got - ten Son to take, to take our na -

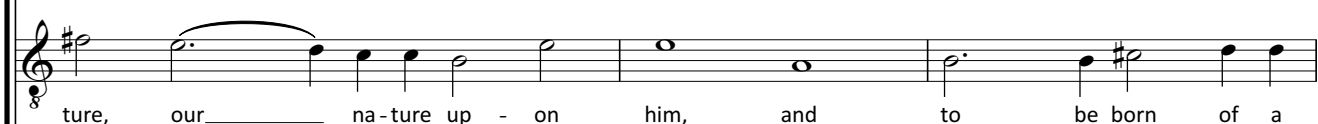
T Son, to take our na - ture up - on him, to take our

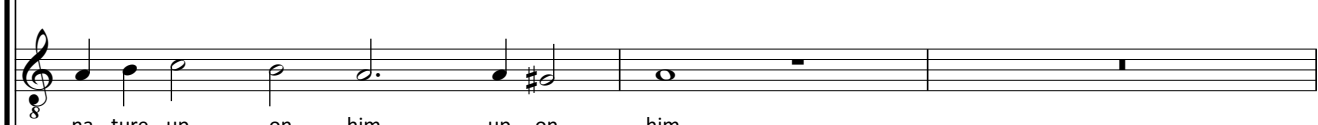
B to take our na - ture up - on him, to take our na - ture up - on

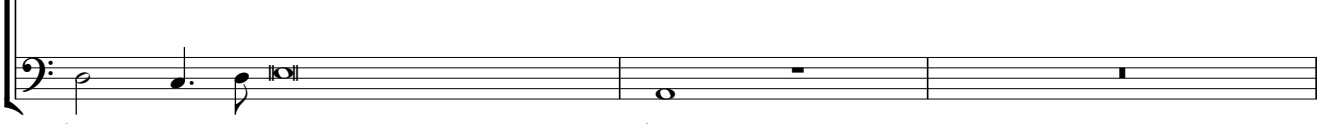
11

M  up - on him, up - on him, and to be born of a

1Ct  take our na - ture up - on him and to be born of a

2Ct  ture, our na - ture up - on him, and to be born of a

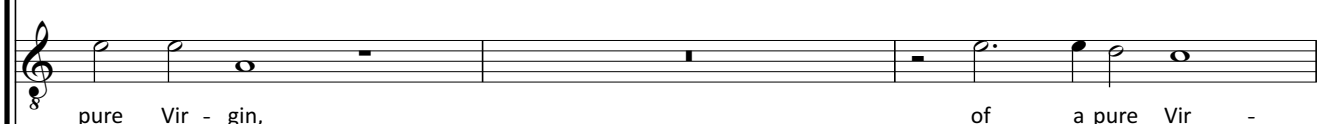
T  na - ture up - on him, up - on him.

B  him, up - on him,

14

M  pure Vir - gin, and to be born of a pure Vir -

1Ct  pure Vir - gin, and to be born of a pure, of a pure Vir - gin, a pure Vir -

2Ct  pure Vir - gin, of a pure Vir -

T  and to be born of a pure Vir - gin, of a pure Vir -

B  and to be born of a pure Vir - gin, of a pure

17

M
gin, of a pure Vir - - gin. Grant that we be - ing re -

1Ct
gin, of a pure _____ Vir - gin. Grant that we be - ing re -

2Ct
gin, of a pure Vir - gin. Grant that we be - ing re -

T
-gin, of a pure Vir - gin Grant that we be - ing re -

B
Vir - gin, of a pure Vir - gin.

20

M
-ge - ne - rate, grant that we be - ing re - ge - ne - rate and

1Ct
-ge - ne - rate, grant that we be - ing re - ge - ne - rate and

2Ct
-ge - ne - rate, grant that we be - ing re - ge - ne - rate and

T
-ge - ne - rate, grant that we be - ing re - ge - ne - rate and

B
Grant that we be - ing re - ge - ne - rate,

22

M made thy chil - dren, and made thy chil - dren by a - dop - tion and_____

1Ct made thy chil - dren by a - dop - tion and_____

2Ct made thy chil - dren, and made thy chil - dren by a - dop tion and_____

T made thy chil - dren, and made thy chil - dren, by a - dop - tion and_____

B and made thy chil - dren_____

24

M grace, by a-dop - tion and_____ grace: may dai - ly be__ re -

1Ct grace, by a-dop - tion and_____ grace, may dai - ly be re - new - ed,___

2Ct grace, by a - dop - tion, by a - dop - tion and grace, and grage may dai - ly

T grace, by a-dop - tion,___ a-dop-tion and grace may dai - ly be re - new'd re -

B by a - dop - tion and_____ grace,_____ may dai - ly

27

M new - ed, may dai - ly be re - new'd, may dai - ly be re - new'd, may dai - ly

1Ct — may dai - ly be re - new - ed, may dai - ly be re -

2Ct be re - new - ed, may dai - ly be re - new - ed, re - new -

T new'd, may dai - ly be re - new'd, re - new'd, may dai - ly be re - new'd, may

B be re - new - ed, may dai - ly be re - new'd,

30

M be re - new'd,, may dai - ly be re - new'd, may dai - ly be re -

1Ct new - ed, be re - new'd, may dai - ly be re - new - ed, may

2Ct -ed, may dai - ly be re - new'd, may dai - ly be re -

T day - ly be re - new'd, may dai - ly be re - new'd, may dai - ly be

B may dai - ly be re - new'd, may dai - ly be re - new'd, re -

33

M new'd, may dai - ly be re-new'd by thy ho - ly Spi - rit, through the same our

1Ct dai - ly be re - new'd, by thy hol - ly Spi - rit,

2Ct new'd by thy ho - ly, ho - ly Spi - rit, through the

T re - new - ed by thy ho - ly Spi - rit, thy ho - ly Spi -

B new'd by thy ho - ly Spi - rit. by thy ho - ly Spi - rit,

35

M Lord, our Lord Je - sus Christ through the same our

1Ct through the same our Lord Je - sus Christ,

2Ct same our Lord, our Lord, through the same our Lord Je - sus

T - rit, through the same our Lord, our

B through the same our Lord, our

37

M Lord__ Je - sus Christ, through__ the same our Lord, through__ the same our

1Ct through the same our Lord, through the same our Lord,

2Ct Christ, through the same our Lord, through__ the same our Lord, through__

T Lord, our Lord__ Je - sus Christ, through__

B Lord Je - sus Christ, Je - sus Christ,

39

M Lord Je - sus Christ, Je - - sus__ Christ.

1Ct through the same our Lord__ Je - sus Christ.

2Ct __ the same our Lord, our Lord__ Je - sus Christ.

T __ the same our Lord je - sus Christ.

B through the same our__ Lord Je - sus Christ.

41

M A - - - - - men, A -

1Ct A - men, A - - - - men, A - men, A -

2Ct A - men, A - men, A - - - - -

T A - - - - men, A - - - - men, A - - - - men, A -

B A - - - - - men, A - - - -

43

M - - - - - men.

1Ct - - - - - men.

2Ct men, A - - - - - men.

T men, A - - - - - men.

B men A - - - - - men.

Behold, it is Christ

M Be - - hold it is Christ, be - hold it

1Ct Be - - hold it is Christ, be - hold it

2Ct Be - - hold it is Christ, be - hold it

T Be - - hold it is Christ, be - hold it

B Be - hold it is Christ, be - hold it

org

5

M is Christ, which was or - dai - ned by God,

1Ct is Christ, which was or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God, which was or -

2Ct is Christ which was or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God, or -

T is Christ, it is Christ, it is Christ, it is Christ,

B is Christ which was or - dai - ned by God, or -

org

9

M or - dai - ned by God, which was or - dai - ned by God to

1Ct -dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God, to

2Ct -dai - ned by God which was or - dai - ned by God by God to

T which was or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God, to

B -dai - ned by God, by God, which was or - dain - ned by God to

org

13

M be the judge of the quick and the dead. To him give

1Ct be the judge of the quick and the dead. To him give all the Pro -

2Ct be the judge of the quick and the dead, the dead. To

T be the judge of the quick and the dead. To him give all the

B be the judge of the quick and the dead.

org

17

M all the Pro-phets wit - - - ness, to him give all the

1Ct - phets wit - ness, to him give all the Pro-phets wit - - - ness, wit -

2Ct him give all the Pro - phets wit - ness, to him give all the Pro-phets wit -

T Pro - phets wit - ness, all the Pro - phets wit - ness, the Pro-phets

B To him give all the Pro-phets wit - -

org

22

M Pro - phets wit - ness, that through his name, through his name who -

1Ct - ness, Pro - phets wit - ness, that through his name, that through his name,

2Ct - ness, give all the Pro - phets wit - ness, that through his

T wit - - - ness, that through his name who - so - ev - er be -

B - ness, wit - ness, that through his name, that through his name, his

org

26

M *- so ev - er be - lie - veth in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in*

1Ct *that through his name who - so - ev - er be -*

2Ct *name, that through his name, his name, that through*

T *- lie - veth in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth*

B *name, who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, in him, who -*

org

30

M *him, be - lie - veth in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, be -*

1Ct *- lie - veth in him, in him, be - lie - veth in him be - lie - veth in him,*

2Ct *his name who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, in him, in him be - lie -*

T *in him, be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him, who -*

B *- so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him, in him, who - so - ev - er be*

org

35

M
- lie - - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him, who -

1Ct
who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, in him, be -

2Ct
- veth in him, in him, who - so - ev - er be -

T
- so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, be - lie -

B
- lie - veth in him, in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him,

org

39

M
- so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him shall

1Ct
- lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him shall re - ceive

2Ct
- lie - veth in - him, in him, be - lie - veth in

T
veth, be - lie - veth in him shall re - ceive re - mi - si -

B
be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him

org

43

M re - ceive re - mi - si - on of their sins,

1Ct re - mi - sion of their sins of their sins, shall re - ceive

2Ct him shall re - ceive re - mis - si - on of their

T - on of their sins, of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mi - si -

B shall re - ceive re - mis - si -

org

47

M shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on of their

1Ct re - mi - si - on of their sins, re - mi - si - on

2Ct sins, of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mi -

T - on, re - ceive re - mis - sion of their sins, shall

B - on of their sins, of their

org

50

M

sins, of their sins, of their sins.

1Ct

of their sins, of their sins, of their sins.

2Ct

- si - on of their sins, of their sins.

T

re - ceive re - mis - si - on of their sins.

B

sins, of their sins, of their sins.

org

Behold it is Christ

Textual commentary

Sources

Cp 47, p.107: MD, unattrib
Cp 39, p.114: 1CtD, unattrib
Cp 42, p.D1: CtD, attrib. 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 35, p.14: TD, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 38, p.111: BD, unattrib
Cp 46, p.39: org, unattrib
Cp 44, p.G3: MD, attrib. 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 34, p.105: MC, unattrib
Cp 45, f.31v (*Cp* 45/1): MC, unattrib
Cp 45, p.45 (*Cp* 45/2): MC, unattrib (ends after bar 43)
Cp 43, p.H5: TC, unattrib
Cp 33, p.107: BC, attrib 'Hooper'
CA CCA-DCc/MusicMs/1, p.24: T, unattrib
CA CCA-DCc/MusicMs/12, p.13: B, attrib 'Edmund Hooper'
Cfm 117, p.68: sc, attrib 'Hooper'
Cpc MS Mus 6.4, p.69 (EECM: Mus 6.1, p67): MD, attrib 'M^r hooper'
Cpc MS Mus 6.1, p.61 (EECM: Mus 6.2): CtD, attrib 'M^r hooper'
Cpc MS Mus 6.2, p.57 (EECM: Mus 6.3): TD, attrib 'M^r hooper'
Cpc MS Mus 6.3, p.69 (EECM: Mus 6.4 p69): TC, attrib 'M^r hooper'
Cpc MS Mus 6.6, p.64 (EECM: Mus 6.5 p62): BD, attrib 'M^r hooper'
Cpc MS Mus 6.5, p.62 (EECM: Mus 6.6 p64): BC, attrib 'M^r hooper'
Cu MS Ely 4, p.22: org, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cu MS Ely 28, p.8: T, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc A1, p.81: org, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc B10, p.12: 1Ct, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C2*, p.1: Ct, attrib 'Hooper'
DRc C6, p.3: 1CtD, unattrib (fragmentary)
DRc C4, p.3: 2CtD, unattrib
DRc C11, p.30: TD, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C15, p.3: TD, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C12, p.4: TC, unattrib (fragmentary)

DRc B27, p.217: BC, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C16, p.23: BD, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C17, p.3: BC, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C27, p.2: BC, attrib 'Hooper' (fragmentary: missing bars 22-23²)
DRc C28, p.3: B, attrib 'Hooper'
DRc C34, p.32: B, attrib 'Hooper'
GL CM005 (EECM: SECM 95), p.148: T, attrib 'Edmund Hooper'
GL CM006 (EECM: SECM 96), p.131: TC, attrib 'Edmund Hooper'
Lbl Add. MS 17792, p.133 (EECM: 125): C, unattrib
Lbl Add. MS 29372, p.228 (EECM: 115): C, attrib. 'Edmund Hooper'
Lbl Add. MS 17793, p.133 (EECM: 128): A, unattrib
Lbl Add. MS 29373, p.115: A, attrib 'Ed Hooper'
Lbl Add. MS 17795, p.117: Q, unattrib
Lbl Add. MS 29376, p.102: Q, attrib 'Ed Hooper'
Lbl Add. MS 17794, p.129: T, unattrib
Lbl Add. MS 29374, p.115: T, attrib 'Ed Hooper'
Lbl Add. MS 30478, p.19: TC, attrib 'Edmund Hooper'
Lbl Add. MS 30479, p.4 (EECM 6): TC, attrib 'Mr Hooper'
Lbl Add. MS 17784, p.34: B, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Lbl Add. MS 17796, p.128 (EECM 120): B, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Lbl Add. MS 29375, p.115: B, attrib 'Edmund Hooper'
Lbl Add. MS 31405, f.10r-11r: sc (4vv setting without 2Ct), attrib 'Hooper'
Lbl Harley 7337, p.83: sc, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Lbl RM.27.a.13, f.39r: org, unattrib
Lcm Printed Music I A1, p.40: BC, unattrib (ends after 49²)
LI MS 1, p.91 B, attrib 'Mr Hooper'
LI MS 14, p.30: B, unattrib
Llp MS 764, p.188: BC, unattrib
Lsp (un-numbered), p.32: TD, attrib 'Hooper'
Lsp (un-numbered), p.29-30: BC, attrib Edmund Hooper.
Ob Mus. d.162, p.41 (EECM 39): BD, attrib 'M^r Edmund Hooper'
Ob Mus. f.20, p.14: C, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Ob Mus. f.21, p.15: A, attrib 'Edm Hooper' and 'M^r Hooper'
Ob Mus. f.23, p.14: T, attrib 'M^r Hooper'

Ob Mus. f.24, p.14: B, attrib 'Edm Hooper' and 'M^r Hooper'
Ob MS Tenbury 1382, f.82: T, attrib 'Mr hooper'
Ob MS Tenbury 1442, f.103: B, attrib 'Mr Hooper'
Ob MS Tenbury 1023, p.23: sc, attrib 'Hooper'
Och MS Mus. 6, p.44: org, unattrib
Och MS Mus. 47, p.7: org, attrib 'M^r hooper'
Och MS Mus. 525, p.81: org sh sc, attrib 'Hooper'
Och MS Mus. 1220, p.333: AD, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Och MS Mus. 1221, p.316: TD, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Och MS Mus. 1222, p.306: TC, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Och MS Mus. 1223, p.311: BD, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Och MS Mus. 1224, p.312: BC, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Och MS Mus. 16, p.155: sc, attrib 'Hooper'
Ojc MS 180, p.36: BD, unattrib
Omc OR1/MS1/2 (formerly MS 455), f.83r-183v: B, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
SGC 82, p.15: M, attrib 'Hooper'
SGC 6, p.12: 1Ct, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
SGC 5, p.13: 2Ct, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
SGC 7, p.12: T, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
SGC 8, p.10: T, attrib 'Hooper's'
SGC 9, p.10: B, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
SGC 10, p.9: B, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
WRc MS 48 (= SGC 18), p.6: CtC, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
WRc MS 49 (= SGC 19), p.8: TD, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
WRc MS 50 (= SGC 20), p.8: TC, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
WRc MS 51 (= SGC 73), p.22: org, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Y MS M1/5 (S), p.123: MD, attrib 'Edm. Hooper'
Y MS M1/2 (S), p.129: CtC, attrib 'Edm. Hooper' (1Ct)
Y MS M1/6 (S), p.125: CtD, attrib 'Edm^d Hooper' (2Ct)
Y MS M1/7 (S), p.95: TD, attrib 'Edm Hooper'
Y MS M1/8 (S), p.123: BD, unattrib
Y M29 (S), p.29: BD, attrib 'M^r Hooper'

John Barnard (ed.), *The First Book of Selected Church Musick* (Edward Griffin: London, 1641) (facsimile edition ed. John Morehen, 1972), 10 volumes: MD f.112r-v; 1CtD f.112v-113r; 2CtD f.110v-111r; TD f.107v-108r; TC f.105v-106r; BD f.107v-108r; BC f.107v-108r, attrib 'Edmund Hooper'.⁴⁹²

Notes

1. The organ sources have been transcribed separately to aid comparison.
2. *Och* MS Mus. 16 is a source of works adapted in the late 17th-century by Henry Aldrich.
3. SCG 5-10, 73 and 82 are early eighteenth-century sources with notable differences from the earlier ones.
4. Lbl 31405 is a 4-part setting without 2Ct.

These additional transcriptions follow directly after this textual commentary; variants are therefore not listed below.

5. Barnard (1641): 2CtD and 2CtC parts are reversed
6. *Cfm* 117 (sc): underlay is not precise; textual variants therefore not noted in detail. 2Ct is notated above 1Ct.

Variants

Inscriptions

'Behold, it is Christ. part of the Epistle for Easter Munday' (*DRc* B27).

'Behold, it is Christ. The Latter part of the Epistle for Easter Monday' (*DRc* C15, C28).

'Behold, it is Christ. The Latter part of the Epistle for Easter M' (*DRc* C34).

'Behold it is Christ. An Anthem in 5 parts' (*Lbl* Harley 7337)

'Behold it is Christ. These words are taken out of the tenth Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, Part of the 42. & 43. Verses' Barnard (1641)

'Behold it is Christ'. Acts 10th vers 42' (*DRc* C17)

'Behold it is Christ'. Acts 10 v 43. The latter part of the Epistle for Easter Monday'. (*DRc* C27)

'Behold it is Christ. Acts 10: part of the 42 and 43 verses' (*GL* CM005, CM006)

'Behold it is Christ. Acts: 10. v. 42 & in the Epistle for Easter Monday' (*Lsp*)

⁴⁹² A further manuscript, *Lbl* Add. MS 30087, is a 19th-century scoring-up of Barnard 1641, the third of three volumes, transcribed by John Bishop from partbooks at Hereford. It is therefore not listed or considered separately here.

M

9-10 text: 'which was ordained by God', with 9⁴-10¹ *m. c* (Y M1/5)

9²-10² underlay: '-dai-ned by (2 notes sl)' (Cp 45/1, Lbl Harley 7337, Ob Mus. f.20)

12¹⁻⁴: c" a' a' g#" (Ob Mus. f.20)

12²⁻³: a' d" (Cp 44, 45/1, 45/2, Lbl Harley 7337)

13²: o (Cfm 117, Ob Tenbury 1023, Y M1/5, Barnard)

14⁵: om (Lbl 17792)

17³-20ⁱⁱ: variants as follows (the primary source, Cp 47, is included for reference):

17

Cp 47, 34
Pro-phets wit - - - ness

Cfm 117
Lbl 29372
Y M1/5 (S)
Barnard
Pro-phets wit - ness, wit - ness

Cp 45/2, Lbl 17792,
Ob Mus f.20
Cp 45/2
Pro-phets wit - - - ness, wit - ness

Lbl Harley 7337
Pro-phets wit - - - ness, wit - ness

Cp 44
Pro-phets wit - ness, wit - ness

Cpc 6.4
Pro-phets wit - - - - - ness

Cp 45/1
Pro-phets wit - ness, to him give all the Pro - phets wit - ness

22²⁻³: sl '-phets' (Barnard MC)

22-23¹: underlay unclear (Barnard MD)

22-23¹: sl 'wit-', underlay unclear (Cpc Mus 6.4)

22²-23¹ underlay: '-phets (2 notes sl) wit- (2 notes sl)' (Lbl 29372)

22³-23¹: sl 'wit-' (Cp 45/1)

23¹: # (Cp 44, 45/1, 45/2, Lbl 17792, Lbl Harley 7337); sb.g#" (Cfm 117, Ob Tenbury 1023, Y M1/5, Barnard)

24¹⁻⁴: sl 'through' (Cpc Mus 6.4)

24-25¹ underlay: 'tho-rough his (3 notes sl)' (*Lbl* Harley 7337)

24²⁻³: sl, underlay unclear (*Lbl* 17792)

24²-25¹: sl 'his' (*Cp* 45/2, *Lbl* 29372, *Ob* Mus. f.20, *Y* M1/5)

24³: o (*Lbl* 17792, *Ob* Mus. f.20)

24⁴-25¹: sl 'his' (*Cp* 34, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, Barnard)

26²: # (*Cp* 34, 44, 45/2, *Cfm* 117, *Cpc* Mus 6.4, *Lbl* 17792, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Ob* Mus. f.20, *Y* M1/5, Barnard)

27⁵-28³ underlay: 'who (2 notes sl)-so-' (*Lbl* 29372)

27⁵-28¹: sl 'who-' (Barnard MC)

27⁵-28³: underlay unclear (Barnard MD)

27⁵-29 text: 'believeth in (4 notes sl, with 28⁴ *m.*) him' (*Lbl* 17792, *Ob* Mus. f.20)

27⁵-29 text: 'believeth in him', underlay unclear (*Cp* 44, 45/1, 45/2,)

27⁵-29 text: 'be-lie- (2 notes sl) -veth in (3 notes sl) him', with 28²⁻³ # # (*Lbl* Harley 7337)

27⁵-29 text: 'in him, believeth in (2 notes sl) him', with 28²⁻³ sl om and 28⁴ *m.a*' (*Cpc* Mus 6.4)

28²: # (*Lbl* 29372, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Ob* Tenbury 1023)

28²⁻³: sl om (*Cp* 47)

28³: # (*Lbl* 17792, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Ob* Tenbury 1023)

28⁴: *m.* (*Cp* 44, *Lbl* 17792)

29¹: # (*Cp* 45/2)

30: *m-rest*, *m*, *sb* 'in him' (*Cp* 44, 45/1, 45/2, *Cpc* Mus 6.4, *Lbl* 17792, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Ob* Mus. f.20)

31²: o (*Cp* 45/1, 45/2)

31²-32⁴ text: 'who-' underlay unclear (*Cfm* 117);

31²-32⁴ text: 'whosoever', underlay unclear, with 32²⁻³ *c c* (Barnard MD)

31²-32⁴ hand-corrected to 'believeth in him', with 33²⁻³ *c c* (Barnard MC)

32²: *c* (*Cpc* Mus 6.4, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Y* M1/5), # (*Cp* 44, 45/1, 45/2, *Lbl* Harley 7337)

32³: *c* (*Cpc* Mus 6.4, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Y* M1/5), # (*Ob* Tenbury 1023)

33²: # (*Cp* 34, 45/1, *Cfm* 117, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Y* M1/5, Barnard (MD))

34ⁱⁱⁱ-37 variants as follows (the primary source, *Cp*47, is included for reference):

34

Cp 47, 34
Lbl 29372

him, be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him

Ob Tenbury 1023
Y M1/5 (S)
Barnard

him, be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him

Cfm 117

him, who - so - ev - er

Cp 44,
Lbl Harley 7337
Ob Mus f.20

him, be - lie - veth, be - lie - veth in him

Cp 45/2

him, be - lie - veth in him

Lbl 17792

him, be - lie - veth in him, in him

Cp 45/1

him, who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him

Cpc 6.4

him, who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him

39⁴: o (*Lbl 17792*)

40-42¹: variants as follows (the primary source, *Cp47*, is included for reference):

40

Cp 47, 34, Lbl 29372
be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him

Lbl Harley 7337
be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him

Lbl 17792
be ://: be - lie - veth in him

Cp 44, 45/2
be ://: be - lie - veth in him

Ob Mus f.20
be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him

Cp 45/1
be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him

Cpc 6.4
be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him

Ob Tenbury 1023
be - lie - veth in him, in him

Cfm 117 Y M 1/5 (S) Barnard
be - lie - veth in him, in him

43³: # (*Cp 34, Cfm 117, Cpc Mus 6.4, Lbl 17792, Lbl Harley 7337, Ob Tenbury 1023, Y M1/5, Barnard*)

44³: o (*Lbl 17792*)

44³-45: *sb f#'* *sbb'* *sb* 'on of their' (*Cpc Mus 6.4*)

45³-46¹: *m* 'sins' *sb-rest* (*Cp 44, 45/1, Lbl 17792, Lbl Harley 7337, Ob Mus. f.20*)

46¹: *m m-rest* (*Cpc Mus 6.4*)

47³: # (*Lbl Harley 7337*)

48⁴: o (*Cp 34, 47, Lbl 17792*)

50³: # (*Cfm 117, Lbl 17792*)

51³: # (*Cp 44, Lbl 29372, Ob Mus. f.20, Ob Tenbury 1023, Y M1/5*)

52¹⁻²: *m. c* (*Cp 44*)

1Ct

1: *sb-rest sb* (*Cfm* 117, *DRc* C2*, Barnard)

7¹: o (*Lbl* 17793, *Och* 1220, *WRc* 48)

7²: e#’ (accidental misplaced - should appear before the next note, f’) (*Cp* 33)

9⁴: # (*Cfm* 117, *DRc* C2*, C6, *Lbl* 17793, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Och* 1220, Y M1/2)

10¹⁻²: c. q (*Lbl* 17793)

10¹⁻² underlay: ‘-dai-ned’ (*Lbl* Harley 7337, Y M1/2)

10¹⁻² c. qo (*Och* 1220)

10¹⁻³ underlay: ‘-dai-ned (2 notes sl) (*DRc* B10)

10¹⁻⁴: c.g’ qf# (sl om) ce’ cd’ (2 notes sl) ‘-dai-ned by’ (*Lbl* Harley 7337, *WRc* 48)

10²: o (*Cfm* 117, *Lbl* 29373, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, Y M1/2, Barnard)

10³⁻⁴: sl ‘by’ (Y M1/2)

10⁵: o (*Lbl* 17793, *Och* 1220, *WRc* 48)

10⁵⁻⁶: m m (*DRc* C2*, C6, Barnard)

10⁵-11²: mc#’ mc#’ me’ mb (*Cfm* 117)

10⁵-12¹: mc# mc# me’ mb mc’ me (2 notes sl) *sba* ‘or-dai-ned by God’ (*DRc* B10)

10⁶: [natural] (*Cp*39)

11: me’ mb mc’ me’ ‘-dai-ned by’, underlay unclear (Barnard)

11: me’ mb mc’ me’, with sl notes 2-3 (*DRc* C2*) and 3-4 (*DRc* C6)

11¹⁻²: me’ mb mc ‘-dai (2 notes sl) -ned’ (*Ob* Tenbury 1023)

13³-14²: m.e’ ca me’ (*Lbl* Harley 7337)

13³-14²: m.e’ ca (2 notes sl) me ‘the judge of’ (*Lbl* 17793)

13⁴-14²: m.e’ ca me’ (2 notes sl) ‘judge of’ (*WRc* 48)

13⁴-14²: m m (*Lbl* 29373, Y M1/2)

14²: a (*Och* 1220)

14³⁻⁵: ‘the quick and dead’ (*WRc* 48)

14³-15¹ text: ‘the quick and dead’ (*Lbl* 17793)

14⁴: o (*Och* 1220, *WRc* 48)

15³⁻⁴: m. c (*DRc* C2*)

16³-17: me’ me’ sbe’ sbe’ ‘Prophets witness’ (*DRc* B10, *Cfm* 117, *DRc* C2*, C6, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, Barnard)

16³-17²: ‘Prophets wit-’ (*Lbl* Harley 7337, *Och* 1220, *WRc* 48)

16³-17³: m.e’ cg’ mf’ sbe’ (2 notes sl) mb ‘Prophets witness’ (*Lbl* 17793)

21²-23 variants as follows (the primary source, *Cp* 39, is included for reference):

21

Cp 39
DRc C2*, C6
DRc B10
Lbl 29373
Och 1220
WRc 48
Harley 7337
Lbl 17793
Y M1/2 (S)
Ob Tenbury 1023
Barnard
Cfm 117

wit - ness, Pro - phets wit - ness, that
wit - ness, wit - ness, that
wit - ness, wit - ness, that
wit - ness, wit - ness, wit - ness,
wit - ness, wit - ness, that
wit - ness, wit ://: that
Pro - phets wit - ness, that
all that

23³: e' (DRc B10, Barnard)

24-25 text: 'that through his name, that through his name', with 25³ m m (Lbl 29373)

25²: # (Cfm 117, Lbl 17793, Lbl 29373, Lbl Harley 7337, Ob Tenbury 1023, Och 1220, Y M1/2, Barnard)

26-27: original reading of *sb.e' me' me' sl md'* still present, with *be' sb-rest* overlaid (Ob Tenbury 1023)

29²: # (Lbl Harley 7337, Lbl 17793, Ob Tenbury 1023, Och 1220, WRc 48)

29⁴: # (Cfm 117, DRc C2*, C6, Lbl 17793, Lbl 29373, Ob Tenbury 1023, Och 1220, WRc 48, Y M1/2, Barnard)

30¹⁻²: # # (Lbl 17793)

30⁵: # (WRc 48)

31²: # (DRc C2*, C6, Lbl Harley 7337, Och 1220, WRc 48, Y M1/2)

31³: # (Och 1220, WRc 48); 'him' (WRc 48)

31³-33² underlay: 'him, belie-veth in (3 notes sl)' (*Och* 1220, *WRc* 48)

31⁴-32¹: *sb m-rest* (*DRc* B10, C2*, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, Barnard)

32³- 33² underlay: 'be-lie- (2 notes sl) -veth in' (*Lbl* Harley 7337)

32⁵-33²: *sl* (*DRc* C2*)

31²: # (*DRc* C6)

34⁵: *o* (*WRc* 48)

36²: *o* (*DRc* B10, C6, *Y M1/2*)

36⁴: # (*Cfm* 117, *DRc* C2*, C6, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Lbl* 17793, *Lbl* 29373, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Och* 1220, *WRc* 48, *Y M1/2*, Barnard)

37¹⁻²: *c c* (*Lbl* 29373, *WRc* 48)

37⁵-38² 'in (2 notes sl)', with 38² # (*WRc* 48)

38²: # (*DRc* B10, C6, *Lbl* 17793, *Lbl* 29373, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Och* 1220, *Y M1/2*, Barnard)

38³: # (*Lbl* 17793)

38²⁻⁵ underlay: 'him (2 notes sl), be- (*sb*)' (*Och* 1220)

38⁴⁻⁵: *sb* 'be-' (*WRc* 48)

39²: # (*Lbl* Harley 7337)

40²: #, possibly displaced from 41¹ (*Lbl* 17793)

40³⁻⁴: *sbb* (*Cfm* 117, *DRc* C2*, C6, *Ob* Tenbury 1023)

40³-41²: *sbb sbg* (*DRc* B10, Barnard)

41¹: *sb* (*Lbl* Harley 7337); *sbg* (*Cfm* 117)

42³-43¹: missing from source owing to torn page (*DRc* C6)

43²: # (*DRc* C2*, *Lbl* 17793, *Lbl* 29373, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Och* 1220, Barnard)

43²-44¹ underlay: 're- (2 notes sl) -mi-si-on', with 43³ *o* (*DRc* C2*, C6, *Y M1/2*)

43³: *o* (*Cfm* 117, *DRc* B10, C2*, Barnard)

43⁵: *o* (*DRc* B10)

44²⁻⁴ underlay: 'of (2 notes sl) their' (*Ob* Tenbury 1023)

44³: *e' #* (accidental misplaced - should go before the next note, *f'*) (*DRc* 39)

45¹: *o* (*Lbl* 29373, *Och* 1220)

45² text: 'of' (*DRc* C2* *Och* 1220)

45²-46¹: *me' md' mc'* (2 notes sl) *mb* 'of their sins' (*Lbl* 17793, *WRc* 48)

45²-46¹: 'of their sins', underlay unclear (Barnard)

43³: # (*Lbl* 29373)

45²⁻⁵ underlay: 'of their (3 notes sl), with 45³⁻⁴ *c. q* (*Ob* Tenbury 1023)

45⁴⁻⁵: *c c* (*Cfm* 117)

45²-46¹: *me' md' mc'* (2 notes sl) *mb* 'of their sins' (*Lbl* Harley 7337)

45²-46¹: 'of their (2 notes sl) sins (2 notes sl), with 45⁴⁻⁵ *c c* (*DRc* B10)

45³-46¹: *mb cc'* (2 notes sl) *cd' me'* (2 notes sl) 'their sins' (*DRc* C2*)

45³-46¹: *md' mc'* (2 notes sl) *mb* 'of their sins' (*Och* 1220)

45⁴⁻⁵: *c c* (*DRc* C6)

46²-48¹: text: 'of their (2 notes sl) sins, of their sins' (*DRc* B10)

47²: # (*Lbl* Harley 7337)

48²: # (*WRc* 48)

49-52 variants as follows (the primary source, Cp 39, is included for reference)

49

Cp 39
Y M1/6 (S)

Ob Tenbury 1023

DRc B10

DRc C2*, C6

Harley 7337

Lbl 29373

Barnard

Cfm 117

Och 1220

WRc 48

Lbl 17793

sins, re - mi - si - on of their sins, of their sins, of their sins.

sins, of their sins, of of their sins.

sins, of their sins, of their sins, of their sins.

sins, of their, sins, of their sins, of their sins.

sins, of their sins, of their sins, of their sins.

of their sins, of their sins, of their sins, of their sins.

sins, of their sins, of their sins, of their sins.

sins, shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on of their sins, of their sins.

of of their sins, of their sins.

sins, of of their sins, of their sins.

of ://: of their sins, of their sins.

52³: missing from source owing to torn page (*DRc* C6)

2Ct

1: *sb-rest sb* (*Cfm* 117, *Y M1/6*, Barnard)

5 underlay: 'is' (2 notes sl) Christ' (*Lbl* Harley 7337, *Ob Mus.* f.21)

5¹⁻²: *sbe* 'is' (*Cfm* 117, *DRc* C4, *Lbl* 29376, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Y M1/6*)

5-6¹: *sbe* *sb.e* 'is Christ' (Barnard)

7⁶-8⁴: 'by' (*DRc* C4), '-ned (2 notes sl) by (2 notes sl) God, by (3 notes sl)' (*Lbl* 29376)

8²⁻⁴ underlay '-ned by (2 notes sl)' (*Y M1/6*)

8²: # (*Cpc* Mus 6.1, *DRc* C4, Barnard)

8³: o (*Ob Mus.* f.21, *Cfm* 117, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, Barnard)

8⁴: o (*Lbl* 29376, *Y M1/6*)

8⁵⁻⁶: *sb* 'God' (*Cfm* 117), *m m* (*Cpc* Mus 6.1)

8⁵-9³: *sba* 'God', *mb mg* (2 notes sl) 'by' (*DRc* C4, *Lbl* 29376, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Y M1/6*)

8⁶-9³: 'by' (3 notes sl), with 9²⁻³ *mg* (*Lbl* 17795)

8⁵-9³: *sba mb mg* 'by God, by' (Barnard)

9¹⁻⁴: 'to be the judge', with 9²⁻³ *m*; underlay unclear (*Cfm* 117)

12⁴-13²: *m m*. (*Cpc* Mus 6.1)

12⁴-13³: *m m m* (*DRc* C4, *Ob* Tenbury 1023)

13¹⁻³: *m m* (*Cfm* 117, *Y M1/6*), *m.c* (Barnard)

13²⁻³: *c m* (*Lbl* 29376)

14⁴⁻⁵: *mb mb* (*Cfm* 117, *DRc* C4, *Lbl* 29376, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Y M1/6*, Barnard)

15¹-16² text: 'and the dead, the dead', sl om (*Lbl* 29376); 'dead (3 notes sl), the dead' (*Ob Mus.* f.21)

15²-16¹: 'and (2 notes sl) the' (*Ob* Tenbury 1023); underlay unclear (Barnard)

17⁴: o (*Cfm* 117, *Cpc* Mus 6.1, *DRc* C4, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Y M1/6*, Barnard)

18-19²: *ce' cd' mc' sb.b* (2 notes sl) *sba* 'Prophets witness' (*DRc* C4)

18-19²: *ce' cd'* (2 notes sl) *mc' sb.b sba* 'Prophets witness' (*Lbl* 29376, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Y M1/6*)

18-19¹: *ce' cd' mc' sb.b* 'Prophets witness', underlay unclear (Barnard)

18-19²: *ce' cd' mc sb.b sba* 'to him give all the Prophets witness', underlay unclear (*Cfm* 117)

21²⁻⁴: *sbe' md'* '-phets wit-' (*Cpc* Mus 6.1)

21³⁻⁴: sl om (*Ob Mus.* f.21)

23: *m.b cb mb ma* (2 notes sl) 'Prophets wit-' (*DRc* C4, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, Barnard); underlay unclear (*Cfm* 117, *Y M1/6*)

25-26¹ text: 'through'? (*Cfm* 117)

25²⁻⁴ underlay: 'his name, his' (*Y M1/6*, Barnard)

25²-28²: 'his name, his (2 notes sl) name, that through his (2 notes sl)' (*Ob* Tenbury 1023)

28: missing (jumps from 27 to 29) (*Ob Mus. f.21*)

29³: *m m* 'through his' (*Lbl 29376*)

29³-30⁴: *mb mb me m-rest m-rest* 'that through his name' (*Cfm 117, DRc C4, Ob Tenbury 1023, Y M1/6, Barnard*)

30: *m* 'name' *m-rest m-rest* (*Lbl 29376*)

30¹⁻³: 'his' (*Cpc Mus 6.1, Ob Mus. f.21*)

30²: *o* (*Lbl 17795*)

31²: *o* (*Cpc Mus 6.1, DRc C4, Lbl 29376*)

32¹⁻²: *c c* (*DRc C4, Ob Tenbury 1023, Y M1/6, Barnard*)

32³: *o* (*Cpc Mus 6.1*)

32³⁻⁴: *sl*, underlay unclear (*Lbl 17795*)

32³⁻⁶: *sl* (*Cpc Mus 6.1*)

32⁵-33²: *sl* 'in' (*Y M1/6, Barnard*); 'in him', underlay unclear (*Lbl 29376*)

35⁴-36¹: *sb.* (*Cfm 117, Lbl 29376*)

38²: *o* (*Cpc Mus 6.1, Lbl 17795*)

39¹: # (*Cfm 117, DRc C4, Lbl 17795, Lbl 29376, Lbl Harley 7337, Y M1/6*)

39⁴: # (*Cfm 117, Ob Tenbury 1023, Y M1/6, Barnard*)

39⁵-40²: *sl* (*DRc C4*)

40²: *o* (*DRc C4*)

40²⁻³: *sl* 'him' (*Barnard*)

41³-42¹: *md' ca ca mb* 'believeth in him' (*Cfm 117, DRc C4, Lbl 29376, Ob Tenbury 1023, Y M1/6, Barnard*)

42²-43²: *sl om* 'believeth in' (*DRc C4, Lbl 29376, Ob Tenbury 1023, Y M1/6*), with 42³ *d'* (*Lbl 29376*)

42²-43²: *mb mc' mc' md' ma*, *sl om* 'believeth in him'

42²-43³: 'in him', underlay unclear (*Cfm 117*)

42²-43² underlay: 'believeth in him' (*Barnard*)

44²: note missing from source due to torn page (*DRc C4*)

44³: # (*Cfm 117, Lbl Harley 7337, Ob Tenbury 1023, Y M1/6, Barnard*)

45-46¹: '-mi-si-on of (3 notes *sl*) their (2 notes *sl*) sins' (*Lbl Harley 7337*)

45-46²: *m.e' ce' md' mc' sbb* (2 notes *sl*) '-mi-si-on of' (*DRc C4, Lbl 29376*) ; underlay unclear (*Cfm 117*)

45-46: *m.e' ce' md' mc' sbb sba* '-mi-si-on of their (2 notes *sl*)' (*Y M1/6*); underlay unclear (*Barnard*)

47³-48³: 'of (2 notes *sl*) their sins' (*Barnard 2CtD*)

48¹: *o* (*Y M1/6, Barnard*)

48¹⁻²: sl om (*Lbl* 17795)

50¹: # (*Lbl* 17795, *Lbl* 29376,)

50³: # (*Cfm* 117, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Y* M1/6, Barnard)

51¹: # (*Cpc* Mus 6.1, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Ob* Mus. f.21), g (*Cfm* 117, *DRc* C4, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Y* M1/6, Barnard)

51²-52²: 'of (4 notes sl) their' (*Lbl* Harley 7337)

52²: f# (*Cfm* 117, *DRc* C4, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Y* M1/6), c# (*Lbl* 29376, Barnard)

T

1¹: note missing (*Cp* 35); rest missing (*GL* CM005, *Lsp*)

1: sb-rest sb (*CA* 1, *Cfm* 117, *Cu* Ely 28, *DRc* C11, C12, C15, *GL* CM006, *Lbl* 29374, *Lbl* 30478, *Lbl* 30479, *Y* M1/7, Barnard)

3³-8: variants as follows (the primary source, *Cp* 35, is included for reference):

Cp 35, 43
Ob Ms f20
Lbl Harley 7337
Ob Tenbury 1382
WRc 49, 50
Cpc 6.2, 6.3
DRc C11, C15
Lbl 30479
Lsp, Y M1/7 (S)
Ob Tenbury 1023
Ely 28
Lbl 29374
Cfm 117
Lbl 30478
GL CM005
CA 1
Barnard
GL CM006

Christ, be - hold it is Christ, it is Christ, it is Christ
Christ, be - hold it is Christ, it is Christ, it is Christ
Christ, be - hold it is Christ, it is Christ, it is Christ
Christ, be - hold it is Christ, it is Christ, it is Christ
Christ, be - hold it is Christ, it is Christ, it is Christ
Christ, be - hold it is Christ, it is Christ, it is Christ
Christ, be - hold it is Christ, it is Christ, it is Christ
Christ, be - hold it is Christ, it is Christ, it is Christ
Christ, be - hold it is Christ, it is Christ, it is Christ
Christ, be - hold it is Christ, it is Christ, it is Christ
Christ, be - hold it is Christ, it is Christ, it is Christ

9¹: m-rest om (*DRc* C11)

9⁴-15¹: variants as follows (the primary source, *Cp* 35, is included for reference):

Cp 35, 43,
Cpc 6.2, 6.3
Ob Tenbury 1382
Och Mus 1221, 1222
WRc 49, 50

10

or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God, to be the judge of the quick and dead.

Lbl 17794

or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God, to be the judge of the quick and dead.

Ob Mus f.23

or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God, to be the judge of the quick and dead.

Lbl Harley 7337

or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God, to be the judge of the quick and the dead.

Ely 28

or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God, to be the judge of the quick and the dead.

Lbl 29374

or - dai - ned by God, by God, to be the judge of the quick and the dead.

DRc C11

or - dai - ned by God, by God, to be the judge of the quick and the dead.

DRc C15

or - dai - ned by God, by God, to be the judge of the quick and the dead.

Lbl 30479

or - dai - ned by God, by God, to be the judge of the quick and the dead.

GL CM005
Lbl 30478
YM M1/7
Barnard

or - dai - ned by God, by God, to be the judge of the quick and the dead, and the dead.

Lsp

or - dai - ned by God, by God, to be the judge of the quick and the dead, and the dead.

GL CM006

or - dai - ned by God, by God, to be the judge of the quick and the dead, and the dead.

CA 1
Cfm 117

or - dai - ned by God, by God, to be the judge of the quick and the dead, and the dead.

Ob Tenbury 1023

or - dai - ned by God, by God, to be the judge of the quick and the dead, and the dead.

DRc C12

or - dai - ned by God, by God, to be the judge of the quick and the dead, and the dead.

16⁴: c' (*Cp* 35, *Cpc* Mus 6.2, *Cpc* Mus 6.3 *Lbl* 17794, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Ob* Tenbury 1382, *Och* 1221, *Och* 1222, *WRc* 49, *WRc* 50)

17²-18¹ underlay '-phets wit-(2 notes sl)' (*Lbl* Harley 7337)

17²-18² text: '-phets witness, give' (*Ob* Tenbury 1382)

17²-18² text: '-phets, to him give', with 17²⁻³ *me me* (*CA* 1, *Cpc* Mus 6.2, *Cpc* Mus 6.3, *Cfm* 117, *Cu* *Ely* 28, *DRc* C11, C15, *GL* CM005, *GL* CM006, *Lbl* 29374, *Lbl* 30478, *Lbl* 30479, *Lsp*, *Y* M1/7, Barnard)

17³-18¹: sl 'wit-' (*Ob* Mus. f.23)

17³-18² text: 'to him give' (*Och* 1221, *Och* 1222, *WRc* 49, *WRc* 50)

18¹-19³ text: 'all the Prophets witness' (*Lbl* 17794)

19²-20² text: '-phets (2 notes sl) wit-' (*Lbl* 29374)

22¹: # (*Cu* *Ely* 28, *Lbl* 30478, *Lbl* 30479, *WRc* 49, Barnard)

21²-22 text: 'give all the Pro-phets (2 notes sl) wit-' (*Cpc* Mus 6.3, *Och* 1222, *WRc* 50)

22²: # (*Cpc Mus 6.2, Cpc Mus 6.3, Cfm 117, DRc C11, GL CM005, GL CM006, Ob Tenbury 1382, Och 1221, Y M1/7*)

22⁴: o (*Cu Ely 28*)

23²: # (*Lbl 29374*)

23³: e (*CA 1, DRc C11, C15, GL CM005, GL CM006, Lbl 30478, Lbl 30479, Lsp, Ob Tenbury 1023, Y M1/7, Barnard*)

23⁴: e (*Cfm 117*)

25²: o (*DRc C11, C15, Ob Tenbury 1382*)

26²⁻³: sl '-veth' (*DRc C15*)

26³⁻⁴: sl om (*DRc C15*)

26⁴-27¹: sl 'him' (*Lbl 29374*)

27-41¹ *DRc C15* reads as follows:



28²: # (*CA 1, Cfm 117, GL CM005, Lbl 29374, Lbl 30478, Lbl 30479, Lbl Harley 7337, Ob Mus. f.23, Ob Tenbury 1023, Y M1/7, Barnard*)

29-31¹: mb cb cb sbe m-rest sbb mb ce ce '-lieveth in him, whosoever' (*CA 1, Cfm 117, DRc C11, GL CM005, GL CM006, Lbl 29374, Lbl 30478, Lbl 30479, Lsp, Ob Tenbury 1023, Y M1/7, Barnard*)

29-31²: mb cb cb sbe m-rest sbb mb me ca ca '-lieveth in him, who-so-ev-er be-' (*Cu Ely 28*)

32⁴-34¹ text: 'shall re- (4 notes sl) -ceive' (*Cpc Mus 6.2*)

33: '-lie-veth in (2 notes sl)' (*Cpc Mus 6.2, Cpc Mus 6.3, Cu Ely 28, DRc C11, Lbl Harley 7337, Lsp, Ob Mus. f.23, Ob Tenbury 1023, Ob Tenbury 1382, Och 1222, WRc 49, WRc 50*)

33¹⁻²: sl om (*Cp 43, DRc C11, Lbl 17794, Lbl 30478, Y M1/7*)

33²: o (*CA 1, Cpc Mus 6.2, Cfm 117, DRc C11, GL CM005, GL CM006, Lbl 17794, Lbl 30478, Lbl 30479, Lsp, Y MS M1/7, Barnard*)

33³⁻⁴: sl (*Lbl 17794, Y M1/7*)

35²: o (*Cpc Mus 6.2, DRc C11*)

36: mb cb cb sbe '-lie-veth in him' (*CA 1, Cfm 117, Cu Ely 28, DRc C11, GL CM005, GL CM006, Lbl 29374, Lbl 30478, Lbl 30479, Lsp, Ob Tenbury 1023, Y M1/7, Barnard*)

37-38¹: m-rest sbb mb ce ce 'who-so-ev-er' (*CA 1, DRc C11, GL CM005, GL CM005, Lbl 29374, Lbl 30478, Lbl 30479, Lsp, Ob Tenbury 1023, Y M1/7, Barnard*)

37-38²: m-rest sbb mb me ca ca 'who-so-ev-er' (*Cu Ely 28*)

37²-38²: *sba ma ce ce ma* 'believeth in him', underlay unclear (*Cfm* 117)

38²: *a* (*CA* 1, *Cpc* Mus 6.2, *DRc* C11, *Cu* Ely 28, *GL* CM005, *GL* CM006, *Lbl* 17794, *Lbl* 29374, *Lbl* 30478, *Lbl* 30479, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Lsp*, *Ob* Mus. f.23, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Ob* Tenbury 1382, *Och* 1221, *Och* 1222, *WRc* 49, *WRc* 50)

38²⁻³: *c' b* (*Ob* Mus. f.23)

39²⁻³: *m. c* (*Cfm* 117)

39²-40²: 'in him, in (*m.b ca mf# sl*)' (*CA* 1, *Cpc* Mus 6.2, *Cpc* Mus 6.3, *DRc* C11, C12, Ely 28, *GL* CM005, *GL* CM006, *Lbl* 17794, *Lbl* 29374, *Lbl* 30478, *Lbl* 30479, *Lsp*, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Och* 1221, *Och* 1222, *WRc* 49, *WRc* 50, *Y* M1/7)

39³: *c* (Barnard TC)

39⁴-40¹: *sbb* '-veth' (*Ob* Mus. f.23)

39⁴-40²: *m.b ca mf#* '-veth in (2 notes *sl*)' (*Ob* Tenbury 1382)

40¹⁻²: *sl om* (*Cp* 43)

42²: *#* (*Cfm* 117, *Lbl* 30479, *Lbl* Harley 7337)

43²: *o* (*DRc* C11, C15)

44²-49¹: variants as follows (the primary source, *Cp* 35, is included for reference):

44

Cp 35, 43 of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on, re - ceive re - mis - sion of their sins,

Lbl 17794 of their sins, shall //: of their sins

Ob f.23 of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on, re - mi - si - on of their sins

Harley 7337 of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on, re - mi - si - on of their sins

WRc 49 of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on, of their sins

WRc 50 of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on, of their sins, of their sins

Ob Tenbury 1382 of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mis - si - on of sins, re - mis - si - on of their sins

Cpc 6.3 of their sins, shall re - //: of their sins

Och 1221 of their sins, shall //: of their sins

Cpc 6.2 of their sins, shall //: of their sins

Och 1222 of their sins, shall re - ceive of their sins

Ely 28 shall re - ceive re - mis - si - on of their sins, of their sins

Lbl 29374 shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on shall re - ceive re - mi - sion of their sins

DRc C11, C15 shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on of their sins, of their sins

Lbl 30479 shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on of their sins, of their sins, of their sins

Ob Tenbury 1023 Y M1/7 (S), GL 006 Lbl 30478, Lsp shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on of their sins, re - mi - si - on of their sins

GL 005, CA 1 Barnard shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on of their sins, re - mi - si - on //:

Cfm 117 shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on of their of their sins

DRc C12 shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on their sins, of their sins

44²-46¹: *mc' sbb me me mg ma sbe* 'shall receive re-mis-si-on' (rest of line lost) (DRc C12)

47⁴-48² text: 'their (2 notes sl) sins' (start of line lost) (DRc C12)

50³ # (CA 1, Cfm 117, DRc C11, C15, GL CM005, GL CM006, Lbl 30478, Lsp, Ob Tenbury 1023, Y M1/7, Barnard)

51²: f (Lsp)

51⁴-52²: 'of (2 notes sl) their' (*DRc* C11, C12, *Lbl* 30479, *Lsp*, *Ob* Mus. f.23, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Ob* Tenbury 1382, *Och* 1221, *WRc* 49, *WRc* 50, *Y* M1/7)

52: *me sbf# me be* (*Cu* Ely 28)

52: underlay unclear (*Cp* 43, *GL* CM005, *Lbl* 30478, *Och* 1222)

B

1¹: rest om (*Lsp*, *Y* M29)

1¹⁻²: *b* (*Cpc* Mus 6.5, *Cpc* Mus 6.6, *Ojc* 180, *Lbl* 29375, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Llp* 764, *Ob* Mus. d.162, *Ob* Mus. f.24, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Ob* Tenbury 1442, *Och* 1223, *Och* 1224)

3: *mc mA* (uncertain) (*Lcm* IA1)

4-5² underlay: '-dai (2 notes sl) ned by (2 notes sl)' (*Lsp*)

4³: *o* (*Cp* 33, *Cpc* Mus 6.5, *Cpc* Mus 6.6)

8¹: *mc mB* (*Lcm* IA1)

8³-10 text: *mA me me md ma sbe sbA* 'which was ordai-ned by God' (*Ob* Mus. f.24)

8³-10¹ text: 'which was or-dai- (2 notes sl) -ned', with 9¹ *m m* (*CA* 12)

9-10² underlay: '-dai- (2 notes sl)-ned by (2 notes sl)' (*Y* M1/8)

9²-10³: sl, underlay unclear (*Cpc* Mus 6.5)

9³-10²: sl 'by' (*Cfm* 117, *Cpc* Mus 6.6, *DRc* B27, C16, C17, C27, C34, *Lbl* 17784, *LI* 1, *LI* 14, *Ob* Tenbury 1442, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Lcm* IA1, *Llp* 764, *Ob* Mus. d.162, *Och* 1223, *Och* 1224, *Ojc* 180, *Y* M29, Barnard)

9³-10² underlay: 'by (2 notes sl) God (2 notes sl)' (*DRc* C28)

10¹: # (*Cp* 33)

10⁴-13³: underlay unclear (*Lbl* 17796)

11¹: *m-rest* (*Ob* Mus. f.24)

11²-12¹ text: 'or-dai-ned by', with 12¹ as *m c c* (*Ob* Mus. f.24)

12³: # (*DRc* C17)

13¹: *B* (*Ob* Mus. f.24)

14³: # (*DRc* C16, C17, C27, C28, C34)

21-22: sl 'wit-' (*LI* 1, *LI* 14)

21-22¹ text: 'all the Prophets', with 21¹ *m m* (*CA* 12)

21¹-22¹ text: the Prophets' (*Lbl* 17784)

22: *b b* (*Ojc* 180)

24³-26¹: 'that through his name', underlay unclear (*Llp* 764)

24²: 'is' (*LI* 1)

25²⁻⁴: sl 'is' (*LI* 1); sl 'his' (*Cp* 33, *DRc* B27, C16, C17, C28, C34, *Lbl* 17796, *LI* 14, *Y* M29)

27²: # (*Cfm* 117, *Lbl* 17796, *Lbl* 29375, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Llp* 764, *Ob Mus.* d.162, *Ob Mus.* f.24, *Och* 1223, *Och* 1224, *Ojc* 180, *Omc* OR1/MS1/2, *Y* M1/8)

27³-28⁵: ev^{-mc} er^{cb cA} be^{-cc} lie^{-cd} veth^{mb} in^{mA mc} (*Cp* 33)

28³: e (*Lbl* 17796, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Ob Mus.* f.24)

28³⁻⁵: sl 'in' (*Cpc* Mus 6.5, *Cpc* Mus 6.6, *DRc* B27, C16, C17, C28, C34, *Lbl* 17784, *LI* 1, *LI* 14, *Ojc* 180, *Y* M29, *Ob Mus.* d.162, *Ob Mus.* f.24, *Ob* Tenbury 1442, *Och* 1223, *Och* 1224)

28³-29¹: sl 'him' (*Lbl* 29375)

30²: # (*Cfm* 117, *Cpc* Mus 6.5, *Cpc* Mus 6.6, *Lbl* 17796, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Llp* 764, *Lsp*, *Ob Mus.* f.24, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Ob* Tenbury 1442, *Och* 1223, *Och* 1224, *Ojc* 180, *Omc* OR1/MS1/2, *Y* M1/8)

30⁴: # (*CA* 12, *Cfm* 117, *DRc* C16, *Lbl* 17784, *Lbl* 17796, *Lbl* 29375, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *LI* 1, *LI* 14, *Llp* 764, *Ob* Tenbury 1442, *Ob Mus.* f.24, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Och* 1223, *Och* 1224, *Omc* OR1/MS1/2, *Y* M1/8, *Y* M29, Barnard)

32 underlay: '-lie- (3 notes sl) -veth' (*Ob* Tenbury 1442)

32²⁻⁴: sl '-veth' (*LI* 1, *LI* 14)

32-33¹ underlay: '-lieveth in (2 notes sl)', with 32¹⁻² *sbe* (*Ob* Tenbury 1023)

32-33¹ underlay: '-lie- (2 notes sl) -veth in (2 notes sl)' (*Omc* OR1/MS1/2)

32²-33¹ underlay: '-veth (2 notes sl) in (2 notes sl)' (*Cpc* Mus 6.5, *Cpc* Mus 6.6, *Llp* 764)

32¹⁻²: *sbe* (*Cfm* 117)

32²: note missing in source (Barnard BC)

32²-33¹ underlay '-veth (2 notes sl) in (2 notes sl)' (*Ojc* 180, *Lbl* 29375, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *Ob Mus.* d.162, *Ob Mus.* f.24, *Och* 1223, *Och* 1224)

32³-33¹: sl 'in' (*DRc* C16, C17, C28, C34, *Lbl* 17784, *Lbl* 17796, *Lcm* IA1, *Lsp*, *Y* M1/8, *Y* M29)

32⁴-33¹: sl (*Cp* 33) underlay unclear (*Cp* 33)

34²: o (*DRc* B27, C17, C28, C34, *Cpc* Mus 6.5, *Cpc* Mus 6.6, *Y* M29)

34³: B (*DRc* C28)

34³-35⁴: ev^{-mc} er^{cb cA} be^{-cc} lie^{-cd sl me} -veth^{mc} (*Cp* 33)

35: underlay '-lie (2 notes sl) -veth in (2 notes sl)' (*LI* 1, *LI* 14)

35¹⁻⁴ underlay: '-lie (3 notes sl) -veth' (*Ojc* 180)

35³: b (*CA* 12)

35³⁻⁵: sl 'in' (*Cpc* Mus 6.5, *Cpc* Mus 6.6, *DRc* B27, C16, C17, C27, C28, C34, *Lbl* 17784, *Lbl* 29375, *Llp* 764, *Ob Mus.* d.162, *Ob Mus.* f.24, *Och* 1223, *Och* 1224, *Y* M1/8, *Y* M29)

35⁴-36¹: underlay unclear (*Lbl* 17796)

36³-42: underlay missing or unclear (*Y* M1/8)

37²: # (CA 12, *Cfm* 117, *Cpc* Mus 6.5, *Cpc* Mus 6.6, *Lbl* 17784, *Lbl* 17796, *Lbl* 29375, *Lbl* Harley 7337, *LI* 1, *LI* 14, *Llp* 764, *Lsp*, *Ob* Mus. f.24, *Ob* Tenbury 1023, *Och* 1223, *Och* 1224, *Omc* OR1/MS1/2, *Y* M1/8, Barnard)

38²: note missing in source (*DRc* C27)

38³⁻⁴: sl 'in' (*Cp* 33, *Cpc* Mus 6.5, *Cpc* Mus 6.6, *Ob* Mus. f.24, *Lbl* Harley 7337 *LI* 1, *LI* 14, *Llp* 764, *Ob* Tenbury 1442, *Och* 1223, *Och* 1224, *Ojc* 180)

39-42: variants as follows (the primary source, *Cp* 38, is included for reference):

44

Cp 35, 43 of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on, re - ceive re - mis - sion of their sins,

Lbl 17794 of their sins, shall ://: of their sins

Ob f.23 of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on, re - mi - si - on of their sins

Harley 7337 of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on, re - mi - si - on of their sins

WRc 49 of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on, of their sins

WRc 50 of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on, of their sins, of their sins

Ob Tenbury 1382 of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mis - si - on of sins, re - mis - si - on of their sins

Cpc 6.3 of their sins, shall re - ://: of their sins

Och 1221 of their sins, shall ://: of their sins

Cpc 6.2 of their sins, shall ://: of their sins

Och 1222 of their sins, shall re - ceive of their sins

Ely 28 shall re - ceive re - mis - si - on of their sins, of their sins

Lbl 29374 shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on shall re - ceive re - mi - sion of their sins

DRc C11, C15 shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on of their sins, of their sins

Lbl 30479 shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on of their sins, of their sins, of their sins

Ob Tenbury 1023 shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on of their sins, re - mi - si - on of their sins

Y M1/7 (S), GL 006 shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on of their sins, re - mi - si - on of their sins

Lbl 30478, Lsp shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on of their sins, re - mi - si - on ://:

GL 005, CA 1 shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on of their sins, re - mi - si - on ://:

Barnard shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on of their sins, re - mi - si - on ://:

Cfm 117 shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on of their of their sins

DRc C12 shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on their sins, of their sins

46²: # (CA 12, Cfm 117, DRc B27, C16, Lbl 17784, Lbl 17796, Lbl 29375, Ob Tenbury 1442, Lcm IA1, Och 1223, Omc OR1/MS1/2, Y M1/8, Barnard)

48²⁻⁴ text: 'sins, of (2 notes sl) (Lcm IA1)

49²-50¹: 'of (2 notes sl) their' (Ob Tenbury 1023)

49²-50¹: notes miscopied up a third (Llp 764)

49²-50² text: 're-mis-si-on' (Y M1/8)

49²-50³: 're-mis-sion of (2 notes sl)' (Lsp)

49²-51² text: 'shall re-ceive re-mis-si-on' (Lbl 17784); with 50¹ m. c (Ob Tenbury 1442)

49³: # (Lbl 17796, Lbl Harley 7337)

49³-50¹: sl om (Llp 764)

49³-50²: 'their sins', underlay unclear (Barnard)

50 underlay: 'sins, of (2 notes sl)' (CA 12)

50¹- 51¹: 'sins, of their (2 notes sl)' (Ojc 180)

50¹-52² underlay: 'sins, of their sins, of their (2 notes sl)' (Lbl 17796, Lbl 29375, Ob Mus. d.162, Och 1223)

50³: # (Cfm 117, Lbl Harley 7337, Ob Mus. f.24, Ob Tenbury 1023, Omc OR1/MS1/2)

51²-52¹: sb.c (Ob Tenbury 1442)

50³-51¹: sl (Llp 764)

51-52: text indecipherable owing to torn page.

Behold it is Christ

Organ comparison

This musical score is an organ comparison for the hymn 'Behold it is Christ'. It features seven systems, each with a label on the left and a pair of staves (treble and bass clef) on the right. The music is in common time (C) and the key of D major (two sharps). The first system, 'Cp 46', shows a simple harmonic setting. The second system, 'DRc A1', continues the harmonic pattern. The third system, 'Cu Ely 4', introduces a more complex texture with a four-part setting. The fourth system, 'GL CM009', features a more elaborate setting with a four-part texture. The fifth system, 'Lbl RM.27.a.13', continues the four-part texture. The sixth system, 'Och Mus 47', introduces a more complex texture with a four-part setting. The seventh system, 'Och Mus 525', features a more elaborate setting with a four-part texture. The score is written for organ, with the left hand playing the bass line and the right hand playing the treble line. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, key signatures, time signatures, and note values.

Cp 46

DRc A1

Cu Ely 4

GL CM009

Lbl RM.27.a.13

Och Mus 47

Och Mus 525

5

Cp 46

DRc A1

Cu Ely 4

GL CM009

Lbl RM27a13

Och Mus 47

Och Mus 525

9

Cp 46

DRc A1

Cu Ely 4

GL CM009

Lbl RM27a13

Och Mus 47

Och Mus 525

The musical score is written for seven instruments, each with a treble and bass staff. The instruments are: *Cp 46*, *DRc A1*, *Cu Ely 4*, *GL CM009*, *Lbl RM27a13*, *Och Mus 47*, and *Och Mus 525*. The score is in 4/4 time and consists of seven systems. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The notation includes various note values, rests, and articulation marks.

13

Cp 46

DRc A1

Cu Ely 4

GL CM009

Lbl RM27a13

Och Mus 47

Och Mus 525

17

Cp 46

DRc A1

Cu Ely 4

GL CM009

Lbl RM27a13

Och Mus 47

Och Mus 525

The musical score consists of seven staves, each representing a different instrument or part. The notation is written in a standard musical format with treble and bass clefs. The first staff, labeled 'Cp 46', shows a melodic line in the treble clef and a supporting line in the bass clef. The second staff, 'DRc A1', features a similar structure. The third staff, 'Cu Ely 4', and the fourth, 'GL CM009', show more complex rhythmic patterns. The fifth staff, 'Lbl RM27a13', and the sixth, 'Och Mus 47', continue the melodic and harmonic development. The seventh staff, 'Och Mus 525', is the most complex, featuring multiple voices and a variety of note values and rests. The score is marked with measure numbers 17, 18, 19, and 20 at the top of each system.

21

Cp 46

DRc A1

Cu Ely 4

GL CM009

Lbl RM27a13

Och Mus 47

Och Mus 525

The musical score consists of seven staves, each representing a different instrument or voice part. The staves are labeled on the left: *Cp 46*, *DRc A1*, *Cu Ely 4*, *GL CM009*, *Lbl RM27a13*, *Och Mus 47*, and *Och Mus 525*. The score is written in treble and bass clefs. The first staff, *Cp 46*, begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The other staves follow a similar pattern. The music is written in a common time signature (C). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, accidentals (sharps, flats, naturals), and dynamic markings. The score is organized into measures, with measure numbers 21, 22, 23, and 24 visible. The staves are connected by a brace on the left side, indicating they are part of a single musical system.

25

Cp 46

DRc A1

Cu Ely 4

GL CM009

Lbl RM27a13

Och Mus 47

Och Mus 525

The musical score consists of seven staves, each representing a different instrument or vocal part. The staves are labeled on the left: *Cp 46*, *DRc A1*, *Cu Ely 4*, *GL CM009*, *Lbl RM27a13*, *Och Mus 47*, and *Och Mus 525*. The music is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. The score is divided into measures, with the first measure starting at measure 25. The notation is complex, with many notes and rests, and some measures contain multiple notes on a single staff.

29

Cp 46*DRc* A1*Cu* Ely 4*GL* CM009*Lbl* RM27a13*Och* Mus 47*Och* Mus 525

This musical score page contains seven systems of staves, each with a label on the left and a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) on the right. The systems are labeled: *Cp* 46, *DRc* A1, *Cu* Ely 4, *GL* CM009, *Lbl* RM27a13, *Och* Mus 47, and *Och* Mus 525. The music is written in a key with one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes), rests, and dynamic markings. The first system, *Cp* 46, begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The subsequent systems, *DRc* A1 through *Och* Mus 525, all begin with a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp. The music is arranged in a grand staff format, with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff of each system. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. The first system, *Cp* 46, begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The subsequent systems, *DRc* A1 through *Och* Mus 525, all begin with a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp. The music is arranged in a grand staff format, with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff of each system. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings.

33

Cp 46

DRc A1

Cu Ely 4

GL CM009

Lbl RM27a13

Och Mus 47

Och Mus 525

The musical score consists of seven staves, each representing a different instrument or voice part. The staves are labeled on the left: *Cp 46*, *DRc A1*, *Cu Ely 4*, *GL CM009*, *Lbl RM27a13*, *Och Mus 47*, and *Och Mus 525*. The music is written in 2/4 time and has a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes), rests, and articulation marks (accents, slurs, and ties). The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines, with measure numbers 33, 34, and 35 indicated at the top of the first staff.

37

Cp 46

DRc A1

Cu Ely 4

GL CM009

Lbl RM27a13

Och Mus 47

Och Mus 525

The musical score consists of seven staves, each representing a different instrument or part. The staves are labeled on the left: *Cp 46*, *DRc A1*, *Cu Ely 4*, *GL CM009*, *Lbl RM27a13*, *Och Mus 47*, and *Och Mus 525*. The score is written in treble and bass clefs. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The time signature is not explicitly shown but appears to be 4/4. The score covers measures 37 to 40. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, accidentals, and dynamic markings.

41

Cp 46

DRc A1

Cu Ely 4

GL CM009

Lbl RM27a13

Och Mus 47

Och Mus 525

The image displays a musical score for measures 41 through 44. It consists of seven staves, each representing a different instrument or part. The staves are labeled on the left: *Cp 46*, *DRc A1*, *Cu Ely 4*, *GL CM009*, *Lbl RM27a13*, *Och Mus 47*, and *Och Mus 525*. Each staff is written in a system with a treble and bass clef. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes), rests, and accidentals (sharps and naturals). The music is arranged in a way that suggests a complex, multi-layered texture.

45

Cp 46

DRc A1

Cu Ely 4

GL CM009

Lbl RM27a13

Och Mus 47

Och Mus 525

The image displays a musical score for measures 45 through 48. It consists of seven staves, each representing a different instrument or vocal part. The staves are labeled on the left: *Cp 46*, *DRc A1*, *Cu Ely 4*, *GL CM009*, *Lbl RM27a13*, *Och Mus 47*, and *Och Mus 525*. The notation is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and slurs. The first staff, *Cp 46*, begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The other staves use a combination of treble and bass clefs. The music is written in a style that suggests a historical or early modern period, with some parts featuring complex rhythmic patterns and others being more melodic.

49

Cp 46

DRc A1

Cu Ely 4

GL CM009

Lbl RM27a13

Och Mus 47

Och Mus 525

Behold, it is Christ

(Aldrich variant - *Och Mus. 16*)

M Be - - hold it is Christ, be - hold it

1Ct Be - hold it is Christ, be - hold it

2Ct Be - hold it is Christ, be - hold it

T Be - hold it is _____ Christ, be - hold it

B Be - hold it is Christ, be - hold it

5
M is Christ, _____ which was or - dai - ned by God,

1Ct is Christ, which was or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God, which was or -

2Ct is Christ, _____ which was or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God, which

T is Christ, _____ which was or - dai - ned by _____ God,

B is Christ, _____ which was or - dai - ned by God, which

9

M
or - dai - ned by _____ God, which was or - dai - ned by God to

1Ct
-dai - ned by God, it is Christ which was or - dai - ned by God, to

2Ct
was or - dai - ned, which was or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God to

T
which was or - dai - ned by God, _____ or - dai - ned by God, to

B
was or - dai - ned by God, which was or - dai - ned by God to

13

M
be the judge of _____ the quick and the dead. To him give

1Ct
be the judge of the quick and the dead. To him give all the Pro - phets

2Ct
be the judge of _____ the quick and the dead. To

T
be the judge of _____ the quick and the dead. To him give all the

B
be the judge of _____ the quick and the dead.

17

M all the Pro - phets,___ give all the Pro-phets wit - ness, to him give all the

1Ct wit - ness, to him give all the Pro-phets wit - ness, give___ all___

2Ct him give all the Pro - phets wit - ness, to him give all the Pro - phets, give

T Pro-phets wit - ness, give all the Pro - phets wit - ness, to him,___ to him, to him give

B To him give all the Pro - phets, give all

22

M Pro-phets wit - - - ness, that through his name, through his name who -

1Ct the Pro - phets wit - ness, that through his name, that through his name,

2Ct all the Pro - phets wit - ness, that through his name, that through his name, through

T all the Pro - phets wit - ness, that through his name who - so - ev - er be -

B the Pro - phets wit - ness, that through his name, that through his name, his

26

M - so ev - er be - lie - veth in him, be - lei - veth in

1Ct that through his name, through his name, who - so - ev - er be -

2Ct his name, through his name, that through his

T - lie - veth in him, in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth

B name, who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, in him, who -

30

M him, be - lie - veth in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie veth in him,

1Ct - lie veth in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, be lie - veth in him

2Ct name, his name, who - so - ev - er be - lie veth in him, in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie -

T in him, in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie veth in him who -

B - so - ev - er be - lie veth in him, be - lie - veth in him, who - so - ev - er be

35

M be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him, who -

1Ct who - so ev - ver be - lie-veth in him, in him

2Ct - veth in him, be - lie - veth who - so - ev - er be -

T - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, be - lie -

B - lie-veth in him, in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie-veth in him,

39

M - so - ev - er be - lie-veth in him, be - lie-veth in him shall

1Ct be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him,

2Ct - lie-veth in - him, be - lie - veth in him shall re - ceive

T veth in him, be - lie - veth in him shall re - ceive re - mi - si -

B be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him

43

M re - ceive re - mi - si - on of _____ their _____

1Ct in him shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on, shall re -

2Ct _____ re - mis - si - on, re - mis - si - on of their

T -on of their sins, of their sins, shall re -

B shall re - ceive _____

46

M sins, shall re - ceive _____ re - mi - si - on of their _____

1Ct ceive re - mi - si - on of their sins, of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mi -

2Ct sins, shall re - ceive _____ re - mis - si - on of their sins, shall re -

T ceive re - mis - sion, shall re - ceive re - mis - si - on of their sins, shall

B _____ re - mis - si - on, re - mis - si - on of their sins, shall re -

50

M

sins, of their sins, of their sins.

1Ct

- si - on of thy sins, of thy sins.

2Ct

- ceive re - mis - si - on of their sins, of their sins.

T

re - ceive re - mi - si - on of their sins.

B

- ceive re - mis - si - on of their sins.

Behold, it is Christ (Windsor variant)

M Be - hold it is Christ, be - hold it

1Ct Be - hold it is Christ, be - hold it

2Ct Be - hold it is Christ, be - hold it

T Be - hold it is Christ, be - hold it

B Be - hold it is Christ, be - hold it

org

3# 6

5

SGC 82 is Christ, which was or - dai - ned by God,

SGC 6 is Christ, which was or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God, which was or -

SGC 5 is Christ, which was or - dai - ned-by God, or - dai - ned by God, or -

SGC 7 is Christ, which was or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God,

SGC 8

SGC 9 is Christ, which was or - dai - ned by God, which

SGC 10

SGC 73 (WRc 51)

9

SGC 82 *tr*
or - dai - ned by God, which was or - dai - ned by God to

SGC 6
-dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God, which was or - dai - ned by God, to

SGC 5
-dai - ned by God which was or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God to

SGC 7
SGC 8
which was or - dai - ned, or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God to

SGC 9
SGC 10
was or - dai - ned by God, which was or - dai - ned by God to

SGC 73 (WRc 51)

3# 6 7 6

13

SGC 82
be the judge of the quick and the dead. To him give

SGC 6
be the judge of the quick and the dead. To him give all the Pro - phets

SGC 5
be the judge of the quick and the dead, of the quick and the dead. To

SGC 7
SGC 8
be the judge of the quick and the dead. To him give all the

SGC 9
SGC 10
be the judge of the quick and the dead.

SGC 73 (WRc 51)

3# 3# 6 3

17

SGC 82 all the Pro phets wit - - - ness, to him give all the

SGC 6 wit - ness, to him give all the Pro-phets wit - ness, give all the

SGC 5 him give all the Pro-phets wit - ness, to him give all the Pro-phets, give all the

SGC 7 Pro-phets wit - ness, wit - ness, to him give all the Pro-phets wit - ness, give all the

SGC 8

SGC 9 To him give all the Pro - phets, give all the Pro - phets

SGC 10

SGC 73 (WRc 51)

7 6

22

SGC 82 Pro - phets wit - ness, that through his name, that through his name who

SGC 6 Pro - phets wit - ness, that through his name, that through his name,

SGC 5 Pro - phets wit - ness, that through his name, that through his name who - so -

SGC 7 Pro - phets wit - ness, that through his name who - so - ev - er be -

SGC 8

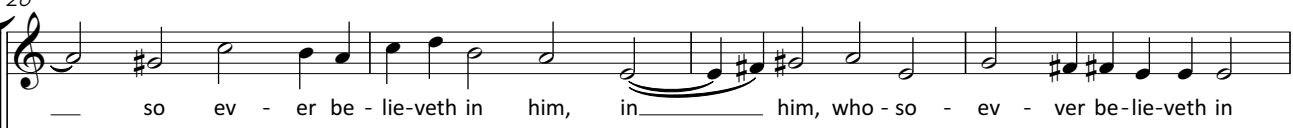
SGC 9 wit - - - ness, that through his name, that through his name, his

SGC 10

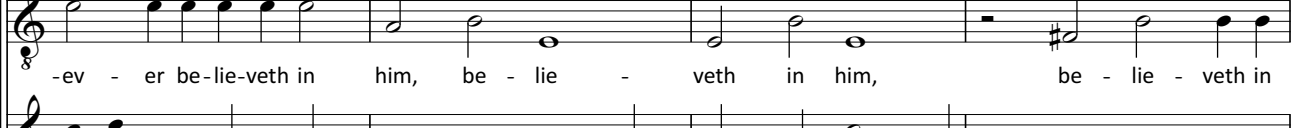
SGC 73 (WRc 51)

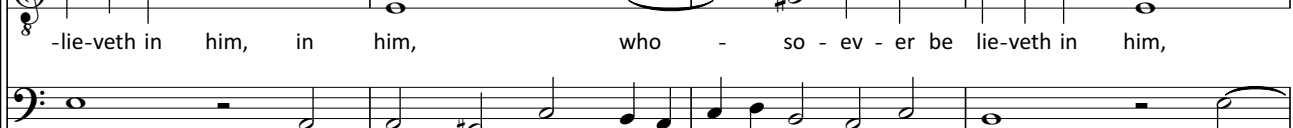
4 3# 6 6

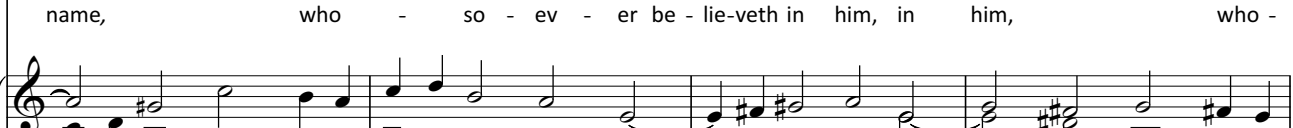
26

SGC 82  so ev - er be - lie-veth in him, in him, who - so - ev - ver be-lie-veth in

SGC 6  who - so - ev - er be-lie-veth in him_ who - so - ev - er be-

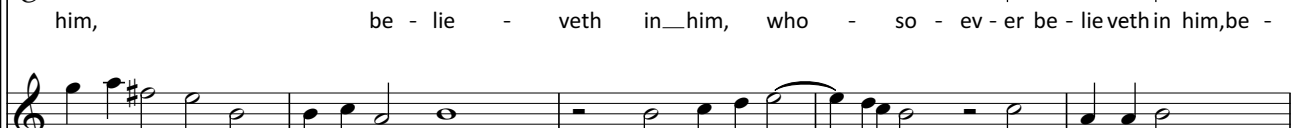
SGC 5  -ev - er be-lie-veth in him, be - lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in

SGC 7  -lie-veth in him, in him, who - so - ev - er be lie-veth in him,

SGC 8 

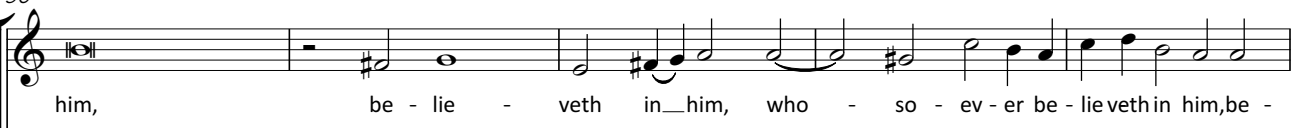
SGC 9  name, who - so - ev - er be - lie-veth in him, in him, who -

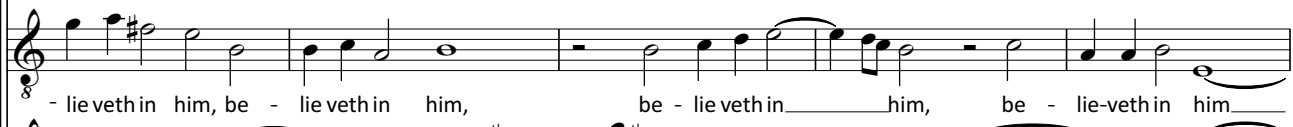
SGC 10 

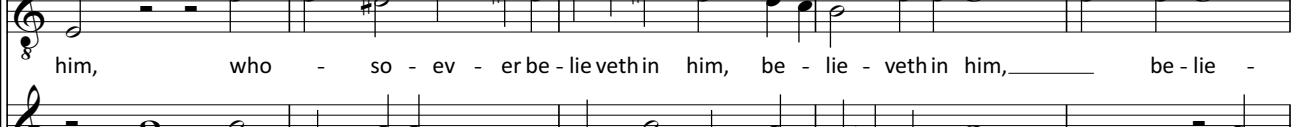
SGC 73 (WRc 51) 

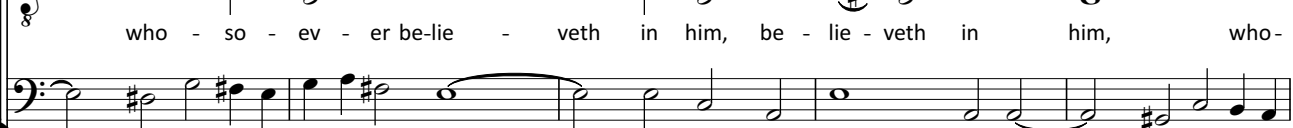
6

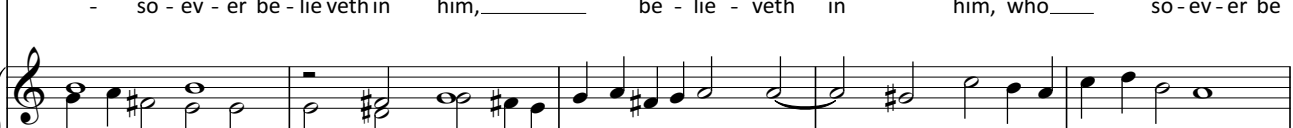
30

SGC 82  him, be - lie - veth in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie veth in him, be -

SGC 6  - lie veth in him, be - lie veth in him, be - lie veth in him, be - lie-veth in him

SGC 5  him, who - so - ev - er be - lie veth in him, be - lie - veth in him, be - lie -

SGC 7  who - so - ev - er be-lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him, who -

SGC 8 

SGC 9  - so - ev - er be - lie veth in him, be - lie - veth in him, who - so - ev - er be

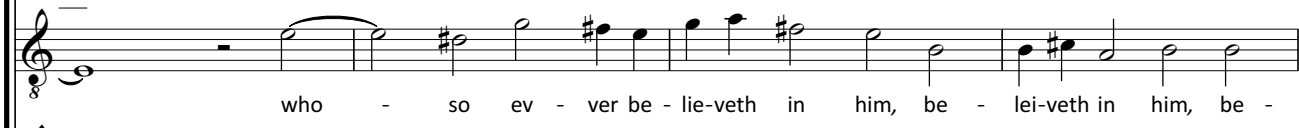
SGC 10 

SGC 73 (WRc 51)

6

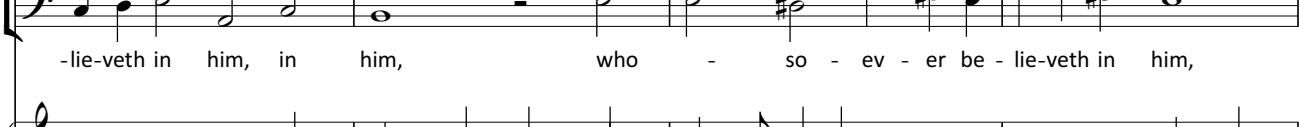
35

SGC 82  -lie - veth in him, be - lie - veth in him, who -

SGC 6  who - so ev - ver be - lie-veth in him, be - lei-veth in him, be -

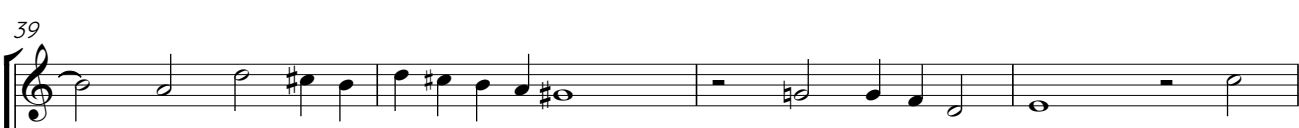
SGC 5  - veth in him, be - lie-veth in him, who - so - ev - er be -

SGC 7  - so - ev - er be - lie-veth in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie -

SGC 8  - lie-veth in him, in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie-veth in him,

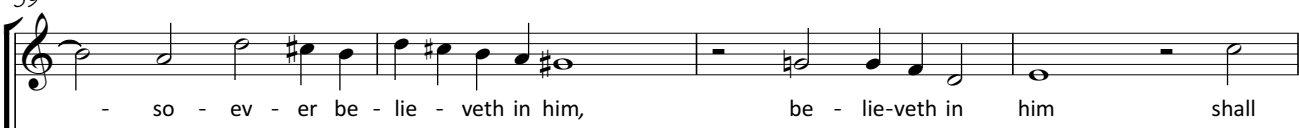
SGC 9 

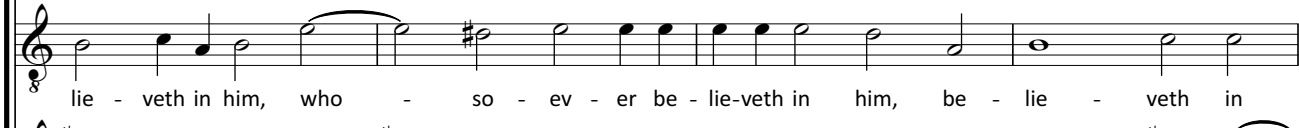
SGC 10 

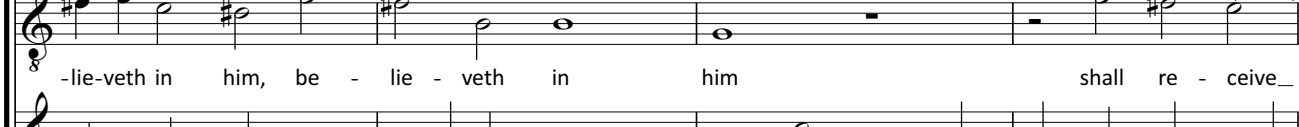
SGC 73 (WRc 51) 

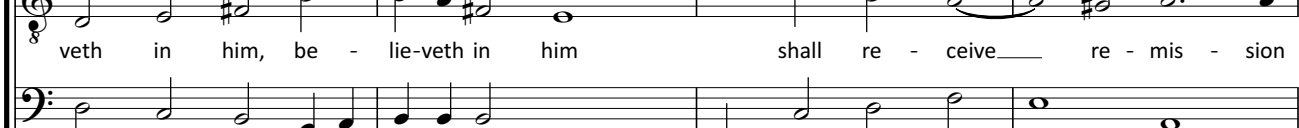
6 3#

39

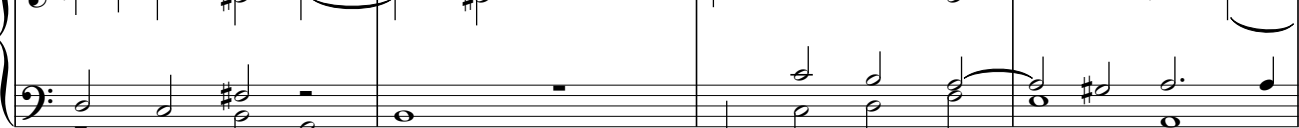
SGC 82  - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, be - lie-veth in him shall

SGC 6  lie - veth in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie-veth in him, be - lie - veth in

SGC 5  -lie-veth in him, be - lie - veth in him shall re - ceive_

SGC 7  veth in him, be - lie-veth in him shall re - ceive_ re - mis - sion

SGC 8 

SGC 9 

SGC 10 

SGC 73 (WRc 51)

6 3

43

SGC 82 re - ceive re - mis - sion of their sins, of their sins,

SGC 6 him, in him shall re - ceive re - mis - sion of their sins, of their

SGC 5 re - mi - sion of their sins, re - mi - sion - of their sins, shall re - ceive

SGC 7 of their sins, of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mis - sion of their sins, re -

SGC 8

SGC 9 shall re - ceive re - mis - sion

SGC 10

SGC 73 (WRc 51)

3# 6 6

47

SGC 82 shall re - ceive re - mis - sion of their sins, shall re - ceive

SGC 6 sins, of their sins, shall re - ceive re -

SGC 5 re - mi - sion of their sins, re - ceive re - mi - sion

SGC 7 -mi - sion, re - mis - sion of their sins, of their sins, shall

SGC 8

SGC 9 of their sins, re - mis - sion of their sins, shall re -

SGC 10

SGC 73 (WRc 51)

3# 3# 3# 3# 6

50

SGC 82 *tr*
re - mis - sion of their sins, re - mis - sion of their sins.

SGC 6
mis - sion of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mis - sion of their sins.

SGC 5
of their sins, of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mi - sion of their sins.

SGC 7
SGC 8
re - ceive re - mis - sion of their sins, of their sins.

SGC 9
SGC 10
ceive re - mis - sion of their sins, re - mis - sion of their sins.

SGC 73
(WRc 51)

3# 3#

Lbl 31405

(4-part version)

M Be - hold it is Christ, be - hold it is Christ, _____

Ct Be - hold it is Christ, be - hold it is Christ, which was or - dai - ned by

T Be - hold it is _____ Christ, be - hold it is _____ Christ, it is Christ,

B Be - hold it is Christ, be - hold it is Christ _____ which

7

M which was or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by _____ God which was or -

Ct God, or - dai - ned by God, which was or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by _____

T be-hold it is _____ Christ, _____ which was or - dai - ned by _____ God

B. was or - dai - ned by God, or - dai - ned by _____ God, which was or - dai - ned

12

M -dai - ned by God to be the judge of _____ the quick and the dead. To him give

Ct God to be the judge of _____ the quick and the dead. To him give all the Pro-phets

T to be the judge of _____ the quick and the dead. To him give all the

B. by God to be the judge of _____ the quick and the dead.

17

M all the Pro-phets wit - ness, wit - ness, to him give all the

Ct wit - ness to him give all the Pro-phets wit - - ness, with_____

T Pro - phets, to him give all the Pro - phets wit - ness, the Pro - phets

B. To him give all the Pro-phets wit - -

22

M Pro - phets wit - ness, that through his name, his_____ name, who - so ev - er be -

Ct ness, wit_____ ness that through his name, that through his name, that through his

T wit - - ness, that through his name who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in

B. ness, wit - ness, that through his name, that through his_____ name, who -

27

M - lie - veth in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, be - lie -

Ct name who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, in_____ him,

T him, who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth

B. - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in_____ him, who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him, be -

32

M veth in__ him, who - so - ev - er be - lie veth in him, be - lie - veth in him, be -

Ct be - lie-veth in__ him, be - lie - veth in him, who - so - ev - er be

T __ in him, be - lie - veth in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in him,

B. - lie - veth in__ him, who - so - ev - er be - lie-veth in__ him, who -

37

M - lie - veth in him, who - so - ev - er be - lie veth in__ him, be-lie veth in him, in__

Ct - lie-veth in him, in__ him be - lie-veth in him, be - lie - veth in him

T who - so - ev - er be - lie - veth in__ him, in__ him shall re - ceive

B. - so - ev - er be - lie veth in him, be - lie - veth in__ him, be - lie - veth

42

M him shall re - ceive re - mi - si-on of__ their__ sins,

Ct shall re - ceive__ re - mi - si-on of their sins, of their__ sins, shall re - ceive

T __ re - mi - si-on of their sins, shall re - ceive re - mi - si-on of their

B. in him shall re - ceive__ re - mis - si -

47

M shall re - ceive re - mi - si - on of their sins, of their sins, of their sins.

Ct re - mi - si - on of their sins, of their sins, of their sins, of their sins.

T sins, of their sins, of their sins shall re - ceive re - mis - si - on of their sins.

B. -on of their sins, of their sins, of their sins, of their sins.

The musical score is written for four voices: Soprano (M), Alto (Ct), Tenor (T), and Bass (B.). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: 'shall receive remission of their sins, of their sins, of their sins.' The Soprano part starts with a whole rest, then sings 'shall receive remission of their sins, of their sins, of their sins.' The Alto part starts with a whole rest, then sings 'remission of their sins, of their sins, of their sins, of their sins.' The Tenor part starts with a whole rest, then sings 'sins, of their sins, of their sins shall receive remission of their sins.' The Bass part starts with a whole rest, then sings '-on of their sins, of their sins, of their sins, of their sins.'

Behold it is Christ (*Lb*/ 31405)

Textual commentary

8² M: indecipherable (note missing?)

27⁴ M: indecipherable (note missing?)

45³ M: #

52² T: fermata.

Wellspring of Bounty

C

Well - spring of boun - ty, well - spring of boun - ty,
 I know not blood, I know not blood of
 O how should I be, O how should I be
 How long O have I, how long O have I
 I long have knock - ed, I long have knock - ed

A

Well - spring of boun - ty,
 I know not blood of
 O how should I be
 How long O have I
 I long have knock - ed

Q

Well - spring of boun - ty
 I know not blood of
 O how should I be
 How long O have I
 I long have knock - ed

T

Well - spring of
 I know not
 O how should
 How long O
 I long have

B

Well - spring of
 I know not
 O how should
 How long O
 I long have

3

C

God of fear, God of fear, be - gin - ning that
 bulls and beast, bulls and beast, or sweet - est in -
 re - con - ciled, re - con - ciled, a - gain un - to
 called to thee, called to thee, to thee in name
 at thy door, at thy door of mer - cy but

A

of boun - ty, God of fear, be - gin - ning that
 bulls and beast, bulls and beast, or sweet - est in -
 re - con - ciled, re - con - ciled, a - gain un - to
 called to thee, called to thee, to thee in name
 at thy door, at thy door of mer - cy but

Q

God of fear, be - gin - ning that
 bulls and beast, or sweet - est in -
 re - con - ciled, a - gain un - to
 called to thee, to thee in name
 at thy door, of mer - cy but

T

boun - ty God of fear, be - gin - ning that
 blood of beast, or sweet - est in -
 I be re - con - ciled, a - gain un - to
 have I called to thee, to thee in name
 knock - ed at thy door, of mer - cy but

B

boun - ty, God of fear, be - gin - ning that makes
 blood of beast, or sweet - est in - cense
 I be re - con - ciled, a - gain un - to thy
 have I called to thee, to thee in name of
 knock - ed at thy door, of mer - cy but none

5

C

_____ makes all be - gin: With what ob - la - ti - on to ap -
 - cense that doth_____ rise: From Earth of old, they were the
 thy lo - ving fa - vour: How long Lord shall I be ex -
 of thy dear_____ Son: Yet what I as - ked thou gav'st not
 none en - trance_____ find: Sor - rows and trou - bles more and

A

makes, that makes all_____ be - gin: With what ob - la - ti - on to_____ ap -
 - cense, in - cense that_____ doth rise: From Earth of_____ old, they_____ were the
 thy lo - ving fa - vour: How long Lord_____ shall I be_____ ex -
 of thy_____ dear_____ Son: Yet what I as - ked thou_____ gav'st not
 none, but none en - trance find: Sor - rows and trou - bles more_____ and_____

Q

8 makes, that makes all_____ be - gin: With what ob - la - ti - on to ap -
 - cense, or in-cense that_____ doth rise: From Earth of old, they were the
 thy lo - ving fa - vour: How long Lord, shall I be ex - i -
 of thy_____ dear_____ Son: Yet what I as - ked thou gav'st not
 none, but none en - trance find: Sor - rows and trou - bles more and

T

8 makes, that makes all be - gin:_____ for to ap -
 - cense, or in-cense that doth rise:_____ they were the_____
 thy lov - ing, lov - ing fa - vour:_____ I be ex -
 of thy_____ dear_____ Son:_____ thou gav'st not_____
 none, but none en - trance find:_____ more_____ and_____

B

all_____ be - - gin:
 that_____ doth rise:
 lov - ing fa - - vour:
 thy_____ dear Son:
 en - - trance find:

8

C

- pear, t'ap - pease thy wrath that's due for sin.
 least, and are not now of a - ny price.
 - iled from my sweet Lord and on - ly Sa - viour.
 me, and what I would is left un - done.
 more, in - crease and vex my soul and mind.

A

- pear, t'ap - pease thy wrath that's due for sin.
 least, and are not now of a - ny price.
 - iled from my sweet Lord and on - ly Sa - viour.
 me, and what I would is left un - done.
 more, in - crease and vex my soul and mind.

Q

8

- pear, t'ap - pease thy wrath that's due for sin.
 least, and are not now of a - ny price.
 - led from my sweet Lord and on - ly Sa - viour.
 me, and what I would is left un - done.
 more, in - crease and vex my soul and mind.

T

8

- pear, t'ap - pease thy wrath that's due for sin.
 least, and are not now of a - ny price.
 - iled from my sweet Lord and on - ly Sa - viour.
 me, and what I would is left un - done.
 more, in - crease and vex my soul and mind.

B

t'ap - pease thy wrath, that's due for sin.
 and are not now of a - ny price.
 from my sweet Lord and on - ly Sa - viour.
 and what I would is left un - done.
 in - crease and vex my soul and mind.

Wellspring of Bounty

Textual commentary

Source

Sir William Leighton, *Teares and Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule*

Notes

All slurs are editorial.

This edition includes suggested underlay for verses 2-5, which appear in verse form in the source under the C, Q and T parts only.

Variations

2-5¹ Q: 'boun-(2 notes sl)-ty, of boun-(3 notes sl)-ty'

5⁴-6¹ A: that *makes*, that *makes*

6³-7³ C: *ca' mb' mg' c.c'' qc'' ma'* 'which with all oblation'

9³ C: 'is'

O how glorious

Cp 44 *Cp 42* *DRc C4* *Cp 35* *Cp 37* *BEm 751*

O how glo - ri - ous art thou O God and
O how glo - ri -

5
M 1Ct 2Ct T B org

won - der - ful in all thy works of thine hands, thy works of
ous art thou O God, and won - der - ful in all thy works
O how glo - ri - ous art thou O God and
O how glo - ri -

9

M *thine hands, in all thy works of thine hands, of thine*

1Ct *of thine hands, in the works of thine*

2Ct *O how glor - ri - ous art thou O God, and*

T *won - der - ful in all the works, in all the works*

B *- ous art thou O God, and won - der - ful in all the*

org

13

M *hands. Thou raisest the simple out of the*

1Ct *hands, of thine hands, in all the works of thine*

2Ct *won - der - ful in all the works of thine hands,*

T *of thine hand. Thou raisest the simple out of the dust,*

B *works of thine hand. Thou raisest the*

org

17

M dust, out of _____ the dust, _____ thou rai-sest the sim-ple out of the dust, and

1Ct hands. Thou rai-sest the sim-ple out of the _____ dust, thou rai-sest the sim-ple out

2Ct of thine hands. Thou rai-sest the sim-ple out of the dust, the sim-ple out of the

T thou rai-sest the sim-ple out of the _____ dust, _____ thou rai-sest the

B sim-ple out of the dust, thou rai-sest the sim-ple out of the dust, out of the dust,

org

22

M _____ lif-teth the poor out of the mire, and lif-teth the poor, and lif-teth the

1Ct of the dust, out of the dust, _____ and lif-teth the poor out _____

2Ct dust, and lif-teth the poor, and lif-teth the poor out of of the _____ mire,

T sim-ple out of the dust, and lif-teth the poor out

B and lif-teth the poor out of the mire, and lif-teth the poor out of the

org

26

M *poor out of the mire, and pla - cest him with prin - - -*

1Ct *— of the mi - - re, out of the — mire, out of the mire,*

2Ct *and pla - cest him with prin - ces, — and pla - cest him with prin -*

T *of the — mire, out of the mire, and*

B *mire, out of the mire, and pla - cest him with prin -*

org

30

M *- ces, and pla - cest him with prin - - - ces, with prin -*

1Ct *and pla - cest him with prin - - ces, and pla - cest him — with prin -*

2Ct *- ces, and pla - cest him with prin - ces, with prin - ces, — even with the prin - ces*

T *pla - cest him with prin - ces, with prin - ces, and pla - cest him with prin - ces, even*

B *- ces, with prin - - ces, and pla - cest him with prin - ces, with prin -*

org

35

M
- ces, with prin - ces, even with the prin - ces of thy peo -

1Ct
- ces, with prin - ces, with prin - ces, even with the prin - ces

2Ct
of the peo - - - ple, even with the prin - ces

T
with the prin - ces of thy peo - ple, thy peo - ple, even with the

B
- ces, even with the prin - ces of thy peo - - - ple, the

org

39

M
- - - ple. O bles - sed be the Lord, the Lord, _____

1Ct
of thy peo - - - ple, _____ of thy peo - ple. O

2Ct
of the peo - ple. _____ O bles - sed

T
prin - ces of thy peo - ple. O bles - sed be the _____

B
prin - ces of thy peo - ple. _____ O bles - sed be the

org

51

M

1Ct

2Ct

T

B

org

men, A men.

men, A men, A men.

men, A men.

men.

A men.

O how glorious - textual commentary

Sources

Cp 44, fQ2v: MD, unattrib

Cp 42, fH5v: CtD, unattrib

Cp 35, f121v: TD, attrib 'M^r White'

Cp 37, fO1v: BD, attrib 'M^r White'

DRc C4, f4: 2Ct, attrib 'M^r White'

BEm MS 751, p17: org, attrib 'Mr Hooper'

Ob Tenbury 1382, f48: T, attrib 'Mr Hooper'

Variants

3¹ M text: 'you' (*Cp* 44)

5³ 1Ct text: 'you' (*Cp* 42)

9²⁻³ 1Ct text: 'your' (*Cp* 42)

9³ M text: 'hand' (*Cp* 44)

9³ B text: 'you' (*Cp* 37)

12³⁻⁵ 1Ct text: 'your' (*Cp* 42)

13⁵⁻⁷ 1Ct text: 'your' (*Cp* 42)

16³ 1Ct text: 'your' (*Cp* 42)

18¹⁻² org: *sbb* (*BEm* 751)

19³⁻⁴ org lh outer: source unclear as to whether there is # (*BEm* 751)

26³⁻⁴ 2Ct: [natural] (*DRc* C4)

28⁵ 1Ct: #

32¹ 1Ct: [natural] (*Cp* 42)

32⁶ T text: misplaced final syllable of 'princes' (*Cp* 35)

33³ 2Ct: *m.* (*DRc* C4)

38¹ B: c (*Cp* 37)

42³ B: o (*Cp* 37)

45²-46 T underlay: illegible (*Cp* 35)

49: double bar after the second minim (*Cp* 37, 42, *DRc* C4)

50³ 1Ct: # (*Cp* 42)

Almighty God, which madest

MD Al - migh - ty God,

MC Al - migh - ty

1Ct

2Ct

T

B

org

vers

5

MD which mad'st thy _____ bles - sed Son, to be cir - cum - cised and o - be - di -

MC God, which madest _____ thy bles - sed Son, to be cir - cum -

1Ct

T

org

Dec

To be cir - cum - cised, and o - be - di -

Dec

To be cir - cum - cised

10

MD
- ent to the law, and ob - be - di - ent to the law for man, and o - be - di - ent to the

MC
- cised and o - be - di - ent to the law for _____ man, and o - be - di -

1Ct
- ent, and o - be - di - ent,

T
and o - be - di - ent, _____ and o - be - di - ent to the law for

org

14

MD
law, to the law for man, to the law _____ for _____ man. ↘

MC
-ent to _____ the law, to the law for _____ man. ↗

1Ct
to the law _____ for _____ man.

T
man, to the law for man, to the law for _____ man.

org

18 [Full]

M Grant un - to us the true cir - cum - ci - sion of the Spi -

1Ct [Full]
8 Grant un - to us

2Ct [Full]
8 Grant un - to us the true cir - cum - ci - si - on of the

T [Full]
8 Grant un - to - us the true cir - cum - ci - si - on of the Sprit, the

B [Full]
8 Grant un - to us

org chorus

22

M - rit, the true cir - cum - ci - sion of the Spi - rit.

1Ct the true cir - cum - ci - si - on of the Spirit.

2Ct Spirit, the true cir - cum - ci - si - on of the Spi - rit.

T true cir - cum - ci - si - on of the Spirit.

B the true cir - cum - ci - si - on of the Spi - rit.

org

26

MD

MC

org

vers

That our hearts and all our mem - bers,

That our hearts, and all our

30

MD

MC

1Ct

2Ct

T

B

org

chorus

be - ing mor - ti - fied, be - ing mor - ti - fied, mor - ti - fied. That

mem - bers be - ing mor - ti - fied, mor - ti - fi - ed, mor - ti - fied. That

That

That

be - ing mor - ti - fied, be - ing mor - ti - fied. That

Dec

be - ing mor - ti - - - - fied.

34

M our hearts and all our mem - bers

1Ct our hearts, our hearts,

2Ct our hearts, our hearts, and all our

T our hearts and all our

B That our hearts and all, and all our

org

37

M be - ing mor - ti - fied, mor - ti - fied.

1Ct and our mem - bers be - ing mor - ti - fied.

2Ct mem - bers, be - ing mor - ti - fied.

T mem - bers, be - ing mor - ti - fied, mor - ti - fied.

B mem - bers, be - ing mor - ti - fied.

org

41

MD

From all wor - thy and car - nal lusts, and car -

MC

From all world - ly and car - nal lusts, from all world - ly and car -

1Ct

Dec

and

T

Dec

All world - ly and car - nal lusts,

org

vers

46

MD

-nall lusts, we may in all things o - bey thy bles - sed will,

MC

- - - nal lusts, we may in all things o-bey thy bles - sed will,

1Ct

car - nal lusts, we may in all things o - bey, o - bey thy

T

car - nal lusts,

org

51

MD thy bles - sed will, thy bles - sed will,

MC o - bey thy bles - sed will,

1Ct bles - sed will, thy bles - sed will, [Full]

2Ct through Je - sus [Full]

T thy bles - sed will, through Je - sus Christ our_ [Full]

B through Je - sus Christ our_

org chorus

55

MD through Je - sus Christ our Lord,

MC [Full] through Je - sus Christ our Lord,

1Ct through Je - sus Christ our Lord,

2Ct Christ our Lord, through Je - sus

T Lord, through Je - sus Christ our

B Lord, through Je - sus Christ our

org

59 [Full]

M through Je - sus Christ our Lord,

1Ct through Je - sus Christ our Lord, our

2Ct Christ our Lord, through Je - sus Christ our

T Lord, Je - sus Christ our

B Lord, through Je - sus Christ our

org

62

M through Je - - sus Christ our Lord.

1Ct Lord, our Lord.

2Ct Lord, Je - sus Christ our Lord.

T Lord, through Je - - sus Christ our Lord.

B Lord, our Lord.

org

65

M A - - men, A - - - - - men, A - -

1Ct A - - - - - men, A - - men, A - - -

2Ct A - men, A - - - - men, A - - - - men, A -

T A - - - - - men, A - men, A - -

B A - men, A - - - - men, A - - - -

org

70

M Can - - - - - men, A - - men. Dec

1Ct - - - - - men, A - - - - men, A - - men.

2Ct - - - - - men, A - - - - men.

T - - - - - men, A - - - - men, A - - - - men.

B - - - - - men.

org

Almighty God, which madest

Textual commentary

Sources

Cp 47, p.110: MD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 34, p.108: MC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 39, p.118: 1CtD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 49, p.105: 1Ct C; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 48, p.48: 2Ct D; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 38, p.114: BD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 33, p.108: BC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C11, p.R93: TD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cu Ely 1, p.12: org; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cu Ely 28, p.59: T; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C1, p.R93: MC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C7 (first fascicle), p.9: 2CtC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C3, p.15: 2CtD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C2, p.13: Ct; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C14, p.11: TC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C16, p.301: BD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C19, p.346: BD, attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Lbl Add. 30479, p.299 (EECM 149): TC; unattrib
Llp MS 764, p.114 (f131r-v): BC, unattrib
Ojc MS 180, f.67v: BD; unattrib
Y M29 (S), p.244: BD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'

Notes

DRc C7 (1st fascicle), listed on EECM as 1CtC,⁴⁹³ contains the 2Ct music for this anthem.

⁴⁹³ https://eecm.tcd.ie/titles_incipits/2096, accessed 27.4.24

Variants

Inscriptions

'Anthem for New Year's Day' (*Cp*)

'The Circumcision of Christ' (*DRc, Lbl, Y*)

'For New Yeares Day' (*Cu Ely 1, Ely 28*)

'Anthem for the Circomsicion' (*Llp*)

'Allmightie God: Anthem for Circomcision' (*Ojc MS 180*)

M

12¹: *m* (*DRc C1*)

20⁴-22¹ underlay: '-ci-si-on of the Spirit (1 note)' (*DRc C1*)

18²-19¹ text: 'us the true' (*DRc C1*)

31¹: *o* (*DRc C1*)

32³: *o* (*DRc C1*)

34³: *sb* (*Cp 47*)

38⁴-39³ underlay: 'be-ing (sl om) mor-' (*Cp 34*)

38⁴-40 underlay: 'mor-ti-fied (4 notes)' (*DRc C1*)

45⁵-46⁵: sl om (*DRc C1*)

53¹: *m* (*Cp 47*)

57²⁻⁵: sl om (*DRc C1*)

62⁵-63 text: 'our' (*DRc C1*)

65⁴-66² underlay: '-men, A-' (*DRc C1*)

67²⁻³ underlay: '-men, A-' (*DRc C1*)

69⁴: '-men' (*DRc C1*)

70³: 'A-' (*DRc C1*)

1Ct

16²⁻³: sl (*DRc C2*)

39³: *o* (*DRc C2*)

45-47²: omitted (*DRc C2*)

50¹⁻⁴ underlay: 'o-bey (3 notes sl)' (*DRc C2*)

52²-53⁴ underlay: 'thy (2 notes sl), bles- (3 notes sl) -sed' (*DRc C2*)

61⁵: o (*Cp* 49)

68¹: # (*Cp* 49, *DRc* C2)

69⁴⁻⁵ underlay: ‘-men, A-’ (*DRc* C2)

72²⁻³ *sb.* no ‘-men, A-’ (*Cp* 49)

2Ct

21³⁻⁶ text: ‘same’ (4 notes sl) (*DRc* C7)

22²-25 text and underlay: ‘the cir-cum-ci-sion of (2 notes sl?) the same (4 notes sl) Spirit’ (*DRc* C7)

38³-39¹: sl (*DRc* C3, C7)

38⁴: o (*DRc* C3)

59⁴: o (*DRc* C3, C7)

62⁴-63: *sba ma ba* ‘our (2 notes sl) Lord’ (*DRc* C3, C7)

68⁴: *sb* (*DRc* C3, C7)

69¹: *sb* ‘A-’ (*DRc* C3, C7)

70¹⁻² underlay: ‘men, A’ (*DRc* C7)

T

23⁴-24: sl, underlay unclear (*DRc* C14)

33³: *sb* (*DRc* C11)

34³: extra minim rest (*Cu* Ely 28)

37⁴ underlay: ‘-ing (2 notes sl) mor- (*sb*) ti- (*sb.*)-’ (*Cu* Ely 28)

58⁵-61 underlay: ‘our (4 notes sl) Lord, through Jesus Christ our (4 notes sl)’ (*Cu* Ely 28, *DRc* C14, *Lbl* 30479)

63⁴⁻⁵: sl om (*DRc* C14, *Lbl* 30479)

65³-66¹ underlay: ‘-men, A-’ (*DRc* C14, *Lbl* 30479)

69¹⁻²: missing ‘-men, A-’ (*Cu* Ely 28)

71²-72¹: missing ‘-men, A-’ (*Cu* Ely 28)

B

24²-25 underlay: 'the (2 notes sl) Spirit' (*Cp* 33, *DRc* C16, *DRc* C19, *Llp* 784, *Ojc* 180, *Y M29S*)

32²⁻⁵: sl (*DRc* C16, *Y M29S*)

33: *b* '-fied' (*DRc* C16, C19, *Y M29S*)

37¹⁻³: sl (*Cp* 33, *DRc* C16, *Llp* 784, *Ojc* 180)

37²⁻³: sl (*DRc* C19)

38³-39² underlay: 'mor-ti- (4 notes sl)' (*Cp* 33, *DRc* C16, *Y M29S*)

39² underlay: '-fied' (*Llp* 784)

44-47: omitted (*DRc* C16)

54⁵-55¹: sl om (*Llp* 784)

58⁴-59¹: sl om (*Llp* 784)

58⁴-59¹ underlay: 'Christ (2 notes sl) our' (*DRc* C19)

61⁴-62² underlay: 'Christ (2 notes sl) our (2 notes sl)' (*Llp* 784)

61⁵-62²: sl (*Cp* 33, *Ojc* 180)

62²-63 underlay: 'Lord, our (3 notes sl)' (*DRc* C16, C19)

63²⁻³: sl om (*Cp* 33, *Ojc* 180, *Y M29S*)

63²-64 underlay: 'our (sl om) Lord (*b*)' (*Llp* 784)

63³⁻⁴: *b* 'Lord' (*Cp* 33)

65: *b*, missing '-men' (*DRc* C16, C19, *Llp* 784, *Y M29S*)

67⁴⁻⁵ underlay: '-men, A-' (*DRc* C16)

68 text: missing '-men, A-' (*DRc* C16)

69²⁻³ text: '-men, A-' (*DRc* C16, *Y M29S*)

70² text: extra 'A-' (*Y M29S*)

71²⁻³ underlay: '-men, A-' (*DRc* C16, *Y M29S*)

72³-73: extra d, in octaves (*Ojc* 180)

Organ

33: double barline after 3rd minim (*Cu Ely* 1)

57^{iv} rh inner: o (*Cu Ely* 1)

58¹ rh inner: *m* (*Cu Ely* 1)

The Blessed Lamb

M Dec
The bles - sed

1Ct

2Ct

T

B

org

4

MD
lamb,

MC
Can
The bles - sed lamb,

org

6

MD
the ho - ly pro - mised seed, the ho - ly pro - mised

MC
the ho - - ly pro - mised

org

2 9

MD
seed, sent in time's full - ness, sin - ful man to save,

MC
seed, sent in time's full - - ness, sin - ful man to

org

13

MD
for our sins guilt - less, on _____ his Cross _____ did bleed,

MC
save, for our sins guilt - less on his Cross _____ did _____

1Ct
Dec
for our sins guilt - less on his Cross did _____ bleed, did _____

T
Dec
for our sins guilt - less on his Cross, on his Cross did _____

org

17 3

MD
mocked, wound - ed, spit on, scour - ged like a slave,

MC
bleed, mocked, woun - ded, spit on, scour - ged like a slave,

1Ct
bleed, mocked, woun - ded, spit on, scour - ged like a slave,

2CtD

T
bleed, mocked, woun - ded, spit on, scour - ged like a slave, ne -

org
chorus



27 full

M
Ne - ver was sor - row like, ne - ver was sor - row

1Ct
full
ne - ver was sor - row, ne - ver was

2CtD
- ver was sor - row like his sor - row known, was sor -

T
- ver was sor - row like, ne - ver was sor - row like his

B
full
ne - ver was sor - row like his sor - row

org

4 24

M

like his sor - row known, like his sor - row

1Ct

8 sor - row, like his sor - row, ne - ver was sor - row like his

2CtD

8 - row like his sor - row known, was sor - row like his sor - row known, sor -

T

8 sor - row known, nev - er was sor - row like his sor -

B

known, ne - ver was sor - row like his sor -

org

27

M

known, ne - ver was love like his, ne - ver was

1Ct

8 sor - row known, ne - ver was love like to his, by

2CtD

8 - row known, nev - er was love like his by mo - ther

T

8 - row known, ne - ver was love like his by mo - ther

B

- row known, ne - ver was love like his, ne - ver was

org

30 5

M love like his, ne - ver was love like his by mo - ther shown.

1Ct mo - ther__ shown, ne - ver love like his by mo - ther shown.

2CtD shown, nev - er love like__ his, ne - ver like by mo - ther shown.

T shown, was like__ to his by mo - ther shown.

B love like his by mo - ther shown, by mo - - ther shown.

org

34 C

MD His eyes wept tears of blood,

MC His eyes wept

org verse

39

MD his eyes wept tears of blood to see their blind - ness,

MC tears of blood to see their blind - ness,

org

6 44

MD

his heart was pierced with spear, but more with grief.

MC

his heart was pierced with spear, but more with

T

Dec

but more with

org



49

MD

In a - go ny of soul, in a - go - ny of soul, in a - go - ny of soul, for their un -

MC

grief. In a - go - ny of soul, in a - go - ny of soul for their un -

1Ct

Dec

In a - go - ny of soul for their un -

T

grief, with grief. In a - go - ny of soul, for their un -

org

53

MD - kind - ness, that for their Je - sus they should choose a thief. 7

MC - kind - ness, that for their Je - sus, they should choose a thief.

1Ct 8 - kind - ness, that be - fore their Je - sus, they should choose a thief.

T 8 - kind - ness,, that for their Je - sus, they would choose a thief.

org



57 full

M He bore God's wrath, free - ly his life did give, that free -

1Ct full 8 He bore God's wrath, free - ly his life did give, that

2CtD 8 He bore God's wrath, God's wrath, free - ly his life did give, that

T full 8 He bore God's wrath, free - ly his life did give, that freed from sin, that freed

B full He bore God's wrath, free - ly his life did give, that

org chorus

8 61

M
- ed from sin we might not die, that free - ed from sin we might not die but live.

1Ct
free - ed from sin we might not die but live, that freed we might not die but live.

2CtD
freed from sin we might not die but live, that freed from sin we might not die but live.

T
from sin we might not die, that freed from sin we might not die but live.

B
freed from sin we might not die, that freed from sin we might not die but live.

org

66

MD
This

MC
This is the day,

1Ct
Dec
This is the day of bles -

org
verse

70 9

MD is the day of bles - sed me - mo - ry,

1Ct - sed me - - - mo - - - ry,

T Dec O keep it

B Dec O keep it ho - ly

org



73

MD O keep it ho - - ly

MC O keep it ho - ly to the

1Ct

T ho - ly to the Lord our

B to the Lord our King, the

org

10 75

MD to the_ Lord our King, from this

MC Lord our King, the Lord our King, our

1Ct Dec O keep it ho - ly to the_ Lord, to the_ Lord our_

Can O keep it ho - ly to the Lord our_

T King, un - to the Lord our

B Lord our King, from this

org

79

MD death he rose, died, from death he rose_ for sin, for_ sin no more_

MC King, from this death day he rose, from_ death, for_ sin no

1Ct King, from this death day he rose_ for sin no

T King, from this death day he rose, he rose, died,

B death day, he rose, he rose, from death day he rose, he

org

83 11

MD
to die, for sin no more to die,

MC
more to die, for sin no more to die,

1Ct
more to die, no more to die,

T
to whom the host and quire of Heaven

B
rose, no more to die, to whom the host and quire of

org

87

MD
to whom the host and quire of heaven doth sing. Ho - full

MC
to whom the host and quire of Heaven, the quire of heaven doth sing. Ho - full

1Ct
to whom the quire of heaven doth sing,

T
doth sing, the quire of heaven doth sing.

B
Heaven doth sing, doth sing.

org
chorus

12 90

M
- ly, O ho - ly, and the el - ders_ cry, ho - ly, O ho - ly the

1Ct
doth_ sing. Ho - ly, O ho - ly the el - ders cry, ho -

2CtD
Ho - ly, O ho - ly, ho - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly, ho - ly the

T
full
Ho - ly, O ho - ly the_ el - ders cry, ho - ly O

B
full
Ho - ly, O ho - ly, ho - ly O

org

94

M
el - ders cry, the el - ders cry, ho - ly, O ho - ly,

1Ct
- ly, O ho - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly the_

2CtD
el - ders cry, ho - ly, O ho - ly the el - ders_ cry, the el - ders_

T
ho - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly the el - ders ho -

B
ho - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly, ho - ly O

org

98 13

M ho - ly O ho - ly the el - ders cry, ho - ly, O ho - ly the

1Ct el - ders cry, hol - ly the el - ders cry, the

2CtD cry, ho - ly, O ho - ly the el - ders cry, ho -

T - ly, O ho - ly the el - ders cry, ho - ly O ho - ly, ho - ly O

B ho - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly, ho - ly the

org

102

M el - ders cry, the el - ders cry. Bles - sed be the lamb, bles -

1Ct el - ders cry, the el - ders cry. Bles - sed be the

2CtD - ly O ho - ly the el - ders cry, the el - ders cry, the el - ders

T ho - ly, ho - ly, ho - ly the el - ders cry. Bles - sed be the

B el - ders cry, the el - ders cry. Bles - sed be the

org

14 106

M
- sed be the lamb, bles - sed be the lamb, bles - sed be the lamb,

1Ct
lamb, the lamb,

2CtD
cry. Bles - sed be the Lamb, bles - sed be the

T
lamb, bles - sed be the lamb, bles - sed be the

B
lamb, bles - sed be the lamb, the lamb, bles -

org

109

M
bles - sed be the lamb, that for

1Ct
bles - sed be the lamb, bles - sed be the lamb, that for

2CtD
lamb, bles - sed be the lamb, that for the world

T
lamb, that for the world did die,

B
- sed be the lamb, that for the world did

org

112 15

M — the world did die. A - - - - -

1Ct the world did die. A - - - - -

2CtD — did die. A - - - - -

T — did die. A - - - - - men, A -

B die, did die. A - - - - -

org

115

M - men, A - - - - -

1Ct - men, A - - - - -

2CtD - - - - - men, A - - - - - men, —

T - - - - - men, A -

B - - - - -

org

117

M

1Ct

2CtD

T

B

org

men.
men, A - - - - - men.
A - - - - - men.
men, A - - - - - men.
men, A - - - - - men.

The Blessed Lamb

Textual commentary

Sources

Cp 47, p. 112: MD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 34, p. 111: MC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 39, p. 121: 1CtD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 49, p. 106: 1CtC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 48, p. 70: 2CtD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 38, p. 115: BD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Cp 33, p.109: BC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C1, p. 104: MC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C2, p. 43: 1Ct; attrib 'M^r Edmond Hooper'
DRc C3, p. 32: 2CtD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C7 (1st fascicle), p.23: 2Ct; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C11, p. R107: TD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C14, p. 25: TC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C16, p. 313: BD; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc C19, p. 359; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
DRc A2, p. 329: org; unattrib
DRc A6, p. 279: org; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
GL CM001 (EECM: SECM 93), p85: BC; attrib 'M^r Hooper'
Lbl Add. MS 30478, p. 317 (EECM 161): TC, attrib 'Mr Hooper'
Lbl Add. MS 30479, p. 310 (EECM 154): TC, attrib 'Mr Hooper'
Llp MS 764, f131v: BC; unattrib
Ob Tenbury 791, p. 121: org; attrib 'Hooper'
Ob Tenbury 1184, p. 247: sc; attrib 'Hooper'
Och MS Mus. 56, p.1; C; attrib. 'Edmund Hooper'
Och MS Mus. 57, p.1; Q; attrib. 'Edmund Hooper'
Och MS Mus. 59, p.1; Ct; attrib. 'Edmund Hooper'
Och MS Mus. 60, p.1; T; attrib. 'Edmund Hooper'
Y MS 29(S), p.333: B; attrib 'M^r Hooper'

Notes

1. The organ sources are reproduced together in a comparison score.
2. *Och* MS Mus. 56-60 are an approximately contemporary version for voices and viols.
3. *Ob* Tenbury 1184 is a 19th-century edition.

Transcriptions of these follow directly after this textual commentary; variants are therefore not listed below.

4. *DRc* C7 (1st fascicle), listed on EECM as 1CtC,⁴⁹⁴ contains 2Ct music.
5. *DRc* C2, described as a 1CtD partbook,⁴⁹⁵ contains the 1CtC music.

Variants

Inscriptions: 'Anthem for Good fryday' (*Cp*); 'Good ffryday' (*DRc*, *Y*), 'Good friday' (*Lbl*), 'The Blessed Lambe' (*GL*, *Llp*, *Ob*).

Key signatures

Y MS 29 (*S*) has a key signature of two flats.

M

25¹⁻⁴: sl om, 'known, his sorrow' (*DRc* C1)

26⁵-27²: sl om 'known, sorrow' (*DRc* C1)

52¹: o (*DRc* C1)

55² text: 'would' (*Cp* 34)

60³-61²: *m m* 'fre-ed' (*DRc* C1)

62⁴-63³: *b-rest sb.a' sbd''* 'that freed' (*DRc* C1)

74³⁻⁵: sl om (*DRc* C1)

74⁴-75¹: sl (*DRc* C1)

83²⁻³: sl om (*DRc* C1)

85⁴: o (*Cp* 34)

⁴⁹⁴ <https://eecm.tcd.titlesincipits/2096>, accessed 27 April 2024.

⁴⁹⁵ Crosby, *Catalogue*, 35-36

90⁴⁻⁵: *sb* (*DRc* C1)

99³⁻⁴: *sl om* (*Cp* 34, *DRc* C1)

102³-103¹: *sb m* (*DRc* C1)

108⁴-109¹: *the* (5 notes *sl*) *lamb* (*DRc* C1)

110⁵⁻⁸: *sl* (*DRc* C1)

1Ct

25¹-27: *sbd' sbc' mc' sbc' mbflat sba c.b[natural] qc' cd' cg* 'known, like his sor-row (6 notes *sl*)' (*DRc* C2)

25¹-27: *sbd' sbc' mc' sbc' mb[flat] sba c.b[natural] qc' cd' cg* 'known, like his so-(6 notes *sl*)-row' (*Cp* 49)

29²⁻⁴ underlay: 'like (3 notes *sl*)' (*DRc* C2)

59²-60² underlay: 'his (*sl om*) life did (2 notes *sl*)' (*DRc* C2)

62³⁻⁴: *c. q* (*Cp* 49)

62⁵: *o* (*DRc* C2)

64²-65²: 'from sin we (*sbd'*) might' (*DRc* C2)

63⁶⁻⁷: *sl om* (*Cp* 39)

94⁴-95¹ underlay: 'ho-ly (2 notes *sl*)' (*DRc* C2)

97⁶-98 underlay: 'the el-ders (3 notes *sl*)' (*DRc* C2)

102²⁻⁴: *sl om* (*Cp* 39)

103⁴: *o* (*DRc* C2)

103³: [*natural*] (*Cp* 39)

103⁴: *#* (*Cp* 39)

107⁴-108²: *sl* (*Cp* 39)

113-end: *DRc* C2 reads as follows:



117²-118¹ underlay: '-men' on 118¹, not 117² (*Cp* 49)

2Ct

20³-23¹: *m.f' cf me' md' md' md' sba mf mg sb.a* 'Never was sorrow like his sorrow known' (Cp 48)

21⁵: *c'* (DRc C7); note unclear – could be *md'* or *cc'* (DRc C3)

24⁵-26⁴ underlay: 'so- (7 notes sl, with 25⁴-26¹ *m.*) -row' (DRc C3)

25²-26⁴ text: 'like his so-(with 26⁴-27¹ *m.*) -row (3 notes sl)' (DRc C7)

26⁶-27³ text: 'his sorrow' (DRc C3, C7)

27⁴-30¹ text: 'Never was sorrow like his sorrow known' (DRc C3)

28⁴-30¹ text: 'sorrow like his sorrow known' (DRc C7)

33²⁻³: sl (DRc C7)

62²⁻³: *c. q* (DRc C3, C7)

96²-97¹ underlay: '-ders (5notes sl) cry' (DRc C3, C7)

102⁶: om (DRc C7)

103 text: 'O holy' (DRc C7)

106⁵-108⁵ underlay: 'the (2 notes sl) Lamb (2 notes sl?), underlay unclear thereafter. (DRc C3)

106⁵-108 underlay: 'the (2 notes sl) Lamb, bles-(2 notes sl) -sed be the (4 notes sl)' (DRc C7)

114¹⁻² underlay: '-men, A-' (DRc C3)

114⁵-115¹ underlay: '-men, A-' (DRc C3, C7)

115³: o; extra 'A-' in text (DRc C3, C7)

117²-118² underlay: '-men (2 notes sl), A' (DRc C3, C7)

T

14⁴ text: 'the' (DRc C11)

15³ text: 'the' (DRc C11)

24¹⁻³: sl om, underlay unclear (LbI 30478)

51⁶: *c* (DRc C11)

60²⁻³: sl om (DRc C14)

87² text: 'do' (DRc C11)

105 underlay: 'be the (4 notes sl) (DRc C14), with 104⁴ a (LbI 30478, 30479)

109³: *d* (LbI 30478)

111²⁻⁴: sl 111²⁻³ only, underlay unclear. (LbI 30479)

113⁴: extra 'A-' (*DRc* C14),

114²⁻³ underlay: 'men, A-' omitted (*DRc* C14, *Lbl* 30478, 30479)

118⁵⁻⁶ underlay: 'men, A-' (*DRc* C14, *Lbl* 30478, 30479)

B

28²: o (*DRc* C19)

28⁴-29¹ text: 'sorrow like' (*DRc* C16)

29³: b flat (*Llp* 764)

61³⁻⁴: *m m* (*Llp* 764)

63-64: variants as follows:

Cp 38
that freed from sin we might not

Cp 33
CM 001
Llp 764
that fre - ed from sin we might not

DRc C16, C19,
Y M29 (S)
that freed from sin we might not

78³-79¹ text: 'this day' in both line 1 and line 2 (*DRc* C16, C19)

78⁴-80¹: text 'this day he rose, he rose/this day he died, he died' (*DRc* C19)

79²-80¹ text line 2: 'he died, he died' (*DRc* C16)

81²⁻³ text: 'this day' in both line 1 and line 2 (*DRc* C16, C19)

81⁴-83¹: text line 2: 'he died, he died' (*DRc* C16, C19)

86³⁻⁴: *c. q* (*DRc* C16, C19, Y M29(S))

87⁵: o (*DRc* C16)

87² text: 'do' (Y M29(S))

87⁴-89¹ underlay: 'do (2 notes sl) sing, do (2 notes sl) sing' (Y M29(S))

103¹: o (*Cp* 38)

105²: o (Y M29(S))

105⁴⁻⁶ text: 'the lamb, the', sl om (*DRc* C16, C19, Y M29(S))

107²-108¹ text: 'the' (*Cp* 33)

107⁴-108¹: text missing (*Llp* 764)

112³: d (*DRc* C19, *GL* CM001, *Y* M29(S))
 114¹⁻² text: ‘-men, A-’ (*Y* M29(S))
 114-115³ underlay: ‘-men, A- (2 notes sl) -men, A-’ (*DRc* C16)
 115¹⁻² underlay: ‘-men, A-’ (*Cp* 33, *GL* CM001, *Llp* 764)
 115³: o (*DRc* C19)
 115³⁻⁴ underlay: ‘-men, A-’ (*DRc* C19)
 116⁶ underlay: ‘-men, A-’ (3 notes sl) (*DRc* C16)
 117-118¹ underlay: missing ‘-men, A-’ (*DRc* C19, *Llp* 764)
 118² text: repeated ‘A-’ (*Y* M29(S))
 119¹: d (*GL* CM001); additional d (*Cp* 33)

O

9¹ rh lower: [natural] (*DRc* A2)
 85⁴ rh lower: o (*DRc* A2)
 99⁴ rh upper: o (*DRc* A2)
 110⁶ rh upper: o (*DRc* A2)

The Blessed Lamb

Organ comparison

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6

The first system of the score shows the first three measures of the piece. Each version is represented by a grand staff (treble and bass clef). The DRc A2 and DRc A6 versions are identical, while Tenbury 791 has a different bass line in the second measure.

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6

The second system of the score shows measures 4 through 6. Each version is represented by a grand staff (treble and bass clef). The DRc A2 and DRc A6 versions are identical, while Tenbury 791 has a different bass line in the fifth measure.

7

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6



11

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6

15

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6



19

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6

23

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6



26

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6

30

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6



34

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6

39

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6



44

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6

49

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6



52

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6

55

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6



59

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6

63

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6



67

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6

70

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6



73

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6

77

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6



81

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6

85

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6



88

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6

91

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6



95

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6

98

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6



101

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6

105

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6



108

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6

111

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6



114

DRc A2

Tenbury 791

DRc A6

116

DRc A2

Musical score for *DRc A2*, measures 116-120. The score is written for piano in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The right hand features a melodic line with eighth and quarter notes, while the left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and single notes. Measure 116 starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Tenbury 791

Musical score for *Tenbury 791*, measures 116-120. The score is written for piano in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The right hand features a melodic line with eighth and quarter notes, while the left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and single notes. Measure 116 starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

DRc A6

Musical score for *DRc A6*, measures 116-120. The score is written for piano in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The right hand features a melodic line with eighth and quarter notes, while the left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and single notes. Measure 116 starts with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

The Blessed Lamb

Consort version

Edmund Hooper
c.1553-1621

First system of musical notation for the Consort version of "The Blessed Lamb". It features five staves: C (Cantus), Q (Quintus), Ct (Cantus Tenor), T (Tenor), and B (Bass). The music is in C major, 4/4 time, and begins with a common rest. The vocal parts enter with a melodic line, while the instrumental parts provide a harmonic foundation.

Second system of musical notation, starting at measure 4. It includes the same five staves (C, Q, Ct, T, B) and continues the vocal and instrumental parts. The lyrics "The bles - sed Lamb, The" are written below the vocal staves. The music concludes with a final cadence.

2 6

C

bles - sed Lamb, the ho -

Q

the ho - ly pro - mised seed, the

Ct

8

T

8

B

9

C

- ly pro - mised seed, sent in time's full - - ness

Q

ho - ly pro - mised seed, sent in time's full - - ness, sin - ful

Ct

8

T

8

B

13 3

C sin - ful man to save, for our sins guilt - less on _____ his cross_

Q man to save, for our sins guilt - less, on his cross_

Ct for our sins guilt - less on his did_

T for our sins guilt - less, guilt - less on his

B

17

C _____ did bleed, mocked, woun - ded, spit on, scour - ged like _____

Q _____ did _____ bleed, mocked, _____ woun - ded, spit on, scour - ged

Ct bleed, did _____ bleed, _____ mocked, woun-ded spit _____ on, scour-ged as _____

T cross did bleed, mocked, woun - ded, spit on, scour - ged as _____

B

4 27

C a slave. Ne - ver was sor - row

Q as a slave. Ne - ver was sor - row like his known, ne -

Ct a slave. Ne - ver was sor - row like his known,

T a slave. Ne - ver was sor - row like his sor - row

B ne - ver was sor - row

24

C like, ne - ver was sor - row like his sor - row known,

Q - ver was sor - row like his sor - row known, like

Ct ne - ver was sor - row like his known, like

T known, ne - ver was sor - row

B like his sor - row known, ne - ver was sor - row like

6 34

C

shown.

Q

- ther shown. His eyes wept tears of blood,

Ct

— shown.

T

mo - shown.

B

shown.

39

C

His eyes wept tears of blood, to see their

Q

his eyes wept tears of blood to see their

Ct

T

B

44 7

C blind - ness. His heart was pierced with spear, but__

Q blind - ness, his heart was pierced with spear, but more with grief.

Ct

T but

B

49

C __ more with grief. In a - go-ny of soul, in a - go-ny of soul, in a - go-ny of

Q in a - go - ny of soul, in a - go - ny of

Ct in a - go-ny of

T more with_ grief. in a - go-ny of

B

8 53

C soul for their un - kind - ness, that for their Je - sus they should choose a thief.

Q soul for their un - kind - ness that for their Je - sus they should choose a thief.

Ct soul for their un - kind - ness that for___ their Je - sus they should choose a___ thief.

T soul for their un - kind - ness, that for___ their___ Je - sus they should choose a thief.

B

57

C He bore God's wrath, free - ly his life did give, that fre -

Q He bore_ God's wrath, he bore God's wrath, free - ly his life did give, free -

Ct He bore_ God's mirth, free - ly his life_____ did_____ give, free -

T He bore God's wrath, free - ly his___ life his life did give, that fre -

B He bore God's wrath, free - ly his life_____ did give, that

61 9

C - ed from sin we might not die but live, that freed we

Q - ly his life did give, that freed from sin we might not die

Ct - ly did give that fre-ed from sin we might not die but

T - ed from sin we might not die, fre - ed from sin we might not die

B freed from sin we might not die, that freed from sin we might not

65

C might live. This

Q but live. This is the day

Ct live. This is the day of bles -

T but live.

B die but live.

10 70

C is the day of bles - sed me - mo - ry,

Q of bles - sed me - mo - ry.

Ct - sed me - mo - ry,

T

B

73

C O, keep it ho - - ly

Q O keep it ho - ly to the

Ct

T

B

75 11

C to the_ Lord our King. From

Q Lord our_____ King, un - to the Lord our King_____

Ct O keep it ho - ly to the_____ Lord, to the_____ Lord our_____

T O keep it hol - ly to the Lord, ho - ly to the

B from

79

C death he_____ rose, from death he_____ rose,_____ no_____ more_____

Q _____ from death he_____ rose, he_____ rose, no_____

Ct _____ King. From death he_____ rose,_____

T Lord. From death he_____ rose, from death_____

B death he rose, he rose, from death he rose,_____

12 82

C for sin to die, for sin to

Q more for sin to die, no more for sin to

Ct no more to die,

T he rose, he rose, no more to die, to

B he rose, no more to die, to

86

C die, to die, to whom the host and quire of heaven, the quire of

Q die, to whom the host and quire of heaven

Ct to whom the host and quire of

T whom the host and quire of Heaven do sing, do

B whom the host and quire of Heaven doth sing, doth

89 13

C heaven do sing. Ho - ly, o ho - ly the El - ders

Q do sing. Ho - ly, O ho - ly, ho - ly, ho - ly O

Ct heaven do sing. do sing. Ho - ly, O ho - ly ho -

T sing, do sing. Ho - ly ho - ly, ho - ly ho - ly ho -

B sing. Ho - ly, O ho - ly, ho - ly, ho -

93

C cry, ho - ly, o ho - ly, ho - ly, o ho - ly the an - gels

Q ho - ly and the an - gels cry, ho - ly the an - gels cry, bles -

Ct - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly and the an - gels cry, bles -

T - ly, O ho - ly and the an - gels cry, the an - gels cry,

B - ly, O ho - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly, and the an - gels cry,

14 97

C
cry. Bles - sed be the Lamb, the Lamb, bles - sed be the

Q
- sed be the Lamb, bles - sed be the Lamb, bles - sed be the Lamb the

Ct
- sed be the Lamb, that for the world did die, bles - sed be the Lamb

T
the an - gels cry, bles - sed be the Lamb,

B
the an-gels cry, bles - sed be the Lamb, the Lamb, bles - sed be the Lamb

101

C
Lamb, the lamb, that for the world did die. A - -

Q
Lamb that for the world did die. A - -

Ct
that for the world did die. A - men,

T
that for the world did die. A - -

B
for the world did die. A - -

The Blessed Lamb (Tenbury 1184)

M Dec
The bles - sed

1Ct

2Ct

T

B

org

4

MD Lamb

MC Can
The bles - sed lamb,

org

6

MD the ho - ly pro - mised seed, the ho - ly pro -

MC the ho - ly pro - mised

org

9

MD seed sent in time's full - ness, sin - ful men to save,

MC seed, sent in time's full - - ness, sin - ful men to

org



13

MD for our sins guilt - less, on _____ his Cross _____ did bleed,

MC save, for our sins guilt - less on his Cross _____ did _____

1Ct Verse
for our sins guilt - less on the Cross _____ did bleed, did

T Verse
for our sins guilt - less on the Cross, on the Cross did _____

org

17

MD
mocked, wound - ed, spit on, scour - ged as _____ a slave,

MC
bleed, mocked, _____ woun - ded, spit on, scour - ged as a slave,

1Ct
bleed _____ mocked, wound-ed, spit _____ on, scourged as _____ a slave,

2Ct
Chorus
Ne -

T
bleed, mocked, woun - ded, spit on, scour - ged like _____ a slave, ne -

org

21 [Chorus]

M
Ne - ver was sor - row like, ne - ver was sor - row

1Ct
Chorus
ne - ver was sor - row, ne - ver was

2Ct
- ver was sor - row like his sor - row known, was sor -

T
- ver was sor - row like, ne - ver was sor - row like his

B
Chorus
ne - ver was sor - row like his sor - row

org

24

M like his sor - row known, his sor - row known, like his sor-row known, sor -

1Ct sor - row, like his sor - row known, like his sor - row

2Ct - row like his sor - row known, like his sor - row known, his

T sor - row known, nev - er was sor - row like his sor -

B known, ne - ver was sor - row like his sor -

org

27

M - row known, ne - ver was love like his, ne - ver was

1Ct known, ne - ver was love like his, by

2Ct sor - row, nev - er was sor - row like his sor - row

T - row known, ne - ver was love like his by mo - ther

B - row known, ne - ver was sor - row like, ne - ver was

org

30

M love like his, ne - ver was love like his by mo - ther shown.

1Ct mo - ther_ shown, ne - ver love like his by mo - ther shown.

2Ct known, nev - er love like_ his, ne - ver like by mo-ther_ shown.

T shown, was like_ to his by mo - - ther shown.

B love like his by mo - ther shown, by mo - - ther shown.

org

34

MD His eyes wept tears of blood,

MC His eyes wept

org

39

MD his eyes wept tears of blood to see their blind - ness,

MC tears of blood to see their blind - ness,

org

44

MD

his heart was pierced with spear, but more with, more with grief, with

MC

his heart was pierced with spear, but____ more with

T

Verse

but more with_

org



49

MD

grief. In a - gony of soul, in a - go-ny of soul, in a - go-ny of soul, for their un -

MC

grief. In a - go - ny of soul, in a - go-ny of soul for their un -

1Ct

Verse

In a - go-ny of soul for their un -

T

Verse

grief, with____ grief. In a - go-ny of soul, for their un -

org

53

MD kind - ness, that for their Je - sus they should choose a thief. He bore

MC kind - ness, that for their Je - sus, they should choose a thief.

1Ct kind - ness, that for their Je - sus, they should choose a thief. He

2Ct

T kind - ness,, that for their Je - sus, they would choose a thief. He

B

org

Chorus

Chorus

He

Chorus

He

57

M God's wrath, free - ly his life did give,

1Ct bore God's wrath, free - ly his life did

2Ct bore God's wrath, God's wrath, free - ly his life did

T bore God's wrath, free - ly his life did give, that freed from

B bore God's wrath, free - ly his life did

org

60

M

that freed from sin we might not die, that freed

1Ct

give, that freed from sin we might not die but live,

2Ct

give, that freed from sin we might not die but live, that

T

sin, that freed from sin we might not die, that freed from

B

give, that freed from sin we might not die, that freed

org

63

M

— from sin we might not die but live.

1Ct

that freed from sin we might live.

2Ct

freed from sin we might not die but live.

T

sin we might not die but live.

B

— from sin we might not die but live.

org

66

MD

MC

1Ct

org

This is the day,

This

Verse

This is the day of bles -

70

MD

MC

1Ct

T

B

org

of bles - sed me - mo - ry,

is the day of bles - sed me - mo - ry,

- - - sed me - mor - ry,

Verse

O keep it

Verse

O keep it ho - ly

73

MD

O keep it ho - ly to the Lord our King

MC

O keep iy ho - ly to the Lord our King, the

1Ct

O keep it ho - ly to the

2Ct

O keep it ho - ly

T

ho - ly to the Lord our King, un -

B

to the Lord our King, the Lord our King,

org

77

MD

this day he died this day he died, _

MC

Lord our King, our King, this day death he died, he _
from death re rose, he _

1Ct

Lord, _ to the Lord _ our King,

2Ct

to the Lord, Lord _ our King, this

T

-to the Lord our King, this day he he

B

this day he died, he died,

org

81

MD
for sin no more to die, for sin no more

MC
died rose for sin no more to die, for sin no more

2Ct
day he died no more for sin to die, for sin to

T
died, rose, he he died rose for sin no more to

B
this day he died, he died no more to

org

85

MD
to die, for sin to die, to whom the host and

MC
to die, to whom the host and

1Ct
to

2Ct
die,

T
die to whom the host and quire of Heaven doth sing, the

B
die, to whom the host and quire of Heaven doth sing, do

org

88 Chorus

MD quire of heaven do sing. Ho - ly, O ho -

MC quire of Heaven, the quire of heaven do sing.

1Ct whom the host and quire of heaven do sing,

2Ct Ho - ly, O full

T quire of heaven do sing. Ho -

B sing.

org

91

M - ly, the el - ders cry, ho - ly, O ho - ly the el - ders cry, the

1Ct full Ho - ly, O ho - ly the el - ders cry, ho - ly, O ho - ly

2Ct ho - ly, ho - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly, ho - ly the el - ders cry, ho -

T - ly, O ho - ly the el - ders cry, ho - ly O ho - ly, ho - ly O

B full Ho - ly, O ho - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly,

org

95

M el - ders cry, ho - ly, O ho - ly, ho - ly O

1Ct ho - ly O ho - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly the el ders

2Ct - ly, O ho - ly the el - ders cry, el - ders cry, ho -

T ho - ly the el - ders ho - ly, O ho - ly the

B ho - ly O ho - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly,

org



99

M ho - ly the el - ders cry, ho - ly, O ho - ly the el - ders cry,

1Ct cry, hol - ly the el - ders cry, the el - ders

2Ct - ly, O ho - ly the el - ders cry, ho - ly O ho - ly the

T el - ders cry, ho - ly O ho - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly, ho - ly, ho -

B ho - ly O ho - ly, ho - ly the el - ders cry,

org

103

M the el - - ders cry. Bles - sed be the Lamb, bles -

1Ct cry, the el - ders cry. Bles - sed be the

2Ct el - ders cry, the el - ders cry, the el - ders

T - ly the el - ders cry. Bles - sed be the

B the el - ders cry. Bles - sed be the Lamb, the

org



106

M - sed be the Lamb, bles - sed be the Lamb, bles - sed be the

1Ct Lamb, the Lamb, bles - sed be the lamb,

2Ct cry. Bles - sed be the Lamb, bles - sed be the

T Lamb, bles - sed be the Lamb, bles - sed be the

B Lamb, bles - sed be the Lamb, the Lamb, bles -

org

109

M
Lamb, bles - sed be the Lamb that for

1Ct
bles - sed be the Lamb, bles - sed be the Lamb that for

2Ct
Lamb, bles - sed be the Lamb that for the world

T
Lamb that for the world did die,

B
- sed be the Lamb that for the world did

org



112

M
the world did die. A - - - - -

1Ct
the world did die. A - - - - - men, A -

2Ct
did die. A - - - - - men,

T
did die. A - - - - - men, A -

B
die, did die. A - - - - - men, A -

org

116

M
men, A - - - - -

1Ct
- - - - - men, A - - - - -

2Ct
A - - - - - men, A - - - - -

T
- - - - - men, A -

B
- men, A - - - - -

org



118

M
- - - - - men.

1Ct
- - - - - men, A - - - - - men.

2Ct
- men, A - - - - - men.

T
- - - - - men, A - - - - - men.

B
men, A - - - - - men.

org

A fruitful branch of Jesse

M Dec
[A fruit - ful

1Ct

2Ct

T

B

org



MD 5 branch

MC Can
[A fruit - ful branch

org

6

MD of Jes - se's bliss - ful stem, of Jes - se's bliss - ful

MC of Jes - - se's bliss - ful

org

9

MD stem this day did bud and forth a blos - som bring,

MC stem this day did bud and forth a blos - som

org

13

MD which sent a Sa - viour sweet from high - est heaven

MC bring, which sent a Sa - viour sweet from high - est

1Ct [which sent a Sa - viour sweet from high - est heaven, high - est

T [which sent a Sa - viour sweet from high, sweet from high - est

org

17

MD and cured the wounds re - ceived by Sa - tan's sting.

MC heaven and cured the wounds re - ceived by Sa - tan's sting.

1Ct heaven and cured the wounds re - ceived by Sa - tan's sting.

2CtD

T heaven and cure the wounds re - ceived by Sa - tan's sting. Ne - full

org



27 full

M Ne - ver did blos-som yield, ne - ver did blos - som

1Ct full

2CtD - ver did blos-som yield so sweet a smell, did blos -

T - ver did blos - som yield, ne - ver did blos - som yield so

B full

org

24

M

yield so sweet a smell, yield so sweet

1Ct

blos-som yield so sweet, nev - er did blos-som yield so

2CtD

- som yield so sweet a smell, did blos - som yield so sweet a smell, sweet

T

sweet a smell, ne - ver did blos - som yield so sweet

B

smell, ne - ver did blos-som yield so sweet

org



27

M

a smell, ne - ver was pre - cious balm, ne - ver was

1Ct

sweet a smell, ne - ver was pre - cious balm that

2CtD

a smell, ne - ver was pre - cious balm that cured so

T

a smell, nev - er was pre - cious balm that cured so

B

a smell, ne - ver was pre - cious balm, ne - ver was

org

30

M pre - cious balm, ne - ver was pre - cious balm that cured so well.

1Ct cured so well, ne - ver pre - cious balm that cured so well.

2CtD well, nev - er pre - cious balm, ne - ver pre-cious balm that cured so well.

T well, was pre - cious balm that cured so well.

B pre - cious balm that cured so well, that cured so well.

org

34

MD To bruise the ser - pent's head,

MC To bruise the

org

39

MD to bruise the ser - pent's head, the seed most bles - sed

MC ser - pent's head, the seed most bles - sed

org

44

MD of wo - man pro - mi - sed this day was born.

MC of wo - man pro - mi - sed this day was

T Dec this day was

org

Detailed description: This block contains the musical score for measures 44 through 48. It features four staves: MD (Mezzo Soprano), MC (Mezzo Contralto), T (Tenor), and org (Organ). The MD part has the lyrics 'of wo - man pro - mi - sed this day was born.' The MC part has 'of wo - man pro - mi - sed this day was'. The T part has 'Dec this day was'. The organ part provides a harmonic accompaniment. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C).



49

MD A Li - on strong from Ju - da, a Li - on strong from Ju - da, a Li - on strong from

MC born. A Li - on strong from Ju - da, a Li - on strong from

1Ct Dec A Li - on strong from

T born, was born. A Li - on strong from

org

Detailed description: This block contains the musical score for measures 49 through 53. It features five staves: MD (Mezzo Soprano), MC (Mezzo Contralto), 1Ct (First Contralto), T (Tenor), and org (Organ). The MD part has the lyrics 'A Li - on strong from Ju - da, a Li - on strong from Ju - da, a Li - on strong from'. The MC part has 'born. A Li - on strong from Ju - da, a Li - on strong from'. The 1Ct part has 'Dec A Li - on strong from'. The T part has 'born, was born. A Li - on strong from'. The organ part provides a harmonic accompaniment. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C).

52

MD
Ju - da's house dis - tress - sed, this day came forth, by whom hell-gates were torn.

MC
Ju - da's house dis - tress - sed, this day came forth, by whom hell - gates were torn.

1Ct
Ju - da's house dis - tress - sed, this day came forth, by whom hell-gates were torn.

T
Ju - da's house dis - tress - sed, this day came forth, by whom hell - gates were torn.

org



56

M *full*
O bles - sed seed, hon - our to thee we give, O Li -

1Ct *full*
O bles - sed seed, hon - our to thee we give, O

2CtD
O bles - sed, bles - sed seed, hon - our to thee we give, O

T *full*
O bles - sed seed, hon - our to thee we give, O Li - on stout, O Li -

B *full*
O bles - sed seed, hon - our to thee we give, O

org

60

M - on stout, tri - umph and ev - er live, O Li - on stout, tri - umph and ev - er live.

1Ct Li - on stout, tri - umph and ev - er live, O Li - on tri - umph, ev - er live.

2CtD Li - on stout, O tri - umph and ev - er live, O Li - on, tri - umph and ev - er live.

T - on, tri - umph and ev - er live, O Li - on, li - on stout and ev - er live.

B Li - on stout, tri - umph, O Li - on stout, tri - umph and ev - er live.

org



65

MD Dec This

MC Can This is the day,

1Ct Dec This is the day of bles -

org

69

MD is the day of bles - sed me - mo - ry,

1Ct - sed me - - - mo - - - ry,

T Dec O keep it

B Dec O keep it ho - ly

org



72

MD O keep it ho - - ly

MC O keep iy ho - ly to the

1Ct

T ho - ly to the Lord our

B to the Lord our King, the

org

74

MD to the_ Lord our King, who

MC Lord our King, the Lord our King, our

1Ct O keep it ho - ly to the_ Lord, to the_ Lord our

Can O keep it ho - ly to the Lord our

T King, un - to the Lord our

B Lord our King, who

org

78

MD came from heaven, who came from heaven_ that we, that_ we to heaven

MC King, who came from heaven, who_ came that_ we to

1Ct King, who came from heaven_ that we to

T King, who came from heaven, from heaven

B came from heaven, from heaven, who came that we to

org

82

MD might fly, that we to heaven might fly,

MC heaven might fly, that we to heaven might fly,

1Ct heaven might fly, to heaven might fly,

T to whom the host and choir of Heaven

B heaven to heaven might fly to whom the host and choir of

org



86

MD to whom the host and choir of heaven doth sing. Ho

MC to whom the host and choir of Heaven, the choir of heaven doth sing.

1Ct to whom the choir of heaven doth sing,

T doth sing, the choir of heaven doth sing.

B Heaven doth sing, doth sing.

org

89

M ly, O ho - ly, and the el - ders_ cry, ho - ly, O ho - ly the

1Ct doth_ sing. *full* Ho - ly, O ho - ly the el - ders cry, ho -

2CtD Ho - ly, O ho - ly, ho - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly, ho - ly the

T *full* Ho - ly, O ho - ly the_ el - ders cry, ho - ly O

B *full* Ho - ly, O ho - ly, ho - ly O

org

93

M el - ders cry, the el - ders cry, ho - ly, O ho - ly,

1Ct - ly, O ho - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly the_

2CtD el - ders cry, ho - ly, O ho - ly the el - ders_ cry, the el - ders_

T ho - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly the el - ders ho -

B ho - ly, ho - ly O ho - ly ho - ly O

org

97

M

ho - ly O ho - ly the el - ders cry, ho - ly, O ho - ly the

1Ct

el - ders cry, hol - ly the el - ders cry, the

2CtD

cry, ho - ly, O ho - ly the el - ders cry, ho -

T

- ly, O ho - ly the el - ders cry, ho - ly O ho - ly, ho - ly O

B

ho - ly ho - ly O ho - ly, ho - ly the

org

101

M

el - ders cry, the el - ders cry. Bles - sed be the lamb, bles -

1Ct

el - ders cry, the el - ders cry. Bles - sed be the

2CtD

- ly O ho - ly the el - ders cry, the el - ders cry, the el - ders

T

ly O ho - ly the el - ders cry, the el - ders cry, the el - ders

B

El - ders cry, the El - ders cry, Bles - sed be the

org

105

M
- sed be the lamb, bles - sed be the lamb, bles - sed be the lamb, bles -

1Ct
lamb, the lamb, bles - sed be the lamb,

2CtD
cry. Bles - sed be the Lamb, bles - sed be the lamb, bles - sed

T
lamb, bles - sed be the lamb, bles - sed be the lamb, bles -

B
Lamb, bles - sed be the Lamb, bles - sed be the

org

109

M
- sed be the Lamb, bles - sed e - ter - nal - ly.

1Ct
bles - sed be the Lamb, bles - sed e - ter - nal - ly.

2CtD
be the Lamb, the Lamb, bles - sed e - ter - nal - ly

T
-sed e - ter - nal - ly.

B
Lamb, bles - sed e - ter - nal - ly.

org

112

M

A - - - - - men,

1Ct

A - - - - - men, A - -

2CtD

A - - - - -

T

A - - - - - men, A - - - - -

B

A

org

115

M

A - - - - - men.]

1Ct

- - - - - men, A - - - - - men.]

2CtD

men, A - - - - - men.]

T

men, A - - - - - men, A - - - - - men.]

B

men, A - - - - - men.]

org

The Blessed Lamb - consort version

Textual commentary

Sources

Och Mus. 56, p. 1: C; attrib 'Edmund Hooper'

Och Mus. 57, p.1: Q; attrib 'Edmund Hooper'

Och Mus. 59, p.1: Ct; attrib 'Edmund Hooper'

Och Mus. 60, p.1: T; attrib 'Edmund Hooper'

Notes

The B partbook is missing and is given here in an editorial reconstruction, using the vocal line and organ part as guidance.

Variants

29⁴ C: note value obscured in score

31⁴ C: o

96³⁻⁴ C text: 'Elders'

106⁶ Q: o

103 C, Q, T: *sb sb-rest*

The Blessed Lamb - Tenbury 1184

Textual commentary

Source

Ob MS Tenbury 1184, p. 247: sc, attributed 'Hooper'

Variants

MD

8^{iii-iv}: pencilled in score, with a comment 'right'

70⁵: k

MC

15-16: tie om

M

96-97 – up a third in score

107⁶: *b* pencilled in score

1Ct

14⁴: *b*

55³⁻⁴: *m m*

T

58: naturals crossed out in light pencil (also in O)

O

11^{iv} rh lower: *e'*, crossed out and amended in pencil to *f'*

26ⁱⁱⁱ rh middle: tied to next note

62 lh upper, final *c*: *b* pencilled into score

64 rh upper: *c''*

75² rh lower: *b*

109ⁱⁱⁱ rh upper: *f'*; rh lower *d'*

110^{iv} rh lower: additional *cd'*

A fruitful branch of Jesse

Textual commentary

Sources

Lcm 1051, p. 91: BC, attrib 'Ed Hooper'

Ojc MS 181, f.154v: BC, attrib 'Edmonde hooper'

Variations

60³-61² BC, underlay: 'stout, tri-', with 60³ *m. c* (*Ojc*)

62²⁻³ BC: *sb* (*Lcm* and *Ojc*)

63¹ BC: *m m* (*Lcm* and *Ojc*)

105²-107¹ BC underlay: 'bles-sed be the (2 notes sl) Lamb, the (2 notes sl)' (*Ojc*)

110²⁻⁵ BC underlay: 'be (2 notes sl) e- (2 notes sl)' (*Ojc*)

116-117¹ BC: no '-men, A-' (*Ojc*)

118 BC: note doubled up an octave (d) (*Ojc*)

Remember not

Voice parts editorially reconstructed

M

Dec

Re - mem - ber not, O Lord

org

ver

5

MD

our old i - ni - qui -

MC

Re - mem - ber not, O Lord

our old i - ni - qui -

org

9

MD

ties, but let thy mer - cy spee - di - ly pre - vent

MC

ties,

org

12

MD

us, spee - - di - ly pre -

MC

but let thy mer - cy spee - di - ly pre - vent us,

org



15

MD

- vent, spee - di - ly pre - vent us, for

MC

spee - di - ly pre - vent us, pre-vent us, pre-vent us,

1Ct

for

2Ct

for

T

for

B

for

org

cho

19

M

we be mis - - era - ble, mi - se - ra - - ble.

1Ct

we be ve - ry mis - era - ble, mi - se - ra - - ble.

2Ct

we _____ be ve - - ry mi - se - ra - ble.

T

we be ve - - ry mi - se - ra - ble.

B

we be ve - - ry mi - se - ra - ble.

org

vers



23

1Ct

Help us God our Sa - viour,

2Ct

Help us God our Sa - viour, and

org

27

MD

MC

1Ct

2Ct

org

and for the glo - ry of thy name,

and for the glo-ry of thy

and for the glo - ry of thy name,

for the glo - ry of thy name,



31

MD

MC

1Ct

2Ct

org

name,

the glo - ry of thy

the glo - ry of thy name,

34

MD

MC

1Ct

2Ct

B

org

full

the glo - ry of thy name, de -

the glo - - ry of thy name,

name,

de -

de -

cho

37

M

1Ct

2Ct

T

B

org

- li - ver us de - li - - ver us.

de - li - ver us, de - li - - ver us.

- li - ver us, de - li - ver us, de - li - ver us.

de - li - ver us, de - li - - ver us.

- li - ver us, de - li - ver us, de - li - ver us.

41 vers

MD Be mer - ci - ful un and - to us, for - give

MC Be mer - ci - ful un and - to for -

1Ct Be mer - ci - ful un and - to for - us, give, un and -

T Be mer - ci - ful un and - to us, for - give,

org vers

45

MD for - give our sins, for

MC us, give, for thy nam'e

1Ct - to us, for - give

T for - give our sins, for thy name's sake,

org

49

MD thy name's sake. for - give our sins for thy name's

MC sake, for - give our sins for thy name's

T for - give our sins, for thy name's sake, for thy name's

org

Detailed description: This block contains the musical score for measures 49 through 52. It features four staves: MD (Men's Duet), MC (Men's Chorus), T (Tenor), and organ. The MD and MC parts have lyrics. The organ part provides accompaniment. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). Measure 49 starts with a treble clef and a key signature change to B-flat. Measure 52 ends with a sharp sign indicating a key change for the next system.

53

MD sake. Let not the wic - ked peo -

MC sake. Let not the wic - ked peo -

T sake. Let not the wic - - ked

org

Detailed description: This block contains the musical score for measures 53 through 55. It features four staves: MD, MC, T, and organ. The MD and MC parts have lyrics. The organ part provides accompaniment. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). Measure 53 starts with a treble clef and a key signature change to B-flat. Measure 55 ends with a sharp sign indicating a key change for the next system.

56

MD - ple say, where is thy God, where is thy God, where

MC - ple say, where is thy God, where

T where is thy God,

org

Detailed description: This block contains the musical score for measures 56 through 59. It features four staves: MD, MC, T, and organ. The MD and MC parts have lyrics. The organ part provides accompaniment. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). Measure 56 starts with a treble clef and a key signature change to B-flat. Measure 59 ends with a sharp sign indicating a key change for the next system.

59

MD *full*
is thy God? We be thy peo - ple, we be thy

MC
is thy God?

1Ct
where is thy God? We be thy peo - ple

2Ct
We be thy peo - ple, thy peo - ple, thy

T
where is thy God? We be thy peo - ple,

B
We be thy peo - ple, and

org *cho*

63

M
peo - ple, and the sheep of thy pas - ture, the sheep of thy

1Ct
we be thy peo - ple, and the sheep of thy pas - ture, sheep of thy

2Ct
peo - ple, we be thy peo - ple, and the

T
and the sheep of thy pas - ture, the sheep of thy pas - ture,

B
the sheep of thy pas - ture, the sheep of thy pas - ture, and the

org

67

M
pas - ture, and the sheep, and the sheep, the sheep of

1Ct
pas - ture. and the sheep, and the sheep, the

2Ct
sheep of thy pas - ture,

T
and the sheep of thy pas - - ture, the

B
sheep of thy pas - ture

org

71

M
thy pas - ture. We be thy peo - ple

1Ct
sheep of thy pas - ture. We be thy

2Ct
and the sheep of thy pas - ture, of

T
sheep of thy pas - - ture, thy pas - ture,

B
and the sheep of thy pas - ture,

org

75

M and the sheep of thy pas - ture. We shall give thanks

1Ct peo - ple and the sheep of thy pas - ture. We shall give

2Ct thy pas - ture. We shall give thanks un - to

T and the sheep of thy pas - ture. We

B of thy pas - ture. We

org

79

M un - to thee for ev - er, we shall give thanks un - to

1Ct thanks un - to thee for ev - er, we shall give thanks

2Ct thee for ev - er, for ev - - - er,

T shall give thanks un - to thee, un - to thee for ev - er, we

B shall give thanks un - to thee for ev - er, give thanks un -

org

83

M

thee for ev - er. we shall give thanks un - to thee, un -

1Ct

un - to thee for ev - er, we shall give thanks un - to thee, un -

2Ct

for ev - er, thanks un - to thee, we shall give thanks un -

T

shall give thanks un - to thee, un - to

B

- to thee for ve - er, we shall give thanks un - to thee for

org



87

M

- to thee for ev - er.

1Ct

- to thee for ev - er.

2Ct

- to thee for ev - er.

T

thee for ev - er.

B

ev - - - er.

org

vers

91

MD

From age to age

MC

we____ shall set forth thy

1Ct

we shall set

2Ct

T

we shall set forth thy laud and

B

we shall set forth thy laud and praise, we____

org

95

MD

we____ shall set forth thy laud and praise, thy laud_ and praise. ↗

MC

laud and praise, thy laud_ and praise.

1Ct

forth thy laud and praise, . we____ shall set forth thy laud_ and praise,

2Ct

we shall set forth, we shall set forth thy praise. world

T

praise, world_

B

____ shall set forth thy laud and praise, world_

org

cho

99 full

M world with-out end, world with-out end. A -

1Ct world with-out end, world with-out end. A - - -

2Ct with - out end, world with-out end, world with-out end. A - - -

T - with-out end, world with - out end, world with - out end. A -

B - with-out end, world with - out end, world with - out end. A -

org



103

M men, A - - - - men, A - - - - men.

1Ct - - - - men, A - men, A - - - - men.

2Ct men, A - - - - - - - - - - men.

T - men, A - - - - men, A - - - - men.

B - - - - - - - - - - men, A - - - - - men.

org

Remember not

Textual commentary

Sources

Ob MS Tenbury 791, f125r; org, attrib 'Hooper'.

Variants

9³ rh upper: o

28³ rh inner: o

29⁴ lh: [flat]

31^{iv} rh: [flat]

51^{iv} rh upper: [flat]

60⁴ rh inner: o

87² rh outer: o

99^{iv} lh inner: o

99^{iv} rh middle: o