The Baroque Concertato in England, 1625–*c*.1660

Volume I of II

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Synopsis

English *concertato* music of the seventeenth century has remained a relatively neglected area of musicological scholarship and has yet to receive the attention it deserves. More specifically, the period between the death of William Byrd (1540–1623) and the rise of Henry Purcell (1659–1695) remains something of a historiographical lacuna and is often disparaged for the decline in English musical standards. It is demonstrated in this dissertation, however, that in certain Royalist and court-related circles English composers were conversant in the *stile nuovo* and remained absolutely up-to-date with the latest Italian methods of composition. An attempt is made to construct a paradigm of influence that can be used profitably when considering the appropriation and assimilation of the techniques of the *stile nuovo* by English composers. The first composer to be examined in this dissertation is Richard Dering (1580–1620), who should be considered the progenitor of small-scale *concertato* music in England. The chief pioneer of Italianate sacred music in mid-seventeenth-century England, however, was George Jeffreys (1610–1685), who has been marginalised by traditional constructions of English music history. It is hoped that this dissertation is, in part, remedial, drawing attention to the significant achievements made by Jeffreys, while simultaneously promoting English *concertato* music. In the latter part of this dissertation the music of William Child (1606/7–1697), Henry Lawes (1596–1662) and William Lawes (1602–1645), Walter Porter (*c*.1587/*c*.1595–1659), and John Wilson (1597–1674) is considered in a series of case studies, all of whom demonstrate Royalist allegiances and a commitment to the *stile nuovo*. The complexities of the political and religious concerns of the period are also highlighted and detailed alongside the music of these composers.

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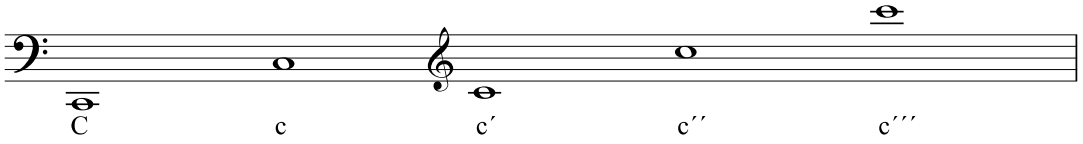
Abbreviations

C.	canto/cantus
Tr.	treble
A.	alto/altus
T.	tenor
B.	bass/basso/bassus
Q.	quinto/quintus
b.c.	basso continuo
Org.	organ
Add.	Additional (British Library MSS)
b(b).	bar(s)
c.	*circa* (about)
ed.	edited by
edn.	edition
f(f).	folio(s)
FH	Finch-Hatton MSS (Northamptonshire Record Office)
fl.	*floruit* (flourished)
Mad. Soc.	Madrigal Society (manuscripts housed in the British Library)
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
Mus. Sch.	Music School (Bodleian Library MSS)
n.d.	no date given
n.p.	no place of publication
NRO	Northamptonshire Record Office
Op.	*Opus*
p(p).	page(s)
PRO	Public Record Office, London
rev.	revision / revised
trans.	transcribed
vol(s).	volume(s)

Library Sigla

Dm	Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin, Ireland
Lam	Royal Academy of Music, London, England
Lbl	British Library, London, England
Lcm	Royal College of Music, London, England
Ob	Bodleian Library, Oxford, England
Och	Christ Church, Oxford, England

Pitch Notation



Musical Examples

Musical examples that have been taken from published volumes are indicated with a footnote citing bibliographical details. Musical examples without reference have been taken from my own transcriptions and can be consulted in full in Volume II of this dissertation.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

> The most splendid of your entertainments, is your love of the excellent Artificers, and Works: wherewith in either Art both of Picture and Sculpture you have adorned your Palaces, that Italy (the greatest Mother of Elegant Arts) or at least (next the Grecians) the principal Nursery may seem by your magnificence to be translated into England.[1]

John Wotton's panegyric, addressed to King Charles I on the eve of the First Civil War (1642–1646), demonstrates a royal proclivity for Italian art, encapsulating the enthusiasm for, and commitment to, a progressive court culture, which maintained a vociferous interest in contemporary Italian artistic developments. Charles I was the most celebrated English collector of art and his queen consort, Henrietta Maria (herself half Italian), shared his predisposition for works of art by Italians. The Caroline court as a whole actively promoted and encouraged the acquisition and collection of works by painters and sculptors such as Titian, Tintoretto, Caravaggio, Schiavone, and Bassano. This Royal interest in Italian culture was not restricted exclusively to Italian art but extended to music. Jonathan Wainwright has commented that 'in certain (probably court-related) circles, the phenomenal interest in Italian music shown by Elizabethan patrons and musicians continued unabated into the seventeenth century'.[2] Indeed, the central aim of this dissertation is to demonstrate that a progressive musical culture existed in pre-Commonwealth England, whereby the latest compositional techniques featured in contemporary Italian music were appropriated and assimilated. Through a series of case studies of English composers who held court appointments, or who moved in court-related circles, the continued influence of Italian music is revealed. It is argued that George Jeffreys (*c.*1610–1685)

[1] 'A Panegyrick to King Charles', *Reliquiae Wottoniae* (London, 1651), in Chaney, E., 'The Italianate Evolution of English Collecting', *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, ed. Edward Chaney (Yale, 2003), 59.

[2] Wainwright, J. P., *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)* (Aldershot, 1997), 197.

was the most progressive composer of this period and that his compositional language is indebted to the *stile concertato* with which he was so familiar.

The interest shown in Italian music by English patrons and musicians of the seventeenth century was not an isolated phenomenon, but part of a larger historical trend. A taste for Italian music in England is evident from at least the reign of Henry VIII (1509–1547), who was an enthusiastic patron of music and who was responsible for the employment of Italian musicians at his court.[3] One musician worthy of note is the Venetian friar and organist Dionysus Memo (*fl*.1509–1537), who was employed by Henry VIII between 1516 and *c*.1519.[4] Memo was the first organist of St. Mark's, Venice from 1507 to 1516 and according to the reports of the Venetian ambassador, Giustiniani, Memo was triumphant at the English court.[5] This account may be corroborated by the fact that 'through the offices of Henry VIII he was released from his monastic vows, given a chaplaincy by the king and made "chief of his instrumental musicians"'.[6] It would appear that already by this point in history the English had located a source of musical talent in Italy that would be utilized in the future as appreciation of the Italian manner grew exponentially. Moreover, employed at the Henrician court were members of the Bassano family and members of the Lupo family, descendants of whom were still active in the Restoration court, such as Henry Bassano (1597–1665) at the court of Charles II (1630–1685, reigned 1660–1685). Like Memo, these two families were recruited from Venice. One further related group of musicians to arrive at the Henrician court, recruited in Venice by Edmond Harvel, included Albert, Francisco, Paul, and Vincent [Kellim] (de Venice). Peter Holman confirms that the Kellims were recruited

[3] Please refer to the Appendix for a list of Italian musicans who were active at the English court during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[4] Ashbee, A., et al., 'Memo, Dionysus', *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485–1714*, II (Aldershot, 1998), 797–799.
[5] Ward, J. M., 'Memo [Memmo], Dionisio', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 21 October 2010).
[6] *Ibid*.

'to satisfy Henry VIII's desire for foreign musicians to grace his Court'.[7] Albert and Vincent Kellim were paid as members of Henry VIII's group of six viols/violins from 1 May 1540 at 12d a day each.[8] The six-man consort comprised, in varying composition, members of both the Lupo and Kellim families. The innovations and trends established by Henry VIII at his Court had long-lasting implications; Holman has commented, 'the reign of Henry VIII set the pattern for music at Court for the next hundred years and beyond'.[9] The six-man string consort established by Henry VIII in 1540 can be seen as a precursor of Charles II's Twenty-four Violins and is an example of an enduring Henrician foundation.[10]

English musicians likewise travelled around Europe and, with growing ultramontanism, established during the Elizabethan era, Italy remained a requisite for musicians interested in the avant-garde. Diana Poulton has suggested that John Dowland (1563–1626), the highly revered lutenist and composer, would have 'undoubtedly met Caccini during his visit to Florence in 1595'.[11] His son, Robert Dowland (*c.*1591–1641) was an anthologist and lutenist, and his *Musicall Banquet* (London, 1610) is a collection of English, French, Italian and Spanish songs. Four of the songs contained in Dowland's *Musicall Banquet* are, specifically, Italian monodies: Caccini's *Amarilli mia bella* and *Dovró dunque morire?*, Melli's *Se di farmi morire*, and an Anonymous *O bella pipiù* (*recte O bella più*). Nicholas Lanier (1588–1666) was another English court composer and lutenist who visited Italy regularly from the second decade of the

[7] Holman, P., in Ashbee, A., et al., *Op. cit.*, 643. See also Izon, J., 'Italian Muscians at the Tudor Court', *The Musical Quarterly*, 44/3 (1958), 329–337; Westrup, J. A., 'Foreign Musicians in Stuart England', *The Musical Quarterly*, 27/1 (1941), 70–89; Mabbett, M., 'Italian Musicians in Restoration England (1660–90), *Music and Letters*, 67/3 (1986), 237–247.
[8] Holman, P., in Ashbee, A., et al., *Op. cit.*, 643.
[9] Holman, P., 'Music at the Court of Henry VIII', *Henry VIII: A European Court in England*, ed. D. Starkey (London, 1991), 106.
[10] *Ibid*., 106.
[11] Poulton, D., *John Dowland* (London, 1982), 36 in Walls, P., 'The Origins of English Recitative', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 110 (1983–84), 37.

seventeenth century, in varying capacities, although primarily as a musician and artist, and particularly from Charles I's accession in 1625. Upon composing the music for Ben Jonson's (1572–1637) masque *Lovers Made Men* (1617), Lanier was credited by Jonson, in the printed text of 1640, as introducing the 'stylo recitativo' into England.[12]

By the time of Queen Elizabeth I's reign (1558–1603) interest in Italian music had grown extraordinarily. Thomas Morley (1557/8–1602) was a leading champion of Italian musical forms and 'laid down the foundation for the English madrigal school that emerged in the last years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I'.[13] Italian vocal music published in Venice and Antwerp was readily available in England, often arriving within months of it being printed. By the 1580s demand for Italian vocal music was such that it warranted the publication of the first Elizabethan anthology containing English translations of Italian madrigals, the first volume of Nicholas Yonge's *Musica transalpina* (London, 1588).[14] Following Yonge's anthology a number of similar volumes were published in London, including Thomas Watson's *First Sett, of Italian Madrigalls Englished* (1590), Yonge's second volume of *Musica transalpina* (1597), and Morley's *Canzonets, or Little Short Songs to Foure Voyces: selected out of the Best and Approved Italian Authors* (1597) and *Madrigals to Five Voyces: selected out of the Best Approved Italian Authors* (1598).[15] The phenomenal interest in Italian music shown by Elizabethan patrons and musicians did not subside but continued inexorably into the seventeenth century. Similarly, the most up-to-date Italian music of the 1620s and 1630s was readily

[12] Spink, I., 'Lanier: (2) Nicholas Lanier (ii)', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 6 November 2010).
[13] Charteris, R., 'Newly Identified Italian Madrigals Englished', *Music and Letters*, 63/3/4 (1982), 276. See also Kerman, J., *The Elizabethan Madrigal: a Comparative Study* (New York, 1962).
[14] Charteris, R., 'Newly Identified Italian Madrigals Englished', *Music and Letters*, 63/3/4 (1982), 276.
[15] *Ibid*., 276.

available via the London bookseller Robert Martin.[16] One of his known customers, Sir Christopher Hatton III proves to be something of a fulcrum in the dissemination of Italian music, both printed and manuscript, in seventeenth-century England. Hatton's interest in Italian music and his patronage of musicians are made clear in a later part of this dissertation.

One of the longest-serving musicians at the English court was the Italian composer and lutenist Angelo Notari (1566–1663), who, before leaving Italy for England, was a member of the Venetian Accademia degli Sprovisti.[17] In 1610, Notari entered the household of Prince Henry, and by 1618 he was in the service of Prince Charles. Notari remained in the service of Charles when he became king in 1625 and remained nominally one of the 'Lutes and Voices' of Charles II, in whose service he died.[18] Notari's *Prime musiche nuove* was published in London in 1613 and contains settings of Italian poems in a variety of styles: monody (*Ahi, che s'acresce in me*), romanesca variations (*Piangono al pianger mio*), canzonetta (*Girate, occhi*), chamber duet (*Intenerite voi*), and divisions on Rore's madrigal *Ben quì si mostra.*[19] The preface to *Prime musiche nuove* makes reference, in English, to the *trillo*, which is described as 'a kinde of sweetnes in your voice'—the symbol for which he gives as 'the letter "t" ether with one or two notes'.[20] Ian Spink declares, 'undoubtedly this book was an important vehicle for the introduction of the more advanced Italian styles into England'.[21] Tim Carter amplifies this view, asserting that Notari's *Prime musiche nuove* 'clearly influenced other English composers

[16] See Krummel, D. W., 'Venetian Baroque Music in a London Bookshop: the Robert Martin Catalogues, 1633–50', *Music and Bibliography: Essays in Honour of Alec Hyatt King*, ed. O. Neighbour (London, 1980), 1–27; Wainwright, J. P., *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)* (Aldershot, 1997); Wainwright, J. P., 'The Musical Patronage of Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)' (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1993), i, Appendix III.

[17] Spink, I., 'Notari, Angelo', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 21 October 2010). See also Henson, S. M., 'Foreign Songs for Foreign Kings: The Manuscript Scorebook of Angelo Notari' (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2012).

[18] Spink, I., *Op. cit.*, 'Notari, Angelo'.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] *Ibid.*

attempting to emulate Italian styles (such as Henry and William Lawes)'.[22] The influence of Italian music on William Lawes (1602–1645), in particular, was profound. David Pinto has written that 'the distinctive voice of William Lawes … represents the understanding at its fullest of the Italian *seconda pratica* among English composers in the reign of Charles I, up to 1642: the household musician George Jeffreys is the only other convert as total'.[23]

The fact that Notari's *Prime musiche nuove* was published in London, rather than in Venice, Rome or Florence, may well have been to Notari's advantage. In England this publication 'was unique and remained so'.[24] Had the book been published in one of the musical centres in Italy there would have been a danger of it paling into insignificance. Notari's *Prime musiche nuove* can be seen as one of the many contributing factors towards the acceptance of the Italian style.[25] Perhaps of equal significance is Notari's scorebook (*Lbl* Add. MS 31440), which is a compilation/personal collection of music by Italian composers, composed between *c.*1600 and 1643.[26] This manuscript, and parts of *Och* Mus. 878–80 (both dating from soon after 1643) contain works by Monteverdi and various monodists, and possibly pieces by Notari himself.[27] Wainwright presents the argument that Notari may well have been connected with Christopher Hatton III and that a number of the printed copy-sources used by Notari (*Och* Mus. 798, *Och* Mus. 926–30, *Och* Mus. 881–86) were probably once part of the Hatton collection.[28] It is interesting to observe that both Richard Dering and Walter Porter, both of whom are considered

[22] Carter, T., 'Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque', *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, eds. T. Carter and J. Butt (Cambridge, 2005), 18.
[23] Pinto, D., 'Lawes, William', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 20 October 2010).
[24] Spink, I., 'Angelo Notari and his "Prime Musiche Nuove"', *The Monthly Musical Record*, 87 (1957), 169.
[25] *Ibid*., 169.
[26] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 192. See also Willetts, P. J., 'Autographs of Angelo Notari', *Music and Letters*, 50/1 (1969), 124–126; Willetts, P. J., 'A Neglected Source of Monody and Madrigal', *Music and Letters*, 43/4 (1962), 329–339.
[27] Spink, I., *Op. cit.*, 'Notari, Angelo'.
[28] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 193.

in this dissertation, were colleagues of Notari at court where his *Prime musiche nuove* proved to be 'an important vehicle for the introduction of Italian progressive music into English court circles', and that 'there are many similarities with Porter's *Madrigales and Ayres* in the variety and styles of music in the collections'.[29]

Between 1651 and 1684, the publisher, bookseller, and vicar-choral of St Paul's Cathedral, John Playford (1623–1686/7), dominated the music publishing trade (then virtually confined to London).[30] His 1664 edition of *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* is of significance because it includes an abridged translation of Caccini's treatise on Italian vocal practice.[31] Giulio Romolo Caccini (1551–1618) was an Italian composer, singer, singing teacher, and instrumentalist who is particularly famed for his 'epoch-making volume of solo song with basso continuo, and essay prefacing it',[32] *Le nuove musiche* (1602). Caccini's essay is a manifesto of the new Italian style of solo song composed in the latter decades of the sixteenth century, Carter noted that:

> His songs had been composed at various times from the mid-1580s onwards, and had been circulating in manuscript at the hands of unscrupulous performers who knew nothing about graceful singing. He claimed the aesthetic high ground for a style of song in which 'one could almost speak in tones ['favellare in armonia'], employing in it a certain noble negligence of song ['una certa nobile sprezzatura di canto']'—the important term 'sprezzatura' derives from Castiglione—and he also referred to new styles of canzonetta writing inspired by the poetry of Chiabrera.[33]

Playford's efforts made Caccini's innovations readily available to an English audience and suggest that there was still demand for a publication that was by then over sixty years old.

[29] Wainwright, J. P., ed., 'Walter Porter: Collected Works' (forthcoming).
[30] Dean-Smith, M, Temperley, N., 'Playford: (1) John Playford (i)', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 2 November 2010).
[31] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 198.
[32] Carter, T., et al., 'Caccini: (1) Giulio Romolo Caccini', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 25 October 2010).
[33] *Ibid*.

The dissemination of Italian music in the seventeenth century was widespread and far-reaching. Just as Dowland and other English musicians travelled to Italy, becoming aware of the latest compositional developments and returning to England showing signs of influence, so too did other European composers. For example, Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672) visited Venice on two extended visits, encountering both Giovanni Gabrieli (*c.*1554-7–1612) and Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643). The Danish court of King Christian IV had strong links with Italy and the composers Mogens Pedersøn (*c.*1583–1623) and Hans Nielsen (1580–1626) both travelled to Venice to study with Giovanni Gabrieli. Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548–1611) studied and worked in Rome before he returned to Spain, taking back with him Italian techniques that were to become established in Spain and the New World.[34] Italian musicians also travelled to other European countries besides England: Giovanni Gabrieli to Munich in the mid-1570s; Luca Marenzio (1553/4–1599) to Poland in 1596–98; Giulio Caccini to France in 1604–5.[35] Carter's statement that, 'with these musicians travelled music and performance practices, acting as catalysts for stylistic transmission and influence, and as a prompt for musical miscegenation',[36] encapsulates the sentiment of this dissertation.

A Note on Analytical Terminology

The music considered in this dissertation dates from the early Baroque period, when the decline of polyphony and the medieval modal system had long been underway. Although the beginnings of a functional harmonic system started to emerge around the turn of the seventeenth century,

[34] Carter, T., *Op. cit.,* 'Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque', 18.
[35] *Ibid.*, 18.
[36] *Ibid.*, 18.

modern tonality was not fully established until late in that century.[37] Such music belies 'a dichotomy between modal melody and harmony on the one hand and functional harmony and tonality on the other'.[38] The 'transitional' nature of such music is problematic to musiclologists since no analytical system or terminology exists that can deal with and describe adequately these competing antagonistic elements. It is difficult to decide when modal or tonal terminology is more appropriate and, in some cases, passages of music may be viewed profitably from both perspectives. A number of scholars have made attempts to provide systematic analytical methodologies to music of the seventeenth century,[39] but this is not the place for an examination of these systems. The analytical terminology employed in this dissertation is solely descriptive and the primary concern remains intelligibility to the modern-day reader.

[37] For details about seventeenth-century music theory, see, *inter alia*, Herrisone, R., *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2000).

[38] Kurtzman, J., *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance* (Oxford, 2000), 187.

[39] See Dahlhaus, C., *Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality* (Oxford, 1990); Meier, B., *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony* (New York, 1988); McClary, S., 'The Transition from Modal to Tonal Organization in the Works of Monteverdi' (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1976); Chafe, E., *The Tonal Language of Monteverdi* (New York, 1992).

Chapter 2: Influence

Although not necessarily a concept readily identified with musicology, a central concern of this dissertation, whether implicit or explicit, is that of influence. The purpose of this chapter is to explore various paradigms of influence that have been advanced in musical and literary scholarship, assessing their suitability for adoption in my work. For the purpose of this dissertation, it is essential to outline precisely what constitutes influence and to devise a framework from which it can be determined. Admittedly, the question of influence is a thorny issue to address because it is seemingly intangible and to prove it definitively is improbable. Moreover, difficult questions have to be asked, usually without any conclusive answer. For example, in relation to Italian influence on English sacred music of the seventeenth century, Wainwright raises the following questions: when do foreign influences end and personal styles begin, and when do foreign elements become assimilated into the native English idiom?[1] However, the appropriation of a particular framework of influence, or more likely a synthesis of frameworks, will assist in presenting a plausible case for the influence of Italian music on the compositional styles of the composers considered in this dissertation, especially George Jeffreys.

The literary theorist Harold Bloom (1930–) is of seminal importance to any discussion of influence for his book, *The Anxiety of Influence*,[2] marked the beginning of scholarship into this area and, has itself, been highly influential. Bloom attempts to provide a theoretical strategy for the identification of influence in relation to the precursor, comprising six revisionary ratios:[3]

[1] Wainwright, J. P., *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)* (Aldershot, 1997), 156.
[2] Bloom, H., *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (Oxford, 1973).
[3] *Ibid.*, 14–16.

1. Clinamen: the poetic misreading or misprision proper
2. Tessera: completion and antithesis
3. Kenosis: a movement towards discontinuity with the precursor
4. Daemonization: a movement towards a personalized Counter-Sublime, in reaction to the precursor's Sublime
5. Askesis: a movement of self-purgation which intends the attainment of a state of solitude
6. Apophrades: the return of the dead, i.e. as though the later poet himself had written the precursor's characteristic work.

Bloom's theory is heavily rooted in the philosophy of Nietzsche whom he regards as 'the prophet of the antithetical'.[4] The study Bloom draws on in particular is Nietzsche's *Genealogy of Morals,* commenting that it 'is the profoundest study available to me of the revisionary and ascetic strains in the aesthetic temperament'.[5] Similarly, Bloom's theory is indebted to the psychoanalysis of Freud whose 'investigations of the mechanisms of defence and their ambivalent functionings provide the clearest analogues I have found for the revisionary ratios that govern intra-poetic relations'.[6]

For Bloom, poetic misprision involves the study of the life-cycle of the poet-as-poet since the profundities of poetic influence cannot be reduced to source study, to the history of ideas, or to the patterning of images.[7] Rather, the analogy can be made between the relationships of poets to the Freudian family romance, where success as a poet is achieved through parricide: 'to live, the poet must misinterpret the father, by the crucial act of misprision, which is the re-writing of the father'.[8] To become great, poets must wrestle with their great precursors and overcome the anxiety of influence; otherwise they pale into insignificance as weak. A further tenet that runs through the work of Bloom is the post-structuralist concept of intertextuality, asserting that

[4] *Ibid.*, 8.
[5] *Ibid.*, 8.
[6] *Ibid.*, 8.
[7] *Ibid.*, 7.
[8] Bloom, H., *A Map of Misreading* (New York, 1975), 19.

literature is self-referential. Essentially, texts are defined through their relationships to other texts, referring not to the world at large but to other texts.[9] Bloom contends that 'there are no texts ... but only relationships between texts'.[10]

Although Bloom's work is grounded in literature, the theory he expounds has been developed by music theorists, most notably by Kevin Korsyn and Joseph Straus. Korsyn's 'Towards a New Poetics of Musical Influence'[11] and Straus' *Remaking the Past*[12] can be seen as 'attempts to provide a more theoretically focussed understanding of influence'.[13] The idea of intertextuality is funadamental to the theory advanced by Korsyn who, in the opening of his 'Towards a New Poetics', writes:

> These pages unfold a theory of intertextuality in music, proposing a model for mapping influence, which, by usurping conceptual space from the literary criticism of Harold Bloom, also swerves towards a new rhetorical poetics of music.[14]

Korsyn makes the argument that understanding history involves more than assembling an aggregate of facts and, that in light of this, accumulating data by observing similarities between pieces is simply not enough. Instead, he insists that models are required to explain which similarities are significant, while being able to account for differences among works. Korsyn takes as his point of departure Charles Rosen's article 'Influence: Plagiarism and Inspiration'[15] which suggests that Brahms' Scherzo Op. 4 is derived fairly directly from Chopin's Scherzo Op. 31. For Korsyn, Rosen's suggestion begs a catalogue of questions:

> Is Brahms here quoting a Chopin scherzo? Is he quoting a Chopin waltz? Or is he quoting both, is his idea a conflation of the two? These questions suggest others. Are these deliberate allusions or accidental resemblances? Are both composers alluding to common sources? (Perhaps folk songs

[9] Taruskin, R., 'Revising Revision', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 46/1 (1993), 114.
[10] Bloom, H., *Op. cit.*, *A Map of Misreading*, 3.
[11] Korsyn, K., 'Towards a New Poetics of Musical Influence', *Music Analysis*, 10/1–2 (1991), 3–72.
[12] Straus, J., *Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition* (London, 1990).
[13] Beard, D., Gloag, K., *Musicology: The Key Concepts* (London, 2005), 91.
[14] Korsyn, K., *Op. cit.*, 3.
[15] Rosen, C., 'Inluence: Plagiarism and Inspiration', *19th Century Music*, 4/2 (1980), 87–100.

> or popular tunes?) More importantly, what role should these relationships play in our encounter with a piece? Finding such relationships is not difficult; every experienced listener probably hears such intertextual echoes to some degree. But what meaning should we ascribe to them? Should we amplify these whispers, or ignore them? Are they too obvious for comment? (As Brahms once said, 'Any ass can see that!') Or are they screens concealing some deeper relationship?[16]

These questions, Korsyn contends, can only be resolved with a theory of intertextuality and that conceptual clarity becomes even more imperative when considering the inherent historical narrative of intertextuality.

Korsyn appropriates Bloom's model of influence, deliberately misreading him, replacing poetry with music. Korsyn finds justification for his usurping of Bloom in a comment made by Walter Pater—Bloom's own precursor—who urged that 'all art constantly aspires towards the condition of music'.[17] The transposition of Bloom's theory into musical terms is as follows:

> The meaning of a composition can only be another composition, a composition not itself, and not the meaning of the other piece, but the otherness of the other piece, manifested not only through the presence of the precursor-piece, but also through the precise figurations of its absence.[18]

In order to demonstrate, not the truth of the above statement, but its usefulness in beginning to understand musical influence, Korsyn provides an inter-reading of Brahm's Romanze, Op. 118, No. 5 and, what he considers to be its precursor-text, Chopin's Berceuse, Op. 57. Before invoking Bloom's revisionary ratios, Korsyn begins by outlining the obvious connections—conspicuous allusions—between the two pieces, which he believes is a 'very self-conscious sort of allusion'.[19] Following the revelation of connections at the surface level he continues by asking if these outward allusions signal a deeper preoccupation with a precursor-piece, conceding that the boundary between conscious and subliminal allusion cannot

[16] Korsyn, K., *Op. cit.*, 4.
[17] Pater, W., in Korsyn, K., *Op. cit.*, 12.
[18] Korsyn, K., *Op. cit.*, 14.
[19] *Ibid.*, 22.

be precisely drawn.[20] In order to explore the deeper relations Korsyn draws upon a range of theories including those by Schenker, Schoenberg, Narmour, and others.

For reasons of scope and space, I will provide a single example of the way in which Korsyn uses the theory of Bloom, synthesized with musical theory, to reach a conclusion about musical influence between the aforementioned pieces by Brahms and Chopin. Korsyn concludes that, following Schoenberg's conception of the *Grundgestalt* and Schenkerian notions of prolongation and reduction, Bloom's revisionary ratio of *tessera* best describes the relationship between Chopin's variation theme and that of the Romanze:

> Brahms's quotation from the Berceuse does not signal homage; rather it is a *tessera*, an antithetical completion that aims to convert the Berceuse into a commentary on the Romanze. Brahm's retains his precursor's terms, but uses them in a different sense ...[21]

Korsyn argues further that Brahms is attempting to persuade the listener (and himself) that his discourse is more whole, more complete, than the 'truncated' discourse of his precursor, emphasising the correspondence of part and whole: his motive is a microcosm for the entire theme; since variations are primarily repetitions, the theme is a microcosm for the whole variation set.[22] Ultimately, the Brahms that is truly Brahms is the Brahms that is not Chopin. Brahms' presence is located precisely because of Chopin's absence; it has no independent essence.[23]

While Straus' *Remaking the Past* engages with Bloom's theory, his work can be distinguished from Korsyn through his consideration of a wider music perspective and context.[24] Korsyn's approach is microscopic, concentrating assiduously on specific relationships whereas Straus

[20] *Ibid.*, 22.
[21] *Ibid.*, 26.
[22] *Ibid.*, 27.
[23] Taruskin, R., *Op. cit.*, 123.
[24] Beard, D, Gloag, K., *Op. cit.*, 92.

adopts a telescopic methodology, considering the movement of modernism. Straus draws on the composers synonymous with modernism, such as Berg, Webern, and Schoenberg, and attempts to highlight the relationship of their music with the traditional tonality of a past historical epoch. Straus' fundamental premise is that modernist music can be seen to subsume and dominate the past, clearly echoing the revisionism of Bloom. The concept of misprision is an inherent feature of Straus' work but, through development, Bloom becomes increasingly irrelevant. By way of confirmation, Taruskin points to Straus' third proposition in the preliminary paraphrase of his ideas, confirming his deviation:[25]

> The struggle between new poems and their precursors takes the form of misreading. Later poets wilfully misinterpret their predecessors in a process analogous to repression in Freudian psychoanalytical theory.[26]

Moreover, Straus discards Bloom's six revisionary ratios and replaces them with his own, attempting to define general style characteristics and technical procedures rather than measuring the relationship between particular works.[27] Straus' conceptual swerve away from Bloom is demonstrated most clearly in his avoidance of precursors, as is his inclusion of quotations and arrangements into the discussion of influence.

Providing a concise account of the complex theories of Bloom, Korsyn, and Straus has involved a great degree of reduction and simplification. While this overview is not intended to be comprehensive, it is hoped that the theories explored have not been over-simplified or misrepresented. However, for reasons that will be made clear, the theories thus far detailed are incongruous with the concerns of this dissertation.

[25] Taruskin, R., *Op. cit.*, 126.
[26] Straus, J., *Op. cit.*, 12.
[27] Taruskin, R., *Op. cit.*, 127.

Bloom's theory of influence and its musical derivatives are thought provoking, intellectually stimulating, and useful in proposing models for determining influence. It is my contention, however, that deconstructionist philosophy and psychoanalysis are too far removed from the concerns of seventeenth-century England. Bloom himself is concerned only with post-Enlightenment poetry and, similarly, Korsyn deals with composers of the Romantic period, while Straus is later still with the composers associated with modernism of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Furthermore, the Nietzschean philosophy in which the *Anxiety of Influence* is rooted considerably post dates the early- and mid-seventeenth century. I think that applying the methods proposed by Bloom, Korsyn, and Straus, while feasible and potentially fruitful, is an anachronistic step too far. The imposition of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century philosophical and psychoanalytical thought on the music of the composers central to this dissertation is a distortion of historical perspective, and would require an interminable intellectual adventure.

Moreover, Bloom's theory is predicated on the battle between the strong and weak, celebrating the strong while dismissing the weak. For a poet—or composer(s) in this case—to be considered strong they must obliterate their precursors, wrestling with the greatest of the dead. Poetic strength is achieved only by 'the poet rapaciously ingesting the menacing spectres of their predecessors and metabolising them'.[28] Such a view is elitist: can Jeffreys be regarded as strong? In addition, Bloom maintains that major innovators—which this dissertation argues Dering and Jeffreys are—may never touch strength at all. Bloom does not have an interest in the techniques

[28] *Ibid.*, 115.

of composition, of style, or of their histories;[29] a view largely at odds with the concerns of historical musicology.

The final, and most definite, reason for rejecting the theories currently under discussion is the insularity that protects them: from a theoretical point of view Bloom's methodology is unassailable and, paradoxically, his model leads to a position where there can be no definite framework to adopt. For Bloom, similarity is evidence of influence, but dissimilarity can be evidence of a stronger influence; a poet's direct allusion, not to mention his open assent or avowal, can be evidence of his susceptibility, but the absence of an allusion and his denial can be evidence of a stronger susceptibility.[30] The corollary of this paradigm is that it cannot be disproved and is therefore less than helpful in determining the existence of influence. Since Bloom largely underpins the work of Korsyn and Straus, by extension, their work must also be discounted for inclusion in this dissertation. The theories proposed by all three men are largely incompatible with the concerns of this dissertation and would not provide an adequate model for me to adopt, assimilate, or develop. It is telling, perhaps, that relatively little work has been produced in this area of musicology since the large-scale projects of Korsyn and Straus. Two articles were published in 1994: Whitesell's 'Men with a Past'[31] and Street's 'Carnival',[32] but little else has followed.[33] For models of understanding and interpretation it is most probable that

[29] *Ibid.*, 116.
[30] *Ibid.*, 119.
[31] Whitesell, L., 'Men with a Past: Music and the "Anxiety of Influence"', *19th Century Music*, 18/2 (1994), 152–167.
[32] Street, A., 'Carnival', *Music Analysis*, 13/2–3 (1994), 255–298.
[33] Michael Russ has recently engaged with Bloom's ideas in a musical context. See Russ, M., 'Bartók, Beethoven and the Sonata for Two Pianos and Percussion', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 137/2 (2012), 307–349.

musicology will have to look in other places to elucidate the perennial question of musical influence.[34]

However, there is a less abstract and more pragmatic approach to the concept of influence in musicological scholarship, advanced by scholars such as Leonard Meyer, Charles Rosen, and John Platoff during the 1980s. I will briefly outline the pertinent points raised in each writers' approach and then, subsequently, detail the paradigm of influence that I will adopt, which is broadly coterminous with the views purported by Meyer, Rosen, and Platoff; a synthesis of all three.

In his article 'Influence: Plagiarism and Inspiration', Rosen admits the various forms in which artistic influence can manifest itself, from plagiarism to borrowing, to quotation and imitation, and eventually to the most profound but almost invisible form: the provocation of the most original thought and most personal work.[35] To illustrate his point Rosen takes the literary example of the influence of Plato on La Fontaine, whereby it is known that he loved the works of Plato and, according to the Abbé d'Olivet, made copies of Plato's works. In the absence of surviving copies, La Fontaine's works have been studied for allusions to, and quotations of, Plato but without almost any success. Rosen writes:

> Reading Plato inspired La Fontaine not to quotation but to original thought. What this original thought was can only be a matter for surmise; in the absence of any documentary evidence, no proof of any of our conjectures is possible. The rules of evidence that enable us, on circumstantial grounds, to convict a writer of having been influenced are of no use to us in this case—and it is precisely this case which is the most interesting kind.[36]

The translation here from literary to musical terms is a straightforward one, and given what is known about the copying activities of Jeffreys and the highly individual works—especially the

[34] Beard, D., Gloag, K., *Op cit.*, 93.
[35] Rosen, C., *Op. cit.*, 87–88.
[36] *Ibid.*, 87.

English verse-anthems—that he produced, Rosen's proposition is readily applicable to this dissertation. Rosen takes Brahms' borrowing (although he admits this may be doubted) from Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto to elucidate the transformation of a model that is so thorough that it becomes almost undetectable. Although this example of inspiration to originality has the echo of Bloomian misprision and metaphorical wrestling with predecessors, there is a distinction to be made. Rosen concedes that when transformation is almost total then the identity of the original work becomes erased and the new work appears completely original. However, the absorption and assimilation of a style, for example, does not derive from an inescapable, unwanted, and adversarial influence, but stems from admiration and emulation. Rather than influence being exerted unconsciously it derives from models that are freely chosen or, at the very least, wittingly embraced. In my opinion this view is more convincing: the influence of up-to-date Italian music on Jeffreys surely transpired not from fear and jealousy of Italian contemporaries, but from appreciation and approbation of that music.

Meyer's article 'Innovation, Choice, and the History of Music'[37] begins by addressing the 'most commonly considered important facet of creativity',[38] which is the invention of novelty. However, he maintains that it is not the invention of novelty or merely its use that is fundamental to the history of an art but 'its replication, however varied, within some compositional community'.[39] Meyer contends that in any reasonably rich culture novelty abounds, although often of little historical significance, and that ostensibly peculiar realisations can conceivably become new strategies. Moreover, culture, he says, is always replete with possibilities and consequently raises a series of questions regarding choice:

[37] Meyer, L., 'Innovation, Choice, and the History of Music', *Critical Inquiry*, 9/3 (1983), 517–544.
[38] *Ibid.*, 518.
[39] *Ibid.*, 518.

> Why, out of all the possible alternatives that he might have imagined or considered for use at this point in his piece, did the composer choose this one rather than some other? And why did particular kinds of patterns, forms, or genres (rather than others equally available) appeal to some specific compositional/cultural community so that they were replicated by repeated performances of a work (or groups of works) or as a consequence of current compositional consensus? Why, in short, do some innovations survive while others, however aesthetically satisfying they may have been, disappear, apparently without historical consequences?[40]

Just as the ubiquity of novelty has been explicated, the possible sources of influence are also innumerable; whether a religious belief, a cultural ideology, a prior composition, another art form, an acoustical condition, or a patron's predilection, the potentiality of influence is multifarious. What is important, in Meyer's view, is that for a *potential* influence to become an *actual* influence it must be chosen by the composer.

Meyer goes on to highlight what he terms 'covert causalism' and its crippling effect on the histories of art, commenting that 'in this model of temporal change—and it is virtually the only one available in our culture—prior patterns or conditions are routinely regarded as active causal agents, while later events are regularly relegated to the position of being passive, necessary results or effects'.[41] He maintains that influence is not a kind of causation because a cause necessarily removes the element of choice. To elucidate his point Meyer considers the 'almost sacrosanct litany that "art reflects the culture out of which it arises"',[42] condemning the thesis for discrediting the discipline of cultural history. Meyer argues that the notion is an example of covert causalism since mirrors mirror mechanically; there is no choice about what it does or does not reflect. Rather, it remains only for the artist to do so. In support, Meyer contends that 'culture is a richly variegated presence providing possibilities from which artists choose'.[43] A warning that Meyer issues about covert causalism in musicological studies, and one that is heeded in this

[40] *Ibid.*, 528.
[41] *Ibid.*, 530.
[42] *Ibid.*, 531.
[43] *Ibid.*, 531.

dissertation, is the inclination towards a kind of epidemiology 'in which mere contact (cause) is tacitly taken to be sufficient condition for influence (effect)'.[44]

There are many features of Meyer's thesis that are pertinent to my work and, consequently, I will attempt to appropriate them into the paradigm of influence adopted in this dissertation. On a microscopic level, the questions that are raised, apropos Meyer, concern the active choices made by Dering and Jeffreys and the corollary: why was it Italian music that proved so influential? In seeking an answer to this question a consequential problem of history is being addressed, attempting not to merely show that influence occurred, but to understand and explain why it transpired. One premise that can be plausibly applied to Jeffreys, in particular, is that of internalisation; that is to say, there is a distinction between mimicry and significant replication. Meyer contends that mere parroting 'involves presenting the lineaments of a pattern without comprehending the underlying constraints that generated the relationships',[45] whereas for a pattern to be replicated significantly 'it must be understood as part of a known (but probably internalised) set of rules and strategies'.[46] Jeffreys certainly absorbed the techniques and procedures of the *stile nuovo* and, as demonstrated most clearly in his motets and anthems, 'ultimately resolved the problem of absorbing Italian *concertato* styles into the English polyphonic tradition'.[47]

Additionally, on a macroscopic level, larger questions arise about the wider significance of Dering's and Jeffreys' Italianate compositional style. The innovation and novelty of their style will become clear as this dissertation progresses, but for now it is sufficient to concede that both composers were responsible for innovation in English sacred music of the early- and

[44] *Ibid.*, 535.
[45] *Ibid.*, 537.
[46] *Ibid.*, 537.
[47] Aston, P., ed., *George Jeffreys: 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices* (York, 2010), ii.

mid-seventeenth century, introducing novelty that was peculiar to Italian small-scale *concertato* music. It is true that, in Meyer's parlance, aspects of the Italian *stile nuovo* and small-scale *concertato* music were replicated in a compositional community, namely English composers with a Royal connection. What, then, in turn was the effect and influence of Dering and Jeffreys on composers of the next generation in England? Ultimately, it is the understanding and explaining of the choices made by these composers that are attempted in this dissertation rather than merely chronicling the stylistic developments in English sacred music between 1625–*c.*1660.

The final work that is worthy of note here is John Platoff's chapter 'Writing About Influences: *Idomeneo*, A Case Study',[48] in which he addresses the following questions:

> Why are the influences cited—what do they contribute to the broader issues being raised? Why is an influence statement seen as a useful tool, and why is it employed in some discussions and not others? What conditions must be fulfilled to demonstrate the existence of an influence, and how explicitly do historians acknowledge and meet these conditions? And finally, how does our widespread interest in influences reflect certain widely-held views about the process of stylistic change and the nature of music history?[49]

The most salient point raised by Platoff, that is useful for my own work, relates to his exploration of the conditions for influence. He starts from the premise that influence is a hypothesis not a fact and, therefore, it requires confirmation by means of appropriate evidence.[50] The conditions for influence that Platoff insists are necessary are: *awareness*—if *X* influenced *Y* with respect to *a*, then the composer of *Y* had to have contact with *X* (with respect to *a*) before the completion of *Y*; *similarity*—if *X* influenced *Y* with respect to *a*, then *X* and *Y* must be similar with respect to *a*; *change*—if *X* influenced *Y* with respect to *a*, then *Y* must be different (with respect to *a*) than it

[48] Platoff, J., 'Writing About Influences: *Idomeneo*, A Case Study', *Explorations of Music, The Arts, and Ideas: Essays in Honour of Leonard B. Meyer*, eds. Eugene Narmour and Ruth A. Solie (Stuyvesant, 1988), 43–65.
[49] *Ibid.*, 43.
[50] *Ibid.*, 46.

would have been, had there been no influence.[51] Although Platoff elaborates further on these statements, the paradigm he purports is sufficiently demonstrated for the present purpose. Platoff's conditions for influence will remain at the forefront of the subsequent work undertaken in this dissertation. Indeed, Platoff's *awareness*, *similarity*, and *change* paradigm provides a useful methodological framework, which is manifested most conspicuously in the chapters dedicated to Jeffreys.

It is my contention that a model of influence will best operate against the background of Meyer's axiom of inertia, which purports that stasis, or the assumption of constancy is the norm, and therefore it is change that needs to be accounted for. Indeed, statements about influence are used primarily to account for anomalies and deviations from a set of standardised rules, and used to explain stylistic change. By way of conclusion, then, the theories of Bloom and his disciples are rejected here in favour of those promulgated by Rosen, Meyer, and Platoff. I will draw upon salient features of all three, namely Rosen's idea of the provocation of the most original thought and most personal work, Meyer's notion of artistic choice, and Platoff's conditions for influence.

While these theories are anachronistic when applied to music of the seventeenth century, they are supported by more historically accurate approaches. For example, Rebecca Herissone has recently explored notions of musical creativity in seventeenth-century England and her findings on contemporaneous attitudes towards imitation, originality, and authorship are especially pertinent to this chapter.[52] Herissone has demonstrated that the Erasmian rhetorical concepts of *imitatio* and *emulatio* pervaded musical creativity at every level. According to Erasmus, the follower 'treads in someone else's footsteps and obeys the rules', while the emulator 'endeavours

[51] *Ibid.*, 46–50.
[52] See Herrisone, R., *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge, 2013).

to speak even better if he can'.[53] During the seventeenth century, copying, studying, imitating, and emulating remained the fundamental techniques of instruction in composition, running parallel with the rhetorical concept of *imitatio*. Indeed, 'all the significant seventeenth-century English theorists advised the study and imitation of good compositional models in their treatises',[54] including: Thomas Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction* (1597), Christopher Simpson's *Compendium of Practical Musick* (1667), Thomas Mace's *Musick's Monument* (1676), John Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1694), and Roger North's *Roger North's Cursory Notes of Musicke* (*c.*1698–*c.*1703). Accordingly, musicians studied and imitated models by authoritative figures, seeking to emulate them in their own works while aiming to avoid over-reliance on their source material by transforming it through their own invention.[55] One such example by Jeffreys appears in a later passage of this dissertation (p.123), demonstrating his process of musical creativity and engaging with the principles of *imitatio* and *emulatio*. Originality as a creative concept was not significant to pre-Restoration composers, and became increasingly valued only from the latter half of the seventeenth century onwards.

Herissone's research reveals that seventeenth-century ways of thinking about musical creativity and compositional processes are not incompatible with the twentieth-century modes of thought expressed by Rosen, Meyer, and Platoff. Rather, there is a resonance between the two, and the consideration of historically accurate methods of composition actually reinforces the model of influence proposed in this dissertation.

[53] Quoted in Herissone, R., *Op. cit.*, 5.
[54] Herrisone, R., *Op. cit.*, 12.
[55] *Ibid.*, 59.

Chapter 3: Richard Dering

Richard Dering (*c*.1580–1630) was one of the first English composers to be influenced by early seventeenth-century Italian *concertato* techniques and, therefore, he is the first composer to be considered in this dissertation. While Dering is better known for his five- and six-voice Latin motets, it is his Latin motets, scored for one, two, or three voices and basso continuo that demonstrate his appropriation and assimilation of the *stile nuovo* at its fullest.[1] In this chapter, Dering's biography is covered, followed by an examination of his few-voice Latin motets and the stylistic similarities they exhibit with works by Italian contemporaries. Dering was a court composer and this chapter concludes with a consideration of the likely performance contexts for this repertoire, drawing particular attention to the association of the few-voice Latin motets with Henrietta Maria.

Biographical Details

Richard Dering was the illegitimate son of Henry Dering of Liss, Hampshire and Elizabeth, sister of Henry, Lord Grey of Ruthin and 6th Earl of Kent.[2] Very little is known for certain about the early stages of Dering's life, but the generally accepted view, in light of the styles of his music and what is known of his family, is that he was trained in England and later converted to Catholicism,[3] probably while on the Continent. Dering studied at Christ Church, Oxford, supplicating for the degree of BMus in 1610; this is currently the first extant contemporary

[1] Recent research by Jonathan P. Wainwright has explored this lesser-known part of Dering's compositional output. See Wainwright, J. P., 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice "Concertato" Motets', *Music and Letters*, 89/2 (2008), 165–194; Richard Dering: Motets for One, Two or Three Voices and Basso Continuo, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright, *Musica Britannica*, 87 (London, 2008).
[2] Platt, P., Wainwright, J. P., 'Dering, Richard', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 2 December 2010).
[3] *Ibid.*

document detailing him.[4] In the supplication he stated that he had been engaged in the study and practice of music for ten years.[5] Following his study at Oxford, Dering took the decision to live abroad, travelling in Italy before settling in Brussels in 1617 where he was organist to the English nuns of the Convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[6] The documentary evidence to support Dering's peregrination in Italy is a letter of 1612—discovered by Peter Platt[7]—from Sir Dudley Carleton, the English envoy in Venice, to Sir John Harrington (heir to John, first Lord Harrington of Exton).[8] The relevant parts are quoted below:

> (Venice. 26th June 1612.)
>
> You have a servant wch hath spent some time in this citty and is now gone to see more of Italy; touching whom I receavd this advertisement.
>
> Mr Dearing is at Rome, lodged neere if not in the English Colledge. I feare he will remaine with them; whether for want of meanes or aboundance of devotion is uncertain.
>
> That one of these should be of no hinderance to his delivery from those temptations I have taken order under hand to have him supplied wth sufficient allowance to bring him to Florence where I understand your ordinary provision remaynes for him. Wch if he accept not I shall then suspect the other cause of his abode in that place & then I suppose you will be at no more [illegible word] with him. In wch respect I thought it necessary to give you this advertisement ... from Venice this 26th June 1612 ...[9]

There is no conclusive proof that the letter refers to Richard Dering the composer but, on the balance of probability, it is very likely; not only do the dates fit chronologically,[10] but the letter supports the observations made by Platt on Dering's musical style. He points out that Dering's

[4] *Ibid.* See also Platt, P., 'Dering's Life and Training', *Music and Letters* 33/1 (1952), 41–49; Hanlon, J. P., 'Richard Dering, Catholic Musician of Stuart England', *Catholic Historical Review* 46/4 (1961), 428–452.
[5] Platt, P., Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit*..
[6] Wainwright, J. P., *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)* (Aldershot, 1997), 178.
[7] Platt, P., *Op. cit.*, 41. MS reference of the letter: *Lpro*, SP 99, 10, 62.
[8] Platt, P., Wainwright, J. P. *Op. cit*..
[9] *Lpro*, SP 99, 10, 62, in Platt, P., *Op. cit.*, 41.
[10] Dering was in England in 1610 and he was in Brussels in 1617, the same years that his first set of Latin motets were published, which he said were written in the 'first city of the world'—presumably Rome.

output can be divided into two categories: 'unpublished English music on the one hand and published Italianate music, always with a part for basso continuo, on the other'.[11]

While in Brussels Dering published two sets of Latin motets: *Cantiones Sacrae Quinque Vocum* (Antwerp, 1617) and *Cantica Sacra Senis Vocibus* (Antwerp, 1618). These two volumes were followed by two more publications of Italian canzonettas: *Canzonette a Tre Voci* (Antwerp, 1620) and *Canzonette a Quattro Voci* (Antwerp, 1620).[12] The next known whereabouts of Dering is his appointment as organist to Henrietta Maria in 1625.[13] Wainwright has speculated that Dering returned to England 'quite possibly in the train of Henrietta Maria',[14] upon her arrival in England as queen consort of Charles I.

On 27 March 1625 Charles I (1600–1649, reigned 1625–1649) acceded to the throne of England and later that same year, on 1 May, married Henrietta Maria (1609–1669), daughter of Henri IV (1553–1610), the king of France, and Marie de Medici (1573–1642). The marriage was brokered for reasons of political expediency and diplomacy but, as so common in English history, was embroiled in religion: Charles was the head of the Church of England and Henrietta Maria a devout Catholic. Indeed, for the marriage to take place 'the Pope himself had to grant a dispensation and papal requirements were thus built into the marriage treaty of 1624'.[15] The requirements of the treaty guaranteed that the queen, and all her household, should be able to

[11] Platt, P., *Op. cit.*, 45. See also Platt, P., 'Aspects of Richard Dering's Tonality', *Liber Amicorum John Steele: A Musicological Tribute*, ed. W. Drake (New York, 1997), 233–306.

[12] Dering's music is available in modern edition in the following sources: Richard Dering: Cantica Sacra 1618, ed. Peter Platt, *Early English Church Music*, 15 (London, 1974); Richard Dering: Secular Vocal Music, ed. Peter Platt, *Musica Britannica*, 25 (London, 1969); Richard Dering: Motets [Cantiones Sacrae, 1617] and Anthems, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright, *Musica Britannica*, 98 (London, 2015).

[13] See Spink, I., 'The Musicians of Queen Henrietta-Maria: Some Notes and References in the English State Papers', *Acta Musicologica*, 36/2/3 (1964), 177–182; Wainwright, J. P., 'Sounds of Piety and Devotion: Music in the Queen's Chapel', *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage*, ed. E. Griffey (Aldershot, 2008), 195–213.

[14] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit*., 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice "Concertato" Motets', 165.

[15] Thurley, S., *Somerset House: The Palace of England's Queens 1551–1692* (London, 2009), 49. In point of fact the Pope, Urban VIII, was Henrietta Maria's godfather.

exercise freely their Roman Catholic religion and, in a secret appendix, that there should be wider toleration of Catholics in England.[16] On 13 June 1625 Henrietta Maria arrived at Dover accompanied by her Lady of the Stool, Madame Jeanne de Saint-Georges, her French ladies-in-waiting, a bishop, and 20 priests.[17] The queen was initially allocated the chapel at St James' Palace for the practice of her faith, 'which had been designed by Inigo Jones [1573–1652] in the Palladian style (1623–1625) and was staffed by 28 priests headed by a bishop'.[18] Dering was an English Catholic and, like many of his English Catholic contemporaries, such as Peter Philips (1560/61–1628), decided to live on the Continent. With Henrietta Maria as queen consort to Charles I, Dering may have felt at ease to return to his native country, seizing the opportunity to be patronised by Henrietta Maria who paid her musicians handsomely; 'the annual pay of the queen's musicians seems to have been higher than those of the "King's Musick"'.[19] On 22 December 1625, Dering is listed among the 'lutes, viols and voices' at the English court and, in the following year, he is named as one of eleven musicians who had served the queen from 25 March 1626 as organist to Queen Henrietta Maria.[20] His salary as organist was £120 per annum which, presumably, was in addition to the £40 per annum he received as a singer and lutenist to Charles I.[21] Dering served at the English court until his death in March 1630. His will is in Somerset House, dated 27 April 1630 and he was buried at St Mary-in-Savoy Church on 22 March 1629 (old style, legal calendar).[22]

[16] *Ibid.*, 49. See also Lindley, K. J., 'The Lay Catholics of England in the Reign of Charles I', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 22/3 (1971), 199–221.
[17] White, M. A., *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars* (Aldershot, 2006), 11.
[18] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, 'Sounds of Piety and Devotion: Music in the Queen's Chapel', 195.
[19] Spink, I., *Op. cit.*, 178.
[20] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice "Concertato" Motets', 166.
[21] Ashbee, A., *Records of English Court Music*, iii: 1625–49 (Snodland, 1988), 244–252.
[22] Platt, P., *Op. cit.*, 'Dering's Life and Training', 43.

Few-Voice *Concertato* Motets

The aforementioned publications of Dering's music show Italian influences, presumably as a result of his time in Italy where he would have been exposed to contemporary practices; it is also possible that Dering learnt the Italian manner from available publications that had been disseminated throughout the Low Countries. During the first decades of the seventeenth century, however, Venice and Rome were centres of progressive Italian sacred music and it is reasonably certain that Dering visited both cities. It is possible that Dering encountered the music of composers such as Agostino Agazzari (*c*.1580–1642), Giovanni Francesco Anerio (*c*.1567–1630), Antonio Cifra (1584–1629), Alessandro Grandi (1586–1630), Giovanni Croce (*c*.1557–1609), and Francesco Capello (*fl*.1610–1619). Graham Dixon has dispelled the long-standing view that 'Rome was the bulwark of traditionalism',[23] recognised solely for its maintaining of the *stile antico* and its later promotion of the magnificent colossal Baroque, highlighting the fact that small-scale and *concertato* motets were equally as popular in Rome as in Venice.[24] The reverse was also true: the popularity of Agazzari's *Sacrae cantiones* (Rome, 1606), for example, was not confined to Rome; it was reprinted in Venice and Milan, and achieved a total of five Roman and six Venetian prints.[25]

The fundamental characteristic of *concertato* music is the sharp contrast of textures and styles between successive portions of text. The different textures employed may include: solo, tutti, antiphony, imitative polyphony, homophony, and passages for instruments alone.[26] In addition,

[23] Bukofzer, M. F., *Music in the Baroque Era: from Monteverdi to Bach* (New York, 1947), 68.
[24] Dixon, G., 'Progressive Tendencies in the Roman Motet During the Early Seventeenth Century', *Acta Musicologica*, 53/1 (1981), 105.
[25] *Ibid.*, 106. See also O' Regan, N., 'Asprilio Pacelli, Ludovico da Viadana and the Origins of the Roman Concerto Ecclesiastico', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 6 (2000), http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v6/no1/oregan.html
[26] Carver, A. F., 'Concertato', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 18 September 2010).

the vocal writing may be characterised by emotionalism and ornamentation, and there is often an affective or dramatic treatment of harmony.[27] Although the music at the centre of this chapter (and dissertation) is small-scale, comprising a few voices and basso continuo accompaniment, the term *concertato* is not reserved for such an ensemble. Music scored for multiple choirs and instruments can be termed *concertato* provided it adheres to the stylistic feature of contrast.

One of the most significant musical developments to take place around the turn of the seventeenth century, particularly in northern Italy, was the rise of small-scale church music. Jerome Roche maintains that practical exigencies led to the formation of new ideas in the small cities of northern Italy, such as the limited resources in provincial cathedrals and collegiate churches leading to music composed for reduced forces, rather than out of intellectual theorising, which was favoured by the Florentines,[28] particularly Count Bardi and the Florentine Camerata. Lodovico Viadana's seminal collection *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* (Venice, 1602)[29] introduced the new concept of the basso continuo,[30] allowing composers to explore contrasts of textures and sonorities, making possible the development of the small-scale *stile concertato*.[31] Dering's exposure to, and absorption of, the new style of sacred music that was being developed in parts of Italy proved to be influential. By examining Dering's few-voice *concertato* motets, composed entirely in the new manner, and in light of the preceding historical observations, these compositions are revealed to be his most progressive.

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[27] *Ibid*.
[28] Roche, J., *North Italian Church Music in the Age of Monteverdi* (Oxford, 1984), 51.
[29] With regard to the introduction of a basso continuo Wainwright argues that Viadana's publication demonstrates little more than print culture catching up with performance practice. See Wainwright, J. P., 'From "Renaissance" to "Baroque"?', *From Renaissance to Baroque—Changes in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century: Proceedings of the National Early Music Association Conference, York 1999*, eds. J. P. Wainwright and P. Holman (Aldershot, 2005), 1–21.
[30] Jerome Roche makes the point that although ostensibly new, the basso continuo arose out of the *basso seguente* practice already well established. See Roche, J., *Op. cit.*, 51.
[31] *Ibid.*, 51.

Dering's few-voice *concertato* motets were published posthumously by John Playford (1623–1686/7), the London publisher, bookseller, and vicar-choral of St Paul's Cathedral,[32] in his *Cantica Sacra* (London, 1662) and *Cantica Sacra ... The Second Sett* (London, 1674).[33] Wainwright comments, 'as far as is known, no autograph copies of any of the music survive'.[34] There are, however, copies of Dering's few-voice motets in a number of manuscripts that do contain slight variant readings from the Playford volumes. In spite of this, after Wainwright's detailed comparison of all the surviving sources (manuscript and printed) he confirms that 'Playford's readings are no worse (nor better) than the earlier manuscript copies'.[35] The principal early manuscript sources are: *Lbl* Add. MS 78416 B (*olim* Evelyn MS 189), *Lcm* MS 2033, 2034 and 2039, and *Och* Mus. 747–49 and 878–80. A complete list of the sources containing Dering's few-voice motets is given below in Table 3.1.[36]

Table 3.1: Richard Dering's Compositions

1. Cambridge, King's College Rowe MS 321 & USA, University of California, Los Angeles, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library MSS C 6968 M4
2. Cambridge, St John's College Library, Chapel MS Box of Fragments, Envelope 2
3. Carlisle Cathedral 'Bishop Smith's Part-Song Books' (deposited in the Cumbria Record Office)
4. Glasgow, University Library MSS Rd 58-61
5. London, British Library Add. MS 11587
6. London, British Library Add. MS 11608
7. London, British Library Add. MS 30382
8. London, British Library Egerton MS 2013
9. London, British Library Evelyn MS 189†
10. London, Royal College of Music MS 660
11. London, Royal College of Music MS 2033
12. London, Royal College of Music MS 2034
13. London, Royal College of Music MS 2039
14. Madrigal Society MSS G 33–6 (housed in the British Library)
15. New York Public Library, Drexel 4300

[32] Dean-Smith, M., Temperley, N., 'Playford: (1) John Playford (i)', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 12 January 2011).

[33] A number of the few-voice Latin motets printed in Playford's *Cantica Sacra ... The Second Sett* are of questionable attribution: *Duo seraphin clamabant* (ii), *O sacrum convivium* (i), *Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in caelo*, *Ego sum resurrectio*, *Laetatus sum*, and *Hierusalem quae aedificatur*.

[34] Wainwright, J. P., ed., *Op. cit.*, *Musica Britannica*, 87, xxv.

[35] *Ibid.*, xxv.

[36] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 180. Richard Charteris has drawn attention to New York Public Library, Drexel 4300, see Charteris, R., 'Correspondence', *Music and Letters*, 89/4 (2008), 698–700.

16. Oxford, Bodleian Library Mus. MS d. 10
17. Oxford, Bodleian Library Mus. MSS f 17 & 19
18. Oxford, Bodleian Library Mus. Sch. MS C 11
19. Oxford, Bodleian Library Mus. Sch. MSS D 233–6
20. Oxford, Bodleian Library Mus. Sch. MS E 451
21. Oxford, Bodleian Library Tenbury MS 892
22. Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 747–9
23. Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 878–80
24. Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 1013–15
25. York, Minster Library MSS M.5.S
26. C. Burney, *A General History of Music* (London, 1776–89), iii, 479
27. J. Hilton ed., *Catch that Catch Can* (London, 1652)
28. J. Playford ed., *Cantica Sacra* (London, 1662)
29. J. Playford ed., *Cantica Sacra... The Second Sett* (London, 1674)

† is now London, British Library Add. MS 78416 B

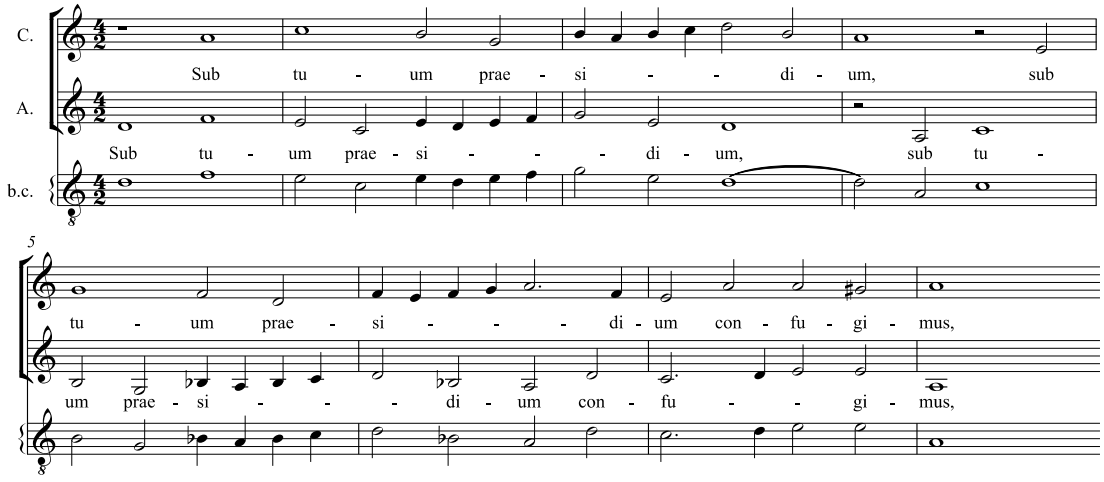
Dering's few-voice motets, of which there are over 50, are scored for one, two, or three voices, and all include a basso continuo accompaniment, betraying 'a complete assimilation of the techniques of contemporary Italian *concertato* music'.[37] The characteristics of Dering's musical style in his few-voice *concertato* motets can be summarised as follows:

> Imitative sections contrast with homophonic writing; contrapuntal sections are characterised by the interplay of short, rhythmic motifs; standard harmonic formulae are used in a tonal framework, with consonance and dissonance being regulated by the regular stresses of a vertically oriented chordal scheme in defined duple or triple metres; changes of metre are used to provide contrast; and the voices are supported by a basso continuo part. Indeed, Dering's small-scale motets represent a thorough and proficient English version of the *stile nuovo* in the first three decades of the seventeenth century.[38]

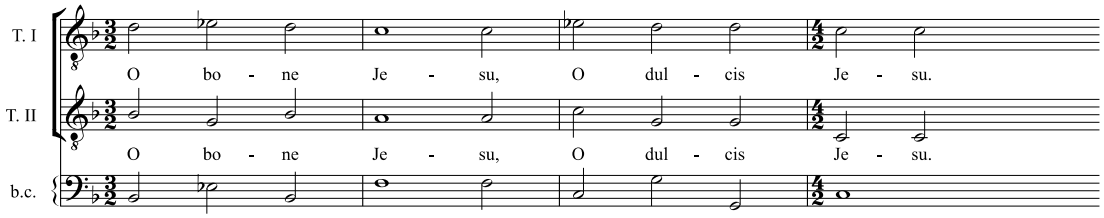
Dering's inclusion of a basso continuo is a large indication that he was keen to employ up-to-date practices. However, the basso continuo part seems to be at an incipient stage. Rather like Viadana's *Concerti*, where the organ part is often little more than a *basso seguente* (Ex. 3.1), or where the basso continuo is independent it seems to have been conceived as another vocal line, Dering too does not always commit to a fully-independent lowest-sounding voice (Ex. 3.2); where a bass voice is included it follows the instrumental bass closely.[39]

[37] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice "Concertato" Motets', 166.
[38] *Ibid.*, 171.
[39] *Ibid.*, 172.

Example 3.1: Viadana, *Sub tuum praesidium*, bb.1–8[40]



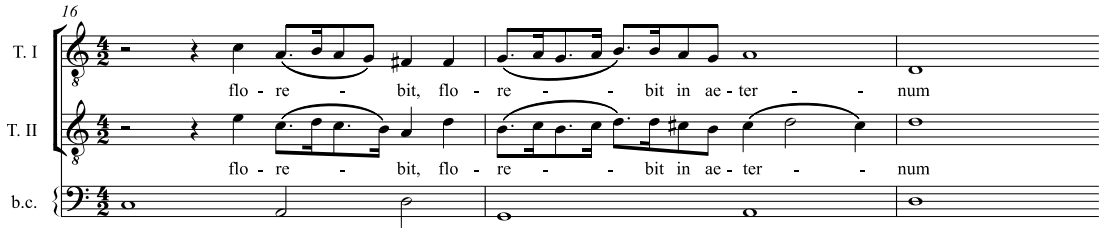
Example 3.2: Dering, *O bone Jesu*, bb.20–23[41]



The writing out of ornamental decoration, used for expressive purposes, began to feature increasingly in the *concertato* motets by composers active in Rome (e.g. Agazzari and Anerio) and is a compositional procedure that Dering seems to have appropriated in some of his more adventurous motets (Ex. 3.3).

[40] *Ibid.*, 173.
[41] *Ibid.*, 174.

Example 3.3: Dering, *Justus germinabit sicut lilium*, bb.16–18[42]

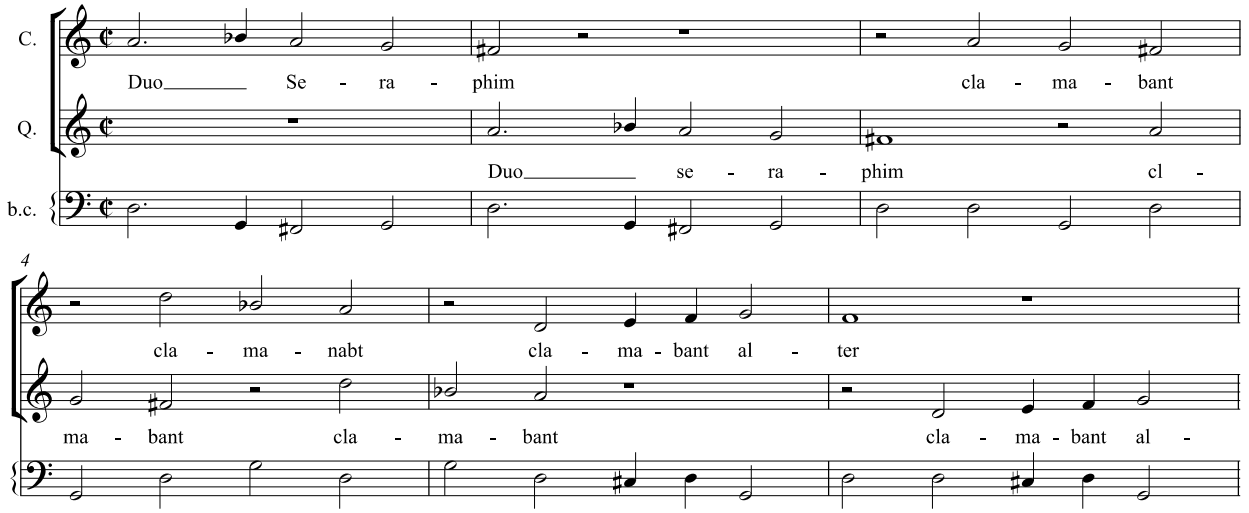


Other features of Roman *concertato* music, in particular, that appear in Dering's few-voice motets include the use of word-painting, a systematic use of sequential repetition, and the employment of cadential hemiolas in order to give rhythmic variety in triple sections.[43] These stylistic influences, identified by Wainwright, are further amplified by considering the small-scale works of Croce and Cifra. Indeed, one of the earliest volumes of Venetian *concertato* music to appear, composed in the new manner, was Croce's *Sacrae Cantilene Concertare* (Venice, 1610), which was published posthumously. Denis Arnold has pointed out that 'the concertos of Viadana and also other works must have been known to Venice, since they were published there; but it is only after 1610, the year of this posthumous publication that the *concertato* style becomes common'.[44] The publication of this volume is contemporaneous with the time Dering spent in Italy and many stylistic similarities can be observed. A number of Croce's *Cantilene* are indicative of echo music, including *Duo Seraphim*, *Virgo Decus*, and *Laudate Pueri*,[45] whereby a motive is repeated exactly by an equal voice in close succession. The opening bars of Croce's *Duo Seraphim* demonstrate this compositional procedure (Ex. 3.4) and Dering's appropriation of this technique is evident in his setting of *Sancta et immaculata* (TTbc) (Ex. 3.5). Croce and Dering both use two equal voices, the basso continuo is independent and

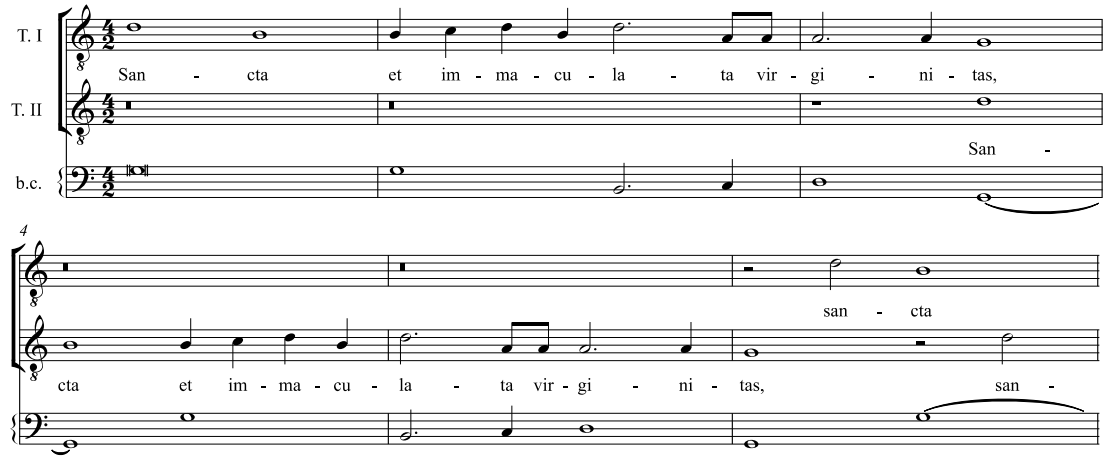
[42] *Ibid.*, 175.
[43] *Ibid.*, 175.
[44] Arnold, D., 'Giovanni Croce and the "Concertato" Style', *The Musical Quarterly*, 39/1 (1953), 38.
[45] *Ibid.*, 41.

repeats its accompaniment for the second entry, the phrases overlap, the two entries are at the same pitch, and the text setting is void of any ornamentation.

Example 3.4: Croce, *Duo Seraphim*, bb.1–6[46]



Example 3.5: Dering, *Sancta et immaculata virginitas*, bb.1–6[47]

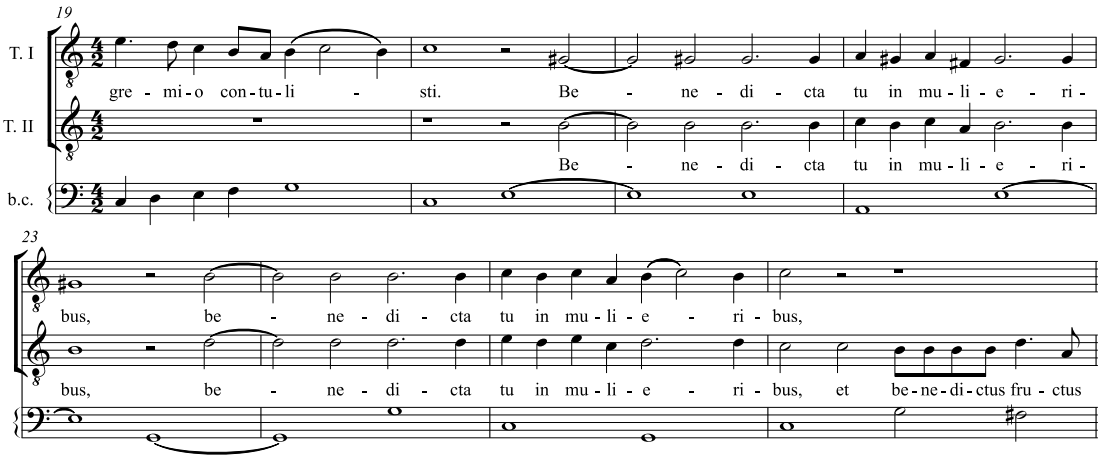


Dering's *Sancta et immaculata* also exhibits his affective and dramatic treatment of harmony. At bar 19 tenor I, accompanied by the basso continuo, approaches bar 20 on a chord of G major

[46] *Ibid.*, 41.
[47] Wainwright, J. P., ed., *Op. cit.*, *Musica Britannica*, 87, 19.

(with a suspended fourth) and then cadences to a chord of C major. Following the resolution to C major, the basso continuo jumps a third to E and the two tenors enter simultaneously on beat four, realising the unrelated chord of E major (Ex. 3.6). Moreover, Dering repeats this tertiary shift of harmony for a second time at bar 23. Here, the basso continuo part descends to the sixth below and, as before, the two tenors enter simultaneously on beat four, realising the chord of G major and returning to the 'tonic'. The false relation between G♯–G♮ is particularly prominent.

Example 3.6: Dering, *Sancta et immaculata virginitas*, bb.19–23[48]

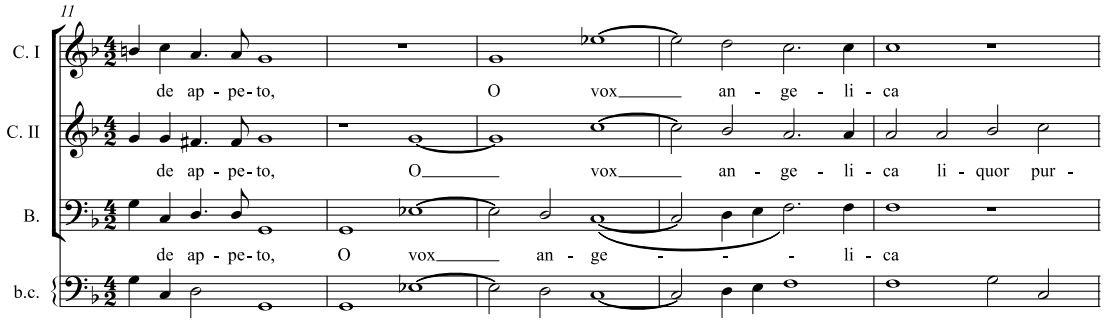


Dering certainly uses these dramatic shifts of harmony, typical of *concertato* music, for affective purposes, chiefly to draw attention to the text contained within the passage. The text contained within the two passages 'benedicta tu in mulieribus' means 'blessed are you [the Virgin Mary] among women'. Not only is the phrase of the text repeated for emphasis but it makes sense for Dering to heighten the listener's attention and sensibility when praising the protagonist of the text. Furthermore, this section of the motet is written in homophony, providing clarity to the text; it also contrasts with the preceding and following imitative sections. This compositional technique is also featured in *O nomen Jesu* (CCBbc), where at bar 12 the chord of G major is

[48] *Ibid.*, 20.

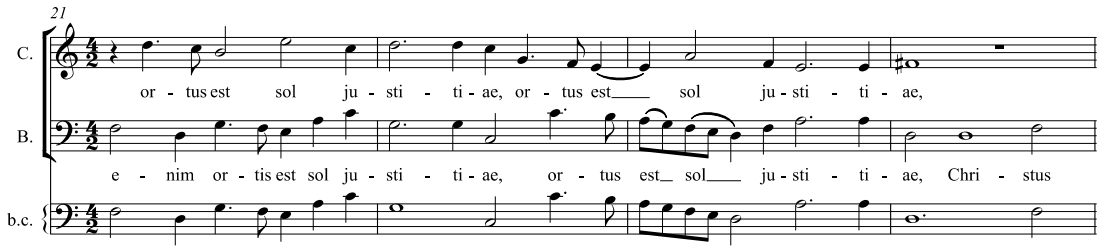
juxtaposed against the tertian harmony of E♭ (Ex. 3.7). The arresting harmonic effect is amplified by the leaps of a minor sixth in the bassus and cantus I lines from G to e♭ (g′ to e♭′′) and, in combination, attention is drawn to the text 'O vox angelica' (O angelic voice).

Example 3.7: Dering, *O nomen Jesu*, bb.11–15[49]



Further examples of Dering's affective declamation can be seen in his settings of *Conceptio tua Dei genitirx virgo* (CBbc) and *Vulnerasti cor meum* (TTBbc). In *Conceptio tua Dei genitrix virgo* Dering sets the text 'Ecce enim ortus est sol justitiae' (For behold, the sun of justice has arisen) in an imitative texture, but the word 'justitiae' is set homophonically on both occasions (Ex. 3.8). This treatment of text gives clarity to the word 'justitiae' and reflects felicitously the sentiment of the word.

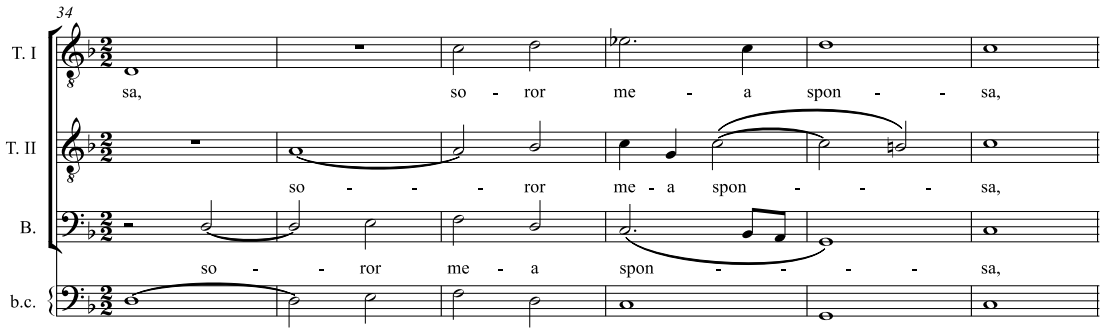
Example 3.8: Dering, *Conceptio tua Dei genitrix virgo*, bb.21–24[50]



[49] *Ibid.*, 90.
[50] *Ibid.*, 23.

In *Vulnerasti cor meum* Dering achieves a sense of heightened drama and emotional intensification at the text 'soror mea sponsa' (my sister, my spouse). At bar 34 the bassus part enters and is quickly followed by entries from tenors II and I in quick succession until the full three-voice and continuo texture is realised (Ex. 3.9). The rapid build up to a three-part texture, coupled with the high pitch of tenor I, provides an affective passage of music and conveys the dwellings of the protagonist's wounded heart.

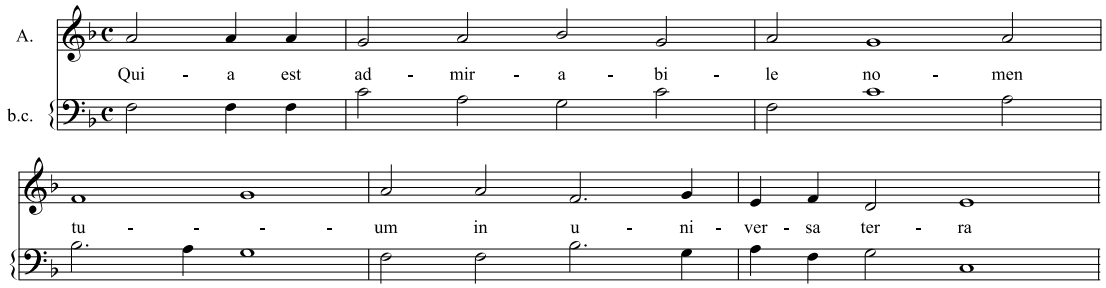
Example 3.9: Dering, *Vulnerasti cor meum*, bb.34–39[51]



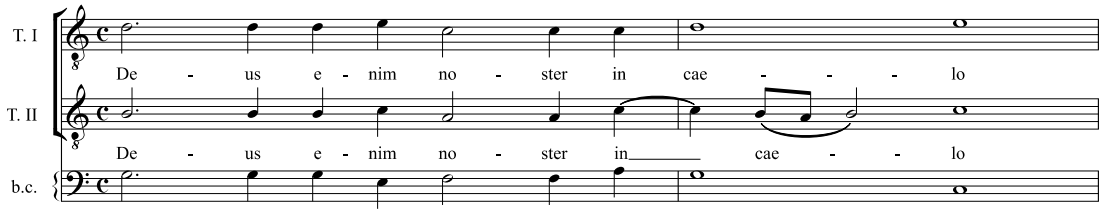
Around the turn of the seventeenth century, homophonic writing began to invade the polyphonic style, gaining importance and growing in use.[52] Increasingly, composers became reliant on the inclusion of homophony, which is a prevalent feature in Croce's *Cantilene*, indicating that these works are in a more modern style than Viadana's *Concerti*.[53] The homophonic motet of the Venetian school emanates from *stile antico* practices, showing little awareness of Florentine affective declamation. Rather than the static bass associated with monody there is often a close rhythmic relationship between the instrumental bass and the voice(s), whereby they are completely, or almost, identical (Ex. 3.10).[54]

[51] *Ibid*., 29.
[52] See Kirwan-Mott, A., *The Small-Scale Sacred Concertato in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Michigan, 1981).
[53] Arnold, D., *Op. cit.*, 40.
[54] *Ibid.*, 40.

Example 3.10: Croce, *Sit nomen benedictum*[55]



Example 3.11: Croce, *Psallite Deo*[56]



Moreover, the tendency for vocal parts—quite often two equal voices—to proceed in parallel thirds or sixths became increasingly common, emphasising the common rhythm and showing a general proclivity for a homophonic sonority. This compositional method is used frequently by both Croce (Ex. 3.11) and Cifra. Indeed, Dixon's characterisation of Cifra's style corroborates this view:

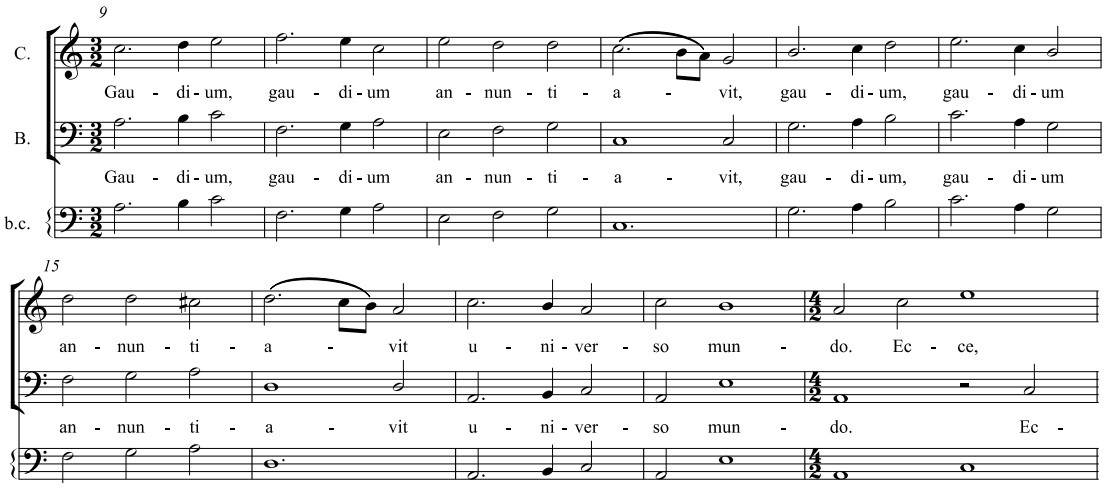
> An example of his [Cifra's] style is the Song of Songs setting, *Introduxit me rex*, from the *Motecta, liber tertius*, which, like the greater part of the collection, is for two voices. It starts conventionally with a slow-moving melodic line in imitation, but Cifra soon abandons counterpoint in favour of the homophonic sonority of parallel tenths at 'in cellam vinarium'... Not so openly expressive, and therefore more typical of his style, is *Beatus vir*, for two voices, from the second book ... The voices frequently unite in thirds over an independent bass, showing that Cifra was prepared to sacrifice counterpoint for a sonorous texture.[57]

It is often the case that where a third voice is added, usually a tenor or bass, there is a tendency for the two upper voices to congregate, maintaining the duet style, while the lowest voice follows

[55] *Ibid.*, 39.
[56] *Ibid.*, 41.
[57] Dixon, G., *Op. cit.*, 109–110.

the continuo line. Dering's appropriation and assimilation of these features can be seen clearly throughout his few-voice motets. The triple-time section 'Gaudium annuntiavit universe mundo' from his motet *Conceptio tua Dei genitrix virgo* (CBbc) contains all the compositional traits hitherto identified (Ex. 3.12). The introduction of a homophonic passage in triple-time provides a marked contrast from the preceding imitative, duple-time section, remaining anchored to the fundamental principle of the *stile concertato*. The close rhythmic association between the basso continuo and the voices, exemplified by Croce, is immediately apparent and reveals Dering's reliance on homophony. Similarly, the voices proceed largely in parallel tenths and thirteenths (compound thirds and sixths). There is, moreover, a sequential-like quality to this passage, which concludes with a cadential hemiola.

Example 3.12: Dering, *Conceptio tua Dei genitrix virgo*, bb.9–19[58]

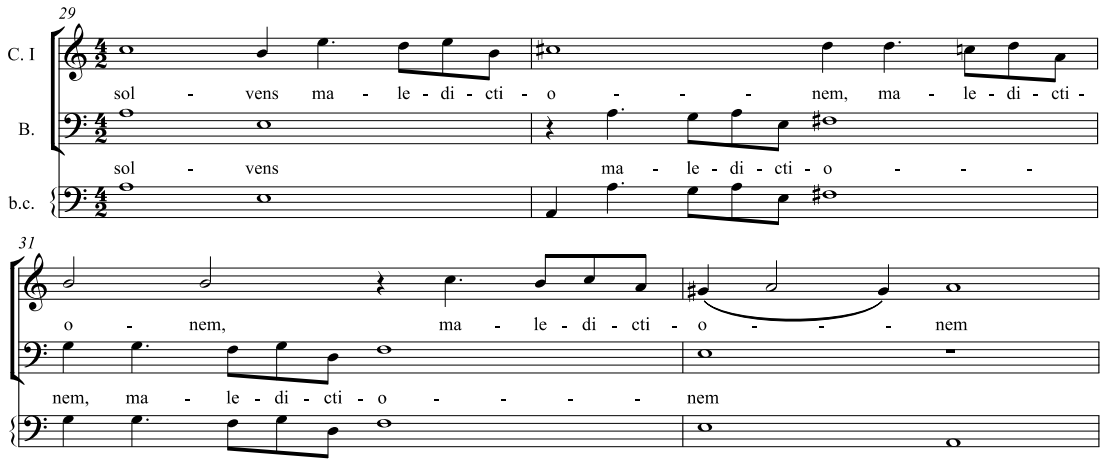


The rhythmic relationship between the basso accompaniment and vocal parts can be found in Viadana's *Concerti* and also in the *Sacrae cantilene* of Croce. Similarly, Dering's text setting shows no connection with a declamatory style but 'is typical of many homophonic motets of the

[58] Wainwright, J. P., ed., *Op. cit.*, *Musica Britannica*, 87, 23.

Venetian school in general and of Croce in particular' (Ex. 3.11).[59] Moreover, Dering's use of sequential repetition pervades *Conceptio tua Dei genitrix virgo* and features prominently between bars 29–32 (Ex. 3.13). In this brief passage, Dering's use of a short, concise motive is set to a descending sequence, which interacts between both voices.

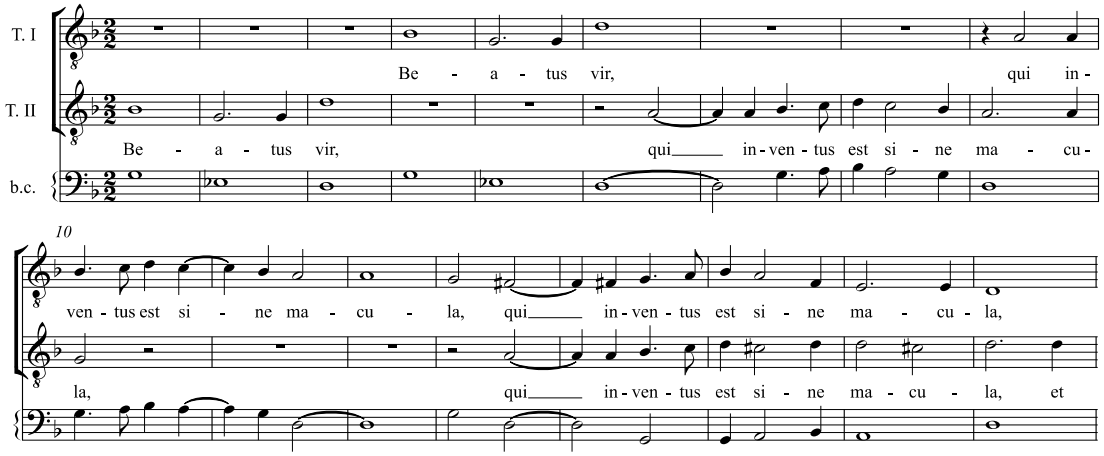
Example 3.13: *Conceptio tua Dei genitrix virgo*, bb.29–32[60]



The familiar compositional procedure, characteristic of the duet style and referred to apropos Cifra, where a passage containing a slow-moving melodic line in imitation is followed by the two-voices uniting in thirds, is featured in Dering's *Beatus vir qui inventus est* (TTbc). The melodic figure associated with the text 'Beatus vir' is introduced by tenor II and is then immediately restated by tenor I three bars later, resembling the echo music that was eminently popular in Italy around the first few decades of the seventeenth century. A second, more rhythmically active motive enters and is imitated before the two tenors unite in parallel thirds over an independent basso continuo, although the close rhythmic association has not been abandoned altogether (Ex. 3.14).

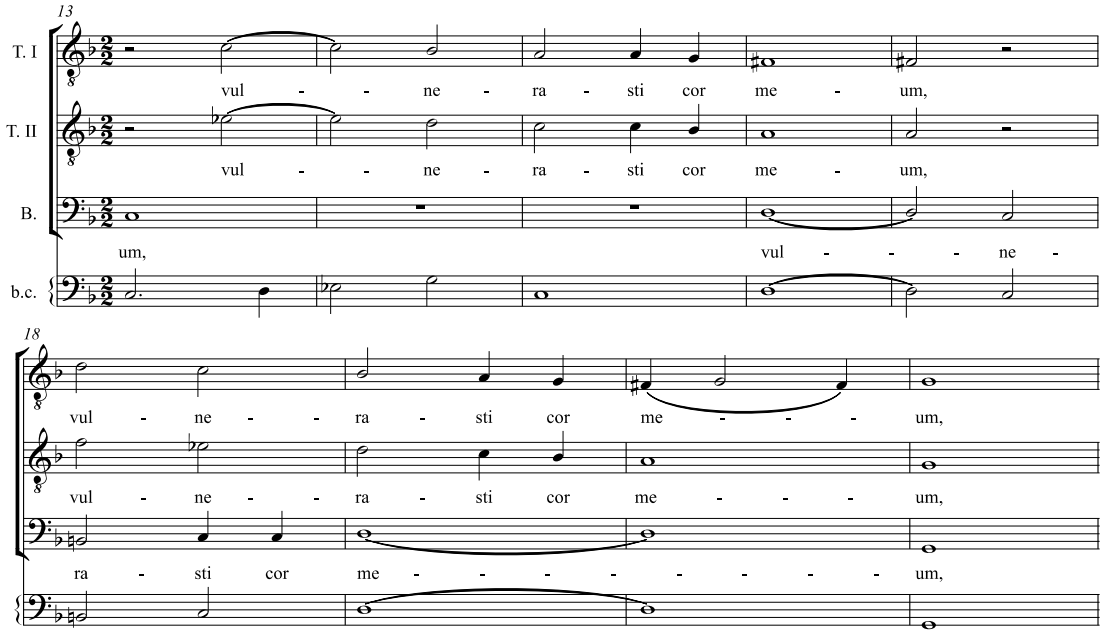
[59] Arnold, D., *Op. cit.*, 39.
[60] Wainwright, J. P., ed., *Op. cit.*, *Musica Britannica*, 87. 24.

Example 3.14: Dering, *Beatus vir qui inventus est*, bb.1–17[61]



Similarly, when Dering includes a third voice, such as the bass in *Vulnerasti cor meum*, the two tenors maintain the duet style, proceeding in parallel thirds homorhythmically, while the bass voice follows the continuo exactly (apart from minor rhythmic elaborations) (Ex. 3.15).

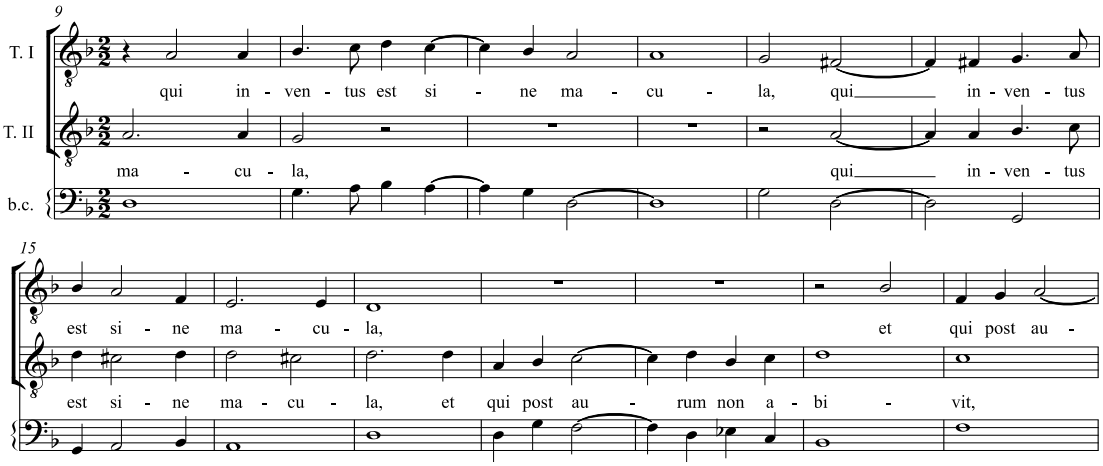
Example 3.15: Dering, *Vulnerasti cor meum*, bb.13–21[62]



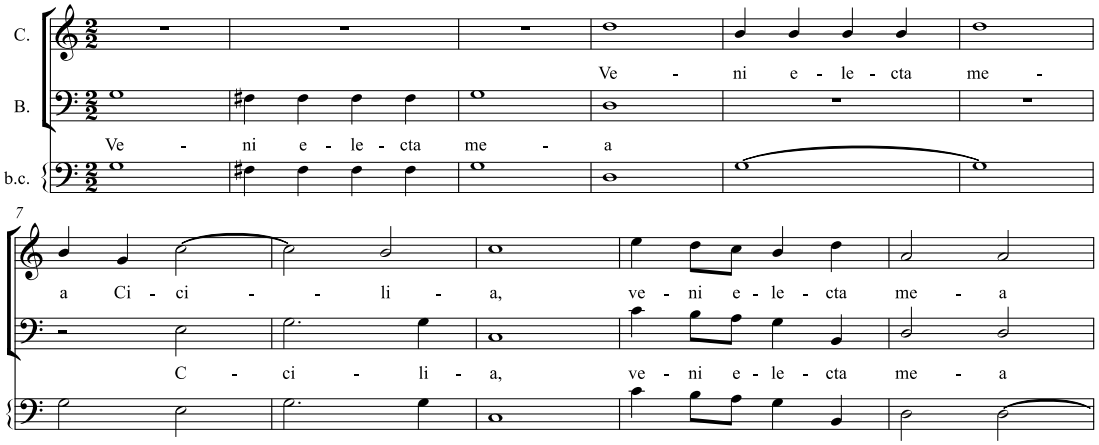
[61] *Ibid*., 6.
[62] *Ibid*., 29.

The interpolation of imitation and homophony is used time and again by Dering, confirming his adherence to the *stile concertato* and is evident, for example, in *Beatus vir qui inventus est* and *Veni electa mea Cicilia* (CBbc) (Exx. 3.16 And 3.17).

Example 3.16: Dering, *Beatus vir qui inventus est*, bb.9–21[63]



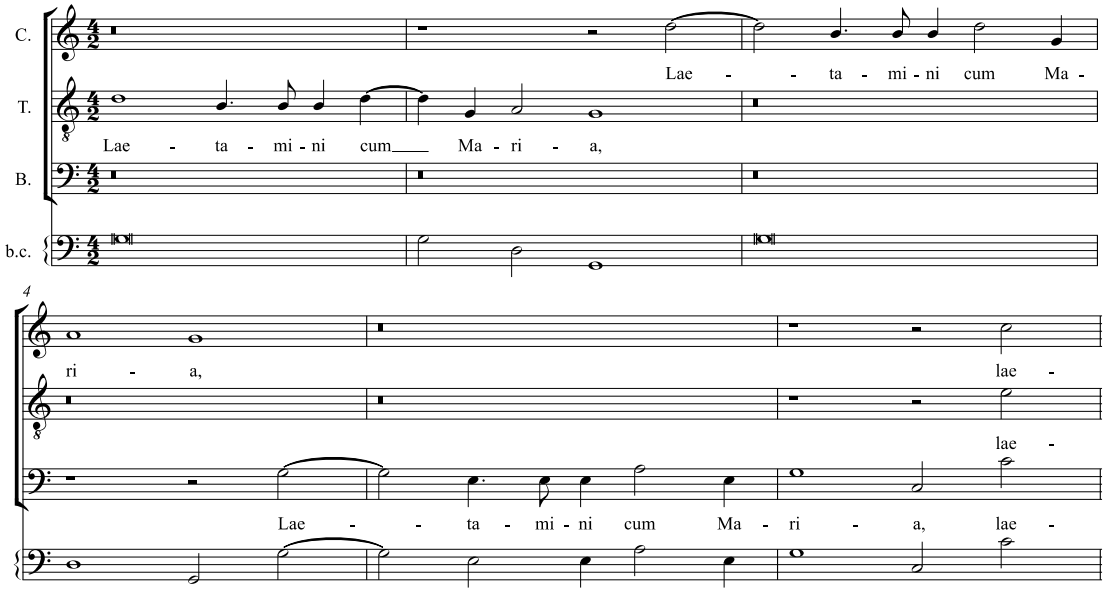
Example 3.17: Dering, *Veni electa mea Cicilia*, bb.1–11[64]



[63] *Ibid*., 6.
[64] *Ibid*., 17.

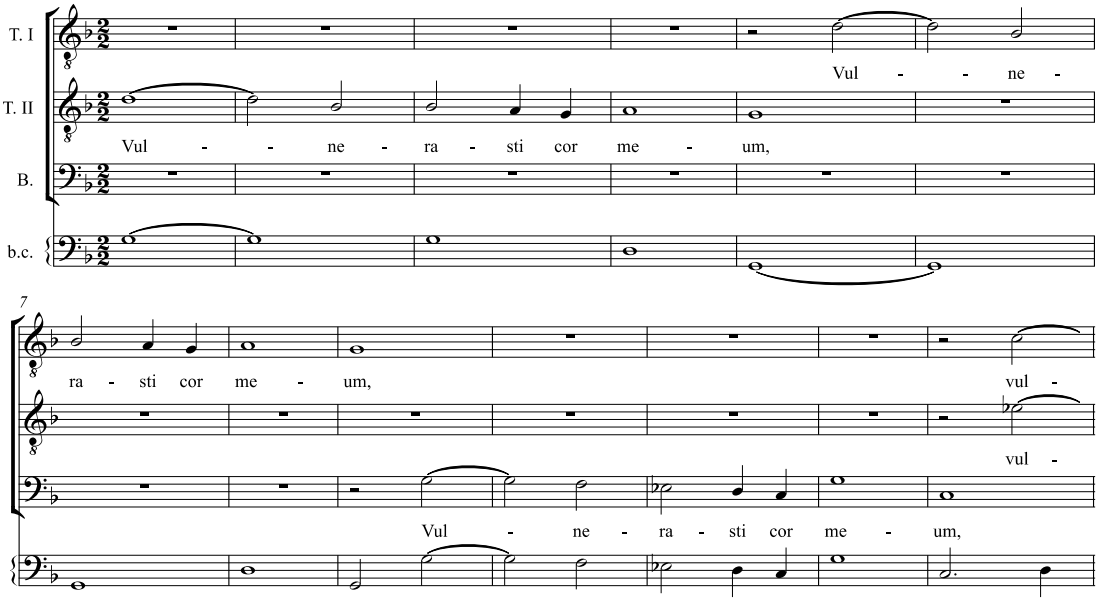
Furthermore, some of the three-voice settings, like the two-voice settings, follow the general pattern whereby each voice is introduced individually with an imitative entry before joining together, typically in a passage of homophony (Exx. 3.18 and 3.19).

Example 3.18: Dering, *Laetamini cum Maria*, bb.1–6[65]



[65] *Ibid*., 35.

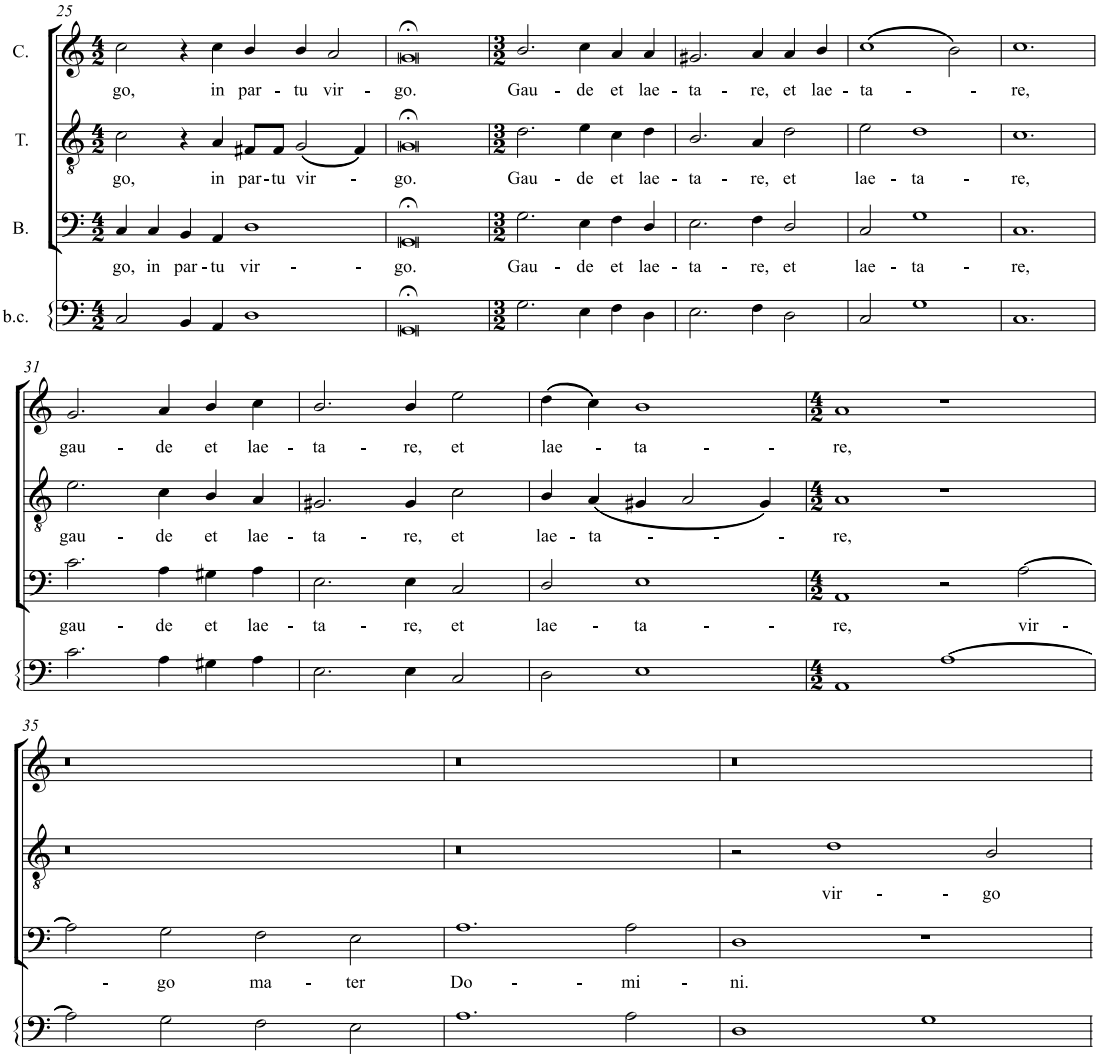
Example 3.19: Dering, *Vulnerasti cor meum*, bb.1–13[66]



Likewise, the three-voice settings also include the use of contrasting triple-time sections. In his setting of *Laetamini cum Maria* (CTBbc), Dering introduces a triple metre at the text 'Gaude et laetare' (rejoice and be glad), appositely conveying the joy of the text with a sprightly metre (Ex. 3.20).

[66] *Ibid*., 29.

Example 3.20: Dering, *Laetamini cum Maria*, bb.25–37[67]

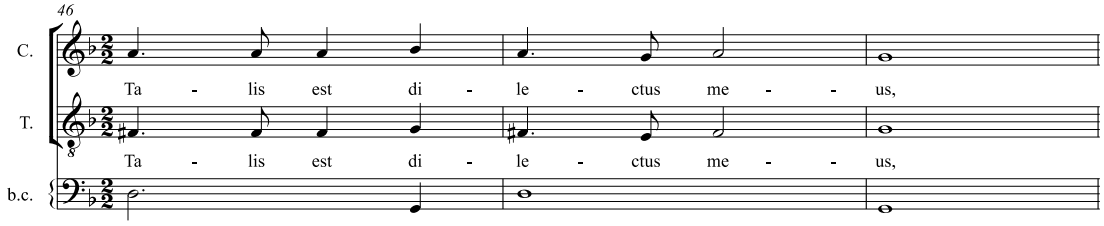


A further development during the second decade of the seventeenth century, associated with composers who were active in Venice, especially Alessandro Grandi, was the imposition of repeated sections as a means of structural organisation; a feature that once established became increasingly prevalent in small-scale motets. On a number of occasions Grandi and Croce are

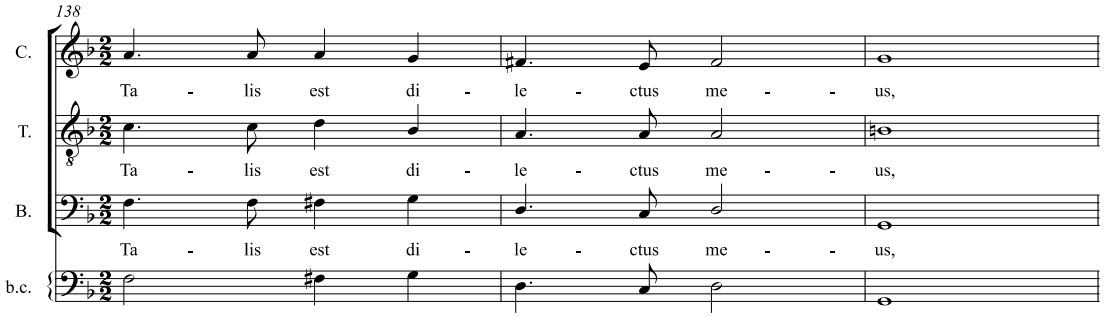
[67] *Ibid.*, 36.

associated in print and quite possibly they were friends.[68] Croce's *Psallite Deo* (No.9 of the *Sacrae Cantilene Concertate*) provides an early example of rondo form in sacred *concertato* music, whereby a refrain is used to start and finish the work and to separate sections for soloists.[69] Dering certainly shows an awareness of this procedure, carefully organising his motet *Qualis est dilectus tuus* (CTBbc) around a rondo-type refrain (Exx. 3.21 and 3.22), which appears three times: twice in a two-voice version (CTbc) and once in a varied three-voice version (CTBbc).[70]

Example 3.21: Dering, *Qualis est dilectus tuus*, bb.46–48[71]



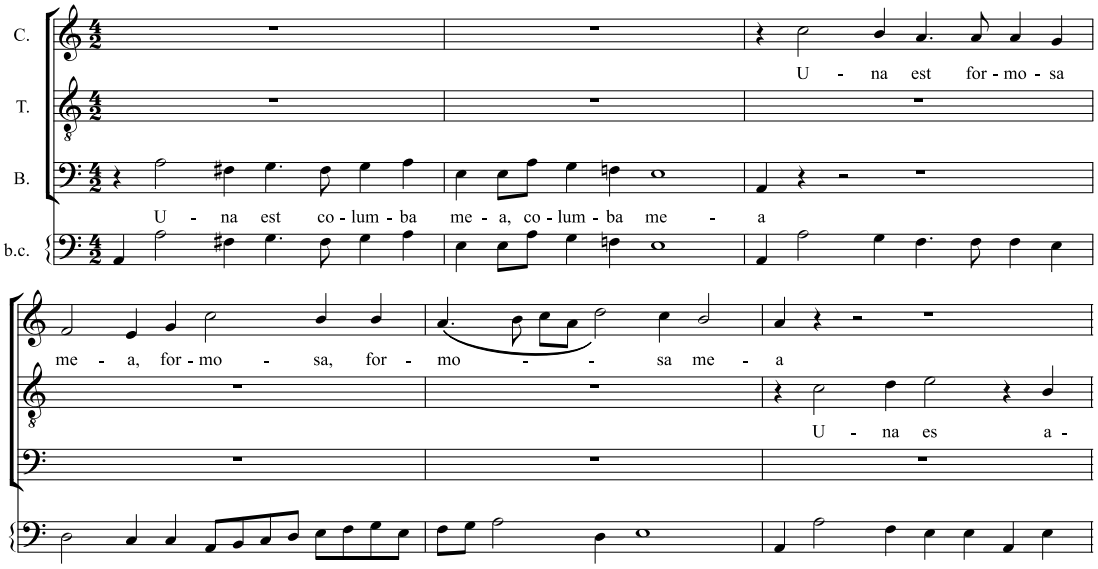
Example 3.22: Dering, *Qualis est dilectus tuus*, bb.138–140[72]



[68] Arnold, D., *Op. cit.*, 47. Arnold has identified three such instances: Grandi's *Messa et Salmi* (1630) includes Croce's *Laudate Pueri*; Croce's *In Spiritu* is included in Grandi's *Motetti a cinque voci* (1620); one contribution is made by Grandi to Croce's fourth book of *Madrigali a 5 & 6 voci* (1607).
[69] *Ibid.*, 43.
[70] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice "Concertato" Motets', 177.
[71] Wainwright, J. P., ed., *Op. cit.*, *Musica Britannica*, 87. 47.
[72] *Ibid*., 49.

Dering's use of short, concise, and clearly articulated themes in an ever-changing texture of solo writing, imitative duets (and/or trios), and homophonic sections, all supported harmonically by the organ, represent another advancement on Viadana's *prima pratica*-dominated style of composition; sectional demarcations are sometimes emphasised with an attendant change of metre.[73] Again, a connection can be made between Croce and Dering in this respect. The *concertato* interplay between voices can be seen in an inchoate form in Croce's *Tres Sunt* (No.8 of the *Sacrae Cantilene Concertate*, Ex. 3.23), with Dering's *Laetamini cum Maria* providing a corresponding demonstration of such a device (Ex. 3.24).

Example 3.23: Croce, *Tres sunt*[74]

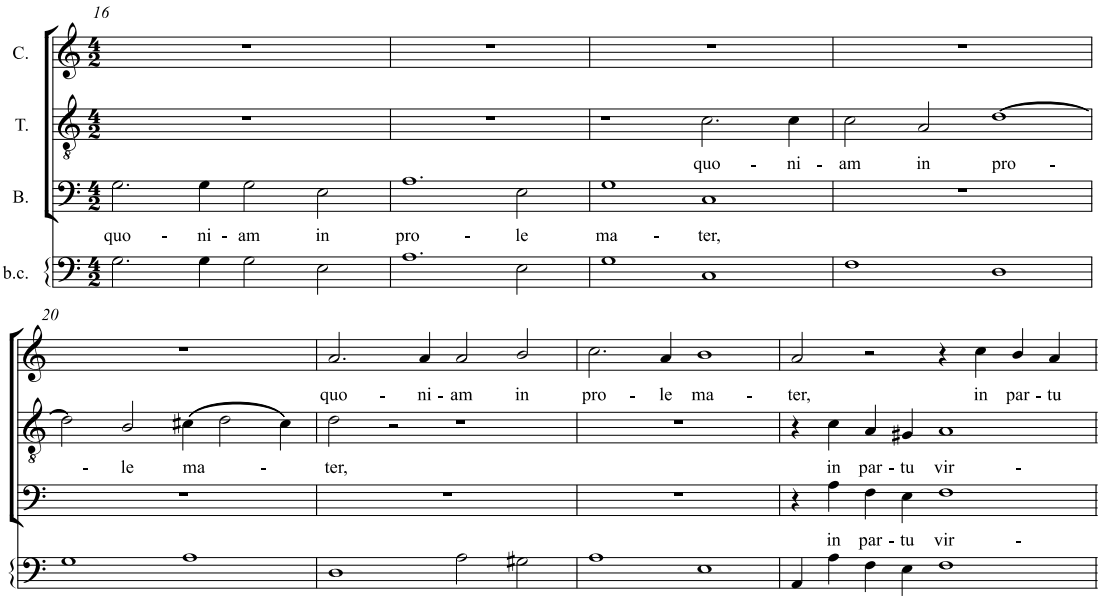


Dering's setting of *Gratias tibi Deus* (CBbc) provides a clear example of the way in which contrapuntal sections are characterised by the interplay of short rhythmic motives. At bars 25–27, the three-quaver motive introduced by the bass voice, expressing the text 'et una',

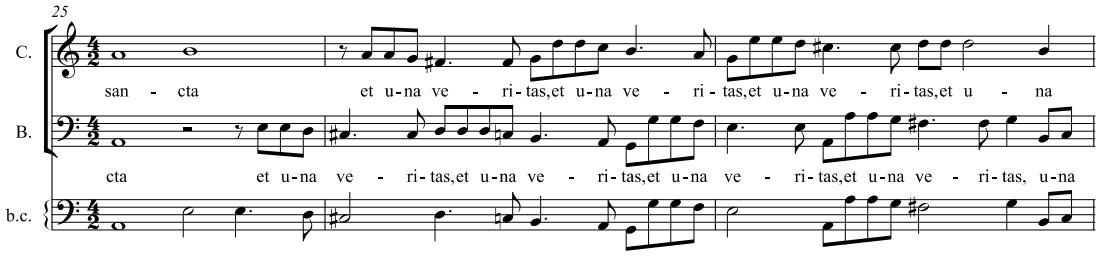
[73] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice "Concertato" Motets' 175.
[74] Arnold, D., *Op. cit.*, 40.

oscillates between the bassus and cantus (Ex. 3.25). The motive is recognisable even though it is stated at different pitches because it maintains the same rhythmic and intervallic values.

Example 3.24: Dering, *Laetamini cum Maria*, bb.16–23[75]



Example 3.25: Dering, *Gratias tibi Deus*, bb.25–27[76]

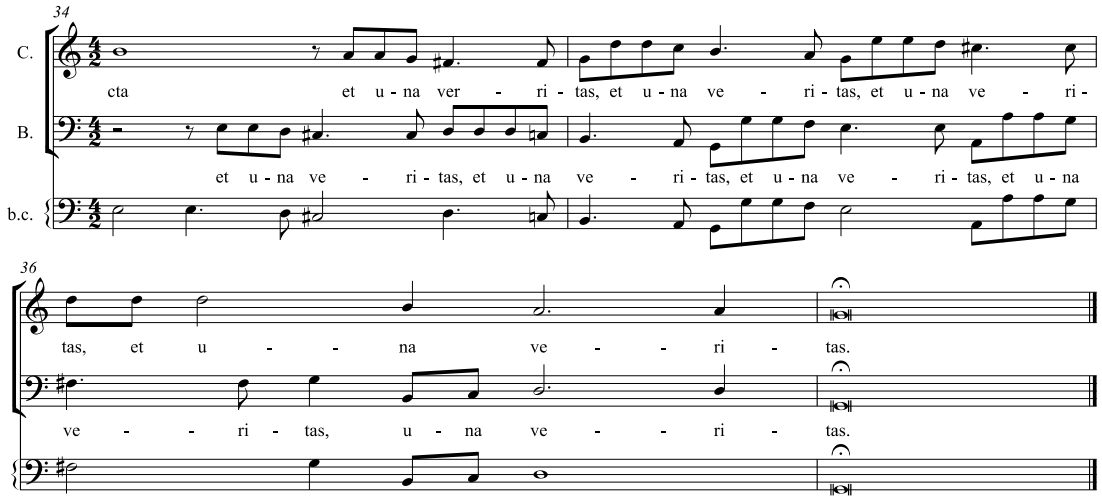


Similarly, the closing bars of this motet see a return of the text ‘et una veritas’ and, accordingly, Dering repeats the music of its previous statement (Ex. 3.26). Dering’s reliance on a *ritornello*-like feature provides coherence and demonstrates his awareness of up-to-date Italian compositional techniques. The passages between bars 38–46 of *Veni electa mea Cicilia* and bars

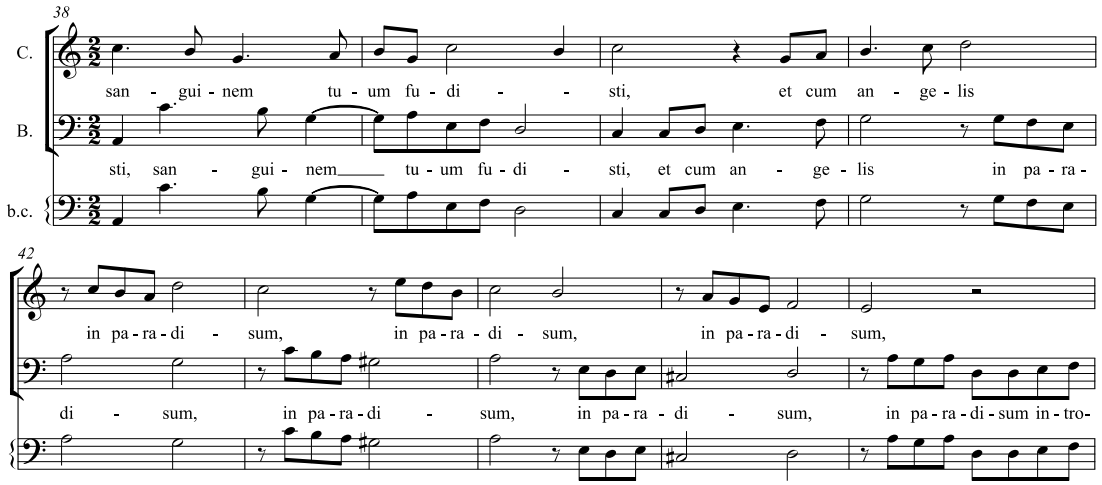
[75] Wainwright, J. P., ed., *Op. cit.*, *Musica Britannica*, 87, 35.
[76] *Ibid*., 16.

13–16 of *Sancta et immaculata* corroborate the observation about Dering's interplay of concise rhythmic motives (Exx. 3.27 and 3.28).

Example 3.26: Dering, *Gratias tibi Deus*, bb.34–36[77]

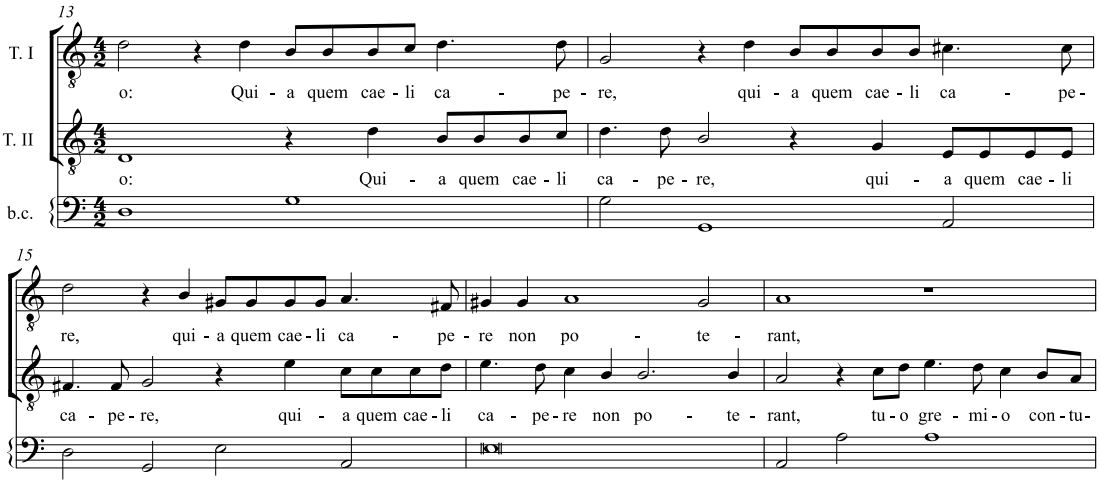


Example 3.27: Dering, *Veni electa mea Cicilia*, bb.38–46[78]



[77] *Ibid*., 16.
[78] *Ibid*., 17–18.

Example 3.28: Dering, *Sancta et immaculata et virginitas*, bb.13–16[79]



Many of the Italianate compositional devices used by Dering also demonstrate a close affinity with the style of Cifra, which was summarised by Dixon above, and are instantly recognisable in his few-voice motets. Finally, the few-voice motets by both composers are characterised by a general musical reaction to the text. Neither Cifra nor Dering explored or employed the techniques of monody to express the meaning of the text, avoiding overt word-painting and remaining restrained in their composition of melodic lines; there is no attempt to adopt the virtuosic writing favoured by Giovanni Bernardino Nanino (*c.*1560–1618), for example, in his small-scale *concertato* works.[80] Dixon contends that Cifra 'preferred to encapsulate the general atmosphere of the words'[81] in a corresponding way that Wainwright recognises that 'Dering's word-painting is never overstated: sometimes he draws attention to a particular word with the use of an ornamental figure, but usually it is a more general musical reaction to the text that characterises the music'.[82]

[79] *Ibid.*, 19–20.
[80] See, for example, Nanino's *Exaudi nos Domine, Motecta, liber secundus* (Rome, 1611).
[81] Dixon, G., *Op. cit.*, 109.
[82] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice "Concertato" Motets', 175.

This chapter has hitherto demonstrated that the compositional language employed by Dering in his few-voice Latin motets represents a comprehensive assimilation of the techniques of Italian *concertato* music composed in the first two decades of the *seicento*. Dering was the first English composer to appropriate the compositional methods of Viadana, Cifra, and Croce, returning to England conversant in the *stile nuovo* and paving the way for a new generation of composers.[83]

It will not have escaped attention that a number of the texts Dering sets are overtly Marian. For example, *Conceptio tua Dei genitrix virgo* is a Magnificat antiphon at the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary and *Sancta et immaculata virginitas* is a setting of the First Respond and Verse at Matins in the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The blatantly Catholic texts help to substantiate an English performance context for Dering's few-voice *concertato* motets, which is the focus of the remainder of this chapter.

Performance Context

Wainwright and Platt have, on numerous occasions, suggested that some of Dering's small-scale *concertato* motets were almost certainly written for Henrietta Maria's private devotions in her chapel. The motets for two and three voices became popular after 1625 (the year Dering was appointed organist to Henrietta Maria) and remained so throughout the Civil War, Commonwealth, and Restoration periods. Wainwright comments that 'the continued popularity

[83] The English composer and organist Peter Philips (1560/1–1628) adopted elements of the *stile nuovo* but he spent his maturity in the Spanish Netherlands. As an English Roman Catholic, Philips fled England in August 1582 and did not return. Philips has been excluded from this dissertation since he was not active in England between 1625–*c.*1660.

of Dering's few-voice Latin motets in a country now so militantly Protestant is a curious phenomenon'.[84] In 1676, Thomas Mace reported:

> That in the days before the Civil War after he and his friends had finished playing consort music, they 'did *Conclude All*, with some *Vocal Musick*, to the *Organ*, or (for want of *That*) to the *Theorboe ... viz.* Mr. *Deering's Gloria Patri*, and other of *His Latin Songs ... Wonderfully Rare*, *Sublime*, and *Divine*, beyond all Expression'.[85]

And, according to Anthony Wood, the motets were even popular with Oliver Cromwell.[86] The demand for Dering's few-voice Latin motets is surely apparent when considering Playford's two *Cantica Sacra* volumes of 1662 and 1674, published 32 and 44 years, respectively, after the death of Dering. Furthermore, Samuel Pepys noted:

> That on Saturday 22 November 1662 on 'meeting Mr. Playford, he did give me his Latin Songs of Mr. Deerings, which he lately printed' and on Sunday 10 May 1668 he notes that he taught Mary Mercer to sing 'Canite Jehovae'.[87]

These anecdotes reveal the blurring of such dichotomies as Anglican and Catholic, and liturgical and non-liturgical in the composition and performance of sacred music, highlighting the transformation of performing contexts throughout the seventeenth century in England.

When Henrietta Maria arrived in England she was accompanied by Oratorian priests, led by their Superior-General, Father Bérulle. Not only was Father Bérulle a leading religious figure of the time, but he had a close relationship with Queen Marie de Medici, Henrietta Maria's mother. He was the queen's confessor and founded the French Oratory at the first Carmelite convent in Paris,

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[84] Wainwright, J. P., ed., *Op. cit.*, *Musica Britannica*, 87, xxiv.
[85] *Ibid.*, xxiv.
[86] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood MS D.19(4) *sub* 'Hingston' (appended note in the hand of Benjamin Rogers): '*Hingston*, John, an able Composer, and Organist; He was Org[a]n[ist] to Oliver Protector, who had the Organ of Magd[alen] College in the Palace Hall of Hampton Court: till his ma[jes]ties Restauration: he bred up two Boyes to sing with Himselfe (Mr. Dearings) printed latin songs for 3 voices: which Oliver was most taken with: tho[ugh] he did not allow singing, or Organ in Churches. He had them sung at the Cokepit at White Hall, where he had an Organ: and did allow this John Hingston £100 per Annum during his usurpation.'
[87] Wainwright, J. P., ed., *Op. cit.*, *Musica Britannica*, 87, xxiv.

of which Marie was the patroness and Father Bérulle was the Director.[88] Henrietta Maria was sent to the Carmelite convent 'with other young ladies from the French court for religious instruction'.[89] Once in England Henrietta Maria practiced her Catholicism with vehemence, causing many problems for the monarchy. Her first act of obstinacy was to refuse to attend the coronation of Charles I because, in her view, the service was heretical since it was based upon the rites of the Church of England.[90] Henrietta Maria would not accept the crown from the 'heretic' Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot (succeeded by William Laud), and consequently became the first queen consort in English history to remain uncrowned. Henrietta Maria's overt Catholicism was demonstrated in various ways, such as: her retirement from court, for a week, on 10 April 1626 where the queen and her ladies 'sang the hours of the virgin, and lied [*sic*] together like nuns';[91] and, her frequent pilgrimages made through Hyde Park to the Tyburn gallows, the site of many executed Catholic martyrs.[92] Henrietta Maria's public exhibition of her Catholicism no doubt offended Protestant sensibilities and the 'ostentatious celebration of Mass by her Oratorians at St James' Palace caused uproar'.[93] Unsurprisingly, Charles dismissed the majority of the queen's French entourage on 26 June 1626, largely for the reasons given above; Charles was concerned about the 'ill crafty councell' they were giving her.[94]

In November 1627 it was agreed that Henrietta Maria should be permitted a new ecclesiastical establishment 'comprising a bishop, Capuchin friars, a confessor and musicians for her chapel'.[95]

[88] Thurley, S., *Op. cit.*, 49.
[89] *Ibid.*, 49.
[90] White, M. A., *Op. cit.*, 21.
[91] Thurley, S., *Op. cit.*, 51.
[92] White, M. A., *Op. cit*, 24–25.
[93] Thurley, S., *Op. cit.*, 51.
[94] White, M. A., *Op. cit.*, 12.
[95] Thurley, S., *Op. cit.*, 51.

The Capuchins, who were a reformed Franciscan order, practiced Devout Humanism and were noted for their 'abnegation and proselytising zeal'.[96] Veevers provides a concise summary of the Capuchin order:

> The Capuchins were a missionary Order and one of the most successful in the seventeenth century in reclaiming territories lost to Catholicism at the Reformation. They placed themselves under the direction of *The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith* (founded 1622), and by 1625 they had provinces in all the principal countries of Europe ... Their mission in England was like that to any other 'heretic' country, and under the auspices of the queen they worked tirelessly to win back those who had been lost to the faith, or to convert others who were attracted to it.[97]

The Capuchins were deliberately selected to serve Henrietta Maria because they were acceptable to both the English and French courts.

> They [the Capuchins] were acceptable to Charles because, unlike some of those who originally had accompanied Henrietta, they were known for their courtly tact and gentle piety; five of their number were said to have been born Englishmen. They were acceptable to the French because Capuchins were influential at that court, and one of those who led the English mission, Father Joseph (Francis le Clerc de Tremblay) was in the confidence of Louis XIII, Marie de Medici, and the Pope.[98]

In 1630, a group of 12 Capuchin priests arrived in England to serve Henrietta Maria, and it was resolved that a new chapel should be built at Denmark House for them. Simon Thurley comments:

> It is important to stress that this was not a personal chapel for the queen, it was a friary and chapel in the tradition of pre-Reformation attached friaries, like that built at Greenwich by Edward IV or Richmond by Henry VII.[99]

On 24 September 1632, Henrietta Maria laid the foundation stone for her new Capuchin chapel at Denmark House, which was designed by Inigo Jones and dedicated to the Virgin Mary. This dedication service, which took place in the old tennis court chapel, was watched by two thousand people.[100] Figure 3.1 below is the ground plan of Denmark house *c.*1620 before the Capuchin

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[96] *Ibid.*, 51.
[97] Veevers, E., *Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and Court Entertainments* (Cambridge, 1998), 92.
[98] *Ibid.*, 92.
[99] Thurley, S., *Op. cit.*, 51.
[100] *Ibid.*, 51.

chapel was built, and Figure 3.2 is the ground plan of *c.*1640, subsequent to the completion of the chapel. The chapel opened on 8 December 1636 with great spectacle and thereafter 'became—at least to the Anglican establishment—an embarrassingly public magnet for Roman Catholics and a large number of converts'.[101]

The construction of the Chapel at Denmark House was seen, in Catholic quarters, as the beginning of the return of the true religion to England,[102] and, in point of fact, this had long been the intention of Henrietta Maria. Before Henrietta Maria married Charles, her godfather, Pope Urban VIII, wrote to her expressing his wish that she would be the guardian angel of English Catholics.[103] Marie de Medici expressed the same sentiment in a letter, written with the help of Father Bérulle, admonishing Henrietta Maria on her duty, first to God and her religion, then to her husband. [104]

> There can be little doubt that Henrietta, from a Catholic point of view, had a duty to proselytise, and that considerable pressure was placed upon her to do so. In Catholic eyes she had left France, when she married, to rule over a country of heretics. Her marriage with Charles was looked upon as not so much a private matter, as a religious vocation, in which nothing less was expected of her than that she should bring Charles, and with him the rest of the country, back to the 'true' religion.[105]

Henrietta assured the Pope that she would do everything in her power to carry out these instructions; her primary concern was to gain greater concessions for Catholics, pleading with the king to alleviate the plight of Catholic recusants.[106]

[101] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, 'Sounds of Piety and Devotion: Music in the Queen's Chapel', 199.
[102] White, M. A., *Op. cit.*, 25.
[103] *Ibid.*, 31.
[104] Veevers, E., *Op. cit.*, 76.
[105] *Ibid.*, 76.
[106] White, M. A., *Op. cit.*, 31.

Figure 3.1: Plan of Somerset House Ground Floor, *c.*1620[107]

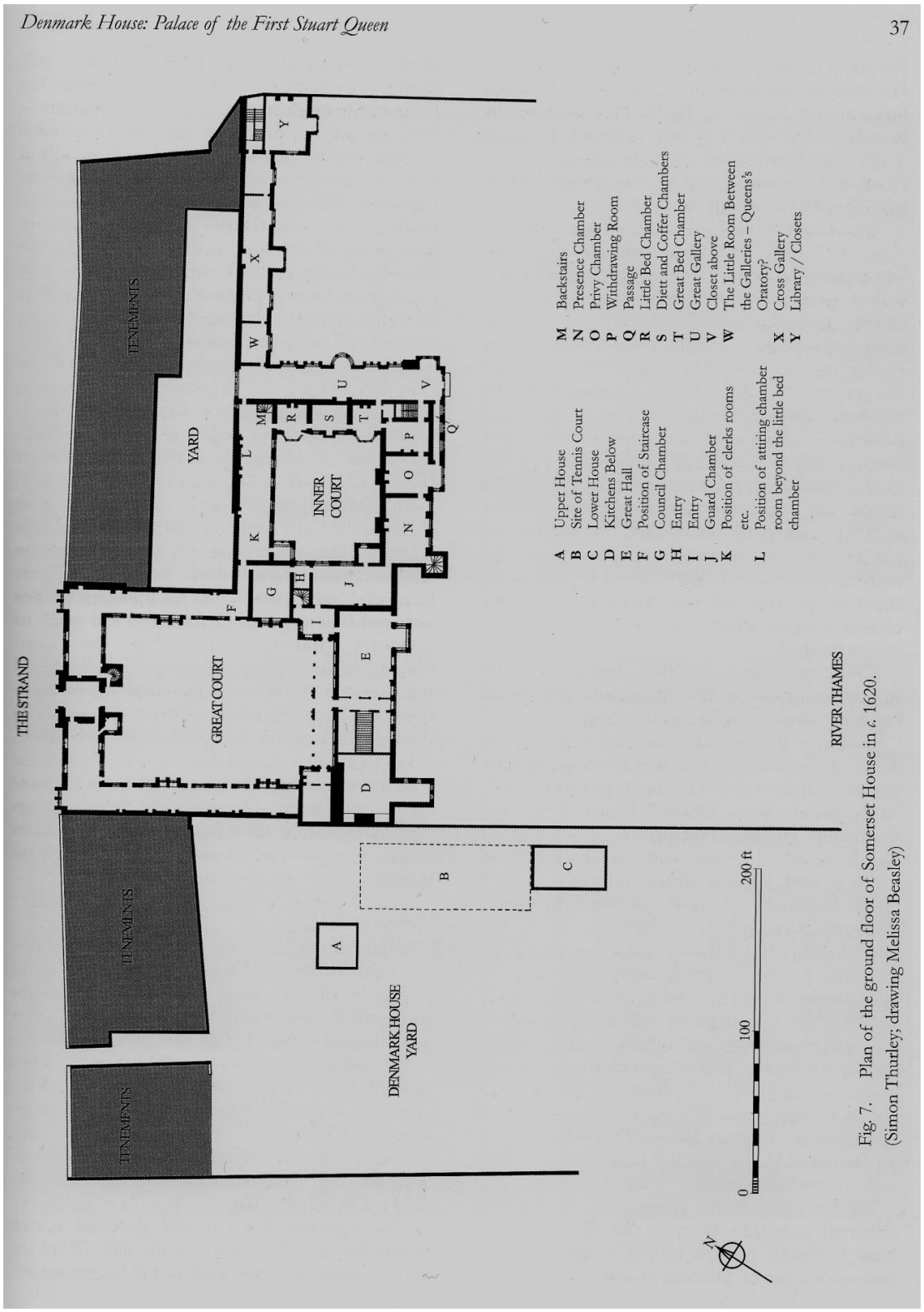

Fig. 7. Plan of the ground floor of Somerset House in *c.* 1620. (Simon Thurley; drawing Melissa Beasley)

[107] Thurley, S., *Op. cit.*, 37.

Figure 3.2: Plan of Somerset House Ground Floor, *c.*1640[108]

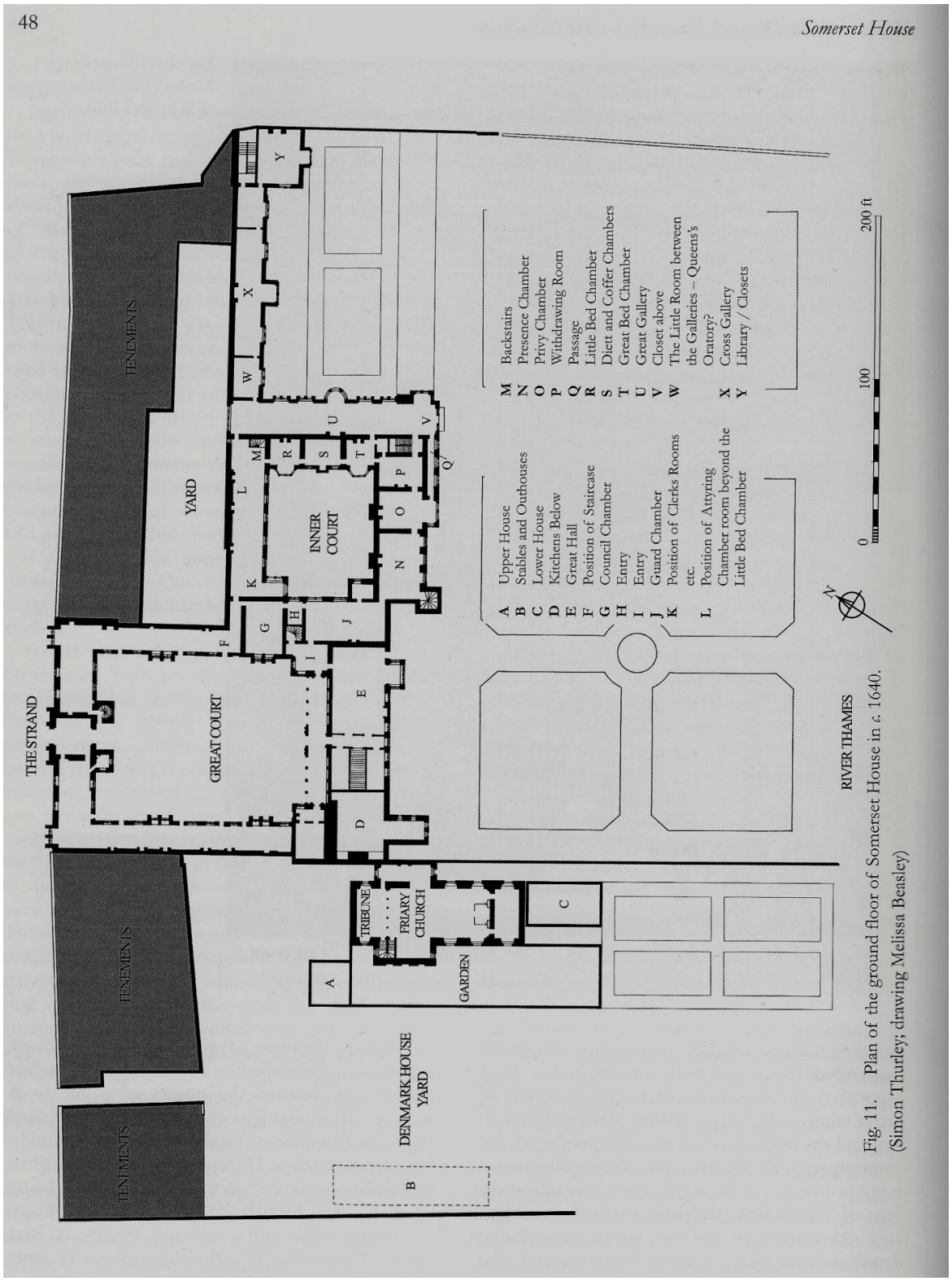

Fig. 11. Plan of the ground floor of Somerset House in *c.* 1640. (Simon Thurley; drawing Melissa Beasley)

[108] *Ibid.*, 48.

In the same year that the Capuchins arrived in England (1630), communications were re-opened with the Vatican, and by 1633 official relations had been re-established with Rome; the first for nearly a century.[109] Consequently, the Papal envoy Gregorio Panzani arrived at the English court in December 1634 and was accredited to Henrietta Maria. In addition, there was an exchange of agents between the English court and the Vatican; William Hamilton was to represent the queen at the Vatican and George Conn was to represent the Pope at the English court. The primary objective of these two men was 'to explore the possibility of reconciliation between Catholicism and Anglicanism (a possibility that had its adherents at court in the 1630s), to make converts, and generally to spread as tactfully as possible the influence of the queen's religion'.[110] In the same year that Henrietta Maria's Capuchin chapel opened at Denmark House (1636) the English court established, through the queen's involvement, a permanent Papal nuncio. Diana Barnes remarks that 'the English court had become a haven for recusants and Roman Catholic converts'.[111] The proselytising zeal of Henrietta Maria, her Capuchins, and her court had a profound religious effect. Catholicism prospered under the queen's auspices during the 1630s and there were a large number of conversions, some of which were extremely high profile, such as Walter Montague, Henry Jermyn, Lady Newport, Olivia Porter, Lord Boteler, and Captain Tom Porter. Jessica Bell points out that the Virgin was renowned for her ability to gain converts to Christianity, providing 'an appropriate model for a queen who perceived herself to be on a similar crusading mission'.[112]

[109] Veevers, E., *Op. cit.*, 84.
[110] *Ibid.*, 85.
[111] Barnes, D., 'The Secretary of Ladies and Feminine Friendship at the Court of Henrietta Maria', *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage*, ed. Erin Griffey (Aldershot, 2008), 49.
[112] Bell, J., 'The Three Marys: The Virgin; Marie de Médicis; and Henrietta Maria', *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage*, ed. Erin Griffey (Aldershot, 2008), 92.

Many English Catholics attended Mass at the chapels of the Portuguese, Spanish, and Venetian embassies, sometimes even assisting and performing in the services.[113] The opening of Henrietta Maria's chapel, which she wanted to become the parish church of Catholics in London, provided a locus for Catholic worship. It was estimated that on Sundays and other religious holidays 'no less than 6,000 people'[114] heard Mass at the queen's chapel at Denmark House.[115] Clarendon regarded the flocking of Catholics to Denmark House as particularly reprehensible, and relentless complaints were made by neighbouring Protestants about the 'frequent and notorious Resort of great Multitudes of People to the Masses of these Capuchins'.[116] The chapel at Denmark House was unique in the fact that, unlike her chapels at Oatlands and Whitehall, it remained staffed throughout the year. Moreover:

> Unlike the other royal chapels, it [the chapel at Denmark House] had its own congregation of outsiders who had nothing to do with the queen's household and who could enter the chapel through the gatehouse to Somerset House Yard without crossing the domestic precincts. There were services every day and on feasts and festivals the chapel was so crowded that people queued to get in. After sung Vespers a Capuchin preacher would preach for an hour, and there was teaching on Thursdays in French and on Wednesdays and Saturdays in English.[117]

It is important to recognise that Henrietta Maria's agents and Capuchin priests were active proselytisers who expected a reciprocal zeal from her Catholic following. During the mid-1630s, the congregation at Henrietta Maria's Denmark House chapel was galvanised when permission was granted, by the Pope, for the formation of an Arch Confraternity of the Holy Rosary, which was led by the queen. Henrietta Maria's arch confraternity held weekly meetings and public processions, drawing together people sympathetic to her form of Devout Humanism.[118]

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[113] Lindley, K. J., *Op. cit.*, 205.
[114] *Lbl* Harl. MS 3888, f.146r in White, M. A., *Op. cit.*, 32.
[115] White, M. A., *Op. cit.*, 32.
[116] Clarendon, *History of the Great Rebellion*, ed. W. D. Macray (Oxford, 1888), i. 194; L. J., v.687 in Lindley, K. J., *Op. cit.*, 205–206.
[117] Thurley, S., *Op. cit.*, 55.
[118] Veevers, E., *Op. cit.*, 8. The arch-confraternity was an international fraternity of lay people under the Dominicans devoted to the Virgin and saying the rosary.

Devout Humanism has its origins in the teachings of St Francis de Sales (1567–1622) who believed in the 'essential goodness of human nature, and the amenability of the human spirit to the will of God'.[119] In general terms, it contributed to the fervour of the Counter-Reformation but was much less militant than the Jesuit's *Combat Spirituel*, placing more emphasis on 'the *Via Affirmativa* of the spiritual life, the way of gentleness, beauty, and love',[120] and sharing with Christian Humanism the 'desire to synthesise the spiritual values of Christianity with the intellectual and material achievements of the Renaissance'.[121] However, Devout Humanism differs from Christian Humanism in its approach to the way to God. Christian Humanism regards reason and intellect as the guiding principles to God whereas Devout Humanism places 'more emphasis on the senses, the imagination, and the emotions',[122] and therefore embodies an element of neoplatonic idealism, namely Platonic Beauty and Love. Henrietta Maria's practice of Devout Humanism was aimed at combining piety and pleasure. Veevers comments:

> The Capuchins who came to serve in the queen's chapel in 1630 paid special devotion to the Virgin whom they praised as the exemplar of Beauty and Love, so that the language of Platonic love became a common element in Henrietta's love fashions and in her religion.[123]

Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* (1528), which was heavily influential in Europe and in England, propagated Platonic ideas that had adopted Christian beliefs. In book four of the *Courtier*, Castiglione retraced Plato's steps in the *Symposium*:

> Leading the true lover from the experience (through the senses) of beauty and love in particular forms, to experience (through the understanding) of the universal Forms of Beauty and Love, and eventually to the direct perception (shared with the angels) of the heavenly vision of Beauty and Love, which is God.[124]

[119] *Ibid*., 22.
[120] *Ibid*., 22.
[121] *Ibid*., 22
[122] *Ibid*., 22.
[123] *Ibid*., 7–8.
[124] *Ibid*., 16.

The ambition of St Francis de Sales and, by extension, his followers was 'to bring religion into everyday life by making it simpler, and to extend its influence through society by making it attractive'.[125]

The queen's proclivity for neoplatonic precepts has been made abundantly clear, which, I assert, supports the view that some of Dering's few-voice Latin motets were specifically composed for performance at Henrietta Maria's chapel; they would have been ideally suited for the queen's devotions and public services. Dering's few-voice Latin motets are composed according to the *seconda pratica* style where the text is of paramount importance; counterpoint and rhythm are subordinate to the text. Significantly, the *seconda pratica* is based upon Platonic principles. Plato proclaimed that 'in a song (*melos*), the *harmonia* (agreement or relation of sounds) and the *rhythmos* (time and rhythm) should follow the *logos* (word or thought)'.[126] It is not too fanciful to conjecture that Dering's small-scale motets were actively promoted because, along with the queen's Devout Humanism, they exemplify the queen's penchant for neoplatonic ideals. Furthermore, Dering's complete assimilation of Italian *concertato* music in his small-scale motets would have undoubtedly made them attractive since they were completely up-to-date with developments in Italy, corresponding with the qualities favoured by de Sales (simplicity and attractiveness).

[125] *Ibid*., 22.
[126] Plato, *Republic*, 398d in Palisca, C. V., 'Prima pratica', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 15 October 2010).

Conclusion

It is likely that some of Dering's few-voice motets were composed after his return to England in 1625 and were written specifically for performance in Henrietta Maria's Roman Catholic chapel;[127] it seems very unlikely that overtly Marian texts, such as *Sancta et immaculata virginitas*, would have been acceptable elsewhere.[128] Between the years 1625–1630, then, Dering was employed at the courts of Charles I and Henrietta Maria—as singer and lutenist, and as organist respectively. In view of the artistic *milieu* of the Royal courts hitherto highlighted in this dissertation, it can be concluded that Dering found himself at the centre of a progressive musical culture. Indeed, Dering's few-voice *concertato* motets are the earliest extant pieces by an English composer to exhibit a comprehensive assimilation of up-to-date Italian compositional techniques and, consequently, he should be regarded as the progenitor of Italianate sacred music in England. It seems reasonable to suggest that Dering's Italianate few-voice *concertato* motets were composed to satisfy a progressive court culture that revered and valued Italian works of art above all others. This view finds further support when considering the perhaps often-overlooked composer, George Jeffreys, in the following chapters.

[127] See Wainwright, J. P. *Op. cit.*, 'Sounds of Piety and Devotion: Music in the Queen's Chapel', 195–213.
[128] Some possible exceptions include the Portuguese, Spanish, and Venetian embassies, where Mass continued to be celebrated throughout the reign of Charles I. See Lindley, K. J., *Op. cit.*, *passim*.

Chapter 4: George Jeffreys I

George Jeffreys (*c.*1610–1685) is possibly one of the most innovative and original English composers in pre-Restoration England, yet he still remains relatively unknown, recognised mainly for his single contribution to Playford's *Cantica Sacra* (1674). It is likely that Jeffreys has been marginalised, if not omitted, from histories of English music by commentators because he was neither a composer nor musician for the Chapel Royal or one of the English cathedrals. In recent years, however, Jeffreys' pioneering achievements have started to come to light and be recognised, thanks largely to the research of Robert Thompson and Jonathan Wainwright.[1] Their research has focussed primarily on archival and bibliographical studies, revealing Jeffreys' compositional and copying activities with a considerable degree of accuracy, alongside his access to one of the richest musical libraries yet discovered, allowing a historical perspective to be formed. Musicological scholarship, however, has yet to seriously consider Jeffreys' music in light of the discoveries made by Thompson and Wainwright and it is this lacuna that I aim to address. Importantly, perhaps a unique situation exists whereby a precise line of influence can be traced in respect of Jeffreys' compositions (the details of which will be offered below). Consequently, in Chapters 5–7 Jeffreys' *awareness* of, *similarity* to, and *change* from the contemporary Italian music that he knew or can reasonably assumed to have been familiar with are detailed, drawing on Platoff's conditions of influence as a means of providing a methodological structure. In this chapter I will provide biographical details that are contextually pertinent, providing an understanding of Jeffreys' position in the history of English music. I

[1] See in particular Thompson, R., 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade 1648–1688' (PhD diss., University of London, 1988); Thompson, R., 'George Jeffreys and the "Stile Nuovo" in English Sacred Music: A New Date for His Autograph Score, British Library Add. MS 10338', *Music and Letters*, 70/3 (August, 1989), 317–341; Wainwright, J. P., *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (c.1605–1670)* (Aldershot, 1997), 132–159.

begin firstly, however, by cursorily reviewing musicological literature about Jeffreys that has been heretofore published.

Literature Review

There has been little historiographical attention paid to George Jeffreys and only a limited number of scholars have written in any detail about him. The leading scholar on Jeffreys was Peter Aston and his PhD dissertation[2] represents the first significant inquiry into his music. Peter Le Huray made passing reference to Jeffreys in his *Music and the Reformation*[3] but, while recognising that Jeffreys was more fully committed to the *stile nuovo* than any of his English contemporaries, his comments are somewhat disparaging. Le Huray describes Jeffreys as 'a musical eccentric of the first water'[4] whose music lacks 'the ability to sustain interest for any great length of time'.[5] These comments are questionable and, indeed, there is much to be admired in Jeffreys' supposed eccentricity. Two years after Le Huray's publication Aston's first article[6] appeared, bringing Jeffreys to the attention of musicologists and resurrecting him from centuries of neglect. In 1970 Dearnley made reference to Jeffreys, writing that 'claims are now made for the importance of this previously neglected composer, whetting the appetite for further knowledge of his music'.[7] Here, Dearnley is recognising the research of Aston, whose erudite PhD dissertation was awarded in the same year and which remains a seminal work. Aston's doctoral research includes a volume about the life and work of Jeffreys, where he assesses

[2] Aston, P., 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque' (PhD diss., University of York, 1970).
[3] Le Huray, P., *Music and the Reformation in England 1549–1660* (London, 1967), 350–353.
[4] *Ibid.*, 152.
[5] *Ibid.*, 353.
[6] Aston, P., 'George Jeffreys', *The Musical Times*, 110/1517 (1969), 772–776.
[7] Dearnley, C., *English Church Music 1650–1750* (London, 1970), 191.

Jeffreys' works, and three volumes of editions of his music (instrumental music, secular songs, and theatre music; sacred music; extracts from miscellaneous pieces). Following his PhD dissertation, and largely based upon it, Aston published a further article.[8] Later in the seventies another PhD dissertation related to Jeffreys was awarded to Kenneth Bergdolt,[9] who provides a parametrical analysis, typical of the period, of the sacred music. His dissertation also includes a large number of editions, including some that were not included by Aston. These two theses are presently the most comprehensive studies dealing with the music of Jeffreys.

There are a number of subsequent pieces of research and publications that relate to Jeffreys but, by and large, there is less concern with questions of musical style and compositional language. Firstly, then, one of the other leading scholars on Jeffreys, Jonathan Wainwright, includes some consideration of Jeffreys' compositional activities in his PhD dissertation.[10] His primary concern, however, is the dissemination of Italian music in seventeenth-century England. Similarly, Wainwright's following publications pertaining to Jeffreys have concentrated on his copying activities, manuscript sources, and his association with Sir Christopher Hatton III (a figure who is detailed below).[11] The research undertaken by Robert Thompson in his PhD dissertation includes a number of manuscript studies that relate to Jeffreys.[12] The most significant discovery made by Thompson, germane to this dissertation, is that some of Jeffreys' sacred Latin works could date from the 1630s and not after 1648, which Aston had proposed. Thompson published

[8] Aston, P., 'Tradition and Experiment in the Devotional Music of George Jeffreys', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 99 (1972–1973), 105–115.

[9] Bergdolt, K. E., 'The Sacred Music of George Jeffreys (ca.1610–1685)' (PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 1976).

[10] Wainwright, J. P., 'The Musical Patronage of Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)' (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1993). See also Wainwright, J. P., 'A Study of Five Related Manuscripts Containing Italian Music' (MPhil diss., University of Cambridge, 1986).

[11] Wainwright, J. P., George Jeffreys' Copies of Italian Music', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 23 (1990), 109–124; Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage, passim.*

[12] Thompson, R., *Op cit.*, 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade, 1648–1688'.

an article the following year,[13] based on his doctoral research, in which he outlines the chronological implications on Jeffreys' compositional activities based on documentary evidence. Wainwright has subsequently built on the research of Thompson and has been able to propose a tentative chronology of Jeffreys' music.[14] David Pinto has also shown an interest in the copying activities of Jeffreys and published an article alongside Wainwright in 1990,[15] offering further details about the principal autograph manuscripts and a correction of a number of biographical details based on his scrutiny of the documentable remains of Hatton's patronage.

To my knowledge the only other published material about Jeffreys that is currently available is his entry in *Grove Music Online*,[16] which was written by Aston and is one of the most up-to-date sources. However, the dictionary entry does not include the results of any further research. Finally, in 2010, Aston published an edition of 16 of Jeffreys' small-scale motets.[17] The introduction includes details about Jeffreys' life, the autograph sources and variants, and the small-scale motets. Again, there is no new material, but a number of Jeffreys' few-voice motes were published for the first time.

In summary, then, musicological studies—Aston and Bergdolt notwithstanding—have tended to focus on Jeffreys' copying activities, favouring archival and bibliographical studies over issues of musical style and compositional language. This comment is in no way intended pejoratively. Without such scholarship the present dissertation could not have been developed and is, therefore, heavily indebted to the work of my predecessors, particularly Aston and Wainwright. Furthermore, the results of these bibliographical inquiries necessitate a reassessment of Jeffreys'

[13] Thompson, R., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the "Stile Nuovo" in English Sacred Music', 317–341.
[14] See Wainwright, J. P. *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 132–159.
[15] Pinto, D., 'The Music of the Hattons', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 23 (1990), 109–124.
[16] Aston, P., 'Jeffreys, George', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 8 March 2011).
[17] Aston, P., ed., *George Jeffreys (c.1610–1685): 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices* (York, 2010).

music since they all post-date the research of Aston and Bergdolt: the *raison d'être* of this dissertation.

Biographical Details

At present, very little is known of George Jeffreys' early life. Aston argues that Jeffreys is likely to have come from Worcestershire since, through his marriage to Mary Peirs, he was 'related to the Salwey family of Stanford, and a pedigree of the Salweys, published in 1781, shows connections with the "Jefferies" family of Holme Castle going back to the mid-sixteenth century'.[18] However, because Jeffreys had a lifelong association with Weldon, Wainwright concurs with a marginal note in Anthony Wood's (1632–1695) *Notes on the Lives of Musicians* (*c.*1688 with later additions), that states 'Dr Rogers thinks he was born in Northamptonshire about Weldon'.[19] There is no documentary evidence to support Wood's contention that Jeffreys was descended from Matthew Jeffries of Wells; nor that he was a member of the Chapel Royal before 1643. George Jeffreys was the longest serving musician and secretary to Christopher Hatton III, a seminal figure in the dissemination of Italian music in seventeenth-century England. Jeffreys' earliest known connection with the Hattons dates from 1631 when he set some verses by Sir Richard Hatton, 'a cousin of Christopher Hatton's from the Cambridge branch of the family'.[20] The following year Jeffreys collaborated with Peter Hausted (*c.*1606–1644),[21]

[18] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'Jeffreys, George'.

[19] *Ob* Wood D.19(4), f. 72r-v in Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 115. Anthony Wood [Anthony à Wood] was an Oxford antiquarian who devoted himself to heraldry, music, and learning the violin. For further details see Parry, G., 'Wood, Anthony', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29864; Clark, A., ed., *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood* (London, 1961), *passim*.

[20] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 115.

[21] Peter Hausted was a playwright and Church of England clergyman, born in Oundle, Northamptonshire. *The Rivall Friends* was acted before the king and queen on 19 March with Hausted himself acting the leading role of

composing some of the music for Hausted's comedy *The Rivall Friends*. Another of Hatton's protégés, the poet Thomas Randolph (*bap*.1605–1635)[22] provided the texts for three masque-songs and for the pastoral dialogue *Why sigh you, swaine?* set by Jeffreys.

Jeffreys was certainly in Christopher Hatton III's employment, in some capacity, by 1633 when on 15 April of that year he made 'A Cattalogue of some Manuscripts of my Masters taken at Moulton Parke' (one of the Hatton estates).[23] Jeffreys worked for the Hatton family for the rest of his life; it should be noted, however, that he was employed primarily as a steward and not as a musician. Nevertheless, Jeffreys 'maintained a passionate interest in music throughout his life and music manuscripts in his hand survive from the 1630s through to the 1680s'.[24] In 1637 Jeffreys married Mary Peirs, to whom he fathered two children—Christopher and Mary—and, by 1638, Jeffreys was living in Weldon, only a few miles from Hatton's principal residence, Kirby Hall.[25] In 1643, Jeffreys was summoned by Hatton to assist him at the Civil War Oxford Court, where he became organist to King Charles. Wainwright points out this was 'Jeffreys' only professional musical appointment'[26] and, in point of fact, his duties at Oxford were not exclusively musical because he continued to serve Christopher Hatton III in a secretarial capacity.[27] Following the capitulation of Oxford in 1646 and the fleeing of Hatton to France, Jeffreys returned back to Weldon, and his family, where he resumed his duties to the Hatton

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Anteros. The play satirises the abuse of poorer clergy by impropriation of parish churches, a practice opposed by King Charles. See Kathman, D., 'Hausted, Peter', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1262.

[22] Thomas Randolph was a poet and playwright. In May 1623 he was elected as head of the school to a scholarship at Trinity College, Cambridge and entered on 9 April 1624, matriculating as pensioner on 8 July. His works include: *Aristippus, The Conceited Pedlar*, *The Jealous Lovers*, *The Muse's Looking Glass*, and *Amyntas, or The Impossible Dowry*. See Kelliher, W. H., 'Randolph, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23123; Hazlitt, W. C., ed., *Poetical and Dramatic Works of Thomas Randolph*, 2 vols. (London, 1875).

[23] Northamptonshire Record Office FH 4016 in Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 116.

[24] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 116.

[25] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'Jeffreys, George'.

[26] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 116–18.

[27] *Ibid.*, 119.

family, serving Lady Hatton who had remained in England.[28] The remainder of Jeffreys' life was spent working for the Hatton family, again not in a musical capacity but rather as a steward concerned with the administration of the Hatton estates. By 1649 Jeffreys had become a senior Hatton servant and while attending to their affairs in Northamptonshire he also represented the Hattons in London.[29] Following Hatton's move, Jeffreys dealt mostly with Lady Hatton and Christopher Hatton IV. David Pinto has commented that '1646 marked the end... of any close relationship between Jeffreys and his master'[30] leading ultimately to alienation between Hatton and Jeffreys during the 1660s. Indeed, Jeffreys continued to serve Christopher Hatton IV after the death of the First Baron in July 1670. Jeffreys died on 1 July 1685 at Weldon.

Jeffreys' compositional style reflects his 'wholehearted commitment to the modern Italianate style'[31] and is characterised by his highly individual approach to harmony and dissonance. All of the known sources of Jeffreys' compositions are listed below:

Table 4.1: George Jeffreys' Compositions[32]

1. Dublin, Marsh's Library MS Z3.4.13
2. Durham, Cathedral Library MS B.1
3. London, British Library Add. MS 10338
4. London, British Library Add. MSS 17816 & 30,829–30
5. London, British Library Add MS 29282
6. London, Royal College of Music MS 920
7. London, Royal College of Music MS 920A
8. London, Royal College of Music MS 2033
9. London, Royal College of Music MS 2039
10. Oxford, Bodleian Library Mus. MS d 10
11. Oxford, Bodleian Library Mus. Sch. MS C 11
12. Oxford, Bodleian Library Mus. Sch. MS E 451
13. Oxford, Bodleian Library Tenbury MS 892
14. Oxford, Bodleian Library Tenbury MS 1010
15. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 1285b
16. Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 17
17. Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 18

[28] *Ibid.*, 119.
[29] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'Jeffreys, George'.
[30] Pinto, D., *Op. cit.*, 86.
[31] Thompson, R., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the "Stile Nuovo" in English Sacred Music', 317.
[32] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 134.

18. Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 417–18 & 1080
19. Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 459–62
20. Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 468–72
21. Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 747–9
22. York, Minster Library MS M.1.S
23. York, Minster Library MS M.5.S
24. J. Playford ed., *Cantica Sacra* (London, 1674)

However, the focus of this dissertation is on sacred music in England and therefore Jeffreys' madrigals and instrumental works will not be considered. His surviving compositions of sacred music comprise 63 Latin motets, six Latin canticles, two Latin mass movements, 28 English anthems or devotional pieces, and four settings of texts from the English Communion services, and are preserved in the following autograph manuscripts: *Lbl* Add. MSS 10338, 17816/30829–30 and 29282; *Lcm* MSS 920 and 920A; *Ob* Tenbury MSS 1010 and 1285b; *Dm* MS Z3.4.13, folios 47–59[v].[33] Wainwright's research has allowed him to propose a reasonably accurate chronology of this music, he comments:

> Various dates and annotations in the manuscripts reveal that Jeffreys was active as a composer throughout his career, and this information, combined with a detailed study of the physical make up of the collections, enables us to construct a fairly precise chronology of his activities as a composer.[34]

The principal autograph manuscript by Jeffreys is the scorebook *Lbl* Add. MS 10338, which contains 126 of his pieces (all but 13 of his entire output). Following on from Thompson's work, Wainwright has examined the scorebook in great detail, looking at its contents, dates, annotations, paper-types, rastrum-rulings, and gatherings in relation to events in Jeffreys' life. Consequently, he has revealed the complex history of *Lbl* Add. MS 10338, leaving a clear picture of Jeffreys' compositional activities throughout his lifetime. Wainwright has built upon the discovery of seminal importance, in relation to Jeffreys' *oeuvre*, made by Thompson.[35] Briefly, Thompson recognised that the piece *Turn thee again* in MS 10338, which is the earliest

[33] *Ibid.*, 132.
[34] *Ibid.*, 133.
[35] See Thompson, R., *Op. cit.*, 'English Music Manuscripts and the Fine Paper Trade 1648–1688'; Thompson, R., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the "Stile Nuovo" in English Sacred Music', 317–341.

dated sacred work (1648), is out of chronological sequence. Until this discovery, 1648 was thought to be the *terminus post quem* for the composition of all Jeffreys' sacred music. However, Thompson has revealed that 1648 marks a rather advanced stage in the history of the manuscript and that 58 small-scale *concertato* anthems and motets date from before 1648. Wainwright agrees that a number of small-scale Italianate *concertato* pieces date from before 1648, and that 'some could have been composed as early as 1638'.[36] He writes:

> The first two solo-voice motets and the first thirteen two-voice pieces in the scorebook Add. 10338 were all probably composed before 1648; add to this the twenty-seven three-voice, seven four-voice, and nine five-voice pieces and we have a total of forty-eight ...[37] [*recte* fifty-eight]

Thanks to the work of Thompson and Wainwright, a chronology of Jeffreys' sacred compositions can be compiled and is presented in Table 4.2. Although the *terminus ante quem* for 58 of Jeffreys' *concertato* works is 1648, the most likely period of composition is 1643–46 while Jeffreys served as organist to King Charles I at the Civil War Court at Oxford; this hypothesis is returned to in Chapter 7 (p.340). A *raison d'être* for the post-1648 sacred works is more problematical since no likely performance context is forthcoming, although a number of hypotheses are considered in Chapter 7. It is interesting to observe that between 1657–62 Jeffreys composed 28 works, 16 of which are three-voice settings, scored predominantly for ATBbc. Not only does this period of musical creativity coincide with Hatton's return from France and Jeffreys' recovery from a serious illness, but it coincides with an intense period of (re)copying (see below, pp.108–110).

[36] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 154.
[37] *Ibid.*, 147.

Table 4.2: A Chronology of Jeffreys' Sacred Compositions

	Latin	English
Before 1648	1. Amor Jesu dulcis amor 2. Audite caeli 3. Audivi vocem de caelo 4. Beatus auctor saeculi 5. Bone Jesu verbum Patris 6. Caro mea vere est cibus 7. Christo Jesu debes omnem vitam tuam 8. Domine Deus salutis meae 9. Domine Dominus noster 10. Domine Jesu dilexisti me 11. Ecce dilectus meus 12. Ego sum panis 13. Erit Gloria Domini in saeculum 14. Et ingrediar ad altare Dei 15. Et recordatus est Petrus verborum Jesus 16. Exurge quare obdormis Domine 17. Gloria in excelsis Deo 18. Heu me miseram (Dialogue Maria et Angelis) 19. Heu mihi Domine miserere mei 20. Hosanna filio David 21. Invocavi nomen tuum Domine 22. Jerusalem quae occidis prophetas 23. Jesu dulcedo cordium 24. Jesu mi Dulcissime 25. Jesu rex admirabilis 26. Jubilate Deo 27. Lapidabant Stephanum 28. Nescio quid amore maius 29. Nil canitur suavius 30. O bone Jesu 31. O nomen Jesu 32. O panis angelorum 33. O pretiosum et admirandum convivium 34. O quam dulcis 35. O quam gloriosum est regnum 36. O quam suave 37. Prior Christus dilexit nos 38. Quid commisisti Jesu 39. Si diligitis me 40. Sive vigilem sive dormiam 41. Speciosus forma 42. Timor et tremor 43. Utinam concessa mihi peccatorum venia 44. Vere languores nostros ipse tulit 45. Visa urbe flevit super ea	1. Brightest of dayes 2. Brightest sunne how was thy light 3. Bussie tyme this day 4. Harke sheapard swaynes 5. Hear my prayer (Psalme 39) 6. Looke upp all eyes 7. Prayse the Lord O my soule (Psalme 104) 8. Ryse hart thy Lord is rysen 9. Shew me thy ways O Lord [Pt 2 of Unto thee] 10. Singe unto the Lord 11. The Lord in thy adversity regard thy cry (Psalme 20) 12. Unto thee O Lord (Psalme 25) [2 pts] 13. Whisper it easily
1648		1. Turne thee againe O Lord God of hosts
After 1648	1. Gloria Patri et Filio [1649–51]	

	2. Te Deum laudamus [1649]	
1650s	1. Audite gentes [1658–59] 2. Credo in unum Deum [1657–62] 3. Gloria Patri et Filio [1659–60] 4. Gloria Patri qui creavit nos [1651] 5. Gloria tua manet in aeternum [1658/59] 6. Jubilate Deo [*c.*1657–62] 7. O Deus meus Deus et omnia [early-mid 1658] 8. O Domine Deus (2 parts) [1651–55] 9. O quam iucundum (3vv) [August 1658] 10. O quam iucundum (4vv) [1651] 11. Paratum cor meum [November 1657] 12. Quando natus est [December 1657]	1. Awake my soule [1657–62] 2. Glory to God on high (Morning Hymne) [May 1652] 3. Glory be to God on high [*c.*1651–55] 4. Holy, holy, holy Lord [*c.*1651–55] 5. How wretched is the state you all are in [1657–62] 6. In the midst of life [October 1657] 7. Prayse the Lord O my soule (104 Ps) [late 1650s?] 8. Responses (Communion Service) [*c.*1651–55] 9. Turn thou us good Lord [1655] 10. What praise can reach thy clemency [Oct. 1657 – Aug. 1658] 11. With notes that are both loud and sweet [late 1650s]
1660s	1. Florete flores [1660] 2. Hosanna filio David [*c.*1660?] 3. Magnificat [late 1660s] 4. Nunc dimittis 5. O Deus meus (Part 2 of O Domine Deus) [late 1660s?] 6. O piissime Domine Jesu [*c.*1660] 7. O tu unus Deus pater (Part 3 of Pater de caelis) [*c.*1662] 8. Pater bone (Part 2 of Pater de caelis) [*c.*1662] 9. Pater de caelis Deus (3 parts) 10. Quid mihi est in caelo [October 1661] 11. Salve caelestis curia triumphale decus [*c.*1660] 12. Venite exultemus [late 1660s?]	1. Almighty God who mad'st thy blessed sonne [after 1662] 2. A musick strange [1662] 3. Glory be to the Lambe (Part 3 of See the word) [March-April 1662] 4. Great and marvellous are thy works [late 1660s] 5. See, see the word is incarnate (3 parts) [March-April 1662] 6. The pascall lambe (Part 2 of See the word) [March-April 1662]
1670s		1. He beheld the citty [December 1675]

The full implications of this discovery and the progressive compositional language of Jeffreys will become apparent as the dissertation advances, but for now it sufficient to conclude that many of his Italianate compositions were written during the early 1640s. It is, by now, crucial to introduce and adumbrate the details of Jeffreys' life-long employer, a figure central to the dissemination of Italian music in seventeenth-century England, Sir Christopher Hatton III.

Christopher Hatton III

Christopher Hatton III, born on 28 June 1605 and baptised on 11 July 1605, was the son of Sir Christopher Hatton II (*c*.1570–1619) and Alice née Fanshawe (1581–1638), the eldest daughter of Thomas Fanshawe (1533–1601) of Dronfield, Derbyshire and of Ware Park, Hertfordshire.[38] The first member of the Hatton family to ingratiate himself with royalty was Sir Christopher Hatton I (1540–91) who became Lord Chancellor during the reign of Elizabeth I (1533–1603, reigned 1558–1603), amassing a considerable estate throughout the course of his lifetime, which included lands in Northamptonshire, Dorset, Cheshire, and Oxfordshire, and Hatton House and Gardens in London.[39] However, the principal Hatton residence was Kirby Hall, 'an impressive Elizabethan/Jacobean building three miles north-east of Corby in Northamptonshire'.[40] The Royal consort, Queen Anne of Denmark, and later her husband James I, are known to have been entertained at Kirby Hall on four occasions between 1605 and 1619.[41] Following the death of Hatton I, who died without progeny, the estate he had accumulated was passed to his sister's son, Sir William Newport (d.1597), who took the name Hatton.[42] The majority of the estate was subsequently inherited by Christopher Hatton II after Newport-Hatton's death: Hatton House was retained by his widow, Elizabeth née Cecil (d.1646). Sir Christopher Hatton II was the godson and second-cousin-once-removed to Christopher Hatton I, Lord Chancellor,[43] and is also a recognised patron of the arts. Most notably, Orlando Gibbons (1585–1625) dedicated his *The First Set of Madrigals and Mottets of 5. Parts: Apt for Viols and Voyces* (London, 1612) to Hatton II:

[38] *Ibid.*, 6. See also Stater, V., 'Hatton, Christopher, first Baron Hatton', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12606.
[39] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 3.
[40] *Ibid.*, 5.
[41] *Ibid.*, 6.
[42] *Ibid.*, 3.
[43] *Ibid.*, 3.

> To complete the picture of Sir Christopher Hatton II as a patron of the arts mention must be made of the partial dedication to him of Tobias Hume's *Captaine Humes Poeticall Musicke* (London, 1607), which includes pieces entitled 'The Lady Hattons delight' (ff. 5v–6) and 'Sir Christopher Hattons choice' (ff. 21v–2); of William Sympson's *De Accentibus Hebraicis* (London, 1617) with a Latin 'Epistola Dedicatoria' to 'ILLUSTRI AC GENEROSO DOMINO CHRISTOPHORO HATTONO'; and to Hatton's appearance in the printed list of subscribers to John Misheu's polyglot dictionary *Ductor in Linguas* (London, 1617).[44]

Christopher Hatton III was therefore born into a noble family of considerable wealth and cultural refinement. In 1619 Hatton II died leaving his son, Hatton III, at only the age of fourteen, an estate of substantial proportion. Hatton III was educated at Jesus College, Cambridge where he matriculated as a Fellow-Commoner on 12 January 1620 and graduated Master of Arts in 1622.[45] He was the Member of Parliament for Peterborough in the Jacobean Parliament of 1625 and was the Member for Clitheroe in 1626; he also served as Justice of the Peace for Cambridgeshire almost continuously between 1628 and 1640.[46] Considering the cultured environment in which Christopher Hatton III was raised, it is perhaps unsurprising that he should have developed a keen interest, following his father, in music and the arts. There is strong documentary evidence to suggest that Christopher Hatton III acted as a patron to the poet Thomas Randolph in Cambridge in the fifteen years or so before the poet's death;[47] the playwright Peter Hausted was another Hatton protégé of this period.[48] Indeed, Randolph's *The Jealous Lovers* (1632), which was performed for King Charles I and Henrietta Maria on 20 March 1632 at Trinity College, Cambridge, contains a dedicatory poem assigned 'To the truely noble Knight / Sir CHRISTHOPHER HATTON'.[49] Further evidence of his artistic patronage can be seen in Michael East's dedication to Hatton—'the truely noble lover of learning, and patron of arts'—in

[44] *Ibid.*, 6.
[45] *Ibid.*, 7.
[46] *Ibid.*, 7.
[47] Hatton's lifelong steward, George Jeffreys, set a number of Randolph's posthumously published poems contained in Poems, with The Muses' Looking-Glass and Amyntas: *Musicke thou Queene of Soules*, *Coy Coelia dost thou see*, *Say Daunce how shall wee go*, *Why sigh you swayne*; *Lovely Sheaphard* may also be by Randolph.
[48] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 8.
[49] The Royal couple witnessed a performance of Peter Hausted's *The Rivall Friends* on the preceding day, 19 March 1632, also at Trinity College, Cambridge.

his *The Seventh Set of Bookes* (1638). Wainwright makes the point that music was only one of Hatton's many interests:

> His main interests concerned the preservation of the past in the form of transcriptions of medieval records and genealogical research into the families of English knights. On 1 May 1638, together with his colleagues William Dugdale (1605–1686), Thomas Shirley (1597–*c*.1665) and Edward Dering (1598–1644), Hatton formed a private association called *Antiquitas Rediviva*.[50]

Hatton's political and court career was the antithesis of his revered status as a Maecenas of the arts. On 18 March 1620 he was admitted to Gray's Inn and was knighted at the coronation of Charles I on 2 February 1626. In 1636, he subsequently became Steward of Higham Ferrers and of the manors of Warrington, Irchester, Rushden, and Raunds; he also served as the Member of Parliament for Higham Ferrers in the 'Long Parliament' of 1640.[51] As David Pinto points out, Hatton's political career was 'slight and uneventful'[52] and up until 1642, at the outbreak of Civil War, he 'remained more of a country rather than a court luminary'.[53] By 1642, through his profligate spending on the pursuit of leisure-time activities, the remodelling of Kirby Hall, the service of fines (for encroaching on the royal forest of Rockingham), and the refacing of his *alma mater*, Jesus College, Cambridge, alongside his vehement support of the Royalist cause, Hatton had reached a financially desperate situation owing debts that totalled £18,600.[54] In order to ease the financial burden he had created, Hatton mortgaged a vast number of properties in the Hatton estate. The outbreak of Civil War in September 1642 was, ironically, for Hatton 'a godsend in heavy disguise'.[55] By involving himself with such commitment in the king's affairs and through his voracious support of the Royalist cause, Hatton could overlook his own financial affairs. Hatton's decision proved to be prudent; his political career reached its zenith during the

[50] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 10.
[51] *Ibid.*, 11.
[52] Pinto, D., *Op. cit.*, 87.
[53] *Ibid.*, 87.
[54] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 11.
[55] Pinto, D., *Op. cit.*, 87.

Civil War period. On 29 October 1642, Charles I entered Oxford, following his victory at Edgehill on 23 October, taking up residence in Christ Church. Hatton joined the king at Oxford initially staying in Hart Hall but later moving into Christ Church with the Court.[56] On 29 July 1643, in recognition of his support for the King, Hatton was raised to the peerage as Baron Hatton of Kirby. He was subsequently sworn as a privy councillor on 26 December, and three days later he was appointed Comptroller of the King's Household.[57]

Hatton's patronage of musicians, theologians and writers continued regardless of the inherent adversities of Civil War. The case of William Dugdale exemplifies Hatton's continued encouragement:

> William Dugdale was in Oxford between 1642 and 1646 and continued his association with Hatton ... Dugdale, who was to be knighted and created Garter Principal King of Arms in 1677, had been commissioned by Hatton to survey the monuments of England's principal churches and cathedrals; Hatton had apparently forseen the mass destruction of monuments by the 'Presbyterian contagion'. Dugdale dedicated his *History of St Pauls Cathedral* (1658) to Hatton and specially acknowledged his obligation to his patron in the second dedication of his *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656). Here he thanks Hatton for 'procuring for me, both accesse to most of the publique records in this Nation, and affording me the chief support I then had, whilst I laboured therein', and in his autobiography Dugdale states that Hatton 'made him soon acquainted with Sir Thomas Fanshawe, (his near Kinsman) at that Time the King's Remembrancer in the Exchequer, (afterward Lord Viscount Fanshawe), by Means of which great Office he had the Custody of divers Leiger-Books, and other Manuscripts of great Antiquity; specially that notable record called the Red Book; as also Testa de Nevill, Kirby's Quest. Nomina Villarum, and others: to all which by his Favour he had free access'.[58]

Hatton's patronage of theologians at Oxford was based on a religious coterie of associates from his former Cambridge days. This group comprised Peter Hausted, Jeremy Taylor (1613–1667) and Peter Gunning (1614–1684) who were adherents to the views expressed and promulgated by the eminent Arminian Edward Martin (d.1662). Martin had served as a chaplain to Archbishop Laud and while President of Queen's College, Cambridge, 'introduced various ceremonies into

[56] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 11–12. See also Wainwright, J. P., *Ibid*., 169–177; Wainwright, J. P., 'Images of Virtue and War: Music in Civil War Oxford', *William Lawes 1602–1645: Essays on His Life, Times and Work*, ed. Andrew Ashbee (Aldershot, 1998), 121–142.
[57] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 12.
[58] *Ibid.*, 12–13.

the chapel services which, in 1641, had resulted in the college being accused of covert Catholicism'.[59] Similarly, in 1634, Hausted preached a sermon at Great St Mary's, Cambridge in which he advocated the use of Arminian ceremonies, attacking the university puritans and causing outrage.[60] Hausted dedicated his *Ten Sermons* to Hatton in 1636, which are representative of his extreme Laudian beliefs. Jeremy Taylor had also served as chaplain to Archbishop Laud and was a Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge. The college has been described as 'a great favourer of popish doctrines and ceremonies'[61] and is a characteristic equally shared by Taylor himself. Like Hatton, Taylor and Hausted moved to Oxford in support of the Royalist cause. However, Martin was imprisoned by the Parliamentarians in London until 1648. Finally, Hatton is likely to have first encountered Gunning while he was a student, and later Fellow, of Clare Hall in the early 1630s.[62] Gunning was 'a prominent Royalist divine, who preached regularly before the exiled Court at Oxford'.[63] The High Church party and Laudian doctrine is a theme that will be revisited in Chapter 8 when considering Royalist publications during the Commonwealth.

On 20 June 1646 the Royalist stronghold at Oxford surrendered to Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Parliamentarian forces. Hatton had left Oxford, on 23 April 1646, before the Royalist surrender and, 'after visiting Kirby and London, sailed from Dover on 24 November 1646 to join many other eminent Royalists in exile in Paris'.[64] Hatton's activities in Paris can be reconstructed fairly

[59] *Ibid.*, 13. See also Trevor-Roper, H., 'Laudianism and Political Power', *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans* (London, 1987), 40–119; Hoffman, J. G., 'The Puritan Revolution and the "Beauty of Holiness" at Cambridge: The Case of John Cosin, Master of Peterhouse and Vice-Chancellor of the University', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 72 (1982–1983), 94–105.
[60] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 13.
[61] *Lbl* Harley 7019, f. 79 in Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 13.
[62] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 14–15.
[63] *Ibid.*, 14.
[64] *Ibid.*, 17.

precisely and he is known to have been 'surrounded by bookes and fiddles'.[65] Also present at the exiled court were the prominent Laudians Edward Martin and John Cosin, demonstrating Hatton's links with High Church clergymen during the Commonwealth. Hatton continued to be involved in Royalist intrigues, namely the restoring of monarchy, for the duration of his time at the exiled court of Henrietta Maria in Paris. In September 1656, Hatton was allowed to return to England after making peace with the Commonwealth administration but his attempts to rebuild his shattered estates were unsuccessful.[66]

At the Restoration Hatton's expected advancement, as a loyal Royalist and previous Comptroller of the King's Household, did not materialise.[67] He was, however, appointed a Privy Councillor on 29 January 1662—a more junior position—and later that year on 22 May he was appointed Governor of Guernsey. Hatton was clearly not the man for this latter position because it did not end well:

> He [Hatton] was becoming increasingly morose and cantankerous, his judgements were erratic, he quarrelled with the island officers (he even imprisoned the Lieutenant-Governor), he taxed the island illegally, sold guns from Castle Cornet to the French and appropriated the pay of the garrison. On 12 December 1664, less than a year after his arrival in Guernsey, Hatton was summoned home to face allegations of mismanagement. Hatton chose to ignore the command until, on 10 February 1665, Charles II ordered him to return to England ...[68]

Hatton returned to England ignominiously and spent the final years of his life under the king's deepest displeasure, never to be trusted again with government office. Hatton died in 1670 having deserted his family and leaving them destitute.

[65] *Ibid.*, 17.
[66] *Ibid.*, 18–19.
[67] *Ibid.*, 20.
[68] *Ibid.*, 20–21.

Finch-Hatton MS 2562 and Hatton's Music Collection

The most important aspect of Christopher Hatton III's life, from a musicological perspective, is his extensive music library, which comprises a substantial amount of Italian music, most of which survives today at Christ Church, Oxford. Wainwright describes Hatton's music collection as 'perhaps one of the richest seventeenth-century century collections yet identified'.[69] Furthermore, the collection provides an insight into the dissemination and influence of Italian music during the seventeenth century.[70] That Hatton was responsible for the purchase of contemporary Italian music is confirmed from a bill of sale dated November 1638. The document, Finch-Hatton MS 2652, is in the Northamptonshire Record Office and records Hatton's purchase of 25 Venetian music prints (and one non-musical item) of the period 1624 to 1639, from the London bookseller Robert Martin;[71] Finch-Hatton MS 2652 contains a quittance note signed by Martin and is dated 9 November 1641. The most striking observation to be made about the document is that Hatton's purchase of 1638 contains music published in Venice in 1638; an indication of how up-to-date Hatton's music collection was. Table 4.3 lists the contents of the printed music bought by Hatton from Martin in 1638:[72]

Table 4.3: Hatton's Purchases of 1638

	Price
G.B. Aloisi, *Contextus Musicarum Proportionum* Op. 4 (1637)	5s-0d
G.B. Aloisi, *Corona Stellarum* Op. 5 (1637)	2s-4d
F. Cauda, *Cantena Sacrarum Cantionum* Bk 1, Op. 3 (1626)	5s-0d
A. della Ciaia, *Madrigali* Op. 1 (1636)	3s-0d
F. Constantini ed., *Motetti* Bk 4, Op.12 (1634)	2s-6d
A. Cremonese, *Madrigali Concertati* Bk 1, Op. 1 (1636)	3s-6d
A. Facchi, *Motetti* Bk 2 (1635)	2s-6d
A. Facchi, *Madrigali* Bk 2 (1636)	3s-0d
B. Ferrari, *Musiche Varie* [Bk 1] (1633)	2s-6d

[69] *Ibid.*, 26
[70] *Ibid.*, 26.
[71] *Ibid.*, 28.
[72] *Ibid.*, 29.

G. Filippi, *Concerti Ecclesiastici* Bk 1 (1637)	3s-0d
N. Fontei, *Bizzarrie Poetiche* [Bk 1] (1635) &/or Bk 2 (1636)	2s-0d
N. Fontei, *Melodiae Sacrae* Op. 3 (1638)	4s-6d
A. Marastoni, *Madrigali Concertati* Op. 6 (1628)	1s-6d
F.M. Marini, *Concerti Spirituali* Bk 1 (1637)	4s-6d
T. Merula, *Musiche Concertate* Bk 2, Op. 10 (1635 [1/1633])	4s-0d
T. Merula, *Curtio Precipitato* Bk 2, Op. 13 (1638)	1s-6d
G. Monte dell' Olmo, *Applausi Ecclesiastici* Bk 1 (1636)	2s-0d
G. Monte dell' Olmo, *Sacri Affetti* Bk 2 (1637)	1s-0d
A. de Pisticci, *Motetti* Bk 3, Op. 6 (1633)	2s-6d
A. de Pisticci, *Motetti* Bk 4, Op. 7 (1637)	2s-6d
O. Polidori, *Motetti* Op. 13 (1636)	2s-0d
G.F. Sances, *Motetti* (1638)	4s-6d
C. Saracini, *Musiche* Bk 5 (1624) & Bk 6 (1624)	3s-0d
B. Tomasi, *Motecta* Op. 6 (1635)	2s-8d

These 25 prints form the nucleus of Hatton's music library and, importantly, as will be later discussed, his scribes—Jeffreys in particular—are known to have copied from at least seven of these sources when compiling their own various manuscripts.[73] Wainwright speculates that since the printed sources listed in Table 4.4 are also known to have been used by Hatton's musicians, they too are likely to have been at one time part of Hatton's music collection:[74]

Table 4.4: Other Printed Sources Used by Hatton's Musicians/Copyists

G.B. Aloisi, *Coelestis Parnasus* Op. 1 (1628)
G.G. Arrigoni, *Concerti di Camera* (1635)
S. Bernardi, *Secondo Libro de Madrigali* Op. 7 (1616)
S. Berardi, *Concerti Accademici ... Libro Primo* Op. 8 (1616-16)
A. Cifra, *Motecta* Bk 5, Op. 11 (1616 [1/1612])
R. Dering, *Cantica Sacra ... Senis Vocibus* (1618)
C. Gesualdo, *Madrigali* [Bk 1] (1603, 1617 (as Bk 2) [1/1594])
C. Gesualdo, *Madrigali* Bk 2 (1603, 1616 (as Bk 1) [1/1594])
C. Gesualdo, *Madrigali* Bk 3 (1619 [1/1595])
C. Gesualdo, *Madrigali* Bk 4 (1604, 1616 [1/1596])
A. Grandi, *Il Primo Libro de Motetti* (1617, 1628 [1/1610])
A. Grandi, *Il Secondo Libro de Motetti* (1628 [1/1613])
A. Grandi, *Madrigali Concertati* [Bk 1] (1626 [1/1615])
A. Grandi, *Il Quarto Libro de Motetti* (1628 [1/1616])
A. Grandi, *Celesti Fiori ... Libro Quinto* (1625, 1638 [1/1619])
A. Grandi, *Motetti ... con Sinfonie* Bk 3 (1629)
A. Grandi, *Il Sesto Libro de Motetti* (1630)
A. Gregori, *Sacrarum Cantionum* Bk 3, Op. 8 (1635)
G. Hayne (E. Hennio), *Motetti Sacri* Op. 4 (1646)
T. Merula, *Il Primo Libro de Motetti* Op. 6 (1624)

[73] *Ibid.*, 30. Hatton's copyists include: John Lilly, Stephen Bing, George Jeffreys, and George Holmes.
[74] *Ibid.*, 31–32.

T. Merula, *Libro Secondo de Concerti Spirituali* (1628)
C. Monteverdi, *Il Quarto Libro de Madrigali* (1615, 1622 [1/1603])
P. Nenna, *Il Settimo Libro de Madrigali* (1624 [1/1608])
D. Pecci, *Sacri Modulatus* Op. 3 (1629)
F. Pio, *Liber Primus Motectorum* (1622-4)
G. Rovetta, *Madrigali Concertati* Bk 1, Op. 2 (1629)
E. Trabattone, *Concerti* Bk 2, Op. 4 (1629)
F. Turini, *Madrigali* Bk 1 (1624 [1/1621])

Of the surviving manuscripts at Christ Church, Wainwright has devised a further category of manuscripts and printed sources that were possibly part of Hatton's collection. The reason for their association with Hatton is because of a number of annotations, in various hands, made on their covers. Some of the hands remain unidentified but 'others are definitely in the hands of Hatton's secretaries and musicians—Stephen Bing, George Jeffreys and George Holmes—and two appear to be in the hand of Hatton himself'.[75] Table 4.5 lists all the annotated prints and manuscripts identified by Wainwright.

Table 4.5: Annotated Prints and Manuscripts[76]

a. Covers Annotated by Stephen Bing

Och Mus. 139: Ward, *The First Set of English Madrigals* (1613)

Och Mus. 147 & 151: Victoria, *Motecta* (1603)

Och Mus. 225–30 (& Jeffreys): East, *Madrigals to 3. 4. And 5 Parts* (1604); (1610). Bing annotated the cover of *Och* Mus. 229 and added to Jeffreys' annotations on the covers of *Och* Mus. 225–8 & 230

Och Mus. 317: Philips ed., *Melodia Olympica* (1591); Philips, *Madrigali a Otto Voci* (1599)

Och Mus. 372 (& Holmes) (MS): Instrumental pieces and madrigals (some untexted) a 4–5 by Cato, Mason, Merulo and Rore

Och Mus. 442: Radesca di Foggia, *Madrigali* Bk 1 (1615); Gentile, *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali* (1616); Missino, *Tirsi Doglioso Primo Libro di Madrigali* (1615); Pecci, *Madrigali* (1609); Bartolini, *Il Libro de Madrigali* (1606)

Och Mus. 466 (MS): Madrigals, motets and In nomines *a* 4–6 by Anon., Clemens (?) and Ferrabosco I

[75] *Ibid.*, 32.
[76] *Ibid.*, 33–35.

Och Mus. 597: du Caurroy, *Meslanges de la Musique* (1610); du Caurroy, *Fantasies a III. IIII. V et VI Parties* (1610)

Och Mus. 796: Fornaci, *Amorosi Respiri Musicali* Bk 1, Op. 2 (1617); Caccini, *L'Euridice* (1615); Caccini, *Le Nuove Musiche* (1615); Cecchino, *Amorosi Concetti. Il Terzo Libro de Madrigali* Op. 7 (1616); Monteverdi, *Scherzi Musicali a Tre Voci* (1615); Calestani, *Madrigali et Arie ... Parto Primo* (1617); Orlandi, *Arie a Tre Due et Voce Sola* Op. 2 (1616)

Och Mus. 798: Barbarino, *Madrigali di Diversi Autori* (1609); Radesca di Foggia, *Il Primo/Secondo/Terzo/Quarto Libro delle Canzonette Madrigali et Arie* (all 1616); Radesca di Foggia, *Il Quinto Libro delle Canzonette Madrigali et Arie* (1617); Barbarino, *Il Secondo/Quarto Libro de Madrigali di Diversi auttori* (1611 & 1614); Barbarino, *Canzonette a una e due voci* (1616)

Och Mus. 806 (& Jeffreys): Morley, *The First Book of Consort Lessons* (1599)

Och Mus. 1028: Marenzio, *Cantiones Sacrae* (1603); Marenzio, *Madrigali a Quatro Voci* Bk 1 (1587); Marenzio, *Il Quarto Libro de Madrigali a Sei Voci* (1587); Turnhout, *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a Sei Voci* (1589)

Och Mus. 1038: Marenzio, *Madrigali Spirituali a Cinque Voci* (1610); Graswinkel ed., *Nervi D'Orfeo ... a Cinque et Sei Voci* (1605)

Och Mus. 1044: Marenzio, *Il Primo, Secondo, Terzo, Quarto & Quinto Libro de Madrigali a Sei Voci* (1610); Marenzio, *Il Sesto Libro de Madrigali a Sei Voci* (1610)

Och Mus. 1063: Marenzio, *Il Primo, Secondo, Terzo, Quarto & Quinto Libro delle Villanelle et Canzonette alla Napolitana a Tre Voci* (1610)

b. Covers Annotated by George Holmes

Och Mus. 84: d'India, *Le Musiche* [Bk 1] (1615)

Och Mus. 190–8: Pallavicino, *Sacrae Dei Laudes* (1605)

Och Mus. 207–14: Pallavicino, *L'Ottavo Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1612)

Och Mus. 254: Valentini, *Secondo Libro de Madrigali* (1616)

Och Mus. 372 (& Bing) (MS): Instrumental pieces and madrigals (some untexted) *a* 4–5 by Cato, Mason, Merulo and Rore

Och Mus. 715: Barbarino, *Madrigali a Tre Voci* (1617)

Och Mus. 759 (MS): W. Lawes' 'The Royall Consort' (new version)

Och Mus. 867: Patta, *Motetti et Madrigali* (1614)

Och Mus. 1056: Marenzio, *Madrigalia a Quinque Vocum* (1601)

Och Mus. 1159 (MS): Variant version of part of Striggio's 'Il Cicalamento delle Donne al Bucato'

c. Covers Annotated by George Jeffreys

Och Mus. 225–8 & 230 (and Bing): East, *Madrigals to 3. 4. and 5 Parts* (1604); East, *The Second Set of Madrigals* (1606); East, *The Third Set of Bookes* (1610)

Och Mus. 242–6: Morley, *The First Booke of Balletts to Five Voyces* (1595)

Och Mus. 301–5: Marenzio, *Madrigali a Cinque Voce Ridotti in un Corpo* (1593); de Castro, *Chant Musicale* (1597)

Och Mus. 806 (and Bing): Morley, *The First Book of Consort Lessons* (1599)

Och Mus. 1047–51: Marenzio, *Il Primo, Secondo, Terzo, Quarto & Quinto Libro de Madrigali a Cinque Voci* (1609)

d. Covers Annotated by Christopher Hatton III

Och Mus. 123–8: Aux-Cousteaux, *Meslanges de Chansons* (1644)

Och Mus. 335: Metru, *Fantaisies a Deux Parties* (1642)

Finally, there are prints that have been bound—a result of Dean Henry Aldrich's bequest to Christ Church in 1710—both with Hatton's purchases of 1638 and those used by Hatton's musicians/copyists. Aldrich's binding was organised carefully to ensure that the Hatton prints (Tables 4.3 and 4.4) remained together with which he bound the prints listed in Tables 4.6 and 4.7.[77] Wainwright suggests that, because a substantial number of these prints are listed in Robert Martin's catalogues, and Hatton was a known customer of Martin's, and as his known purchases all ended up in Christ Church, it is likely that the prints are also of a Hatton provenance.[78] By analogy, the prints listed in Table 4.8 may also have come from the Hatton library. Although the association of these prints with Hatton involves some degree of speculation, the possibility remains that they were once part of his music collection. The following tables list the prints concerned.

[77] *Ibid.*, 36.
[78] *Ibid.*, 37. Both Wainwright and Pinto agree that Aldrich appears to have kept prints of a common provenance together.

Table 4.6: Prints Bound with the Hatton Purchases of 1638[79]

G. B. Aloisi, *Coelestis Parnasus* Op. 1 (1628)
D. Bellante, *Concerti Accademici* Op. 1 (1629)
S. Bernardi, *Secondo Libro de Madrigali* Op. 7 (1616)
S. Bonini, *Lamento d'Arianna* (1613)
S. Bonini, *Serena Celeste* Op. 8 (1615)
C. Burgh, *Hortus Marianus* (1630)
L. Calvi ed., *Quarta Raccolta de Sacri Canti* (1629)
G. Carrone, *Il Primo Libro delli Motetti* Op. 1 (1629)
G. M. Cesare, *Concerti Ecclesiastici* Bk 1 (1614)
A. Cifra, *Motecta* [Bk 1] (1614)
A. Cifra, *Motecta* Bk 2 (1611)
A. Cifra, *Motecta* Bk 3 (1614)
A. Cifra, *Motecta* Bk 4, Op. 8 (1613)
A. Cifra, *Motecta* Bk 5, Op. 11 (1616)
A. Cifra, *Scherzi et Arie* (1614)
A. Cifra, *Madrigali a Cinque Voci* Bk 3 (1615)
B. Cossa, *Madrigaletti a Tre Voci* Bk 1 (1617)
M. Delipari, *I Baci. Madrigali* Bk 1 (1630)
R. Dering, *Cantiones Sacrae Quinque Vocum* (1617)
R. Dering, *Cantica Sacra ... Senis Vocibus* (1618)
G. Ferrari, *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali* Op. 2 (1628)
L. Gallerano, *Ecclesiastica Armonica Concerti* Bk 1, Op. 6 (1624)
A. Grandi, *Il Primo Libro de Motetti* (1628)
A. Grandi, *Il Secondo Libro de Motetti* (1628)
A. Grandi, *Motetti ... con Sinfonie* Bk 3 (1629)
A. Grandi, *Quarto Libro de Motetti* (1628)
A. Grandi, *Celesti Fiori ... Libro Quinto* (1625)
A. Grandi, *Il Sesto Libro de Motetti* (1630)
A. Grandi, *Madrigali Concertati* [Bk 1] (1626)
A. Grandi, *Madrigali Concertati* Bk 2, Op. 11 (1626)
A. Gaultieri, *Motetti* Bk 3, Op. 10 (1630)
S. d'India, *Villanelle all Napolitana* Bk 1 (1610)
S. d'India, *Liber Secundus Sacrorum Concentuum* (1610)
S. d'India, *Il Terzo Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1615)
S. d'India, *Le Musiche a Due Voci* [Bk 1] (1615)
S. d'India, *Le Musiche* Bk 4 (1621)
S. d'India, *Le Musiche* Bk 5 (1623)
S. d'India, *Liber Primus Motectorum* (1627)
L. Leoni, *Sacri Flores* (1619)
B. Marini, *Per le Musiche di Camera. Concerti* Op. 7 (1634)
B. Marini, *Madrigaletti* Bk 5, Op. 9 (1635)
R. Micheli, *Musica Vaga* (1615)
S. Molinaro, *Concerti Ecclesiastici* (1605)
F. de Monte, *Musica Sopra Il Pastor Fido* (1600)
C. Monteverdi, *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali* (1621)
C. Monteverdi, *Il Secondo Libro de Madrigali* (1621)
C. Monteverdi, *Il Terzo Libro de Madrigali* (1621)
C. Monteverdi, *Quarto Libro de Madrigali* (1622)
C. Monteverdi, *Il Quinto Libro de Marigali* (1620)
C. Monteverdi, *Il Sesto Libro de Madrigali* (1620)
C. Monteverdi, *Concerto. Settimo Libro de Madrigali* (1628)
C. Monteverdi, *L'Orfeo* (1615)

[79] *Ibid.*, 37–39.

G. C. Monteverdi, *Delli Affetti Musici* Bk 1 (1620)
B. Pallavicino, *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1606)
B. Pallavicino, *Il Secondo Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1606)
B. Pallavicino, *Il Terzo Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1606)
B. Pallavicino, *Il Quinto Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1609)
B. Pallavicino, *Il Sesto Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1611)
B. Pallavicino, *Il Settimo Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1611)
B. Pallavicino, *L'Ottava Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1612)
D. Pecci, *Sacri Modulatus* Op. 3 (1629)
G. B. Piazza, *Libro Secondo. Canzonette a Voce Sola* (1633)
G. Rovetta, *Madrigali Concertati* Bk 1, Op. 2 (1629)
G. F. Sances, *Cantade* Bk 2 (1633)
H. Schütz, *Symphoniae Sacrae* (1629)
E. Trabattone, *Concerti* Bk 2, Op. 4 (1629)
R. Trofeo & G. D. Rognoni Taeggio, *Canzonette Leggiadre* (1600)
F. Turini, *Madrigali* Bk 1 (1624)
L. Valvasensi, *Secondo Giardino d'Amorosi Fiori* Op. 8 (1634)
F. Vitali, *Concerto ... Madrigali* Bk 1 (1629)
F. Wynant, *Madrigali a Cinque Voci* Bk 1 (1597)

Table 4.7: Other Prints Bound with Those Used by Hatton's Musicians/Copyists[80]

C. Gesualdo, *Madrigali ... Libro Sesto a 5* (1616)
S. d'India, *Libro Primo de Madrigali a 5* (1610)
S. d'India, *Libro Secondo de Madrigali a 5* (1611)
S. d'India, *Il Quarto Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1616)
S. d'India, *Il Quinto Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1616)
S. d'India, *Le Musiche e Balli a 4* (1621)
P. Nenna, *Madrigali ... Quinto Libro a 5* (1612)
P. Nenna, *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1617)
P. Nenna, *Il Quarto Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1617)
P. Nenna, *Il Sesto Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1618)
P. Nenna, *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a 4* (1621)

Table 4.8: Other Martin Prints at Christ Church, Oxford[81]

A. Grandi, *Motetti a Voce Sola* (1628)
B. Pallavicino, *Il Quarto Libro de Madrigal a 5* (1607)
L. Simonetti ed., *Ghirlanda Sacra ... Libro Primo* (1630)

The four prints listed in Table 4.9 have an association with the Hatton family and are also preserved at Christ Church. The Porter and Wilson prints are particularly worthy of note because

[80] *Ibid.*, 39.
[81] *Ibid.*, 40.

they represent staunchly Royalist publications that were issued during the Commonwealth. Indeed, these two publications will be considered in Chapter 8.

Table 4.9: Miscellaneous Prints Associated with the Hatton Collection

M. East, *The Seventh Set of Bookes* (1638)
O. Gibbons, *The First Set of Madrigals and Mottets* (1612)
W. Porter, *Motetts of Two Voyces* (1657)
J. Wilson, *Psalterium Carolinum* (1657)

Collectively, Tables 4.3–4.9 represent the 'hypothetical limits of the printed section of the Hatton music collection'.[82] Moreover, this substantial collection of music, albeit at its hypothetical limit, provides an indication of how much up-to-date Italian, and Italianate, music Jeffreys could potentially have been exposed to from the 1630s onwards. Jeffreys' copying activities, detailed below, confirm his interest in contemporary Italian music.

Jeffreys' Copying Activities

Jeffreys' compositions are greatly outnumbered by his copies of predominantly Italian music that he made as part of his duties for Hatton.[83] These copies survive in the six manuscripts listed in Table 4.10 and their contents are detailed in Table 4.11:

Table 4.10: Surviving Manuscripts of Jeffreys' Copies of Italian Music

London, British Library Add. MS 31479
London, British Library Madrigal Society MSS G 55–9
Oxford, Bodleian Library Tenbury MS 973–6/1273
Oxford, Bodleian Library Tenbury MS 1012
Oxford, Bodleian Library Tenbury MS 1013
Oxford, Bodleian Library Tenbury MS 1015

[82] *Ibid.*, 40.
[83] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'Jeffreys, George'.

Table 4.11: Italian Works Copied by Jeffreys[84]

Copy Source	Composer	Work	Scoring
Lbl Add. MS 31479	[Sances]	Dulcis amor Jesu	Bbc
		Jubilate Deo	Bbc
	[Grandi]	Salvum me fac Deus	Bbc
	[Sances]	Audite me divini fructus	Bbc
		Exultate Deo	Bbc
		Anima mea desiderat te	Bbc
		Gaudeamus omnes in Domino	Cbc
		Cantate Domino	Cbc
		Salvator mundi	Cbc
		O Maria quam pulchra es	Cbc
		Ave maris stel[l]a	Cbc
	[Merula]	Dominus illuminatio mea	B 2vln bc
	Carissimi	Lucifer cælestis olim	Bbc
	[Grandi]	Hodie nobis de cælo	CCbc
	[Grandi]	Jesu noster Dignissimus	CCbc
	[Grandi]	Venite filii	CCbc
	[Facchi]	Bonum est confiteri Domino	CCbc
	[Facchi]	Quid timidi estis?	CCbc
	[Grandi]	O dulce numen numinum	CCbc
	[Grandi]	Salvum me fac Domine	CCbc
	[Grandi]	O quam gloriosus	CCbc
	[Grandi]	O quam suave est nomen	CCbc
	[Merula]	Hodie nobis de cælo	CCbc
	[Merula]	O magnum misterium	CCbc
	[Merula]	O nomen Jesu	CCbc
	[Facchi]	Jesu dulcis memoria	CCbc
	[Tomasi]	Fulcite me floribus	CCbc
	[Facchi]	Omni die dic Mariæ	CCbc
		Qui laudes tuas cantat	CCbc
	[Trabattone]	O beatum virum	CCbc
	[Trabattone]	O admirabile com[m]ercium	CCbc
	[Trabattone]	Indica mihi quem diligit	CCbc
	[Grandi]	Ave sanctissime Messia	CCbc
	[Trabattone]	Ecce fideles	TTbc
	[Sances]	Salvum me fac	TTbc
	[Sances]	Jubilent in c[a]elis	TTbc
	[Trabattone]	Egredimini charissimi	TTbc
	[Grandi]	O Im[m]aculate	CAbc
		Amore langueo	CAbc
	[Trabattone]	Veni O Sanctissima	CAbc
	[Grandi]	Tu dulcis es Messia	CTbc
	[Trabattone]	Luce serena lucent	CTbc
	[Merula]	Misericordias Domini	CAbc
	[Tomasi]	Ave Maria gratia plena	CAbc
	[Facchi]	Quem terra pontus	ATbc
	[Sances]	Tota pulchra es	ATbc
	[Trabattone]	Gaudete omnes	ATbc
	[Merula]	Domine inclyna cælos	ABbc
	[Trabattone]	Domine Dominus noster	CBbc

[84] See Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 254–60; 336–38; 342–46. Following Wainwright's description and formatting, square brackets are used to indicate that the composer is ascribed from another source.

	[Tomasi]	Trahe me post te	CBbc
	[Grandi]	Exulta et lætare	CBbc
	[D. Pecci]	Sub tuum pr[a]esidium	CBbc
		Anima Christi	CBbc
	[Tabattone]	Deus meus ad te	ABbc
	[Tomasi]	Tota pulchra es	CBbc
	[Sances]	Deus in adiutorium	CBbc
		O dulcis Jesu	CBbc
	[Aloisi]	Salve Regina	CBbc
	[Aloisi]	Inclyna Domine aurem	TBbc
	[F. M. Marini]	Sicut lilium inter spinas	CBbc
	[Pio]	Peccavi super numerum	CBbc
	[Pio]	Et introeuntes	CBbc
		Consolare O Mater 'Dialogue'	CBbc
		O Jesu vita mea	CBbc
	[Grandi]	Quemadmodum desiderat 'Dialogue'	CBbc
	[Trabattone]	Confitemini Domino	CBbc
	[Merula]	Dominus in igne veniet	CBbc
	[Merula]	Salvum me fac Deus	CBbc
	[Trabattone]	O pulcher[r]ima 'Dialogue'	CBbc
	[Trabattone]	Sancti tui Domine	CBbc
	[Trabattone]	In convertendo Dominus	CBbc
	[Trabattone]	Anima mea in æterna dulcedine	CBbc
	[Merula]	O bone Jesu	CBbc
	[Merula]	Fontes & omnia	BBbc
	[Grandi]	Sicut oculi servorum	ATBbc
	[Grandi]	O quam tu pulchra es	TTBbc
	[Grandi]	Salve mundi gloria	ATBbc
	[Grandi]	O magnum sacramentum	CTBbc
	[Grandi]	O lux splendidor	CTBbc
	[Grandi]	Hymnum cantemus Domino	ATBbc
	[Grandi]	Hæc est vera Ecclesia	TTBbc
	[Grandi]	Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitas	ATBbc
	[Tomasi]	Tota pulchra es	CCBbc
	[Facchi]	Exurgat Deus	CCBbc
	[Tomasi]	O gloriosa Domina	CCBbc
	[Sances]	O Domine gutt[a]e	ATBbc
	[Aloisi]	Salve Regina	CTBbc
	[Sances]	Plag[a]e tu[a]e Domine	ATBbc
	[Sances]	O crux benedicta	ATBbc
	[Merula]	O Immaculate	CTBbc
	[Merula]	O quam dulcis es tu	TTBbc
	[Sances]	Ave Regina	ATBbc
	[Aloisi]	Quid mihi est in c[a]elo	ATBbc
	[Facchi]	O sacrum convivium	CABbc
	Hennio [= Hayne]	Quid mihi est in caelo	TTBbc
	[F. M. Marini]	Anima liquefacta est	CABbc
	[F. M. Marini]	Magnum hereditatis	CABbc
	[F. M. Marini]	O vos omnes	ATBbc
	[Aloisi]	Benignissime Jesu	TTBbc
	[Trabattone]	O quam iucundum	CCBbc
	[Hayne]	O Domine Deus	ATBbc
	[Facchi]	Audie c[a]eli	CCBbc
	[Aloisi]	Ave Regina	CCBbc
	[Merula]	Sat est Domine	CTBbc
	[Aloisi]	Dulcissima Maria	CABbc

	Carissimi	Insurrexerunt in nos	ATBbc
	Charissimi	Desiderata nobis	ATBbc
	Charissimi [*recte* Rovetta arr. Jeffreys?]	Quam pulchra es	CCBbc
	Charissimi	Audite sancti	CCBbc
	[Reggio]	Miserere mei	CCBbc
Lbl Mad. Soc. MSS G 55–9	[Grandi]	Benedictus Dominus	ATTBbc
	[Grandi]	Hic est vere Martyr	ATTBbc
	[Grandi]	Cantabo Domino	ATTBbc
	[Grandi]	Heu mihi	ATTBbc
	[Grandi]	Caro mea vere est cibus	CATBbc
	[Grandi]	Magnum hereditatis	TTBBbc
	[Grandi]	Vidi spetiosam	ATTBbc
	[Grandi]	Obaudite me	ATTBbc
	[Grandi]	O bone Jesu	ATTBbc
	[Aloisi]	Dulcissime Jesu Christe	CATBbc
	[Trabattone]	In cælis hodie	CATBbc
	[Trabattone]	Kyrie eleison [Litaniæ BVM]	CATBbc
	[Aloisi]	Impetum inimicorum	CATBbc
	[Aloisi]	Cantate Domino	CATBbc
	[Grandi]	Conratulamini omnes	CATBbc
	[Grandi]	Inter vestibulum	CTTBbc
	[Grandi]	Domine ne in furore	CATBbc
	[Grandi]	Deus qui nos in tantis	CATBbc
	[Grandi]	Diligam te Domine	CCBBbc
	[Aloisi]	Attollite portas	CCTTbc
	[Gallerano]	In Domino confido	CCTBbc
	[Sances]	O Jesu mi dulcissime	CCABbc
	[Sances]	Salve Regina	CATBbc
	[Merula]	Cum complerentur	CATBbc
	[Merula]	Magnificate Dominum	CATBbc
	[Merula]	Ego sum panis vitæ	CATBbc
	[Merula]	Panis angelicus	CATBbc
	[Facchi]	O virgo prudentissima	CATBbc
	[Tomasi]	O Maria sanctissima	CATBbc
	[Trabattone]	Lætis nunc mentibus	CATBbc
	[Aloisi]	Regina c[a]eli	CATBbc
	[Gregori]	O Jesu O bone Jesu	CATBbc
	[Gregori]	Ave Regina	CATBbc
	[Cifra]	O quam pulchra	CCABbc
	[Grandi]	Plorabo die ac nocte	CATBbc
	[Trabattone]	Dicite nobis	CATBbc
	[Trabattone]	Laudate Dominum	CATBbc
	[Trabattone]	Qui habitatis	CATBbc
	[Merula]	Jesu dulcissime	CATBbc
	[Facchi]	Ave saluber[r]ima	CCABbc
	[Aloisi]	Salve Regina	CATBbc
	[Merula]	Cantate Domino	CCBBbc
	[Merula]	Benignissima Jesu [sic]	C[A]TTBbc
	[Merula]	Benedictus tu	C[A]TTBbc
	[Facchi]	Salve Regina	C[C]ATBbc
	[Aloisi]	Exurgat Deus	C[C]ATBbc
	[Aloisi]	O dulcis virgo virginum	C[C]ATBbc
		Tibi laus	-CATBbc
		Ascendo ad Patrem	-CATBbc

Ob Tenbury MSS 973–6/1273	[Turini]	O misera Dorinda	CBbc
	[Arrigoni]	Tu m' amasti	ATBbc
	[Merula]	Voi che per altri ardete	TTBbc
	[Grandi]	Io d' altrui?	TTBbc
	[Merula]	Questo d ate vorrei	CTBbc
	[Merula]	Sempre terrò memoria	CTBbc
	[Rovetta]	Piangea donna crudel	ATBbc
	[Rovetta]	Quante volte giurai	ATBbc
	[Rovetta]	Quella fede leal	ATBbc
	[Rovetta]	Ove ch' io vada	CTBbc
	[Arrigoni]	Usami pur orgoglio	CATBbc
	[Arrigoni]	Stelle fulminatrici	TTBBbc
	[Rovetta]	Credetel voi	CATBbc
	[Rovetta]	Anime pellegrine	CATBbc
	[Rovetta]	Udite, amanti	CATBbc
Ob Tenbury MS 1012	Rovetta	Udite, amanti	CATBbc
	Rovetta	Credetel voi	CATBbc
	Rovetta	Anime pellegrine	CATBbc
Ob Tenbury MS 1013		**Grandi's *Messa a 4 Voci***	
	Grandi	Kyrie eleyson	TTbc
	Grandi	Christe eleyson	ABbc
	Grandi	Kyrie eleyson	ATTBbc
		[Gloria in excelsis Deo]	
	Grandi	Et in terra pax	ATTBbc
		[Credo in unum Deum]	
	Grandi	Patrem omnipotentem	ATTBbc
	Grandi	Qui propter nos homines	ATbc
	Grandi	Et incarnatus est	ATBbc
	Grandi	Crucifixus	ATTbc
	Grandi	Et resur[r]exit	ATTBbc
	Grandi	Et iterum venturus est	ATTBbc
	Grandi	Et in Spiritum Sanctum	ATTBbc
	Grandi	Sanctus	ATTBbc
	Grandi	Benedictus	ATTBbc
	Grandi	Agnus Dei	AAbc
	Grandi	Agnus Dei	ATTBbc
Ob Tenbury MS 1015		**Nenna's *Il Settimo Libro de Madrigali* 'Englished'**	CAQTB
	Nenna	Let my heart then adore thee	
		[S' egli è ver ch' io v' adoro]	
	Nenna	The sonne one day in glory	
		[Godea del sol i rai la mia ninfa vezzosa]	
	Nenna	Whom one fayr branch in closes	
		[In due vermiglie labra]	
	Nenna	How then shall death deprive me	
		[Che non mi date aita]	
	Nenna	With hands sweetly imbracing	
		[Con le labra di rose mi rapi Filli il cor]	
	Nenna	Happy torments, blessed wounds	
		[Occhi belli ch' adoro]	
	Nenna	Behold the starre apeareth	
		[Suggetemi, suggete il sangue]	
	Nenna	Then Peter like an exile	
		[Havea per la sua ninfa]	
	Nenna	If sweet Jesu to pray thee	
		[Filli mia, s' al mio seno]	

	Nenna	Happy soule in they bosome [Coridon, del tuo petto]	
	Nenna	Now death sadly attended [L' amoroso veleno serpendo]	
	Nenna	Ay me my sonne sweet Jesu [Non veggio il mio bel sol]	
	Nenna	While sighes prayers and lamentings [Sospir, baci e parole]	
	Nenna	O sweet Jesu my saviour [Filli, cor del mio core]	
	Nenna	Behold my soule sweet Jesu [Ardemmo insieme, bella donna]	
	Nenna	His fayr eyes, on her fixed [Parean dir gli occhi suoi]	
	Nenna	Fly not, sweet Jesu [Fuggite pur, fuggite, crudel]	

The Tenbury manuscripts, Wainwright deduces, are all likely to have been copied sometime between November 1638 and the summer of 1646.[85] It is the British Library manuscripts, however, that are the most extensive, containing 159 motets for one to five voices and basso continuo. Aston has observed that Jeffreys seems to have studied the compositions of the Italian Alessandro Grandi most closely since there are 36 motets by him contained in the British Library manuscripts (Table 4.10).[86] Other composers represented with a preponderance of compositions in these manuscripts are Egidio Trabattone (22), Merula (21), Aloisi (15), Sances (12) and Facchi (11).[87] Through the paper studies of Thompson and the research of Wainwright it has been established that *Lbl* Add. MS 31479 and Mad. Soc. MSS G 55–9 were copied by Jeffreys in the mid to late 1650s.[88] Furthermore, *Lbl* Add. MS 31479 and Mad. Soc. MSS G 55–9 are 'so similar in format and repertoire that they must originally have been intended to form a single collection'.[89] Wainwright has reached the conclusion that these two sets of part books are likely

[85] *Ibid*., 125.
[86] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'Jeffreys, George'.
[87] *Ibid*.
[88] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 127. I later speculate, in Chapter 8, that this was part of a resurgence of Royalist sentiment in the closing years of the Commonwealth; it also coincides with Hatton's return from Paris in 1656.
[89] *Ibid.*, 121.

to have been copied from earlier intermediary manuscript sources that are now lost.[90] The copy sources of Italian music that Jeffreys used are listed below in Table 4.12:

Table 4.12: George Jeffreys' Copy-Sources of Italian Music[91]

G.B. Aloisi, *Coelestis Parnasus* Op. 1 (B. Magni, Venice, 1628)
G.B. Aloisi, *Contextus Musicarum Proportionum* Op. 4 (B. Magni, Venice, 1637)
G.B. Aloisi, *Corona Stellarum* Op. 5 (B. Magni, Venice, 1637)
G.G. Arrigoni, *Concerti di Camera* (B. Magni, Venice, 1635)
A. Cifra, *Motecta* Bk 5, Op. 11 (G.B. Robletti, Rome, 1612; 2/ G. Vincenti, 1616)
A. Facchi, *Motetti* Bk 2 (B. Magni, Venice, 1635)
A. Grandi, *Il Primo Libro de Motetti* (G. Vincenti, Venice, 1610; 5/1628)
A. Grandi, *Il Secondo Libro de Motetti* (G. Vincenti, Venice, 1613; 5/1628)
A. Grandi, *Madrigali Concertati* (G. Vincenti, Venice, 1615; 6/1626)
A. Grandi, *Il Quarto Libro de Motetti* (G. Vincenti, Venice,1616; 5/1628)
A. Grandi, *Celesti Fiori* Bk 5 (B. Magni, Venice, 1619; 3/1625; 4/1638)
A. Grandi, *Motetti ... con Sinfonie* Bk 3 (A. Vincenti, Venice, 1629)
A. Grandi, *Il Sesto Libro de Motetti* (A. Vincenti, Venice, 1630)
A. Gregori, *Sacrarum Cantionum* Bk 3, Op. 8 (B. Magni, Venice, 1635)
G. Hayne (E. Hennio), *Motetti Sacri* Op. 4 (M. Phalese, Antwerp, 1646)
F. M. Marini, *Concerti Spirituali* Bk 1 (B. Magni, Venice, 1637)
T. Merula, *Il Primo Libro de Motetti* Op. 6 (A. Vincenti, Venice, 1624)
T. Merula, *Libro Secondo de Concerti Spirituali* (A. Vincenti, Venice, 1628)
T. Merula, *Madrigali et Altre Musiche Concertare ... Libro Secondo* Op. 10 (B. Magni, Venice, 1633; 2/1635 as *Musiche Concertate*)
P. Nenna, *Il Settimo Libro de Madrigali a Cinque Voci* (G.B. Sottile, Naples, 1608; 5/B. Magni, Venice, 1624)
D. Pecci, *Sacri Modulatus* Op. 3 (B. Magni, Venice, 1629)
F. Pio, *Liber Primus Motectorum* (A. Vincenti, Venice, 1622–4)
G. Rovetta, *Madrigali Concertati* Bk 1, Op. 2 (B. Magni, Venice, 1629; 4/H. De Bruyn, Rotterdam, 1660)
G.F. Sances, *Motetti* (B. Magni, Venice, 1638)
B. Tomasi, *Motecta* Op. 6 (B. Magni, Venice, 1635)
E. Trabattone, *Concerti* Bk 2, Op. 4 (B. Magni, Venice, 1629)
F. Turini, *Madrigali ... Libro Primo* (B. Magni, Venice, 1621; 2/1624)

Aston has noted that Jeffreys composed nine settings of the texts included in *Lbl* Add. MS 31479 and Mad. Soc. G 55–9.[92] Moreover, five of these settings by Jeffreys are scored for the same number of voices as their Italian counterparts: *O nomen Jesu* (2vv, Merula), *O quam iucundum* (3vv, Trabattone), *Quid mihi est in caelo* (3vv, Aloisi and Hennio), *Ego sum panis* (4vv, Merula), and *O bone Jesu* (4vv, Grandi). I initially compared these settings by Italian composers

[90] *Ibid.*, 128. On f.54 of British Library Add. MS 10338 Jeffreys refers to 'my other Score book' and it is possible that this lost book contained the original copies of Italian motets that he recopied in the late 1650s.
[91] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 124.
[92] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'Jeffreys, George'.

with those by Jeffreys with corresponding texts to see if they served as models. However, while the incipits are the same, the texts vary considerably (these pieces are available in Volume II). For example, Jeffreys' text in *Quam pulchra es* is identical to that used by Rovetta with the exception of Jeffreys' omission of a final refrain set to the opening line of text, whereas the text Jeffreys sets in his *O bone Jesu* bears little resemblance to Grandi's setting of *O bone Jesu*. The author of Jeffreys' texts remains unknown, but it is possible that Jeffreys was responsible for the alterations to the text, adopting the techniques of agglomeration and centonization which he could have learned from studying the works of Grandi and others.[93] These textual divergences could, in addition, represent Jeffreys' further engagement with the creative principles of *imitatio* and *emulatio*.

It is helpful to take stock of the most important facts that have emerged from the ongoing discourse thus far. Firstly, Jeffreys is known to have been interested in Italian music from as early as *c*.1634 and the greater majority of pieces of Italian music that he copied date from before 1638. The Civil War Court (more detail is given below) provided the ideal receptive environment for small-scale Italian *concertato* motets such as those copied by Jeffreys, and many of his own Italianate compositions—no doubt inspired by the study and performance of contemporary Italian motets—were written during the early 1640s. Finally, Jeffreys' partbooks (*Lbl* Add. MS 31479 and Mad. Soc. MSS G 55–9) of Italian motets for one to five voices were copied in the mid to late 1650s. Before concluding this chapter, it is worth considering the connections between Dering and Jeffreys.

[93] See Roche, J., 'Alessandro Grandi: A Case Study in the Choice of Texts for Motets', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 113/2 (1988), 274–305.

Jeffreys and Dering

It has been made clear that George Jeffreys also contributed to the genre of the few-voice Latin motet in the decades following Dering's death (1630). Dering is known to have composed 57 few-voice Latin motets;[94] a number almost equalled by Jeffreys. In point of fact, Jeffreys composed 49 few-voice Latin motets of which the majority (35) can be dated as being composed before 1648. These two composers share a close stylistic affinity in their compositional procedures: both make use of declamatory word setting, both use contrasts of texture and metre, both use the same scoring for one, two or three voices, and both make use of a supporting basso continuo accompaniment. Ultimately, it is the substantial assimilation of the Italian *stile nuovo* and of the techniques of Italian *concertato* sacred music exhibited by Jeffreys and Dering that warrants a comprehensive association between their music. It is without question that Jeffreys was familiar with the music of Dering as the following section elucidates.

Jeffreys' Copies of Dering's Music

That Jeffreys knew the few-voice Latin motets of Dering is confirmed by consulting the composite partbooks, *Och* Mus. 877–80; 'a complex set of four partbooks containing both printed and manuscript music'.[95] The manuscript sections of the partbooks were copied at different times, by five different scribes, of whom Wainwright has identified the hands of George Jeffreys and Stephen Bing; the other three scribes remain anonymous. Jeffreys is responsible for supervising the work of two of the other copyists in Mus. 877–80: 'by organising the layout of

[94] This figure includes the newly discovered motets attributed to Dering by Wainwright and also the nine that remain incomplete.

[95] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 160. For further details of the partbooks see *Ibid.*, 160–77.

the pages (by writing the clefs) and adding the text underlay to the music copied by the second anonymous scribe and Stephen Bing'.[96] The first sections of Mus. 878–80 contain motets and one madrigal by Richard Dering, a number of which were copied by Jeffreys or under the supervision of Jeffreys. Table 4.13 shows the copies made by Jeffreys of pieces composed, or suggested to be, by Dering in Mus. 878–80.

Table 4.13: Jeffreys' Copies of Dering's Few-Voice Motets

Jeffreys' Copies of Dering in *Och* Mus. 877–80		
Definitely by Dering	Attributed to Dering	Tentatively suggested by Dering
Conceptio tua (Nativitas tua) Gratias tibi Deus Sancta et immaculata virginitas/(divinitas) O donna troppo cruda Ego dormio Veni electa mea Anima Christi O crux ave (Jesu salve) Duo seraphin Tibi laus Laetamini cum Maria Vulnerasti cor meum Cantate Domino	Hei mihi Domine Exultavit cor meum O sacrum convivium	Beatus laurentius (O faelix Ecclesia) Protector noster Propitius esto Tua Jesu dilectio Jesu auctor Gloria tibi trinitas O Maria (O Messia) Paratum cor meum Confitemini Domino Augustine (O Messia) Quemadmodum desiderat I heard a voice

Wainwright's examination of the paper types of the 'Dering' sections of the partbooks has led him to the conclusion that these pieces were copied in the early 1640s.[97]

Other manuscript sources that link Dering and Jeffreys are *Ob* Tenbury MS 1016 and *Lcm* MS 2033. *Ob* Tenbury MS 1016 contains the scores to madrigals for one to three voices and basso continuo by Dering; the scribe of the manuscript is Jeffreys who is suspected to have made the

[96] *Ibid.*, 160.
[97] *Ibid.*, 161.

copy in the mid 1630s.[98] *Lcm* MS 2033 comprises three of a set of four partbooks (the bass part is lacking), containing motets and a single anthem, all of which are scored for three voices and basso continuo by Dering and Jeffreys; the three scribes of these partbooks remain unknown.[99]

It has already been established, in Chapter 3, that some of Dering's small-scale Latin motets were likely to have been composed for performance at Henrietta Maria's chapel, and it is likely that these Dering pieces remained in the chapel repertory throughout the Civil War years and beyond. It is known that Jeffreys was at the Civil War court at Oxford, as organist to Charles I, and that his music was popular in Royalist circles. The suggestion, therefore, that he also encountered the music of Dering while at the Oxford Court is not fanciful. In point of fact, Wainwright contends that the 'Dering' fascicles of Mus. 877–80 appear to be the remnants of performing parts from the time of the Oxford Court.[100]

Jeffreys' copying of Dering's few-voice Latin motets coincides with his own composition of pieces in the same genre, exhibiting a style not dissimilar to Dering's. Jeffreys composed 36 *concertato* Latin motets for one, two or three voices that date from before 1648 and it has been established that his copies of Dering date from the early 1640s. The conclusion that Dering's compositions provided another conduit for Jeffreys' awareness of the *stile concertato* is inescapable. Peter Le Huray noted the 'succession' of the continuo motet style from Viadana through Grandi to Philips and Dering.[101] It is my contention, therefore, that Jeffreys is, in turn, Dering's successor. The following examples are intended to demonstrate Jeffreys' appropriation of the compositional devices used by Dering (p.44) in his few-voice Latin motets.

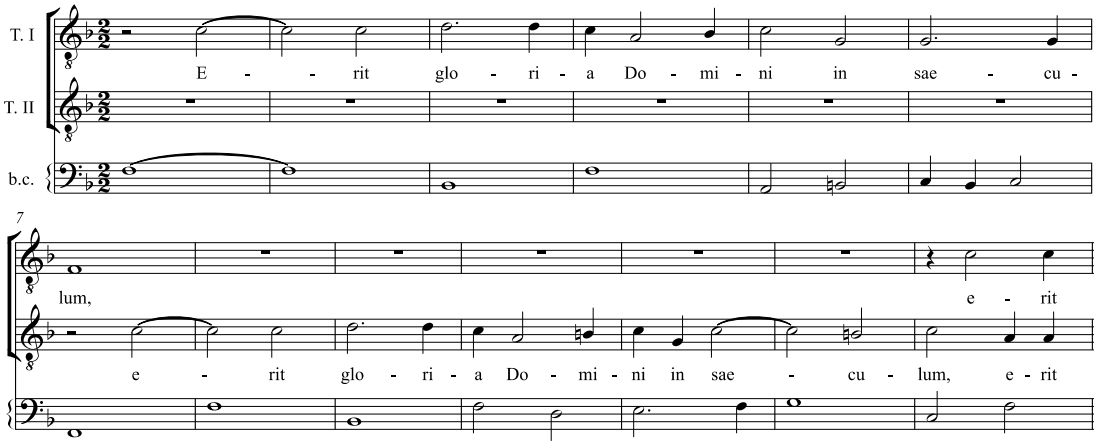
[98] *Ibid.*, 346.
[99] *Ibid.*, 290.
[100] *Ibid.*, 166.
[101] Le Huray, P., *Op. cit.*, 397.

Stylistic Similarities

Firstly, Dering's inclusion of a basso continuo, in emulation of Viadana, was highlighted in the previous chapter as one of the most 'progressive' features of Dering's few-voice motets, indicating that he was keen to employ up-to-date practices. By extension, then, Jeffreys' inclusion of a basso continuo can be seen in this same light. All of Jeffreys' few-voice motets are scored with a basso continuo accompaniment and, while in places it is no more than a *seguente*, more generally there is a greater degree of independence than is seen in Dering's settings; this is particularly true where the bass voice has more virtuosic passages.

A recurring feature typical of Italian *concertato* music, which both Dering and Jeffreys adopt, is the initial opening statement, supported by the continuo, followed by its repetition in another voice (sometimes with minor alterations) (Ex. 4.1: compare with Ex. 3.5).

Example 4.1: Jeffreys, *Erit Gloria Domini*, bb.1–13[102]

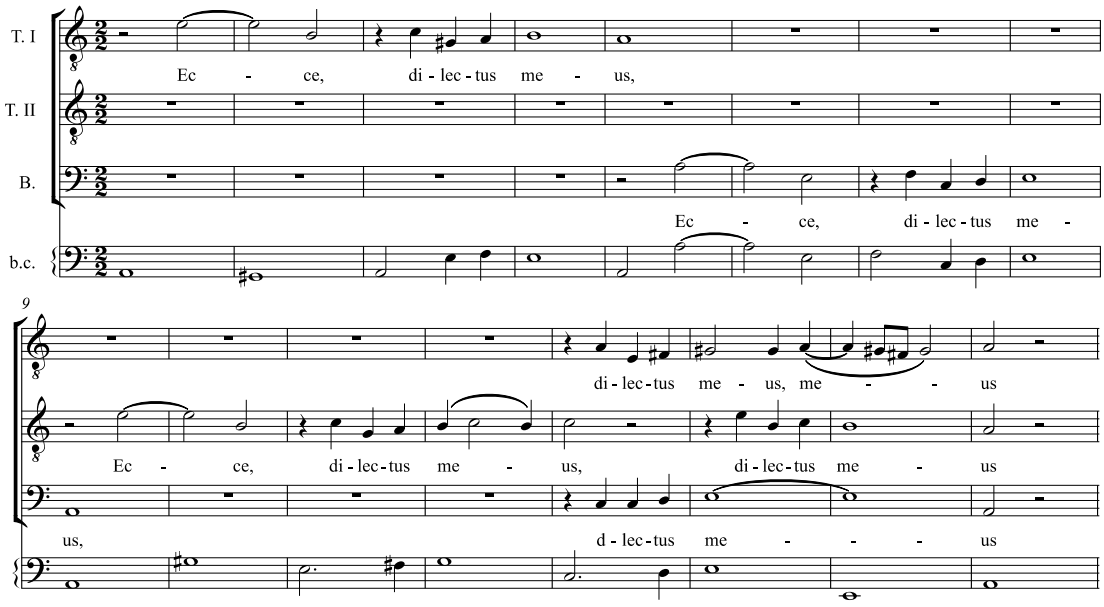


Incidentally, Jeffreys' two-voice Latin motet *Erit gloria Domini* (TTbc) was the only work to be published during his lifetime and was published alongside Dering in Playford's *Cantica Sacra* ...

[102] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 12.

the Second Sett (London, 1674). Dering's motet *O crux/Rex ave spes unica* is included in Playford's 1674 publication and is likely to be authentic since it '*is* attributed to "Mr *Ric*. [or *Rich*:] *Dering*" in the pages of the printed parts, and also appears in an early manuscript source amongst many other genuine Dering motets (*Och* Mus. 877–80)'.[103] Similarly, in three-voice settings the same compositional procedure occurs, with each voice making a separate solo entry in turn before joining together in a homophonic texture (Ex. 4.2: compare with Exx. 3.18 and 3.19).

Example 4.2: Jeffreys, *Ecce, dilectus meus*, bb.1–16[104]



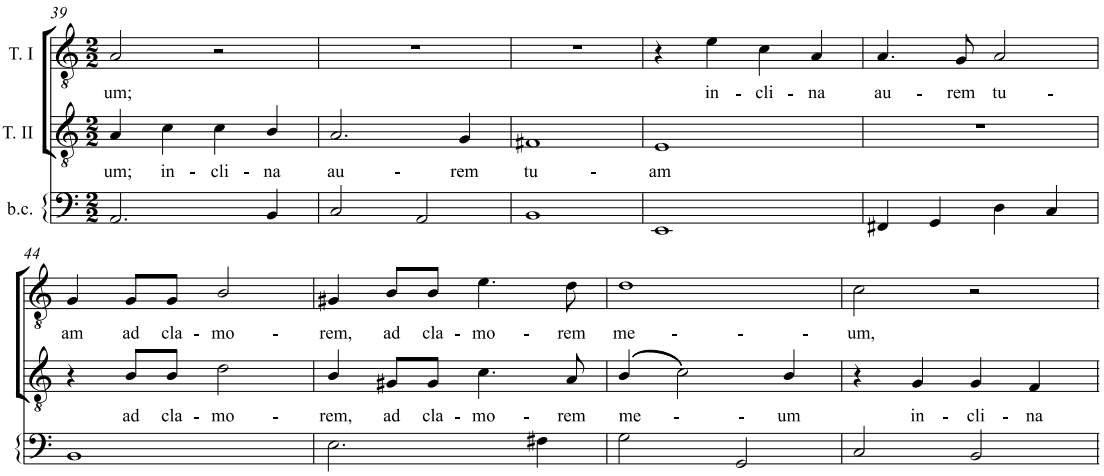
Dering and Jeffreys shared a proclivity for contrasting imitative sections with homophonic writing, and Jeffreys' employment of this technique can be seen in *Domine Deus salutis meae*

[103] Wainwright, J. P., ed., Dering: Motets for One, Two or Three Voices and Basso Continuo, *Musica Britannica*, 87 (London, 2008), xxv. Doubt over the authenticity of a number of Dering motets (i.e. *Duo seraphin clamabant*, *O sacrum convivium*, *Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in caelo*, *Ego sum resurrectio*, *Laetatus sum*, *Hierusalem quae aedificatur*, *O crux/Rex ave spes unica*) contained in Playford's 1674 set arises from Playford's comment that the motets 'are much of Mr Dering's Way, yet by some are believed not to be his, but all that have heard them concluded them Excellently Good'.

[104] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit.*, *16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 48.

(TTbc). Jeffreys' restatements of melodic figures are less strict than those featured by Dering; he seldom repeats melodic phrases exactly, subjecting them to some sort of modification (Ex. 4.3: compare with Exx. 3.14 and 3.17). Example 4.3 clearly illustrates this point: the text 'inclina aurem tuam' is first expressed by tenor II and is subsequently imitated by tenor I. Although the text is set to slightly different rhythms in the tenor voices it maintains its declamatory setting. At bar 44 following one statement each of the text concerned, the two tenor voices unite in a homophonic passage, crossing parts but maintaining parallel third motion. Following a perfect cadence on C, Jeffreys reverts back to the previous imitative material associated with the text 'inclina aurem tuam'.

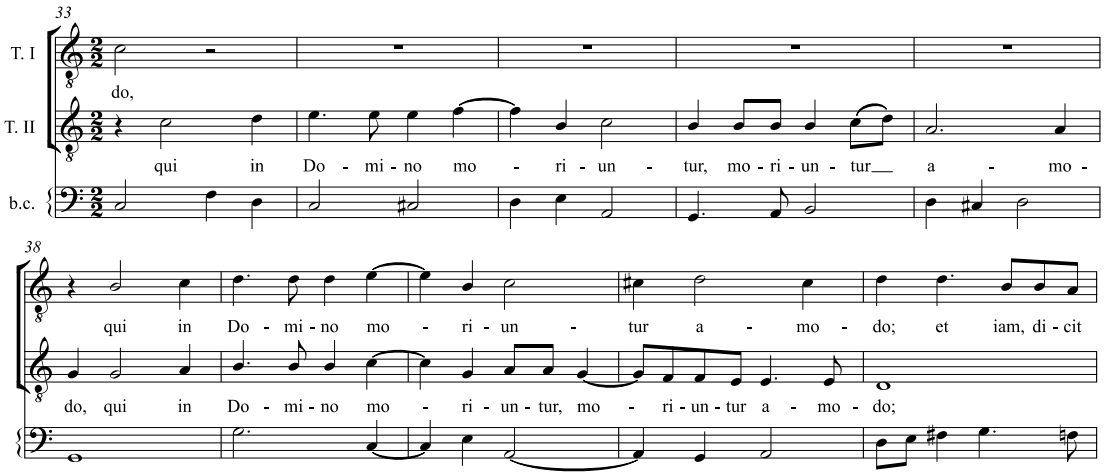
Example 4.3: Jeffreys, *Domine Deus salutis meae*, bb.39–47[105]



Likewise, in *Audivi vocem de caelo* (TTbc) tenor II's melody ceases at the cadence in bar 38 and, subsequently, the two tenors have a homophonic passage in parallel thirds. At bar 42 there is a perfect cadence on D and the imitative texture resumes, beginning with the tenor I's statement of new melodic content (Ex. 4.4).

[105] *Ibid.*, 17.

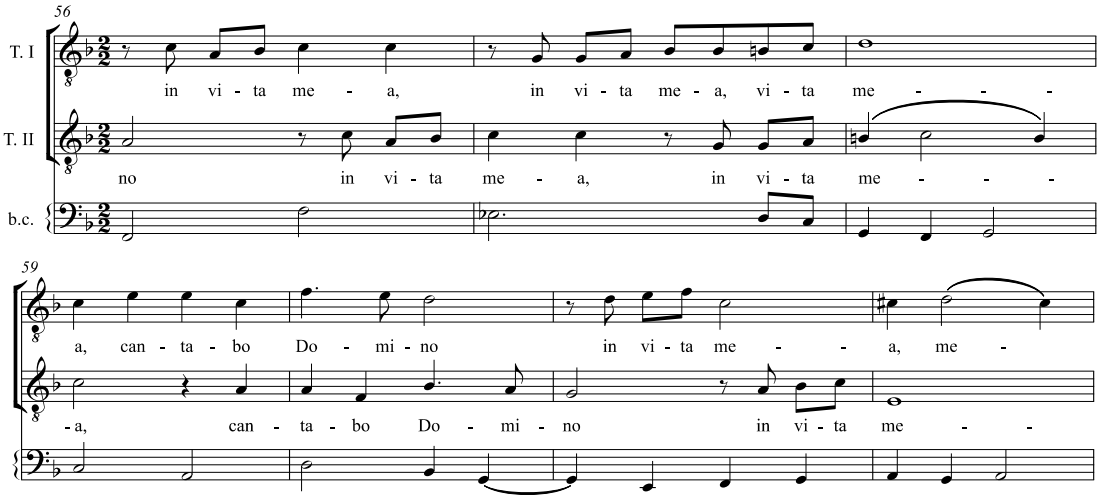
Example 4.4: Jeffreys, *Audivi vocem de caelo*, bb.33–42[106]



The next stylistic similarity to be detailed is the characterisation of contrapuntal sections by the interplay of short rhythmic motives. Jeffreys shares a propensity for using short rhythmic motives in a predominantly contrapuntal texture and his setting of *Erit gloria domini* provides a clear illustration (Ex. 4.5: compare with Exx. 3.25, 3.26, and 3.27). Moreover example 4.5 significantly resembles the 'echo music' detailed in Chapter 3; the melodic fragment associated with the text 'in vita mea', introduced by tenor I, is repeated exactly by tenor II. A second motive is established at the text 'cantabo Domine', first stated by tenor I and then imitated a fifth lower by tenor II; this is followed by a return to the first motive which is again imitated by tenor II a fourth below. Jeffreys maintains a declamatory word setting throughout.

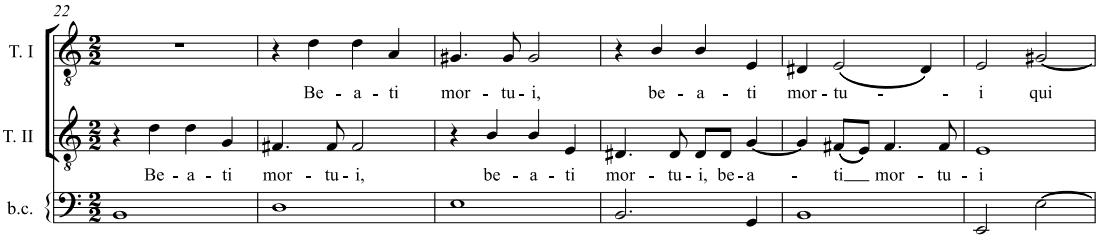
[106] *Ibid.*, 10.

Example 4.5: Jeffreys, *Erit gloria domini*, bb.56–62[107]



Similarly, in *Audivi vocem de caelo* the interplay of short rhythmic motives between the two tenors is present (Ex. 4.6). Again, Jeffreys modifies some of the pitches and intervallic relationships of the motives but they remain identifiable because of their rhythmic construction and their association with the text being expressed.

Example 4.6: Jeffreys, *Audivi vocem de caelo*, bb.22–27[108]

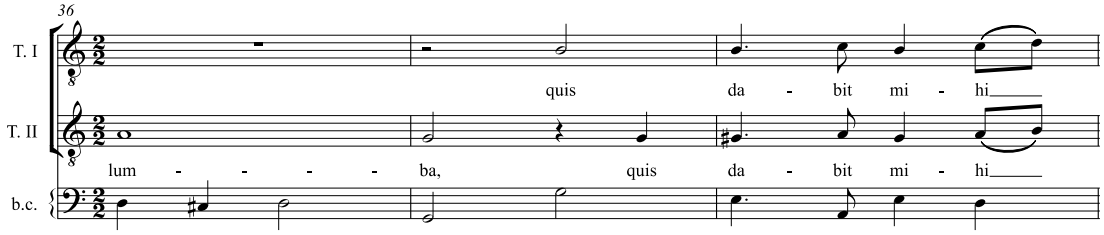


In the previous chapter comment was made on the way that Dering uses tertiary shifts of harmony, appropriated from contemporary Italian compositional practice, as a means of contrast but also for affective purposes. This feature is adopted by Jeffreys and is used abundantly. At bars 37–38 in *Timor et tremor* (TTbc) Jeffreys introduces a harmonic shift of a third for affective

[107] *Ibid.*, 14.
[108] *Ibid.*, 10.

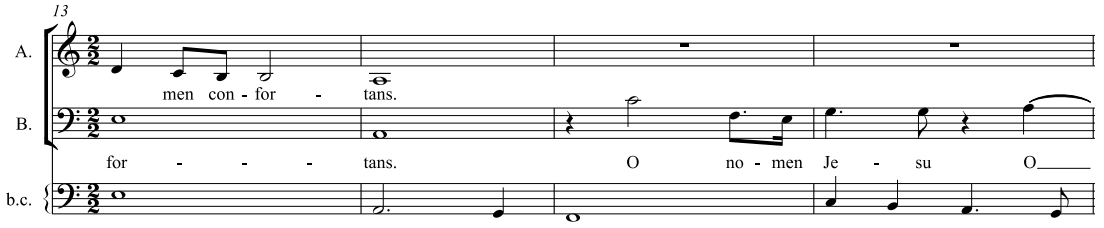
purposes (Ex. 4.7). The text concerned is 'Quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columba' which is initially stated by tenor I and then repeated by tenor II (altered melodically), the third repetition of the text is presented simultaneously by both tenors I and II. Jeffreys intensifies this third statement of the text not only by setting the voices in a largely homophonic texture a third apart, but by moving from G to E.

Example 4.7: Jeffreys, *Timor et tremor*, bb.36–38[109]



Likewise, in Jeffreys' *O nomen Jesu* (ABbc), he uses the tertiary shift of harmony for repeated sections of text (Ex. 4.8). In this motet, the opening text—'O nomen Jesu, nomen dulce, nomen delectabile, nomen confortans'—cadences (perfect) on A at bar 14. In the following bar the text is repeated and Jeffreys' moves from A to F, providing contrast within the work.

Example 4.8: Jeffreys, *O nomen Jesu*, bb.13–16

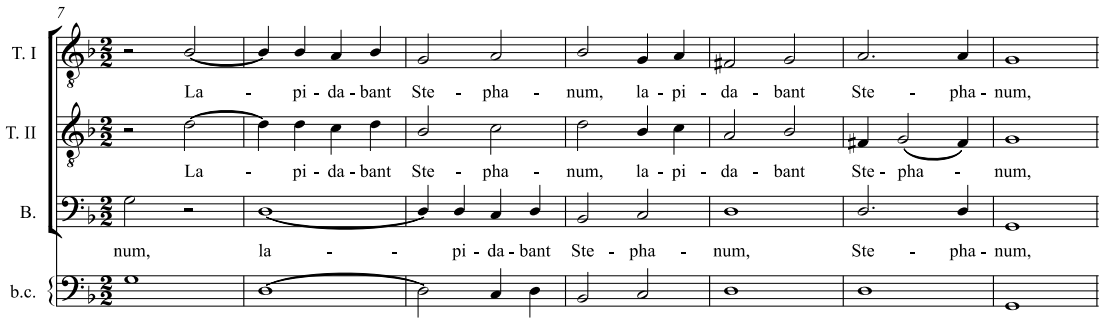


In the three-voice settings of Dering and Jeffreys there is a tendency for the upper voices to congregate while the lowest voice doubles the continuo part, usually with some added rhythmic

[109] *Ibid.*, 7.

interest. Jeffreys' *Lapidabant Stephanum* (TTBbc) provides an example of this texture, whereby the two tenor voices are set a third apart, in a declamatory manner, while the bass part proceeds in unison with the basso continuo (Ex. 4.9: compare with Ex. 3.15). This stylistic feature is reminiscent of the three-part *concertato* motets by Croce that were described in Chapter 3.

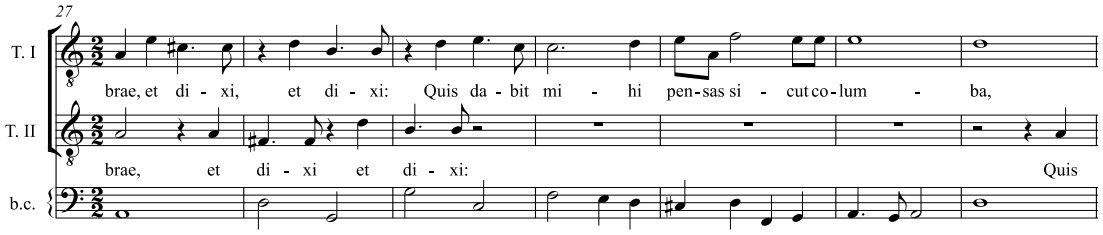
Example 4.9: Jeffreys, *Lapidabant Stephanum*, bb.7–13[110]



Dering and Jeffreys both employ affective declamation in their few-voice Latin motets and Jeffreys' *Timor et tremor* exhibits, most vividly, his mastery of affective declamation. In this motet he uses a number of features to provide a musical representation of the text, affecting deliberately the sensibility and emotion of the listener. Aston has observed that, 'the rapid sequential harmonic movement at bars 27–28 emphasises the urgency of the cry for help, and the expansive melodic figure in the following phrase perfectly represents a yearning for the freedom of the dove'[111] (Ex.4.10: compare with Exx. 3.8 and 3.9).

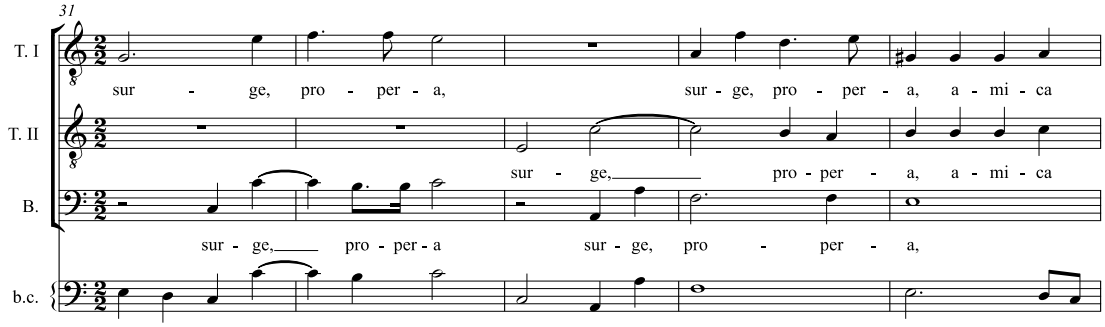
[110] *Ibid.*, 43.
[111] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', IV, 140.

Example 4.10: Jeffreys, *Timor et tremor*, bb.27–33[112]



In an analogous way, Jeffreys increases the sense of urgency at the text 'Surge propera' in his *Ecce, dilectus meus* (TTBbc) through his control of the imitative texture. By increasing the closeness of the imitative entries he conveys adroitly the cries of the beloved one and 'carries the music forward into the more lyrical setting of "my love, my dove, my fair one"' (Ex. 4.11).[113]

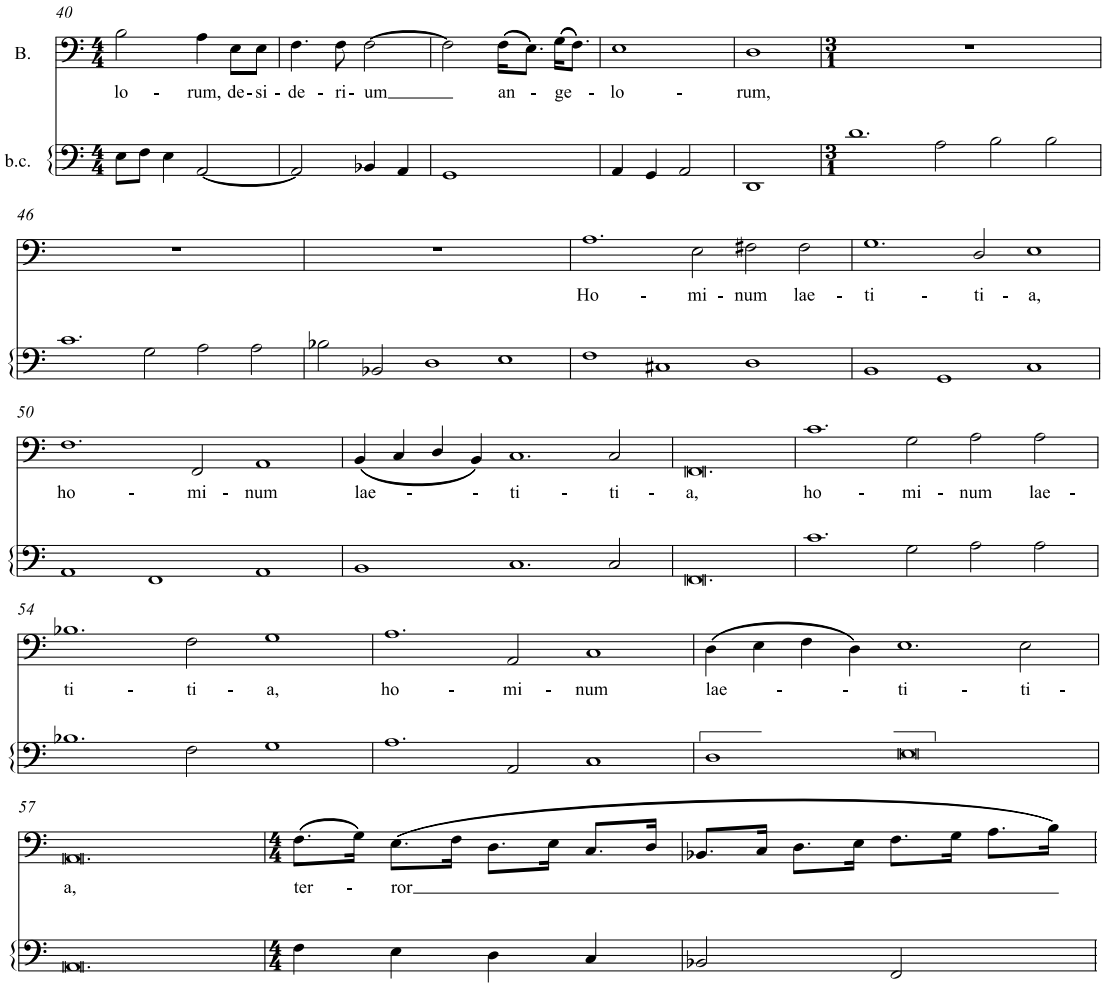
Example 4.11: Jeffreys, *Ecce, dilectus meus*, bb.31–35[114]



The use of contrasting triple-time sections has been revealed to be an inherent compositional device of the *stile concertato* and both Dering and Jeffreys adopt this procedure, usually in association with text that concerns delight or joy. For example, in Jeffreys' *O quam suave* (Bbc) he contrasts a duple metre with a triple-time section at the text 'Hominum laetitia' (O delight of men), reflecting the sentiment of the text (Ex. 4.12: compare with Ex. 3.20).

[112] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 7.
[113] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', IV, 147.
[114] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 49.

Example 4.12: Jeffreys, *O quam suave*, bb.40–58[115]



It is true that Jeffreys exhibits his knowledge of the modern Italian manner in his few-voice *concertato* motets, revealing his 'mastery of affective declamation, virtuoso solo writing, melodic and harmonic chromaticism, expressive dissonance and contrasting triple-time sections'.[116] However, it is also true that while Jeffreys' few-voice motets resemble those by Dering, he composes bolder melodic lines and is more adventurous harmonically, reflecting more modern influences.[117] Certainly, Wainwright comments that, in some of Jeffreys' later

[115] *Ibid.*, 2.
[116] *Ibid.*, v.
[117] *Ibid.*, v.

works he 'went beyond his Italian models and experimented—not always successfully—with extreme chromatic writing for expressive purposes'.[118] These divergences will be accounted for in the following chapters and I conclude with a summary of connections between the two composers: Jeffreys made copies of Dering's music, both sacred (O*ch* Mus. 877–80) and secular (*Ob* Tenbury MS 1016); Jeffreys knew the music of Dering from at least the mid-1630s (based on the dating of *Ob* Tenbury MS 1016); Jeffreys' and Dering's few-voice Latin motets appear alongside each other in manuscript (*Lcm* MS 2033) and printed sources (Playford, 1674); it is likely that the Civil War Court at Oxford provided a performance context for both the few-voice Latin motets of Dering and Jeffreys; and lastly it is a strong possibility that these works formed part of a Royalist repertoire.

In the following chapter attention is turned to Jeffreys' direct *awareness* of specific pieces of contemporary Italian music, which were made available to him through his employment with Christopher Hatton III.

[118] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 159.

Chapter 5: George Jeffreys II—*Awareness*

In this chapter Jeffreys' *awareness* of contemporary Italian music and of the compositional techniques of the *stile nuovo* will be detailed, providing a foundation for Platoff's conditions of influence to be met. In the previous chapter the tangible connections and stylistic resemblance between the few-voice motets of Dering and Jeffreys were highlighted, which, by extension, demonstrates Jeffreys' *awareness* of contemporary Italianate compositional procedures. In this chapter, however, direct links with Italian composers will be made. There appears to be two fundamental sources of Jeffreys' *awareness*, both of which have been implicitly drawn upon in the preceding chapters, namely: Jeffreys' copying activities and Hatton's music collection. Finch-Hatton MS 2652—Hatton's bill of sale—indicates that 25 volumes of contemporary Italian music arrived in England in 1638 and it is also known that seven of these publications provided Jeffreys with copying sources, revealing unequivocally that he knew this music. After considering the music that was definitely known to Jeffreys in Part One of this chapter, in Part Two attention will be turned to music that it can be reasonably assumed he knew, specifically the madrigals of Pallavicino, d'India, and Gesualdo. Table 5.1 lists the publications that will be considered in this chapter and the likelihood of Hatton provenance.

Table 5.1: The Likelihood of Hatton Provenance[1]

Composer	Volume	Possibly	Very Likely	Definitely
G. B. Aloisi	*Contextus Musicarum Proportionum* Op. 4 (1637)			✓
G. B. Aloisi	*Corona Stellarum* Op.5 (1637)			✓
A. Facchi	*Motetti* Bk 2 (1635)			✓
F. M. Marini	*Concerti Spirituali* Bk 1 (1637)			✓
T. Merula	*Musiche Concertate* Bk 2 Op. 10			✓

[1] The original date of publication has been added in square brackets where reprinted volumes have been listed.

	(1635) [1633]			
G. F. Sances	*Motetti* (1638)			✓
B. Tomasi	*Motecta* Op. 6 (1635)			✓
B. Pallavicino	*Sacrae Dei Laudes* (1605)	✓		
B. Pallavicino	*Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1606) [1581]	✓		
B. Pallavicino	*Il Secondo Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1606) [1584]	✓		
B. Pallavicino	*Il Terzo Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1606) [1585]	✓		
B. Pallavicino	*Il Quarto Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1607) [1588]	✓		
B. Pallavicino	*Il Quinto Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1609) [1593]	✓		
B. Pallavicino	*Il Sesto Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1611) [1600]	✓		
B. Pallavicino	*Il Settimo Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1611) [1604]	✓		
B. Pallavicino	*L'Ottavo Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1612)		✓	
C. Gesualdo	*Madrigali* Bk 1 (1617 as 'Bk 2') [1594]		✓	
C. Gesualdo	*Madrigali* Bk 2 (1616 as 'Bk 1) [1594]		✓	
C. Gesualdo	*Madrigali* Bk 3 (1619) [1595]		✓	
C. Gesualdo	*Madrigali* Bk 4 (1616) [1596]		✓	
C. Gesualdo	*Madrigali* Bk 6 (1616) [1611]	✓		
S. d'India	*Liber Primus Motectorum* (1627)	✓		
S. d'India	*Liber Secundus Sacrorum Concentuum* (1610)	✓		
S. d'India	*Libro Primo de Madrigali a 5* (1610)	✓		
S. d'India	*Libro Secondo de Madrigali a 5* (1611)	✓		
S. d'India	*Il Terzo Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1615)	✓		
S. d'India	*Il Quarto Libro de Madrigali a 5*	✓		

	(1616)			
S. d'India	*Il Quinto Libro de Madrigali a 5* (1616)	✓		
S. d'India	*Le Musiche* [Bk 1] (1615)		✓	
S. d'India	*Le Musiche* Bk 4 (1621)	✓		
S. d'India	*Le Musiche* Bk 5 (1623)	✓		
S. d'India	*Le Musiche e Balli a 4* (1621)	✓		
S. d'India	*Delle Villanelle alla Napolitana* Bk 1 (1610) [1608]	✓		

Although somewhat tangential, I take as my point of departure, a cursory consideration of Jeffreys' copy of *Quam pulchra es* (CCBbc). The setting is misattributed to Carissimi in *Lbl* Add. MS 31479 by Jeffreys and is, in point of fact, an arrangement of Rovetta's motet *Quam pulchra es* (CCbc). The two versions differ considerably[2] and it is more than likely that 'Jeffreys was responsible for the changes to Rovetta's original'.[3]

> Not only does Jeffreys' version have an added bass voice part (either based on the original basso continuo or newly composed), but also parts are swapped round (with octave transpositions where necessary), and the last section of the Jeffreys' version bears little resemblance to the original—there are just hints of the original, but nothing corresponds exactly. Rovetta's motet also has a repeat of the first eleven bars followed by an 'Alleluia' final section; these do not appear in the British Library Add. MS 31479 version.[4]

Importantly, this arrangement could reveal Jeffreys practicing writing in the style of the Italians, using the themes from Rovetta's motet in an exercise of pastiche and arriving at a strange mixture of the two composers.[5] As Herissone has discovered, this approach to musical creativity

[2] For a detailed comparison of these two versions of *Quam pulchra es* see Wainwright, J. P., 'A Study of Five Related English Manuscripts Containing Italian Music: British Library Additional Manuscripts 31434, 31440 and 31479; Madrigal Society Manuscripts G. 55–9; and Christ Church, Oxford Manuscripts 877–880' (M.Phil. diss., University of Cambridge, 1986), 45–47.

[3] Jones, A. V., *The Motets of Carissimi* (Ann Arbor, 1982), I, 74.

[4] Wainwright, J. P., *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)* (Aldershot, 1997), 130.

[5] *Ibid.*, 131.

was typical of the period.[6] Jeffreys' setting of *Quam pulchra es* demonstrates his engagement with the Erasmian rhetorical principles of *imitatio* and *emulatio*, basing his composition on an authoritative model by Rovetta while demonstrating his inventiveness by attempting to surpass the original. Jeffreys' copying activities were highlighted in the previous chapter and Aston has contended that 'it was undoubtedly through copying, studying and performing this music that Jeffreys acquired his understanding of *seconda pratica* techniques, which he subsequently applied to his own compositions'.[7] Wainwright has amplified this view commenting:

> It was undoubtedly Jeffreys' exposure to the Italian music in the Hatton collection—particularly the small-scale *concertato* motets written by contemporaries of Monteverdi such as Alessandro Grandi—which led to Jeffreys' most successful compositions; his anthems, devotional songs and motets show a complete assimilation of the Italian *seconda prattica* style.[8]

While the sentiment expressed by Aston and Wainwright is certainly true enough, it is my intention to move beyond a generalisation and consider Jeffreys' music and the Italian music he copied in considerable detail. There is, perhaps, a unique situation in the case of Jeffreys whereby it is known for certain what music was available to him, when it was made available, roughly when he copied it, and approximately when he composed his own works in the same manner.

[6] See Herrisone, R., *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge, 2013), *passim*.
[7] Aston, P., 'Jeffreys, George', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 8 March 2011).
[8] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 158.

Part One

The document Finch-Hatton MS 2652[9] is a bill of sale dated November 1638 and records Christopher Hatton III's purchase of 25 Venetian music prints (and one non-musical item) of the period 1624 to 1638, from the London bookseller Robert Martin.[10] The contents of this purchase, then, were made available to Jeffreys from at least November 1638 and were listed in Chapter 4 (Table 4.3, p.93). The most striking observation to be made about the bill of sale is the fact that there are three volumes of music published in 1638, the very year of Hatton's purchase. It is likely that Hatton's musical collection reflected, to some extent, his prestige, which could be enhanced by the music with which he surrounded himself. Hatton's purchase of 1638 can be viewed as a way of him staying demonstrably up to date with musical developments in Italy.

Importantly, seven of the 25 volumes were used by Jeffreys as copy sources:[11]

1. G. B. Aloisi, *Contextus Musicarum Proportionum* Op. 4 (1637)
2. G. B. Aloisi, *Corona Stellarum* Op. 5 (1637)
3. A. Facchi, *Motetti* Bk 2 (1635)
4. F. M. Marini, *Concerti Spirituali* Bk 1 (1637)
5. T. Merula, *Musiche Concertate* Bk 2, Op. 10 (1635)
6. G. F. Sances, *Motetti* (1638)
7. B. Tomasi, *Motecta* Op. 6 (1635)

Jeffreys' copies of the pieces contained in these seven volumes survive in the following sources: *Ob* Tenbury MSS 973–6 & 1273; *Lbl* Add. MS 31479; and Mad. Soc. MSS G 55–9. *Ob* Tenbury MSS 973–6 & 1273 is a set of five partbooks containing madrigals for two to four voices and

[9] Finch-Hatton MS 2652 is held at the Northamptonshire Record Office.

[10] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 28. NRO Finch-Hatton MS 2652 also has a quittance note signed by Martin, which is dated 9 November 1641.

[11] The reason these seven volumes were selected to be copied—by Jeffreys, Hatton, or other—remains a matter of speculation. It is possible that these were considered the most up-to-date volumes; none were more than three years old at the time of purchase. It is equally possible that they were copied to suit a specific performance context, perhaps the Civil War Court at Oxford.

basso continuo by Italian composers, including Merula.[12] Wainwright believes that the partbooks were likely to have been copied between 1638 and 1646.[13] *Lbl* Add. MS 31479 and Mad. Soc. MSS G55–9 are two sets of partbooks containing Latin motets for one two five voices and basso continuo by Italian composers, including Aloisi, Facchi, Marini, Sances, and Tomasi.[14] Wainwright contends that the two sets complement each other and are so similar in format that they must originally have formed a single collection and, that while they were copied in the mid to late 1650s, it is likely that they were copied from earlier manuscripts that are now lost:[15]

> It seems inconceivable that British Library Add. MS 31,479 and Madrigal Society MSS G 55–9 represent Jeffreys' first copies of Italian motets from his patron's printed music collection. The partbooks do not, in any case, show signs of having been copied directly from the printed copy-sources, but rather from a number of separate intermediary manuscripts (now lost). This hypothesis finds some support in the fact that the order of the motets in British Library Add. MS 31479 and Madrigal Society MSS G 55–9 bears little resemblance to the sequence of pieces in the printed sources, and there are never more than four motets in sequence from any one print. Morevover, certain texts in the manuscript partbooks are different from the original printed texts; it appears that some texts were considered unacceptably Marian in reference and therefore changed ... Even so the two manuscripts still contain five settings of the 'Salve Regina', three of the 'Ave Regina', one setting of the Litany of Our Lady, and other settings of blatantly Marian texts. I suggest that Civil War Oxford (1642–6) would provide the circumstances for performances of both the openly Marian pieces and those with their texts modified to suit a more Protestant-taste.
>
> The evidence, then, seems to indicate that British Library Add. MS 31479 and Madrigal Society MSS G 55–9 were copied from manuscript sources that are now lost. These sources were probably roughly copied performing parts or scores copied in the early to mid 1640s. Jeffreys refers to 'my other Score book' in a note on folio 154 of British Library Add. MS 10338; could this lost book have included some of the original copies of Italian motets which he recopied in the late 1650s?[16]

Rather than considering generally the features of the *stile nuovo* present in the music contained in the seven copy sources, I will focus in particular on those aspects that Jeffreys adopted and assimilated. Aston regards these most salient features to be:[17]

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[12] Other composers featured in these partbooks include: Turini, Arrigoni, Grandi, and Rovetta.
[13] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 336.
[14] Other composers featured in these partbooks include: Carissimi, Grandi, Trabattone, Pecci, Pio, Reggio, Gallerano, Gregori, and Cifra.
[15] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 254.
[16] *Ibid.*, 128.
[17] The features singled out here have been pointed out in correspondence with Peter Aston and I am grateful for his advice.

1. Virtuoso writing (especially for the bass voice)
2. Affective declamation
3. Melodic and harmonic chromaticism used for expressive purposes
4. The use of contrasting triple-time sections
5. The use of closely spaced textures in motets or anthems for four and five voices
6. The simultaneous development of contrasted but complementary motives
7. Careful structural planning to ensure that a setting reaches its musical and emotional climax in the closing bars, sometimes the whole of the closing Alleluia section

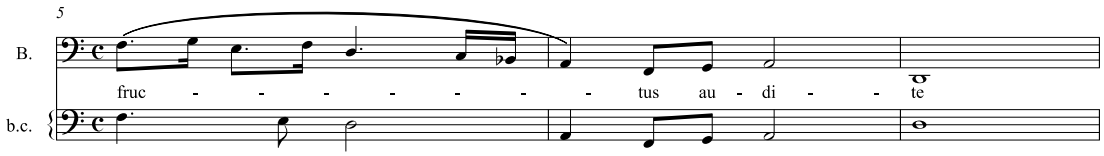
Such an artificial division between these features is not entirely clear-cut and, inevitably, there is a degree of overlap between them, particularly where a number of devices are combined to contribute to the overall effect. The musical examples included will therefore be considered under the prevailing parameter.

Virtuoso Writing (Especially for the Bass Voice)

There is a profusion of virtuosic writing in the musical volumes contained in Hatton's purchase of 1638, requiring considerable technique, agility, and range. It is quite clear that Jeffreys chose to emulate this virtuosic style in his own compositions; however, such treatment seems to be largely reserved for the bass voice. Consequently, the musical examples included here will be restricted to virtuosic writing for the bass voice.

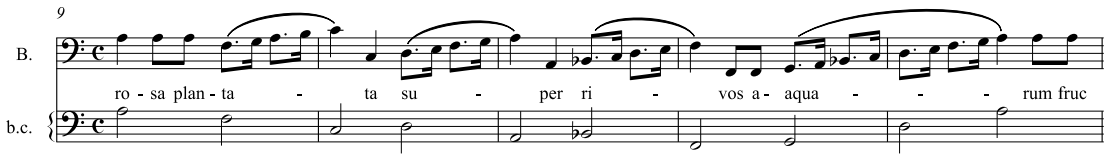
Firstly, then, Sances' setting for solo bass of *Audite me* (Bbc) contains an extensive range of pitch, spanning two octaves—from D to d′—and, indeed, Sances fully utilises it in a display of virtuosity. In the opening seven bars, Sances introduces a simple motive to the text 'Audite me' that is subsequently repeated and developed, increasing in complexity. The melisma on the word 'fructus' (bb.5–6) foreshadows the decorative melodic style of writing that is to come in the remainder of the motet and, furthermore, where the phrase cadences at bars 6–7, the bass descends to its lowest pitch (Ex. 5/1.1).

Example 5/1.1: Sances, *Audite me*, bb.5–7



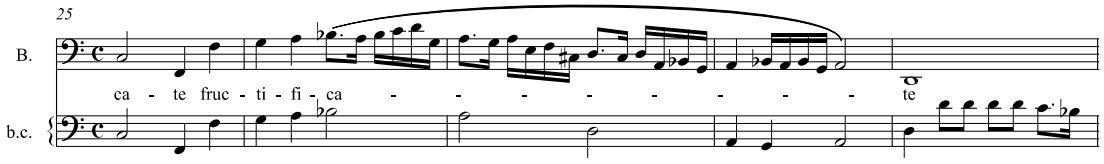
The melodic sequence used to accompany the text 'plantata super rivos aquarum' (planted by a stream of water) at bars 9–13 demonstrates the agility required to perform such a work. The melodic figure rises through a fifth, featuring the dotted-quaver rhythm, and falls an octave before repeating a third lower than the previous statement; the overall range of this passage is a twelfth (Ex. 5/1.2).

Example 5/1.2: Sances, *Audite me*, bb.9–13



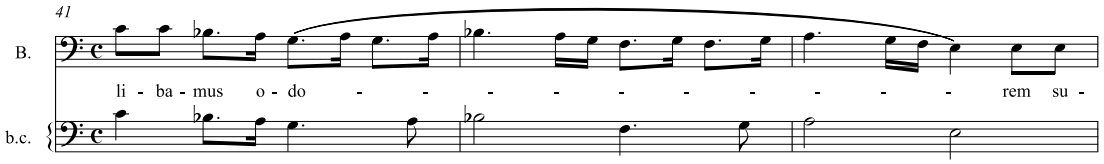
Similarly, the melismatic word setting of 'fructificate' is even more decorative and has a larger range, spanning the entire two octave range limit of this piece (Ex. 5/1.3).

Example 5/1.3: Sances, *Audite me*, bb.25–29

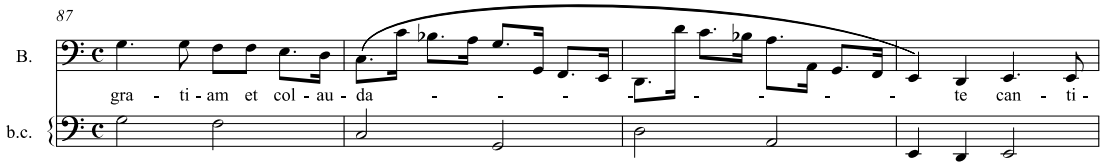


However, the length and elaboration of melismatic word setting increases as the motet progresses, including larger leaps (b.89), longer and more decorative runs, and an increase in rhythmic intensity (Exx. 5/1.4a, 5/1.4b, 5/1.4c, 5/1.4d).

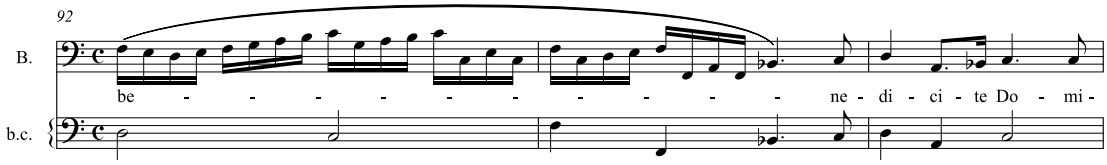
Example 5/1.4a: Sances, *Audite me*, bb.41–43



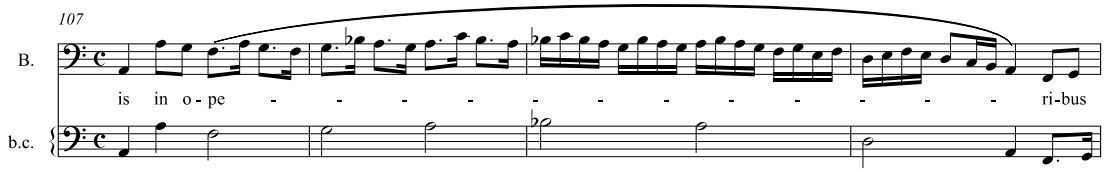
Example 5/1.4b: Sances, *Audite me*, bb.87–90



Example 5/1.4c: Sances, *Audite me*, bb.92–94



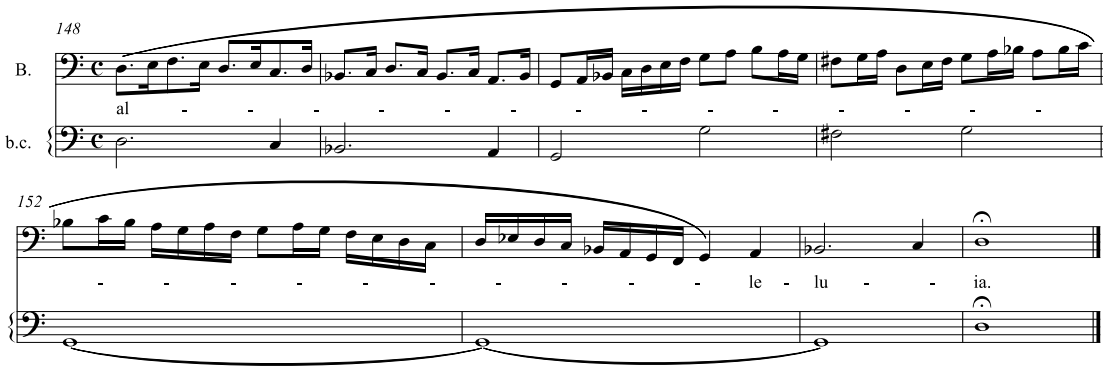
Example 5/1.4d: Sances, *Audite me*, bb.107–110



The concluding duple-time passage of the 'alleluia' section is undoubtedly the most extensive and climactic example of melismatic word setting in 'Audite me'. At bars 148–155, Sances sets one 'alleluia' to an eight-bar passage of extreme virtuosity (Ex. 5/1.5).[18]

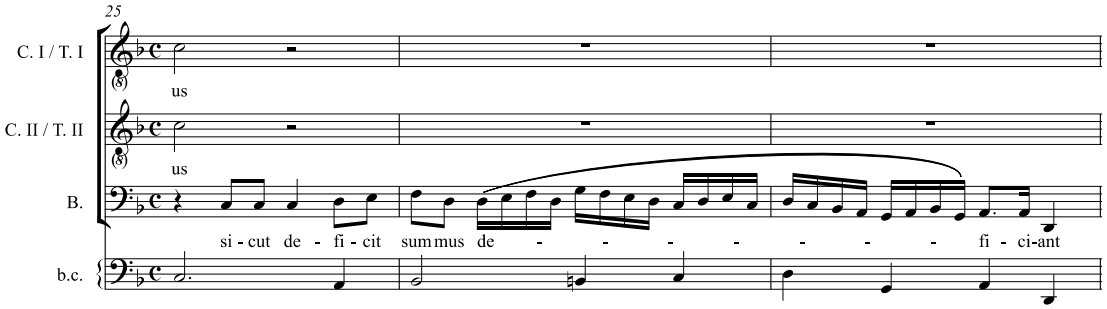
[18] Sances' bass solo *Dulcis amor Jesu* includes virtuosic writing on the same scale: see bars 10–11 and bars 46–49 in particular. Similarly, Sances composes technically-demanding solo passages for the bass voice in his setting of *O crux benedicta*: see bars 46–57. Both motets are transcribed in Volume II.

Example 5/1.5: Sances, *Audite me*, bb.148–155



Similar passages, although more restrained, can be found in most of the seven copy sources under discussion. Facchi's *Exurgat Deus* (CCBbc) is a quintessential display of the *stile concertato*—the triple-time refrain is noteworthy—and includes brief solo passages for the bass voice, some of which are more virtuosic than others. At bars 25–27, however, Facchi's florid writing for the bass voice is at its fullest (Ex. 5/1.6).

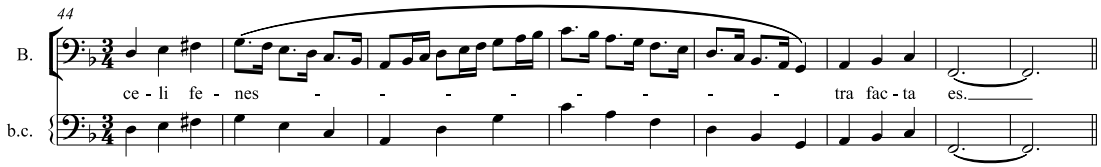
Example 5/1.6: Facchi, *Exurgat Deus*, bb.25–27



A comparable example can be found in Tomasi's *O gloriosa Domina* (CCBbc). This motet is scored for the same voices and Tomasi also singles out the bass voice for solo treatment in an

extended passage between bars 32–51. The concluding bars of the bass solo depict the Virgin as the 'gate of heaven' and, accordingly, are the most virtuosic (Ex. 5/1.7).[19]

Example 5/1.7: Tomasi, *O Gloriosa Domina*, bb.44–51



Collectively these composers exhibit a number of shared characteristics in their writing for the bass voice, such as the use of an extended range (up to two octaves), florid passages, dotted-quaver rhythms, large leaps, and solo treatment.

A Note on Possible Bass Singers

Jeffreys must have had a bass singer(s) of exceptional range and quality at his disposal, perhaps throughout his lifetime, but most likely during the time he spent at Oxford following the outbreak of civil war. In lieu of any documentary evidence to support this claim, circumstantial evidence makes it possible to speculate on a few likely candidates. Both Ralph Amner (d.1664) and Ezechiel Wade (*c*.1578–?1646) are listed among the basses of the Chapel Royal who travelled with Charles I to Edinburgh for his Scottish coronation in 1633.[20] Amner was a Priest of the Chapel Royal between 1623–42 and 1660–64, whilst Wade was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal between 1611–42. Interestingly, Wade was born in Clipston, Northamptonshire,

[19] For other examples of virtuosic writing for the bass voice see Volume II: Marini's *O titani montis*, bb.16–19, bb.23–29, bb.57–61; Merula's *Belle ha le perle il mare*, bb.1–8, bb.39–42.

[20] See Ashbee, A., Lasocki, D., et al., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485–1714* (Aldershot, 1998), I, 21–22; II, 1119.

which is only around 20 miles away from Kirby Hall. Despite Wade no longer being a young man by the late 1630s and 1640s, his close proximity to Hatton's principal residence and the fact he was employed at the Chapel Royal makes him a strong contender. It is impossible to know one way or another whether either of these men were present at the Civil War Court at Oxford. I am aware of only one appointment at the Chapel Royal during the years of civil war: a warrant to swear Francis Hull as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in place of [blank] Beck was issued on 12 January 1643/4.[21] What type of voice Hull possessed remains uncertain. A similar case exists with John Fox who is listed only as a 'singer' at the Chapel Royal between 1630–42, but he is exceptional because he is noted for the quality of his singing.[22] Perhaps Fox was Jeffreys' bass singer? Finally, and most likely, is the French musician to Henrietta Maria, Nicolas Duvall who is recorded in the records of the Chapel Royal between 1625–42.[23] Duvall was a bass singer and lutenist, and from 1633 onwards he also served the king. He was one of the French musicians who took part in Shirley's *Triumph of Peace* (1634), singing bass and playing the theorbo. Bulstrode Whitelocke (1605–75), the lawyer and politician, described Duvall as one of 'the most excellent Musicians of the Queen's Chapel'.[24] Unfortunately, Duvall's whereabouts after 1642 is uncertain and therefore his presence at Oxford between 1642–46 is nothing more than conjecture.

Jeffreys' virtuoso writing for the bass voice continued at the Restoration: *Hosanna filio David* (*c.*1660) and *A Music Strange* (1662), for example, both make considerable demands of the bass voice that is typical of Jeffreys; a bass singer from Worcester, George Yardley (d.1691), is

[21] *Ibid*., I, 606.
[22] *Ibid*., I, 438.
[23] *Ibid*., I, 367–8. See also Spink, I., 'The Musicians of Queen Henrietta Maria: Some Notes and References in the English State Papers', *Acta Musicologica*, 36/2/3 (1964), 180.
[24] Whitelocke, B., *Memorial of the English Affairs* (1732), 19 in Spink, I., *Op. cit.*, 180.

recorded as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal between 1662–91.[25] However, the latest dated work, *He beheld the city* (1675), does not include virtuoso writing for the bass voice, but the anthem is generally more simple and restrained than his earlier works. It is possible that Jeffreys no longer had access to the bass voice(s) he had been accustomed to. However, in his later years, Jeffreys appears to have deliberately returned to a musical style that had long fallen out of fashion,[26] negating the requirement of a virtuoso bass singer.

Affective Declamation

By and large, all the music under consideration adheres to the declamatory style, advocated by Count Bardi (1534–1612) and his Camerata, which was a preeminent concern of humanist thinkers towards the end of the sixteenth century. Such a style focuses primarily on 'the relation between verbal stress and melodic accent in the setting and delivery of a text'[27] and is aimed at persuading and moving the listener. The emergence of a declamatory style gave rise to recitative and was a fundamental principle of the *stile nuovo* that initially flourished in Florence, beginning with the publication of Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* (1601/2). In the preface to his first publication, Caccini writes:

> At the time that the most excellent *camerata* of the Most Illustrious Signor Giovanni Bardi, Count of Vernio, flourished in Florence, wherein not only a good number of the nobility met, but also the best musicians and clever men, poets, and philosophers of the city. I can truly say, since I attended as well, that I learned more from their learned discussions than I did in more than thirty years of studying counterpoint. This is because these discerning gentlemen always encouraged me and convinced me with the clearest arguments not to value that kind of music which does not allow the words to be understood well and which spoils the meaning and the poetic meter by now lengthening and now cutting the syllable short to fit the counterpoint, and thereby lacerating the poetry. And so I thought to follow that style so praised by Plato and the other philosophers who maintained music to be nothing other than rhythmic speech with pitch added (and not the

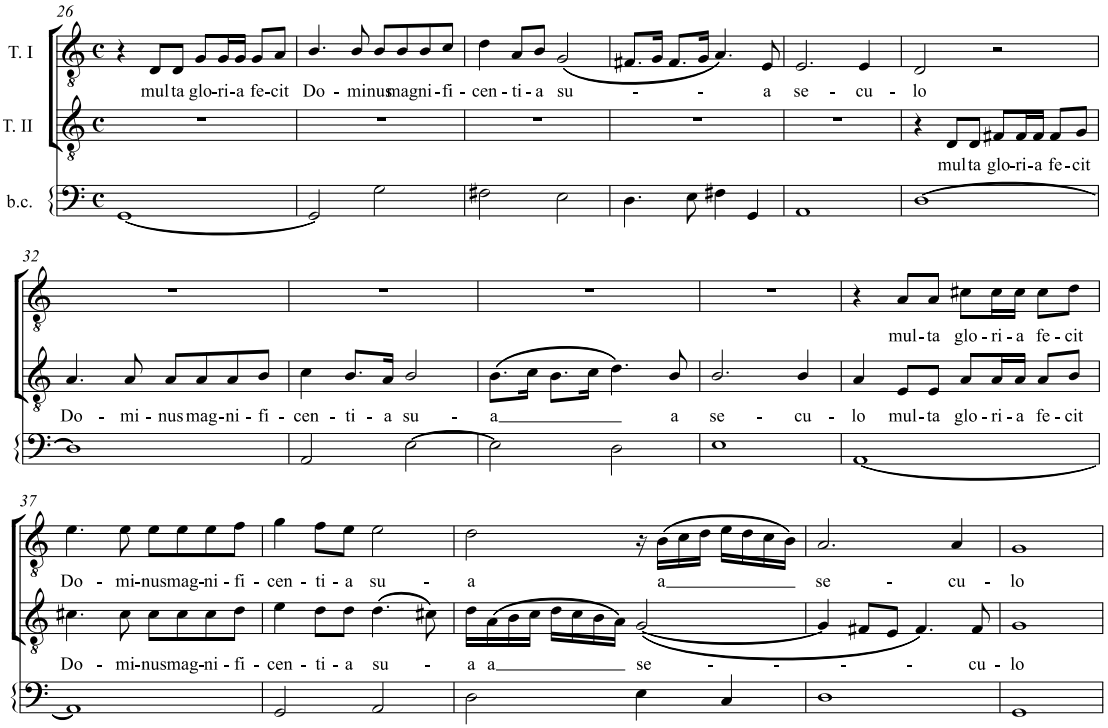
[25] Ashbee, A., Lasocki, D., et al., *Op. cit.*, II, 1179.
[26] Aston, P., 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque' (PhD diss., University of York, 1970), 162.
[27] Jander, O., Carter, T., 'Declamation', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 11 January 2013).

> reverse!), designed to enter into the minds of others and to create those wonderful effects that writers admire, which is something that cannot be achieved with the counterpoint of modern music ... it occurred to me to introduce a kind of music by which anyone could almost speak in music, using (as I have said elsewhere) a certain noble *sprezzatura* in the melody, passing sometimes over some discords while sustaining the pitch of the bass note (except when I wanted to use it in a regular way).
>
> In madrigals as in arias I have always achieved the imitation of the ideas of the words, seeking out those notes that are more or less expressive, according to the sentiments of the words. So that they would have especial grace, I concealed as much of the art of counterpoint as I could. I have placed chords on the long syllables and passed over the short ones and also observed this same rule in making *passaggi*.[28]

In his motet *Laudemus viros gloriosos* (TTbc), Sances writes in a declamatory style, adhering to the principles espoused by Caccini, and uses a number of compositional devices to move the listener, especially the manipulation of harmonic development. At bar 26 a new declamatory motive is introduced, with the attendant contrasting change of metre, at the text 'multa gloria fecit Dominus magnificentia sua seculo' (the Lord has created great glory through them in his magnificence from the beginning) on the 'tonic' of G (Ex. 5/1.8). This six bar phrase concludes with a perfect cadence on D where tenor II imitates the phrase, starting on the dominant, and ending on the secondary dominant, by way of a perfect cadence on A. On this third repetition of the phrase tenors I and II are scored in parallel thirds, maintaining the secondary dominant harmony before reversing through this cycle-of-fifth progression and returning to G. The incremental sharpening of the successive entries suggests a reflection of the magnificence of God, used as a means of increasing the intensity of the music.

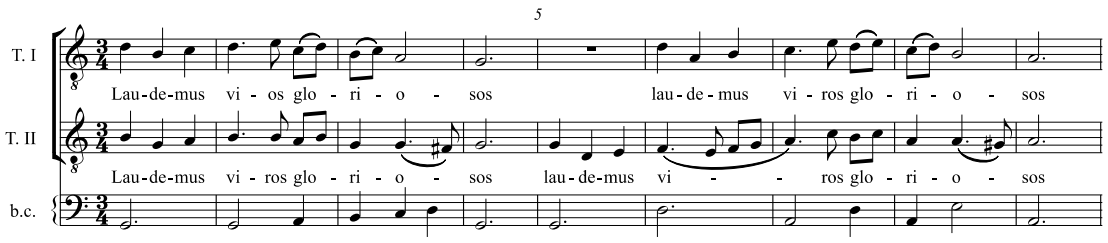
[28] Caccini, G., from the Preface to *Le nuove musiche* in Murata, M., ed., *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History: Volume Four, The Baroque Era*, rev. edn. (London, 1998), 100–101.

Example 5/1.8: Sances, *Laudemus viros gloriosos*, bb.26–41



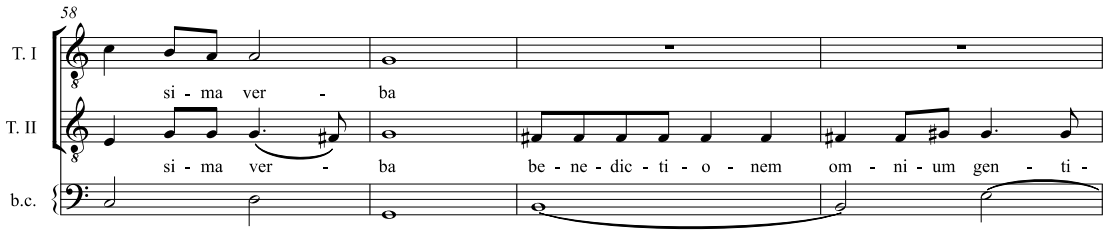
Sances uses this same device in the opening passage of the motet where a restatement of text is presented in a considerably sharper tonality (Ex. 5/1.9). The opening statement of 'Laudemus viros gloriosos' (Let us praise men of renown), in parallel thirds, is completed by a perfect cadence in G at bars 3–4, but the second statement again moves towards secondary dominant harmony with a perfect cadence on A in bars 8–9.

Example 5/1.9: Sances, *Laudemus viros gloriosos*, bb.1–9



A more pronounced example occurs at bars 59–60 where there is a harmonic shift of a third (Ex. 5/1.10). At the new line of text 'Benedictionem omnium genitum dedit illi Dominus' (the Lord gave him the blessing of all nations), Sances moves the basso continuo line upwards by a third, from G to B, which is reflected harmonically. This dramatic shift of harmony draws attention to the text and is aimed at heightening the intensity of affection and is likely to be used intentionally as a dramatic device to convey the blessing of the Lord.[29]

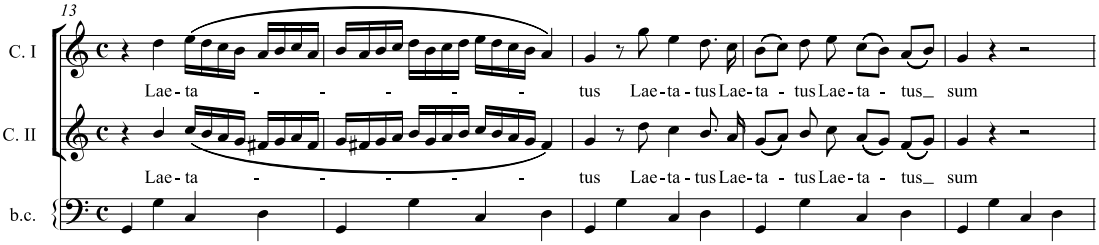
Example 5/1.10: Sances, *Laudemus gloriosos virgo*, bb.58–61



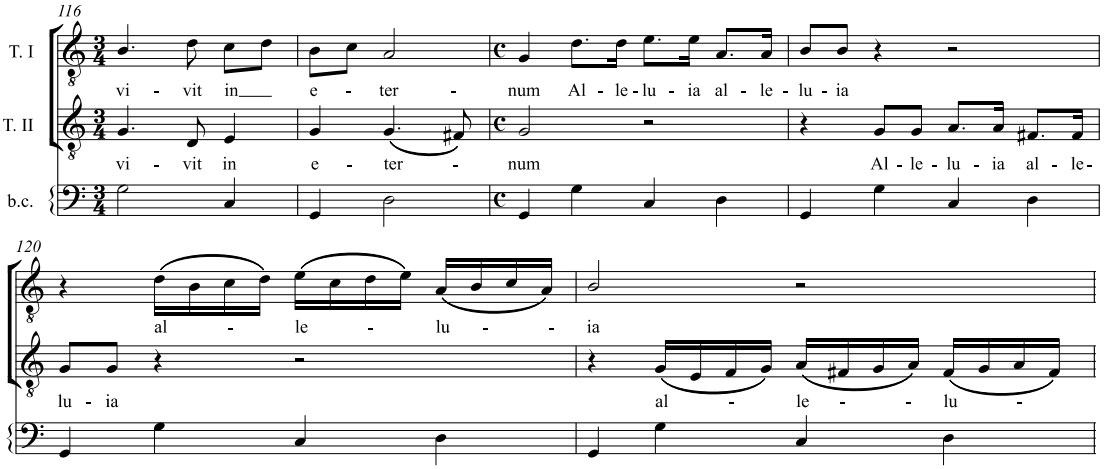
One final feature worthy of note is Sances' vivid representation of the text 'vivit in aeternum' (lives in eternity), which is the last line of text before the concluding 'alleluia' section. Although there is nothing remarkable about the actual text setting or the expected perfect cadence in G, the sentiment expressed is depicted by Sances' use of an ostinato throughout the 'alleluia' section. The familiar ostinato figure is the four-note Bergamasca figure that Monteverdi used in his setting of 'Laetatus sum' (Exx. 5/1.11a and 5/1.11b) and appears sixteen times in total, expressing the idea of eternity.

[29] This compositional device can also be seen in the work of the other composers central to this chapter. See Volume II: Marini's *O vos omnes* where the text 'si est dolor sicut dolor meus' (if there be any sorrow like my sorrow) moves towards the sharpest triad of the *cantus durus* hexachord, i.e. B major.

Example 5/1.11a: Monteverdi, *Laetatus sum*, bb.13–17[30]



Example 5/1.11b: Sances, *Laudemus gloriosos virgo*, bb.116–121



The style of Sances' motet is largely dependent on the alternation between homophonic and imitative passages, and is a fundamental compositional technique used by contemporary Italian composers with an interest in the *stile concertato*. This oscillation between contrasting textures is also typical of Jeffreys and will be elucidated in the following chapter. Aston has written that both Jeffreys' 'two-part and three-part settings follow the same general point of a succession of imitative points occasionally interrupted by short homophonic passages'.[31]

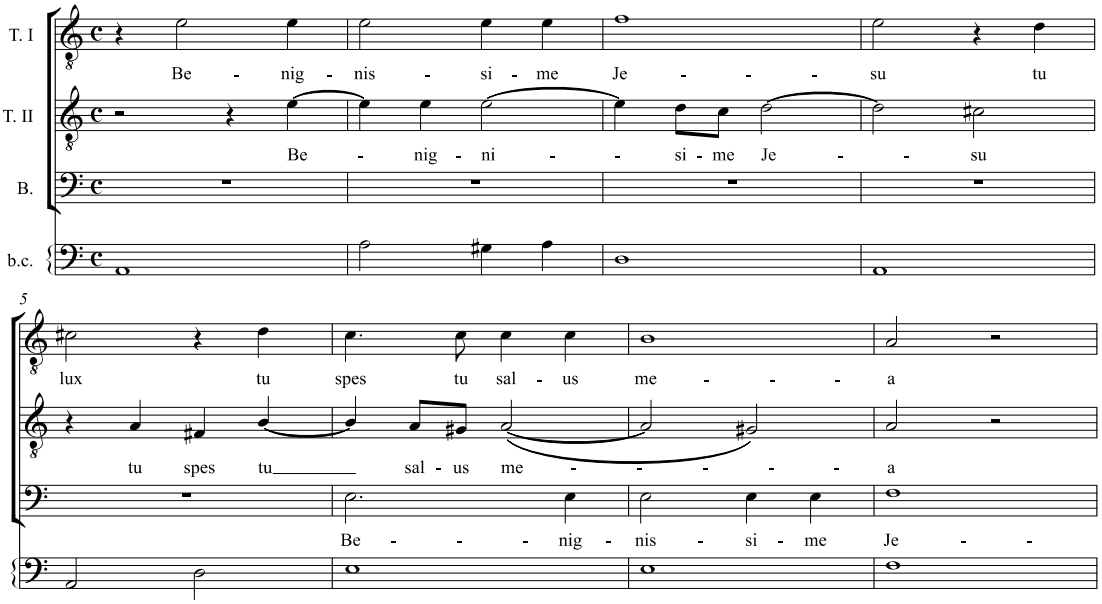
In the opening bars of *Benignissime Jesu* (TTBbc), Aloisi uses dissonance to move the listener. The text praises Jesus in almost erotic terms, describing man's longing and languishing for

[30] Malipiero, G. F., ed., Musica Religiosa: Missa et Psalmi, *Tutte le opera di Claudio Monteverdi*, 16/1 (London, 1968), 231 –32.

[31] Aston, P., 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque' (PhD diss., University of York, 1970), 137.

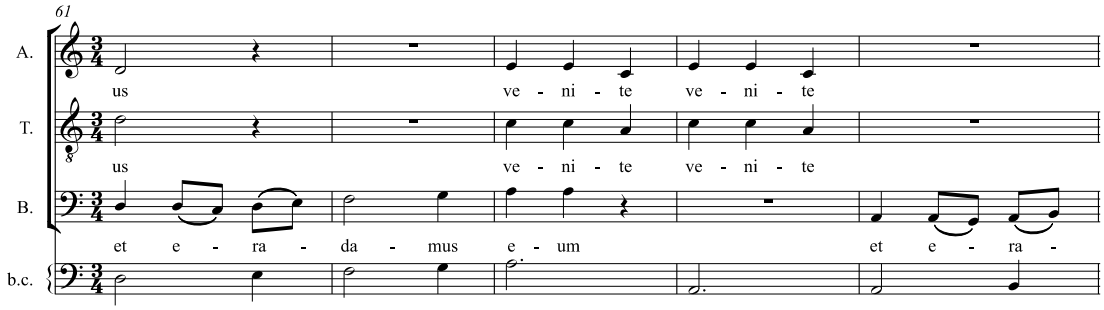
Christ. The two tenors echo each other and include both 9–8 and 4–3 suspensions (Ex. 5/1.12). The voices are very closely spaced and the dissonance, therefore, has a sensuous and expressive affect. At bar 4 a contrasting motive is introduced in the two upper voices, but at bar 6 the bassus enters with the opening 'Benignissime Jesu' motive, which can be seen as a rhetorical gesture of reiteration.

Example 5/1.12: Aloisi, *Benignissime Jesu*, bb.1–8



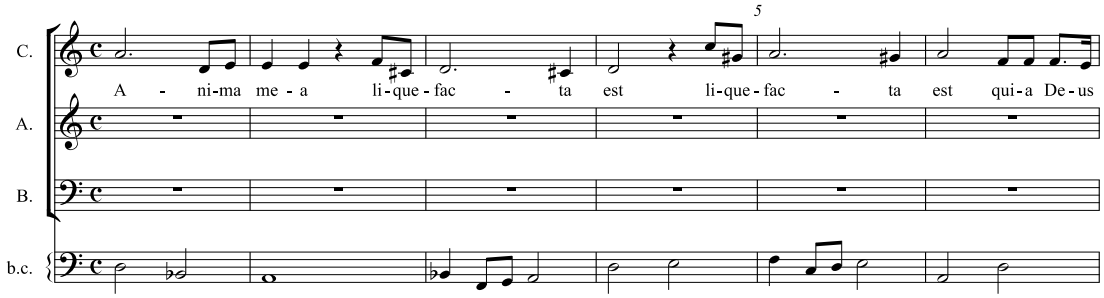
A different means of affective declamation is used by Marini in his setting of *O vos omnes* (ATBbc). The second part of this motet is in a contrasting triple-time metre and includes the interplay of motives between the bassus and the two upper voices. Starting at bar 61 the bass voice dominates the texture, receiving solo treatment from Marini, and is complemented by interjections from the alto and tenor. In parallel thirds, the two upper voices state 'Venite, venite' (Come, come), commanding complicity in the machinations of the text (Ex. 5/1.13). This added dramatic element to the music vividly portrays the sentiment of the text.

Example 5/1.13: Marini, *O vos omnes*, bb.61–65



Marini's *Anima mea* (CABbc) includes another example of the representation of Divine love by the inclusion of dissonance and chromaticism. The motet opens with a solo passage in the cantus part that is characterised by a descending leap of a diminished fourth, followed by a 4–♯3 suspension on the word 'liquefacta' (Ex. 5/1.14). The motive is immediately repeated a fifth higher, intensifying the melting of man's soul by the conflagration of God (Anima mea liquefacta est quia Deus meus ignis consumens est).

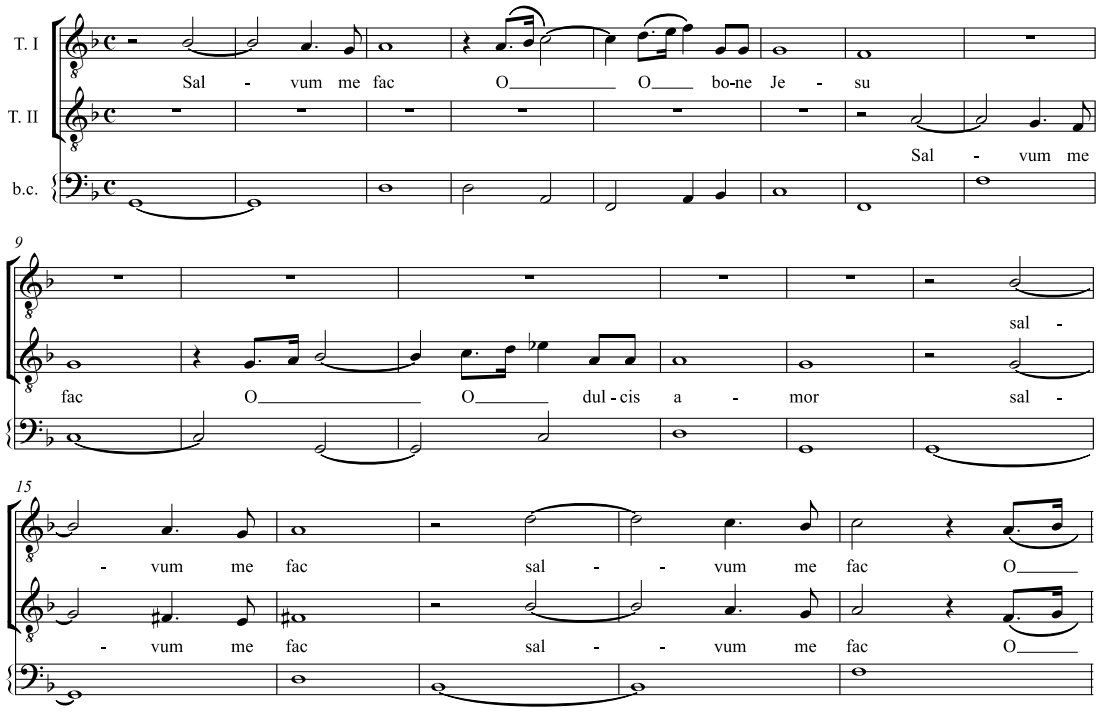
Example 5/1.14: Marini, *Anima mea*, bb.1–6



Sances' *Salvum me fac* (TTbc) provides an example of a compositional procedure that is used time and again for affective purposes in the *stile concertato* (Ex. 5/1.15). The motet opens with a solo statement in tenor I, which is imitated by tenor II before it is restated by both voices in parallel thirds. At bar 17 the text 'Salvum me fac' is repeated a third higher and includes a

tertiary shift of harmony from D to B♭. Moreover, the melismatic treatment of 'O' is combined with repetition and unrelated chord progressions as a means of intensifying the text.[32]

Example 5/1.15: Sances, *Salvum me fac*, bb.1–19



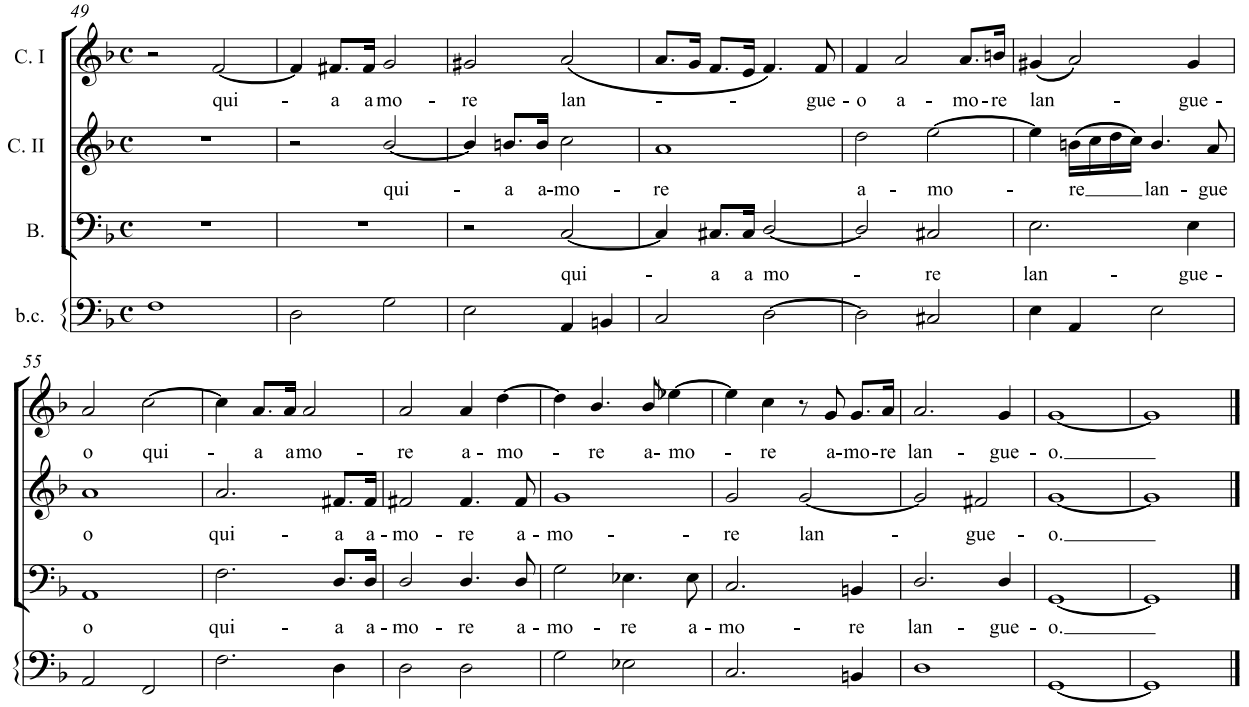
Melodic and Harmonic Chromaticism Used for Expressive Purposes

The melodic and harmonic chromaticism found in the volumes of Hatton's purchase is not nearly as adventurous as that found in some of the music of Jeffreys, but chromatically circumscribed examples can be found. Firstly, then, the climactic and concluding passage of Tomasi's *Congratulamini* (CCBbc) contains both melodic and harmonic chromaticism (Ex. 5/1.16). The text concerned is 'quia amore langueo' (because I languish with love), which provokes a suitably

[32] For further examples see Volume II: Merula's *O nomen Jesu*, bb.12–13; Aloisi's *Stelle Caeli Extirpavit*, bb.39–40.

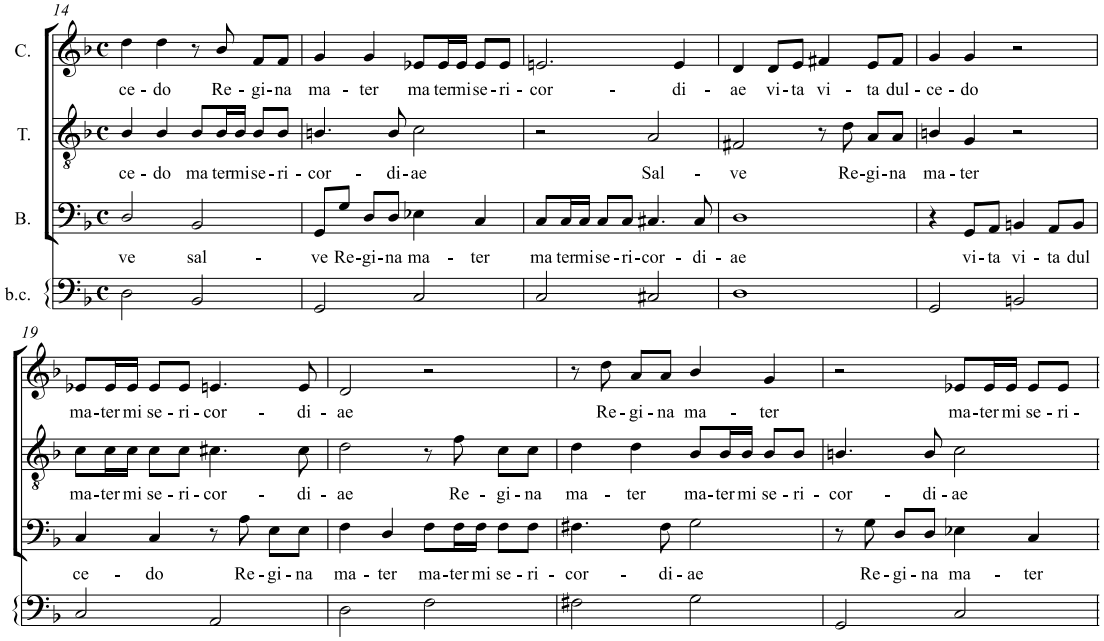
chromatic response from Tomasi, complete with chromatic alterations, false relations, and unexpected chord progressions. For example, at bars 49–51 the cantus I motive ascends chromatically through a major third, contrasting F–F♯ and G–G♯. Furthermore, this linear chromaticism results in a peculiar progression whereby major and minor chords constructed on the same root, and chords related by a third, follow each other in close succession.

Example 5/1.16: Tomasi, *Congratulamini*, bb.49–62



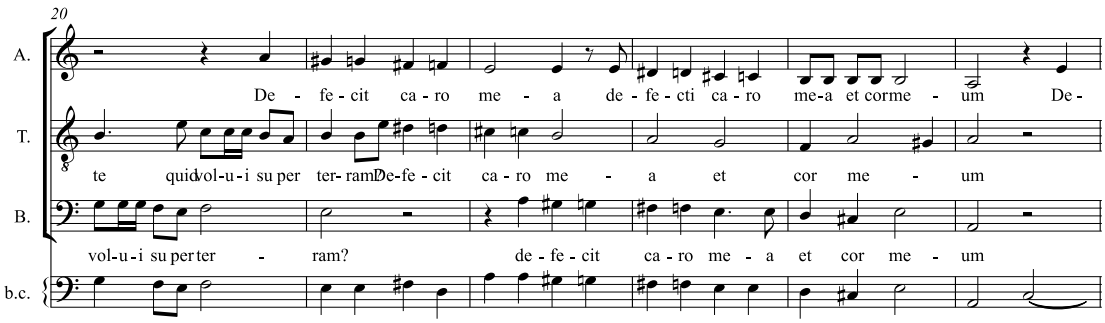
Tomasi includes chromatic alterations between F–F♯, C–C♯, G–G♯, and B♭–B, and a second tertiary shift of harmony occurs in bar 55. This move from A to F is contradicted in the following bar where the false relation between bassus and cantus II—F–F♯—indicates another tertiary shift to D major. Similarly, Aloisi includes all of these devices in his setting of *Salve Regina* (CTBbc), although the linear chromaticism in not as extensive (Ex. 5/1.17).

Example 5/1.17: Aloisi, *Salve Regina*, bb.14–22



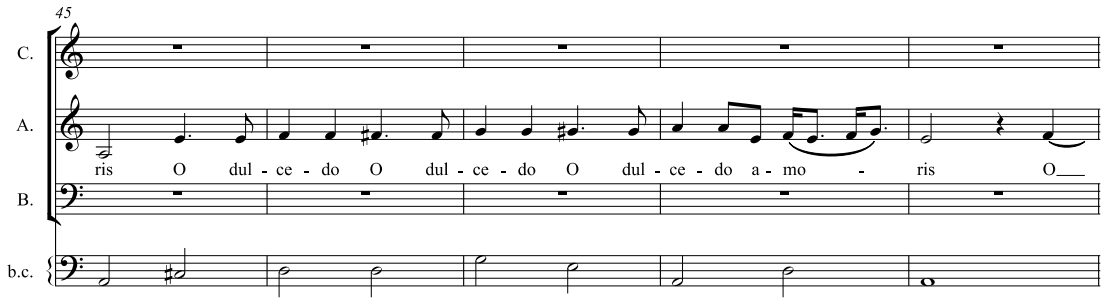
Aloisi's setting of *Quid mihi est in caelo* (ATBbc) features a chromatic descending line, through a fifth, at the text 'defecit caro mea' (for you my flesh has faded away). The descending nature of the melody, through a series of semitones, is deliberate and clearly depicts the fading away of flesh (Ex. 5/1.18). This chromatic figure is linked to the text; each time it is repeated the figure is recognisable, appearing at different pitches in all three voices.

Example 5/1.18: Aloisi, *Quid mihi est in caelo*, bb.20–25



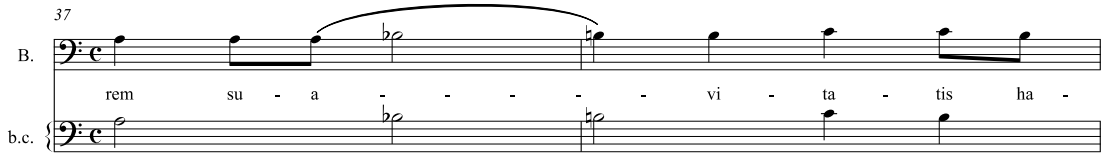
The altus solo in Marini's *Anima mea* (CABbc) includes a chromatic ascent through the interval of a perfect fourth at the text 'O dulcedo amoris' (O the sweetness of love) (Ex. 5/1.19). Time and again amorous texts provoke a chromatic response and Marini's laudatory motet in praise of the Virgin is no exception—the Lombardic rhythm that 'amoris' is set to is also worthy of note.

Example 5/1.19: Marini, *Anima mea*, bb.45–49

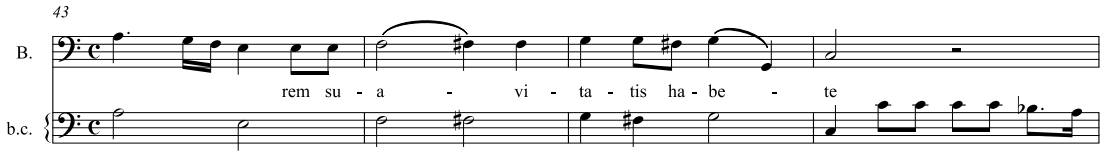


Sances' bass solo *Audite me* was considered in an earlier subsection, but here it is important to record his employment of chromatic alterations. The word 'suavitatis' (sweetness) in particular is set on a number of occasions to include a rising semitone (Exx. 5/1.20 and 5/1.21).

Example 5/1.20: Sances, *Audite me*, bb.37–38



Example 5/1.21: Sances, *Audite me*, bb.43–46

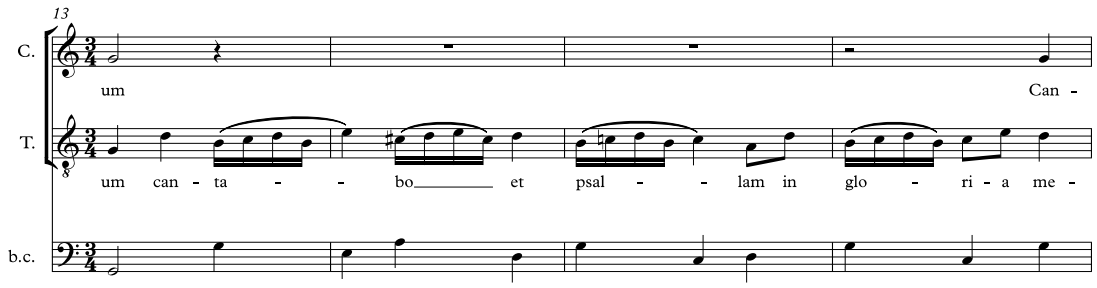


The Use of Contrasting Triple-Time Sections

The use of contrasting triple-time sections is a prominent feature of the *concertato* style and examples from Hatton's 1638 purchase can be found in abundance. The reasons for including a triple metre vary, but usually it is either suggested by the scansion of the text or it is a composer's direct response to a certain word or image. Nevertheless, the element of contrast is paramount, whereby triple-time sections are preceded and/or followed by duple-time sections.

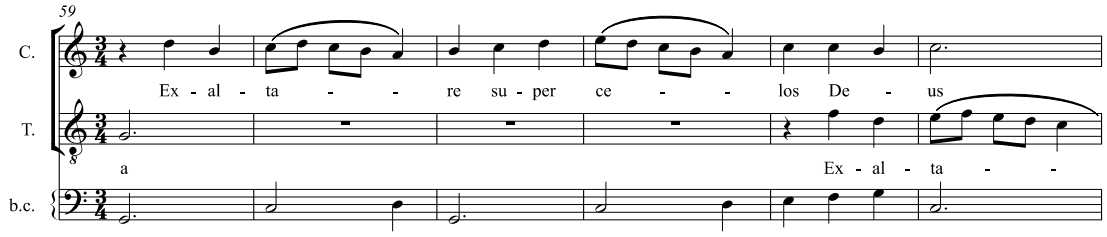
Aloisi's *Paratum cor meum* (CTbc) begins in duple metre but at bar 13 the first triple-time section occurs (Ex. 5/1.22). The text here is 'cantabo et psallam in gloria mea' (I will sing, and give praise, with my glory), which naturally fits a triple metre. Moreover, laudatory passages are typically set in triple time; words such as 'laude', 'gloria', and 'alleluia' often elicit a triple-time response. It is unsurprising, therefore, that Aloisi sets such a passage of text—singing praise to God—in this way. The motet returns to duple metre at bar 27.

Example 5/1.22: Aloisi, *Paratum cor meum*, bb.13–16



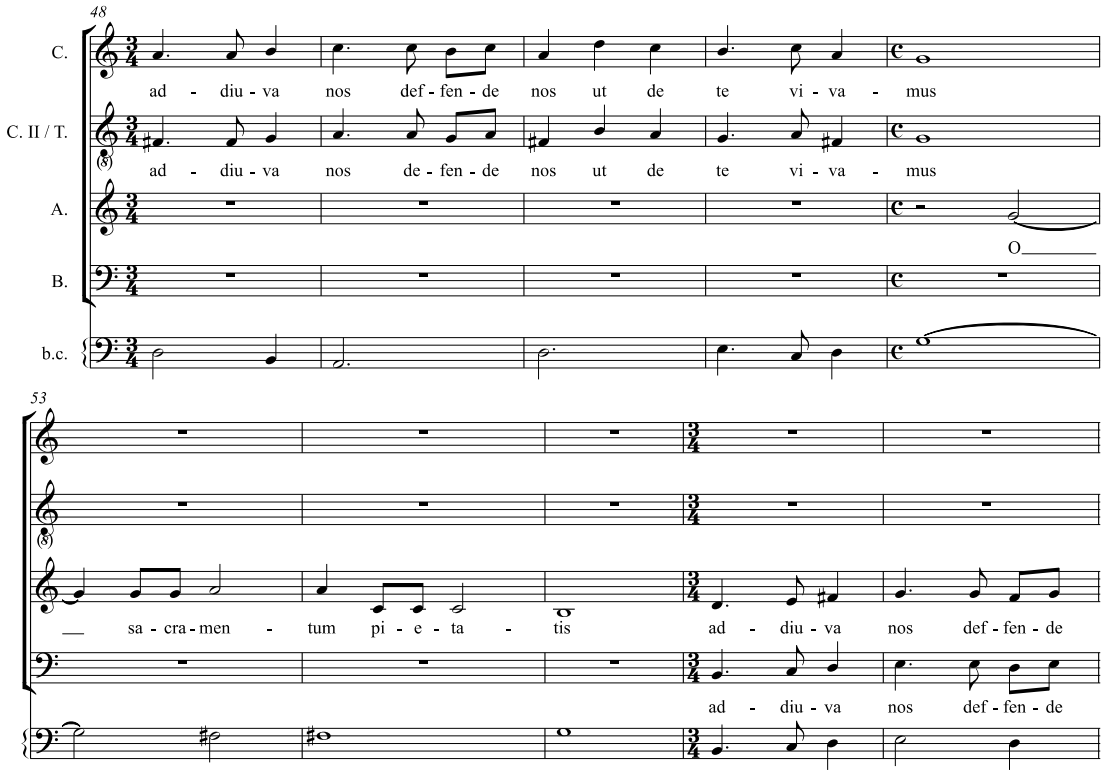
Similarly, at bar 59 a second contrasting triple-time section is introduced at the text 'exaltare super caelos, Deus' (be exalted, O God) (Ex. 5/1.23). In this instance it is the exaltation of God that draws forth a triple metre, providing metrical interest. Once again, the passage is rather ephemeral, returning to duple metre at bar 75.

Example 5/1.23: Aloisi, *Paratum cor meum*, bb.59–64



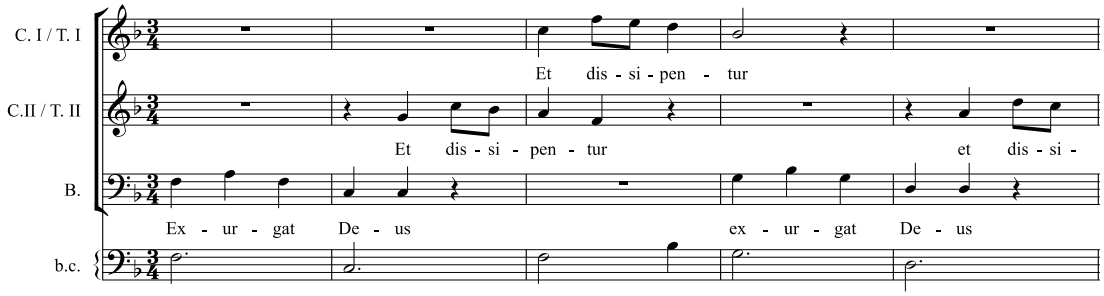
Facchi's setting of *Ave saluberrima* (CCABbc) also includes alternating triple-time sections. In this motet, however, it is the scansion of the text that requires a triple-metre rather than an extra-musical concern. At bar 48 Facchi changes from duple metre to triple metre to accommodate the text 'addiuva nos, defende nos, ut de te vivamus' (save us, defend us, as we live) (Ex. 5/1.24). The triple time is interrupted briefly by a four-bar passage, but the triple-metre is soon restored at the return of the text 'addiuva nos'.

Example 5/1.24: Facchi, *Ave Saluberrima*, bb.48–57



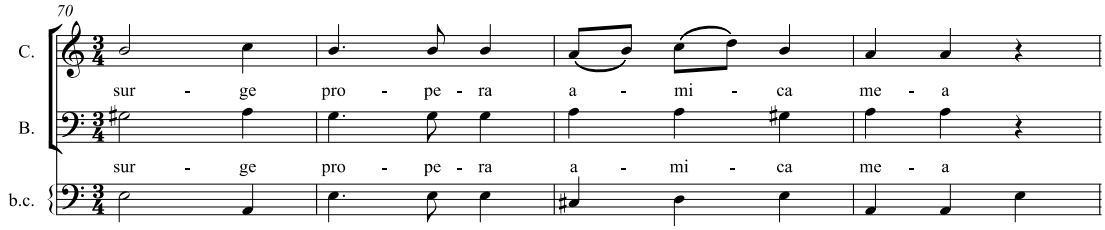
Facchi uses contrasting triple-time sections in *Exurgat Deus* (CCBbc) as a means of structural organisation. The opening section of this motet is in triple metre (Ex. 5/1.25) and appears again unaltered as a refrain at bar 40, following a duple-time passage.

Example 5/1.25: Facchi, *Exurgat Deus*, bb.1–5



Finally, Tomasi's *Tota pulchra es* (CBbc) includes a brief section of triple-metre to provide an element of contrast in a motet that is otherwise entirely in duple-metre throughout. At bar 70 the text 'Surge propera amica mea' (Arise my love) is introduced, which fits neatly with a triple-metre but is also consistent with the laudatory nature of the text (Ex. 5/1.26).[33]

Example 5/1.26: Tomasi, *Tota pulchra es*, bb.70–73

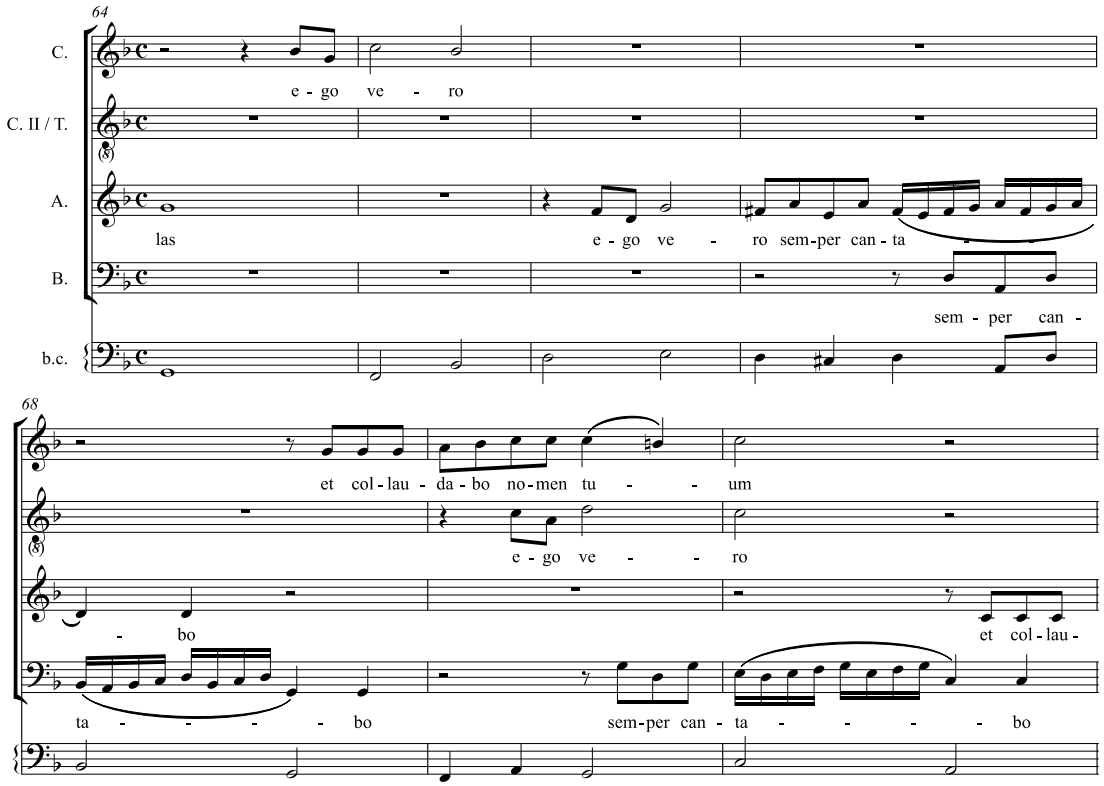


[33] For further examples see Volume II: Aloisi's *Alma redemptoris mater*, *Salve Regina*; Facchi's *O sacrum*; Sances' *Salvum me fac*, *O Jesu mi*, *O crux benedicta*.

The Simultaneous Development of Contrasted but Complementary Motives

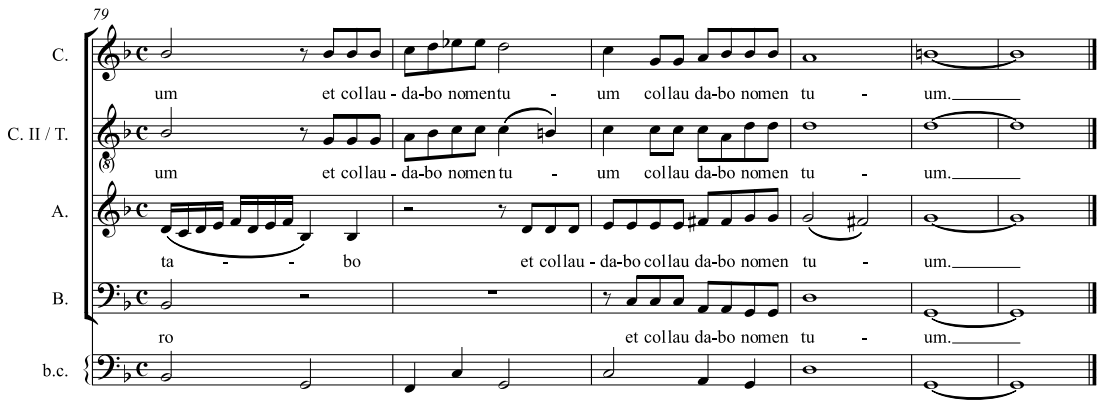
The presentation and development of two contrasting and complementary motives is a detectable compositional feature of the music contained in Hatton's purchase of 1638. Firstly, then, the final section (bb.64–84) of Facchi's *O Virgo prudentissima* (CCABbc) contains precisely this procedure. The 'ego vero' motive introduced in bar 64 by cantus I is characterised by the falling third quaver followed by a leap of a fourth to two minims. The alto statement of this motive at bar 66 is immediately followed by a contrasted motive at the text 'semper cantabo' (always sing), which is much more rhythmically active, and can largely be accounted for by Facchi's melismatic word setting of 'cantabo' (Ex. 5/1.27). Gradually, these two motives are taken up by all four voices and are subsequently overlapped and modified in minor ways.

Example 5/1.27: Facchi, *O Virgo prudentissima*, bb.64–70



A third motive is assigned to the text ‘et collaudabo nomen tuum’ (and praise your name), which, with its three-quaver figure starting on the offbeat, is closely related rhythmically to the ‘semper cantabo’ motive. This third motive always appears at a cadential point and, with the exception of its final figuration at bar 81, presents a 4–3 suspension. Collectively, these motives are contrasted and developed to contribute to an overall sense of growing intensity. Finally in the closing bars, the motet reaches its climax where, at bar 81, the four voices sing ‘collaudabo nomen’ in the only homophonic passage of the piece, before the final perfect cadence concludes the work (Ex. 5/1.28).

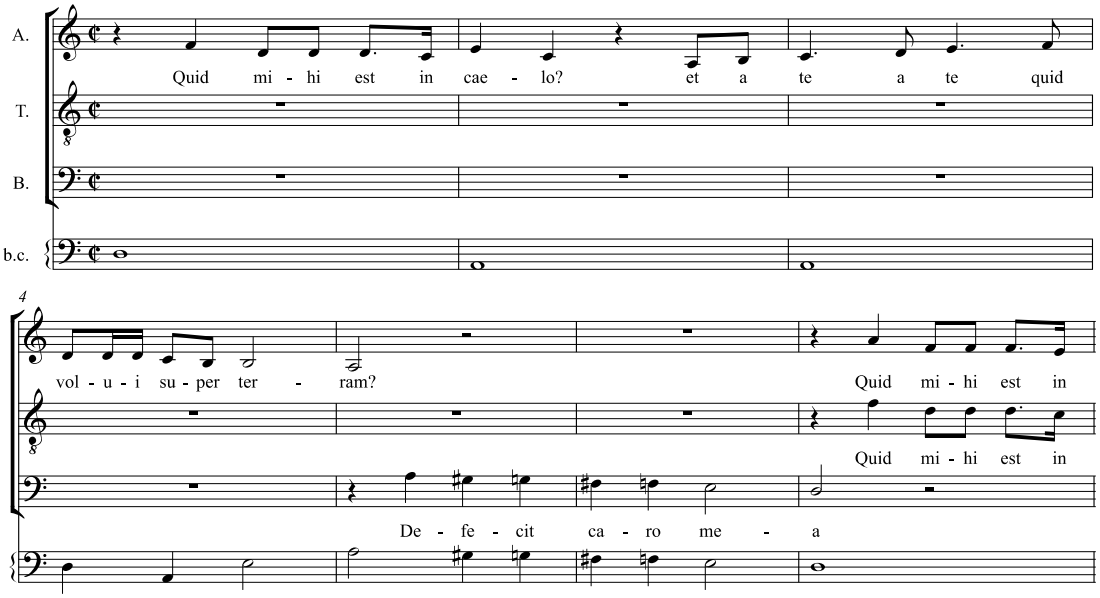
Example 5/1.28: Facchi, *O Virgo prudentissima*, bb.79–84



Likewise, to return to Aloisi’s *Quid mihi est in caelo*, the same compositional procedure is evident from the very beginning of the motet (Ex. 5/1.29). The declamatory figure at ‘Quid mihi est in caelo’ (bb.1–5), introduced by the altus, is balanced by the chromatically descending figure that follows in the bass part (bb.5–7). In an analogous way to Facchi, these two motives are presented simultaneously, in thirds, overlapping, and are featured in all three voices. There is, perhaps, an element of competiveness between the motives whereby they vie for prominence and the ‘defecit caro’ becomes dominant. Starting at bar 20 (Ex. 5/1.18) all the parts enter in close

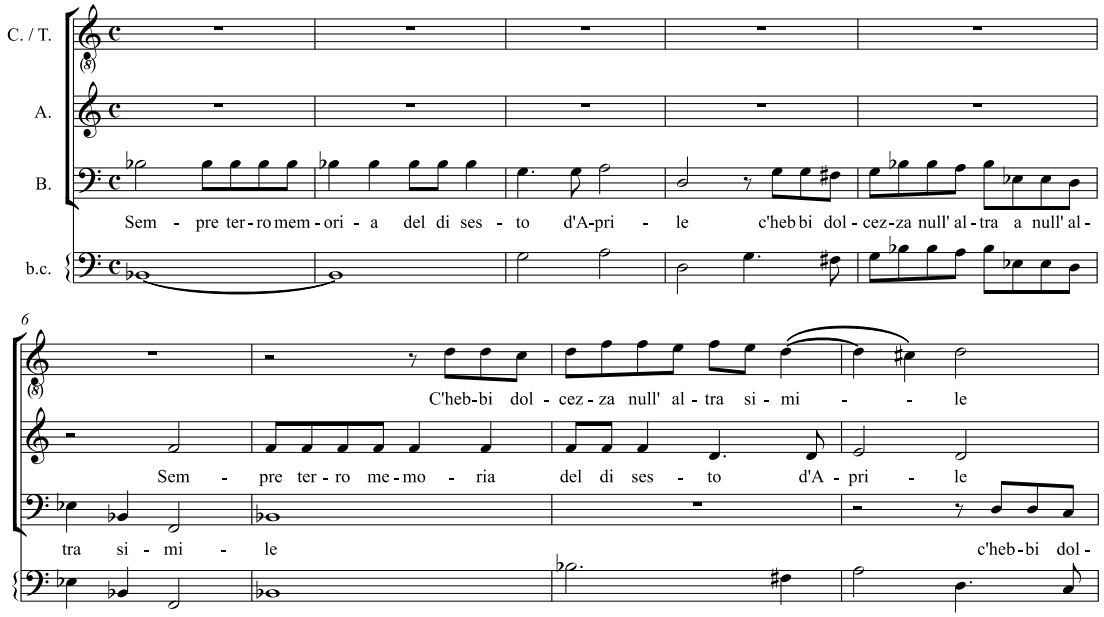
succession with the same motive, cascading the 'defecit caro' melodic figure from high to low pitch. In this way, Aloisi emphasises human love for the Divine.

Example 5/1.29: Aloisi, *Quid mihi est in caelo*, bb.1–7

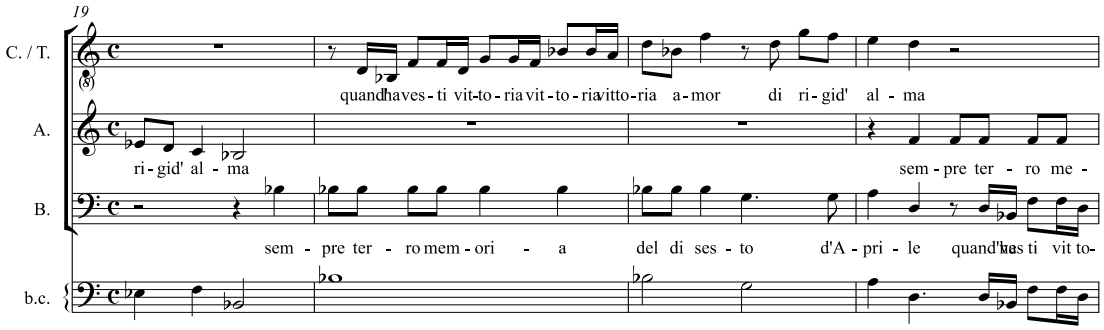


The contrasting of motives is particularly prevalent in Merula's *Musiche Concertate*. In the opening bars of *Sempre terrò memoria* (CABbc), the bassus introduces two clear motives: one associated with the text 'Sempre terrò memoria del di sesto d'Aprile' and the other with the text 'c'hebbi dolcezza null' altra simile'. At bar 6 the tenor takes up the first motive and in the following bar the cantus takes up the second motive (Ex. 5/1.30). These two motives are presented simultaneously until the introduction of a new contrasting motive in bar 17. The new motive, associated with the text 'quand' havesti vittoria amor', is much more rhythmically active, spans a larger range, and has a fanfare-like quality to it. At bar 19 the first motive returns and is juxtaposed against the latest motive (Ex. 5/1.31).

Example 5/1.30: Merula, *Sempre terrò memoria*, bb.1–9



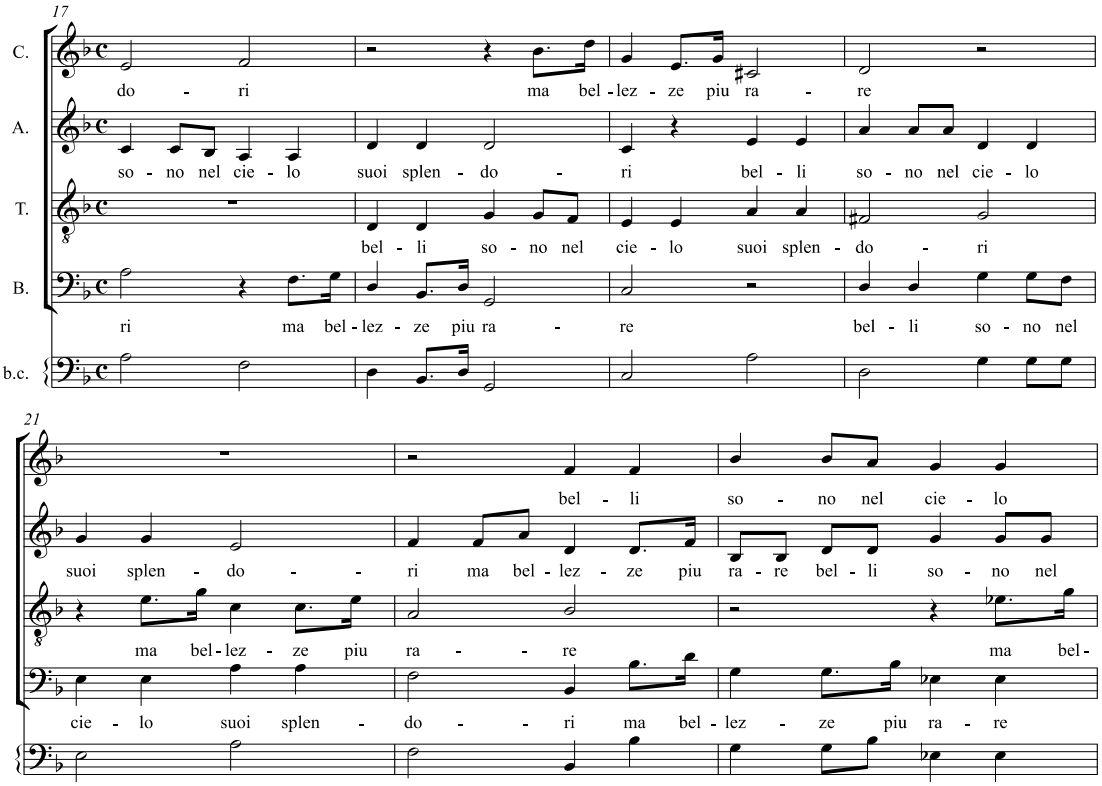
Example 5/1.31: Merula, *Sempre terrò memoria*, bb.19–22



Likewise, Merula's *Belle ha le perle il mare* (CATBbc) contains the overlapping and simultaneous presentation of contrasting and complementary motives. The passage between bars 17–23 is constructed entirely on this principle where the 'belli sono nel cielo i suoi splendori' motive is presented alongside the 'ma bellezze piu rare' motive (Ex. 5/1.32).[34]

[34] For further examples see Volume II: Aloisi's *Benignissime Jesu*, bb.21–32, *Audite gentes*, bb.38–45; Facchi's *O sacrum*, bb.1–10.

Example 5/1.32: Merula, *Belle ha le perle il mare*, bb.17–23

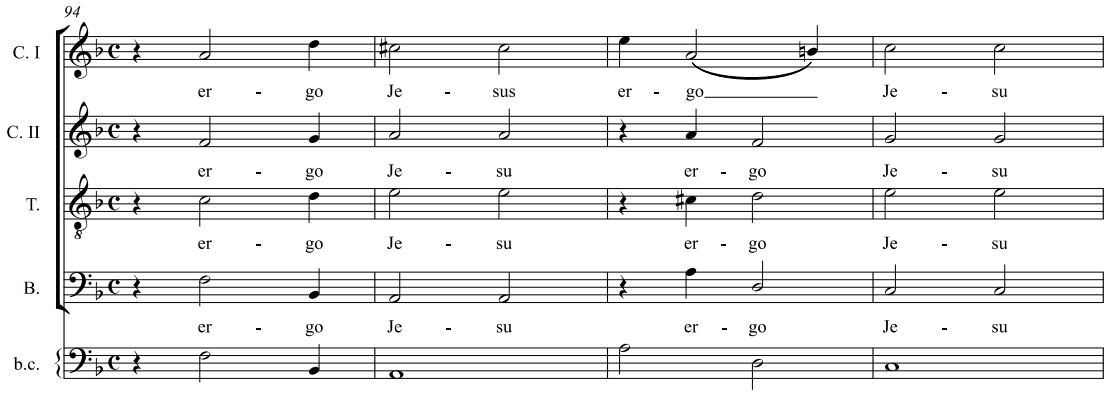


Careful Structural Planning

Many of the pieces included in the volumes of Hatton's 1638 purchase display careful structural planning that ensures settings reach a musical and emotional climax in the closing bars, or sometimes during a complete concluding section. Naturally, this effect is achieved through a variety of compositional devices, a number of which will be detailed here. Sances' *O Jesu mi dulcissime* (CCABbc) relies on a kind of textural crescendo throughout the motet, culminating with a four-voice passage: bars 1–26, duet; bars 27–80, pairs of voices in imitation, alternating

with tutti; bars 81–93, trio textures; bars 94–121, tutti.[35] By reserving the realisation of the full four-part texture, and gradually building towards it, Sances finds an effective way of providing a sense of climax in the concluding section (Ex. 5/1.33).

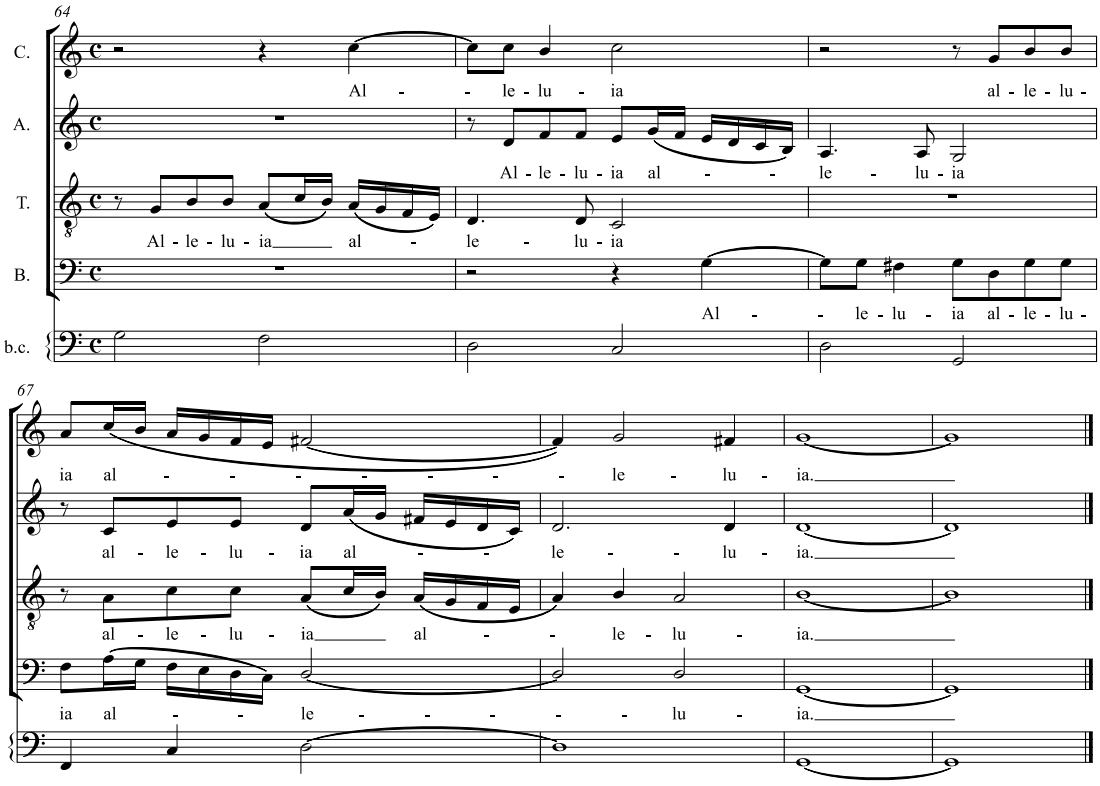
Example 5/1.33: Sances, *O Jesu mi dulcissime*, bb.94–97



An appended 'alleluia', to the text on which a motet is based, is another way that the Italian composers under discussion achieve a climactic concluding section. For example, Aloisi makes use of this compositional device in his settings of *Audite gentes* (CATBbc) and *O sanctissima Virgo* (CATBbc) (Exx. 5/1.34 and 5/1.35). In both motets, the appended 'alleluia' serves a cathartic purpose, affirming personal love for the Divine.

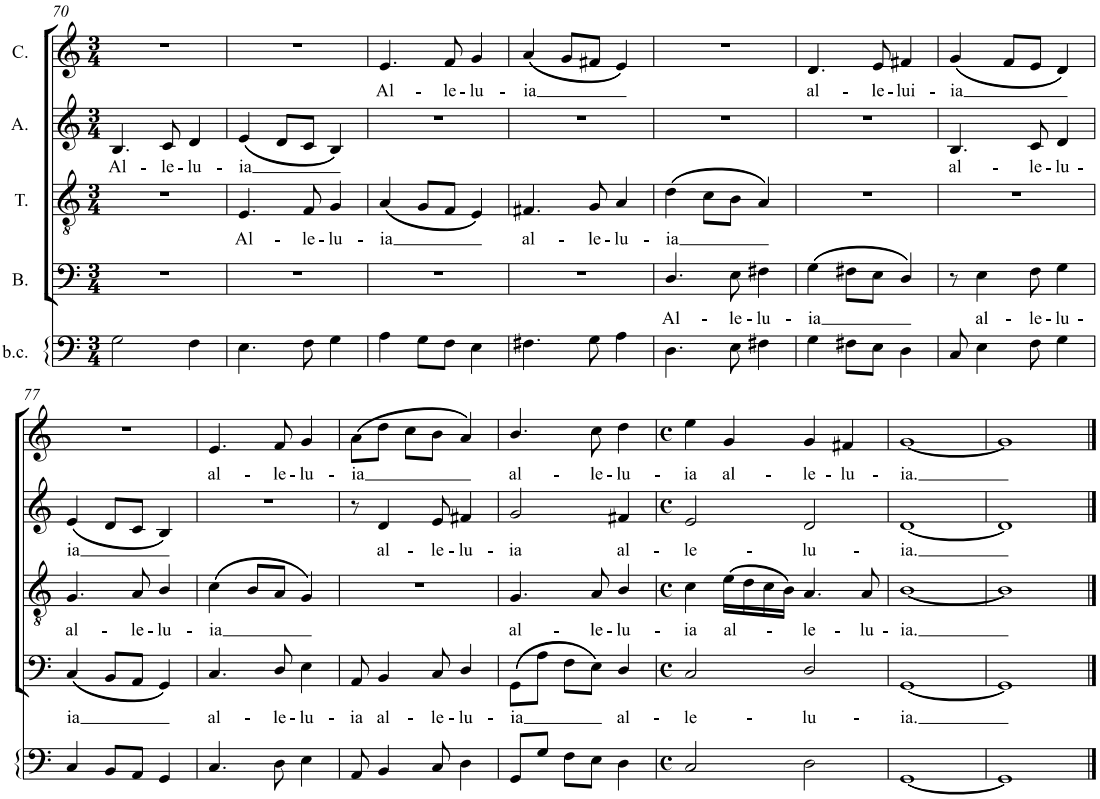
[35] Saunders, S., ed., Giovanni Felice Sances: Motetti a una, due, tre, e Quattro voci (1638), *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era*, 126 (Middleton, 2003), xviii.

Example 5/1.34: Aloisi, *Audite gentes*, bb.64–70

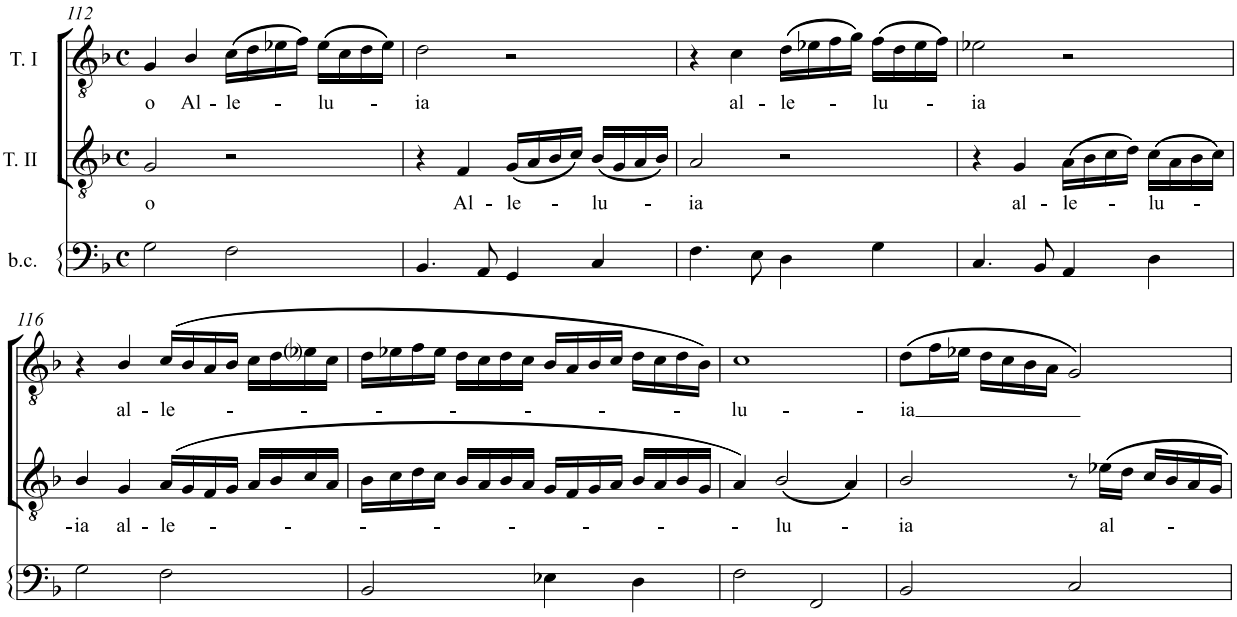


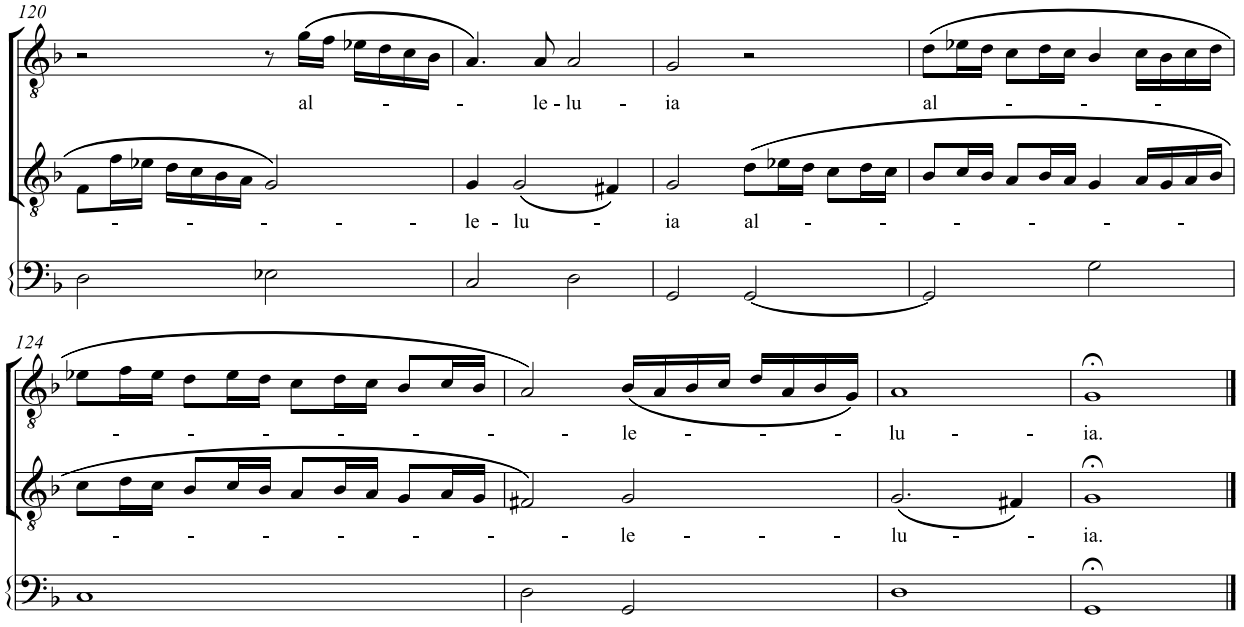
In other cases, the entire ‘alleluia’ section is a display of virtuosity, praising God with all the available resource of the human voice, which was demonstrated previously in Sances’ *Audite me* (Ex. 5/1.5). His setting of *Salvum me fac* (TTbc) contains an equally virtuosic ‘alelluia’ section (Ex. 5/1.36).

Example 5/1.35: Aloisi, *O sanctissima Virgo*, bb.70–83



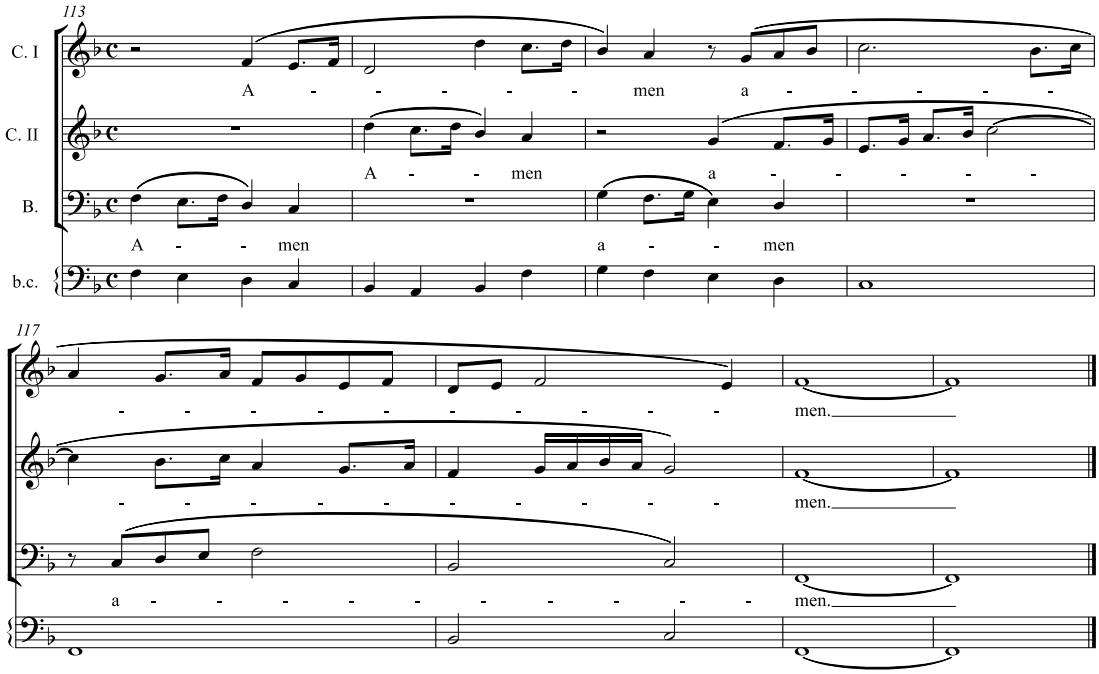
Example 5/1.36: Sances, *Salvum me fac*, bb.112–127





In a corresponding way to concluding 'alleluia' passages, some motets, such as Tomasi's *O gloriosa Domina* (CCBbc), conclude with an 'amen' section (Ex. 5/1.37).[36]

Example 5/1.37: Tomasi, *O gloriosa Domina*, bb.113–120



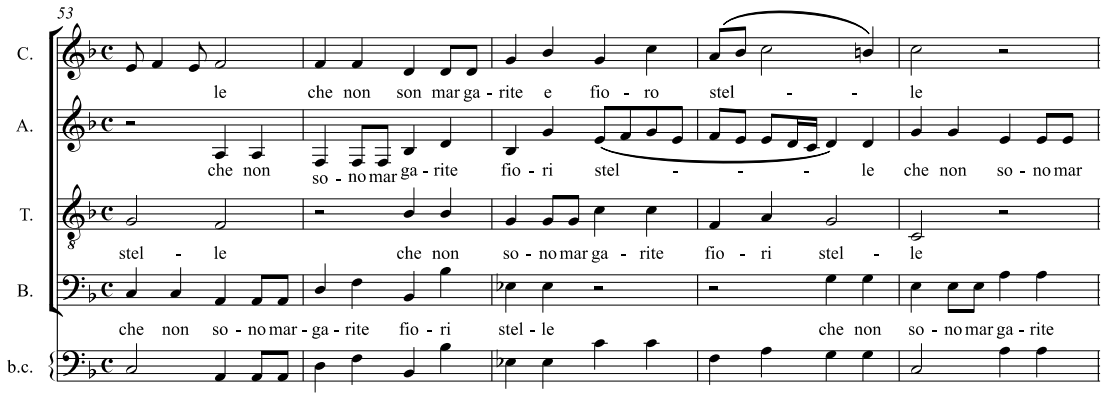
[36] For further examples see Volume II: Marini's *O tiani montis*, bb.78–88; Aloisi's *Regina caeli laetare*, bb.49–55.

The Use of Closely Spaced Textures in Motets or Anthems for Four and Five Voices

The final parameter to be considered is the use of closely spaced textures in works for four and five voices. In some ways, this parameter should be regarded as the least important since the closely spaced textures are governed, to a considerable extent, by the natural compass of the selected voices. With regard to Jeffreys, for example, the scoring in *O Domine Deus* (ATTBbc), where the highest voice is alto, naturally allows for such close spacing of parts; this is not possible in *Jesu, dulcedo cordium* (CATBbc) and *Amor Jesu* (CATBbc) where the voices are more evenly spaced. Nevertheless, some examples can be found among the contents of the volumes under consideration.

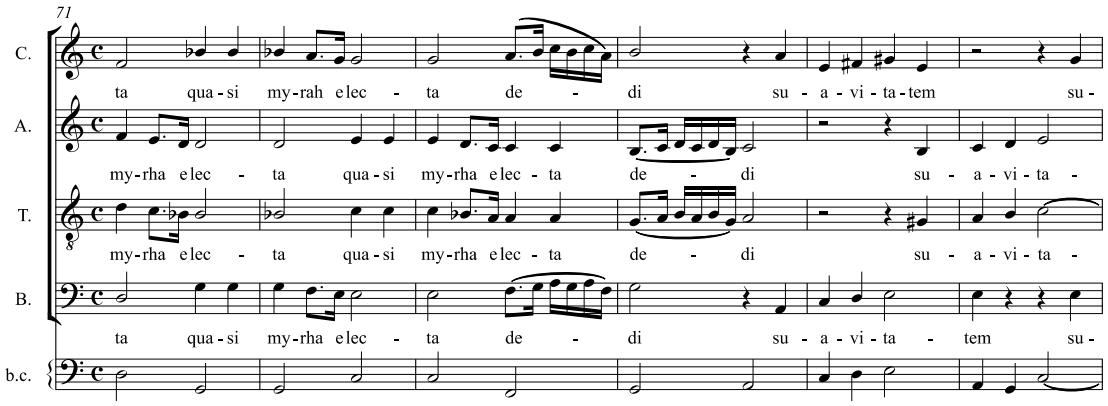
Merula's *Belle ha le perle il mare* contains instances where, despite the scoring, the four parts become closely spaced (Ex. 5/1.38). The alto line, in particular, descends very low in its range and in bar 54 the tenor and bass parts lie only a third apart from the cantus and alto lines.

Example 5/1.38: Merula, *Belle ha le perle il mare*, bb.53–57



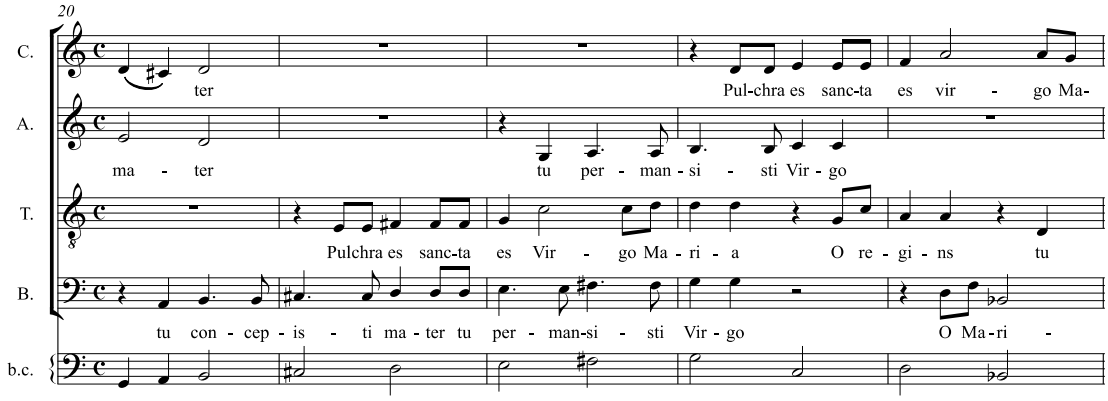
At times in Tomasi's *Quasi cedrus* (CATBbc) there is only an octave between the cantus and bass (Ex. 5/1.39, b.75). Frequently, the three lower parts form a triad, in varying inversions, with the cantus doubling one of the pitches.

Example 5/1.39: Tomasi, *Quasi cedrus*, bb.71–76



This feature is also present in Aloisi's *O sanctissima Virgo* (CATBbc) where, at bar 20, the ascending bass figure is introduced and the other parts enter in turn (Ex. 5/1.40). Firstly the tenor enters a third above the bass but when the alto enters, however, it is lower than the tenor; the parts overlap. At bar 23 the 'pulchra es' motive is finally taken up by the cantus, which enters only a fifth higher than the bass.

Example 5/1.40: Aloisi, *O sanctissima Virgo*, bb.20–24



Having surveyed the seven copy sources definitely known to Jeffreys and observing features of the *stile nuovo* that he adopted and assimilated attention can now be turned to more speculative matters.

Part Two

The hypothetical limits of Hatton's music collection amounts to some 202 items and is, therefore, possibly one of the richest seventeenth-century music libraries yet identified. To concentrate solely on the seven volumes above, then, would be myopic in purview, especially given that a prominent feature of Jeffreys' compositional language has yet to be considered; this is the use of extreme chromaticism. Time and again Jeffreys' rich harmonic resource is characterised by his use of added sevenths, ninths, and thirteenths, resembling the compositional language of Carissimi.[37] Furthermore, there are passages throughout Jeffreys' *oeuvre* that go beyond the sensuousness of passing dissonances. Instead they are deliberately unsettling, obfuscating any sense of tonal stability or direction and, frankly, are violently chromatic. Jeffreys' willingness to experiment with extreme chromaticism and unconventional harmonies is one of his unique achievements. The Italian music discussed in Part One of this chapter does not contain chromaticism that is comparable to that of Jeffreys. It is fortuitous to learn, therefore, that Hatton's collection also included volumes by Benedetto Pallavicino (*c*.1551–1601), Carlo Gesualdo (1566–1613), and Sigismondo d'India (*c*.1582–1629). It is likely that Jeffreys' exposure to, and knowledge of, the chromatic procedure associated with these three composers proved to be influential. That Jeffreys' use of extreme chromaticism is deliberate, and that he fully understood what he was doing, is revealed by a comment he made about the alleluia section of *Pater bone*, which he felt might be 'too harsh' for some ears.[38] Jeffreys' striking chromaticism is one of the most progressive features of his style.[39] It is my contention that there is a close affinity between the chromatic procedure of Jeffreys and these composers, which will be

[37] Aston, P., 'George Jeffreys', *The Musical Times*, 110/1517 (1969), 776.
[38] Bergdolt, K. E., 'The Sacred Music of George Jeffreys (ca.1610–1685)' (PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 1976), I, 178.
[39] I am keen to avoid the often-allied implication that 'progressive' is synonymous with 'better'.

demonstrated in the following paragraphs. The purpose of Part Two of this chapter, therefore, is to consider some of the music by Pallavicino, Gesualdo, and d'India that is contained in Hatton's collection, particularly their publications of madrigals. Although an emphasis on chromaticism will be maintained, it will not preclude consideration of Aston's seven salient features of Jeffreys' compositional language where they are considered to be germane.

While a Hatton provenance of the 25 volumes contained on the bill of sale is definite, there is a degree of uncertainty about the remainder of his extensive collection. Wainwright has detailed the likelihood of a Hatton provenance to the hypothetical limits of his music library and, consequently, it is reasonable to assume that Jeffreys knew the volumes by Pallavicino, Gesualdo, and d'India listed in Table 5.1 (p.121). The madrigals of these three composers will be considered in chronological order of publication which, in general terms, results in the order: Pallavicino, Gesualdo, and d'India. A few comments about these composers will be offered to provide some historical and contextual background, especially since Pallavicino and, to a lesser extent, d' India are lesser-known figures of the late *cinquecento* and early *seicento*.

Benedetto Pallavicino

Pallavicino was born in Cremona *c.*1551 where, according to Giuseppe Bresciani (1599–1670), he became an organist in his youth, working in various churches in the district. It is possible that Pallavicino studied with Marc' Antonio Ingegneri (1535/6–1592) while in Cremona.[40] Between his first publication—a book of four-voice madrigals, dedicated to the Accademia Filarmonica of Verona—in 1579 until at least 1581 he seems to have been in the service of Vespasiano Gonzaga

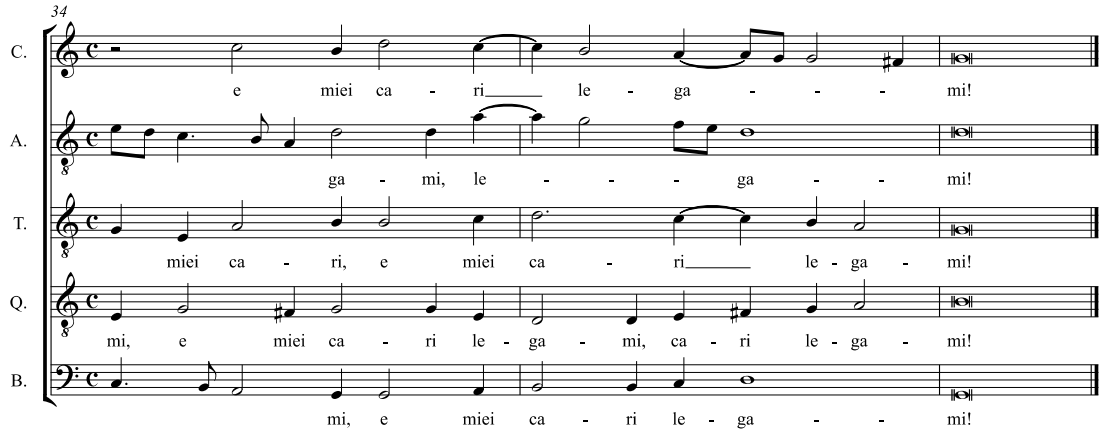
[40] Monteath, K. B., 'Pallavicino, Benedetto', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 13 February 2013).

at the ducal court of Sabbioneta.[41] By 1583 he had joined the nearby court of the Gonzagas of Mantua, where he was to remain for the rest of his life in the company of such musicians as Giaches de Wert (1535–1596), Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi (*c*.1554–1609), Salamone Rossi (1570–*c*.1630) and Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643).[42] Upon the death of de Wert in 1596, it was Pallavicino—and not Monteverdi—who succeeded as *maestro di capella* to the Duke of Mantua. Indeed, Flanders regards the most important fact about Pallavicino to be that 'he was a respected and successful composer of madrigals at a court [Mantua] that was accustomed to the very best then available'.[43] Indeed, Peacham writes in his *Complete Gentleman* (1627), after commenting on the music of Byrd, Victoria, Lasso, Marenzio, A. Ferrabosco sr., Vecchi, and Croce, that 'there are many other authors very excellent, as Boschetto and Claudio de Monteverdi, equal to any before named, Giovanni Ferretti, Stephano Felis, Giulio Rinaldi, Philippe de Monte, Andrea Gabrieli, Pallavicino, Geminiani, with others yet living'.[44] Notably, at the time of the publication of Monteverdi's *Fifth Book of Madrigals* (1607), Pallavicino's work was better selling than that of Rore, Cavalieri, Fontanella, Bardi, Turchi, Pecci, Ingegneri, Wert, Luzzaschi, Peri, and Caccini—although not Marenzio.[45] Pallavicino was a prolific composer of madrigals and, in total, produced ten books of four-, five-, and six-voice works (including two posthumous publications).[46] It is the five-voice works that are likely to have been owned by Hatton and, it is for this reason, that consideration of Pallavicino's music will be restricted to these books of madrigals.

[41] *Ibid*.
[42] *Ibid*.
[43] Flanders, P., 'The Madrigals of Benedetto Pallavicino' (PhD diss., New York University, 1971), 37.
[44] Peacham, H., *The Complete Gentelman* (London, 1627), 102 in Flanders, P., *Op. cit.*, 2–3.
[45] Flanders, P., *Op. cit.*, 4.
[46] Monteath, K. B., *Op. cit.*.

In Pallavicino's *Il Primo Libro dei Madrigali a 5* (1581) his preoccupation with dissonance can be detected in its incipiency. The final bars of *Io gia cantando* feature a double suspension (b.35)—9–8 and 7–6—which, combined with the accented passing note, added seventh, and anticipation, creates a densely dissonant penultimate bar (Ex. 5/2.1).[47] Flanders notes that Pallavicino's use of a double suspension here is 'a precursor to those frequently found in Books VI–VIII'[48] and draws attention to the resulting note cluster: a, B, c´´, d.

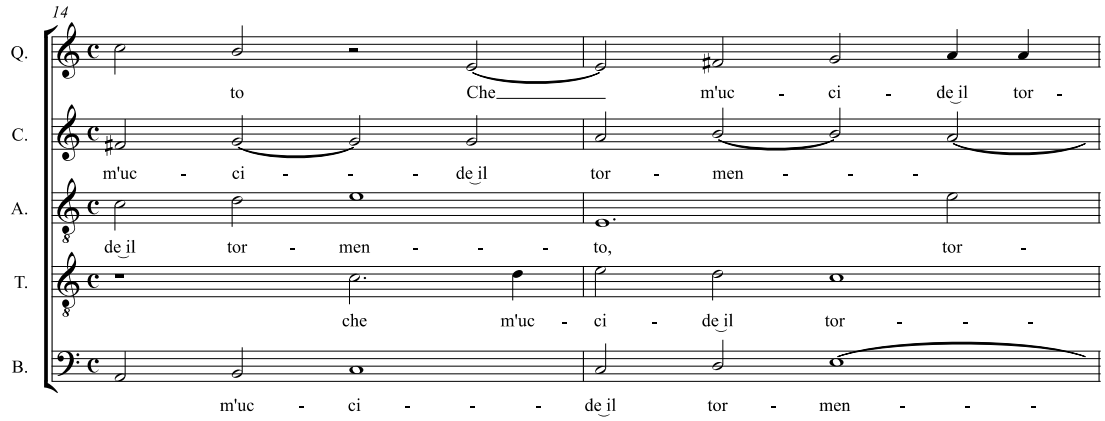
Example 5/2.1: Pallavicino, *Io gia cantando*, Seconda Parte, bb.34–36[49]



A similar example can be seen in *A poco a poco* (Book VI) on the second minim of bar 15. Here the resulting note cluster is: d, d´, e, f♯´, b´ (Ex. 5/2.2).

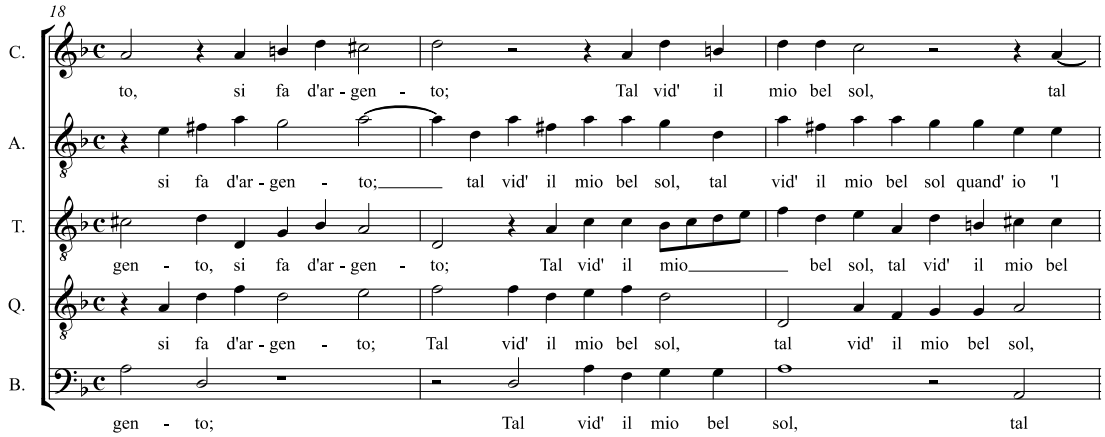
[47] Flanders, P., *Op. cit.*, 94–95.
[48] *Ibid.*, 94.
[49] Flanders, P., ed., Benedetto Pallavicino Opera Omnia I: Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1581; Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1584, *Corpus Mensuabilis Musicae*, 89 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1982), 8.

Example 5/2.2: Pallavicino, *A poco a poco*, bb.14–15[50]



A prominent feature of Pallavicino's madrigals is his use of oblique false relations to provide a 'kind of harmonic piquancy'.[51] Again, this is a feature that becomes more pronounced throughout the course of Pallavicino's work, whereby it is used more deliberately rather than as a result of voice leading (Ex. 5/2.3).[52]

Example 5/2.3: Palavicino, *Qual nube spina*, bb.18–20[53]

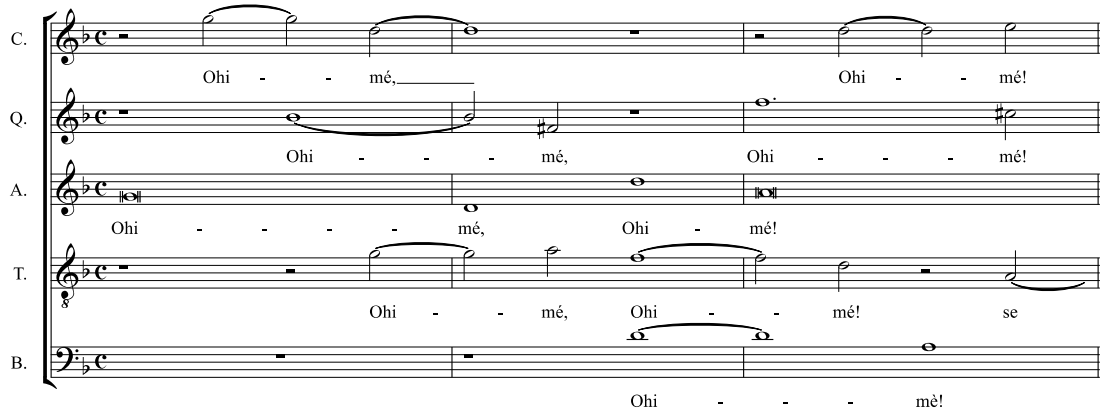


[50] Flanders, P., ed., Benedetto Pallavicino Opera Omnia III: Il quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1593; Il sesto libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1600, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 89 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1983), 109.
[51] Flanders, P., *Op. cit.*, 'The Madrigals of Benedetto Pallavicino', 95.
[52] *Ibid.*, 95.
[53] *Ibid.*, 96.

Flanders comments, 'it is clear that, from Book I on, the composer was fascinated by vertical combinations of sound and by the interrelationships of such sonorities'.[54]

Similarly, in *Ohime se tanto* (Book VI), Pallavicino uses false relations to provide sectional contrast and for expressive purposes. Frequently, a minor and major triad, constructed on the same root note, are placed in close proximity. This juxtaposition happens immediately in the opening two bars of *Ohime se tanto*, where at the second expression of 'Ohime', a D minor triad in root position is contrasted with the preceding D major harmony (Ex. 5/2.4).

Example 5/2.4: Pallavicino, *Ohime se tanto*, bb.1–3[55]

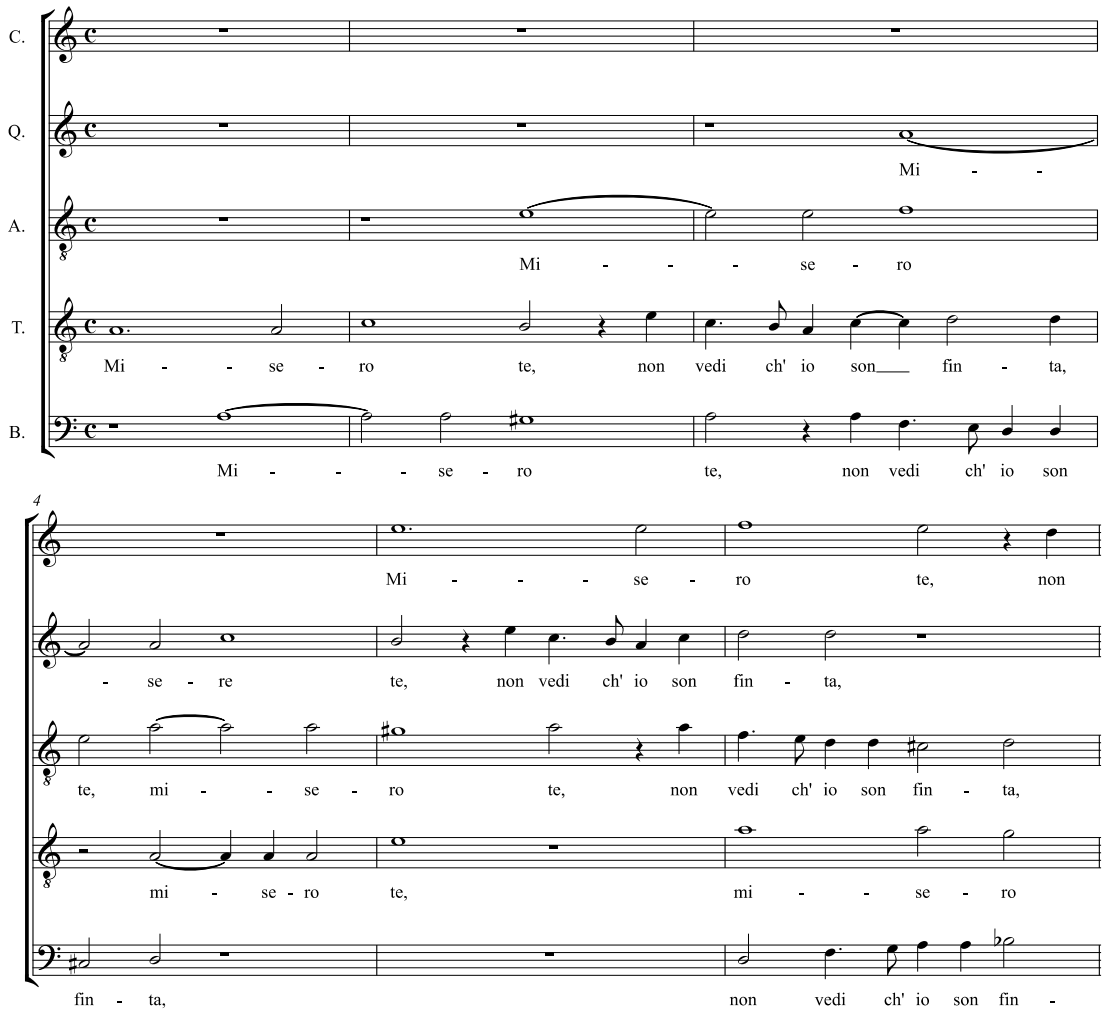


Pallavicino's *Il Secondo Libro dei Madrigali a 5* (1584) is the most ambitious of his madrigal volumes, comprising the largest number of madrigals and featuring one of his most characteristic compositional devices: the simultaneous development of two or more contrasting motives.[56] Although this feature is tangential to the current discussion about chromatcism, it is too significant to ignore. The opening bars of *Misero te, non vedi* are indicative of Pallavicino's

[54] *Ibid.*, 97.
[55] Flanders, P., ed., Benedetto Pallavicino Opera Omnia III: Il quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1593; Il sesto libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1600, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae,* 89 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1983), 159.
[56] Flanders, P., *Op. cit.,* 'The Madrigals of Benedetto Pallavicino', 99.

proclivity for the simultaneous development of contrasting and complementary motives (Ex. 5/2.5).

Example 5/2.5: Pallavicino, *Misero te, non vedi*, bb.1–6[57]

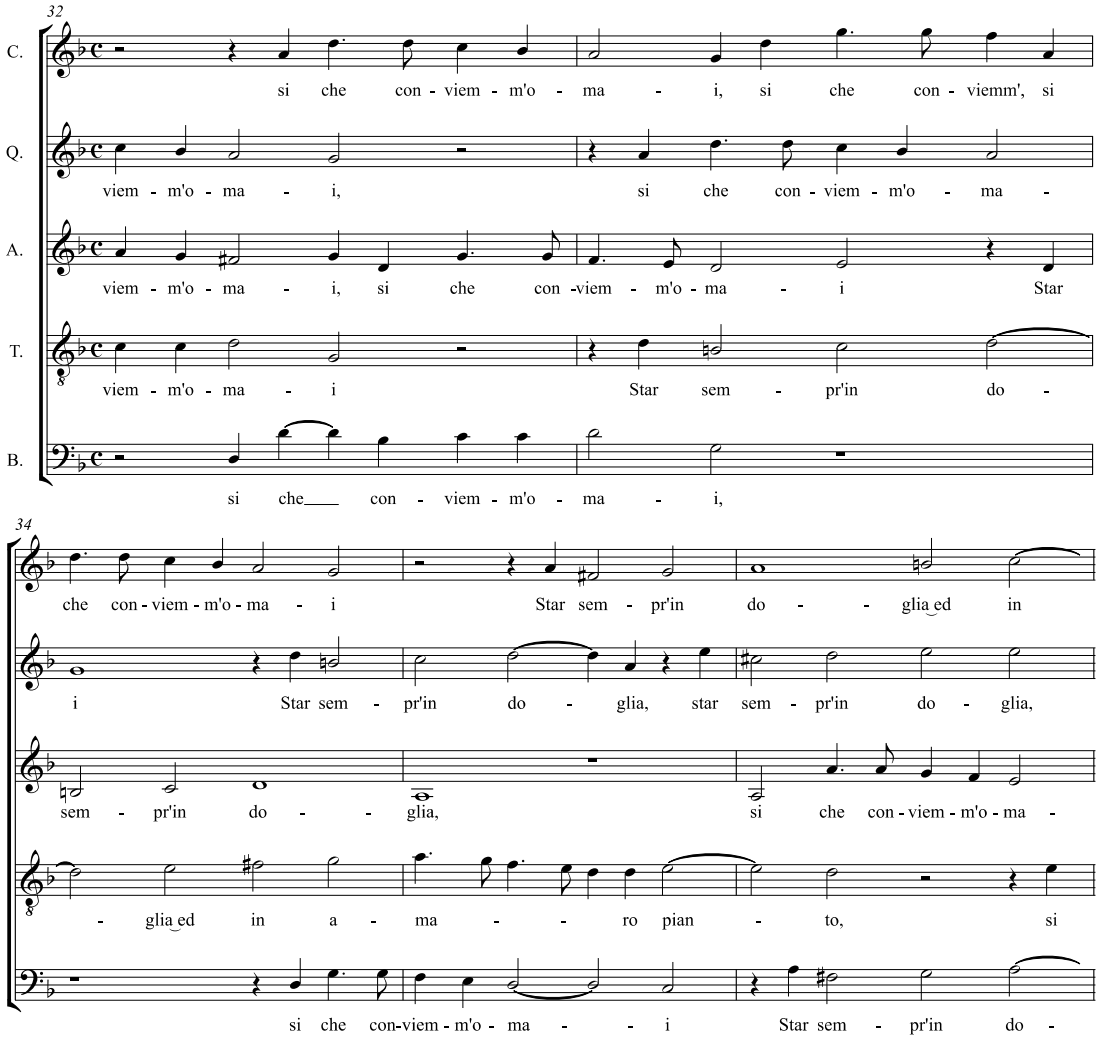


The madrigal *Or veggio chiar*, also from Book II, betrays this same idiomatic feature of Pallavicino's compositional style, alongside his unconventional treatment of dissonance and

[57] *Ibid.*, 100

integral use of close imitation.[58] The simultaneous presentation of two or more contrasting motives is clear to see in this madrigal (Ex. 5/2.6).

Example 5/2.6: Pallavicino, *Or veggio chiar*, bb.32–36[59]

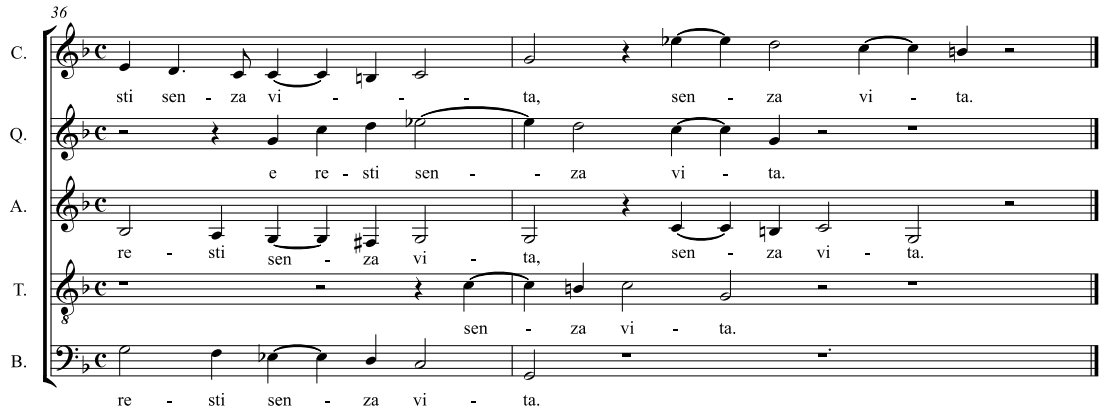


The ending of this madrigal is noteworthy because Pallavicino includes a chain of suspensions that fade away but do not conclude (Ex. 5/2.7). Such a device portrays the expiration of life with which the text is concerned—'senza vita' (without life).

[58] *Ibid.*, 100.

[59] Flanders, P., ed., Benedetto Pallavicino Opera Omnia I: Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1581; Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1584, *Corpus Mensuabilis Musicae*, 89 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1982), 114.

Example 5/2.7: Pallavicino, *Or veggio chiar*, Seconda Parte, bb.36–37[60]



Like *Il Secondo Libro dei Madrigali a 5*, Pallavicino's *Il Quarto Libro dei Madrigali a 5* (1588) also prominently features simultaneous motivic development. In the concluding bars of *Una farfalla* from *Il Setto Libro dei Madrigali a 5* (1604), for example, Pallavicino simultaneously develops two contrasting motives: one is a downward motive, representing the dying butterfly and the other is an upward one, depicting the rise of the phoenix.

However, Book IV perhaps marks a turning point in Pallavicino's *oeuvre*, where he 'returns to the pathway leading to the expressionist utterances of his later years'.[61] In this respect, Pallavicino's *Perfida, pur potesti* could be regarded as a pivotal madrigal:

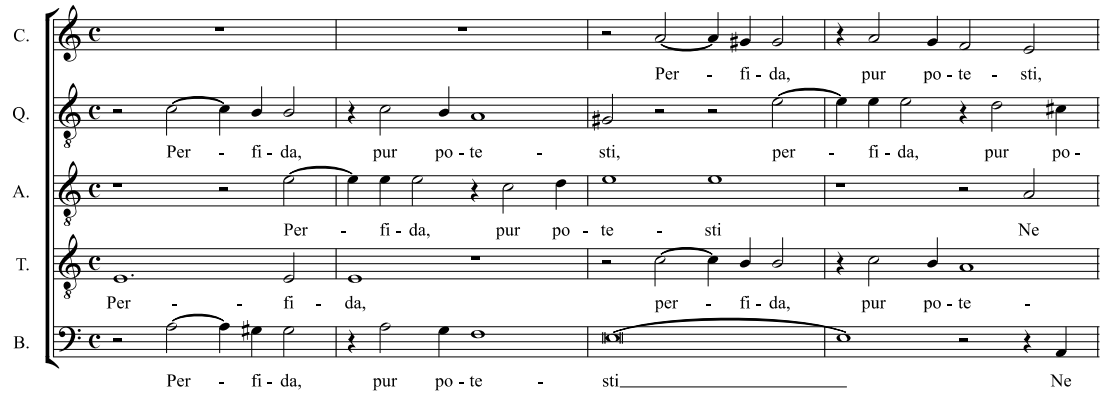
> It opens, like many of the later madrigals, with a dramatic outcry. Five times, an unprepared dissonant fourth enters in a rhythmically unbalanced position. The expected cadence on an A major triad appears only at the middle of the madrigal, at the end of the first complete sentence of the poem. After a short homophonic section, rhythmic and harmonic imbalance takes over again until the ending arrives with a half-cadence on an E major chord [Ex. 5/2.8].[62]

[60] Flanders, P., ed., Benedetto Pallavicino Opera Omnia I: Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1581; Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1584, *Corpus Mensuabilis Musicae*, 89 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1982), 119.

[61] Flanders, P., *Op. cit.*, 'The Madrigals of Benedetto Pallavicino', 112.

[62] *Ibid.*, 112.

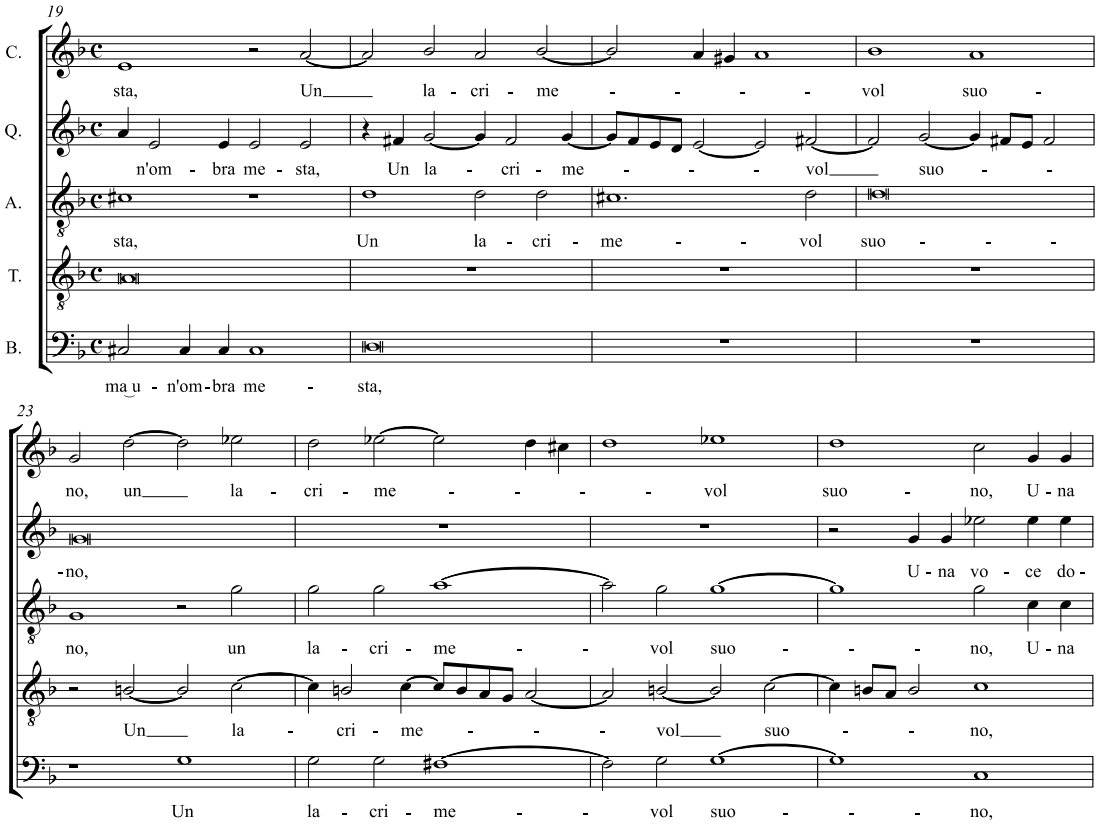
Example 5/2.8: Pallavicino, *Perfida, pur potesti*, bb.1–4[63]



Il Sesto Libro dei Madrigali a 5 (1600) is regarded by Flanders as 'Pallavicino's masterpiece',[64] in which the composer produced music of extraordinary expressiveness and power. From this collection, the madrigal *Lunge da voi* is particularly noteworthy because many of the techniques used by Pallavicino have a resonance with Jeffreys. *Lunge da voi* opens with octave leaps in imitation by the canto, quinto, and alto respectively. At bar 3 there is a perfect cadence to B♭ which subsequently shifts harmonically by a third to D major; a procedure that is repeated in bar 8. The harmonic inventiveness at the passage of text 'un lacrimevol suono' (a tearful sound) is remarkable. The melodic lines are confined within a narrow range and are characterised by their insistent semitonal entwining around a central note. Consequently, the general effect is intensified with the instability created by the preponderance of suspensions, augmented triads, and second-inversion triads at this point.[65] Denis Arnold comments, in relation to this passage, that Pallavicino 'relies on extensions of the suspension principle, using unusual intervals to match the strangeness of the words' (Ex. 5/2.9).[66]

[63] *Ibid.*, 113.
[64] *Ibid.*, 119.
[65] *Ibid.*, 117.
[66] Arnold, D., '"Seconda Pratica": A Background to Monterverdi's Madrigals', *Music and Letters*, 38/4 (1957), 350.

Example 5/2.9: Pallavicino, *Lunge da voi*, bb.19–26[67]

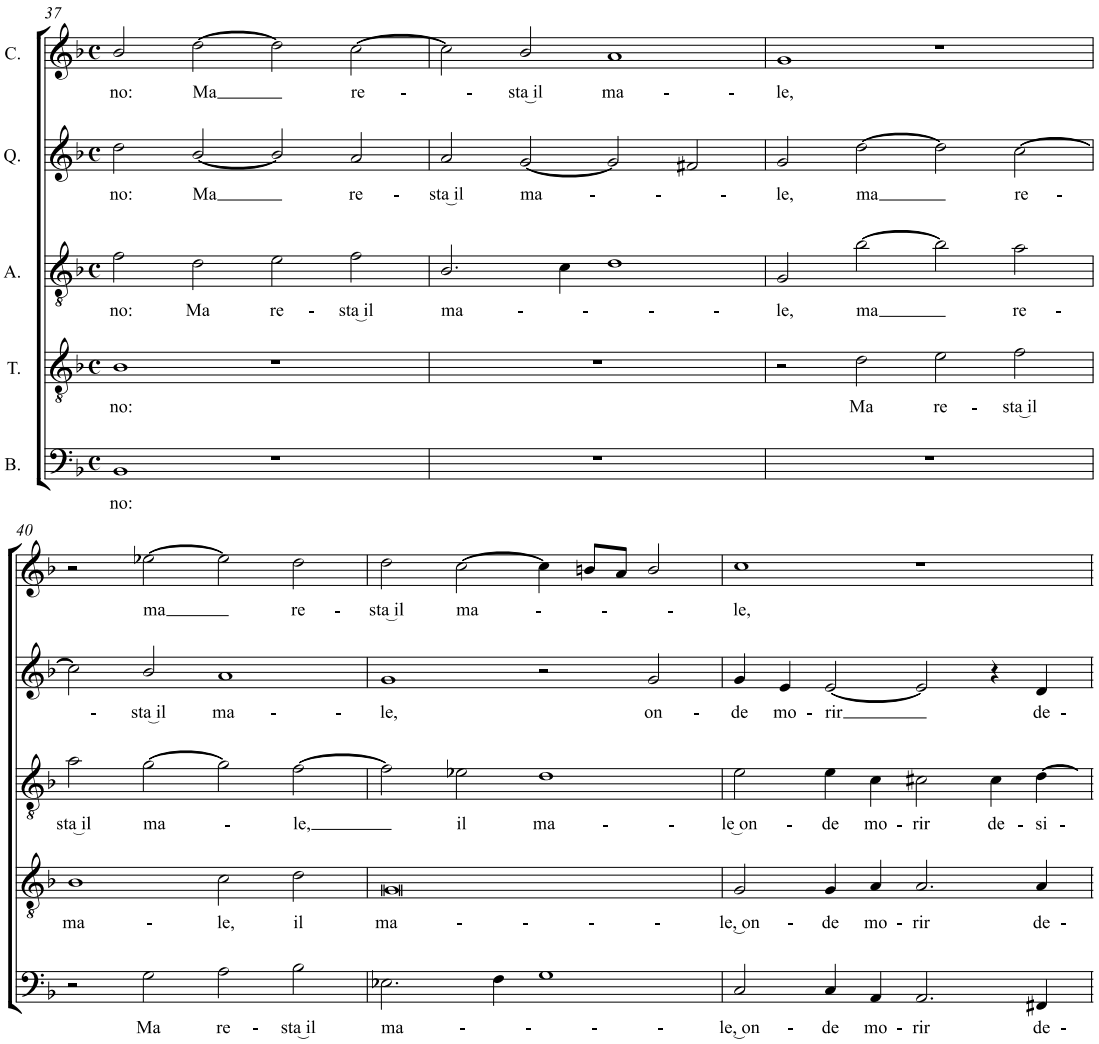


Between bars 37–41 Pallavicino's double-suspensions are once again present, several of which 'gain additional impact from the fact that one of the "sustained" voices is actually reiterated on the strong beat' (Ex. 5/2.10).[68]

[67] Flanders, P., ed., Benedetto Pallavicino Opera Omnia III: Il quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1593; Il sesto libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1600, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae,* 89 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1983), 128–29.

[68] Flanders, P., *Op. cit.*, 'The Madrigals of Benedetto Pallavicino', 121.

Example 5/2.10: Pallavicino, *Lunge da voi*, bb.37–42[69]



The extreme tension at bars 40–41 is created by Pallavicino's enigmatic response to dissonance treatment:

> The progression has a logic of its own: as the tenore and basso are moving upward in preparation for the brutal plunge to 'male' (sickness) in measure 41, they take part in the resolution of a double suspension in the canto and alto but create a new dissonance with the a' in the quinto.[70]

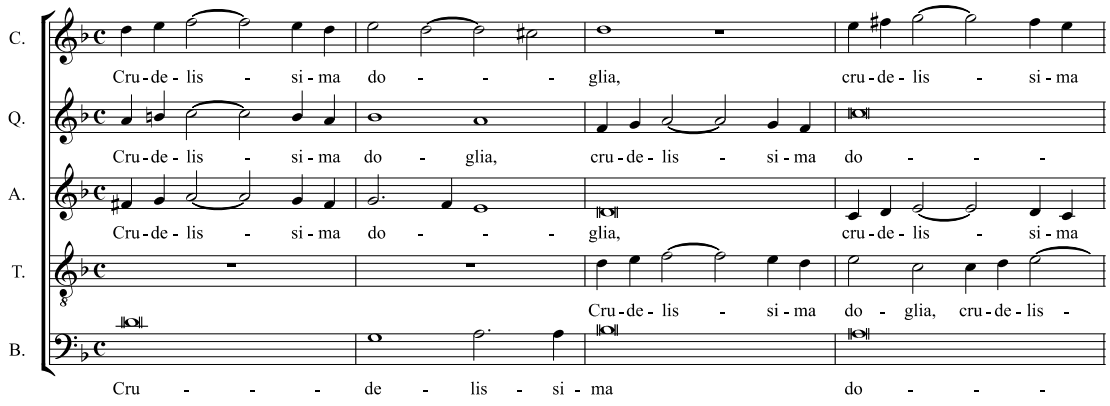
[69] Flanders, P., ed., Benedetto Pallavicino Opera Omnia III: Il quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1593; Il sesto libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1600, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 89 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1983), 130.

[70] Flanders, P., *Op. cit.*, 'The Madrigals of Benedetto Pallavicino', 121.

A further example of this response can be seen in the opening bars of *Crudelissima doglia* (Oh cruellest pain):

> Above a pedal d′, the basso's highest note, a series of parallel first-inversion chords in the upper registers of the three top voices mount to a brilliant dissonance (which is further emphasised by its being held through the third minim of the measure), then fall away. Sixteenth-century theorists had no way of describing the quinto's c′′ nor his a′ in measure 3, nor the high g′′ of the canto in measure 4 [Ex. 5/2.11].[71]

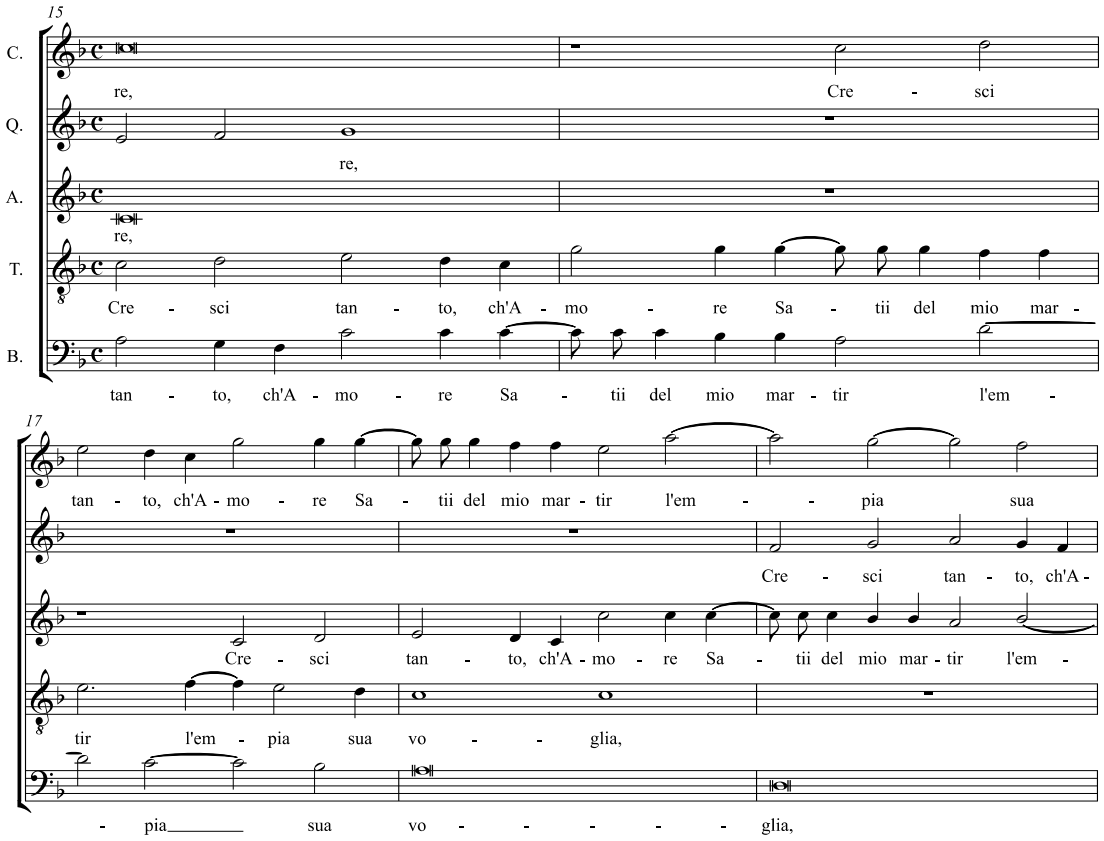
Example 5/2.11: Pallavicino, *Crudelissima doglia*, bb.1–4[72]



This madrigal maintains a high level of intensity which is largely attributable to the dissonance that Pallavicino employs. At bar 15 the basso introduces a new motive at the text 'satii del mio martir' (that with my martyrdom he may sate) which is then taken up by the other voices, in an upper register. The motive descends conjunctly through the interval of a third and is set to a suspension, whose dissonance is reiterated twice before resolving, usually to a new chord (Ex. 5/2.12).

[71] *Ibid.*, 121.
[72] Flanders, P., ed., Benedetto Pallavicino Opera Omnia III: Il quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1593; Il sesto libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1600, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 89 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1983), 171.

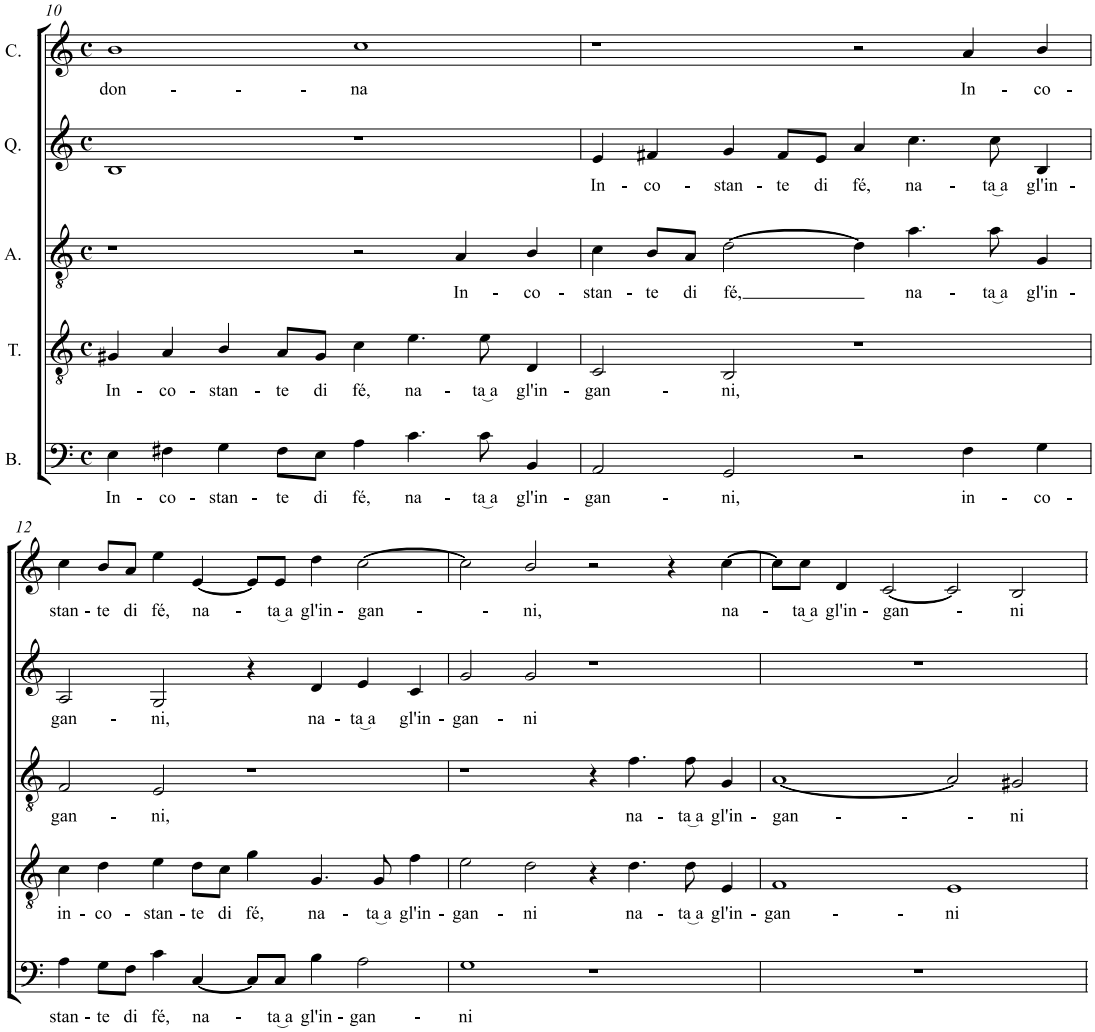
Example 5/2.12: Pallavicino, *Crudelissima doglia*, bb.15–19[73]



Pallavicino's *L' Ottavo Libro dei Madrigali a 5* (1612) contains 17 madrigals, however only 12 of these are five-voice settings (the remainder of the publication includes five eight-part works for double choir). A feature that comes to prominence in *Deh valoroso un tempo*, from this volume, is Pallavicino's use of wide leaps, which are sometimes emphasised by being presented in parallel thirds or placed in the outer parts. The passage below (Ex. 5/2.13) illustrates Pallavicino's use of downwards leaps of a seventh, octave, and ninth in this single madrigal.

[73] *Ibid*., 173.

Example 5/2.13: Pallavicino, *Deh valoroso un tempo*, bb.10–14[74]



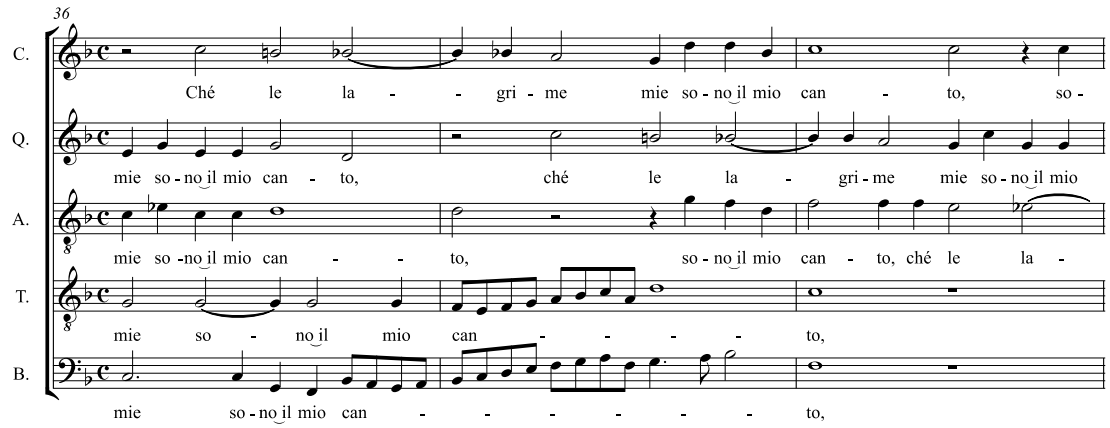
Wider leaps still, such as ninths, tenths, and a twelfth, can be found mainly in his Books VI and VII. Indeed, only two of Pallavicino's five-part madrigals that appeared before 1600 include extravagant leaps other than the octave.[75]

The final feature of Pallavicino's compositional procedure to be highlighted is his use of chromatic alterations immediately adjacent to each other within a musical phrase. The result of this device allows Pallavicino to make use of extended chromatic melodic lines, typically for

[74] Flanders, P., *Op. cit.*, 'The Madrigals of Benedetto Pallavicino', 127
[75] *Ibid.*, 128.

expressive purposes. In *Deh, com' invan chiedete*, for example, Pallavicino sets the text 'ché le lagrime mie' (because my tears) to a chromatically descending motive, conveying sorrowful meaning (Ex. 5/2.14).

Example 5/2.14: Pallavicino*, Deh, com' invan chiedete*, bb.36–38[76]

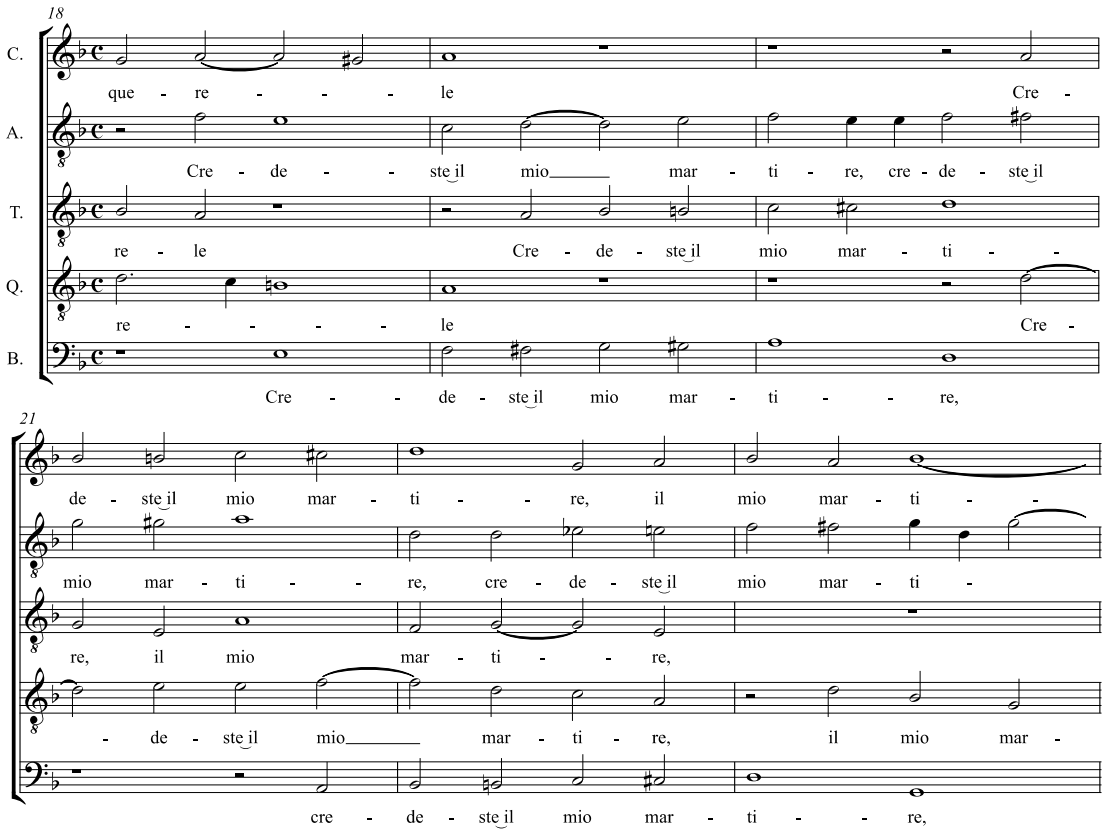


Moreover, in *Voi che a pianto mai* Pallavicino includes two successive chromatic alterations in one motive, which ascends chromatically through a perfect fourth before leaping in the opposite direction, downward a perfect fifth (Ex. 5/2.15).[77]

[76] Monteath, K. B., ed., Benedetto Pallavicino Opera Omnia IV: Il settimo libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1604; L'ottavo libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1612, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 89 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1993), 102.

[77] Flanders, P., *Op. cit.*, 'The Madrigals of Benedetto Pallavicino', 130.

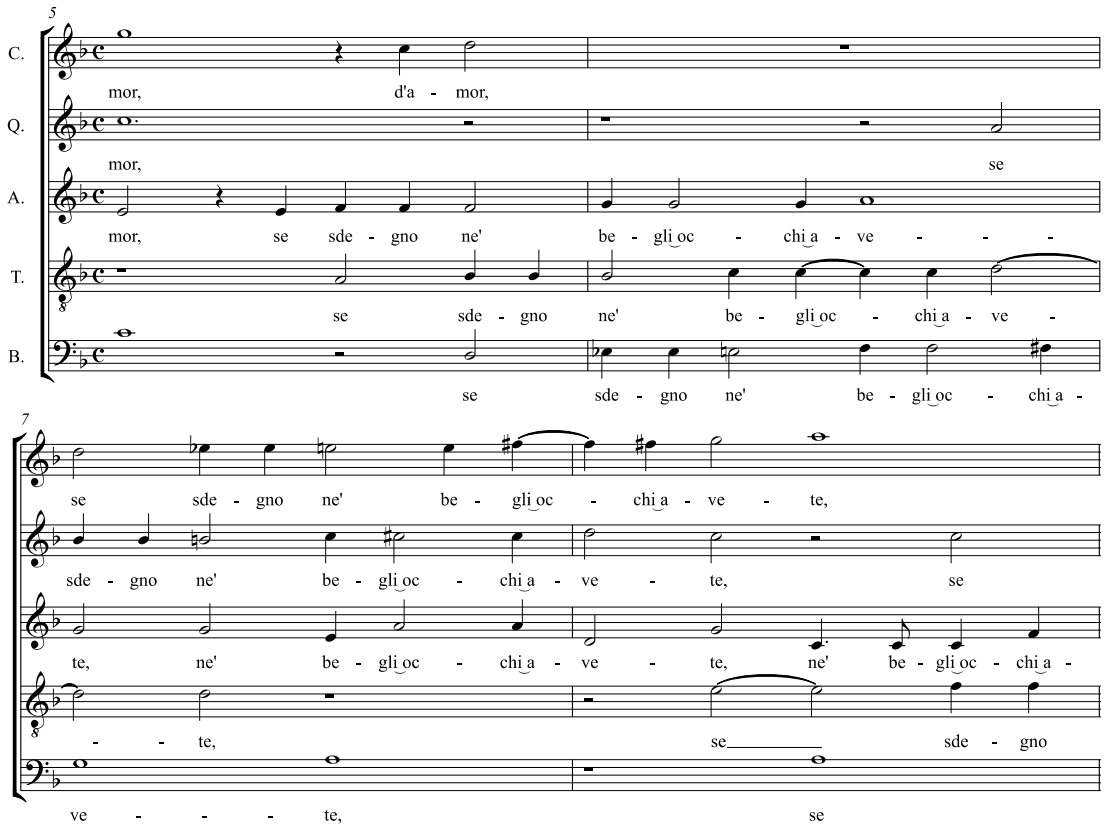
Example 5/2.15: ***Pallavicino, Voi che a pianto mai,*** **bb.18–23**[78]



This use of two successive chromatic alterations can also be observed in *Come cantar poss' io* (Ex. 5/2.16).

[78] Monteath, K. B., ed., Benedetto Pallavicino Opera Omnia IV: Il settimo libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1604; L'ottavo libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 1612, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 89 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1993).

Example 5/2.16: Pallavicino, *Come cantar poss' io*, bb.5–8[79]



It is interesting to observe Flanders' comment that Gesualdo, to whom attention will be turned next, is 'perhaps the madrigal composer whose music displays the closest spiritual affinity with Pallavicino's', further expressing the view that 'in the later books of each there is an emphasis on sharp contrast and a controlled intemperance of expression that surpasses any of the efforts of Marenzio or Monteverdi'.[80] Flanders' assertion is consistent with the view I purport in this dissertation and is largely the reason that Monteverdi's madrigals have been excluded from the ongoing discourse. In turn, the closest similitude exists between Jeffreys and the composers selected for inclusion.

[79] *Ibid.*
[80] Flanders, P., *Op. cit.*, 'The Madrigals of Benedetto Pallavicino', 189.

Carlo Gesualdo

Gesualdo was an Italian nobleman and composer, born in Naples *c.*1561, whose alleged exploits and posthumous reputation need not be repeated here. A few comments about his musical output—particularly his madrigals—however will help to provide a suitable historical context. In 1594 Gesualdo visited Ferrara, primarily for musical reasons, where he encountered the likes of Luzzaschi and Fontanelli, who both showed an interest in chromatic experimentation. Gesualdo remained at Ferrara for around two years, until early 1596, by which time he had published his first four books of madrigals for five voices, consolidating his professional reputation.[81] In the latter years of his life, suffering with his melancholy and psychopathic deterioration, Gesualdo remained almost entirely on his estate—the principality of Venosa. In 1611, Gesualdo acquired his own palace printer, G. G. Carino from Naples, to publish his final works, the fifth and sixth books of five-voice madrigals.[82] The most conspicuous feature of Gesualdo's madrigals is his use of extreme harmonic chromaticism and striking dissonance. This element of his compositional language, therefore, will provide the stimulus for the following paragraphs.

In total, Gesualdo published six volumes of five-voice madrigals and one collection of six-voice madrigals, which was published posthumously by Effrem in 1626. Hatton very likely owned Books I–IV and possibly owned Book VI; only madrigals from these collections will be considered in the following discussion. All of the Gesualdo volumes that come under the aegis of Hatton are reprints of the original publications. The original dates of publication are as follows: Book I—1594 (reprinted 1603, 1604, 1608, 1617); Book II—1594 (reprinted 1603, 1607, 1616); Book III—1595 (reprinted 1603, 1611, 1619); Book IV—1596 (reprinted 1604, 1611, 1616);

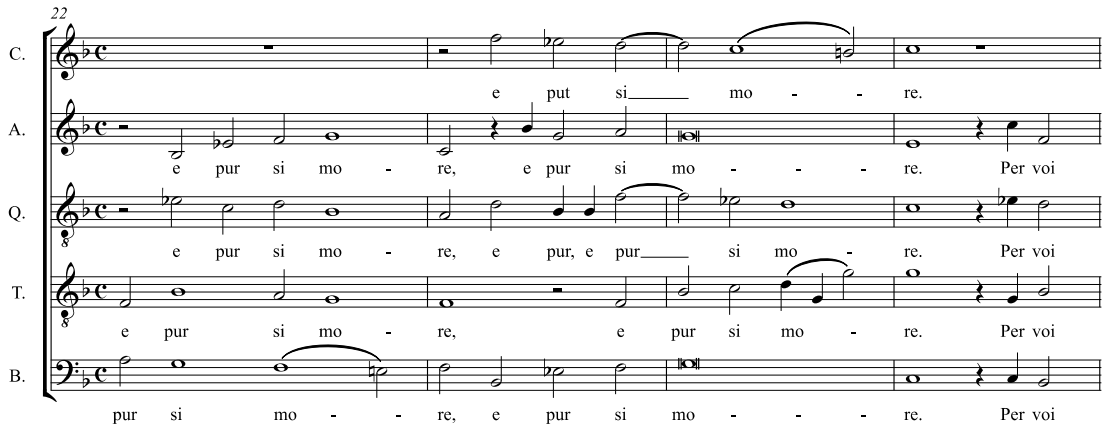
[81] Bianconi, L., 'Gesualdo, Carlo, Prince of Venosa, Count of Conza', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 15 February 2013).
[82] *Ibid.*

Book V—1611 (reprinted 1614); Book VI—1611 (reprinted 1616). Although the current discourse centres on chromaticism, perhaps at the expense of other significant features of Gesualdo's style, a comment by Glenn Watkins is worth bearing in mind:

> The composer [Gesualdo] of the mature chromatic works did not stumble onto a few provocative harmonies at the keyboard and amateurishly set them to paper. Rather he developed his style gradually from relatively conservative beginnings.[83]

Certainly, the chromaticism and highly dissonant musical language for which Gesualdo is renowned is traceable, albeit inchoate, in the first two books of madrigals. For example, the very first madrigal of Book I, *Baci soavi*, contains a passage of suspensions complete with concomitant ambiguous harmonies—seventh and diminished chords—at the text 'e pur si more' (Ex. 5/2.17).

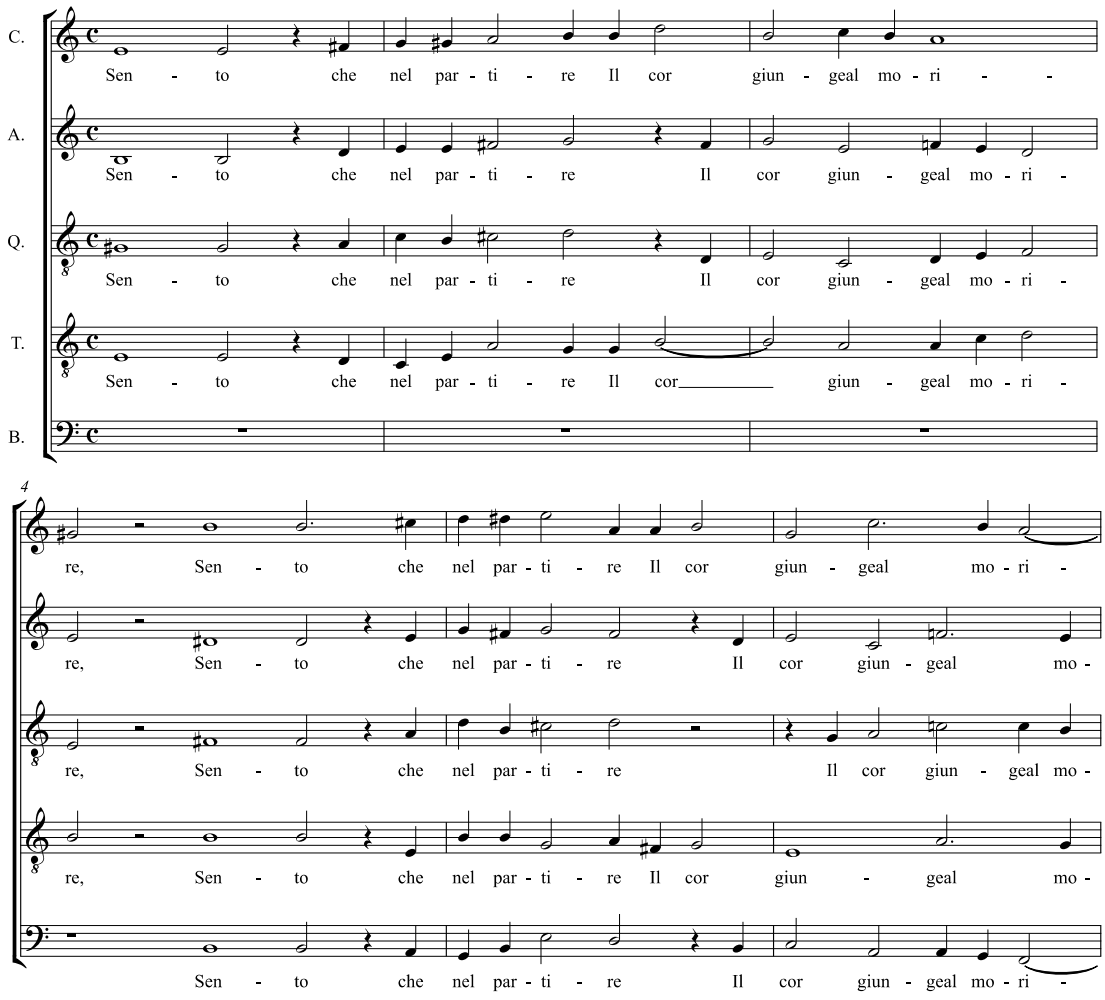
Example 5/2.17: Gesualdo, *Baci soavi*, bb.22–25[84]



Sento che nel partire, however, is the madrigal from the first two books, which foreshadows most tellingly the harmonic idiom that is to manifest itself so decisively in Gesualdo's later madrigals. The opening section in particular demonstrates his use of chromatic alteration and harmony (Ex. 5/2.18).

[83] Watkins, G., *Gesualdo: The Man and His Music* (London, 1973), 134.
[84] Weismann, W., ed., Gesualdo Di Venosa, *Sämtliche Madrigale Für Fünf Stimmen Erstes Buch* (Hamburg, 1962), 15.

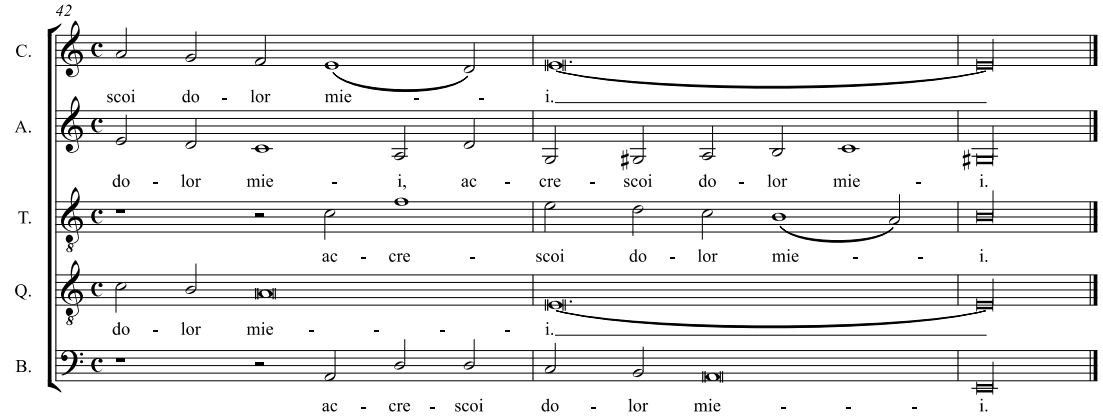
Example 5/2.18: Gesualdo, *Sento che nel partire*, bb.1–6[85]



Similarly, in the closing bars of this madrigal, Gesualdo once again introduces a chromatic alteration in the altus part and, furthermore, the dissonance on the final beat of the penultimate bar is resolved by an exchange in the notes of resolution between the altus and quintus, creating the interval of a diminished fourth in the altus part (Ex. 5/2.19).[86]

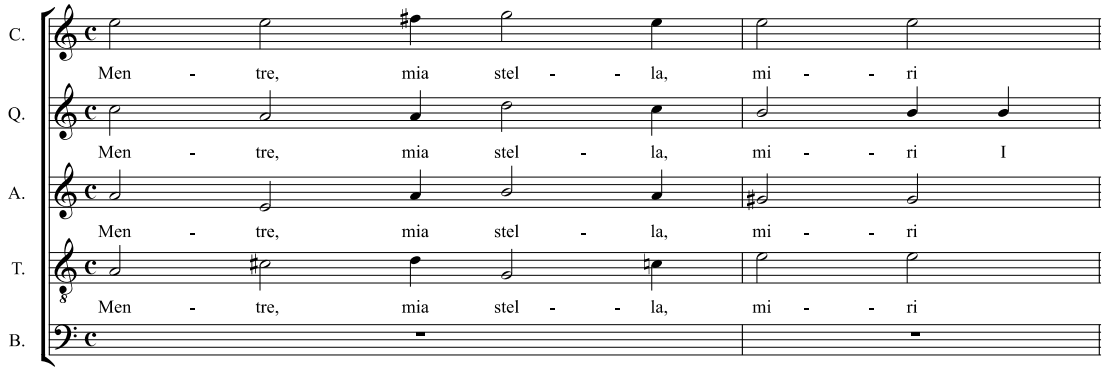
[85] Weismann, W., Gesualdo Di Venosa, *Sämtliche Madrigale Für Fünf Stimmen Zweites Buch* (Hamburg, 1962), 37.
[86] Watkins, G., *Op. cit., Gesualdo*, 146. The substitute voice-leading, resulting in the interval of a diminished fourth, is a technique that can be traced back as far as Wert's first book of madrigals, published in 1558.

Example 5/2.19: Gesualdo, *Sento che nel partire*, bb.42–44[87]



The opening bars of *Mentre, mia stella, miri* amplify this procedure, which Gesualdo uses time and again. The madrigal opens with a chord of A minor and on the second beat Gesualdo moves to a chord of A major in first inversion, again juxtaposing C♮–C♯ along with the tonic minor and tonic major, before reverting back to the initial C♮, where there is an imperfect cadence from A minor to E major (Ex. 5/2.20).[88]

Example 5/2.20: Gesualdo, *Mentre, mia stella, miri*, bb.1–2[89]



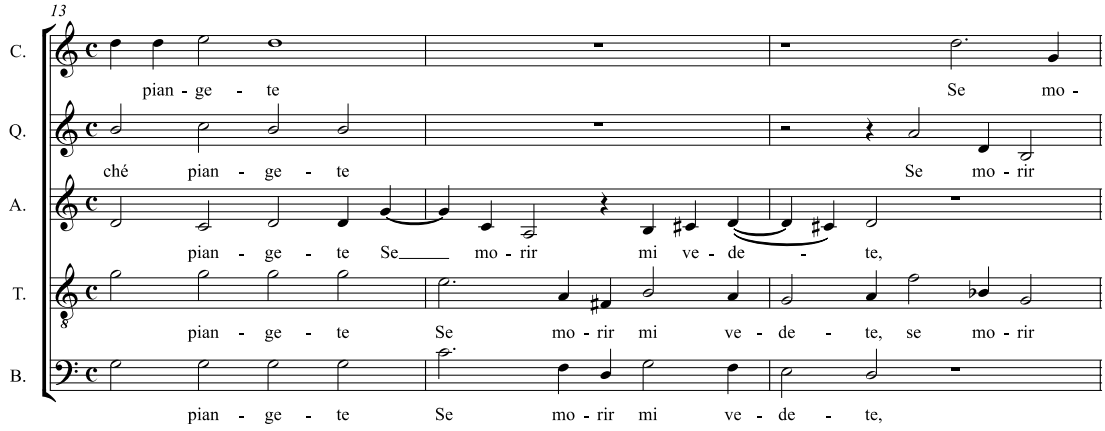
[87] Weismann, W., ed., Gesualdo Di Venosa, *Sämtliche Madrigale Für Fünf Stimmen Zweites Buch* (Hamburg, 1962), 40.

[88] For futher examples of this compositional procedure see: *Bella Angioletta*, bb.25–27; *Si giocoso mi fanno*, bb.1–4.

[89] Weismann, W., ed., Gesualdo Di Venosa, *Sämtliche Madrigale Für Fünf Stimmen Erstes Buch* (Hamburg, 1962), 57.

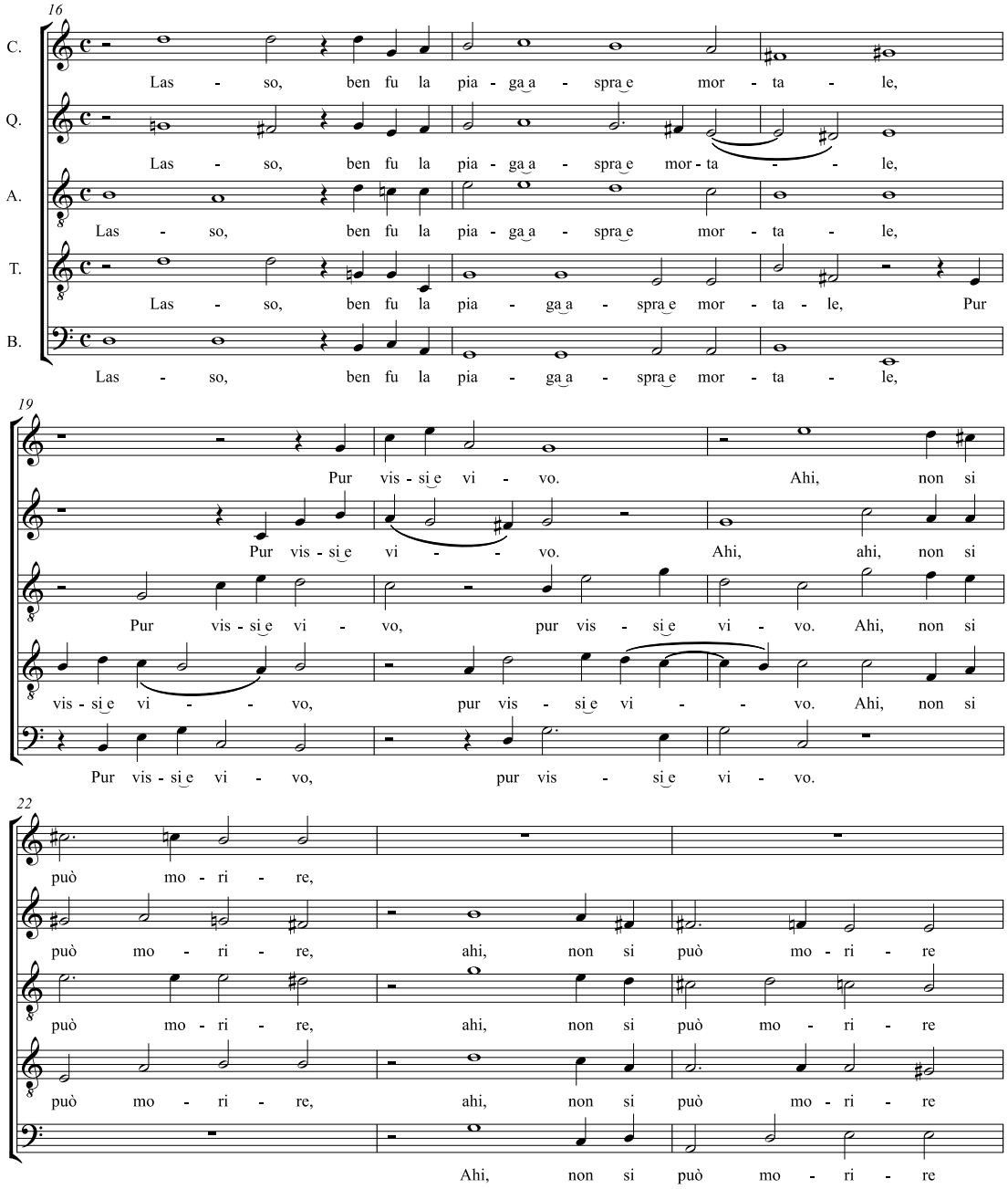
The conspicuous three-note figure that outlines a seventh 'is a common feature of Gesualdo's melodies'[90] and is used in both descending and ascending forms (Exx. 5/2.21, 5/2.22 (bb.18–20), and 5/2.23).

Example 5/2.21: Gesualdo, *Ahi, dispietata e cruda*, bb.13–15[91]



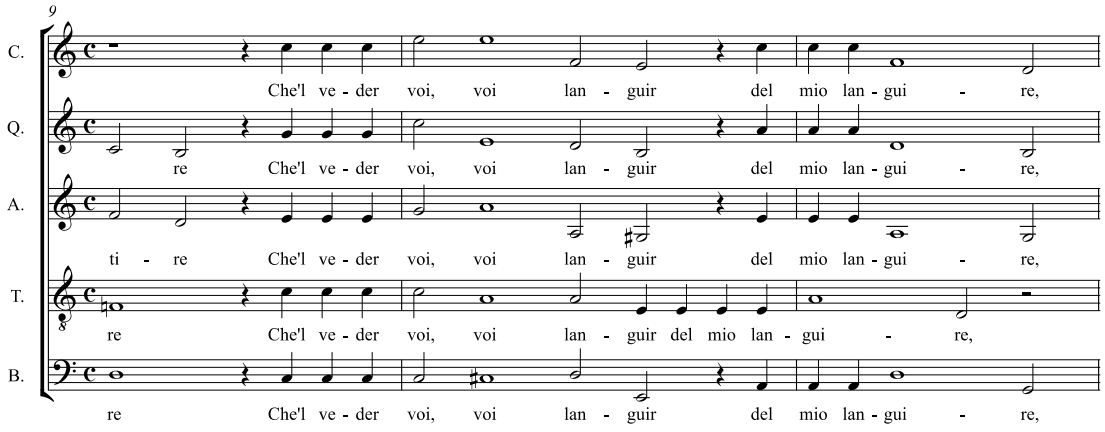
[90] Watkins, G., *Op. cit.*, *Gesualdo*, 152–153.
[91] Weismann, W., ed., Gesualdo Di Venosa, *Sämtliche Madrigale Für Fünf Stimmen Drittes Buch* (Hamburg, 1960), 27.

Example 5/2.22: Gesualdo, *Non t'amo*, bb.16–24[92]



[92] *Ibid.*, 44.

Example 5/2.23: Gesualdo, *Cor mio, deh, non piagente*, bb.9–11[93]

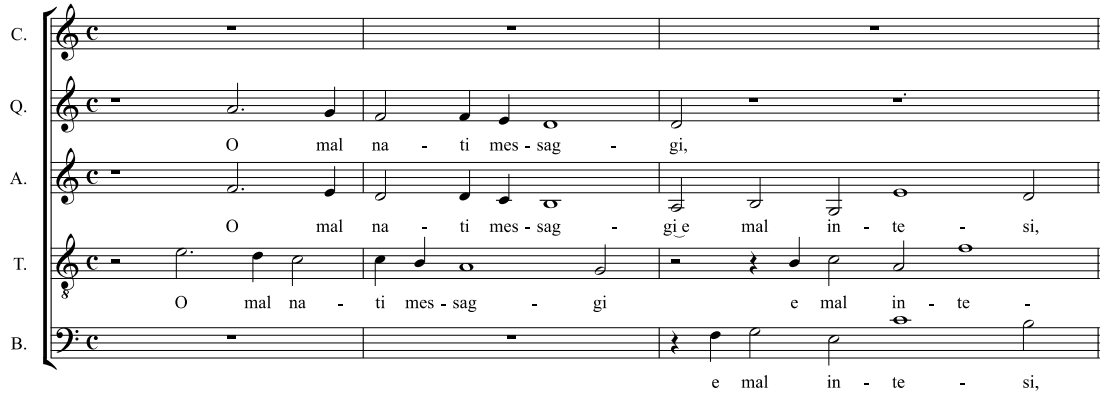


Gesualdo's use of unstable and dissonant harmonies becomes increasingly prevalent in Books III and IV. If attention is drawn back to *Non t'amo*, Gesualdo's employment of added ninths, six-four sonority, and chromaticism is evident (Ex. 5/2.22).[94]

Similarly, the opening bars of *O mal nati messagi* contains a chain of dissonance, comprising four-two (i.e. seventh chord in third inversion) and six-four sonorities in alternation (Ex. 5/2.24).[95]

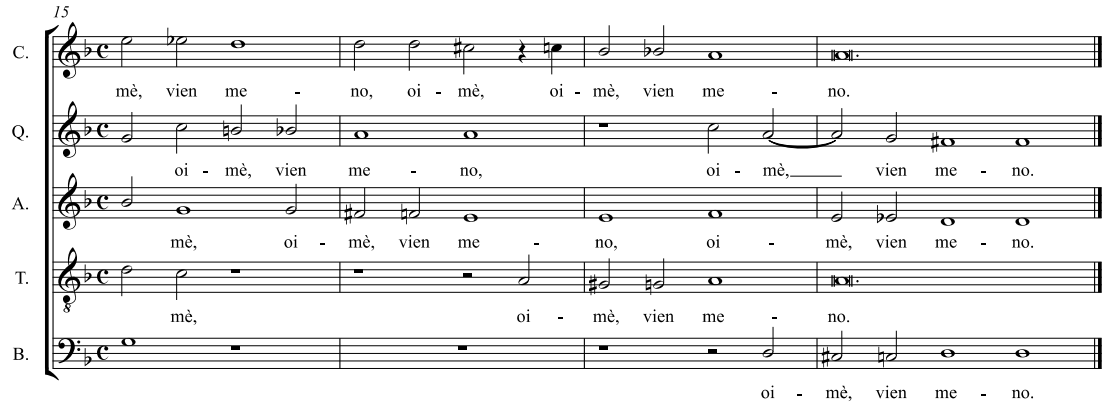
[93] Weismann, W., ed., Gesualdo Di Venosa, *Sämtliche Madrigale Für Fünf Stimmen Viertes Buch* (Hamburg, 1958), 38.
[94] Watkins, G., *Op. cit.*, *Gesualdo*, 154.
[95] See also *Ahi, già mi discoloro*, bb.1–8.

Example 5/2.24: Gesualdo, *O mal nati messagi*, bb.1–3[96]



Or che in gioia credea viver contento exemplifies Gesualdo's use of melodic chromaticism, which must be regarded as an integral feature of his compositional language. In the closing four bars of the *prima parte* all five parts feature chromatic alterations, but the most audacious chromatically descending melodic line appears in the cantus, spanning the interval of a perfect fifth and incorporating no fewer than seven semitones (Ex. 5/2.25).

Example 5/2.25: Gesualdo, *Or, che in gioia credea viver contento*, bb.15–18[97]

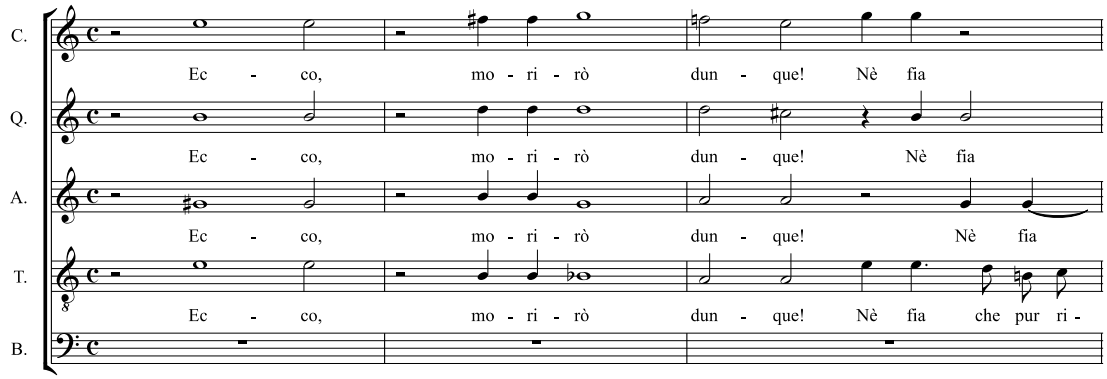


[96] Weismann, W., ed., Gesualdo Di Venosa, *Sämtliche Madrigale Für Fünf Stimmen Drittes Buch* (Hamburg, 1960), 37.

[97] Weismann, W., ed., Gesualdo Di Venosa, *Sämtliche Madrigale Für Fünf Stimmen Viertes Buch* (Hamburg, 1958), 34.

Likewise, there are no shortages of Gesualdo employing equally audacious harmonic progressions. The passage below taken from *Ecco, morirò dunque* (Ex. 5/2.26) demonstrates Gesualdo's propensity for tertian harmonic progressions, complete with false relations and tonal ambiguity. While the passage between bars 23–26 of *Arde il mio cor* contains all of these elements, additionally Gesualdo includes a tritone progression, certainly to convey the meaning of the text 'O dolce, O strana morte' (O sweet, O strange death) (Ex. 5/2.27).[98]

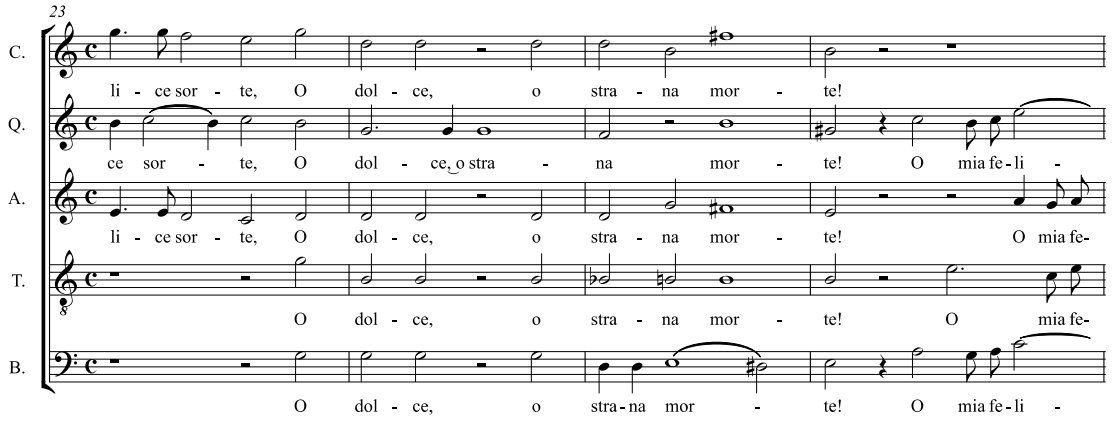
Example 5/2.26: Gesualdo, *Ecco, morirò dunque*, bb.1–3[99]



[98] Despite the ostensible chromaticism and bold harmonic progressions, Watkins offers a reminder that Gesualdo had an invariable control over the larger tonal complex, which is manifest in *Arde il mio cor*. See Watkins, G., *Op. cit.*, *Gesualdo*, 163–164.

[99] Weismann, W., ed., Gesualdo Di Venosa, *Sämtliche Madrigale Für Fünf Stimmen Viertes Buch* (Hamburg, 1958), 59.

Example 5/2.27: Gesualdo, *Arde il mio cor*, bb.23–26[100]



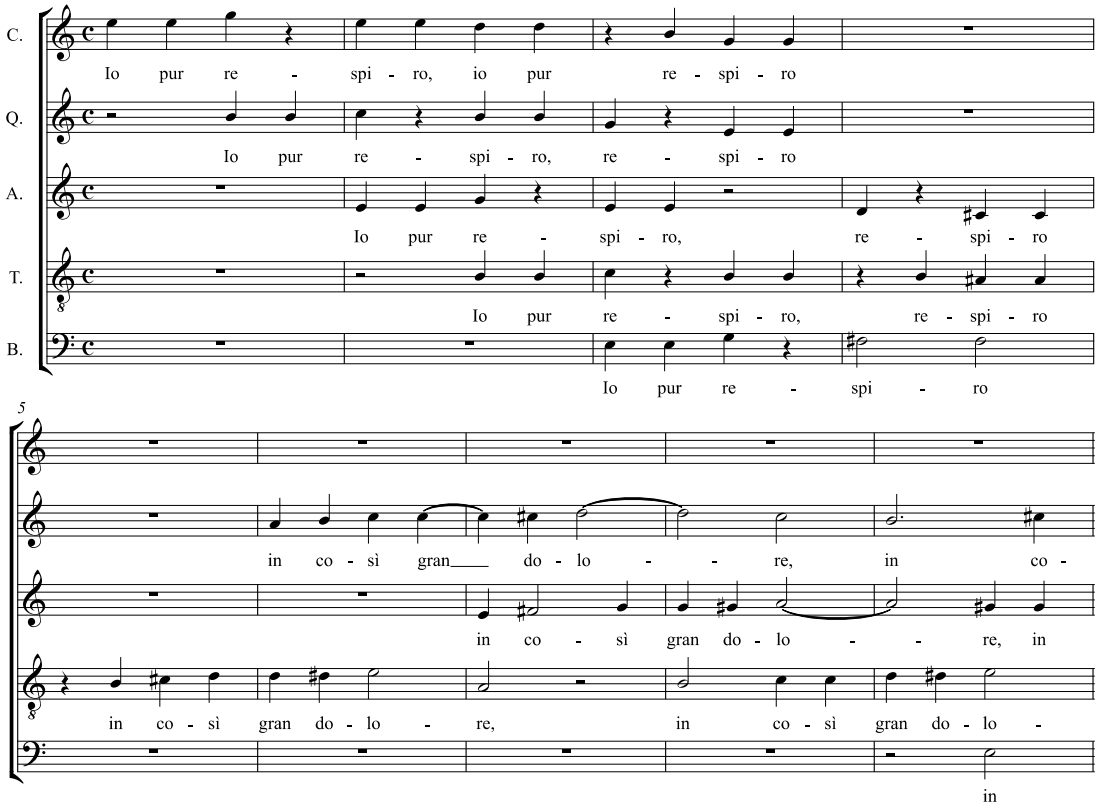
Gesualdo's compositional language in his final two books of madrigals is anticipated by those that have been indentified in his first four books. There is, however, a marked contrast between Books I–IV and V–VI whereby there is a development and intensification of the procedures utilised in the earlier collections:

> The difference lies in the proportion and the concentration of such ideas. It is a relatively simple matter to describe these madrigals as a series of musical details, but we are at a loss to explain their spell-binding effect. Reduced to the analytical language of contrapuntal usage, to the citation of unprepared dissonances, invertible counterpoint, cross-relations, unusual melodic intervals, suspension chains, degree inflections, chromatic non-functional harmony, and a rich modulatory vocabulary, it is not surprising that the music loses its essential spirit. For while all of these traits can indeed be found in the music, it is the special mixture, the blend of otherwise isolated phenomena which yields the true magic ingredient of his style. The daring posturing, side by side, of seemingly immiscible elements is the essential sign of Gesualdo's Mannerist personality. His unerring instinct alone permits the successful juxtaposition of these several ingredients in a highly delicate balance which seems always to suggest the possibility, nay probability, of an architectural collapse. When the edifice continues to stand, the result is frequently breathtaking.[101]

Present in Gesualdo's madrigal *Io pur respiro* is one of the identified salient features of Jeffreys' compositional procedure: the employment of contrasting but complementary motives. The first motive, associated with the text 'Io pur respiro' (I still breathe), is characterised by a disjointed rhythm and a Mannerist rest between 're' and 'spiro', typical of the breathless style. The second motive, by contrast, is characterised by linear chromaticism (Ex. 5/2.28).

[100] *Ibid*., 64.
[101] Watkins, G., *Op. cit.*, *Gesualdo*, 169.

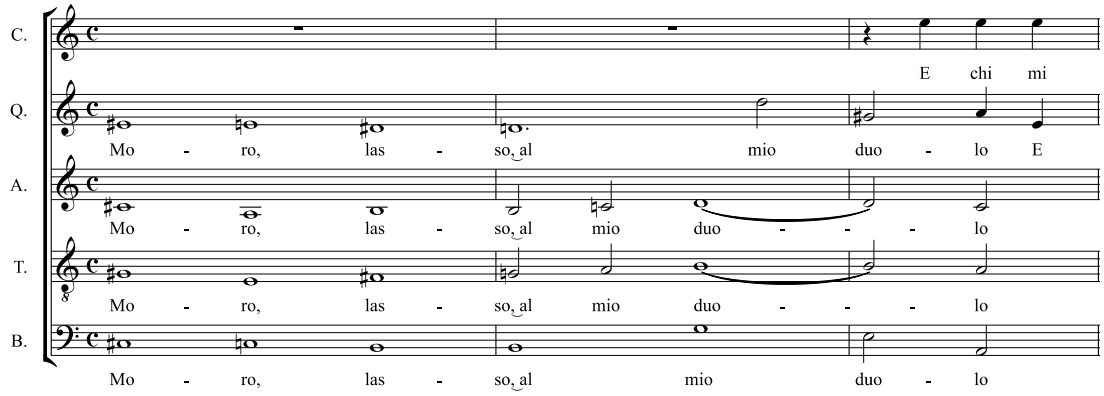
Example 5/2.28: Gesualdo, *Io pur respiro*, bb.1–9[102]



One of the most chromatic, and possibly one of the most well-known, madrigals in Gesulado's *oeuvre* is *Moro, lasso* and is contained in Book VI. The opening homophonic passage contains eleven, out of the twelve possible, chromatic pitches at the text 'Moro, lasso, al mio duolo' (I die, alas, in my grief) (Ex. 5/2.29).

[102] Weismann, Wilhelm, ed., Gesualdo Di Venosa, *Sämtliche Madrigale Für Fünf Stimmen Sechstes Buch* (Hamburg, 1957), 44.

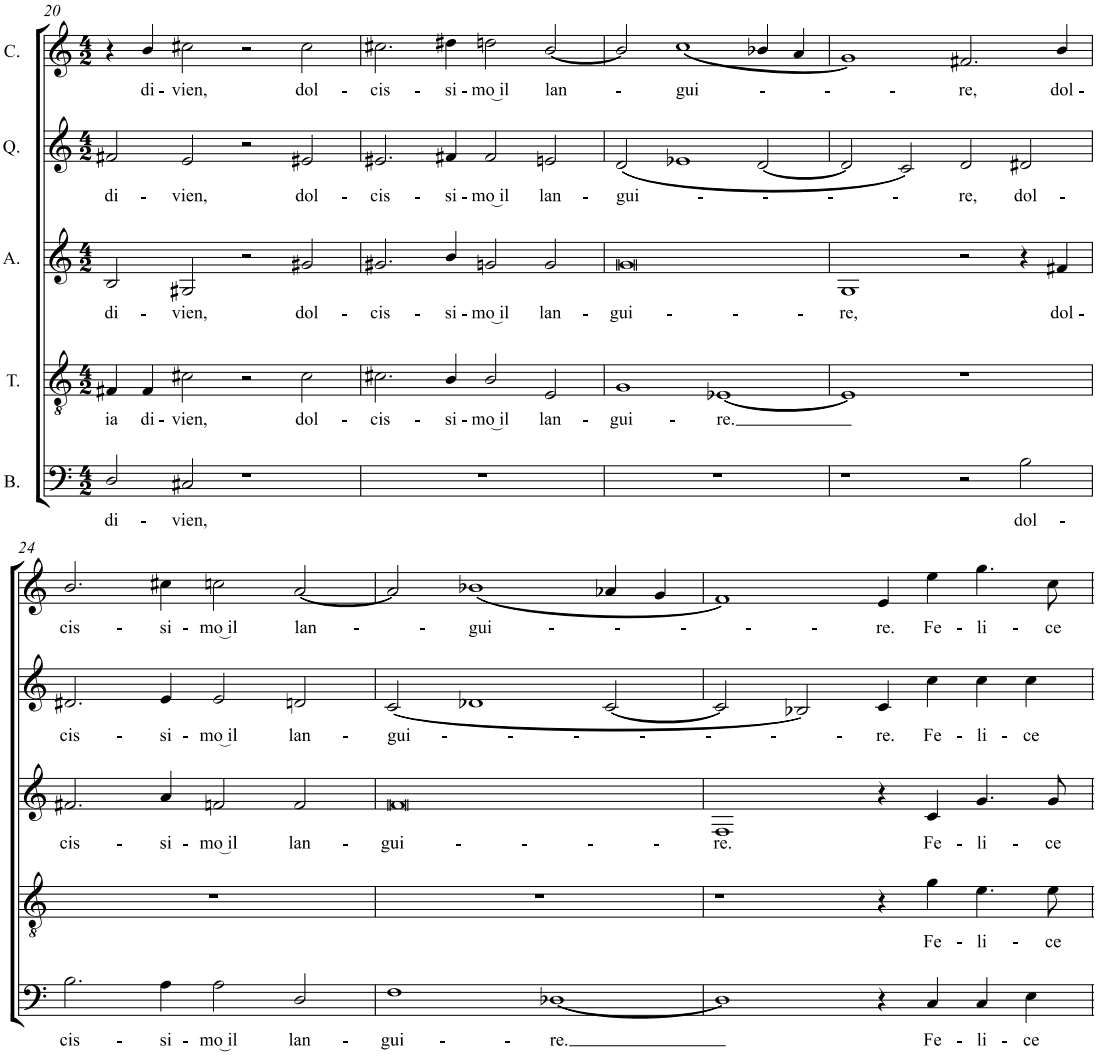
Example 5/2.29: Gesualdo, *Moro, lasso*, bb.1–3[103]



Similarly, Gesualdo's response to a text can be equally as extreme in harmonic terms. For example, the text 'dolcissimo il languire' (most sweet the languishing) from *Ardo per te* occasions Gesualdo to respond with a 'harmonically ravishing passage' (Ex. 5/2.30).[104] The dissonance and chromaticism present in such passages are inextricably linked. This symbiotic relationship between dissonance, chromaticism, and harmony can be regarded as stylistically progressive.

[103] *Ibid.*, 74.
[104] Watkins, G., *Op. cit., Gesualdo*, 175.

Example 5/2.30: Gesualdo, *Ardo per te*, bb.20–26[105]



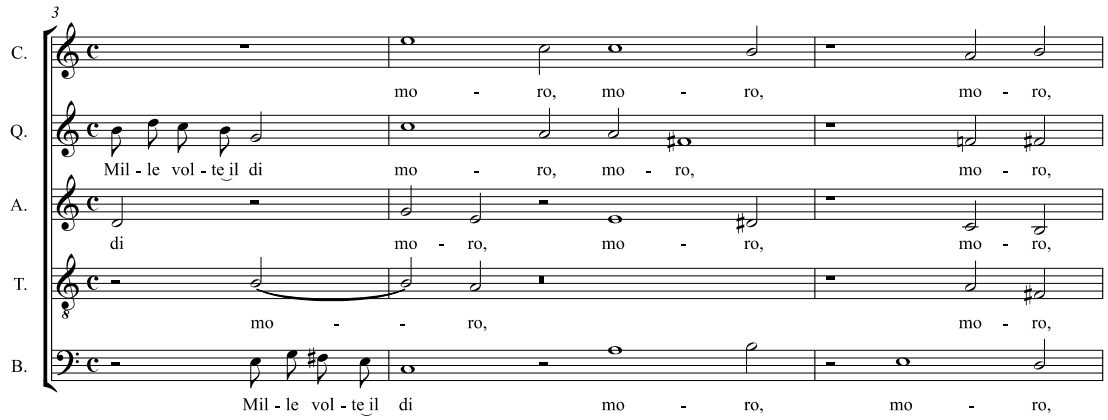
A further example of Gesualdo's idiomatic treatment of dissonance, unusual harmonic progressions, and chromaticism can be seen in *Mille volte il di*, particularly in bar 4 (beats 3 and 4) and bar 5 (Ex. 5/2.31).[106] The chord of A minor on beat 3 of bar 4 moves through a passing dissonance of a half diminished seventh chord in first inversion (6–5–3).The dissonance resolves expectedly to B major, but the move from A minor to B major is bolder. On the repetition of the

[105] Weismann, Wilhelm, ed., Gesualdo Di Venosa, *Sämtliche Madrigale Für Fünf Stimmen Sechstes Buch* (Hamburg, 1957), 63–64.

[106] See also *Se la mia morte brami*, bb.8–10; *Io parto*, bb.26–28.

word ‘moro’ (I die) in bar 5, however, Gesualdo introduces a minor seventh chord in third inversion (9–6–4), which again resolves on to a B major triad. This time the resolution is unexpected because the progression is fundamentally constructed from a tritone—F to B♮. A further conspicuous feature is the false relation, much favoured by Gesualdo, between F♯–F♮–F♯.[107]

Example 5/2.31: Gesualdo, *Mille volte il di*, bb.3–5[108]

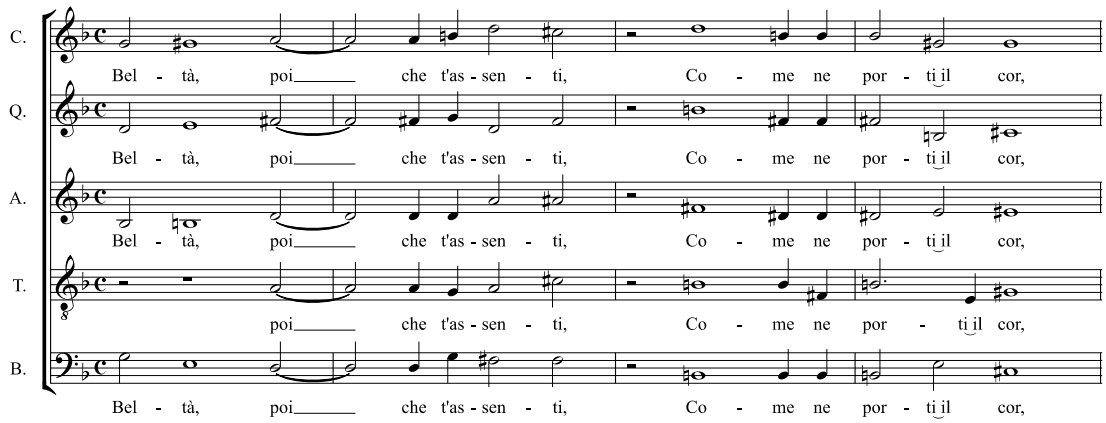


The madrigal *Belta poi* provides a focussed example of Gesualdo’s tonal obfuscation and unexpected progressions. Watkins outlines the ‘key’ levels as follows: g B C♯ g D B♭ E♭ g–E♭ d || B♭ F B♭ e EB–B♭ f a g.[109] However, the clarity with which Gesualdo establishes new tonal centres varies widely. In the opening bars of *Belta poi*, this ambivalence can be detected (Ex. 5/2.32). The movement from G minor to B major (b.3), for example, is clarified through the introduction of a chord of F♯ major. However, the movement to C♯ major (b.4) relies on the tertiary movement from the preceding E major chord; a less convincing confirmation of key.

[107] See also *Già piansi nel dolore*, bb.1–2.
[108] Weismann, Wilhelm, ed., Gesualdo Di Venosa, *Sämtliche Madrigale Für Fünf Stimmen Sechstes Buch* (Hamburg, 1957), 33.
[109] Watkins, G., *Op. cit., Gesualdo*, 193.

Watkins writes, 'the establishment of this tonal level [C♯] is achieved primarily through the phrase structure and the fact that the chord is followed by a rest in all voices'.[110]

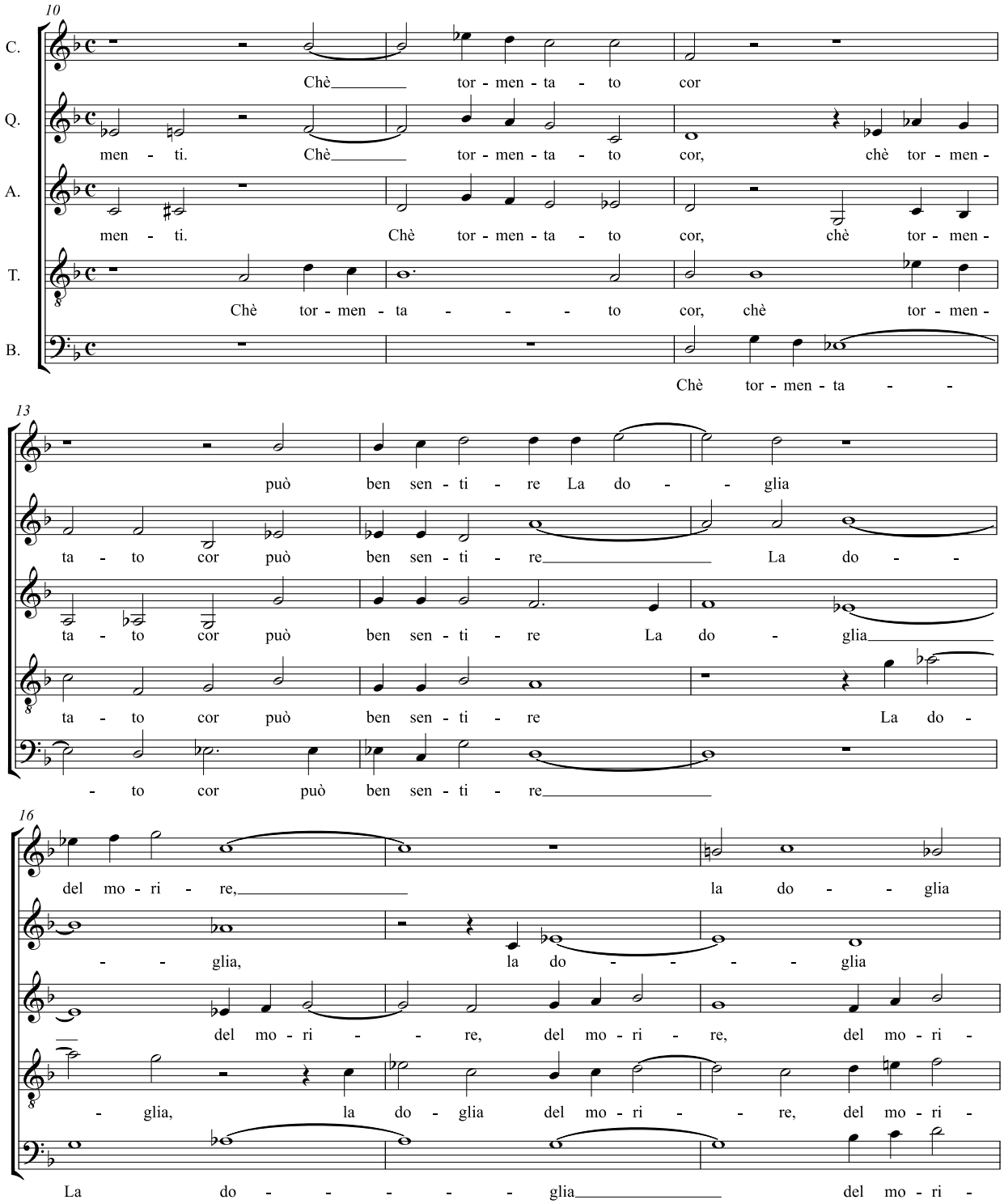
Example 5/2.32: Gesualdo, *Belta poi*, bb.1–4[111]



Further on in this madrigal Gesualdo uses diminished seventh chords, with their inherent inclination to resolve to the tonic, at cadential points, lending a degree of clarification to the establishment of a fresh 'tonal' centre. This is true in bars 11–12 and 13. In contrast, however, between bars 14–18 there is an absence of cadential progressions and, consequently, an abandonment of any clear sense of 'key'. The result is a sense of 'tonal drifting rather than of actual modulation' (Ex. 5/2.33).[112]

[110] *Ibid.*, 194.
[111] Weismann, Wilhelm, ed., Gesualdo Di Venosa, *Sämtliche Madrigale Für Fünf Stimmen Sechstes Buch* (Hamburg, 1957), 16.
[112] Watkins, G., *Op. cit., Gesualdo*, 194.

Example 5/2.33: Gesualdo, *Belta poi*, bb.10–18[113]



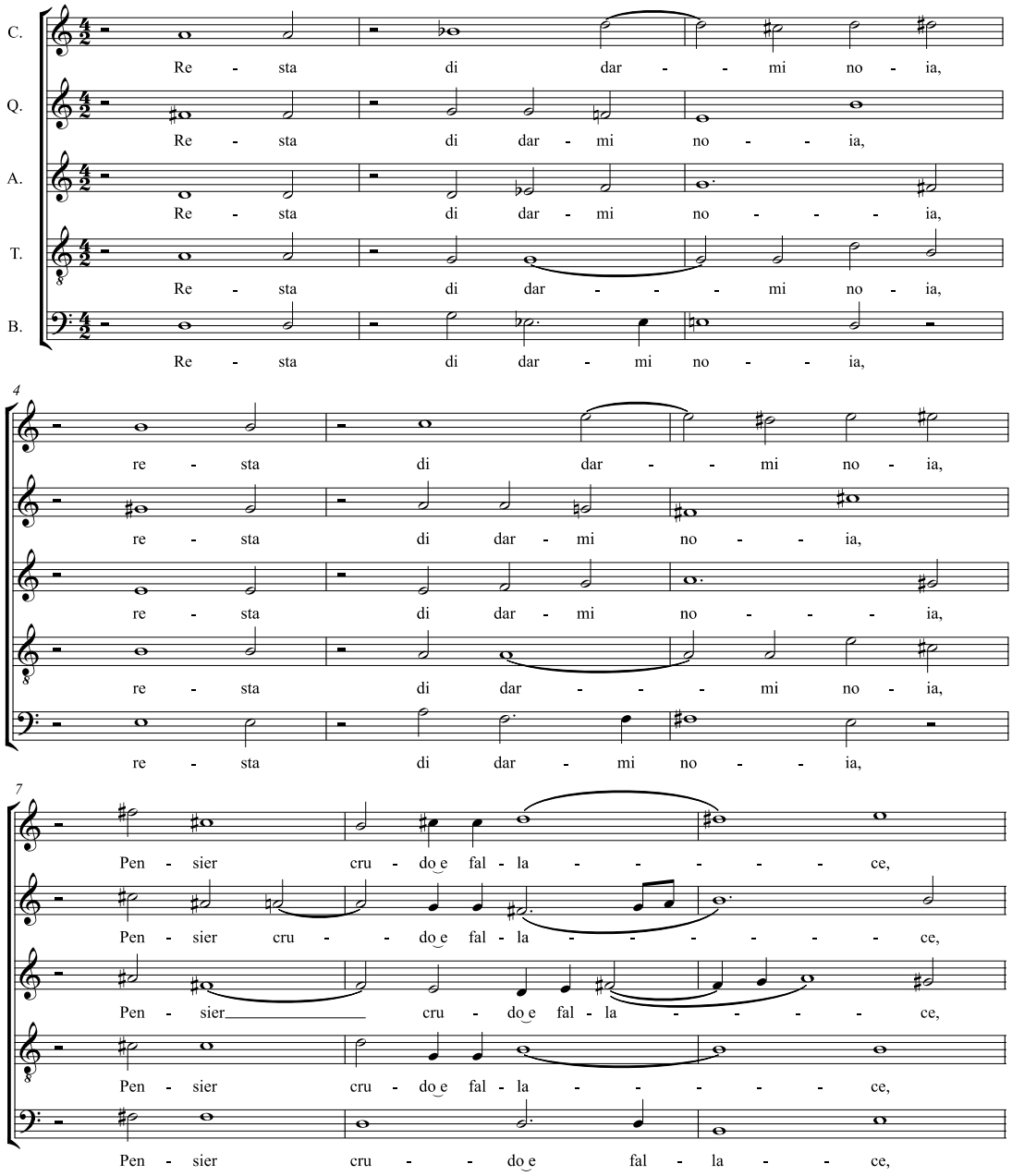
[113] Weismann, Wilhelm, ed., Gesualdo Di Venosa, *Sämtliche Madrigale Für Fünf Stimmen Sechstes Buch* (Hamburg, 1957), 16–17.

The final madrigal from Book VI to be considered is *Resta di darmi noia*, which exemplifies many of the characteristics of Gesualdo's madrigalian style. The opening two chords, articulated by rests in all voices, signals the forthcoming breathless style, which is linked to the following passage through a fifth relation, i.e. D to g. The ensuing harmonic progression is daring: g E♭^{7} (e)^{7} c♯° G$^{6/4}$ B (Ex. 5/2.34). Watkins summarises the three prominent features of this progression as follows:

> (1) a striking use of chromatic third-relation at the cadence; (2) the cantus' approach to a harmonic seventh by skip [b.2, beat 4]; and (3) the use of a six-four chord which does not resolve to five-three over the same bass; indeed, the bass drops out altogether as the harmonic shift to B major takes place. In every way the third point, the six-four sonority, is the most outrageous event in the entire progression, not only because of its 'resolution', but because of its approach. The immediately preceding chord, c♯°, possesses a strong urge to move to D; had Gesualdo satisfied this cadential urge before making the shift of a third to B, he would have provided the listener with a well-anchored springboard for the ensuing harmonic leap. What he actually wrote goes a step further.[114]

[114] Watkins, G., *Op. cit.*, *Gesualdo*, 209.

Example 5/2.34: Gesualdo, *Resta di darmi noia*, bb.1–9[115]



[115] Weismann, Wilhelm, ed., Gesualdo Di Venosa, *Sämtliche Madrigale Für Fünf Stimmen Sechstes Buch* (Hamburg, 1957), 23.

Christ Church Mus. 877–880

Although a slight digression, the composite partbooks *Och* Mus. 877–880, containing printed and manuscript music, are worthy of note here.[116] Firstly, the manuscript sections are known to have been copied by five scribes,[117] among who was George Jeffreys, and the partbooks have a number of connections with Christopher Hatton III. Secondly, the repertory they contain includes madrigals and motets for one to six voices and basso continuo (not all are complete) by composers such as Dering, Monteverdi, Notari, Merula, Grandi, Tomasi, Aloisi, Facchi, and, significantly for present purposes, Gesualdo. The partbooks are complex and comprise a number of manuscript sections that were copied at different times. Wainwright has concluded, however, that the first, second, third, and fifth (this includes madrigals by Gesualdo) manuscript layers of Mus. 877–80 were probably copied before 1646, while the fourth section appears to date from the 1650s.[118] The implication is, therefore, that Gesualdo's madrigals are likely to have been performed in Hatton and court-related circles during the 1640s and, once again, that Jeffreys is very likely to have been familiar with this music.

Interestingly, these partbooks also include printed copies of John Wilson's *Psalterium Carolinum* and Walter Porter's *Mottets for Two Voyces* (both printed in London in 1657), both of who will be considered in Chapter 8. The partbooks Mus. 877–80 lend further documentary support to the hypothesis that a progressive musical culture, largely confined to Royalist and court-related circles, existed in mid-seventeenth-century England and that Italian and Italianate music, in particular, was its preeminent concern.

[116] For a detailed examination of the partbooks see Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 160–77 and 405–14.

[117] The scribes, identified by Wainwright, include: 2 unknown hands, George Jeffreys, Stephen Bing, and Angelo Notari.

[118] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 405.

Sigismondo d'India

Sigismondo d'India has been described by Einstein as Gesualdo's 'most outspoken and unmistakable'[119] successor and, therefore, is chronologically consistent with the present discourse. Indeed, Joyce and Watkins' following comment reveals the close affinity between the madrigals of d'India and Gesualdo:

> D'India's most characteristic madrigals are expressive chromatic settings of the anguished outpourings of rejected lovers. They are marked by gliding semitone steps in both voice and bass lines, unusual harmonic progressions, and sharp dissonances irregularly dissolved. These formless chromatic madrigals are not unlike the polyphonic madrigals of Gesualdo, particularly in their juxtaposition of languid chromatic and lilting diatonic passages.[120]

D' India was an Italian composer and singer, born in Palermo *c.*1582 and who was 'perhaps second only to Monteverdi as the most distinguished composer of secular vocal music, especially monody, in early seventeenth-century Italy'.[121] Sigismondo repeatedly advertised the fact that he was of noble Sicilian birth on the title pages of his publications with the designation *nobile palermitano*.[122] It is possible that Sigismondo was the son of Don Carlo d'India, a 'nobleman of Palermo' resident in Naples in 1592 and, therefore, may have spent his formative years in that city.[123] In the preface to his *Le Musiche* (1609), Sigismondo stated that from 'learned men of music' he learnt 'how to compose for several voices and how to sing solo'.[124] Joyce and Watkins suggest that 'these mentors may have been part of the circle of composers in Naples affiliated with the academy of Don Fabrizio Gesualdo, the foremost of whom was Giovanni de

[119] Einstein, A., *The Italian Madrigal* (Princeton, 1949). Joyce and Watkins suggest, however, that Einstein's view appears to be based on a knowledge of the first volume alone. See Joyce, J., Watkins, G., 'D' India, Sigismondo', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 21 October 2011).
[120] Joyce, J., Watkins, G., *Op. cit.*.
[121] *Ibid.*
[122] Watkins, G., ed., *Sigismondo* d'India Il Terzo Libro dei Madrigali a Cinque Voce (1615), *Musiche Rinascimentali Siciliane*, 15 (Florence, 1995), 7.
[123] Joyce, J., Watkins, G., *Op. cit.*.
[124] *Ibid.*

Macque'.[125] By the year 1600 Sigismondo had been in Naples and Florence; the dedication to Marie de Medici in his *Le musiche e balli* (1621), suggests that he was in Florence for her marriage to Henry IV of France (the parents of Henrietta Maria) on 5 October 1600. Similarly the preface to his *Primo Libro de Madrigali* (1606), dedicated to Vicenzo Gonzaga, indicates that its contents were written in Mantua, where he is likely to have encountered the likes of Monteverdi, Viadana, Gastoldi, Rasi, Salomone Rossi, and Pallavicino.[126] Again, in the preface of *Le Musiche* (1609), Sigismondo recalls his experiences in Florence, 'where his songs were performed and admired by Vittoria Archilei and Giulio Caccini'.[127] He is also known to have travelled to Rome 'where Cardinal Farnese and "the most famous musicians and singers" acclaimed his songs'.[128] Subsequently, Sigismondo returned to Naples, but in 1610 he was in the duchy of Parma and Piacenza where he provided music for festivities.[129]

It was not until 1611, however, that d'India received his first appointment as *Maestro della musica di camera* at the court of Carlo Emanuele I, Duke of Savoy, in Turin, where he remained until 1623. During this period Sigismondo published the vast majority of his work, totalling ten volumes of secular music. Following his departure from Turin in May 1623, d'India once again travelled around Italy for around five months before settling, temporarily, at the Este court at Modena between October 1623 and April 1624.[130] D'India once again resumed his peregrination, moving to Rome and coming under the patronage of Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy (the son of Carlo Emanuele I). Most notably, while d'India was resident in Rome, he composed his *Missa 'Domine, clamavi ad te'* in 1626 for Pope Urban VIII (Henrietta Maria's godfather), which was

[125] *Ibid.*
[126] Watkins, G., ed., *Op. cit.*, 7.
[127] Joyce, J., Watkins, G., *Op. cit.*.
[128] *Ibid.*
[129] *Ibid.*
[130] *Ibid.*

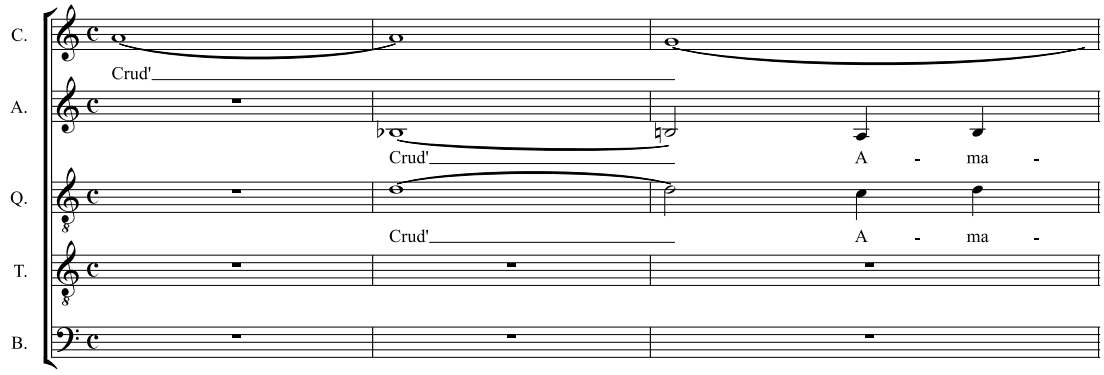
performed with great success in the Cappella Giulia.[131] Early in the same year, he returned to the Este court to take up a permanent position. He is known to have directed his own mass at the funeral of Isabella d'Este in the autumn of 1626 and was still in Modena in April 1627. Joyce and Watkins write that, 'there is further evidence that he [d'India] was given an appointment at the court of Maximilian I of Bavaria, but it is not known if he went there'.[132] It is likely that d'India died sometime before 19 April 1629 at Modena.

D'India composed eight books of madrigals of which Hatton probably owned the first five.[133] Examples from each of these five books will be discussed in the following paragraphs and pertinent examples of d'India's style will be highlighted, especially where there is a parallel with the compositional procedure of Jeffreys.

Steele and Court have commented that d'India emerges as 'a fully mature composer'[134] in his *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a Cinque Voce* (1606), displaying 'an assured command of the *seconda pratica* with its apparatus of chromaticism, innovative but expressive dissonance, declamatory passages and "forbidden" leaps in the individual voices'.[135] By way of confirmation, d'India's madrigal *Crud' Amarilli* can be consulted, particularly the opening bars; this Guarini text had previously been set by Wert (1595), Marenzio (1595), Pallavicino (1600), and Monteverdi (1605). Here, the long drawn-out a′ in the canto is suspended at the dissonant interval of a seventh above the b♭ in the alto, which is followed by a chromatic twist in bar 3 (Ex. 5/2.35).

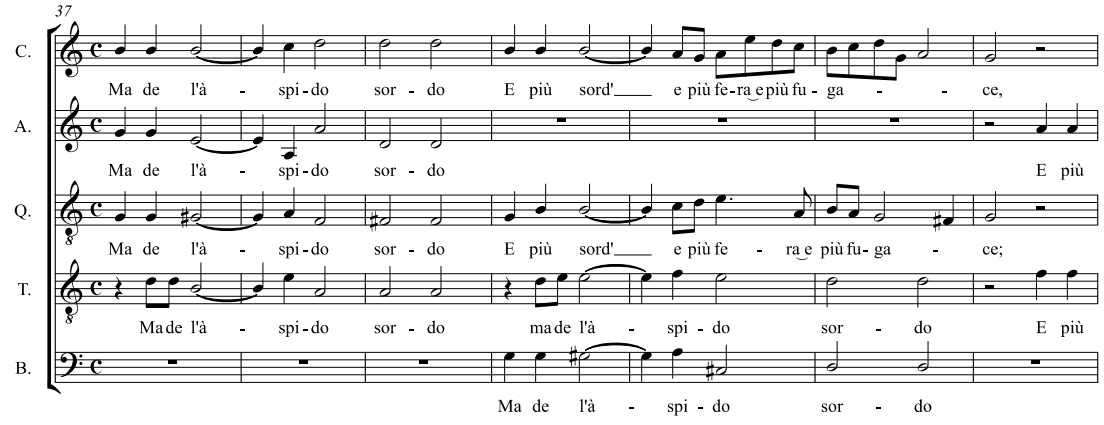
[131] *Ibid.*
[132] *Ibid.*
[133] Joyce and Watkins point out that the sixth book of madrigals does not exist, but that d'India may have regarded the *Musiche e balli* (1621) as equivalent to it.
[134] Steele, J., Court, S., eds., *Sigismondo d'India, The First Five Books of Madrigals*, Volume One: The First Book of Madrigals for Five Voices (New York, 1997), xv.
[135] *Ibid.*, xv.

Example 5/2.35: d'India, *Crud' Amarilli,* bb.1–3[136]



D'India sets the text 'Ma de l' aspido sordo' (art yet than the deaf asp) with the same use of chromatic alteration (bb.38–39 and b.40) and unstable harmonies. There is a succession of 6–3 chords in bars 37–43, which d'India seems to favour over root position chords. The chromatic alterations and false relations (b.41) result in major and minor chords built on the same root (Ex. 5/2.36).

Example 5/2.36: d'India, *Crud' Amarilli,* bb.37–43[137]

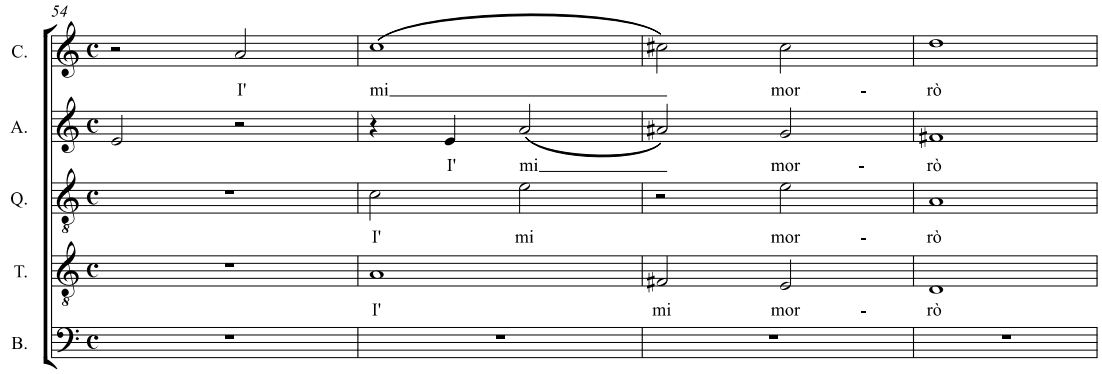


D'India's use of chromaticism can be seen further in his setting of the text 'Poi che col dir t' offend, I' mi morrò tacendo' (Lest I offend thee by my words, I'll silent die) (Ex. 5/2.37). Here

[136] *Ibid.,* 30.
[137] *Ibid.,* 33.

d’India combines tertian harmonies, chromatic alterations, and a diminished triad to produce a startling passage, particularly at the text ‘I’ mi morrò’ (I will die).

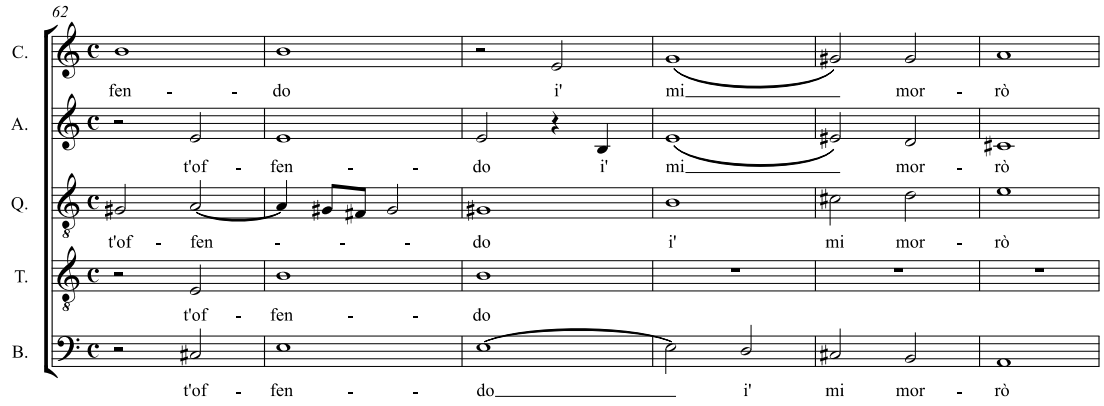
Example 5/2.37: d’India, *Crud’ Amarilli*, bb.54–57[138]



Example 5/2.38 corroborates the features currently under discussion but also includes an example of ‘irrational’ dissonance.[139] At bar 62 the b′ in the canto becomes a seventh as the chord of A major (first inversion) is imposed on it. The text ‘I’ mi morrò’ subsequently returns, which d’India treats almost identically to the procedure described above; the chromatic alteration, tertian harmonies, and diminished triad are all present, however, on beat 3 of bar 65 the bass descends a tone and creates seventh chord (third inversion).

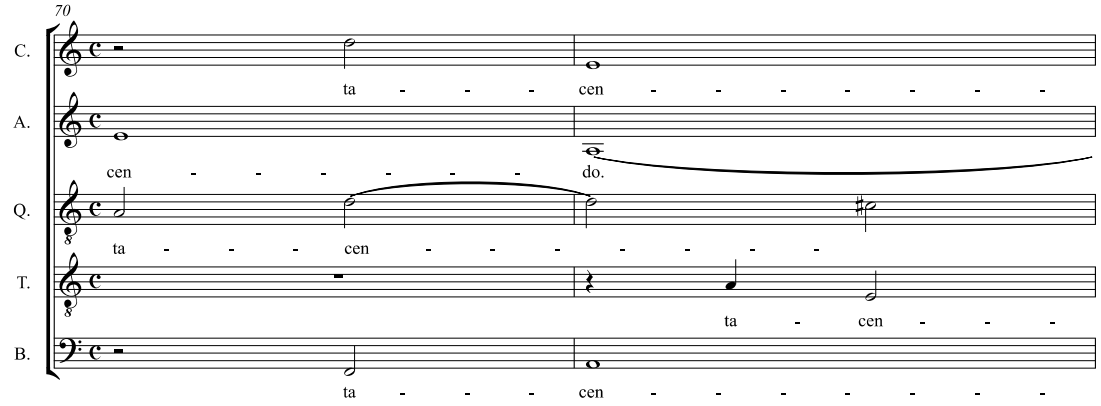
[138] *Ibid.*, 34.
[139] *Ibid.*, xv.

Example 5/2.38: d'India, *Crud' Amarilli,* bb.62–67[140]



The final feature to be highlighted in *Crud' Amarilli* is d'India's inclusion of a descending leap of a seventh in the canto voice at bars 70–71 (Ex. 5/2.39).

Example 5/2.39: d'India, *Crud' Amarilli,* bb.70–71[141]

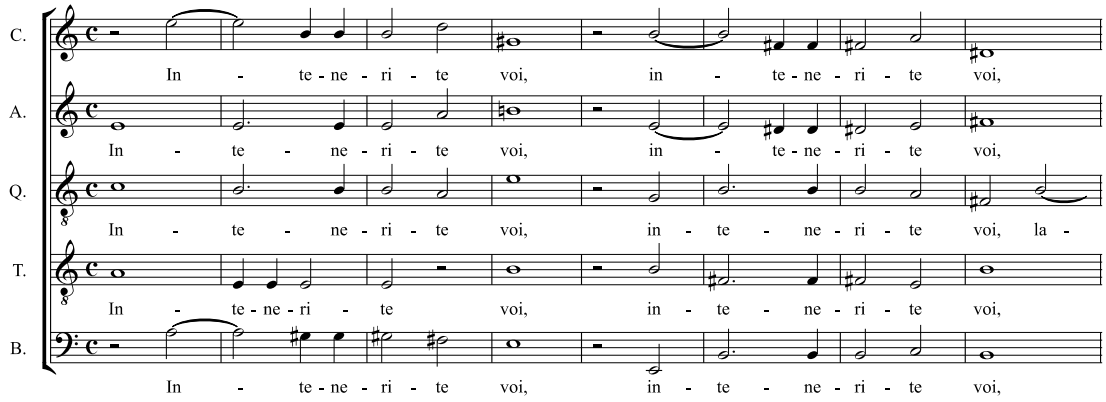


In his setting of *Intenerite voi, lagrime mie* d'India 'deploys resources of chromaticism and dissonance like a manifesto'.[142] The first statement of the text 'Intenerite voi' begins on A minor and cadences on the dominant chord of E major; the text is then repeated and again moves from

[140] *Ibid.,* 35.
[141] *Ibid.,* 35.
[142] *Ibid.,* xvi.

E major to its dominant B major. Alongside the 4–3 suspensions, a noticeable feature is the descending diminished fifth leaps in the canto (Ex. 5/2.40).

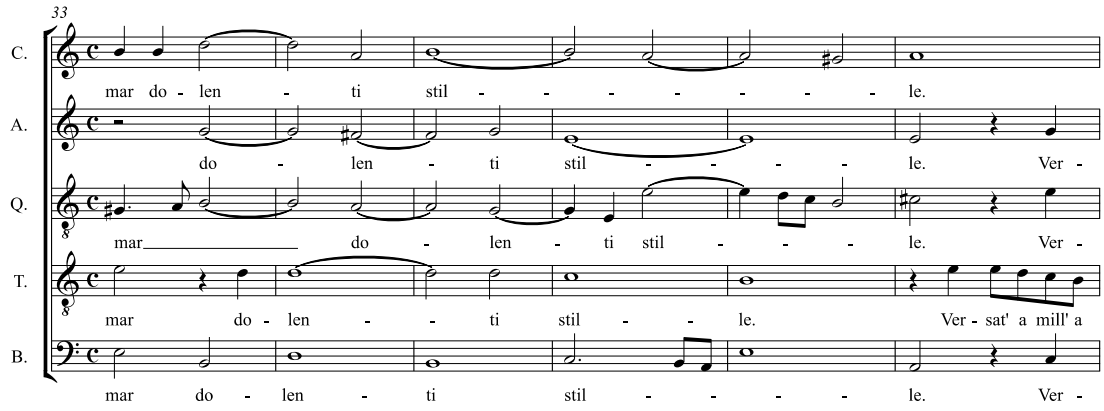
Example 5/2.40: d'India, *Intenerite voi, lagrime* mie, bb.1–8[143]



The passage highlighted in example 5/2.41 demonstrates d'India's use of suspensions and dissonance, in which he creates a rich harmonic sound at the text 'un mar dolente stille' (sorrowing drops a sea of woe). At bar 35 d'India includes a double suspension—6–5 4–♯3—which is followed by the chords of B^7 and C^7, before a final perfect cadence to A major, decorated with a 4–♯3 suspension. Such a response depicts the sorrow of the text.

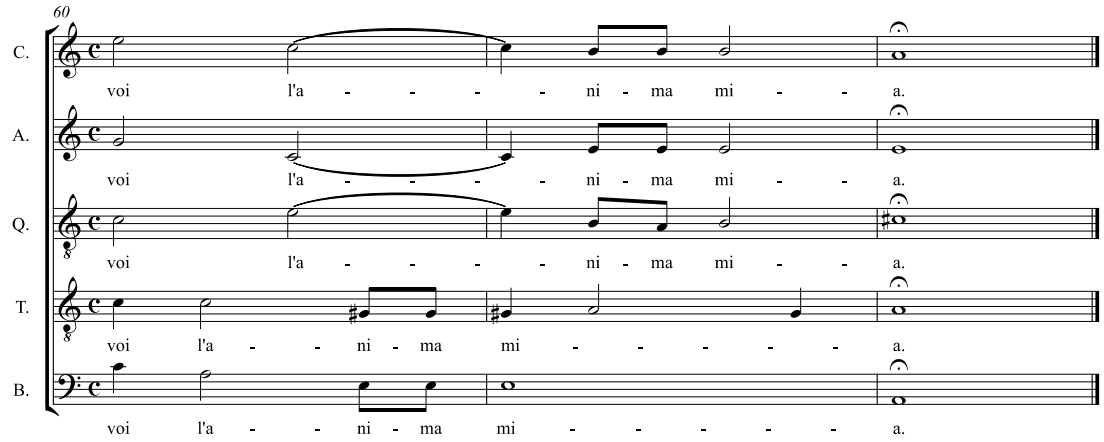
[143] *Ibid.*, 1.

Example 5/2.41: d'India, *Intenerite voi, lagrime* mie, bb.33–38[144]



This madrigal climaxes in the final bars with unprepared and unresolved dissonances. On beat 2 of bar 60 there is a passing dissonance of a seventh (the g′ of the alto) which is followed by an augmented chord (in first inversion) on beat 4. The C augmented chord is held over into bar 61 where the sixth is exchanged for the fifth (canto), creating an E major triad. The g♯ in the tenor rises to an a, which is suspended against the b of the quinto, before finally resolving to E major where the madrigal concludes with a perfect cadence to A major (Ex. 5/2.42).

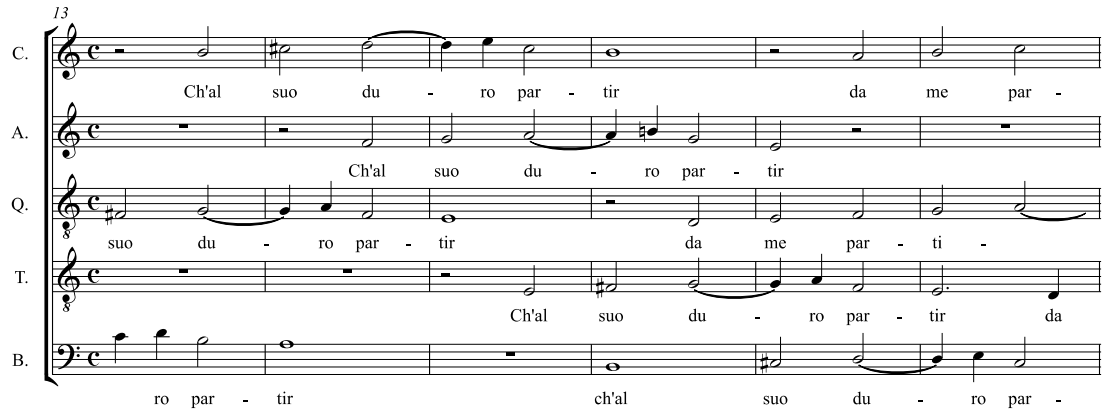
Example 5/2.42: d'India, *Intenerite voi, lagrime* mie, bb.60–62[145]



[144] *Ibid.*, 3–4.
[145] *Ibid.*, 5.

The passage between bars 13–18 of *Al partir del mio Sole* illustrates d'India's irregular resolutions of dissonance (Ex. 5/2.43). Time and again, instead of the ostensible suspended note descending a tone it rises a tone, resolving the dissonance but in an unconventional way.

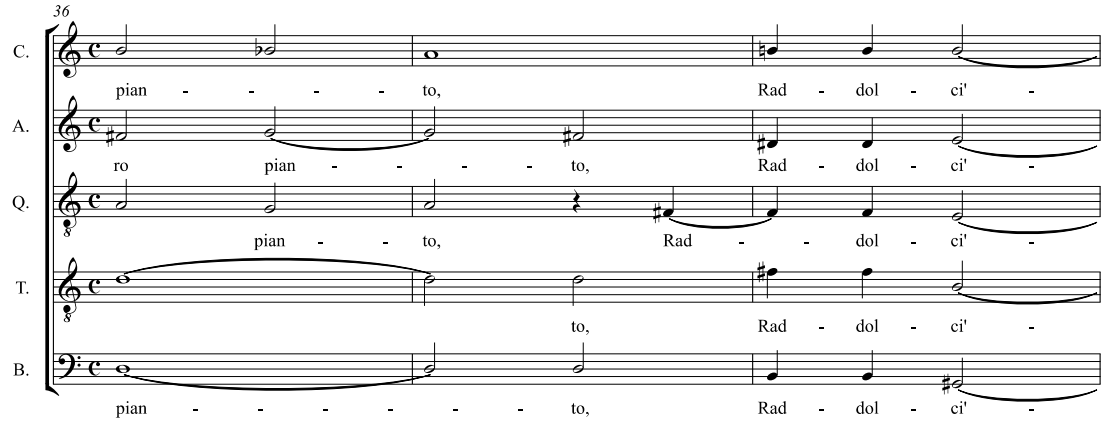
Example 5/2.43: d'India, *Al partir del mio Sole*, bb.13–18[146]



Later on in this madrigal, d'India reserves his most chromatic treatment for the text 'd'amaro pianto' (bitter suffering) (Ex. 5/2.44). At bar 36 there is a juxtaposition between the chords of D major and G minor, achieved in part through chromatic alteration in the canto; this is compounded by an abrupt tertian shift of harmony at bar 38, with the introduction of a new line of text where the madrigal moves from D major to B major.

[146] *Ibid.*, 7.

Example 5/2.44: d'India, *Al partir del mio Sole*, bb.36–38[147]

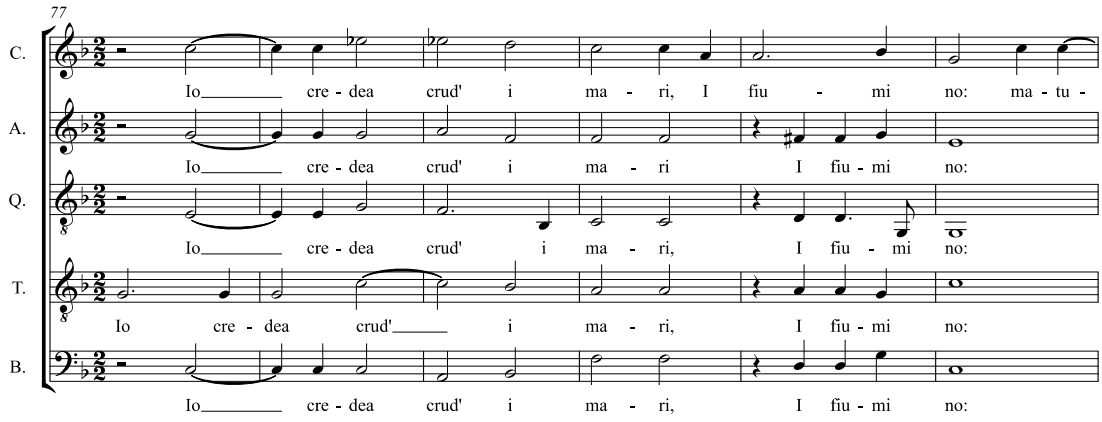


While chromatic alteration can be found in the madrigal *Fiume, ch'a l'onde tue*, it is largely dependent on the juxtaposition of false relations rather than the direct employment of chromaticism. Example 5/2.45 shows the false relation between E–E♭, resulting in the chord of C major followed immediately by C minor (b.78). Similarly, there is a false relation between F–F♯ in the bars that follow. However, instead of major and minor chords built on the same root, this false relation is bound up with the tertian shift of harmony from F major to D major (bb.80–81).[148]

[147] *Ibid.*, 9.

[148] For other examples of chromaticism and striking dissonances in Book I see especially: *Parlo, miser, o taccio?* and *Quasi tra rose e gigli*.

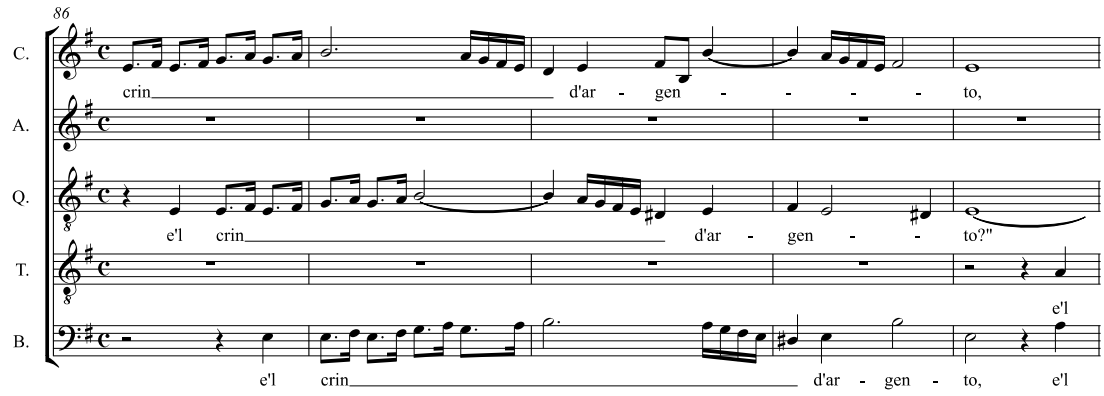
Example 5/2.45: d'India, *Fiume, ch' a l' onde tue*, bb.77–82[149]



The final madrigal of Book I is *Filli, mirando il cielo* which is certainly the most virtuosic of the collection, and is, with the exception of a basso continuo, virtually a *concertato* madrigal.[150] The closing section of the madrigal contains some of the most demanding virtuosity (Ex. 5/2.46). Interestingly, the three voices that are singled out for this treatment include the basso and the dotted quaver figure, in particular, is reminiscent of Jeffreys' writing for the bass voice. The virtuosic display here bears little relation to the text 'e 'l crin d' argento' (silver hair) and is purely intended to demonstrate the technical skill and agility of the performers.

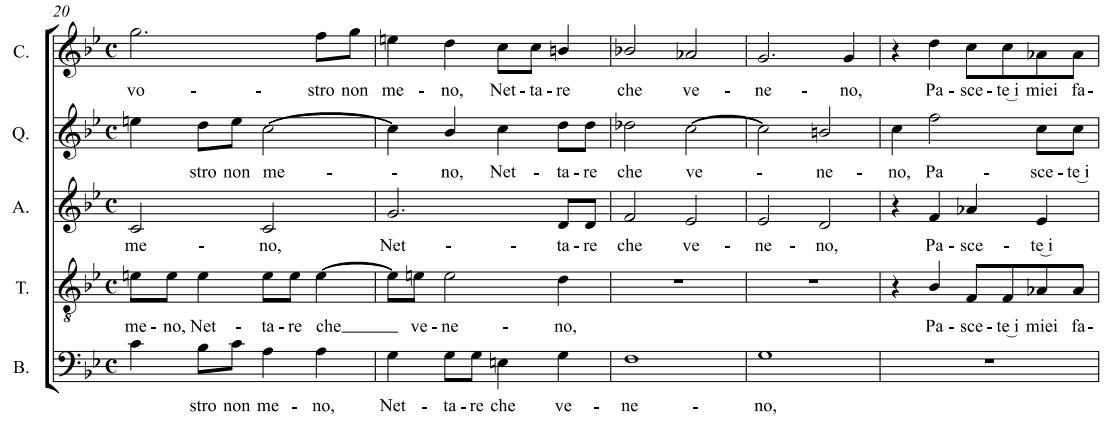
[149] Steele, J., Court, S., eds., *Sigismondo d'India, The First Five Books of Madrigals*, Volume One: The First Book of Madrigals for Five Voices (New York, 1997), 49–50.
[150] *Ibid*., xvii.

Example 5/2.46: d'India, *Filli, mirando il cielo*, bb.86–90[151]



In his *Il Secondo Libro de Madrigali a Cinque Voce* (1611) d'India tends 'to deploy chromaticism more for its immediate sensuous effect than for emotional expression'.[152] For example, d'India's treatment of the words 'nettare' (nectar) and 'veneno' (poison) in *Tornate, o cari baci* (bb.20–24) reveals such a concern (Ex. 5/2.47).

Example 5/2.47: d'India, *Tornate, o cari baci*, bb.20–24[153]

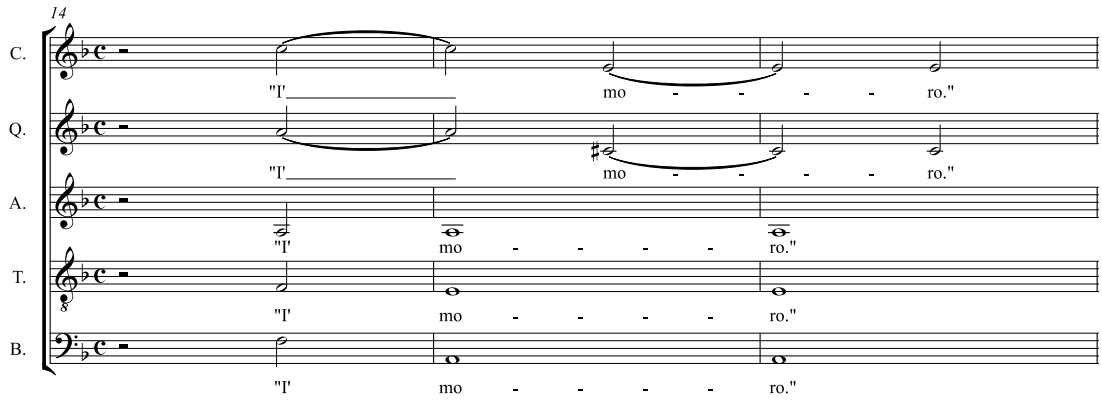


In the madrigal *Sentiasi Eurillo* similar examples of sensuous chromaticism can be found. In example 5/2.48 the chromatic alteration leads to the seemingly familiar progression of a tertiary

[151] *Ibid.*, 99–100.
[152] Steele, J., Court, S., eds., *Sigismondo d'India, The First Five Books of Madrigals*, Volume Two: The Second Book of Madrigals for Five Voices (New York, 1997), xv.
[153] *Ibid.*, 20.

shift followed by a triad with a third chromatically altered. In this instance the resultant chord progression is F major, A minor, A major. The text here is again associated with death—'I' moro' (I die)—and provokes in d'India an almost perfunctory musical response.

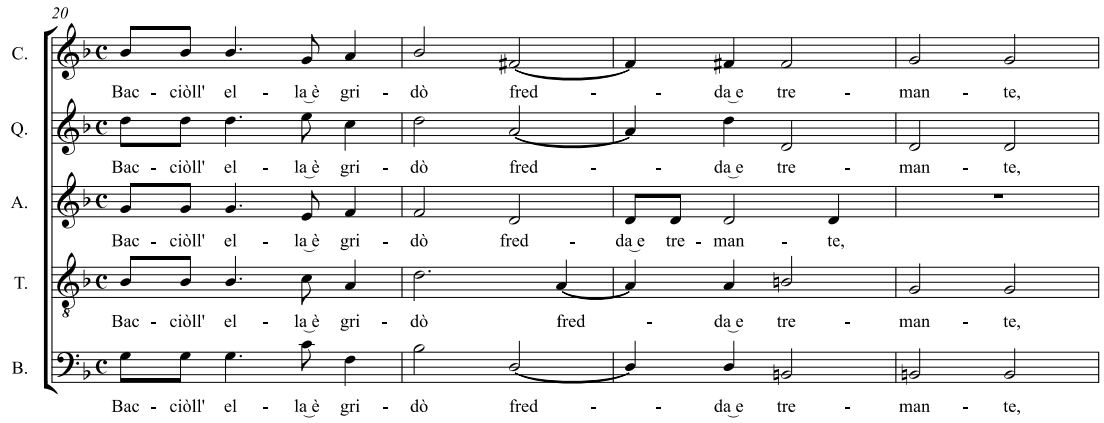
Example 5/2.48: d'India, *Sentiasi Eurillo*, bb.14–16[154]



Likewise, the passage illustrated in example 5/2.49 contains a number of chromatic alterations that are required for the repeated tertiary shifts of harmony. The passage opens with a tertiary move from G minor to B♭ major and thereafter continues to D major, B minor, and then to G major.

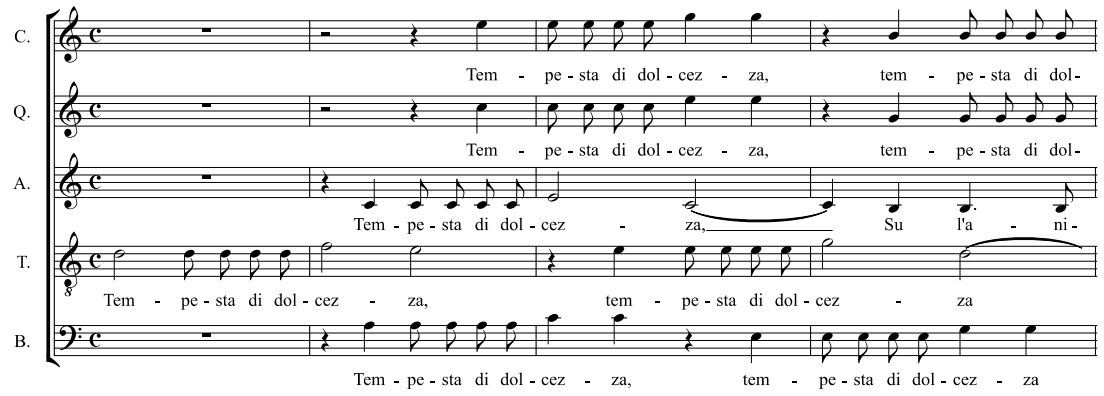
[154] *Ibid*., 97.

Example 5/2.49: d'India, *Sentiasi Eurillo*, bb.20–23[155]



Watkins has suggested that in d'India's Book II 'the most characteristic trait is the insistent use of syllabic patterns in quavers that show a pronounced proclivity to settle into *parlando* recitation'.[156] To exemplify his claim, Watkins draws attention to the opening bars of the madrigal *Tempesta di dolcezza*: the declamatory style here provides textual clarity and strengthens its affective purpose (Ex. 5/2.50).[157]

Example 5/2.50: d'India, *Tempesta di dolcezza*, bb.1–4[158]



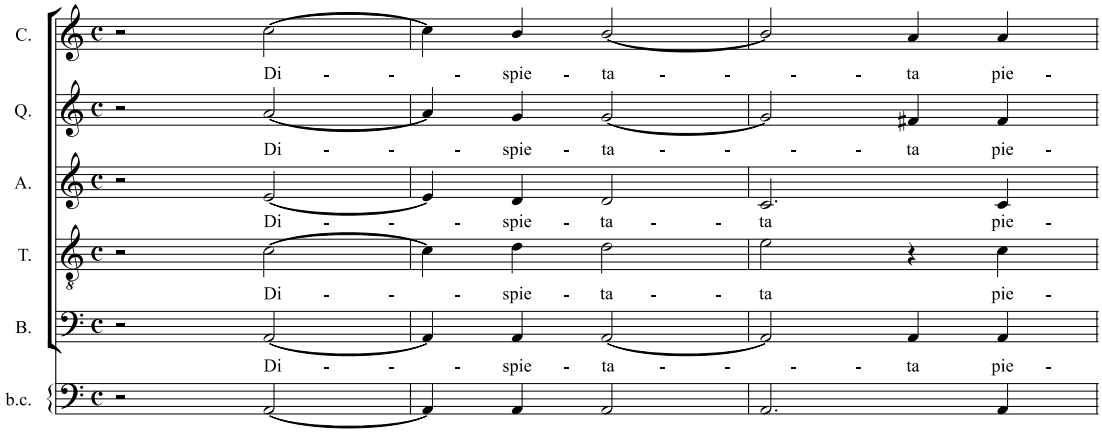
[155] *Ibid.*, 97.
[156] Watkins, G., 'D'India the Peripatetic', *Con che soavità: Studies in Italian Opera, Song, and Dance, 1580–1740*, eds. Iain Fenlon and Tim Carter (Oxford, 1995), 50.
[157] See also: *Fuggi, fuggi, mio core* and *Hor che lungi da voi*.
[158] Watkins, G., *Op. cit.*, 'D'India the Peripatetic', 51.

By the time his *Il Terzo Libro de Madrigali a Cinque Voce* (1615) was published, d'India was well-enough equipped as a composer to try his hand at the newly fashionable *concertato* madrigal. Indeed, the final eight pieces of this publication are entirely in that manner.[159] Moreover, this publication includes a basso continuo part, which is essential for the performance of the madrigals and is, perhaps, one of the most progressive features hitherto discussed. However, a traceable line of development can be discerned:

> The first twelve madrigals continue and expand the tendencies that we can observe from the First Book onwards: unprepared yet logical and emphasised dissonance, a wide range of chromatic alteration and affective leaps in the voices.[160]

In the opening bars of *Dispietata pietate*, the first madrigal of this collection, d'India introduces passing but long-held dissonant chords against the pedal A of the basso to reflect expressively the sentiment of the text (Ex. 5/2.51).[161]

Example 5/2.51: d'India, *Dispietata pietate*, bb.1–3[162]

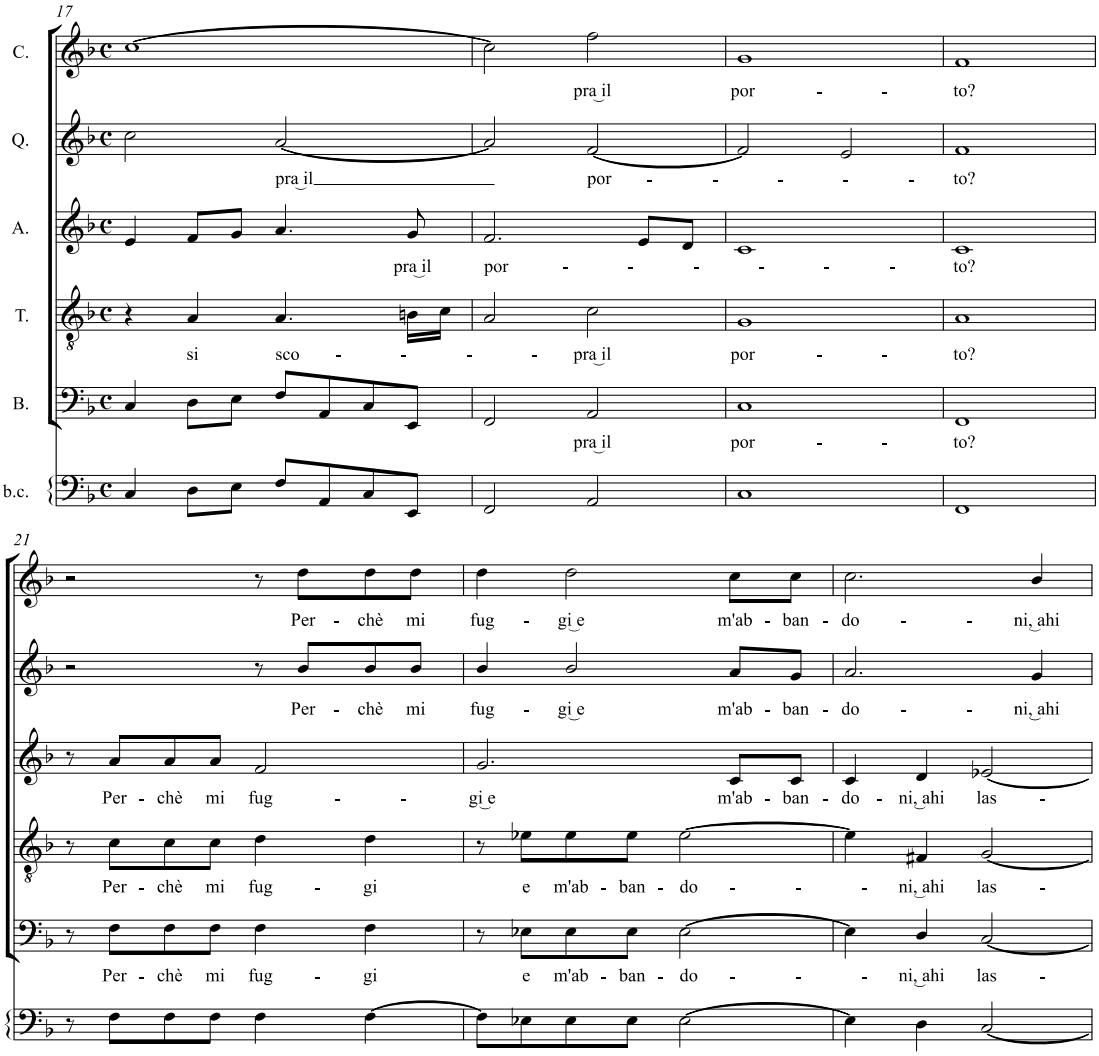


The following madrigal, *Dove, ah dove t'en vai?*, illustrates d'India's employment of manneristic vocal leaps, which appear with some frequency in all the different voices. At bar 17

[159] Steele, J., Court, S., eds., *Sigismondo d'India, The First Five Books of Madrigals*, Volume Three: The Third Book of Madrigals for Five Voices (New York, 1998), xv.
[160] *Ibid.*, xv.
[161] *Ibid.*, xv.
[162] *Ibid.*, 1.

the basso introduces a motive that includes two descending leaps of a minor sixth, at bars 18–19 the canto has a descending leap of a minor seventh and, similarly, at bars 22–23 the tenore has a descending leap of a diminished seventh (Ex. 5/2.52).

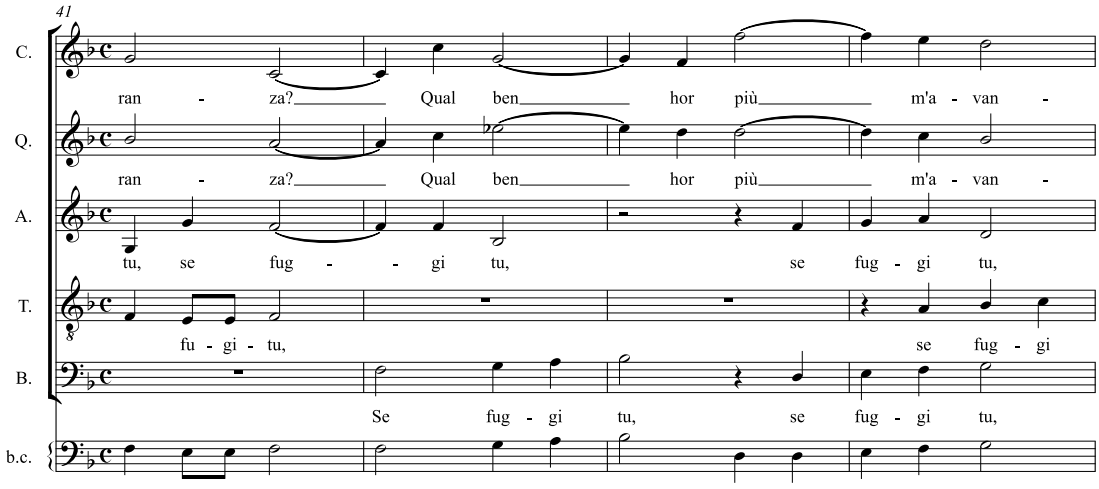
Example 5/2.52: d'India, *Dove, ah dove t'en vai?*, bb.17–23[163]



Furthermore, there is a sequence of octave leaps in the canto later on in this madrigal that is worthy of note, confirming d'India's use of leaps for expressive purposes (Ex. 5/2.53).

[163] *Ibid.*, 11–12.

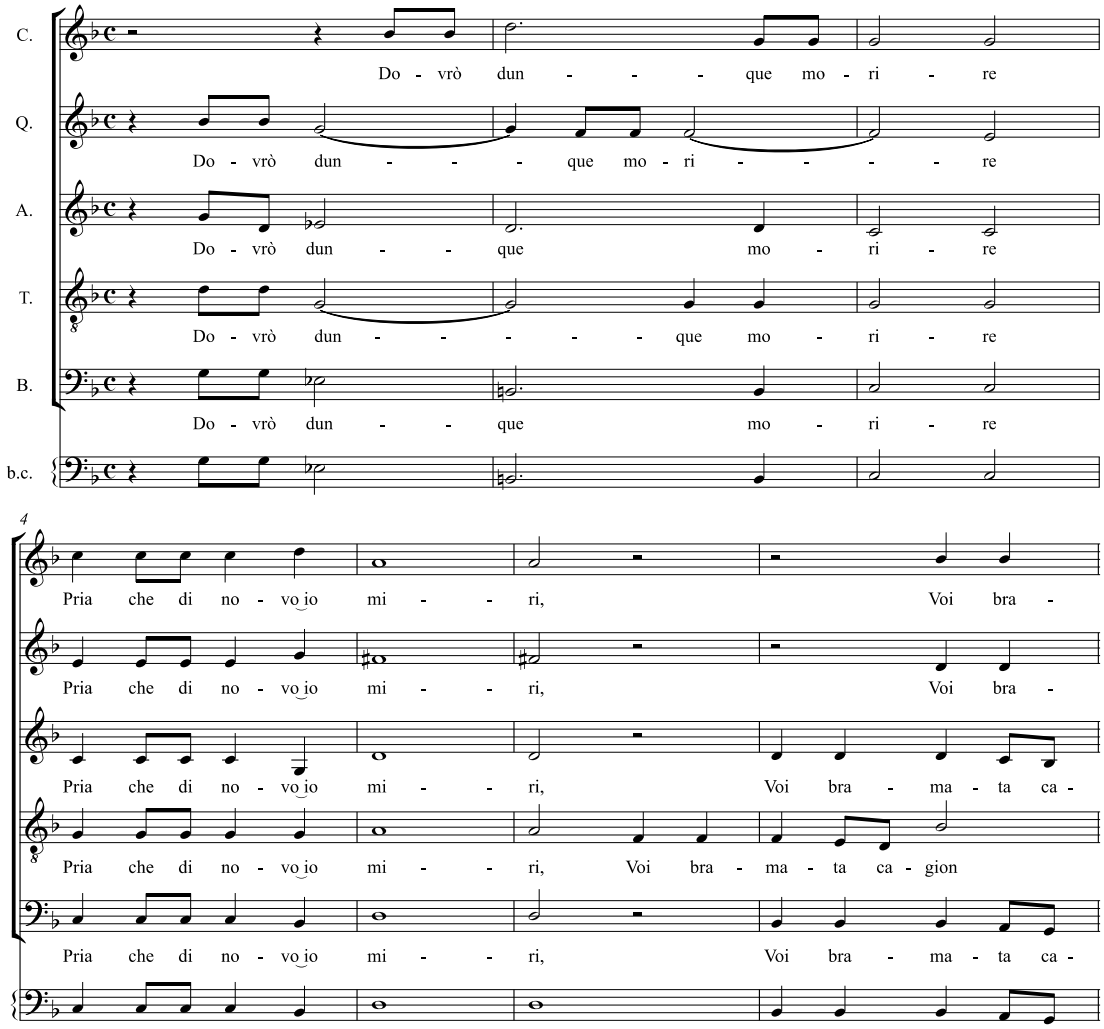
Example 5/2.53: d'India, *Dove, ah dove t'en vai?*, bb.41–43[164]



The madrigal *Dovrò dunque morire* exemplifies d'India's use of chromatic alteration in this collection, where he introduces excursions towards C minor and major, D, B♭, F, G, E♭, all within the space of 51 bars.[165] Example 5/2.54 elucidates precisely this use of chromatic alteration: the stability of the movement from the opening G minor to D major in bars 5–6 is subverted by the introduction of closely juxtaposed false relations, such as the G minor – E♭ major – G major progression in bars 1–2. Additionally, the imperfect cadence to D major is followed by a tertian shift of harmony to B♭ major. Moreover, there is a preponderance of diminished interval voice leaps in this madrigal which are featured from the very opening bars (basso, bb.1–2).

[164] *Ibid.*, 15.
[165] *Ibid.*, xv.

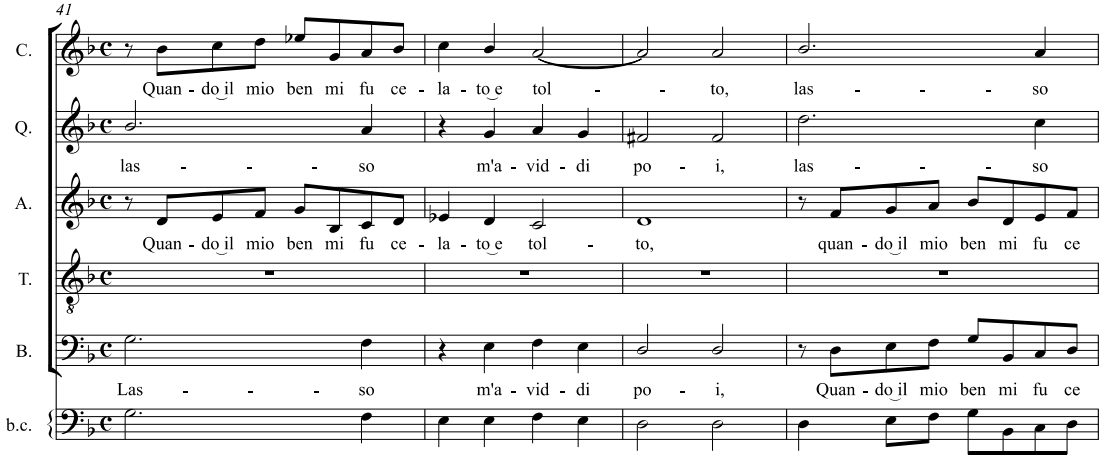
Example 5/2.54: d'India, *Dovrò dunque morire,* bb.1–7[166]



D'India's employment of closely juxtaposed false relations and tertian harmonies is taken to further extremes in *Ardemmo insieme*, 'into intractable problems of *musica ficta*'.[167] Between bars 41–44 of this madrigal there is an oscillation between E♮–E♭ and F♮–F♯, and the tertiary chord progression, F major – D major – B♭ major, is clearly evident (Ex. 5/2.55).

[166] *Ibid.*, 17–18.
[167] *Ibid.*, xvi.

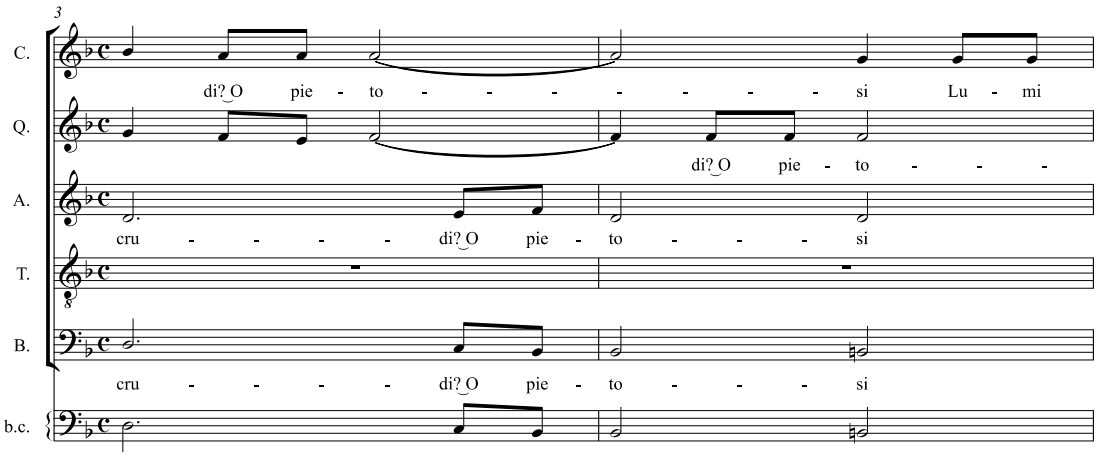
Example 5/2.55: d'India, *Ardemmo insieme*, bb.41–44[168]



Like d'India's setting of *Dovrò dunque morire, Perché non mi mirate?* includes a wide range of tonal excursions, particularly given its brevity. However, it also includes an example of direct chromaticism in bar 4 which is compounded by d'India's use of consecutive seventh chords. At the text 'O pietosi' (compassionate) there is a chromatic alteration in the basso from b♭ to b♮, above which the chords B♭^{7} and G^7 are constructed respectively (Ex. 5/2.56).[169]

[168] *Ibid.*, 55.
[169] See also *O fugace, o superba*.

Example 5/2.56: d'India, *Perché non mi mirate?*, bb.3–4[170]

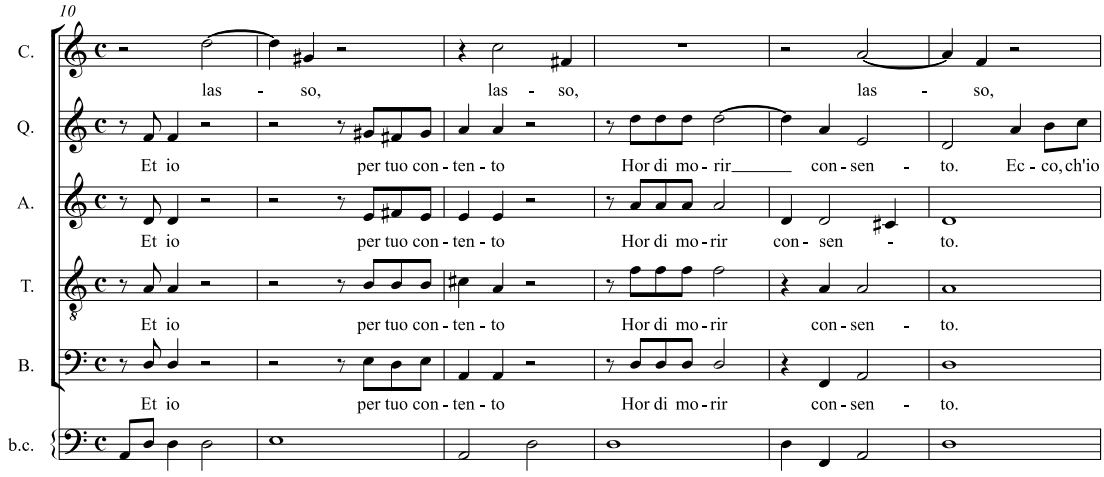


D'India's use of *contrapposto* has already been alluded to, but this compositional device perhaps manifests itself most pronouncedly in Book III. *Contrapposto* is 'the simultaneous juxtaposition of different texts, frequently with dramatic intent and not as the natural consequence of dovetailing phrases'.[171] The adoption of a true continuo allows a freedom in the vocal parts which, in part, makes it possible for d'India to utilise fully the technique of *contrapposto*. If attention is turned back to example 5/2.55, the text 'Quando il mio ben mi fu celato e tolto' (When my fair one was lost to me), presented in the canto and alto parts, is juxtaposed with the text 'Lasso m' avidi poi' (Ah! Later growing wise), stated by the quinto and basso; each text is inextricably bound with its corresponding musical motive. The same compositional procedure can be found in *'Lasso', dicea Fileno* (Ex. 5/2.57). Here, the musical figures are much shorter but d'India's dramatic intent and portrayal of the text is adroit: the canto's reiterated descending leap of a diminished fifth dramatically depicts the sighing of the Fileno, 'Lasso' (Alas) while, simultaneously, the lower four voices interpolate the canto's sighs in a homophonic texture with

[170] Steele, J., Court, S., eds., *Sigismondo d'India, The First Five Books of Madrigals*, Volume Three: The Third Book of Madrigals for Five Voices (New York, 1998), 62–63.
[171] Watkins, G., *Op. cit.*, 'D'India the Peripatetic', 52.

the text ‘Et io per tuo contento hor di morir consento’ (So to content thee, I consent straightaway to die).[172]

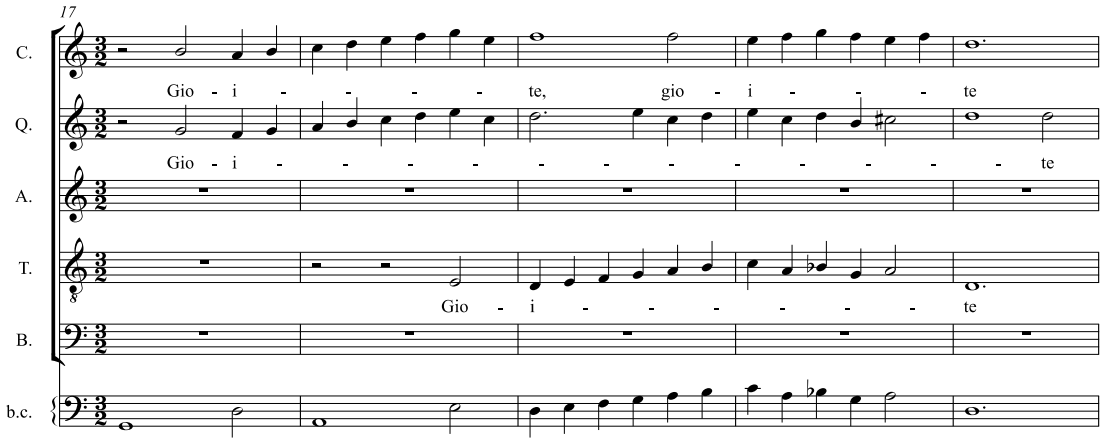
Example 5/2.57: d’India, *‘Lasso’, dicea Fileno*, bb.10–15[173]



The madrigal *Ombrose e care selve* exemplifies d’India’s adherence to the *concertato* style and includes contrasting triple-time sections that are included in response to the text.[174] Example 5/2.58 demonstrates d’India’s switch to triple time at the text ‘Gioite anco al gioire’ (Rejoice now with our joy).

[172] See also *Pargoletta è colei*.
[173] Steele, J., Court, S., eds., *Sigismondo d’India, The First Five Books of Madrigals*, Volume Three: The Third Book of Madrigals for Five Voices (New York, 1998), 126–127.
[174] See also *Indarno Febo*.

Example 5/2.58: d'India, *Ombrose e care selve*, bb.17–21[175]

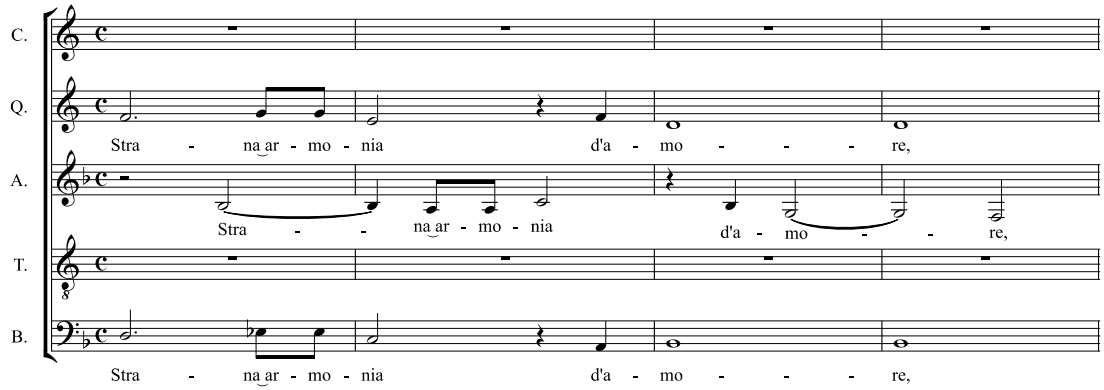


D'India's *Il Quarto Libro de Madrigali a Cinque Voce* (1617) has been described as a 'testament to a retrospective madrigal tradition',[176] largely because of his abandonment of a basso continuo and his 'wholehearted adoption of polyphonic writing'.[177] This collection contains d'India's most curious work, the madrigal *Strana armonia d'amore*, which is a setting of Marino's poem. Watkins has commented that 'it is the virtuouso manipulation of harmony virtually demanded by the *capoverso* that marks the whole and that easily earns for this madrigal recognition as the most fanciful chromatic statement in the composer's entire output'.[178] A striking feature of this madrigal, albeit one that is reminiscent of Rore and decisively outdated,[179] is the conflicting key signatures; the canto, quinto, and tenore have a key signature of no flats or sharps, while the alto and basso have a key signature of one flat. Consequently, d'India's proclivity for juxtaposed

[175] Steele, J., Court, S., eds., *Sigismondo d'India, The First Five Books of Madrigals*, Volume Three: The Third Book of Madrigals for Five Voices (New York, 1998), 115–16.
[176] Steele, J., Court, S., eds., *Sigismondo d'India, The First Five Books of Madrigals*, Volume Four: The Fourth Book of Madrigals for Five Voices (New York, 1999), xv.
[177] *Ibid*., xv. It is a curious phenomenon that d'India does not return to the *concertato* style until his *L' Ottavo Libro de Madrigali a Cinque Voce* (1624).
[178] Watkins, G., 'Sigismondo D'India and Marino: "Strana armonia d'amore"', *The Sense of Marino: Literature, Fine Arts, and Music of the Italian Baroque*, ed. Francesco Guardiani (Ottawa, 1994), 502.
[179] See Rore's *Crudele acerba inexorabil morte*.

false relations is further exploited in this madrigal, which he uses an expressive device (Ex. 5/2.59).

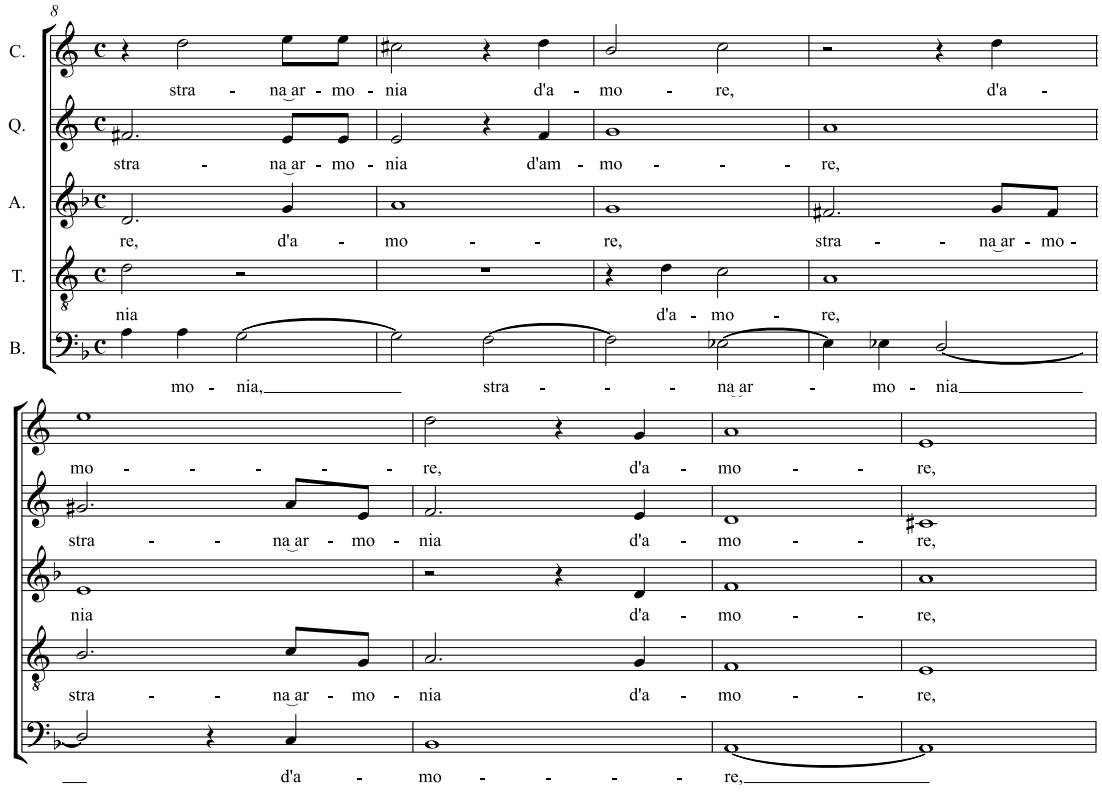
Example 5/2.59: d'India, *Strana armonia d'amore*, bb.1–4[180]



Example 5/2.60 gives some indication of the harmonic resource, irregular dissonances, and general bizarreness that d'India employs, undoubtedly as a commitment to the textual sentiments. At bar 9, for example, the dissonance created by the seventh chord in third inversion, resolves in an unconventional manner. Indeed, between bars 9–12 there is a series of seventh chords, all in third inversion, complete with chromatic alterations, and irregular resolutions. Moreover, on the first beat of bar 11 there is a diminished seventh chord in third inversion, while in bar 13 the B♭ major ^{7} chord progresses to a chord of E half-diminished ^{7} in second inversion.

[180] Steele, J., Court, S., eds., *Sigismondo d'India, The First Five Books of Madrigals*, Volume Four: The Fourth Book of Madrigals for Five Voices (New York, 1999), 65.

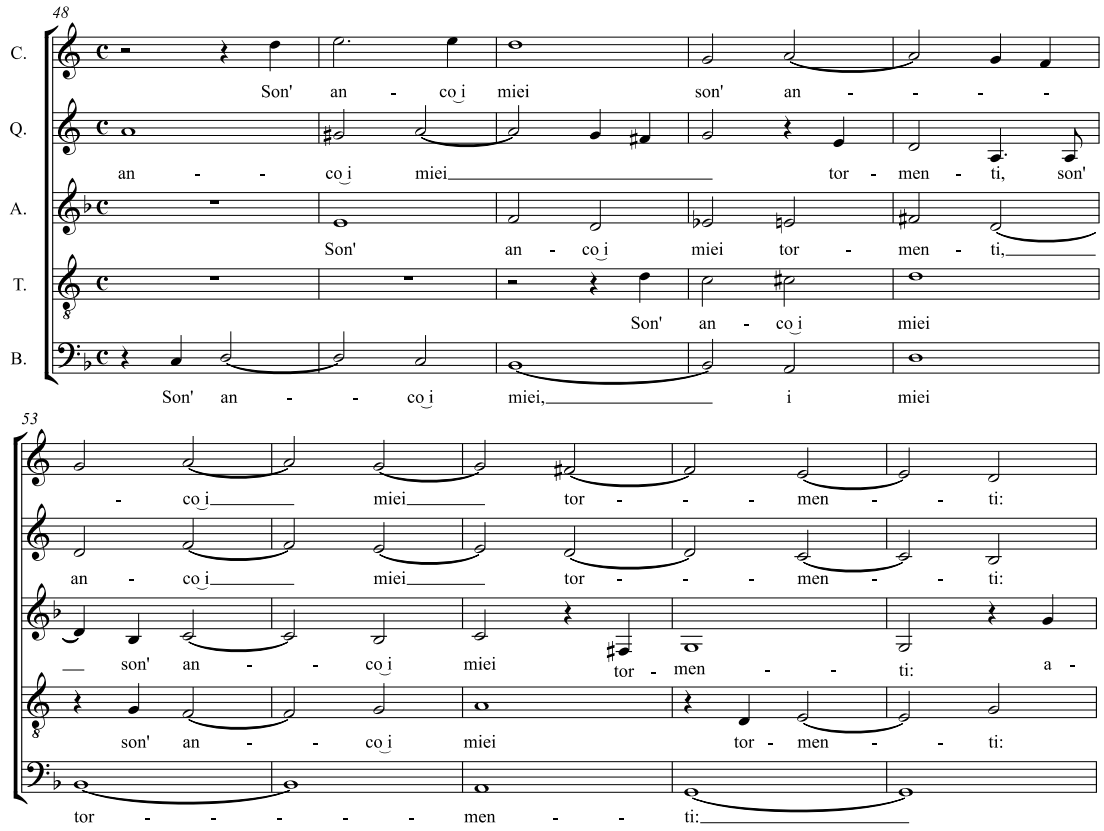
Example 5/2.60: d'India, *Strana armonia d'amore*, bb.8–15[181]



The most innovative use of dissonance, however, is reserved for the repeated settings of 'tormenti', which become increasingly more intense.[182] Particularly worthy of note in example 5/2.61 are the augmented fourths and seconds/ninths that are combined with sixth and sevenths to create rich harmonies. Also present are false relations (b.50) and chromatic alterations (b.51). D'India's use of suspensions is also a pertinent feature of this passage: at bars 53–54 there is a 9–8 7–6 double suspension followed by two chromatically altered 7–6 suspensions in bars 55–56; the passage concludes with a 6–5 4–3 double suspension.

[181] *Ibid.*, 65–66.
[182] *Ibid.*, xvi.

Example 5/2.61: d'India, *Strana armonia d'amore*, bb.48–57[183]

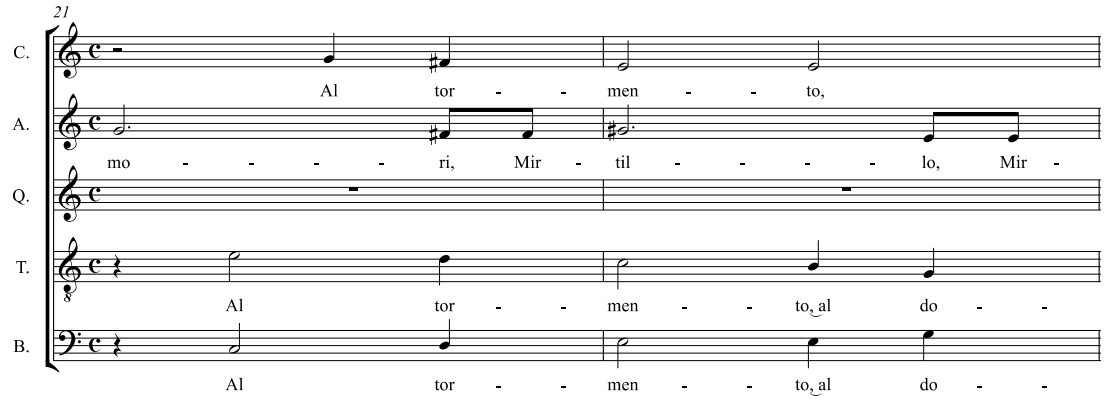


Steele and Court have suggested that because *Strana armonia d'amore* 'is intensely expressive in its harmonic and chromatic devices'[184] that it could possibly indicate 'a direct assessment of the Gesualdo legacy'.[185]

The final feature to comment on from Book IV is d'India's propensity for augmented and dimished chords, which appear with regular frequency. For example, in bar 22 in *Ma che tardi, Mirtillo?* d'India features a C augmented chord in first inversion (Ex. 5/2.62).

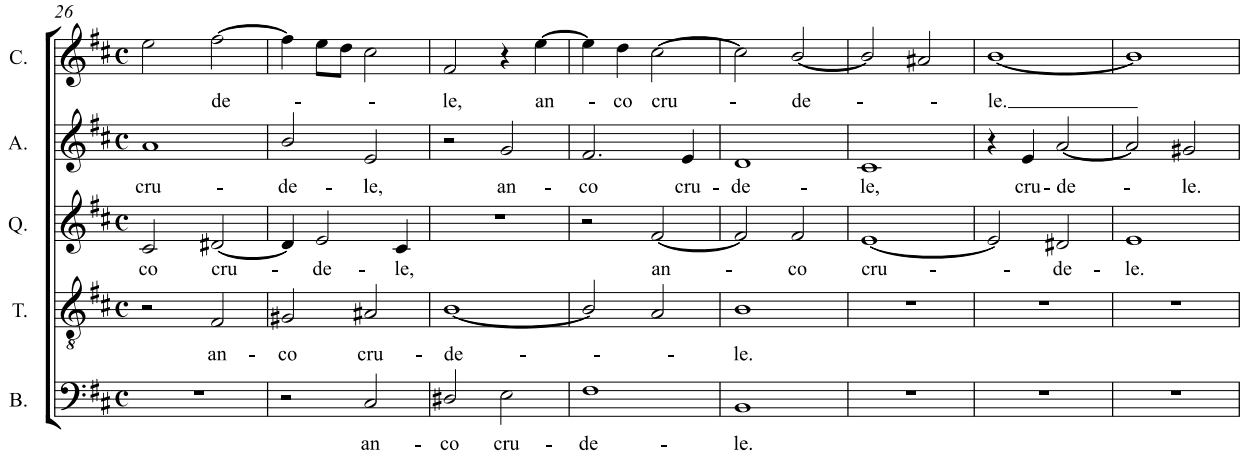
[183] *Ibid.*, 68–69.
[184] *Ibid.*, xvi.
[185] *Ibid.*, xvi.

Example 5/2.62: d'India, *Ma che tardi, Mirtillo?*, bb.21–22[186]



In *Nei vostri dolci baci*, d'India responds to the text 'l'api anco crudele' (the cruel sting of bees) with a progression of diminished triads in long drawn-out note values (b.26, b.27, and b.31). There is also a series of suspensions that runs through bars 29–31, one in each bar: 9–8, 9–8, 7–♯6 respectively (Ex. 5/2.63).

Example 5/2.63: d'India, *Nei vostri dolci baci*, bb.26–33[187]



D'India's *Il Quinto Libro de Madrigali a Cinque Voce* (1616) is, like Book IV, a retrospective collection; the continuo accompaniment has again been abandoned. None of d'India's

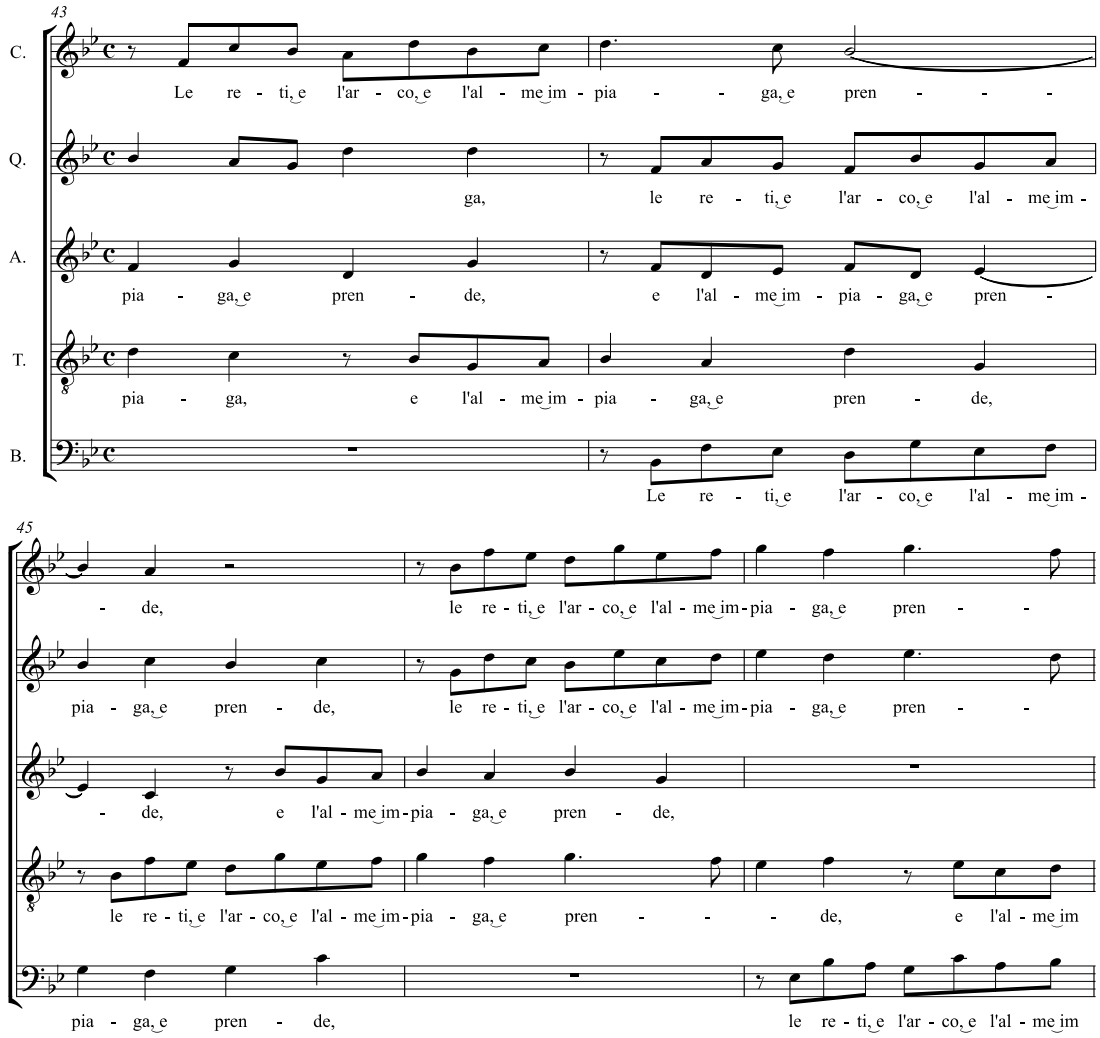
[186] *Ibid.*, 53.
[187] *Ibid.*, 15.

publications achieved the same level of success as his *Il Libro Primo dei Madrigali a Cinque Voce,* which was reprinted a number of times (1607 and 1610).[188] The contents of Book V are in the same vein as Book IV, sharing compositional procedures that look back to a previous generation, particularly his adoption of unaccompanied polyphonic writing. D'India's use of *contrapposto* is once again prominent in this collection and it is used deliberately in *Quel neo, quel vago neo* for dramatic purposes. D'India presents the text 'Le reti, e l'arco, e l'alme impiaga, e prende' (to wound and capture you with bows and nets) in a quasi-polyphonic texture, where the associated music to each part of the text is presented simultaneously in an intricate working of the phrase (Ex. 5/2.64).[189]

[188] See Fortune, N., 'Sigismondo d'India: an Introduction to His Life and Works', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 81st sess. (1954–1955), 29–47.

[189] Steele, J., Court, S., eds., *Sigismondo d'India, The First Five Books of Madrigals,* Volume Five: The Fifth Book of Madrigals for Five Voices (New York, 2000), xv.

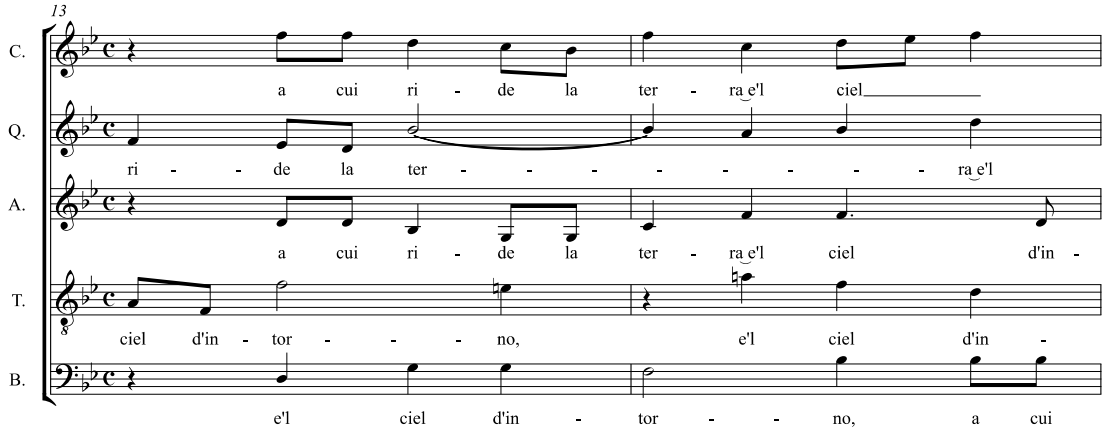
Example 5/2.64: d'India, *Qual neo, quell vago neo*, bb.43–47[190]



There is little by way of innovation to comment on from Book V but rather more of a continuation of compositional devices that are by now familiar. Examples of irrational and compound dissonances can be seen in bars 13–14 of *Felice Primavera* (Ex. 5/2.65) and in bars 29–31 of *Fuggio quell disleale* (Ex. 5/2.66). In example 5/2.65, d'India features accented passing notes, such as the e♭′ of the quinto and the c′′ of the canto in bar 13, which create passing dissonances.

[190] *Ibid.*, 23–24.

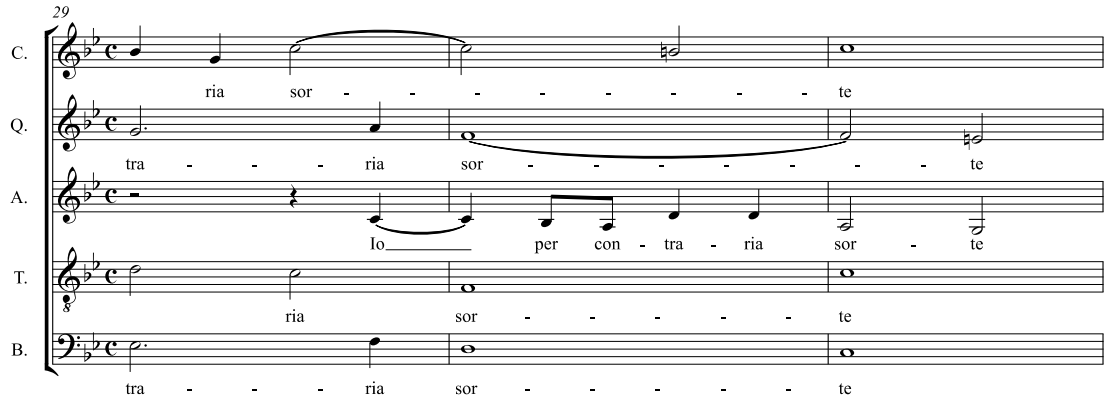
Example 5/2.65: d'India, *Felice Primavera*, bb.13–14[191]



The dissonance featured in example 5/2.66 is a result of d'India's simultaneous presentation of suspensions, which do not always resolve conventionally. In bar 29 there is a 7–6 suspension, which is followed, in bar 30 by two 7–6 suspensions: the first is the suspended c′ in the alto part on beat one which resolves to the b♭ on beat two; the second is the suspended c′′ in the canto, imposed over the top of the other suspension, which resolves to the chromatically altered b♮′, creating a diminished triad in first inversion. The passage resolves with a 6–5 4–3 double suspension in bar 31.

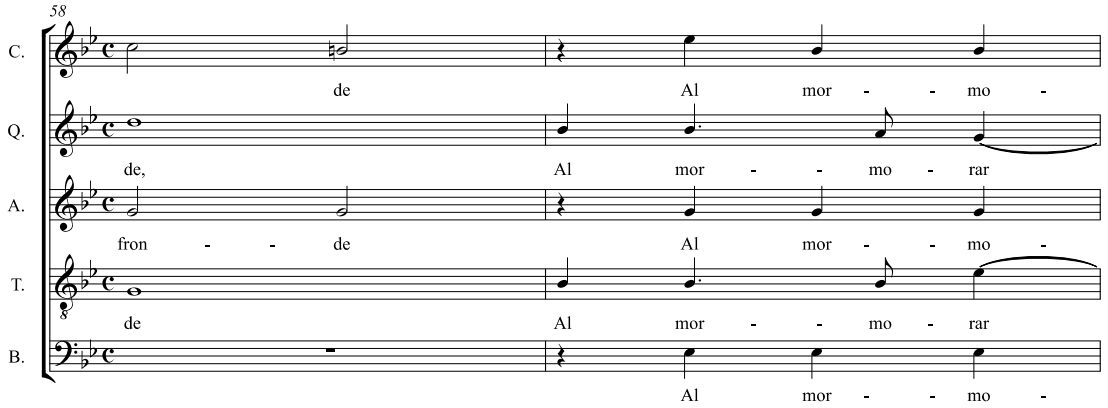
[191] *Ibid.*, 2.

Example 5/2.66: d'India, *Fuggio quell disleale*, bb.29–31[192]



The false relations that were so prominent in Book IV continue to appear frequently in Book V, and are clearly part of d'India's harmonic language. The madrigal *Felice Primavera* is a case in point where false relations are juxtaposed, creating the inevitable attendant tertian harmonies (Ex. 5/2.67). The plagal cadence, accompanied with a 4–3 suspension, concludes in bar 58 to a chord of G major, but the following line of text, 'Al mormorar de l'onde' (to murmuring streams), starting in bar 59 descends harmonically by a third to E♭ major.

Example 5/2.67: d'India, *Felice Primavera*, bb.58–59[193]

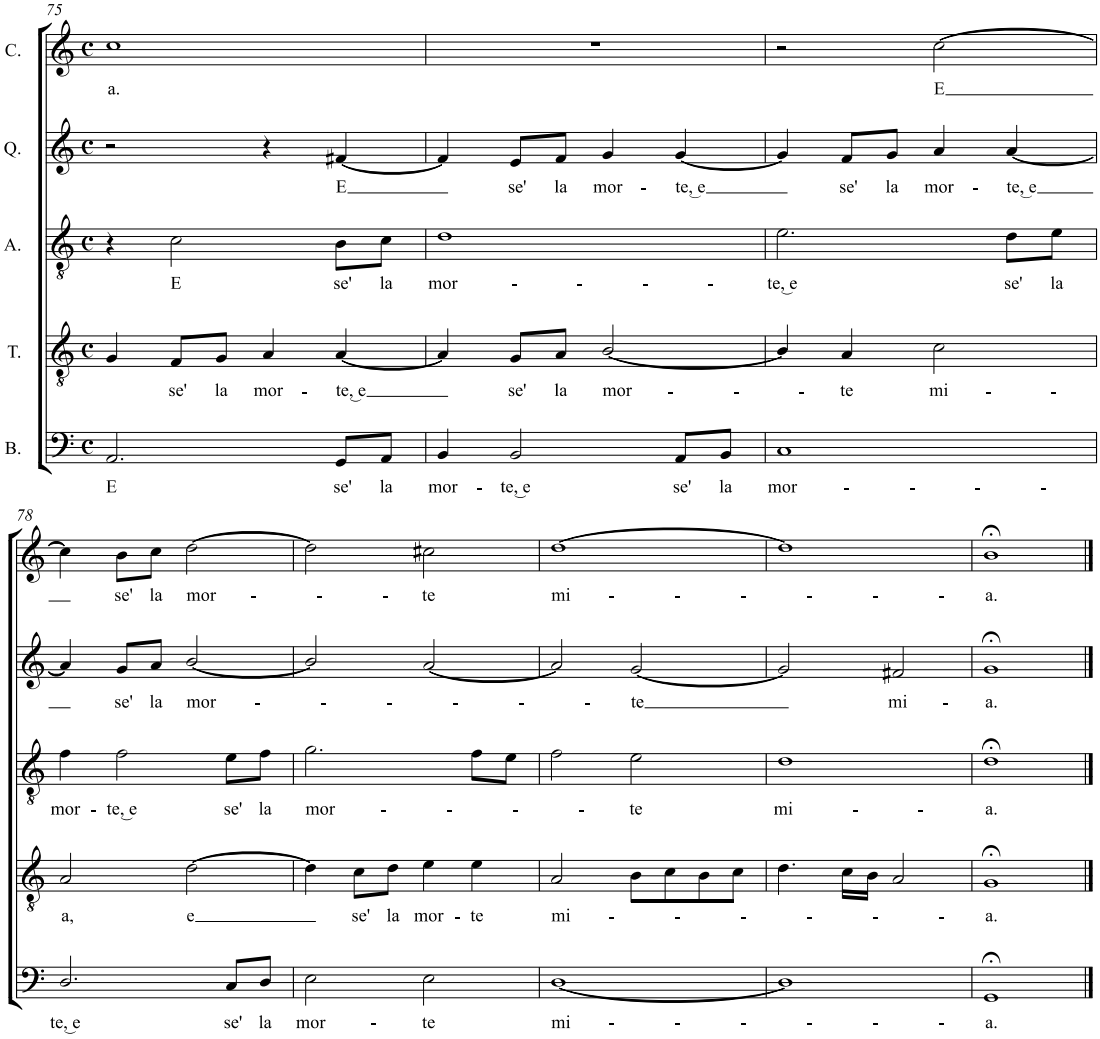


[192] *Ibid.*, 14.
[193] *Ibid.*, 6–7.

An example of 'radical dissonance'[194] can be found in *Cura gelata, eria* where, in the final bars, d'India does indeed include suspensions, rich harmonies, and passing dissonances that are combined to contribute to the overall histrionics and affective inclination. The text at this point in the madrigal is 'E se' la morte mia' (and death thou art to me), the sentiment of which d'India reflects musically with acerbic dissonance (Ex. 5/2.68). For example, there is a series of 7–6 suspensions that runs through bars 75–77, added ninths (b.75 and b.78), sevenths (b.78), sharpened sevenths (b.75), and lower auxiliary notes that create passing dissonances (b.75 and b.76).

[194] *Ibid.*, xvii.

Example 5/2.68: d'India, *Cura gelata, eria,* bb.75–82[195]



Part One and Part Two of this chapter represent collectively the music that Jeffreys had, to greater or lesser extents, an *awareness* of. The compositional devices outlined in Part One in combination with the chromaticism and unusual dissonances encountered in Part Two, provides a yardstick against which Jeffreys' *similarity* to this music can be measured, which is the focus of the following chapter.

[195] *Ibid.*, 91.

Chapter 6: George Jeffreys III—*Similarity*

The focus of this chapter is to present the *similarity* Jeffreys exhibits with the music considered in the previous chapter, all of which he knew or can be reasonably assumed to have been aware of. Instead of addressing each of the seven salient features of the *stile nuovo* that Jeffreys adopted and developed in turn, not to mention the pertinent elements of the madrigals of Pallavicino, Gesualdo, and d'India, in this chapter Jeffreys' music will be considered according to scoring. This methodology will adumbrate Jeffreys' music in a succinct manner, demonstrating his appropriation of the compositional devices featured in Chapter 5.

One-Voice Settings

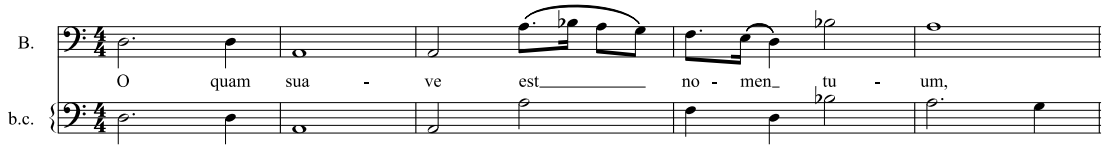
Jeffreys' preference for the bass voice is revealed by the fact that all of his sacred settings for solo voice are for the bass voice.[1] His three solo-voice motets for the bass voice include: *O quam suave*, *Speciosus forma*, and *Praise the Lord*, all of which make considerable demands of the performer. This virtuosic writing for the bass voice is not confined to solo settings, however, but is also present in the multi-voice motets and anthems. Bergdolt confirms Jeffreys' virtuosic treatment of the bass voice, commenting that 'with practically no exception, the bass part has the widest range of all the voices in the sacred works'.[2] *O quam suave* is indicative of Jeffreys' writing for the bass voice, and exemplifies his use of dramatic leaps, decorative runs, and large range, all of which help to intensify the affective declamation. Indeed, Sances' *Audite me*, which was considered in the previous chapter, provides a comparable exemplar to *O quam suave* since

[1] Jeffreys' only other solo setting is *Have pity greefe*, an English secular text scored for cantus and basso continuo (March 1632).

[2] Bergdolt, K. E., 'The Sacred Music of George Jeffreys (ca.1610–1685)' (PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 1976), I, 156.

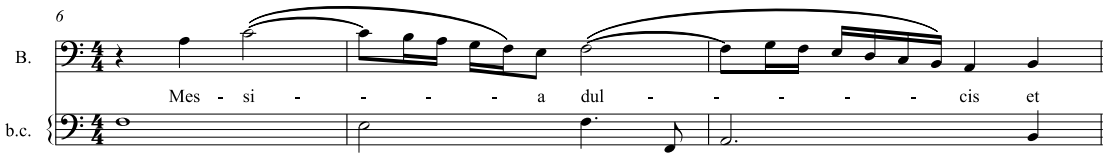
a number of parallels can be drawn. The range of the voice used by Jeffreys is identical to that used by Sances—two octaves, from D to d′. The opening motive—'O quam suave' (O how sweet)—is, like Sances', very simple; a declamatory figure confined to one descending leap of a fourth. This figure, however, is contrasted with a more decorative motive that begins an octave higher, includes melismatic word setting, and features a dotted-quaver rhythm at the text 'est nomen tuum' (is thy name) (Ex. 6.1).

Example 6.1: Jeffreys, *O quam suave*, bb.1–5[3]



Jeffreys wastes no time in including an elaborate passage in this motet. At bars 6–8, the text 'Messia dulcis' is set to an extensive melisma, which spans the range of a tenth and includes rhythmic decoration, such as the semiquaver runs (Ex. 6.2).

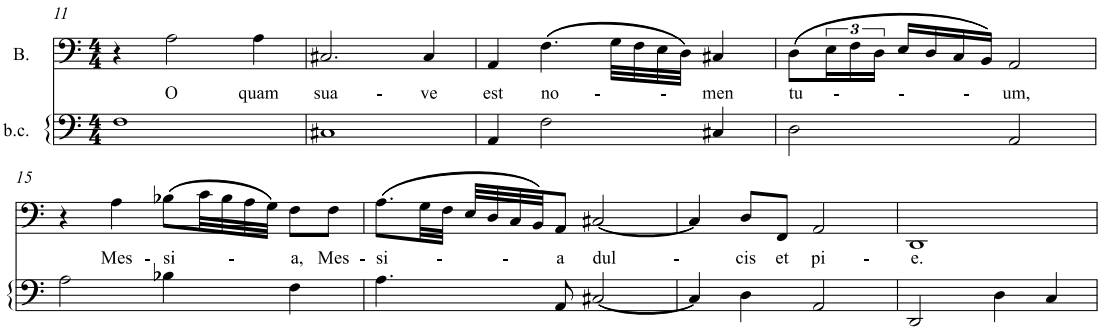
Example 6.2: Jeffreys, *O quam suave*, bb.6–8[4]



At bars 11–18, Jeffreys repeats the opening text and increases the length and complexity of the decorative runs (Ex. 6.3).

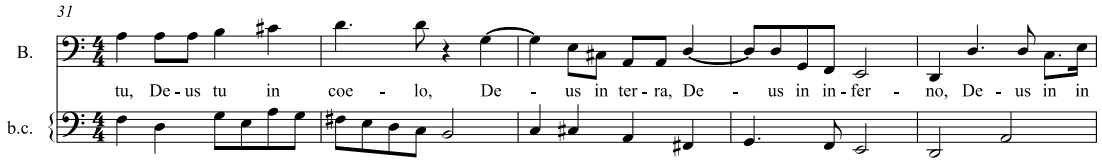
[3] Aston, P., ed., *George Jeffreys (c.1610–1685): 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices* (York, 2010), 1.
[4] *Ibid*., 1.

Example 6.3: Jeffreys, *O quam suave*, bb.11–18[5]



Jeffreys vividly represents the text 'Deus tu in caelo, Deus in terra, Deus in inferno' (O God, in things in heaven, in things on earth, and in things under the earth) through his deliberate use of pitch, spanning the entire compass of this work. Heaven is set to the highest pitch featured in the motet (d′), earth is set an eleventh below (A), while hell is set to the lowest note of the motet (D), appositely depicting the inherent direction of the text (Ex. 6.4).

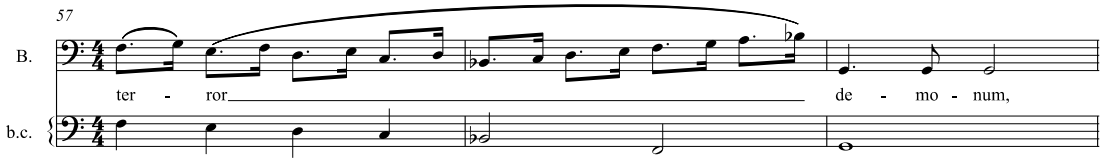
Example 6.4: Jeffreys, *O quam suave*, bb.31–35[6]



The dotted-quaver rhythm seems to be a particular favourite of Jeffreys and he uses it to great effect in *O quam suave*. At the text 'terror demonum', he introduces the dotted figure dramatically to break the lyrical style of the preceding triple-time section. The figure descends sequentially through a fifth, before ascending conjunctly through an octave, and finally leaping downwards a minor ninth (Ex. 6.5). The trembling nature of the rhythm, combined with the dramatic interruption and wide leap, conveys the terror of the text.

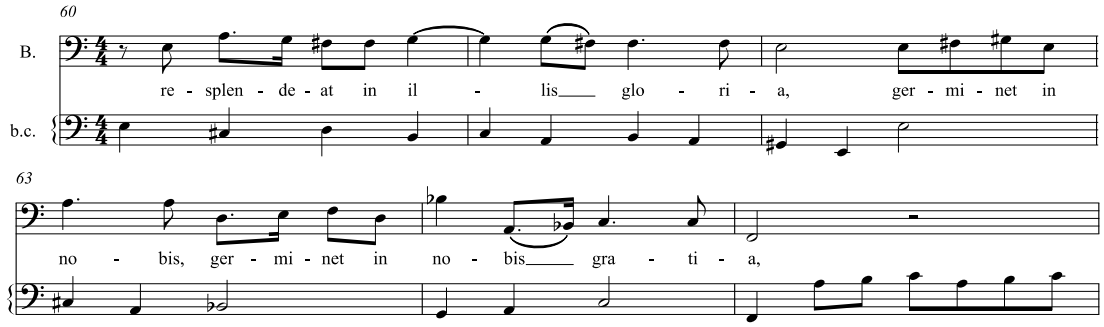
[5] *Ibid*., 1.
[6] *Ibid*., 1.

Example 6.5: Jeffreys, *O quam suave*, bb.57–59[7]



Aston comments that 'the dramatic power of the declamation is now enforced by the strong harmonic movement which takes the music by sequence from C major to E and then by way of A and D minor to F' (Ex. 6.6).[8] The motet then reaches a climax through Jeffreys' introduction of a series of complementary motives 'during which the melismatic decoration becomes more and more elaborate, [and] the wide skips increasingly more frequent'.[9]

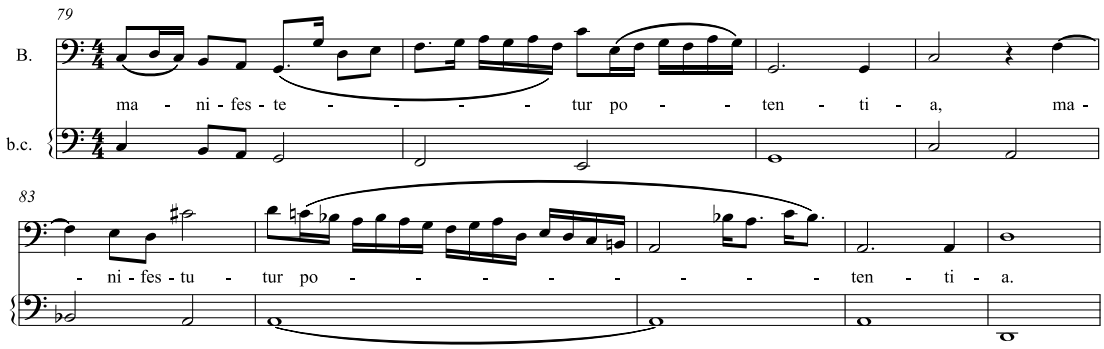
Example 6.6: Jeffreys, *O quam suave*, bb.60–65[10]



The passage between bars 79–87, containing the text 'manifestetur potentia', is the most heavily decorated and virtuosic. The recurring features of wide leaps, dotted rhythms, decorative runs, and a large range are all evidently clear (Ex. 6.7). Such writing recalls Sances' treatment of the bass voice in *Audite me* and, similarly, the other examples of virtuosic writing for the bass voice that were encountered in Chapter 5.

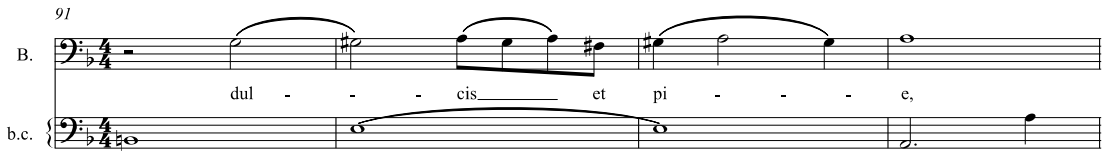
[7] *Ibid.*, 2.
[8] Aston, P., 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque' (PhD diss., University of York, 1970), IV, 132.
[9] *Ibid.*, IV, 132.
[10] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 2.

Example 6.7: Jeffreys, *O quam suave*, bb.79–87[11]

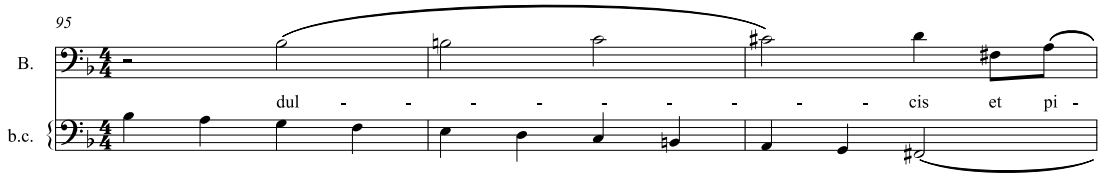


Like Sances, Jeffreys also uses chromatic alterations to depict sweetness. Jeffreys repeatedly features a rising semi-tone interval on the appearance of the word 'dulcis' (sweet), including chromatic alterations between G–G♯, B♭–B, and C–C♯ (Exx. 6.8 and 6.9, compare with exx. 5.13 and 5.14).

Example 6.8: Jeffreys, *O quam suave*, bb.91–94[12]



Example 6.9: Jeffreys, *O quam suave*, bb.95–97[13]

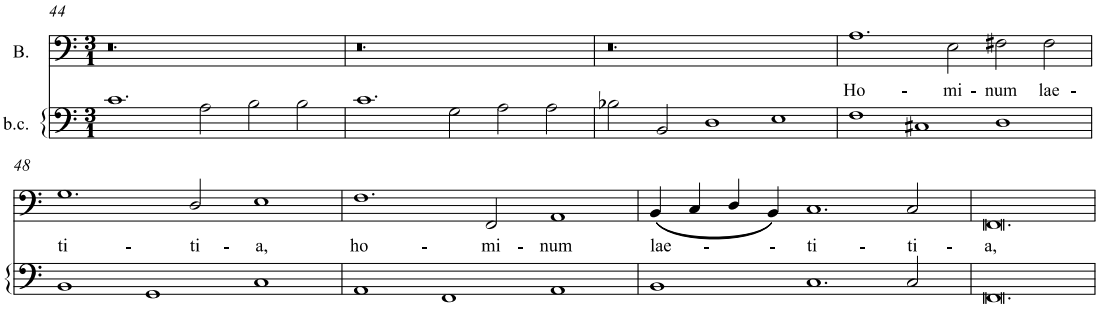


Jeffreys also embraces a number of the compositional devices identified in the previous chapter in *O quam suave*, such as the use of a contrasting triple-time metre. The brief triple-time passage

[11] *Ibid*., 3.
[12] *Ibid*., 3.
[13] *Ibid*., 3.

that begins at bar 44 with the text 'hominum laetitia' (O delight of men) provides contrast with the preceding and following sections (Ex. 6.10). Furthermore, the triple-time metre appositely conveys the delight of mankind, which is also reflected in the lyrical style of Jeffreys' writing at this point. This section is broken at bar 57 with the dotted figure of 'terror' (Ex. 6.5) and returns to a duple metre.

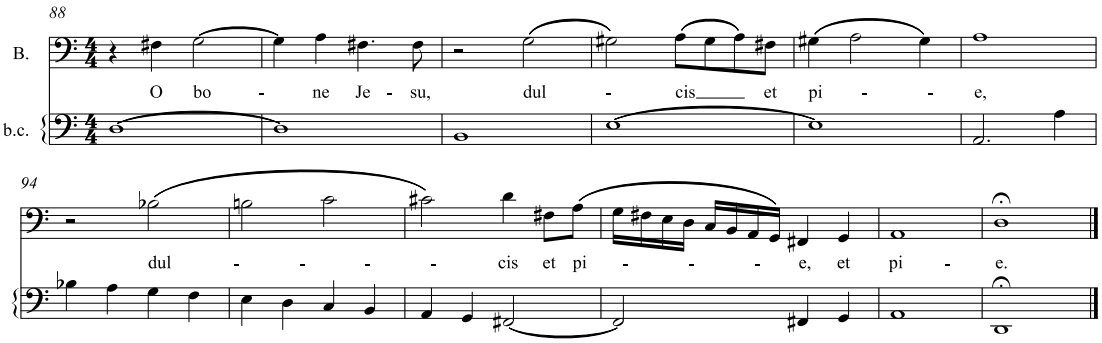
Example 6.10: Jeffreys, *O quam suave*, bb.44–51[14]



It is true also that Jeffreys reserves the emotional climax of *O quam suave* for a concluding coda-like section (Ex. 6.11). In marked contrast to all that has gone before, 'these final twelve bars are gentle, tender, and exquisitely tender'.[15] Aston suggests that 'the mention of Jesus brings a warmth and intimacy which is in striking contrast to the impersonal majesty and power of God'.[16]

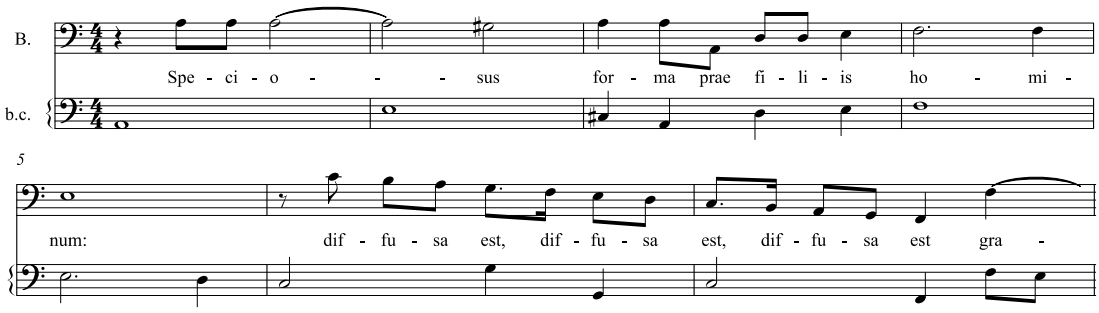
[14] *Ibid*., 2.
[15] Aston, P., *Op. cit*., 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', IV, 132.
[16] *Ibid*., IV, 132–133.

Example 6.11: Jeffreys, *O quam suave*, bb.88–99[17]



Jeffreys' other solo bass-voice settings amplify the techniques used in *O quam suave*. For example, *Speciosus forma* relies on the simultaneous development of contrasted but complementary motives. The opening motive (bb.1–5) moves primarily in long note values and is balanced with the dotted quaver figure that descends through a twelfth (Ex. 6.12). Jeffreys uses these two complementary motives throughout the first 37 bars, developing them concurrently; they appear at different pitches with slight modifications to rhythm and melodic shape but remain wholly recognisable.

Example 6.12: Jeffreys, *Speciosus forma*, bb.1–7[18]

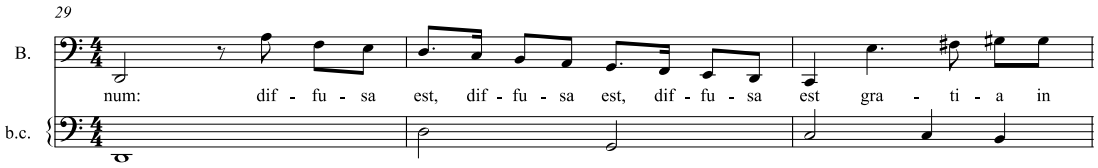


Moreover, this motet includes an even larger range than *O quam suave*, from C to d′. At bar 29 the 'diffusa est' motive is once again introduced, descending through a thirteenth and arriving on

[17] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 3.
[18] *Ibid*., 4.

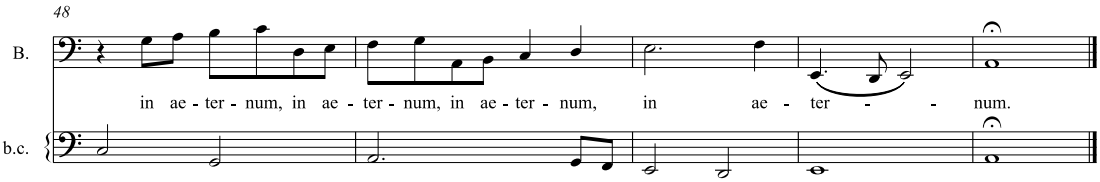
a bottom C and, subsequently, leaping upwards a tenth (Ex. 6.13). Although *Speciosus forma* avoids the inclusion of extensive decorative runs, it still makes challenging demands of the voice and its dramatic power is in no way lessened.

Example 6.13: Jeffreys, *Speciosus forma*, bb.29–31[19]



Further on in *Speciosus forma*, Jeffreys uses the descending leap of a minor seventh repeatedly to prevent the sweeping melodic line (which otherwise would span a fourteenth) from exceeding the vocal range (Ex. 6.14).[20] While these leaps are not overtly expressive gestures, it will be recalled that downward leaps of a seventh have been shown to feature in the madrigals of Pallavicino and Gesualdo in particular.

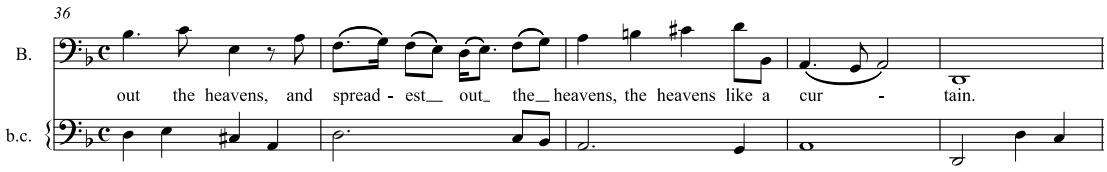
Example 6.14: Jeffreys, *Speciosus forma*, bb.48–52[21]



In general, *Praise the Lord* does not contain decorative runs and wide leaps to the same extent as those found in the Latin solo bass-voice motets but, at times, there are comparable passages. For example, the phrase 'and spreadest out the heavens like a curtain' includes a downwards leap of a tenth, a range that spans two octaves, and conforms to declamatory principles (Ex. 6.15).

[19] *Ibid*., 5.
[20] Bergdolt, K. E., *Op. cit.*, I, 166.
[21] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 5.

Example 6.15: Jeffreys, *Praise the Lord*, bb.36–40[22]



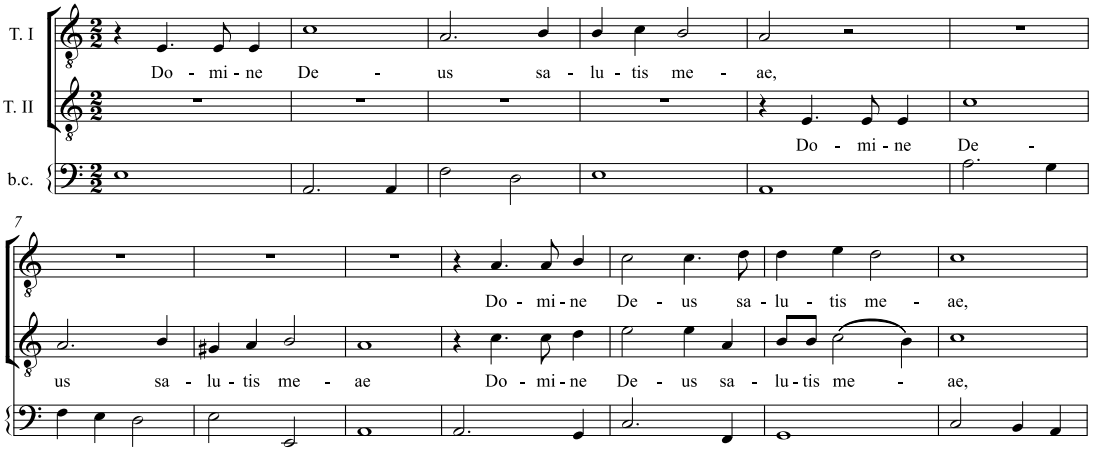
Praise the Lord concludes with an 'alleluia' section that is in a contrasting triple-time metre. The motet until this point has relied almost entirely on syllabic word setting, but here Jeffreys responds to the laudatory nature of the text with meslimatic underlay.

Two-Voice Settings

Jeffreys' two-voice settings, and indeed his three-voice settings, follow the same general pattern whereby a succession of imitative points is occasionally interrupted by short homophonic passages.[23] This *concertato* technique has been traced back to Croce and Dering, and was also featured in the previous chapter. Jeffreys' *Domine Deus salutis meae* (TTbc), for example, demonstrates precisely his appropriation of this compositional device: tenor I introduces a simple declamatory motive that is restated almost exactly by tenor II before they unite in parallel thirds over an independent basso continuo (Ex. 6.16).

[22] Bergdolt, K. E., *Op. cit.*, II, 22.
[23] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', IV, 137.

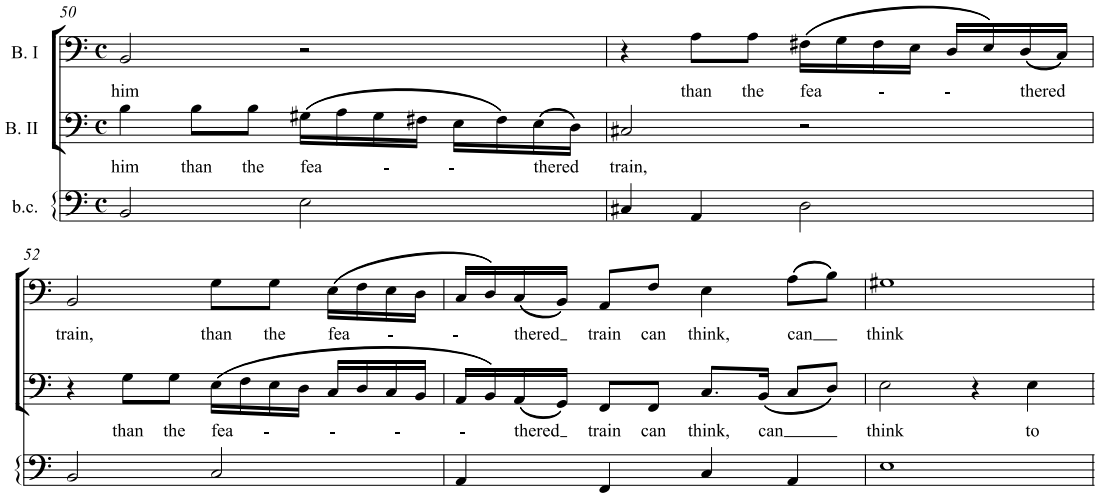
Example 6.16: Jeffreys, *Domine Deus salutis meae*, bb.1–13[24]



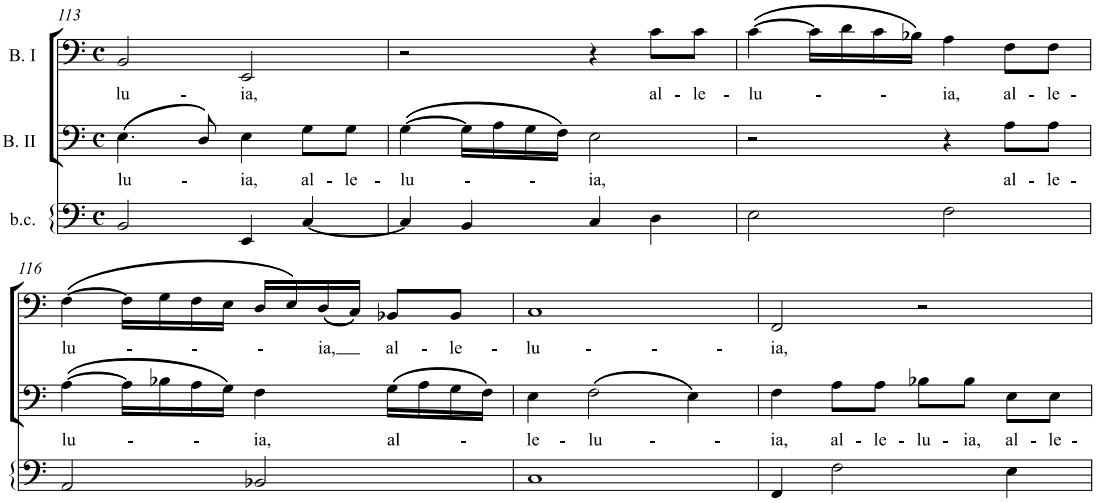
A two-voice setting particularly worthy of note because of its unusual scoring is Jeffreys' bass duet *With notes that are both loud and sweet* (BBbc), indicating further his propensity for this voice. Again, this motet includes affective declamation, a contrasting triple-time section, imitation and homophony, virtuosic writing, a large range, and a concluding 'alleluia' section (Exx. 6.17a and 6.17b). It also features one of the most characteristic leaps found in Jeffreys' melodies, which is the descending diminished fourth.[25] Throughout Jeffreys' music it is not uncommon to find a leap of a diminished fourth to the penultimate or ultimate note of a phrase, and the opening bars of *With notes that are both loud and sweet* provide a case in point (Ex. 6.17c).[26] In this respect, Jeffreys shows a *similarity* to both Marini (Ex. 5/1.14) and Gesualdo (Ex. 5/2.19).

[24] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 15.
[25] Bergdolt, K. E., *Op. cit.*, I, 166.
[26] *Ibid.*, I, 167.

Example 6.17a: Jeffreys, *With notes that are both loud and sweet,* bb.50–54[27]

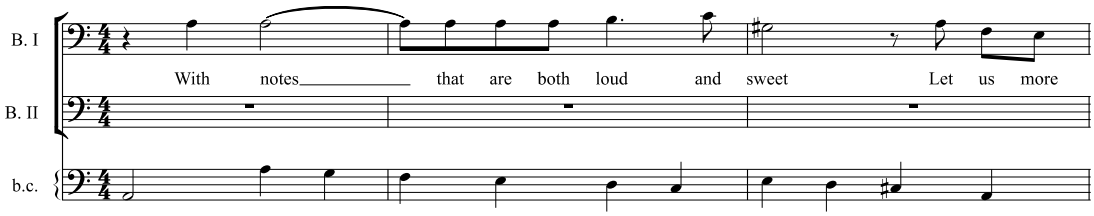


Example 6.17b: Jeffreys, *With notes that are both loud and sweet,* bb.113–118[28]



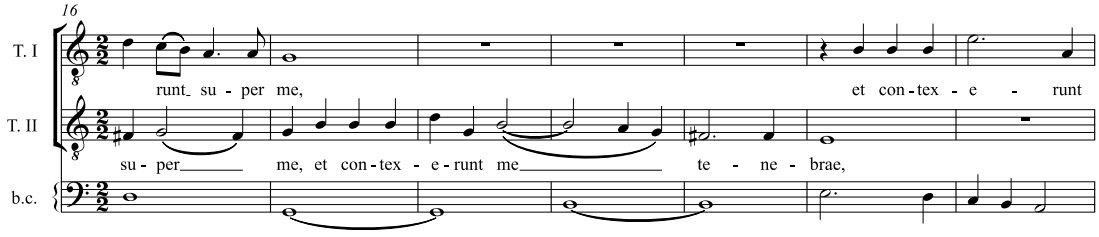
[27] Aston, P., *Op. cit.,* 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', II, 442–43.
[28] *Ibid*., II, 450–51.

Example 6.17c: Jeffreys, *With notes that are both loud and sweet,* bb.1–3[29]



Two of Jeffreys' two-voice settings reveal his mastery of affective declamation at its fullest, they are *Timor et tremor* (TTbc) and *Heu me miseram* (CBbc). *Timor et Tremor* has been referred to by Aston as 'a masterpiece of affective declamation'[30] and, indeed, in this motet Jeffreys achieves a sense of dramatic growth through his use of harmonic direction and increasing closeness of imitation.[31] At bar 17 there is a perfect cadence on G and the motet subsequently proceeds to E minor which, combined with the descending melodic phrase through a seventh, portrays the enveloping darkness of the text, 'et contexerunt me tenebrae' (and darkness covered me) (Ex. 6.18).[32]

Example 6.18: Jeffreys, *Timor et tremor,* bb.16–22[33]

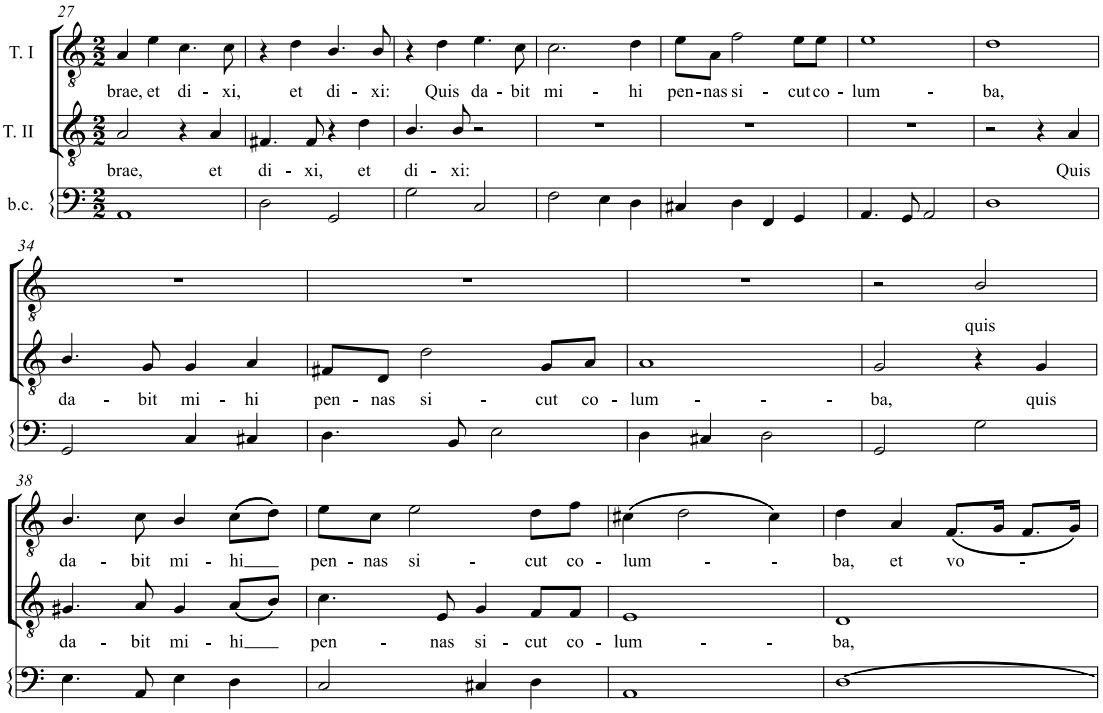


Similarly, the rapid sequential harmonic movement at bars 27–28 'emphasises the urgency of the cry for help' (Ex. 6.19).[34] This passage also contains a cycle-of-fifth progression moving

[29] *Ibid*., II, 437.
[30] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', IV, 139.
[31] *Ibid.*, IV, 139.
[32] *Ibid.*, IV, 140.
[33] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 6–7.
[34] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', IV, 140.

increasingly to flatter harmonies—A, D, G, C, F—that is, perhaps, consistent with the plea for assistance. Jeffreys combines this harmonic direction with a more expansive melodic phrase at the text 'quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columba' (who will give me wings like a dove), representing perfectly a yearning for the freedom of a dove.[35] In a comparable manner to Sances' *Laudemus gloriosos virgo*, the first statement of this phrase appears in tenor I accompanied by C major harmony, which is then imitated by tenor II tonally a fifth higher with G major harmony. The third statement is scored for both tenors in parallel thirds and is combined with a tertiary shift in harmony, from G to E. The dramatic plea is intensified and, moreover, precedes the climactic section of the motet, which opens with the melismatic dotted-figure motive appositely assigned to 'et volabo' (and fly away).

Example 6.19: Jeffreys, *Timor et tremor*, bb.27–41[36]

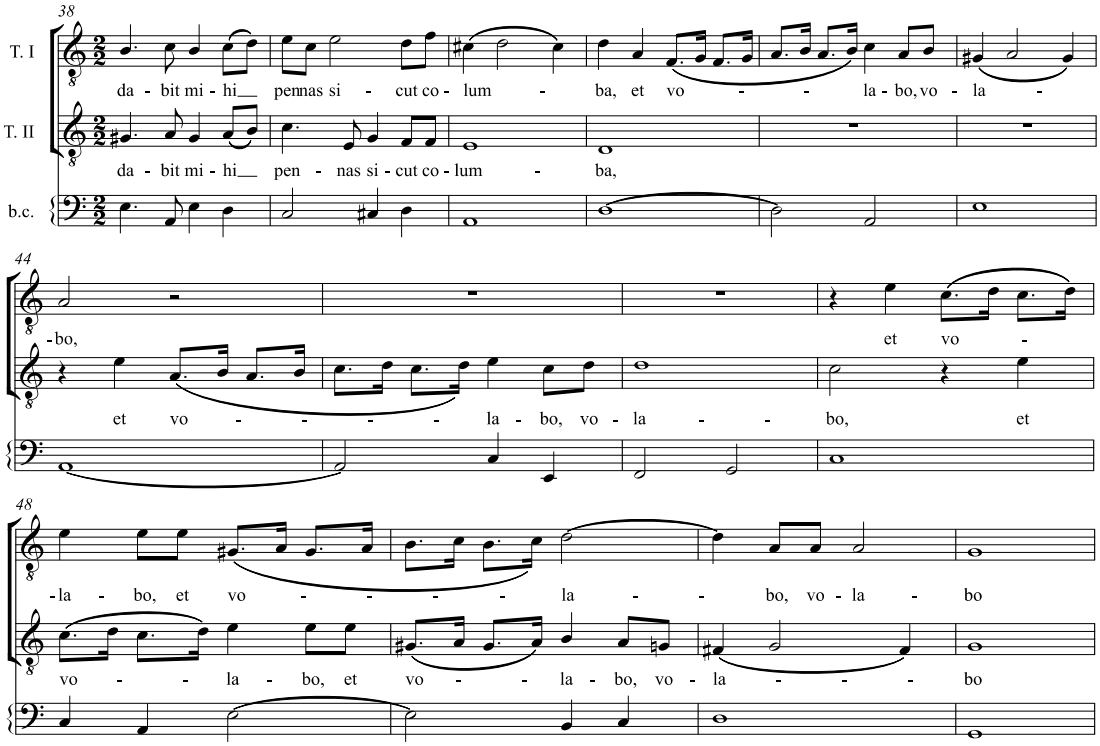


[35] *Ibid.*, IV, 140.
[36] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 7.

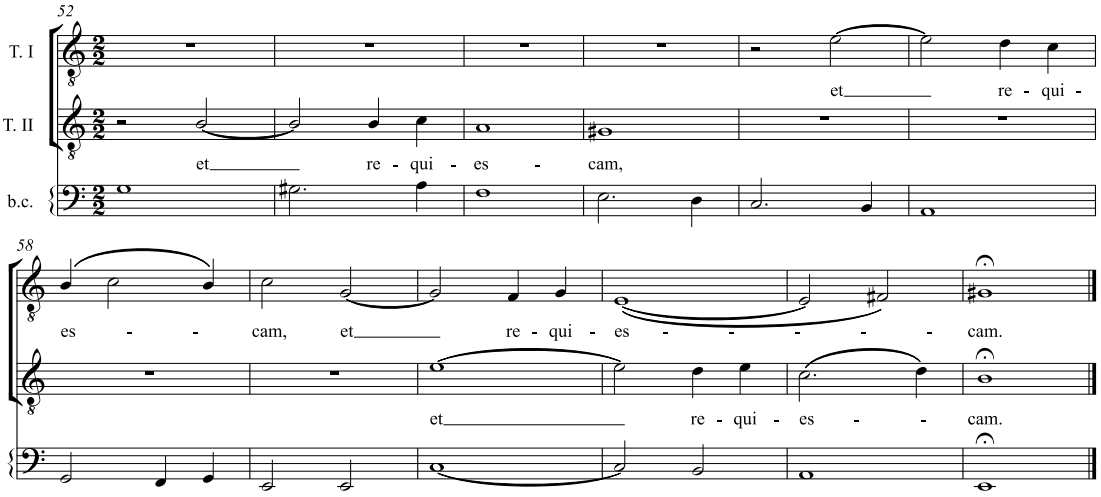
Timor et tremor provides another example of Jeffreys' careful structural planning to ensure that the closing bars provide the emotional climax of the work. Although this motet primarily relies on contrasting motives, Jeffreys achieves a sense of growth through tonal direction, reaching a point of dramatic climax with the dotted figure 'et volabo' (Ex. 6.20). However, 'if the cadence at bar 51 is the dynamic climax of the work, the emotional climax is in the final "et requiescam"'.[37] The closing twelve bars (bb.52–63) are comparable to the concluding twelve bars of *O quam suave* in the way that Jeffreys achieves a serene quality, more than likely intended to reflect the text 'et requiescam' (and be at sleep). Following the earlier tension and conflict in the motet, this coda-like section is characterised by conjunct melodic figures in long note values and a slow harmonic rhythm. However, the added dissonances allude to the tension experienced previously and, in this way, Jeffreys provides a satisfying completion to the motet (Ex. 6.21).

[37] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', IV, 140.

Example 6.20: Jeffreys, *Timor et tremor*, bb.38–51[38]



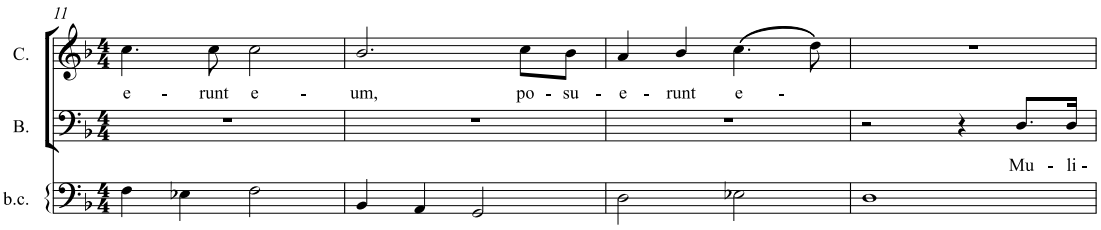
Example 6.21: Jeffreys, *Timor et tremor*, bb.52–63[39]



[38] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 7–8.
[39] *Ibid*., 8.

Heu me miseram is Jeffreys' only dialogue and is perhaps 'one of the finest scenas by a seventeenth-century composer ... certainly comparable with the best compositions in this genre by Schütz and Purcell'.[40] The reason for such approbation is because the dialogue contains possibly one of Jeffreys' most affective declamatory passages, embracing most closely the spirit of the *stile nuovo*. The text of the dialogue is based on St John's account of Mary Magdalene's visit to the sepulchre following the crucifixion of Christ where she is visited by an Angel. In this work Jeffreys achieves a brilliant characterisation of both Mary and the Angel, where Mary's frenzied declamation is contrasted with the ethereal serenity of the Angel's music.[41] The dialogue opens with Mary's cries of grief but, at the appearance of the Angel, in bar 13, she is suddenly interrupted and stops in the middle of a word (Ex. 6.22).

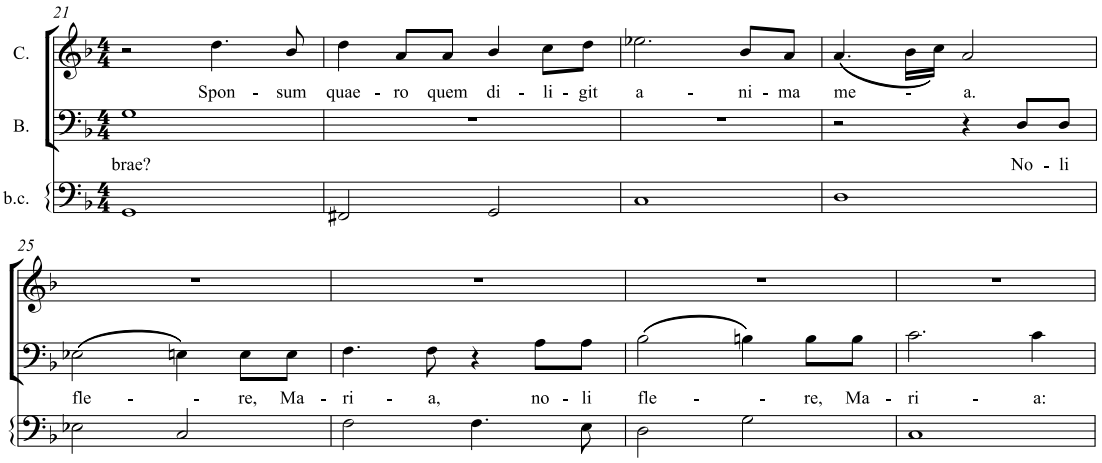
Example 6.22: Jeffreys, *Heu, me miseram*, bb.11–14[42]



In the following section (bb.21–28) Jeffreys conveys the anguish and distress of Mary with the reassuring sentiments of the Angel through his use of contrasting motives.[43] Mary's melodic figure, conveying distress (bb.21–24), is angular and disjunct whereas the Angel's motive, embodying a sentiment of reassurance (bb.24–28), is smooth and conjunct, often proceeding chromatically through a series of semitones (Ex. 6.23).

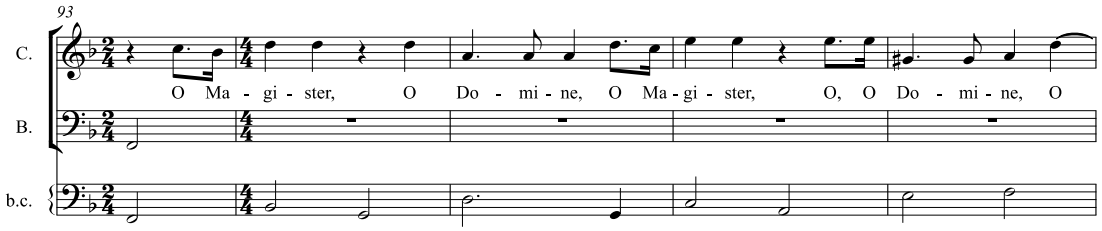
[40] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', IV, 134. By way of comparison Aston refers to the dialogue *Weib, was weinest du?* by Schütz.
[41] *Ibid.*, IV, 135.
[42] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 18.
[43] Bergdolt, K. E., *Op. cit.*, I, 172. See also Jeffreys' *Jesu, rex admirabilis* (CBbc), especially bb.1–17, for an example of the simultaneous use of different imitative motives.

Example 6.23: Jeffreys, *Heu, me miseram*, bb.21–28[44]



Jeffreys includes an equally affective passage when Mary turns to behold the risen Christ, capturing her euphoria through the increasing intensity of the declamation. Between bars 93–97 Jeffreys achieves a growing sense of ecstasy with the rising figure on 'O Magister, O Domine' (O King, O Lord) that continues to ascend and climaxes on the rapidly repeated 'O's in bar 96 (Ex. 6.24).[45]

Example 6.24: Jeffreys, *Heu, me miseram*, bb.93–97[46]

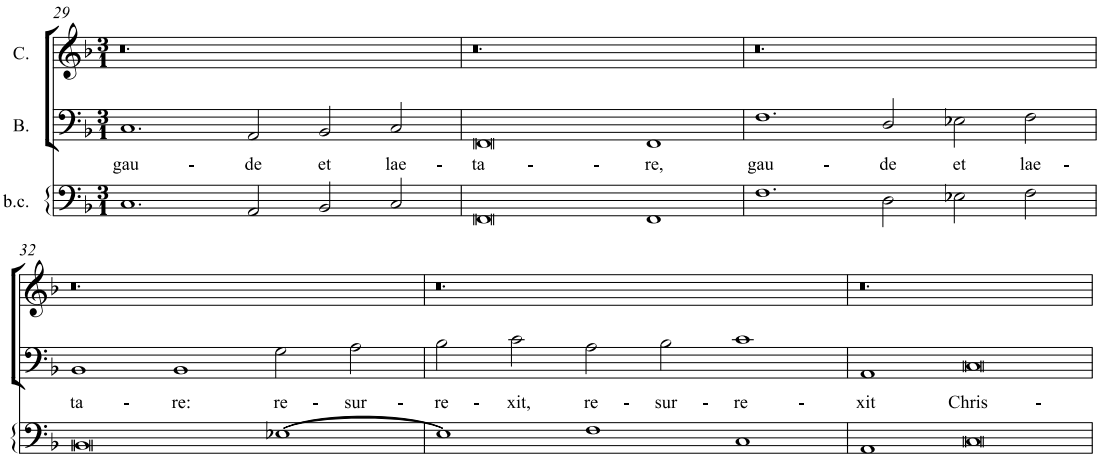


Heu, me miseram also includes a contrasting triple-time section that is used for affective purposes. The Angel, visiting Mary who is weeping at the tomb of Christ, says to her 'Noli flere, Maria: gaude et laetare: resurexit Christus' (Do not weep, Mary: rejoice and be glad: Christ is

[44] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 19.
[45] Bergdolt, K. E., *Op. cit.*, I, 171.
[46] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 22.

risen). Naturally, at bar 29, and on the word ‘gaude’, Jeffreys’ introduces a brief contrasting triple-time section, returning to duple metre at bar 35 (Ex. 6.25).

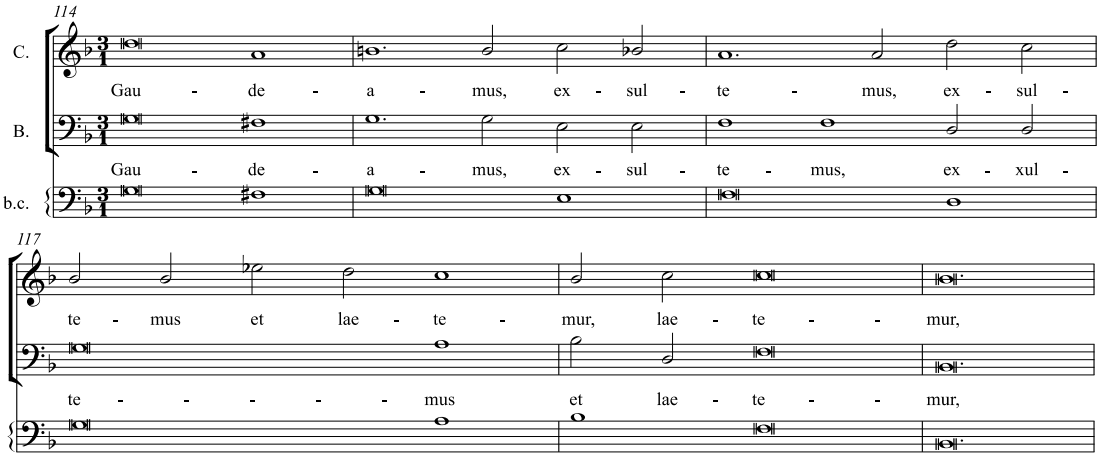
Example 6.25: Jeffreys, *Heu, me miseram*, bb.29–34[47]



Later on in the dialogue, the same sentiment elicits exactly the same response from Jeffreys. At bar 114, Jeffreys once again returns to triple-time when setting the text ‘Gaudeamus, exsultemus, et laetemur’ (Let us rejoice, let us give praise and be glad). This contrast is also amplified by the simultaneous change of texture: until this point the dialogue has been entirely dominated by solo passages but now Mary and the Angel sing together, reflecting the meaning of the text (Ex. 6.26). Jeffreys reverts back to duple metre at bar 124 for the concluding ‘alleluia’ section.

[47] *Ibid.*, 19.

Example 6.26: Jeffreys, *Heu, me miseram*, bb.114–119[48]



Heu, me miseram is not only unique among Jeffreys' sacred settings but remains a unique example of a Latin dialogued text by an English composer during the seventeenth century.[49] John Hilton (?1599–1657) was one of the earliest composers of dramatic dialogues in England, though none were printed during his lifetime and he abstained from setting Latin texts.[50] Robert Ramsey (bur.1644) also took an interest in the dialogue and his music 'reflects the influence of contemporary Italian music and the emergence of the early Baroque style in England'.[51] However, Ramsey's *Dialogues of Sorrow* (1615) are not role dialogues based on scripture or biblical subjects but, instead, they are elaborate contrapuntal consort songs for six voices and viols. Perhaps the most famous English sacred dialogue of the seventeenth century is Purcell's *In Guilty Night*, which was composed around 1693, but it was anticipated by at least half a century by Ramsey's similar setting. These few works reveal that the Latin and vernacular sacred

[48] *Ibid*., 23.

[49] See Noske, F., *Saints and Sinners: the Latin Musical Dialogue in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1992); Smither, H. E., 'The Latin Dramatic Dialogue and the Nascent Oratorio', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 20/3 (1967), 403–33.

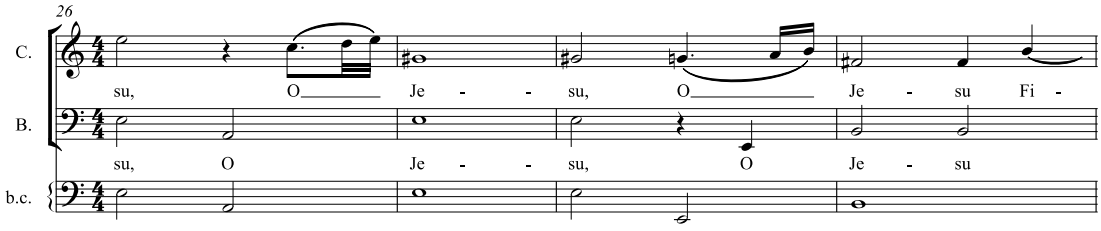
[50] See Le Huray, P., Spink, I., 'Hilton, John (ii)', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 7 October 2013); Chan, M., 'John Hilton's Manuscript British Library Add. MS 11608', *Music and Letters*, 60/4 (1979), 440–49; Smallman, B., 'Endor Revisited: English Biblical Dialogues of the Seventeenth Century', *Music and Letters*, 46/2 (1965), 137–45.

[51] Thompson, E., 'Ramsey, Robert', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 7 October 2013).

dialogue remained anything but a favoured genre by English composers of the seventeenth century. Jeffreys' *Heu, me miseram* equals the best examples of the dialogue produced south of the Alps and, regrettably, it is a *unicum* in the history of English music.

The final two-voice setting to be considered here is *O quam dulcis* (CBbc), mainly for its use of the occasional chromatic passages. For example, at bars 27–28 Jeffreys contrasts major and minor chords constructed on the same root of e (E) through the introduction of a false relation between G♯–G♮ (Ex. 6.27).

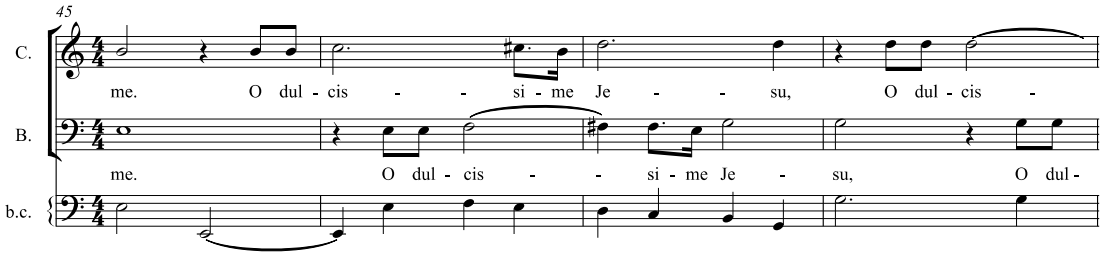
Example 6.27: Jeffreys, *O quam dulcis*, bb.26–29[52]



The imitative passage between bars 45–48 includes a peculiar moment that is created through Jeffreys' employment of chromaticism at the text 'O dulcissime Jesu' (O most sweet Jesus) (Ex. 6.28). The passage opens on a chord of E but at bar 46 the harmony moves by a third to C major. On beat 4 of bar 46 Jeffreys introduces a chromatic alteration between C♮–C♯ in the cantus part and in the following bar a second chromatic alteration occurs in the bass part between F♮–F♯. There is a second tertiary shift of harmony between F major and D major (bb.46–47) that is interrupted by a passing dissonance, whereby a second and sharpened sixth are sounded simultaneously over the basso continuo note.

[52] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 26.

Example 6.28: Jeffreys, *O quam dulcis*, bb.45–48[53]

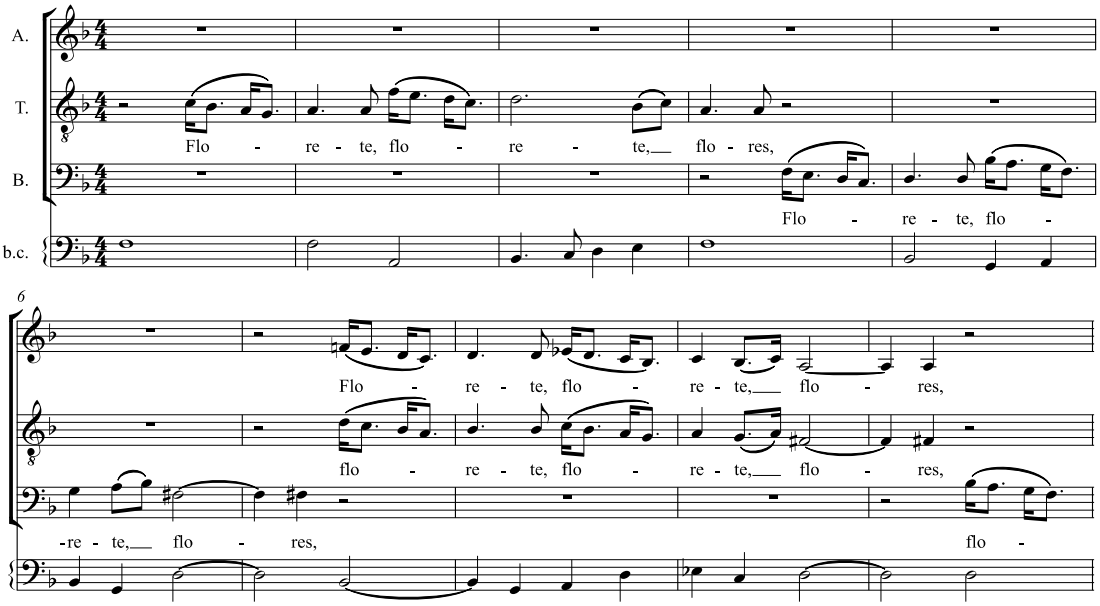


Three-Voice Settings

The general pattern of a succession of imitative entries followed by a passage of homophony is apparent in the opening section of *Florete, flores* (ATBbc) (Ex. 6.29). The motet opens with a graceful Lombardic motive, which is introduced by the tenor and is then subsequently imitated by the bass. In bar 7 there is a tertiary shift of harmony from D major to B♭ major and the alto and tenor take up the motive in parallel thirds. On the first beat of bar 9 Jeffreys introduces a diminished chord in first inversion, which is followed by a seventh chord that resolves to a chord of D major. This passage reveals Jeffreys' resourcefulness in creating an interesting texture from a single declamatory motive, largely by adhering to the *stile concertato*.

[53] *Ibid*., 27.

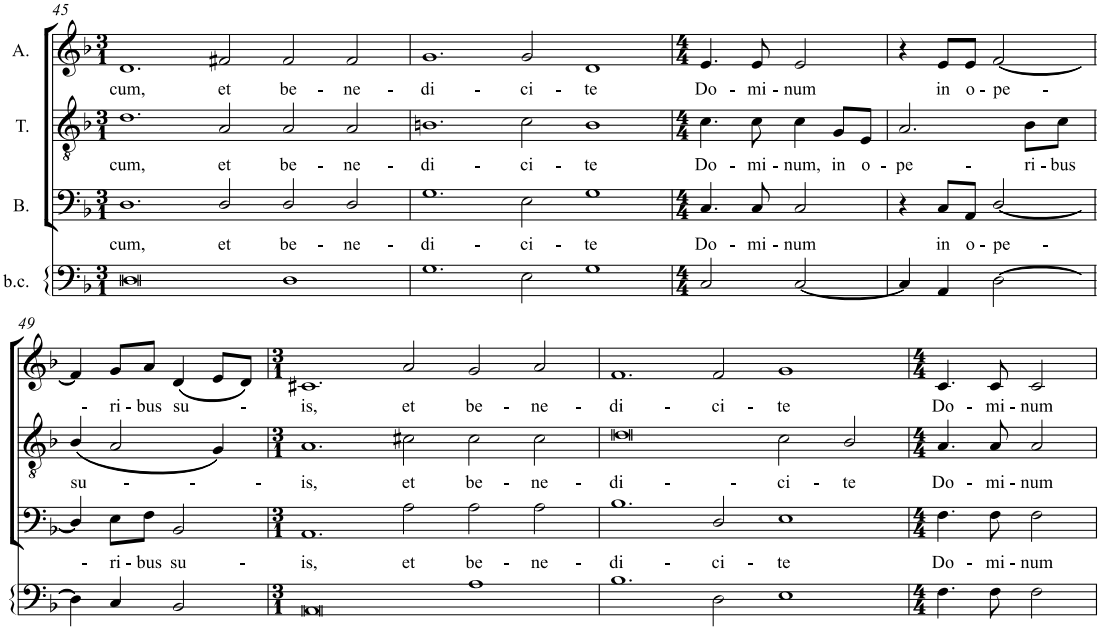
Example 6.29: Jeffreys, *Florete flores*, bb.1–10[54]



Furthermore, on two occasions (bb.45–46 and bb.50–51) Jeffreys contrasts the duple metre with a brief triple-time section at the text 'et benedicite' (and praise). These passages are deliberately employed as a means to provide contrast because they are also homophonic in a motet that is predominantly imitative in texture (Ex. 6.30). Again the laudatory sentiment of the text occasions Jeffreys to respond with a triple-time metre.

[54] *Ibid*., 60.

Example 6.30: Jeffreys, *Florete flores*, bb.45–52[55]

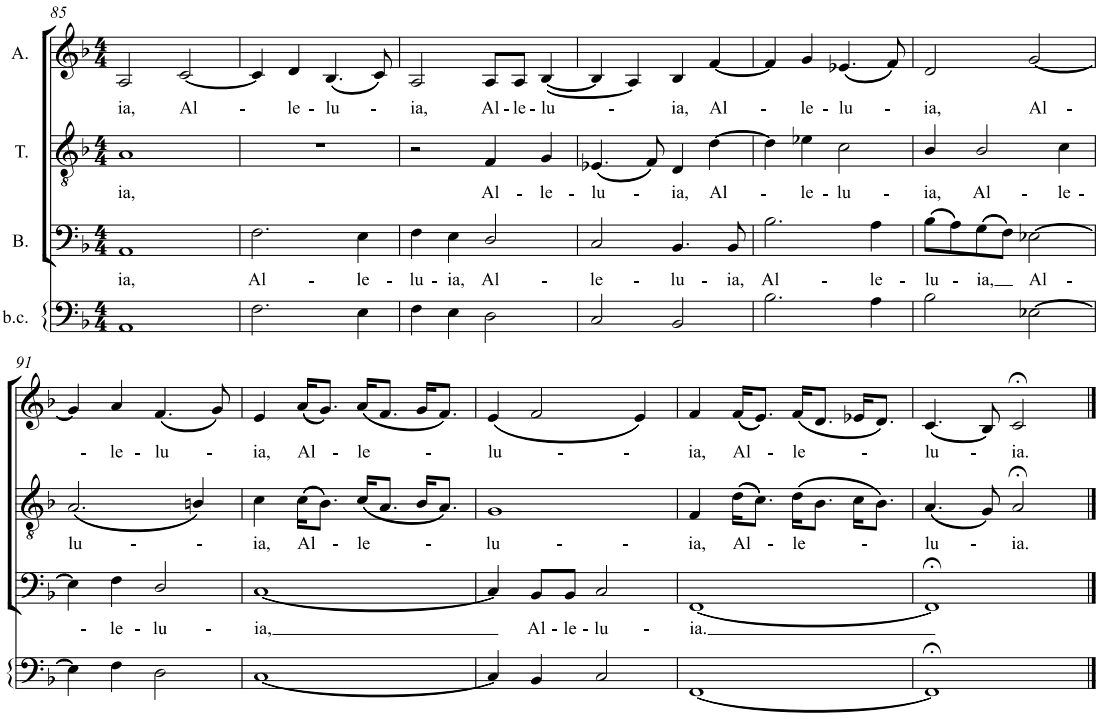


Structurally, Jeffreys reserves the final third of *Florete, flores* for a concluding and climactic 'alleluia' section, which also begins in triple metre at bar 66. The vocal writing here remains florid throughout and the same general pattern of imitation followed by brief passages of homophony can be observed. Following a cadential hemiola the motet reverts back to duple time at bar 85. Most notably in the final bars of *Florete, flores* is the congregation of the two upper voices in parallel thirds and sixths while the basso follows the bass voice. Moreover, the Lomabrdic rhythm of the opening motive returns here and this rather elaborate perfect cadence is reminiscent of the compositional style of the Italian composers considered in Part One of Chapter 5 (Ex. 6.31).[56]

[55] *Ibid*., 62–63.

[56] Refer to Volume II: see in particular Sances' *Laudemus viros gloriosos*. Similar examples can also be found in Aloisi's *Benignissime Jesu*, Merula's *O nomen Jesu*, and Tomasi's *Tota pulchra es*.

Example 6.31: Jeffreys, *Florete flores*, bb.85–95[57]

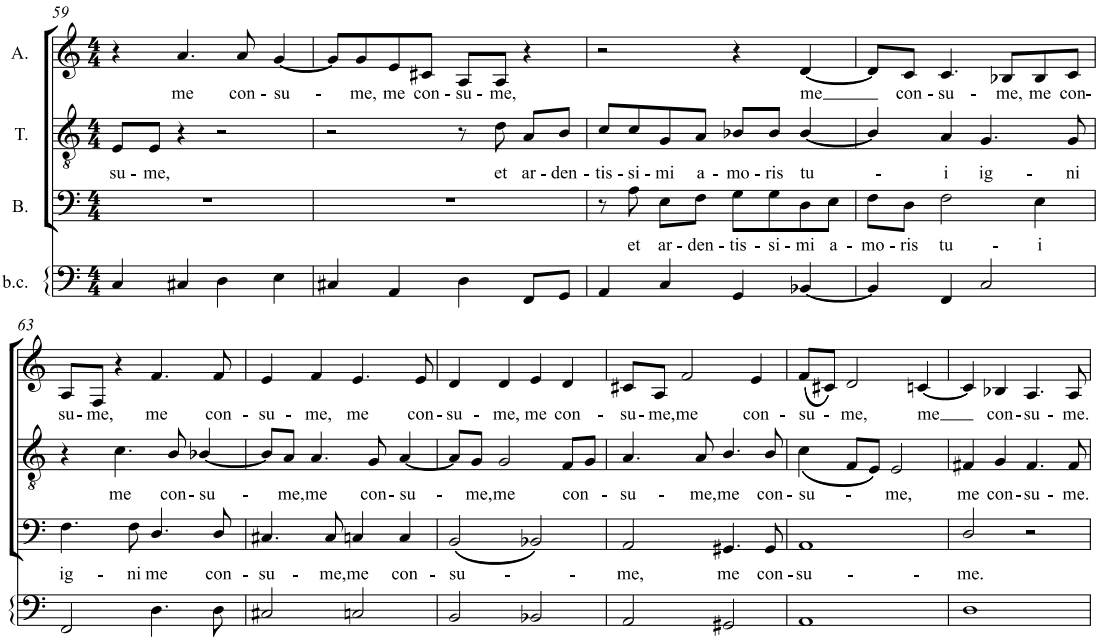


The theme of Divine love is a favourite in Jeffreys' work and he was drawn repeatedly to 'texts which extol the virtues of the Trinity and declare a deep personal love for Christ'.[58] These texts, in particular, provoke in Jeffreys a rich chromatic idiom that is accompanied with affective dissonances.[59] Indeed, a pronounced parallel can be drawn with Aloisi's *Quid mihi est in caelo* (Ex. 5/1.18) and Jeffreys' three-voice setting of *O Deus meus* (ATBbc). The source of the text is unknown but the poetry is charged with intense feelings of desire and love—almost erotic and profane—for God. At the text 'et ardentissimi amoris tui igni me consume' (and consume me in the fire of your most loving self) the motet reaches a point of climax. This ecstatic quality is achieved through a number of devices: firstly, the entries of the two motives are brought closer and closer together until they begin to overlap; the text—'me consume'—and its corresponding

[57] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 65.
[58] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', IV, 144.
[59] Bergdolt, K. E., *Op. cit.*, I, 152.

motive is repeated over and over again, increasing in frequency; and, finally, the introduction of a chromatically descending figure in the bass. At bars 62–63 there is a perfect cadence on F major with a 4–3 suspension and an added flattened seventh in the alto part. Following the cadence, the bass ascends a sixth—from F to d—creating a tertiary shift of harmony and introducing the chromatic figure. This motive descends chromatically through a diminished fifth and is intensified by Jeffreys' inclusion of added dissonances, such as the frequent 7–6 and 6–5 suspensions (Ex. 6.32).

Example 6.32: Jeffreys, *O Deus meus*, bb.59–68[60]

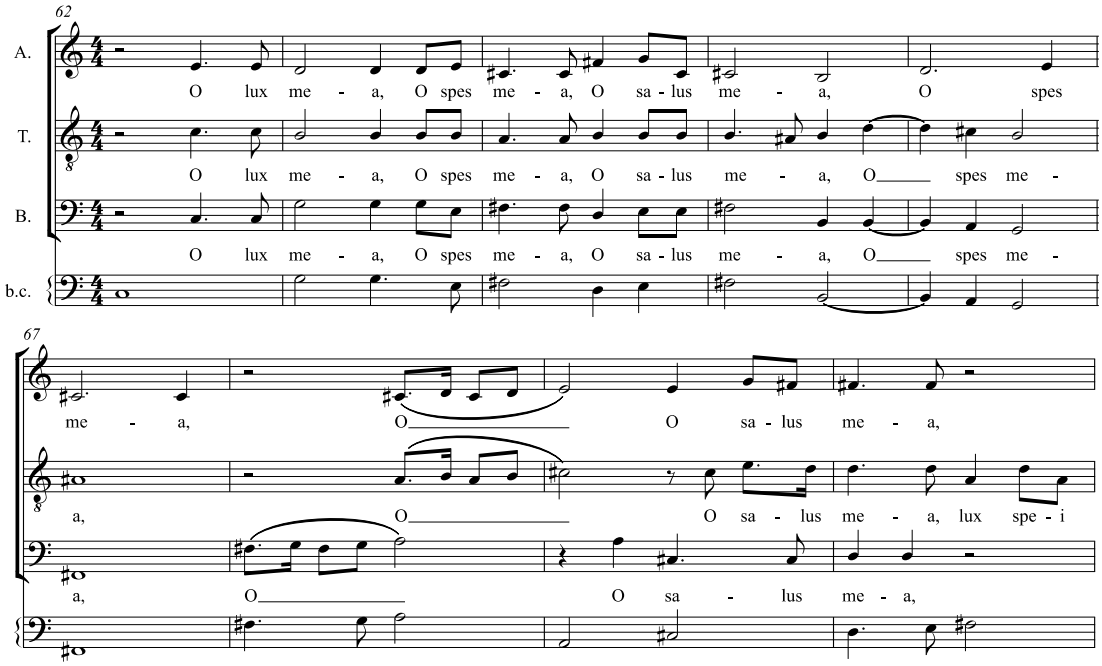


Jeffreys' response to this text is analogous to Aloisi's response in *Quid mihi est in caelo*: both texts depict the consumption and conflagration of mortal man by love for the Divine and both composers reply in chromatic terms. Moreover, if attention is drawn to Jeffreys' own setting of *Quid mihi est in caelo* (ATBbc), his rich harmonic and chromatic resourcefulness is revealed.

[60] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 58.

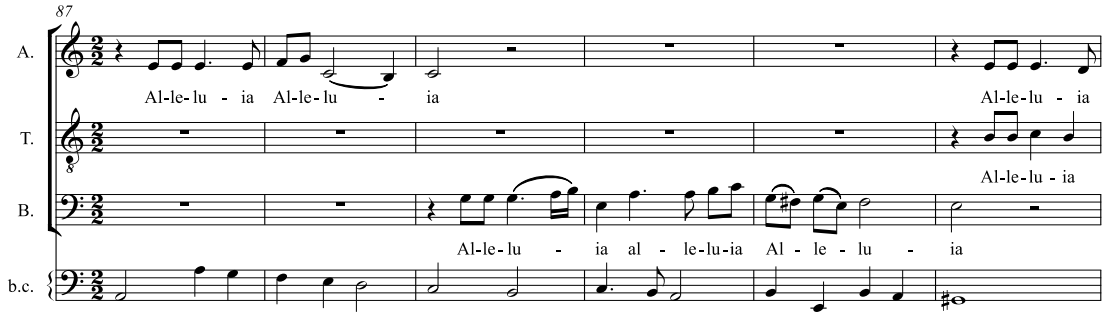
The passage between bars 62–70 begins in C major and within the space of one bar has moved chromatically to the unrelated chord of F♯ minor, before reaching a chord of F♯ major (Ex. 6.33). The tonal centre of F♯ is unrelated and unexpected. Unsurprisingly, the text of this passage—'O lux mea, O spes mea, O salus mea' (O my light, O my hope, O my salvation)—contains the contemplation and adoration of God, couched in sensuous and poetic terms.

Example 6.33: Jeffreys, *Quid mihi est in caelo*, bb.62–70

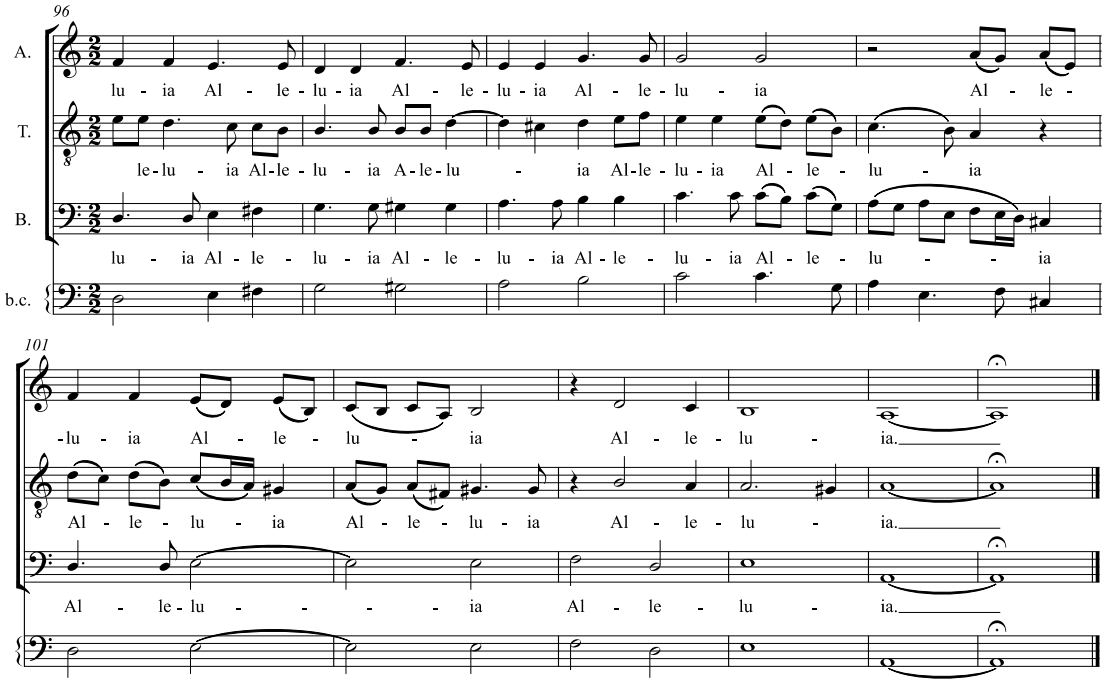


Jeffreys' setting of *Quid mihi est in caelo* concludes with an appended 'alleluia' section, beginning at bar 87. There is something of a textural crescendo in this closing passage whereby the voices enter singly (alto followed by bass), then in pairs (alto and tenor), and finally in a trio (Exx. 6.34 and 6.35).

Example 6.34: Jeffreys, *Quid mihi est in caelo*, bb.87–92



Example 6.35: Jeffreys, *Quid mihi est in caelo*, bb.96–106

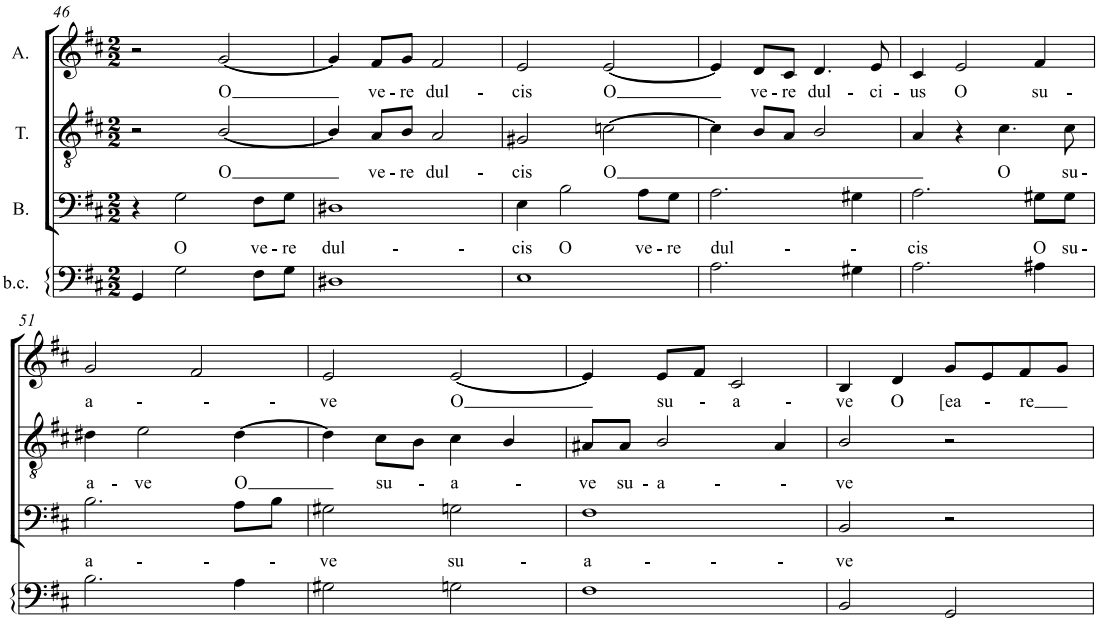


Jeffreys' three-voice setting of *O quam iucundum* (ATBbc) extols the perfection of Christ's virtues and he responds in his idiomatic way. The melodic lines are highly chromatic yet tender, and the sensuously dissonant harmonic idiom they generate is made even more ecstatic by the close spacing of the parts.[61] For example, between bars 46–54 at the text 'O vere dulcis, O suave'

[61] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', IV, 145.

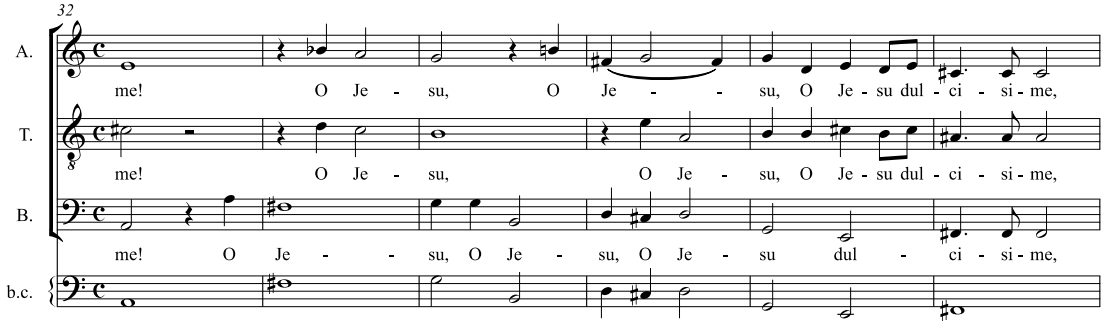
(O true beloved, O sweet), Jeffreys features diminished chords, tertiary shifts of harmony, seventh chords, passing dissonances, suspensions, and chromatic alterations (Ex. 6.36).

Example 6.36: Jeffreys, *O quaum iucundum*, bb.46–54



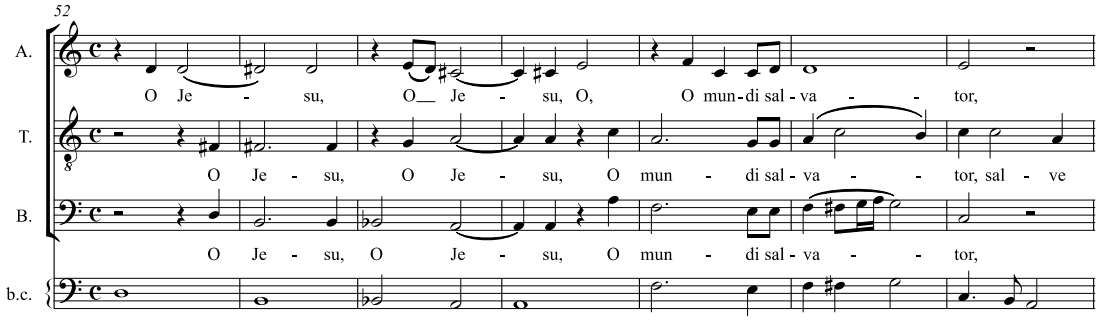
Similarly, in *Caro mea* (ATBbc) the text is concerned with Christ's love for mankind, which provokes a rich chromatic response from Jeffreys. The first section of the motet is characterised by the sentiment of adoration and between bars 32–37, in particular, Jeffreys' use of chromaticism for expressive purposes is evident. The repetition of 'O Jesu' adds pathos to the portrayal of the text and continues until the music cadences on F♯ major and on the word 'dulcissime' (Ex. 6.37).

Example 6.37: Jeffreys, *Caro mea*, bb.32–37[62]



The most extreme chromaticism in this piece, however, is reserved for the closing section where the text becomes an anguished plea for help—'O Jesu, O mundi Salvator, salve me' (O Jesus, saviour of the world, save me). Again, Jeffreys resorts to chromatic alterations, false relations, tertiary shifts of harmony, suspensions, and passing dissonances to portray vividly the sentiment of the text (Ex. 6.38).

Example 6.38: Jeffreys, *Caro mea*, bb.52–58[63]

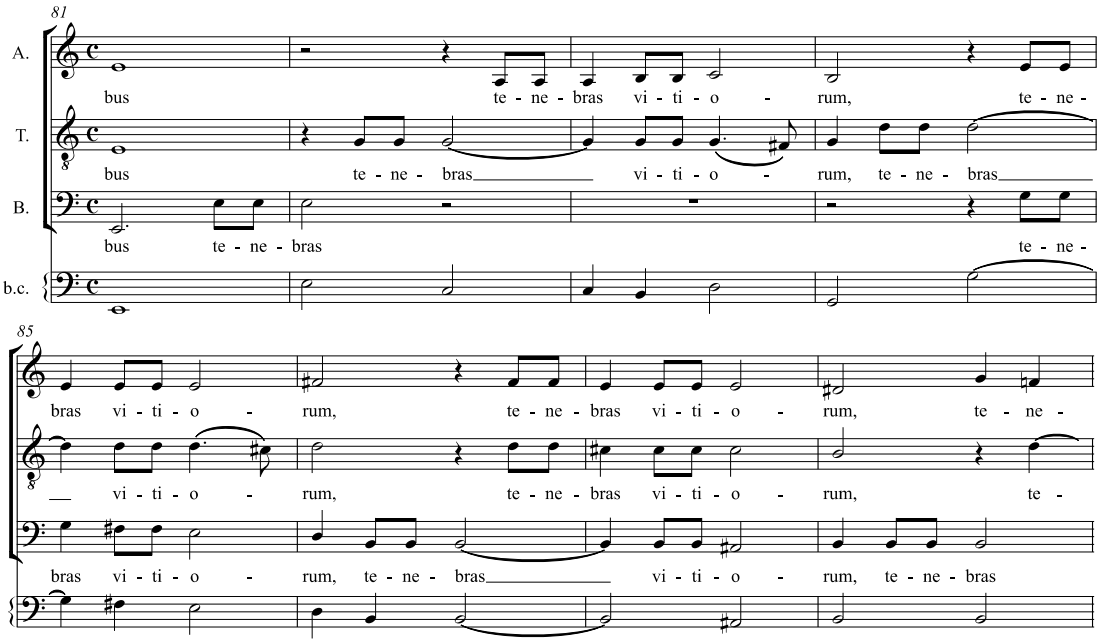


Jeffreys' setting of *Salve caelestis* (ATBbc) makes use of contrasting metres as a structural device. The pieces begins in triple metre and at bar 15 changes to duple metre. However, the opening text returns at bar 92 in strophic variation and the metre reverts back to triple time; the final statement of 'triumphale decus' (triumphant glory) is in duple metre. This motet also

[62] Bergdolt, K. E., *Op. cit.*, II, 96.
[63] *Ibid*., II, 99–100.

contains special harmonic treatment at the text ‘tenebras vitiorum’ (the darkness of our vices), whereby Jeffreys uses astringent dissonant seconds to depict the immorality and wickedness in the hearts of mankind (Ex. 6.39). Jeffreys’ use of seventh chords and 7–6 and 4–3 suspensions adds to the level of dissonance contained in this brief passage.

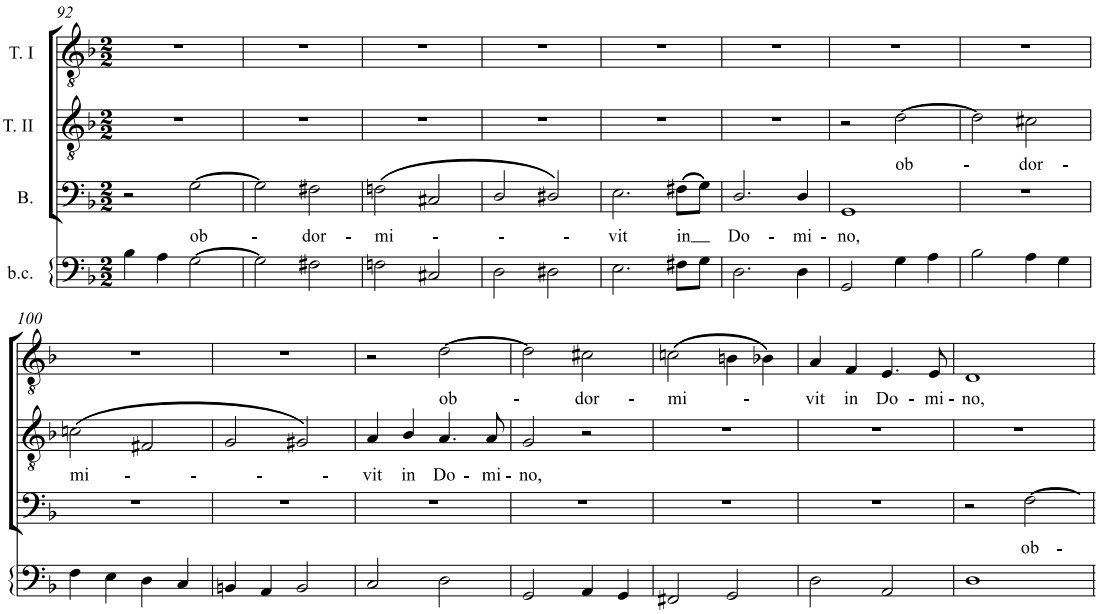
Example 6.39: Jeffreys, *Salve caelestis*, bb.81–88[64]



In his setting of *Lapidabant Stephanum* (TTBbc) Jeffreys includes direct linear melodic chromaticism, again for expressive purposes. At bar 92 the bass enters with a solo chromatic motive that descends two semi tones, falls by a diminished fourth, and then rises three semitones. This melodic figure is subsequently imitated by both tenor II and tenor I respectively (Ex. 6.40).

[64] *Ibid*., II, 183.

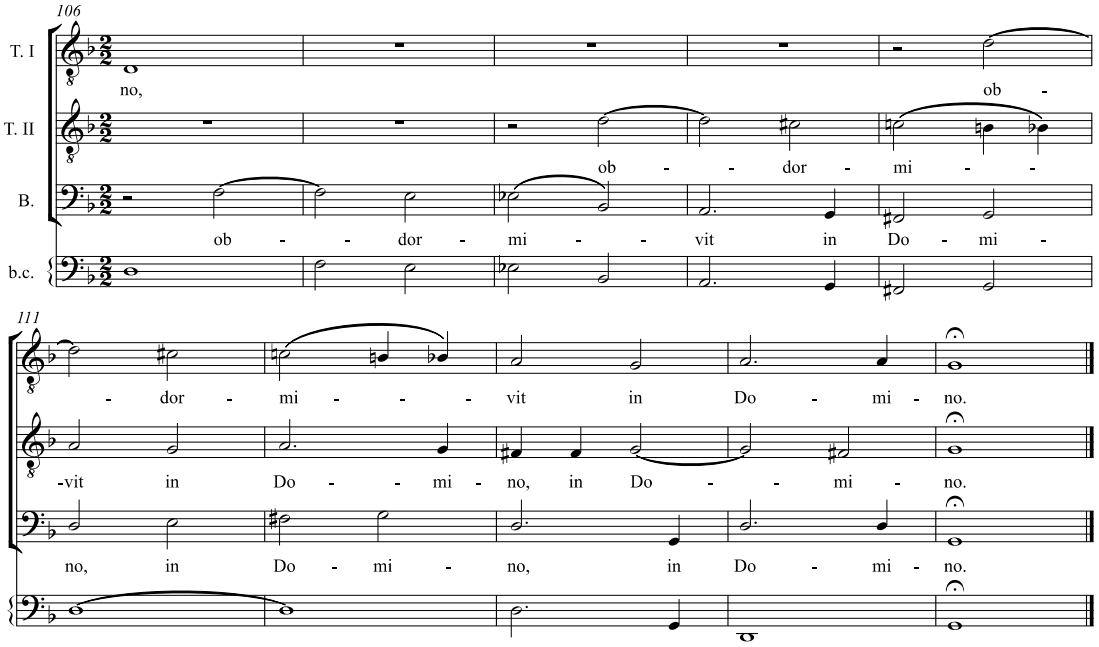
Example 6.40: Jeffreys, *Lapidabant Stephanum*, bb.92–106[65]



The falling melodic chromatic figures suggest the sinking into sleep of the text—'obdormivit in Domino' (to fall asleep in the Lord). Moreover, the resulting harmonic progressions are typical of Jeffreys and help to amplify the physical images of the text. Between bars 106–115 Jeffreys includes suspensions (4–3), diminished chords, sevenths, major and minor chords constructed from the same root, and chromatic alterations (Ex. 6.41). The use of passing harmonic dissonance intensifies the dramatic and emotional effect of the vocal lines and is a frequent characteristic of Jeffreys' work.[66]

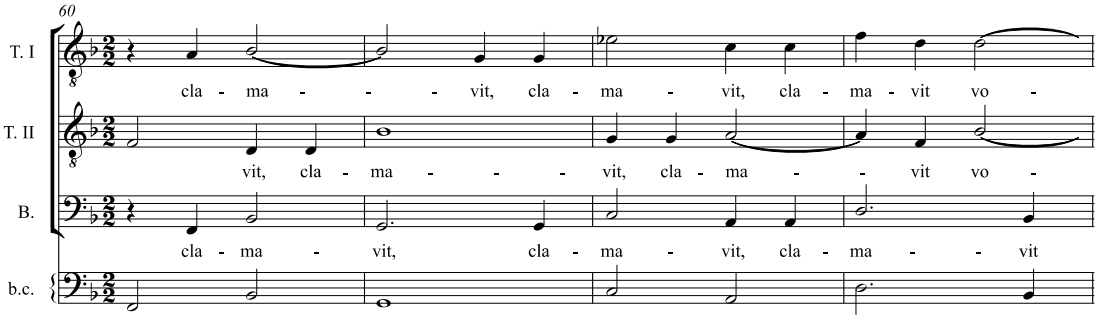
[65] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 46–47.
[66] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', IV, 143.

Example 6.41: Jeffreys, *Lapidabant Stephanum*, bb.106–115[67]



Jeffreys' setting of the word 'clamavit' is also conspicuous in this motet because he imitates the word in musical terms. Between bars 60–63 the word is repeated three times successively and on each repetition the pitch of the motive is raised higher, creating the effect of crying out in more and more urgent tones (Ex. 6.42).[68]

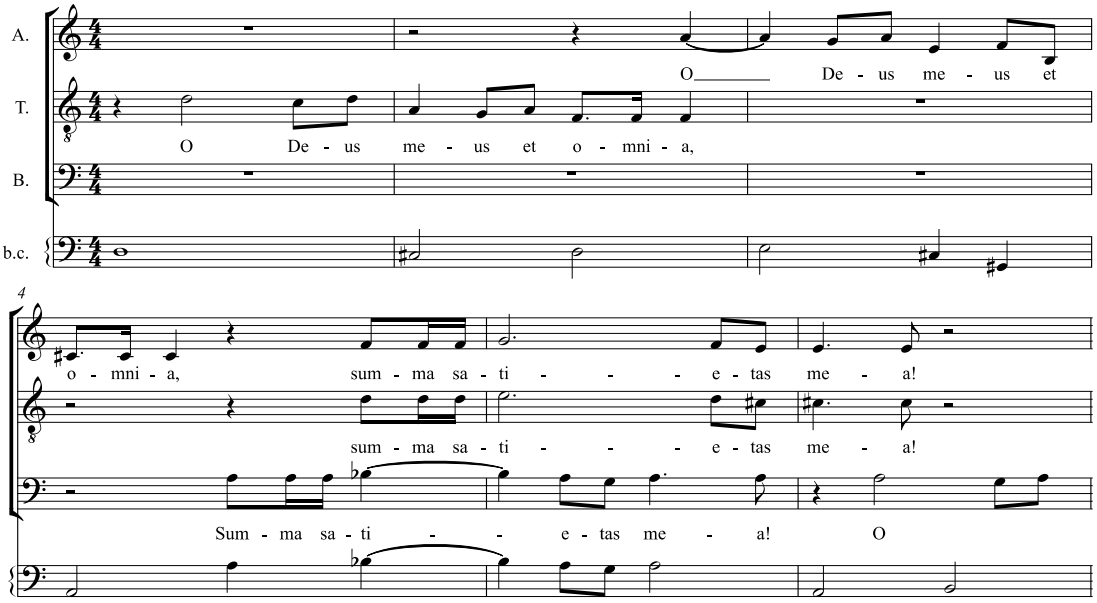
Example 6.42: Jeffreys, *Lapidibant Stephanum*, bb.60–63[69]



[67] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 47.
[68] Bergdolt, K. E., *Op. cit.*, I, 196.
[69] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 45.

Jeffreys composed both a three-voice setting (ATBbc) and a four-voice setting of the text *O Deus meus* but, surprisingly, despite some superficial similarities, the two settings have little in common.[70] The latter will be considered in the following section, but here attention will be paid to the more direct three-voice setting with its more extreme chromaticism and reliance on declamation, which is revealed immediately in the opening bars (Ex. 6.43).

Example 6.43: Jeffreys, *O Deus meus*, bb.1–6[71]

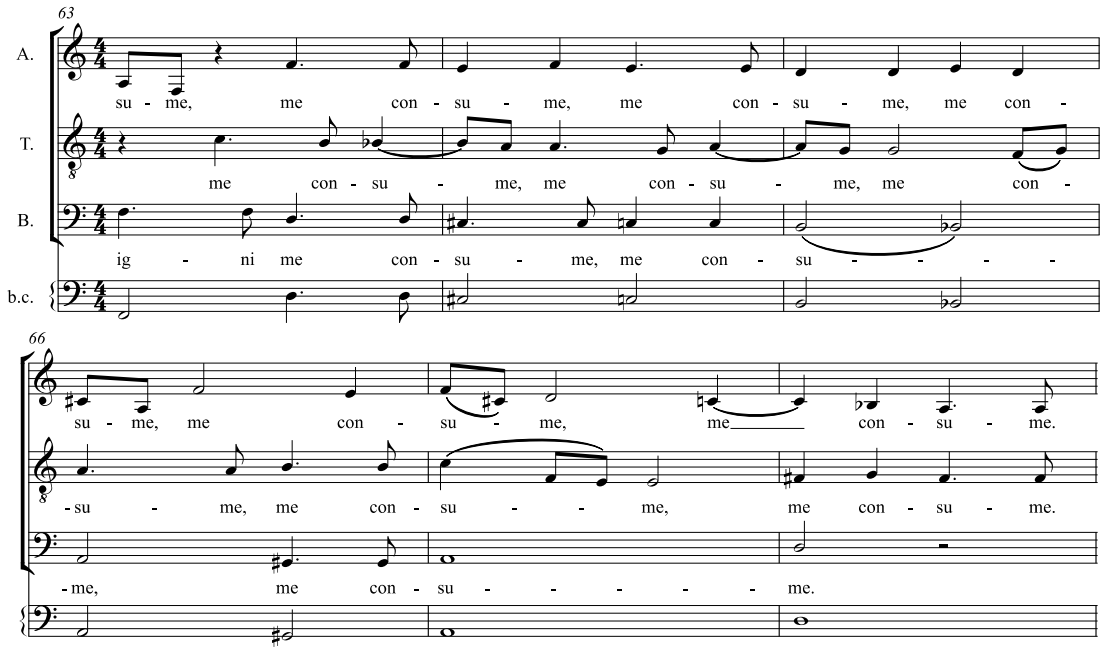


Perhaps the most extraordinary passage in this motet occurs at the text ‘et ardentissimi amoris tu igni, me consume’ (and consume me in the fire of your most loving self). The two motives overlap and are presented simultaneously until the ‘me consume’ motive consumes all three voices. At bar 63 there is a tertiary shift of harmony from F major to D minor and thereafter the bass continues to descend chromatically through a diminished fifth, d–G♯. To increase the intensity of this passage Jeffreys adds a series of 7–6 suspensions over the bass and in bar 67

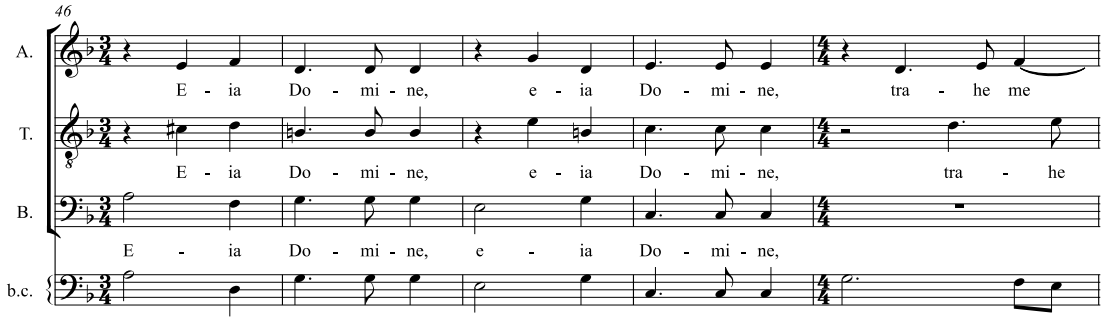
[70] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, ‘George Jeffreys and the English Baroque’, IV, 149.
[71] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 54.

there is a 4–3 suspension at the perfect cadence on D major (Ex. 6.44). This motet also includes a triple-time section (Ex. 6.45) as a means of providing contrast and concludes with an appended 'alleluia' passage.

Example 6.44: Jeffreys, *O Deus meus*, bb.63–68[72]



Example 6.45: Jeffreys, *O Deus meus*, bb.46–50[73]

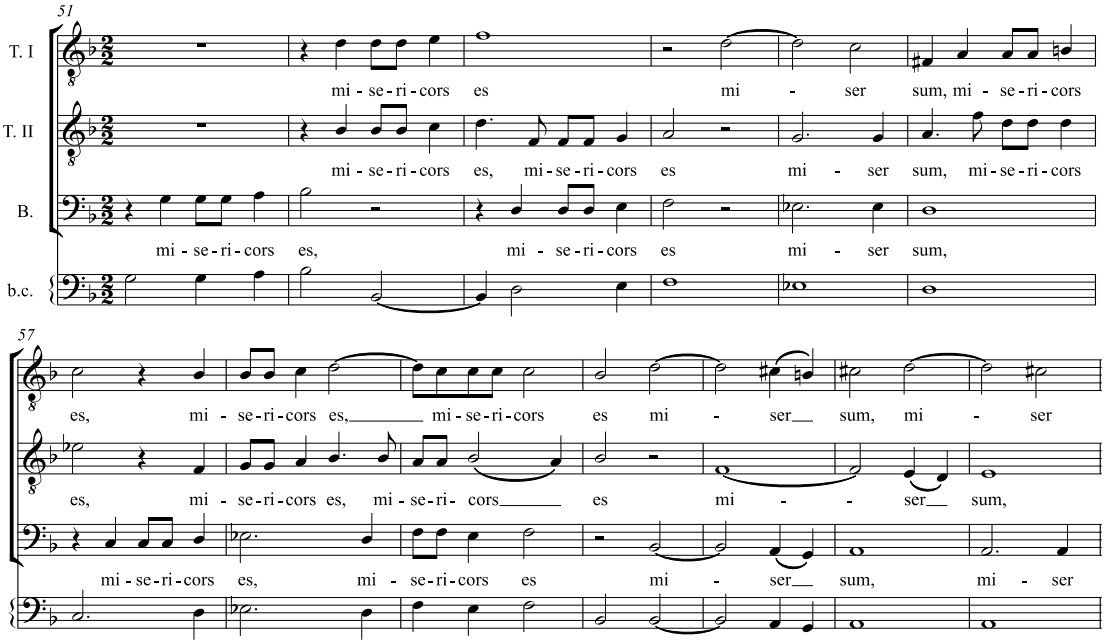


In the final section (bb.51–70) of *Heu mihi, Domine* (TTBbc) Jeffreys once again utilises contrasting motives in order to achieve a sense of climax (Ex. 6.46). The first motive—assigned

[72] *Ibid*., 58.
[73] *Ibid*., 57.

to the text ‘misericors es’ (compassion)—is ‘tender, lyrical and suggests by its upward movement through the sharp fourth a yearning for compassion’.[74] In contrast, the second motive—assigned to the text ‘miser sum’ (misery)—‘portrays the wretchedness of human frailty in pungent suspensions made even more forceful by the way in which the rhythmic movement is held back’.[75] As the passage develops it becomes increasingly more dissonant and not until the final bar does the tension dissipate.

Example 6.46: Jeffreys, *Heu mihi, Domine*, bb.51–63[76]

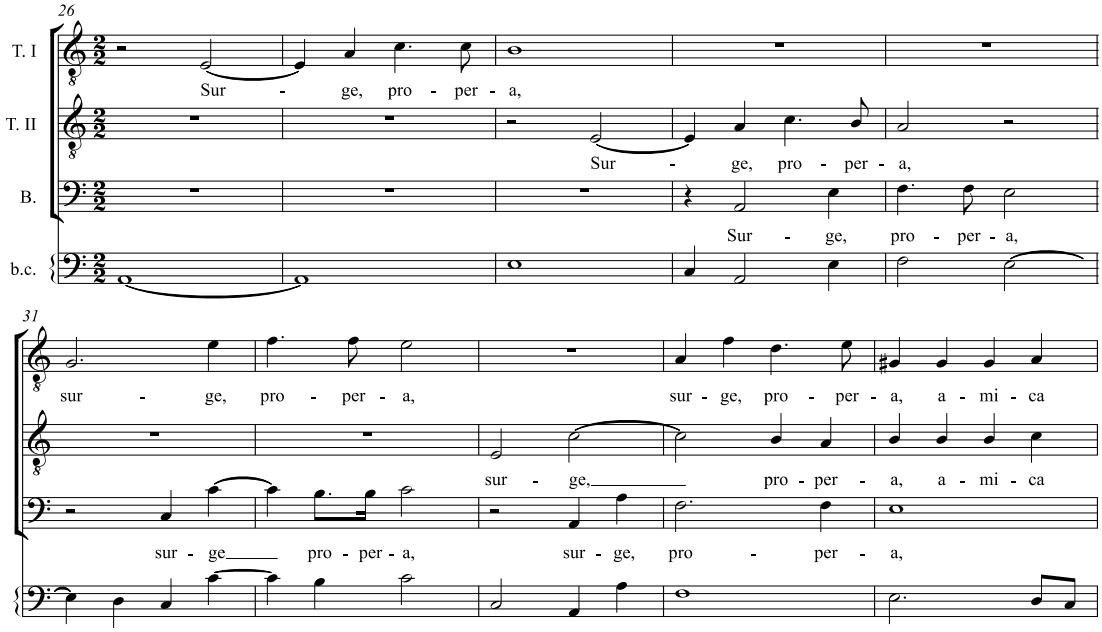


The final three-voice setting to be considered is *Ecce, dilectus meus* (TTBbc), firstly for its affective declamation and secondly for its inclusion of melodic phrases that outline a seventh. At bars 31–35, in particular, Jeffreys’ control over the increasing closeness of the imitative entries brings a sense of urgency to the beloved one’s cries (Ex. 6.47).[77] Furthermore, the word ‘surge’

[74] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, ‘George Jeffreys and the English Baroque’, IV, 149.
[75] *Ibid.*, IV, 149.
[76] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 53.
[77] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, ‘George Jeffreys and the English Baroque’, IV, 147.

(arise) is set appropriately to an ascending figure. Initially the ascending interval is a fourth but to compound the urgency the interval increases to a fifth, a sixth, and an octave.

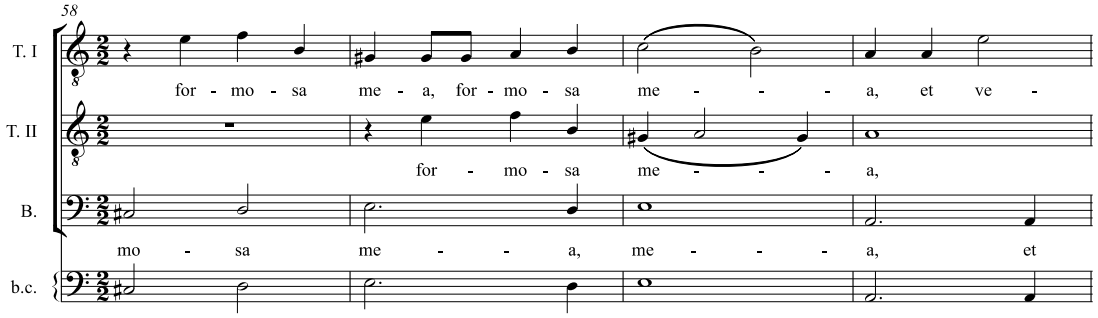
Example 6.47: Jeffreys, *Ecce, dilectus meus*, bb.26–35[78]



Finally, then, there are many instances of disjunct figures in the motives used by Jeffreys and a large number of them outline a variety of chord types, such as major, minor, and diminished triads. Bergdolt has noted that augmented triads and seventh chords (particularly diminished sevenths) are also implied by melodic movement, drawing attention to bars 58–59 of *Ecce, dilectus meus*. Although the fifth is omitted at the text 'formosa mea', the outline of G♯ diminished seventh is clear to see (Ex. 6.48).

[78] Aston, P., ed., *Op. cit., 16 Motets for One, Two or Three Voices*, 49.

Example 6.48: Jeffreys, *Ecce dilectus meus*, bb.58–61[79]



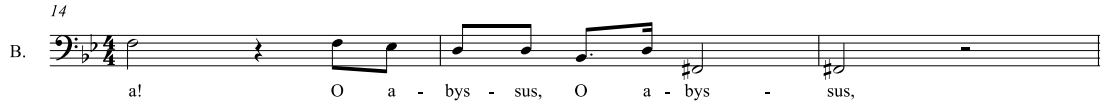
Four-Voice Settings

First to be considered among the four-voice settings are the paired-motets *O Domine Deus* (ATTBbc) and *O Deus meus* (ATTBbc), which return to the theme of human contemplation and adoration of the Divine. Jeffreys' harmonic idiom and use of close voice spacing in *O Domine Deus* produces one of the most richly textured works in his output. The motet begins with the bass and tenor II in minor thirds, which is briefly interrupted with a 4–♯3 suspension at the end of bar 1. A second declamatory motive is introduced by the alto in bar 2 and is taken up by the other voices in turn until a four-part texture is realised in bar 6. A series of imitative points follows and both the two tenors and two upper voices proceed in parallel thirds at different points. Jeffreys' affective melodic writing is demonstrated clearly at his setting of the word 'abyssus' (depth) which descends disjunctly through the interval of a major seventh in the bass voice, reflecting the meaning of the word (Ex. 6.49a). This device is repeated later in the motet where Jeffreys sets the word 'torrens' (flood) to a descending minor seventh in all parts, but this time the melodic writing is conjunct and is coterminous with the idea of flowing (Ex. 6.49b). As

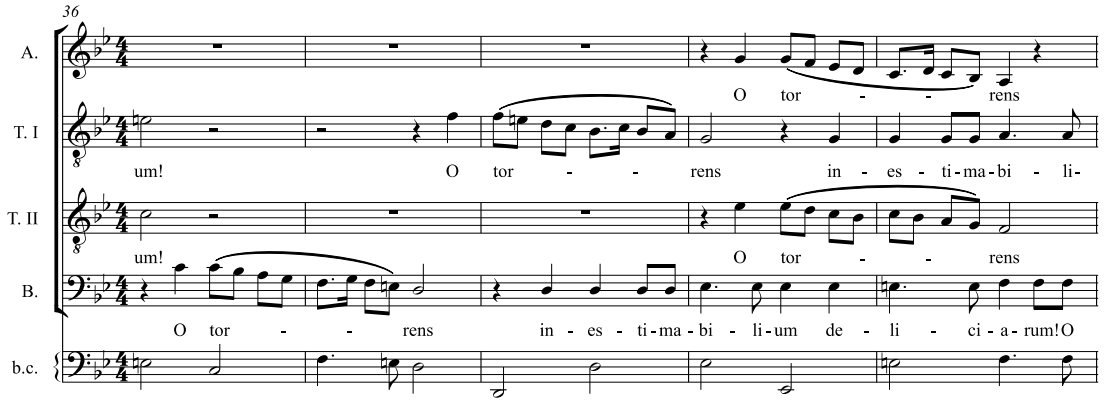
[79] *Ibid*., 50.

the motet continues Jeffreys brings the entries of this motive closer to increase the affective intensity of the music.

Example 6.49a: Jeffreys, *O Domine Deus*, bb.14–16[80]



Example 6.49b: Jeffreys, *O Domine Deus*, bb.36–40[81]



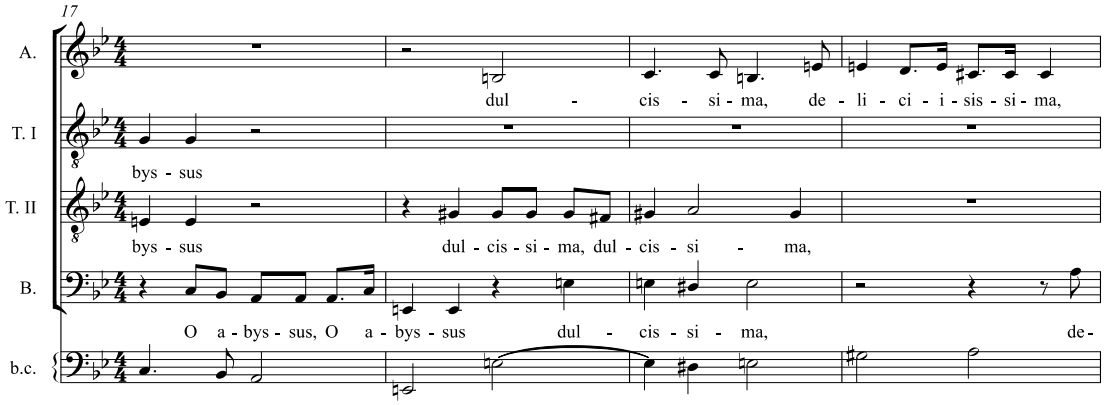
However, it is the harmonic structure of the work that has the greatest affective intensity. The first dramatic and unexpected change of harmony occurs at bars 17–18, whereby the music is suddenly unsettled by a tertiary shift from a chord of C major to E major at the word 'dulcissime' (most pleasant). The following bar includes a number of passing dissonances such as an augmented triad, a seventh, and a 4–3 suspension (Ex. 6.50).

Throughout this work passing dissonances feature prominently and Aston has suggested that, in this respect, Jeffreys' harmonic idiom is reminiscent of Carissimi.[82] Jeffreys certainly shares with

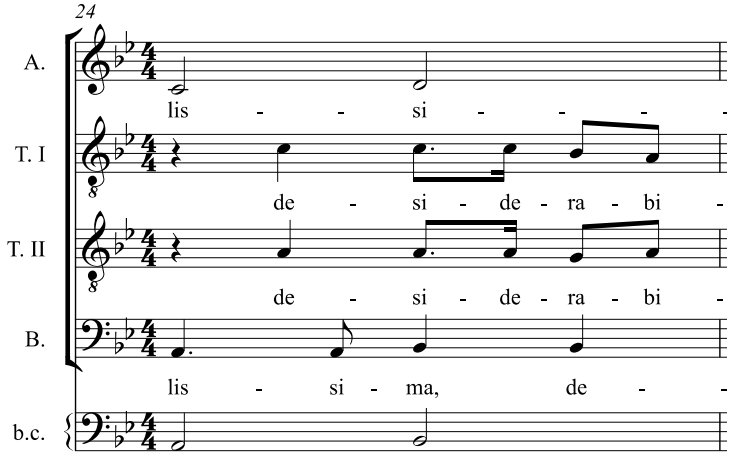
[80] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', II, 375–76.
[81] *Ibid.*, II, 378–79.
[82] *Ibid.*, IV, 150.

Carissimi a predilection for double suspensions, favouring a 9–7 sonority in particular, which he uses on the word ‘desiderabilissima’ in bar 24 (Ex. 6.51).

Example 6.50: Jeffreys, *O Domine Deus*, bb.17–20[83]



Example 6.51: Jeffreys, *O Domine Deus*, b.24[84]

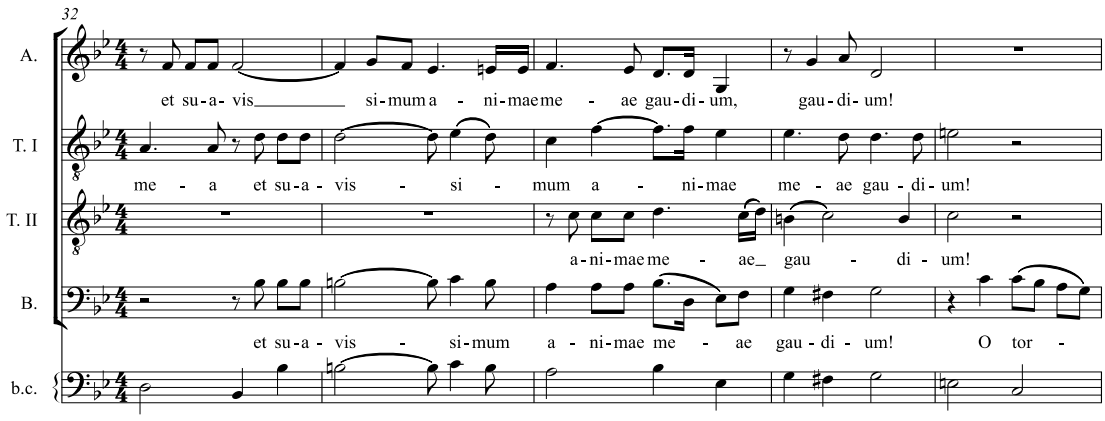


Perhaps one of the most extreme passages of chromaticism and passing dissonances features between bars 32–36 (Ex. 6.52). At bar 32 the continuo descends a third, contrasting the tertian harmonies of D minor and B♭ major. The chromatic alteration in the bass voice between b♭–b♮ results in a diminished chord and is followed by a number of seconds between the two upper

[83] *Ibid*., II, 376.
[84] *Ibid*., II, 377.

voices and a seventh in tenor II on the fourth beat of bar 34. The first beat of bar 35 is an E♭ augmented chord, which is followed by a 9–7 chord above the bass f♯ before the passage comes to rest by way of a perfect cadence on C major, accompanied by a 4–3 suspension.

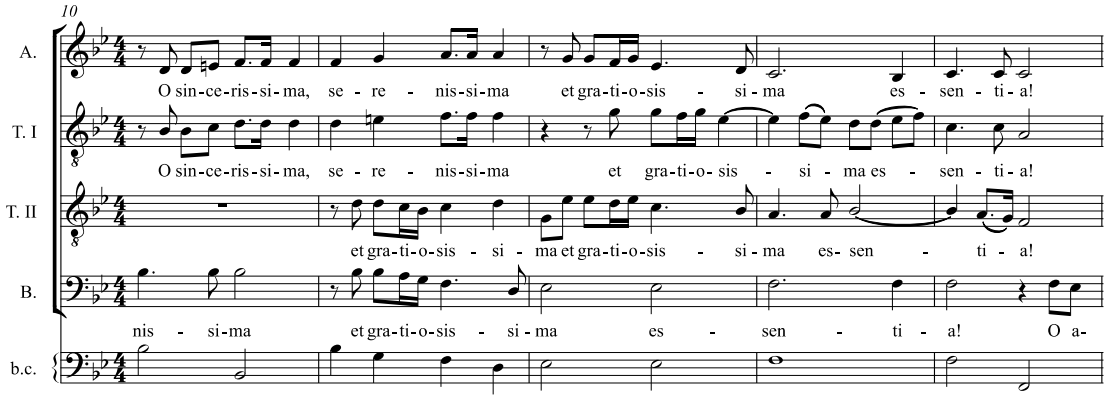
Example 6.52: Jeffreys, *O Domine Deus*, bb.32–36[85]



O Domine Deus exemplifies the texture that Jeffreys is able to achieve through the close spacing of parts, which often intensifies the voluptuous harmonies for which he had a proclivity. In example 6.53, the following observations can be made: in bars 10–11 there are two pairs of voices (AT and TB), each a third apart; at their closest, the alto and bass are only a fourth apart; between bars 12–14 tenor II lies, by and large, a third below the alto; again, between bars 12–14, the alto and tenor I parts cross, with tenor I ascending to a fifth above the alto.

[85] *Ibid*., II, 378.

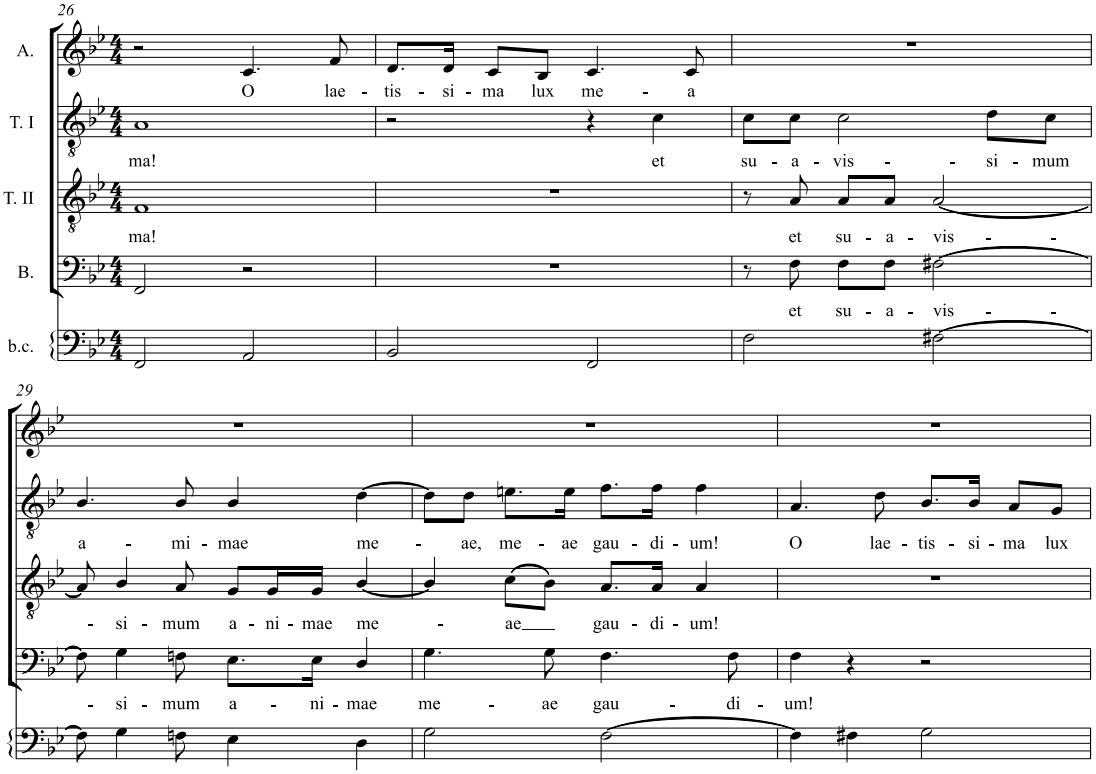
Example 6.53: Jeffreys, *O Domine Deus*, bb.10–14[86]



A corresponding passage occurs a little later in the motet, between bars 26–31 (Ex. 6.54). This passage comprises, by and large, the three lower voices. At bar 27 the melodic figure in the alto part ceases but tenor I enters on beat 4 at the same pitch in an almost seamless transition; the alto part then drops out. The subsequent texture is, perhaps, best referred to as 'voice leading', whereby 'attention is focussed on the leading voice—usually the highest part—while the others provide harmonic support'.[87] Again, in this example, both tenor I and tenor II, and tenor II and bass are predominantly situated a third apart.

[86] *Ibid*., II, 375.
[87] *Ibid.*, IV, 176.

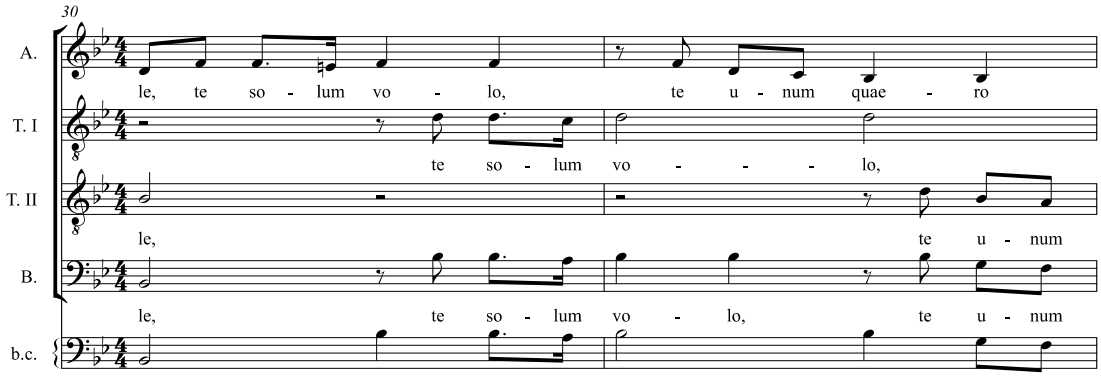
Example 6.54: Jeffreys, *O Domine Deus*, bb.26–31[88]



This close spacing of voices features in *O Deus meus* too, particularly between bars 30–40. As the declamatory motives ‘te solum volo’ (for you alone I wish) and ‘te unum quaero’ (you alone I seek) are imitated the voices cross parts and, notably, in bar 31 the bass and alto meet at the pitch b (Ex. 6.55).

[88] *Ibid*., II, 377.

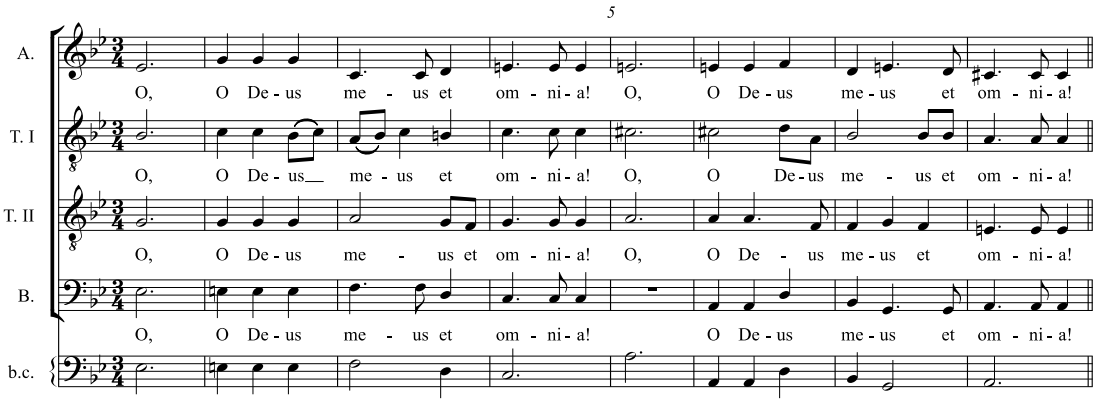
Example 6.55: Jeffreys, *O Deus meus*, bb.30–31[89]



Like *O Domine Deus*, *O Deus meus* relies on rich vocal textures, Jeffreys' idiosyncratic harmonic idiom, and sensuous and passing dissonances. Jeffreys makes use of triple-time sections in this motet, but they are not used as a means of contrast and are almost imperceptible. Indeed, 'O Deus meus' opens in a triple metre, but this is to accommodate the scansion of the text rather than for any aesthetic purpose, moving to a duple metre in bar 9. The motet begins with a homophonic texture and the voices are spaced closely together. The opening chord of E♭ major is immediately contradicted in the following bar by a tertiary shift of harmony to C major and, moreover, the restatement of the text 'O Deus meus et omnia' is accompanied by a tertiary shift of harmony from C major to A major (Ex. 6.56). In the space of only five bars, then, the music has moved from E♭ to A, and Jeffreys' manipulation of this unexpected harmonic progression is used for affective purposes, namely to convey man's adoration of the Divine.

[89] *Ibid*., II, 385.

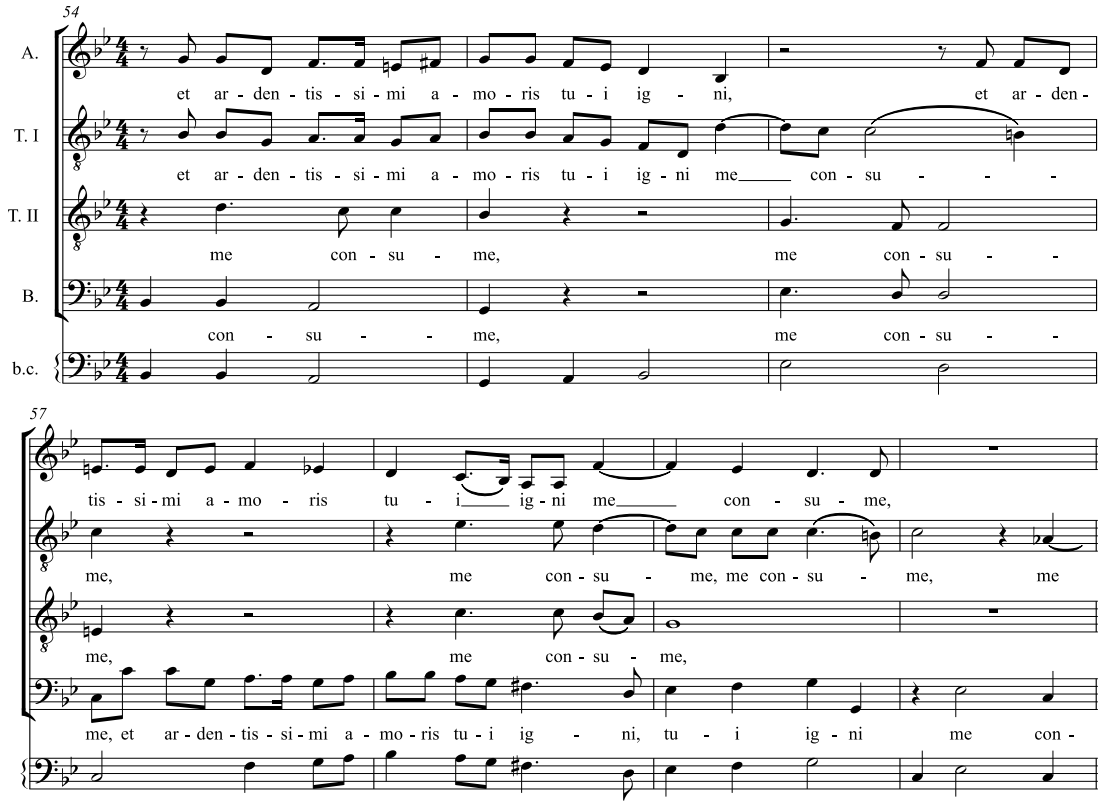
Example 6.56: Jeffreys, *O Deus meus*, bb.1–8[90]



At the text ‘et ardentissimi amoris tui igni me consume’ (and consume me in the fire of your most loving self), Jeffreys uses contrasting and complementary motives that are presented simultaneously: the first declamatory and the second in longer note values with accompanying dissonance (Ex. 6.57). At bar 56, for example, there are two successive 7–6 suspensions and in bar 58 there is a diminished chord followed by another 7–6 suspension; the voices are again very closely spaced. As the motet draws to a close, the opening text returns, initially in a comparable texture, but the music is extended and there is a return to duple metre and an imitative texture. Between bars 68–71 there is once again a profusion of 7–6 suspensions and a 4–3 suspension at the perfect cadence on B♭ (Ex. 6.58).

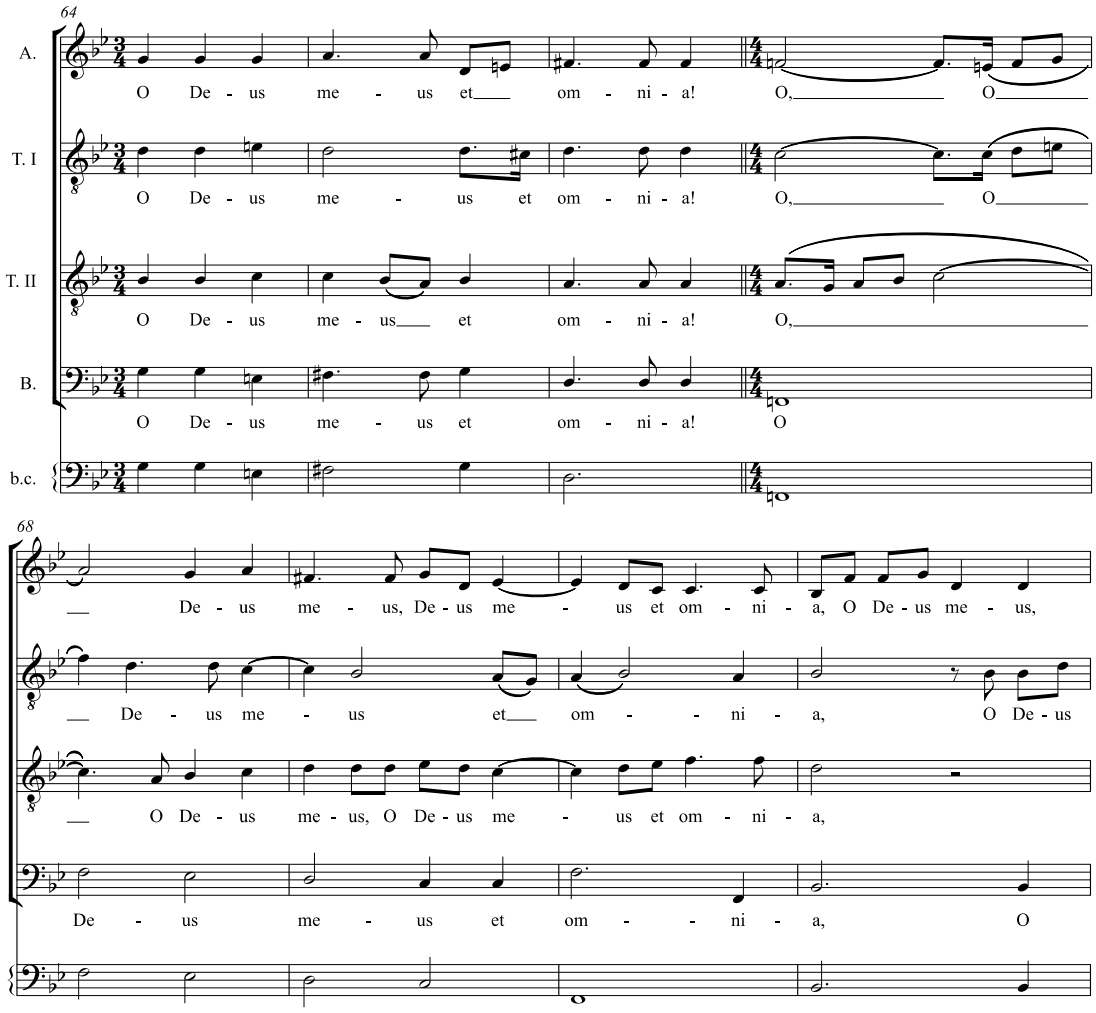
[90] *Ibid*., II, 382.

Example 6.57: Jeffreys, *O Deus meus*, bb.54–60[91]



[91] *Ibid*., II, 388–89.

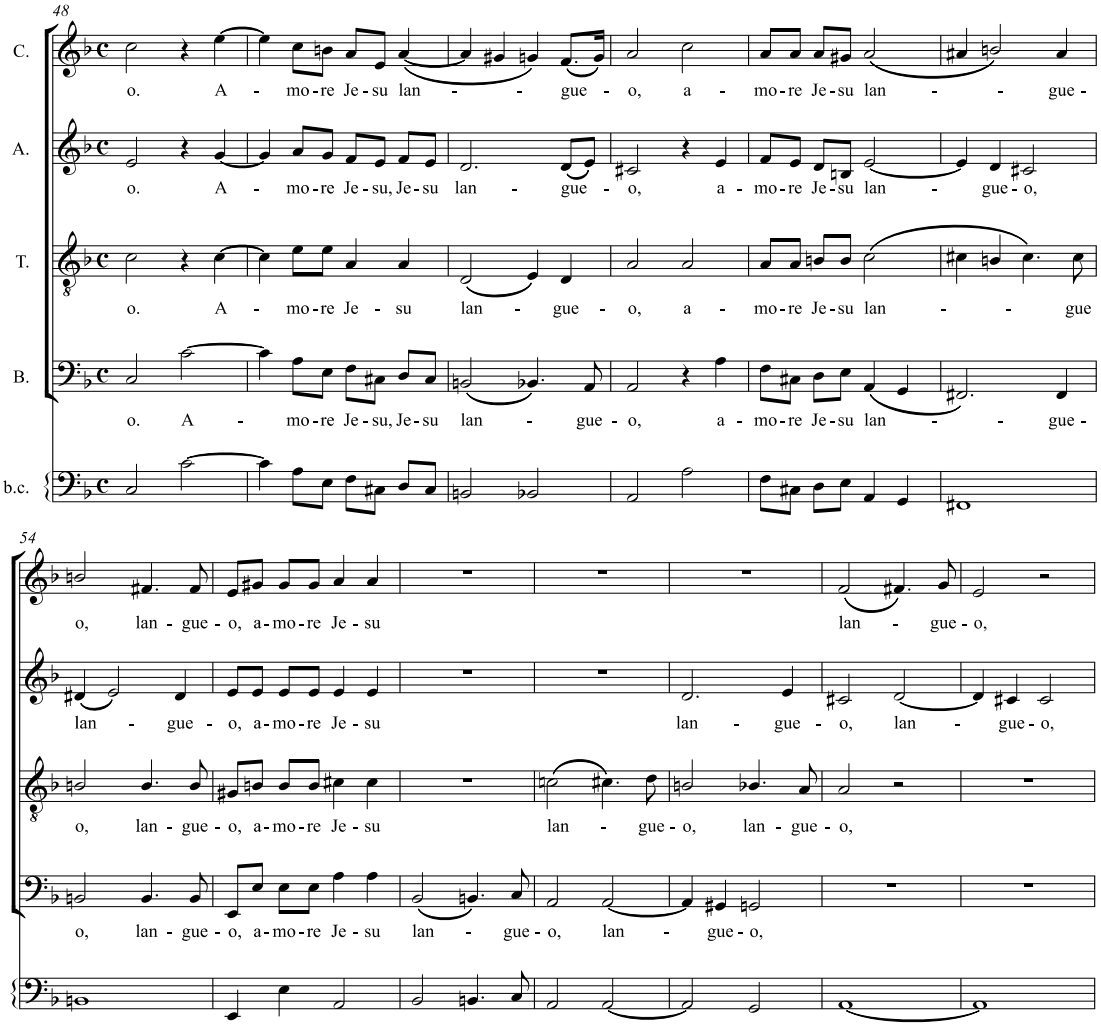
Example 6.58: Jeffreys, *O Deus meus*, bb.64–71[92]



In his settings of *Jesu dulcedo cordium* (CATBbc) and *Turn thou us, O good Lord* (ATTBbc), in particular, Jeffreys uses chromatic dissonances and agonising suspensions to portray vividly the sentiment of the text. For example, the text 'amore Jesu langueo' (I languish with love for Jesus), is set simultaneously to chromatically ascending and descending melodic lines that create passing dissonances, especially 7–6 and 4–3 suspensions (Ex. 6.59).

[92] *Ibid*., II, 389–90.

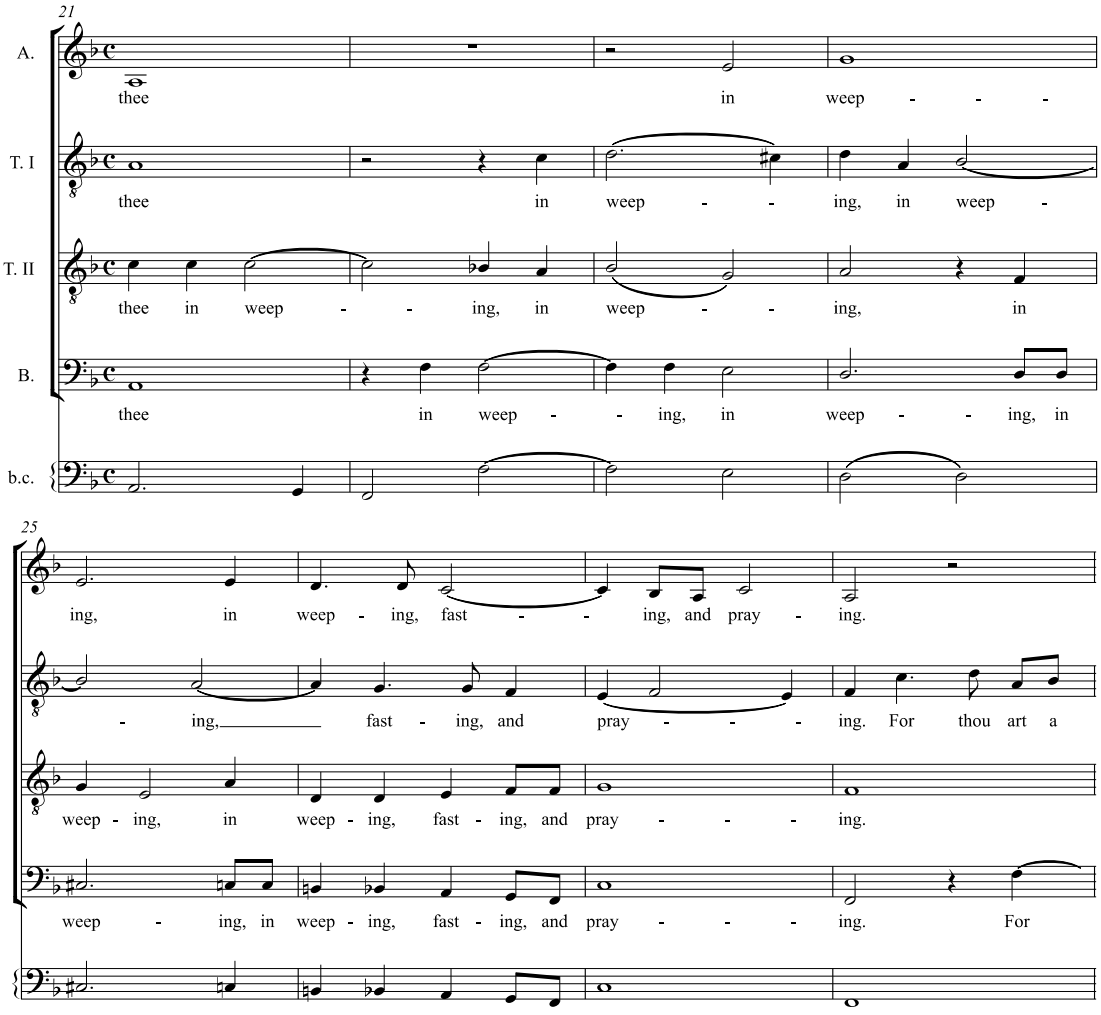
Example 6.59: Jeffreys, *Jesu dulcedo cordium*, bb.48–60[93]



A similar response can be seen in Jeffreys' depiction of 'weeping' at bars 21–28 of *Turn thou us, O good Lord* (Ex. 6.60). This passage contains a number of 7–6 and 4–3 suspensions but in addition, Jeffreys includes a diminished seventh chord, a diminished and an augmented chord, added sevenths and, notably, a descending chromatic bass line that includes chromatic alterations on both C♯–C♮ and B♮–B♭.[94]

[93] Bergdolt, K. E., *Op. cit.*, III, 85–87.
[94] See also *Awake my soul*, *Sing unto the Lord*, and *Et recordatus* for the expression of grief in a dissonant texture.

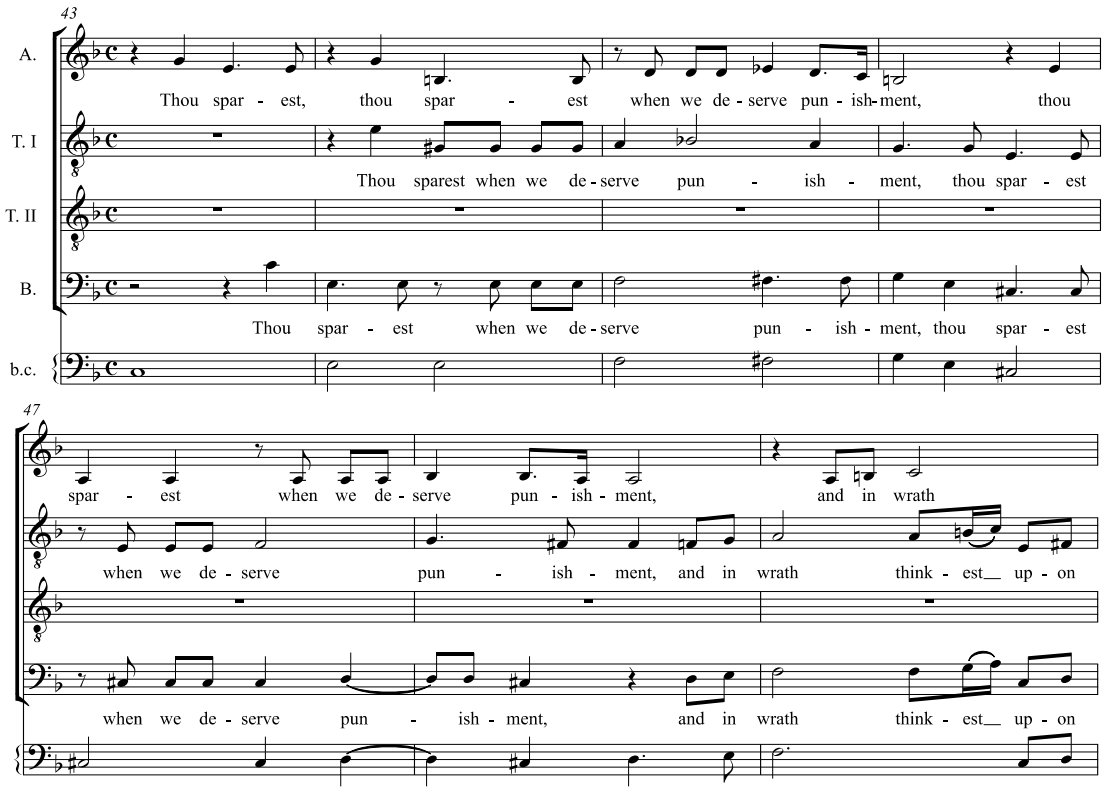
Example 6.60: Jeffreys, *Turn thou us, O good Lord*, bb.21–28[95]



Likewise, at the text 'thou sparest when we deserve punishment, and in wrath' later on in this anthem Jeffreys returns to the employment of added chromatic dissonances and features an unsettling harmonic progression, replete with false relations, suspensions, tertiary shifts, and augmented sonorities (Ex. 6.61).

[95] Bergdolt, K. E., *Op. cit.*, III, 188–89.

Example 6.61: Jeffreys, *Turn thou us, O good Lord*, bb.43–49[96]

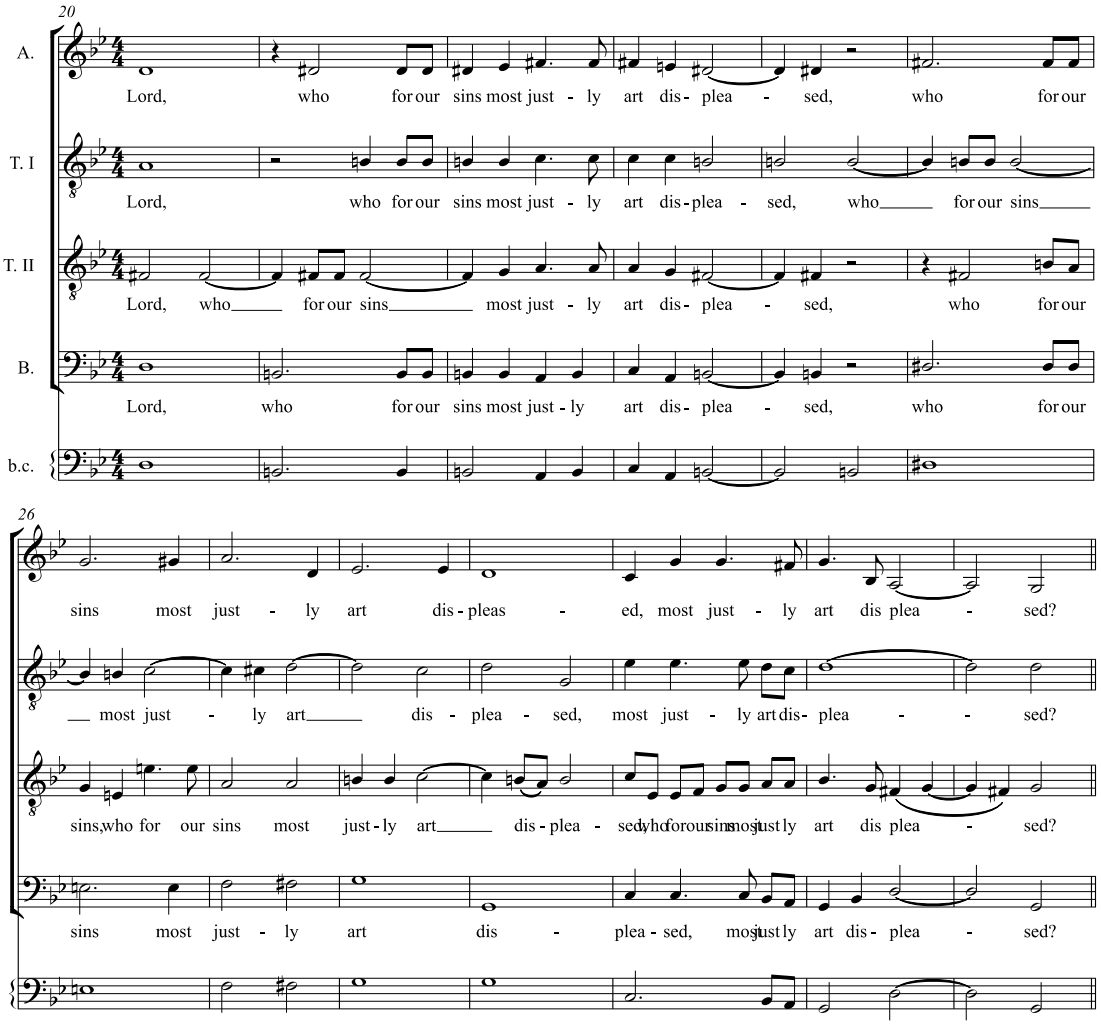


Some of Jeffreys' most extreme chromaticism and dissonance, however, can be found in his setting of the burial anthem *In the midst of life* (ATTBbc). The passage between bars 20–32 contains the text 'who for our sins most justly art displeased?' and in the words of Aston, 'the music vividly enacts the emotional sense of the words, losing sight of its tonality just as we through our sins have lost sight of God' (Ex. 6.62).[97] The anthem begins in G minor and at bar 20 comes to rest on its dominant chord, D major. In the following bar G minor is abandoned and Jeffreys moves to the unexpected chord of B major, juxtaposing harmonies related by a third. Over the course of this violently chromatic passage the music passes through E minor and C minor before returning to the tonic key of G minor at bar 32; it is no longer possible, however, to

[96] *Ibid*., III, 192–93.
[97] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', IV, 178.

recognise any firm tonal centre. With the exception of the tenor II part, all the voices include chromatically ascending melodic lines and the close voice spacing adds to the intensity of the passage. Moreover, Jeffreys includes suspensions, diminished triads, augmented triads, and added sevenths to increase the level of dissonance present throughout this passage, conveying, in musical terms, the sentiment of the text.

Example 6.62: Jeffreys, *In the midst of life*, bb.20–32[98]

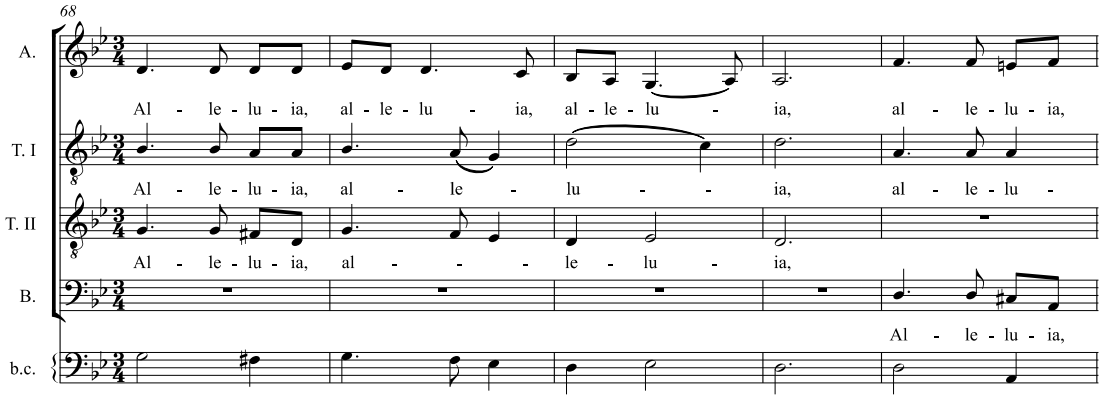


[98] *Ibid.*, II, 511–12.

This passage is followed by a short contrasting homophonic and triple-time section in which the G minor tonality is restored. At the text 'bitter pains of eternal death', between bars 50–67, Jeffreys returns to chromatic dissonance, but not reaching the same disturbing extent as earlier. The sentiment of the text is depicted in musical terms through the employment of chromaticism, augmented triads, added sevenths, false relations, and suspensions. *In the midst of life* provides a prime example of Jeffreys' careful structural planning whereby the final section is reserved for catharsis and 'must be seen as a consummation of the entire work'.[99] In contrast to many anthems of the Restoration, where the inclusion of an 'alleluia' section was almost perfunctory and intended to meet the demands of fashion, Jeffreys' 'alleluia' is an integral part of this work.[100] The inclusion of an 'alleluia' section to a text from the Burial Service may seem paradoxical, however, 'the words—such as they are—are irrelevant: the music now takes over and becomes the sole means of expression'.[101] The contrasting triple metre and lyricism of this rather lengthy passage (bb.68–89) help to achieve a sense of extreme pathos, offering a much-needed tranquillity after the violent chromaticism found earlier in the work (Ex. 6.63). This 'alleluia' section is profoundly moving and could be seen as 'an expression of deep and unquestioning personal faith'.[102]

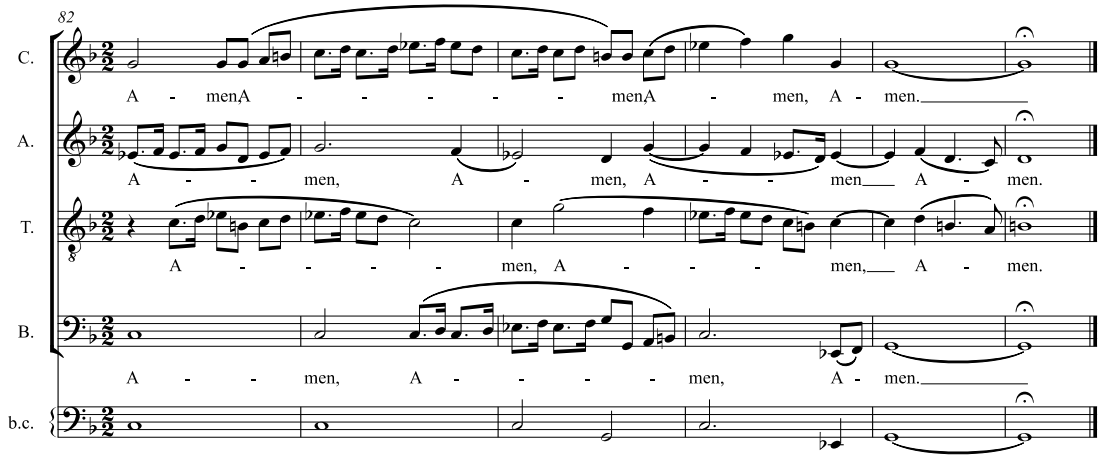
[99] *Ibid.*, IV, 179.
[100] *Ibid.*, IV, 179.
[101] *Ibid.*, IV, 179.
[102] *Ibid.*, IV, 206.

Example 6.63: Jeffreys, *In the midst of life*, bb.68–72[103]



Probably the most profoundly moving 'alleluia' section can be found in Jeffreys' Whitsunday anthem *A Music Strange* (see Chapter 7). A rather more climactic concluding section can be observed in *O bone Jesu* (CATBbc) where Jeffreys appends an 'amen' passage that features extensive melismatic writing and the inclusion of the dotted-quaver rhythm (Ex. 6.64). Jeffreys' compositional procedure here resembles that observed in Tomasi's *O gloriosa Domina* (Ex. 5/1.37).

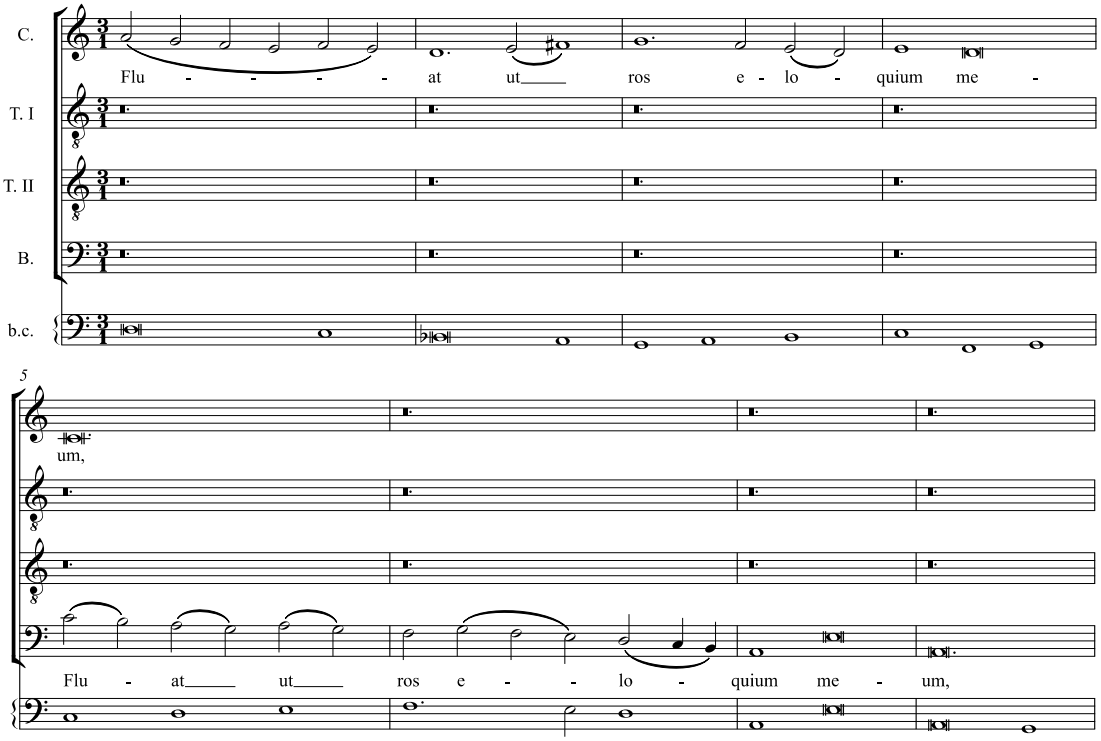
Example 6.64: Jeffreys, *O bone Jesu*, bb.82–87



[103] *Ibid.*, II, 516.

The examples of triple-time metre in the four-voice settings have hitherto been inconspicuous, but in the motet *Audite coeli* (CTTBbc) Jeffreys includes a contrasting triple-time section in response to the text (Ex. 6.65). At the new line of text 'Fluat ut ros eloquium meum' (Let my speech distil as the dew) Jeffreys changes from duple metre to triple, representing the literal meaning of the word 'fluat' (flow).

Example 6.65: Jeffreys, *Audite coeli*[104]



The final two four-voice works to be considered, primarily for their use of contrasting but complementary motives, are *O quam iucundum* (CTTBbc) and *Turn thee again* (AATBbc). In his setting of *O quam iucundum* Jeffreys introduces a new declamatory figure at the text 'Ah mi, Jesu' (Ah, my Jesus) in the lower two voices (Ex. 6.66a), which is contrasted with the

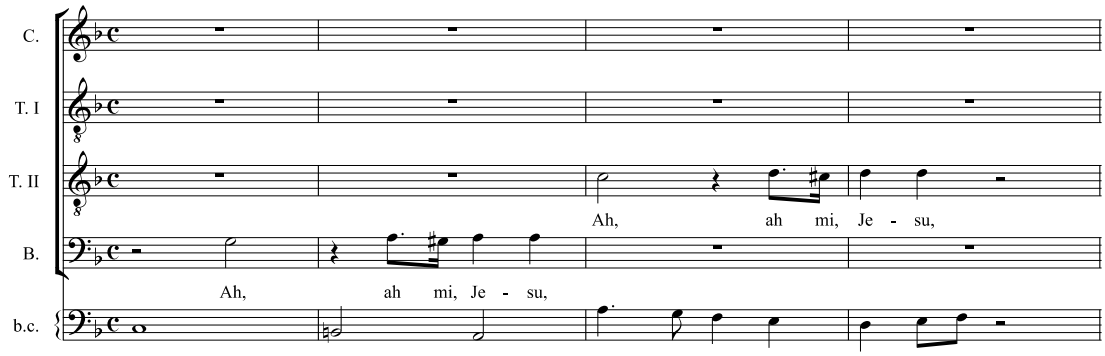
[104] *Ibid.*, III, 719.

complementary figure assigned to the text ‘te solum sitis mea requirit’ (you are my only requirement) in the upper two voices (Ex. 6.66b).[105] Aston writes:

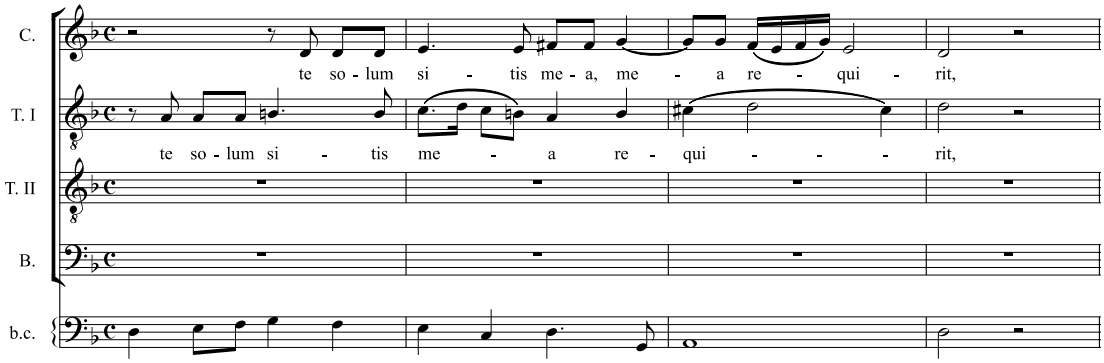
> These two contrasted musical ideas are played off against each other. The first phrase is repeated by the lower voices, then developed by all four, and the passage eventually leads to an unbroken four-part texture at the phrase ‘ad te solum suspirat’. In this way, Jeffreys is able to build towards a dramatic climax by developing two contrasted but complementary thematic motives.[106]

Jeffreys’ sensual dissonant harmonic idiom in this motet is made more ecstatic by the close spacing of the parts (Ex. 6.67).[107]

Example 6.66a: Jeffreys, *O quam iucundum*[108]

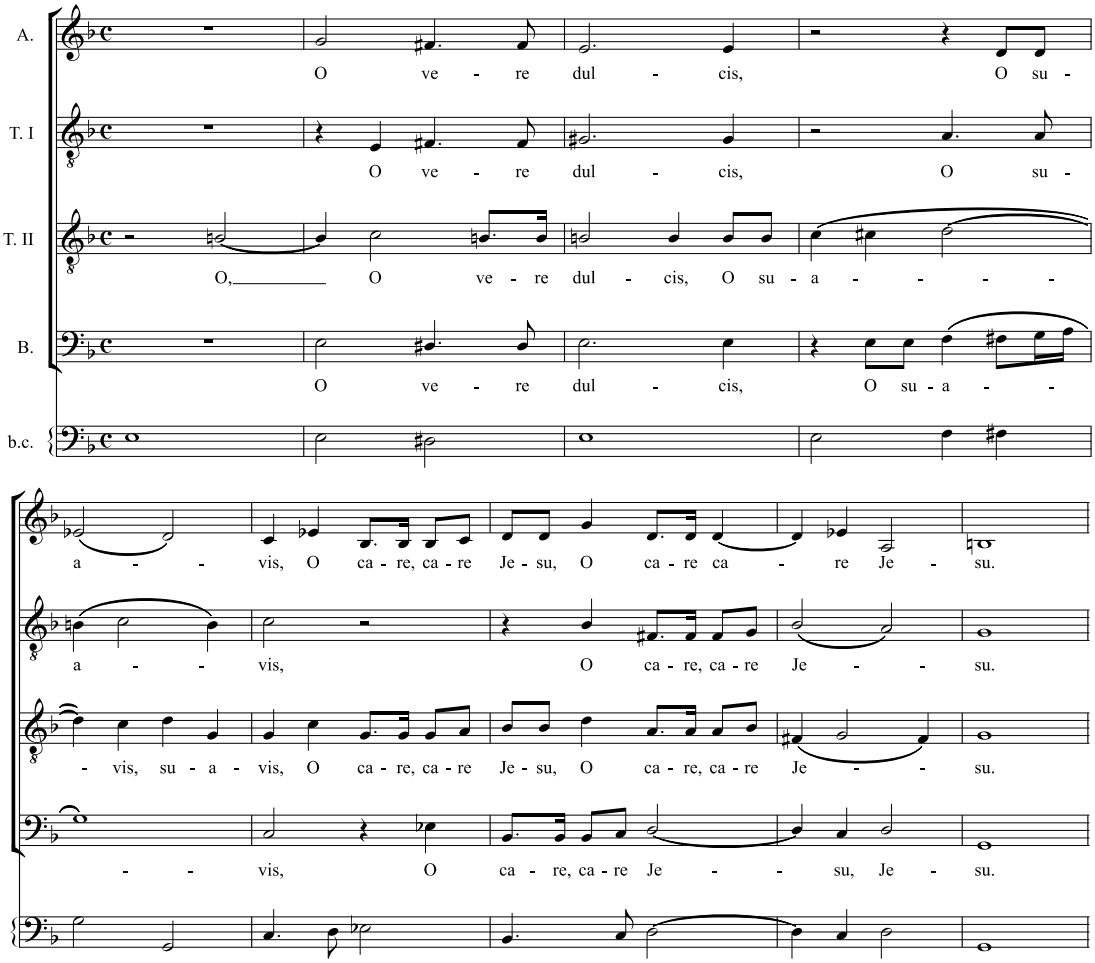


Example 6.66b: Jeffreys, *O quam iucundum*[109]



[105] *Ibid.*, IV, 145.
[106] *Ibid.*, IV, 145.
[107] *Ibid.*, IV, 145.
[108] *Ibid.*, III, 708.
[109] *Ibid.*, III, 709.

Example 6.67: Jeffreys, *O quam iucundum*[110]

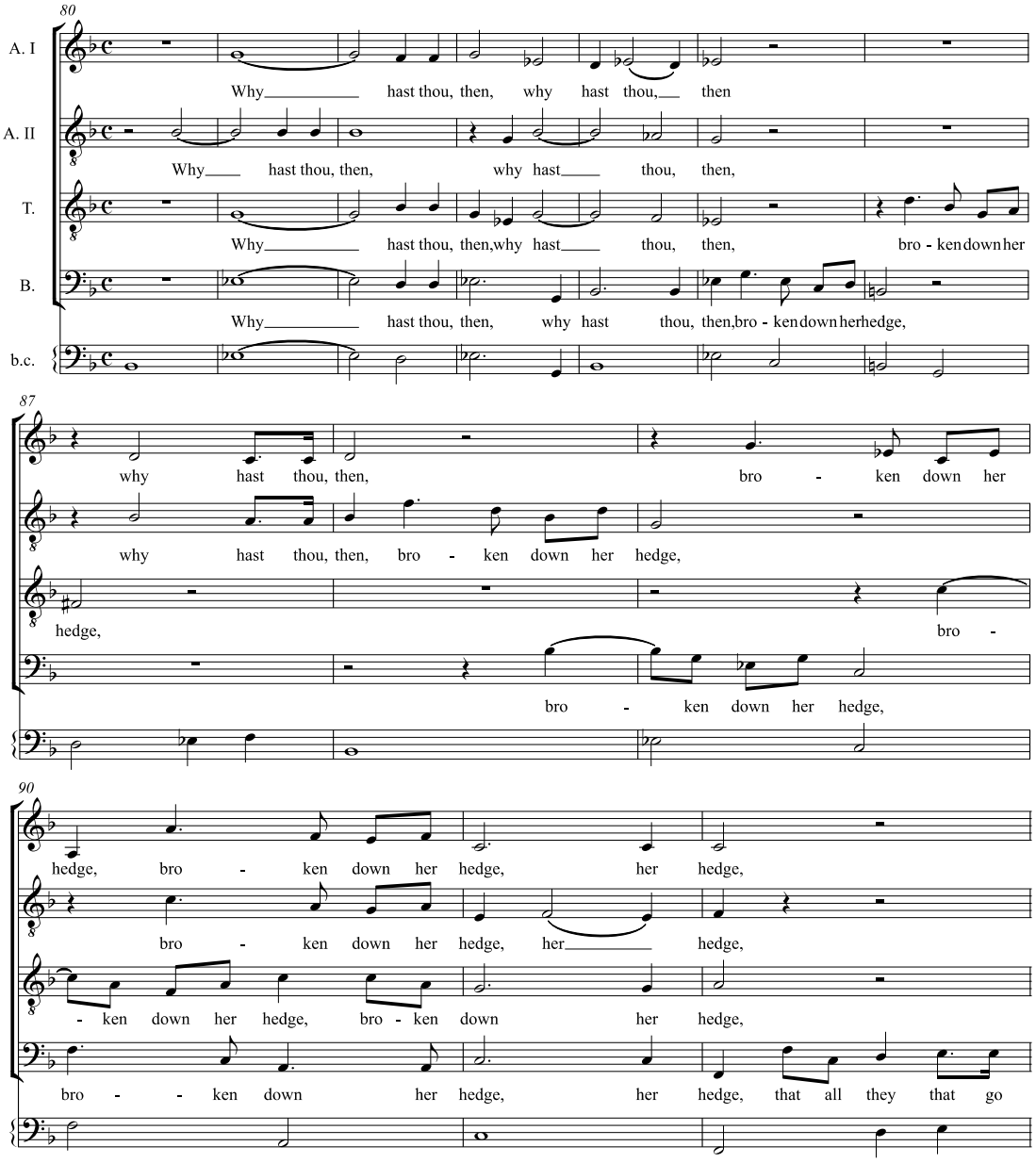


Attention can be drawn to *Turn thee again* to corroborate Jeffreys' use of contrasting and complementary motives. The passage between bars 80–92 is constructed from two contrasted melodic figures: the first comprises long note values and is confined within the interval of a fourth, whereas the second is more rhythmically active and descends through a sixth or seventh (Ex. 6.68).[111] The element of contrast is amplified by the fact that the texture of the first phrase is homophonic, whereas that of the second is imitative. Once the imitation is under way, a fragment

[110] *Ibid.*, III, 706.
[111] *Ibid.*, IV, 180.

from the first phrase, now in diminution, is introduced against it, thereby giving greater coherence to the musical structure.[112]

Example 6.68: Jeffreys, *Turn thee again*, bb.80–92[113]



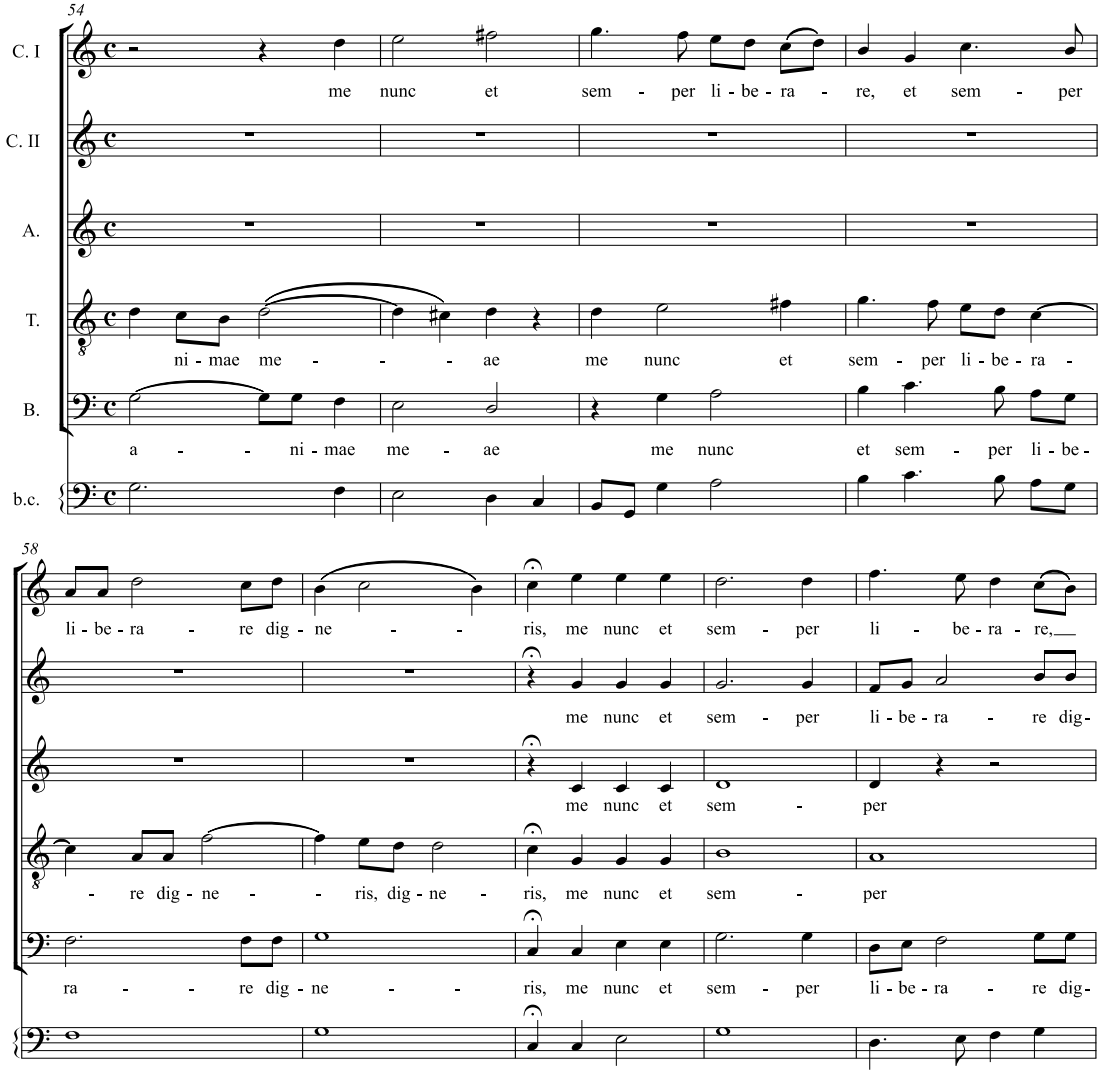
[112] *Ibid.*, IV, 180.
[113] Bergdolt, K. E., *Op. cit.*, III, 169–71.

Five-Voice Settings

Chapter 7 is dedicated exclusively to consideration of Jeffreys' five-part verse anthems and, for this reason, discussion of his other five-voice works will be kept to a minimum. Jeffreys' setting of *Bone Jesu* (CCATBbc) adheres to the *stile concertato* by its alternating of 'verse' and 'full' (indicated by the word 'omnes') sections, typical of the seventeenth-century English verse-anthem. The 'verse' sections include solo passages, duets, and a notable trio between bars 40–60, which is largely imitative and includes some of Jeffreys' more lyrical writing for the voice (Ex. 6.69). In contrast, the 'full' sections are largely homophonic, although Jeffreys frequently pairs voices together in imitative and quasi-polyphonic textures.

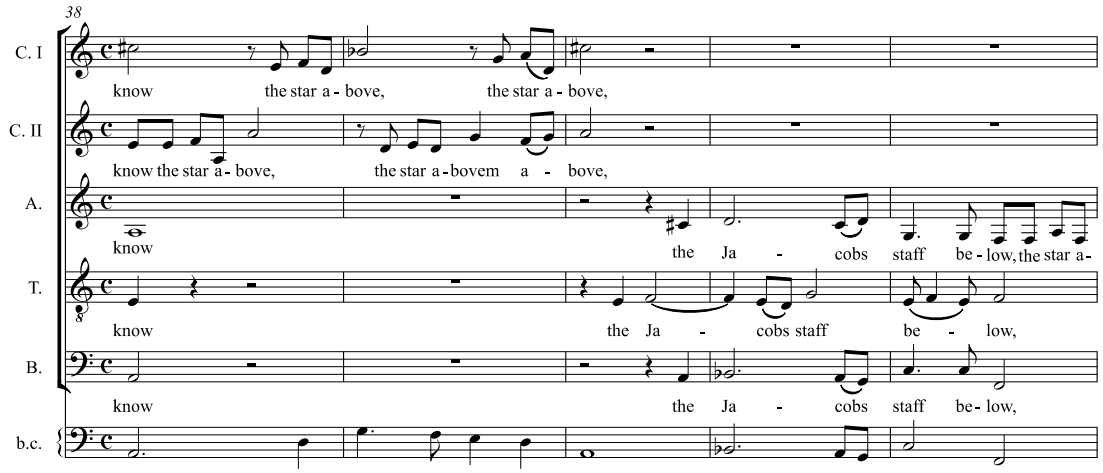
Jeffreys' division and contrasting of voices for affective purposes can be seen in his verse-anthem *Brightest of Days* (CCATBbc). The text 'the star above' is set to a rising melodic figure in the two upper voices while the three lower voices have a descending figure at the text 'Jacob's staff below' (Ex. 6.70). Jeffreys once again literally depicts the direction of the text in musical terms and capitalises on the opportunity to increase the dramatic intensity of the anthem.

Example 6.69: Jeffreys, *Bone Jesu,* bb.54–62[114]



[114] *Ibid.*, IV, 14–16.

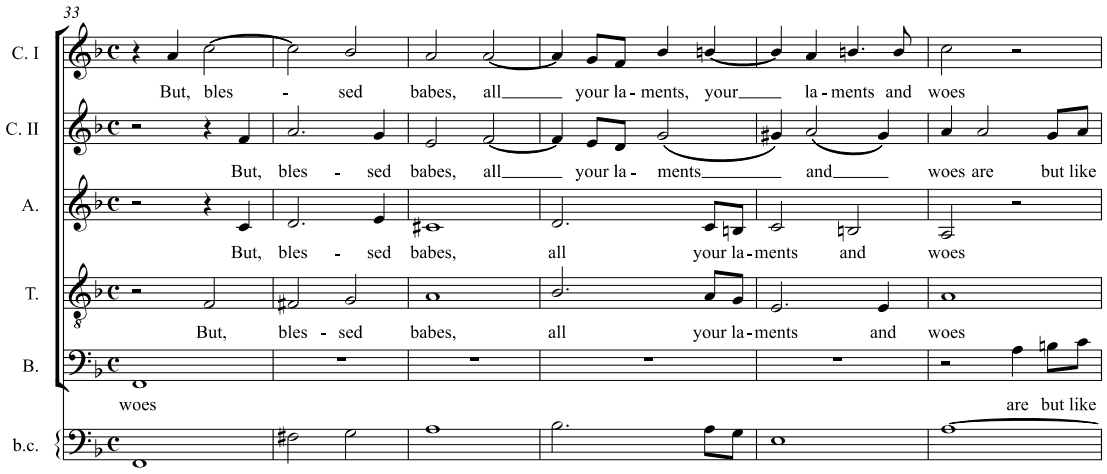
Example 6.70: Jeffreys, *Brightest of Days*, bb.38–42[115]



The passage between bars 33–38 (Ex. 6.71) of *Busy time this day* (CCATBbc) reveals a number of characteristics of Jeffreys' compositional language, which are by now more than familiar. At bars 33–34 there is a chromatic alteration between F♮–F♯, resulting in the juxtaposition of the tertian harmonies, F major and D major (in first inversion). Moreover, the c´´ in the cantus I part is held over and creates an added seventh over the D major harmony, which is followed by a 9–8 suspension in the cantus II part in the second half of that bar. The chord of A major in bar 35 introduces a false relation between C♮–C♯ and where Jeffreys substitutes the fifth for a sixth in the cantus II part—e´ for f´—the result is an F augmented chord in first inversion. The treatment of the text 'laments and woes' elicits a typically strange and awkward harmonic progression from Jeffreys in bars 36–38, complete with added sevenths, chromatic alterations, and suspensions. This passage subverts any clear sense of tonal direction. Again, Jeffreys' close voice spacing increases the affective intensity of the music. The bass voice is absent from this passage and, therefore, it is a four-part texture that Jeffreys manipulates in his peculiar manner, spacing the voices closely.

[115] *Ibid.*, IV, 91–92.

Example 6.71: Jeffreys, *Busy time this day*, bb.33–38[116]

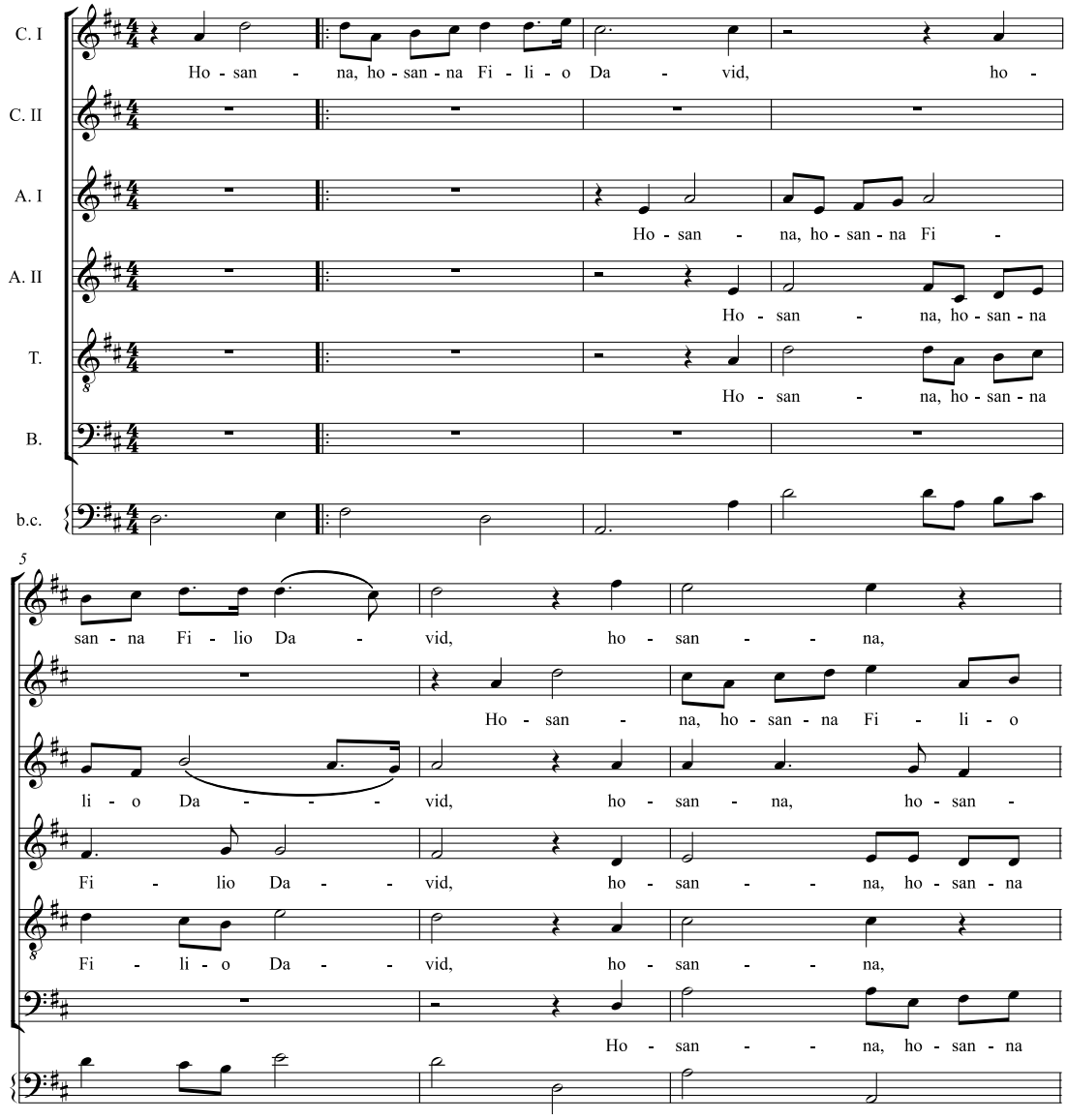


Six-Voice Setting

Jeffreys' only six-voice work is his motet *Hosanna filio David* (CCAATBbc), which, like *Bone Jesu*, relies on the alternation of 'verse' and 'full' sections. While the 'full' sections are characterised by contrapuntal imitation, resembling the style of Weelkes' and Gibbons' settings of the same text (Ex. 6.72),[117] the 'verse' section is scaled down to a bass solo, followed by a trio (AI, AII, B), all of which is accompanied by the basso continuo. Furthermore, within the 'full' sections there are stark contrasts between polyphony and homophony. Interestingly, the second half of the final 'full' section is essentially a trio for cantus I, cantus II, and bass; the imitative texture is characterised by the congregation of the two upper voices, which typically proceed in parallel thirds (Ex. 6.73).

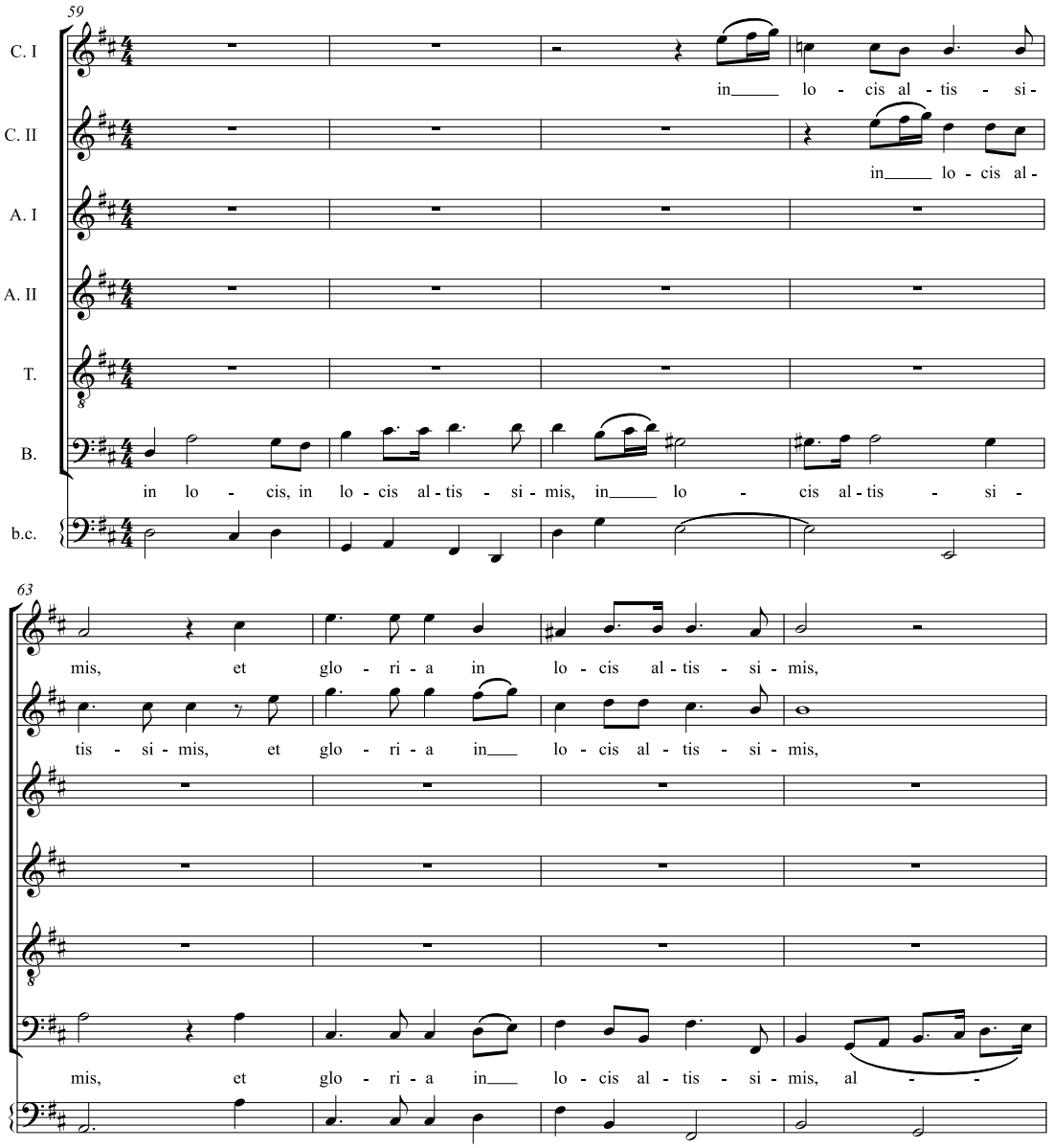
[116] *Ibid.*, IV, 125–27.
[117] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', IV, 155.

Example 6.72: Jeffreys, *Hosanna filio David*, bb.1–7[118]



[118] *Ibid.*, II, 414–15.

Example 6.73: Jeffreys, *Hosanna filio David*, bb.59–66[119]

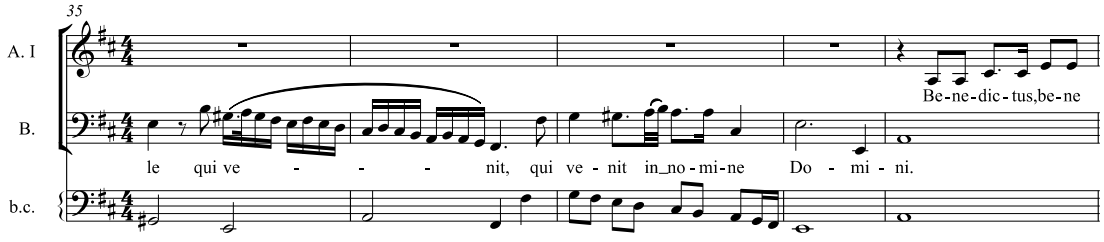


At the 'verse' section Jeffreys singles out the bass voice for solo treatment and makes considerable technical demands of the voice (the characteristic wide range and large leaps are present), which has great affective power.[120] By and large the word setting is declamatory, but at bar 35 a melismatic figure is introduced on the word 'venit' and thereafter the two altos take up

[119] *Ibid.*, II, 424–25.
[120] *Ibid.*, IV, 156.

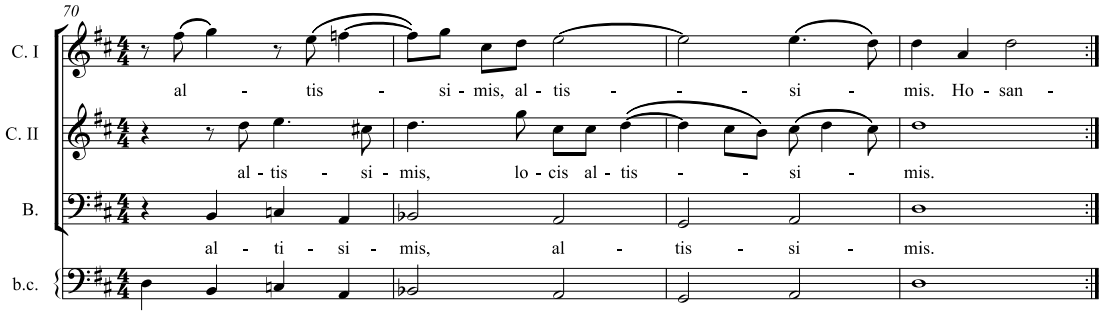
the virtuosic style and extend the decorative runs (Ex. 6.74). The trio texture is dramatically disturbed at bar 48 where a six-part homophonic texture returns.

Example 6.74: Jeffreys, *Hosanna filio David*, bb.35–39[121]



In comparison to some of the other works by Jeffreys that have been considered in this chapter, in *Hosanna filio David* he exercises considerable harmonic restraint, recalling the style of Gibbons and Tomkins. At bars 65–66, however, the simultaneous resolution of a suspension and an anticipation results in dissonant parallel seconds (Ex. 6.73) and, between bars 70–73, which is the climax of the work, there is a brief passage of arresting chromaticism (Ex. 6.75).

Example 6.75: Jeffreys, *Hosanna filio David*, bb.70–73[122]



Hosanna filio David was composed *c.*1660 and could possibly have been intended to celebrate the Restoration. Surely the implications of the biblical text on the political circumstances in England could not have been lost on Jeffreys' contemporaries. Such a reading would liken

[121] *Ibid.*, II, 420.
[122] *Ibid.*, II, 426.

Charles II to Jesus, son of David, who entered Jerusalem to rid the city of malevolent denizens. By way of analogy, Charles II returned from exile, restoring the monarchy to England and bringing to an end the cataclysmic period of Civil War and the Commonwealth. There are a number of compositions by Jeffreys that suggest a concern with political aspects of the mid-seventeenth century in England, demonstrating his Royalist allegiances. Two of the most prominent, in addition to *Hosanna filio David*, are *Turn thee again* and *How wretched is the state*. *Turn thee again* was composed in 1648 when the Civil War had been lost, the king was shortly to be executed, and the Anglican Rite had been discontinued. That Jeffreys should set part of Psalm 80 is hardly surprising since the text of the anthem 'reflects the personal, political and religious misfortunes suffered by Jeffreys and other Anglicans after the Civil War'.[123] Similarly, *How wretched is the state* was composed *c.*1657–1662 (although on textual grounds the dating could be narrowed to *c.*1657–1660) and, I suggest, is simultaneously Jeffreys' caustic fulmination at the Protectorate and mournful outpouring at its regicide:

> How wretched is the state you all are in
> That sleep secure in unrepented sin,
> When not the greatest king on earth can say
> That he shall live to see the break of day,
> Nor saints in heaven nor blessed angels know
> Whether the last and dreadful tromp shall blow
> To judgement of the living and the dead
> Before these words I speak are uttered.
> O watch, O weep, O mourn, repent and pray,
> O have in mind that great and bitter day.

The political overtones of music produced during the Commonwealth is a subject that is returned to in more detail in Chapter 8, but it should be noted here that Jeffreys appears to have been part of a recalcitrant Royalist group of composers who composed polemical works during the 1650s in particular.

[123] Thompson, R., 'George Jeffreys and the "Stile Nuovo" in English Sacred Music: A New Date for His Autograph Score, British Library Add. MS 10338', *Music & Letters*, 70/3 (1989), 330.

It can be concluded, then, that Jeffreys' compositions, from his one-voice settings through to his six-voice setting, clearly demonstrate a *similarity* with those compositional procedures identified in Chapter 5. At this point in the dissertation, Jeffreys can be seen to have met the first two of Platoff's conditions of influence and, therefore, it still remains to demonstrate in the following chapter the ways in which Jeffreys meets the third condition of *change*.

Chapter 7: George Jeffreys IV—*Change*

Attention has hitherto been centred on Jeffreys' appropriation and assimilation of the *stile nuovo* in his own compositions of sacred music. In the preceding chapters an attempt has been made to reveal and establish the profundity of influence that contemporary Italian music, which was known or can be reasonably assumed to have been known by Jeffreys, had on his compositional language. So far, then, focus has remained on Platoff's first two conditions of influence, i.e. *awareness* and *similarity*. But in what way does Jeffreys' fulfil the third condition of *change*? To answer this question it is unnecessary to look any further than his series of five-part English verse-anthems, which are unique 'in their dramatic conception and their originality of harmony and texture'.[1] These anthems, of which there are seven, appear to have been conceived as a cycle, intended to celebrate various occasions of the liturgical year.[2] These five-part verse-anthems,[3] all with basso continuo accompaniment, survive in *Lbl* Add MS 10338 (Jeffreys' scorebook) and appear in a sequence consistent with the church year (Table 7.1). Furthermore, the texts to which these anthems are set are, without exception, devotional poetry rather than scripture. The author of the poetry remains unknown, apart from *Rise Heart, Thy Lord is Risen*, which is by George Herbert (1593–1633) and comes from his *The Temple: Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations* (1633).

[1] Aston, P., 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque' (PhD. diss., University of York, 1970), IV, 164.

[2] The five-part anthem *Almighty God, Who Mad'st Thy Blessed Son* (Circumcision), is likely to have been part of this series, but only survives incomplete (the two cantus books are missing) in the following sources: *Lbl* Add. MSS 30829, 30830, and 17816.

[3] *Look Up All Eyes* remains the exception and is the only anthem in the series not to be cast in a verse form.

Table 7.1: George Jeffreys' Five-Part Anthems

Anthem	Occasion	Year
Hark, Shepherd Swains	Nativity	Before 1648
Busy Time This Day	Holy Innocents	Before 1648
Brightest of Days	Epiphany	Before 1648
Whisper it Easily	Passion	Before 1648
Rise Heart, Thy Lord is Risen	Resurrection	Before 1648
Look Up All Eyes	Ascension	Before 1648
A Music Strange	Whitsunday	1662

In the following paragraphs the case will be made that in these compositions Jeffreys achieves a reconciliation and syncretism of two disparate idioms: his native English polyphonic style on the one hand and the Italian *stile nuovo* on the other, meeting the *change* condition of influence. Jeffreys' intimate knowledge of contemporary Italian music had a profound effect on his compositional style and, I contend, apropos Meyer and Rosen, became internalised and provoked in him his most original thought and most personal work. In these five-part anthems Jeffreys' idiosyncratic compositional language is without precedent and therefore represents his most unique achievement, placing him at the vanguard of English sacred music during the mid-seventeenth century.

Nevertheless, Aston and Bergdolt are unanimous in their assessments that Jeffreys' English sacred music is less consistent in quality than his Latin sacred music. Aston writes:

> The best pieces surpass any of the Latin settings and reveal how Jeffreys' readiness for experiment eventually led to a highly personal style which has no precedent in either English or Italian music. At the other extreme are a number of conventional settings, most of which are competent but very dull. Somewhere between come a handful of works which are considerably more ambitious but which, for one reason or another, do not entirely succeed.[4]

Specifically in relation to the five-part anthems Bergdolt amplifies Aston's view, commenting that:

[4] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, IV, 165.

> Perhaps the least successful aspects of the anthems involve texture and form. A busy and thick texture prevails in the choral sections of some of the anthems. And the forms of the verse anthems, while unique, are not always effective because of the poor distribution of the solo and choral sections.[5]

The shortcomings of the anthem *Busy Time This Day*, for example, provide justification for the criticisms levelled at Jeffreys in these English works. This anthem fails to sustain interest for any length of time, largely for the following reasons: an unsatisfactory harmonic rhythm, an awkwardness of some of the more chromatic progressions; a diffuseness of structure that destroys dramatic continuity.[6]

In this chapter, however, attention will remain focussed on the five-part verse-anthems that have been described by Aston as 'undoubted masterpieces':[7] *Whisper it Easily, Rise Heart, Thy Lord is Risen, Look Up All Eyes*, and *A Music Strange*. On a number of occasions Aston dates *A Music Strange* as 1669, based on the date that appears following this anthem on f.270v of *Lbl* Add. MS 10338.[8] Thompson outlines how Aston, and others, arrived at such a dating:

> The score itself [*Lbl* Add. MS 10338] has been described as a 'retrospective, well-organised fair-copy collection',[9] and it seems generally to have been assumed that Jeffreys obtained the present volume as a single bound manuscript book for copying his complete works, so that the date inscribed after the last piece of music [i.e. 'A Music Strange'], read by Thomas Oliphant and all subsequent commentators as 1669, has been taken to indicate the date of the manuscript book itself as well as of the music copying.[10]

However, in a footnote he challenges this view where he contends:

> Oliphant no doubt studied the score in preparing his *Catalogue of the Manuscript Music in the British Museum*, London, 1842; his signed pencil notes survive facing folio 1. He recognised the scribe of Add. 10338 as George Jeffreys by comparison with the bass partbook Add. 17816, which Oliphant presented to the British Museum in 1849; there Jeffreys' signature appears on folio 8. Oliphant also identified the writer of the table of contents and other comments on the flyleaves of

[5] Bergdolt, K. E., 'The Sacred Music of George Jeffreys (ca.1610–1685)' (PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 1976), I, 161–162.
[6] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, IV, 165.
[7] *Ibid.*, IV, 189.
[8] *Ibid.*, IV, 185; Aston, P., 'Tradition and Experiment in the Devotional Music of George Jeffreys', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 99 (1972–73), 113. The correct folio number is 274v.
[9] Holman, P., letter to the editor, *Chelys*, v (1973–74), 79.
[10] Thompson, R., 'George Jeffreys and the "Stile Nuovo" in English Sacred Music: A New Date for His Autograph Score, British Library Add. MS 10338', *Music and Letters*, 70/3 (1989), 317–318.

> the score as E. T. Warren (*c.*1730–1794), secretary of the Catch Club, and corrected Warren's reading of the final date from '1662' to '1669'. Oliphant's reading has subsequently been accepted without question, but I am sure that Warren was right.[11]

Moreover, Wainwright accepts Thompson's '1662' dating, corroborating his argument and referring consistently to the date of *A Music Strange* as 1662.[12]

The most obvious native element is in Jeffreys' selection of the anthem; a genre that is fundamentally English. Characteristically the anthem is a polyphonic composition[13] set to an English text of the composer's choosing, which generally derives from the Bible, the Prayer Book, or from a work of a religious or moral character. Indeed, such a description appositely describes Jeffreys' anthems, but instead of following the conservative styles of Gibbons and Tomkins, for example, where generally there is an inclination towards continuity in texture and mood, his anthems are imbued with a number of salient features of the *stile nuovo*. The compositional features that have been identified and revealed to be appropriated and assimilated by Jeffreys, in Chapter 6, will be considered alongside his native English compositional tradition. It is worthy of note that all of Jeffreys' anthems include a basso continuo accompaniment, which accommodates the *stile concertato* and provides some indication as to the 'progressive' nature of his compositional language.[14]

[11] *Ibid.*, 318.

[12] Wainwright, J. P., *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton* (1605–1670) (Aldershot, 1997), *passim*.

[13] To avoid the charge of oversimplification I recognise here that there are textural differences between verse anthems, full anthems, and full-with-verse anthems.

[14] The use of basso continuo accompaniment is absent from other contemporary/near contemporary English composers of anthems, such as Nathaniel Giles (*c.*1558–1634), Thomas Tomkins (1572–1656), and Orlando Gibbons (1583–1625).

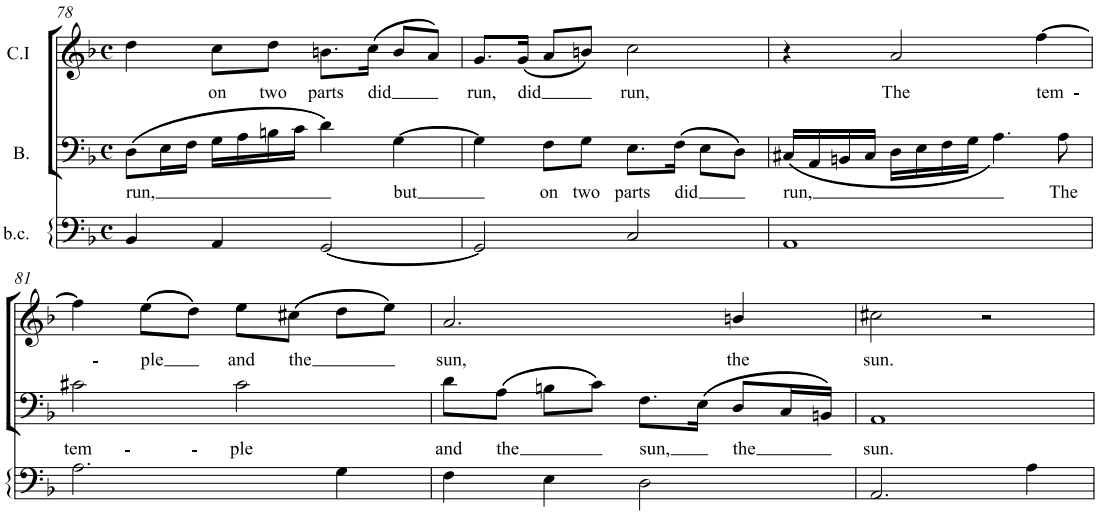
Whisper it Easily

> Whisper it easily, sad is the story: O be not bold to say abroad eternity his days hath told.
> Dead (not so loud) Dead is the King of Glory: but silence here is sin and must prevail more than another nail.
> His death our trophy is, to have it known makes it his own.
> His funeral dirge but on two parts did run: the temple and the sun.
> The song was left imperfect: 'tis his will that our confessions should the music fill.

Whisper it Easily is scored for two cantus, alto, tenor, bass voices, and basso continuo (original clefs: C1, C1, C3, C4, F4). This verse-anthem includes only one brief verse section at the text 'his funeral dirge', scored for solo cantus and bass, while the remainder of the anthem is 'full'. However, the 'full' sections are characterised by continually changing and contrasting textures, further revealing Jeffreys' inclination towards the *concertato* style. The structural organisation of this anthem is a little unorthodox but, consequently, is all the more dramatic. The verse section is not related thematically to either of the full sections and continues inexorably into the final full section, generating a sense of drama and a climax that is reserved for the concluding passage. The duet verse section is, presumably, based on Jeffreys' reaction and literal interpretation of the text 'on two parts did run'. This literal scoring of the text seems to be a typical procedure of Jeffreys and is a feature that I will return to when examining *Rise Heart, thy Lord is Risen*. The fact that Jeffreys singles out the bass voice, in addition to the cantus, should come as no surprise, given that his predilection for virtuoso writing for the bass voice has been an ongoing concern of this dissertation. The verse section between bars 64–83 features the cantus and bass voices in a largely imitative texture, characterised by Jeffreys' employment of affective declamation. Indeed, Aston writes that Jeffreys' 'affective declamatory writing perfectly matches the

emotional content of the words'.[15] For example, each time the word 'run' appears it is set melismatically to an ascending run through an octave, or with the attendant dotted quaver figure. The dotted rhythms and rapid decorative runs continue throughout this section, providing an evocation of the rending of the temple veil and, instead of being merely decorative, are emotionally expressive. This section includes some of the more virtuosic writing contained in the anthem, particularly for the bass voice (Ex. 7.1).

Example 7.1: Jeffreys, *Whisper it Easily*, bb.78–83[16]



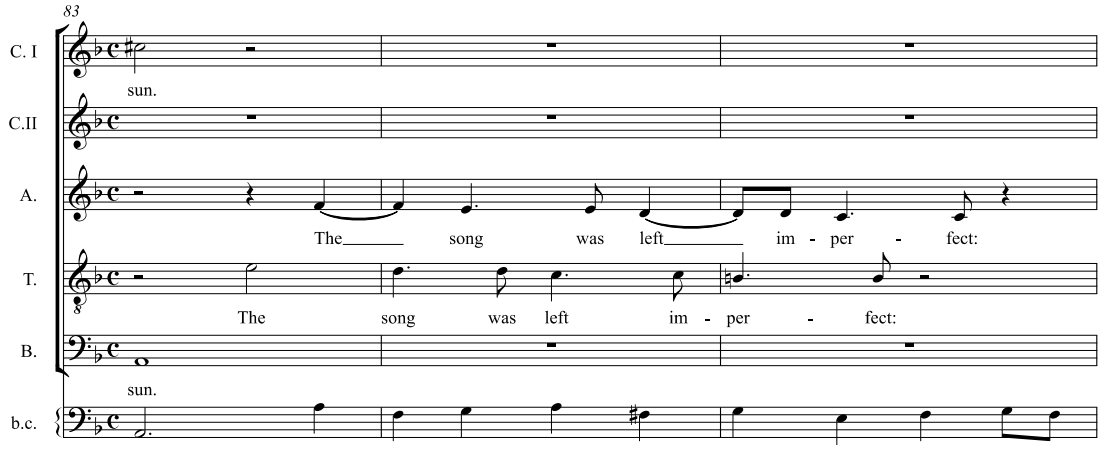
Here the florid melismatic semiquaver runs in the bass voice are evident, likewise are the dotted-quaver rhythms. This passage makes considerable technical demands of the bass voice, which spans the range of an eleventh. The violent sentiments expressed in the verse section cease at bar 83 where the next 'full' section returns.

A further example of Jeffreys responding to the text in a madrigalian manner, vividly depicting a single word in musical terms, follows directly after the passage cited in example 7.1 at bars

[15] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', IV, 198.
[16] *Ibid*., II, 581.

83–85. It is clear to see that Jeffreys sets the text ‘the song was left imperfect’ to a chain of suspensions that remain, appositely, unresolved and incomplete (Ex. 7.2), recalling the compositional procedure employed by Pallavicino in his setting of *Or veggio chiar* (Ex. 5/2.7).

Example 7.2: Jeffreys, *Whisper it Easily*, bb.83–85[17]

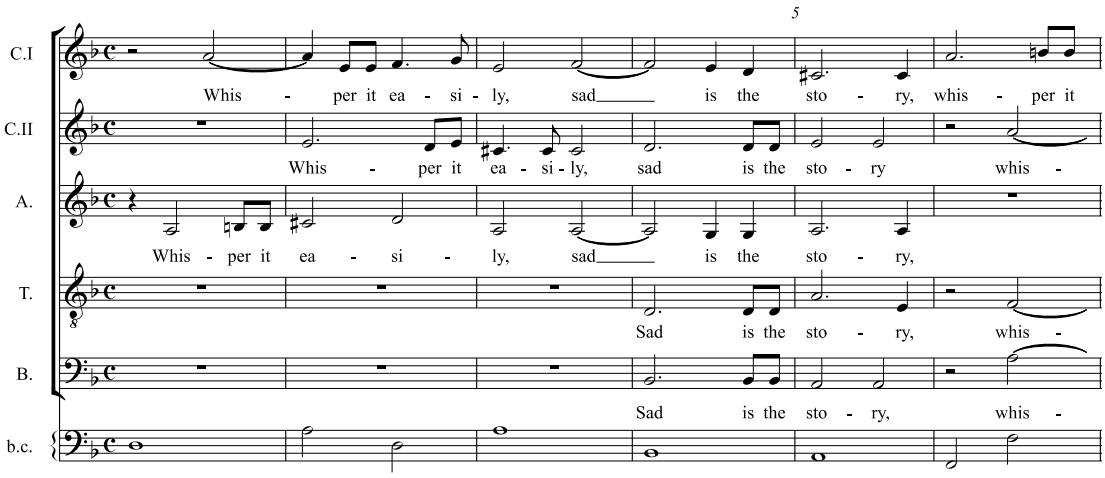


The opening bars of *Whisper it Easily* (Ex. 7.3) provide a representative example of Jeffreys’ idiomatic compositional language, including his use of dissonance for expressive purposes and tertiary shifts of harmony. The anthem opens in D minor and at bar 2 moves to the dominant chord of A major where, on beat 3, Jeffreys suspends the e′ in the cantus II part, creating a 9–8 suspension over the root. The result of this suspension is a note cluster on beat 3, comprising d′, e′, and f′, creating a passing dissonance. At bar 3 Jeffreys moves back to the dominant chord, but on beat 3 of bar 3, and on the word ‘sad’, there is an example of Jeffreys’ typical manipulation of the intervals of a fifth and sixth, which creates a state of flux in the harmonic structure. In the cantus I line Jeffreys exchanges the fifth—e′—for a sixth—f′. The result is an augmented triad on F in first inversion which is followed, in bar 4, by a seventh chord on the sub-mediant. The

[17] *Ibid*., II, 581–82.

passage then moves to an imperfect cadence on A, with an unprepared 4–3 suspension on beats 3 and 4 of bar 4, before falling harmonically by a third to F where the text is repeated.

Example 7.3: Jeffreys, *Whisper it Easily*, bb.1–6[18]

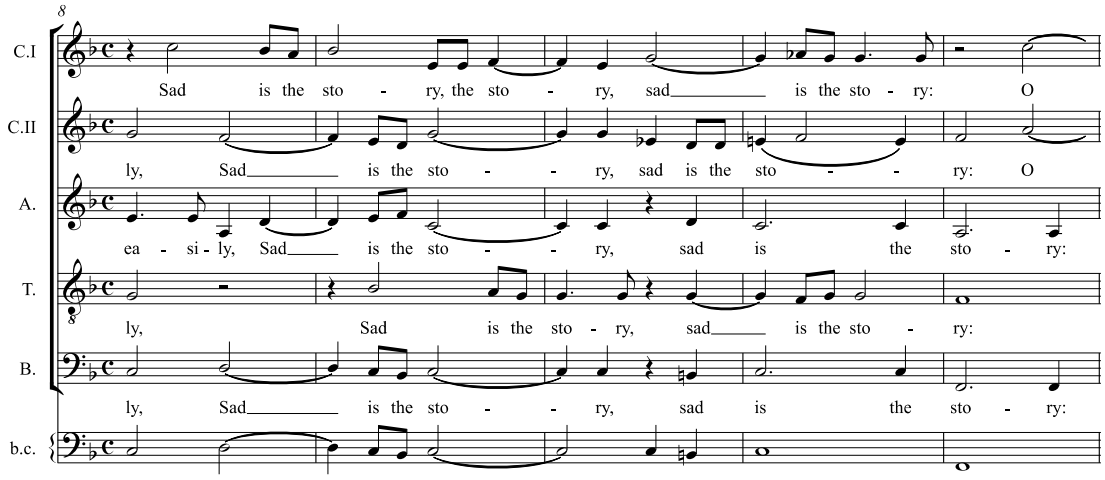


Jeffreys' use of passing dissonances, poignant suspensions, and tonal ambiguity are amplified only a few bars later, in the passage between bars 8–12 (Ex. 7.4). In bar 8 there is a 7–6 suspension, followed by a series of seventh chords in bar 9, and a 4–3 suspension in bar 10. Moreover, in bars 10–11, Jeffreys juxtaposes the chords of C major, C minor, and C major, by introducing a false relation between E♮–E♭. In addition, on beat 2 of bar 11, Jeffreys introduces an A♭. The tonality at this point in the work is deliberately ambiguous; the general direction of the music has been towards F major, but the chromatic alterations in bars 10–11 suggest that F minor may actually be the localised tonic.[19] However, the perfect cadence on F major (bb.11–12)

[18] *Ibid*., II, 566–67.
[19] *Ibid*., IV, 196–97.

marks the end of this passage, where there is a change in texture from the 'voice leading'[20] texture, to one of interplay between contrasting motives.

Example 7.4: Jeffreys, *Whisper it Easily*, bb.8–12[21]



Jeffreys uses deceptive and unexpected harmonic progressions time and again to suit the words of the text, which he achieves using the compositional devices, amongst others, highlighted in examples 7.3 and 7.4.

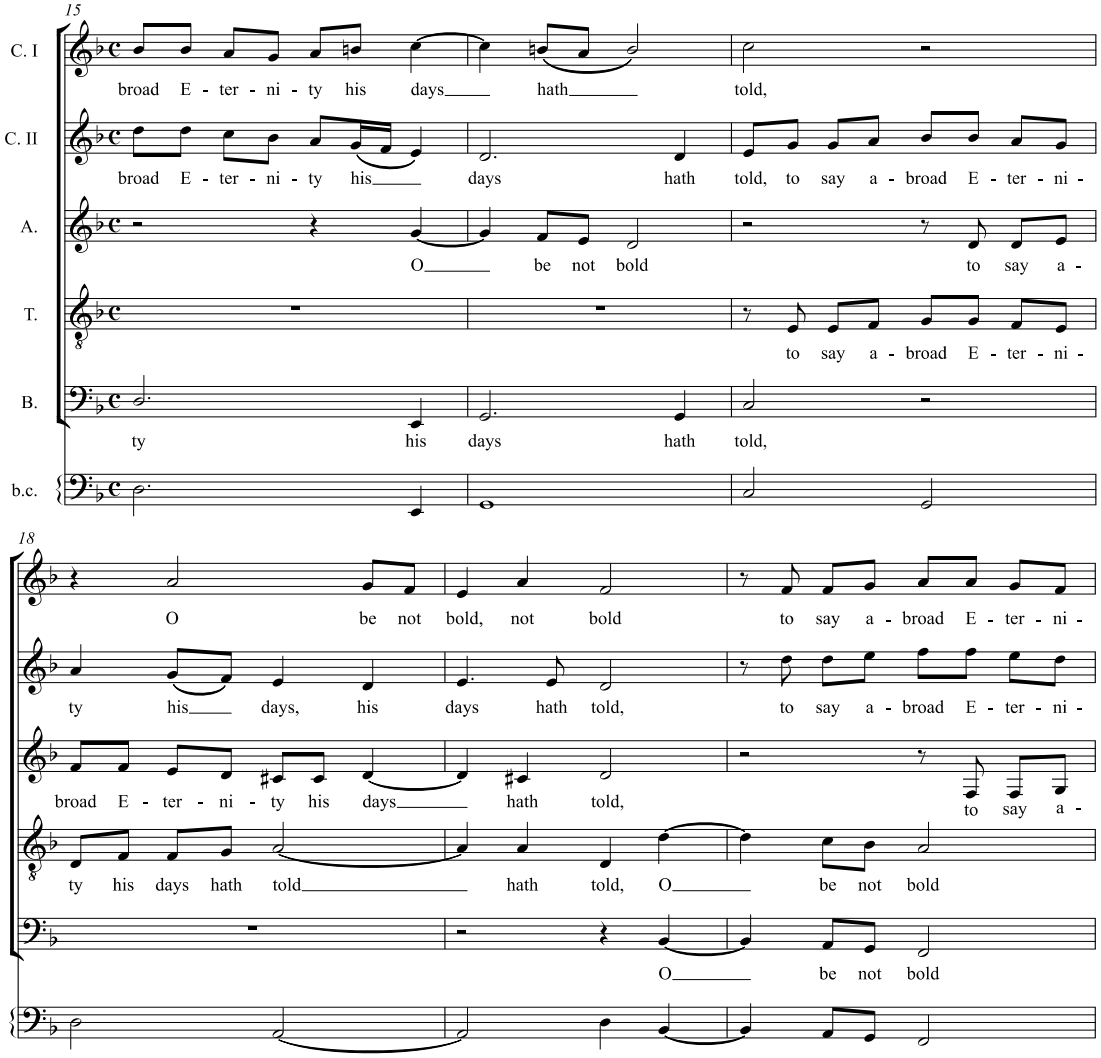
The passage between bars 12–23 features Jeffreys' employment of *contrapposto*. The line of text 'O be not bold to say abroad eternity his days hath told' is divided into two and set to distinctive contrasting musical motives. The first motive 'O be not bold' is set to long note values and descends conjunctly through the interval of a fourth, whereas the second motive 'to say abroad eternity' is more rhythmically active, set to quavers, and has an arch-like melodic contour, ascending and subsequently descending. The third fragment of the text 'his days hath told' appears in conjunction with cadential points and, consequently, an overall motivic figure is not

[20] Aston describes the 'voice leading' texture as having the effect of focussing the attention on the leading voice—usually the highest part—while the others provide harmonic support. Thus, although the texture remains basically imitative, an impression of homophony is given. See Aston, P., *Ibid.*, IV, 176.

[21] *Ibid.*, II, 567–68.

discernible. The motive introduced by cantus I and II at bar 12 is taken up by the alto in bar 15 and then by the tenor and bass at bar 19, while continually being presented simultaneously with the contrasting motive in the other parts (Ex. 7.5).

Example 7.5: Jeffreys, *Whisper it Easily*, bb.15–20[22]

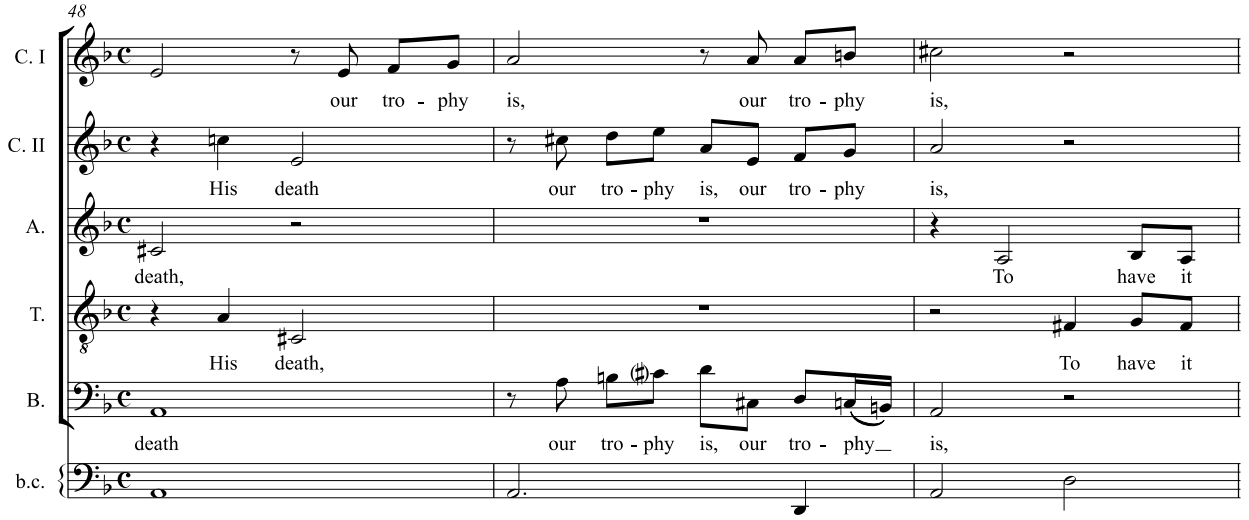


This compositional technique is used again at the text ‘his death our trophy is’ where Jeffreys uses contrasting motives to convey two opposing sentiments. The text ‘his death’ is set to a descending minor sixth leap, whereas ‘our trophy is’ is set to an ascending melodic line

[22] *Ibid*., II, 569–70.

(Ex. 7.6). Also worthy of note here are the false relation in bar 48 (c♯′–c♮′′–c♯), reinforcing the pain of death, and the particularly elaborate treatment of the bass voice, which spans the range of an eleventh and includes a descending leap of a minor ninth.

Example 7.6: Jeffreys, *Whisper it Easily*, bb.48–50[23]

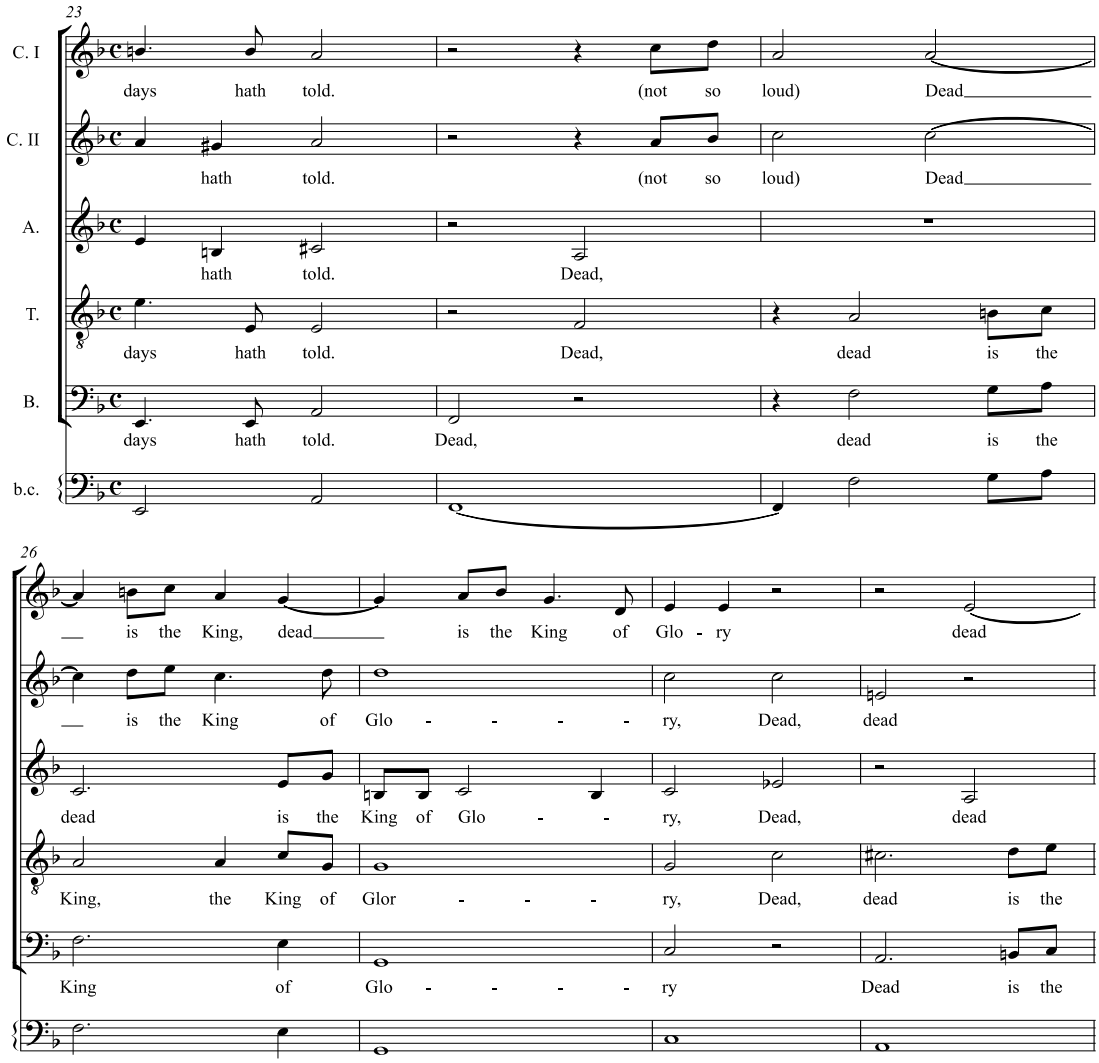


Perhaps the most dramatic treatment of text in *Whisper it Easily* appears at bar 24 (Ex.7.7) where Jeffreys uses conversational interplay to construct a passage that is 'theatrical in its dramatic realism'.[24] The bass enters with the word 'dead' which is echoed by the alto and tenor to which the cantus respond with the parenthetical admonishment 'not so loud' before the sentence is completed by all five voices with 'dead is the king of glory'. At bar 23, the preceding passage of text concludes with a perfect cadence on A minor with a Picardie third. However, at bar 24 Jeffreys moves harmonically downwards by a third to the unexpected chord of F major, drawing dramatic attention to the text concerned. Furthermore, Jeffreys repeats this process of bold harmonic treatment for a second time when the text is restated at bar 29. This time there is a V–I progression on C major but at the reiteration of the word 'dead' the harmony moves from C

[23] *Ibid*., II, 576.
[24] *Ibid*., IV, 197.

major to C minor before there is another tertiary shift downwards to a chord of A major. The tonal ambiguity and obfuscation at this point, along with the two false relations (i.e. E♮–E♭ and C♮–C♯), vividly portrays the realisation the Jesus is, albeit temporarily, dead. Such bold harmonic treatment is reminiscent of the compositional procedures encountered in the madrigals of Pallavicino, Gesualdo, and d'India in Part Two of Chapter 5.

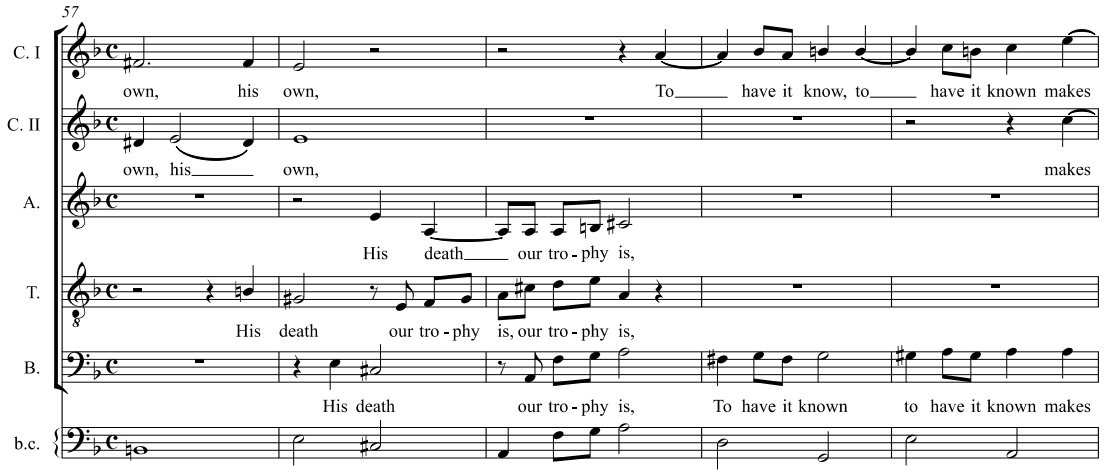
Example 7.7: Jeffreys, *Whisper it Easily*, bb.23–29[25]



[25] *Ibid.*, II, 571–72.

Despite Jeffreys' proclivity for deceptive harmonic progressions and chromaticism, clear tonal passages can be found, such as the chain of dominants between bars 57–60 (Ex. 7.8). The chord progression is as follows: B major – E major – A major – D major – G major. However, this series of chords related by a fifth is broken by a tertiary shift to a chord of E major, highlighting the chromatic alteration between G♮–G♯.

Example 7.8: Jeffreys, *Whisper it Easily*, bb.57–61[26]



In the closing section of the anthem Jeffreys returns to some of the elements first revealed in the opening, such as false relations and suspensions, which are used to convey the sentiment of the text 'that our confessions should the music fill'. Aston argues:

> In making our confessions we recall the physical anguish which Christ suffered, and the suspensions and false relations look back to the harmonic idiom of the earlier part of the work.[27]

The anthem concludes with a perfect cadence in D major, thus restoring the balance of tonal order by returning to the tonic major of the opening. The significance of a concluding tonic major may lie in the fact that the subsequent anthem in the series, *Rise Heart, thy Lord is Risen*,

[26] *Ibid*., II, 578–79.
[27] *Ibid.*, IV, 198.

concerns the resurrection of Christ; the inference being that although Christ has been crucified he will overcome death and live again.

Rise Heart, thy Lord is Risen

The music of *Rise Heart, they Lord is Risen* is, to some extent, more conventional than in the other anthems, lacking the audacious harmonic progressions and chromaticism synonymous with Jeffreys. The reason for this lies in the strong intellectual appeal of the poetry, arising from rhythmic subtlety and structural perfection.[28] In the words of Helen Gardiner, feeling and thought have been refined and 'purified of extravagance before receiving the discipline of poetic expression'.[29]

> Rise heart, thy Lord is risen.
> Sing his praise without delays,
> who takes thee by the hand,
> that thou likewise with him may'st rise:
> that, as his death calcined thee to dust,
> his life may make thee gold and much more just.
>
> Awake, my lute,
> and struggle for thy part with all thy art:
> the cross taught all wood to resound his name
> who bore the same;
> his stretched sinews taught all strings
> what key is best to celebrate this most high day.
>
> Consort both heart and lute,
> and twist a song pleasant and long.
> And, since all music is best
> but three parts vied and multiplied,
> O let thy blessed spirit bear a part
> and make up our defects with his sweet art.

[28] *Ibid.*, IV, 183. Perhaps a disadvantage for Jeffreys because the poem is successfully complete without the need for any musical elaboration.

[29] Gardiner, H., *The Poems of George Herbert* (London, 1961), 19 in Aston, P., *Ibid.*, IV, 183.

However, the imagery of the poem is certainly congruous with the other verse-anthems considered in this chapter, and the poem is based on 'a chain of associated ideas, each of which grows naturally out of the last'.[30] In the first stanza the Resurrection of Christ is linked with the uplifting of the human spirit. However, the Resurrection is inextricably bound with the Crucifixion, whereby the stanza concludes with the juxtaposition of the diametrically opposed sentiments of death and life. Aston comments that 'the idea of the Resurrection as an awakening from death is continued in the second stanza, where the first line, "Awake, my lute, and struggle for thy part", recalls both the Resurrection and the physical anguish of the Crucifixion'.[31] Herbert develops the metaphor further, implying the lute has become the cross because both are made of wood and the strings are, indeed, Christ's 'stretched sinews'. Moreover, through contemplation of the Crucifixion, the musician learns how 'best to celebrate this most high day'.[32] This celebratory sentiment continues inexorably into the third and final stanza, but music cannot adequately express the joy of the human spirit without that joy first having been experienced by the heart—a return to the ideas expressed in the opening of the poem.[33]

The structure of the anthem is largely dictated by Herbert's poem and, consequently, is more conventional than the structure witnessed in *Whisper it Easily*. Like the poem, the anthem is divided into three clearly defined sections; there is coalescence between the organic growth of the poetic ideas and the naturally following musical verses. Jeffreys adroitly balances the contrast between 'verse' and 'full' sections, paying careful attention to the inherent flow of the poetry, such as the points of repose.[34]

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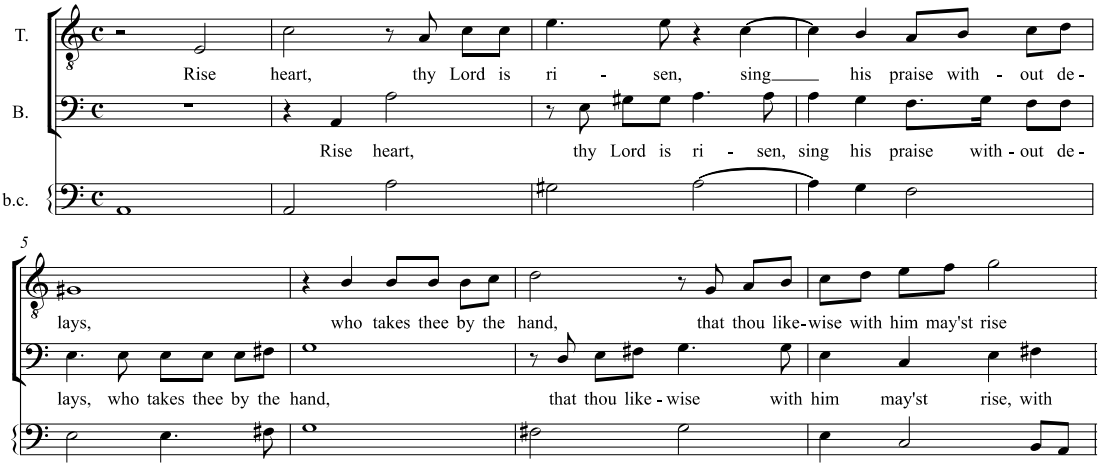
[30] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', IV, 192.
[31] *Ibid.*, IV, 193.
[32] *Ibid.*, IV, 193
[33] *Ibid.*, IV, 193.
[34] *Ibid.*, IV, 200.

Rise Heart, thy Lord is Risen is scored for two cantus, alto, tenor, bass voices, and basso continuo (original clefs: C1, C1, C3, C4, F4), but begins with a duet for tenor and bass (Ex. 7.9) that is characterised by its imitative texture and interplay between the two voices; this is stylistically reminiscent of the few-voice *concertato* motet described earlier. Once again the bass voice is singled out, along with the tenor, for solo treatment albeit in a less virtuosic manner than has previously been observed. Unsurprisingly, Jeffreys chooses an ascending melodic direction for the music associated with the text *Rise heart, thy Lord is Risen* and, in bars 5–6, the first tertiary shift of harmony is encountered—from E major to G major, contrasting G♯–G♮. Following the duet, Jeffreys introduces the first 'full' section at bar 24, contrasting the imitative two-voice texture of the duet with a thick, five-part, and 'voice-leading' texture (Ex. 7.10). However, instead of the chorus introducing new material, there is a restatement of the previous two lines of the 'verse'; similarly the thematic content is also derived from the duet.

Example 7.9: Jeffreys, *Rise Heart, thy Lord is Risen*, bb.1–8[35]

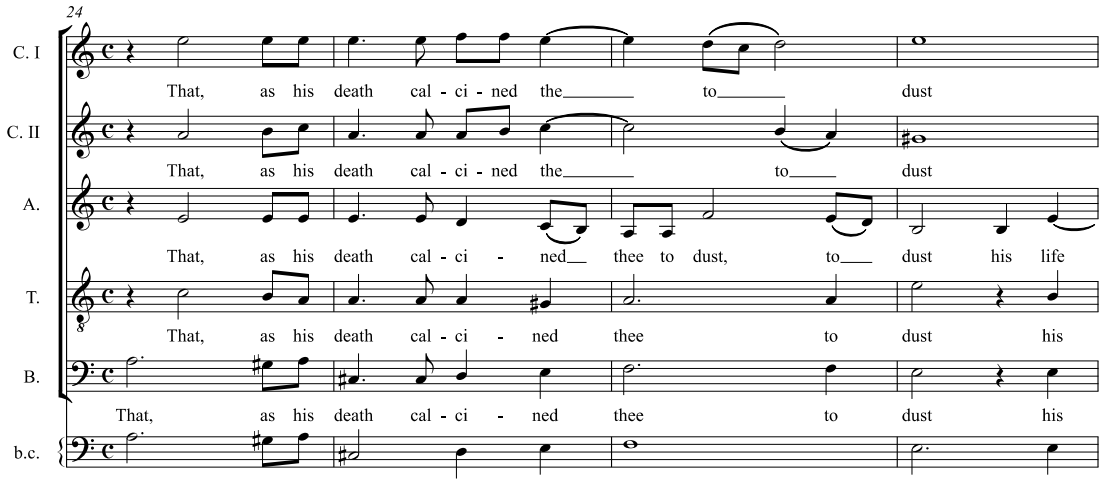


Aston draws a parallel with Jeffreys' employment of this compositional device and the verse-anthems of Gibbons.[36] Indeed, this view can be corroborated by turning attention

[35] *Ibid*., II, 587.

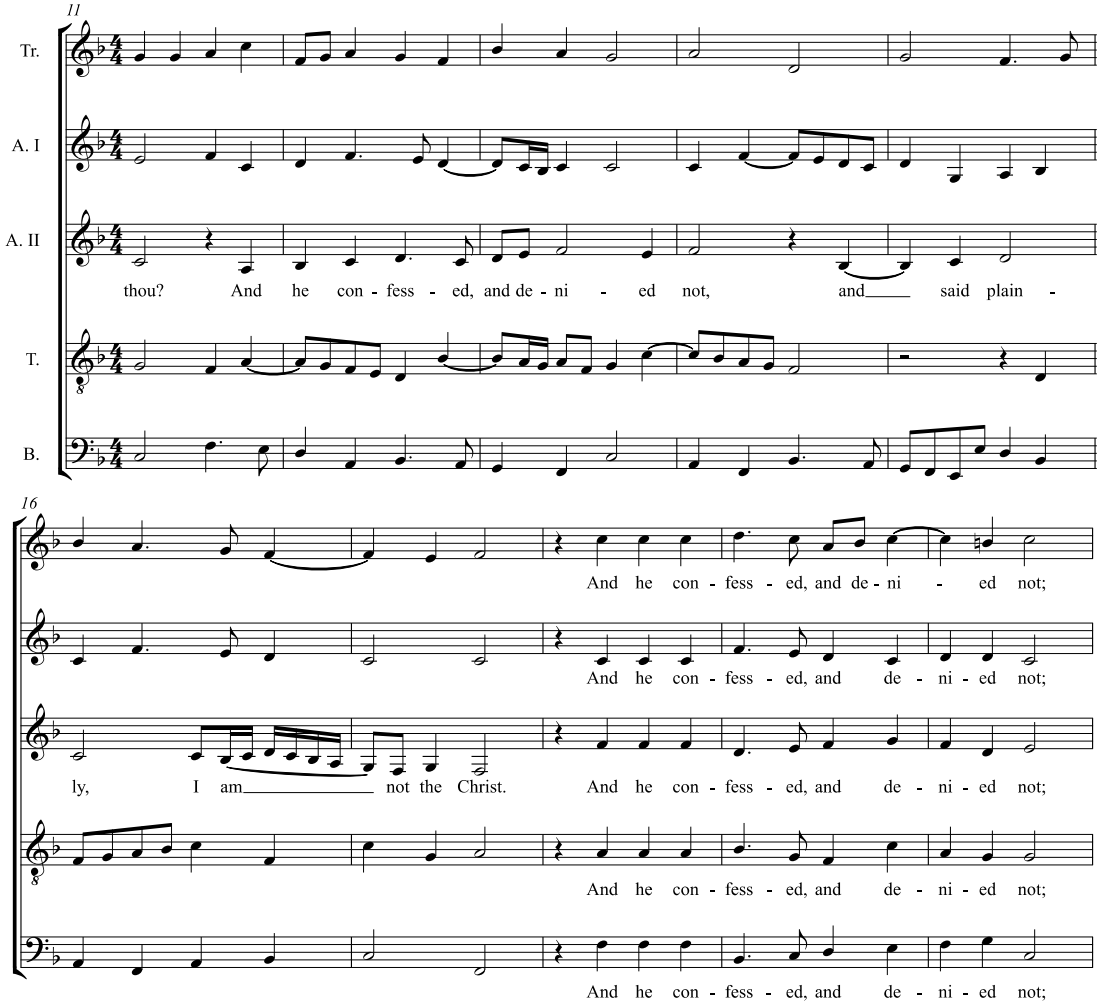
momentarily to Gibbon's *This is the Record John* where, at bars 11–16, the text used by the solo alto II is followed by a restatement in a full section (Ex. 7.11).

Example 7.10: Jeffreys, *Rise Heart, thy Lord is Risen*, bb.24–27[37]



[36] *Ibid.*, IV, 199.
[37] *Ibid.*, II, 589.

Example 7.11: Gibbons, *This is the Record of John*, bb.11–20[38]

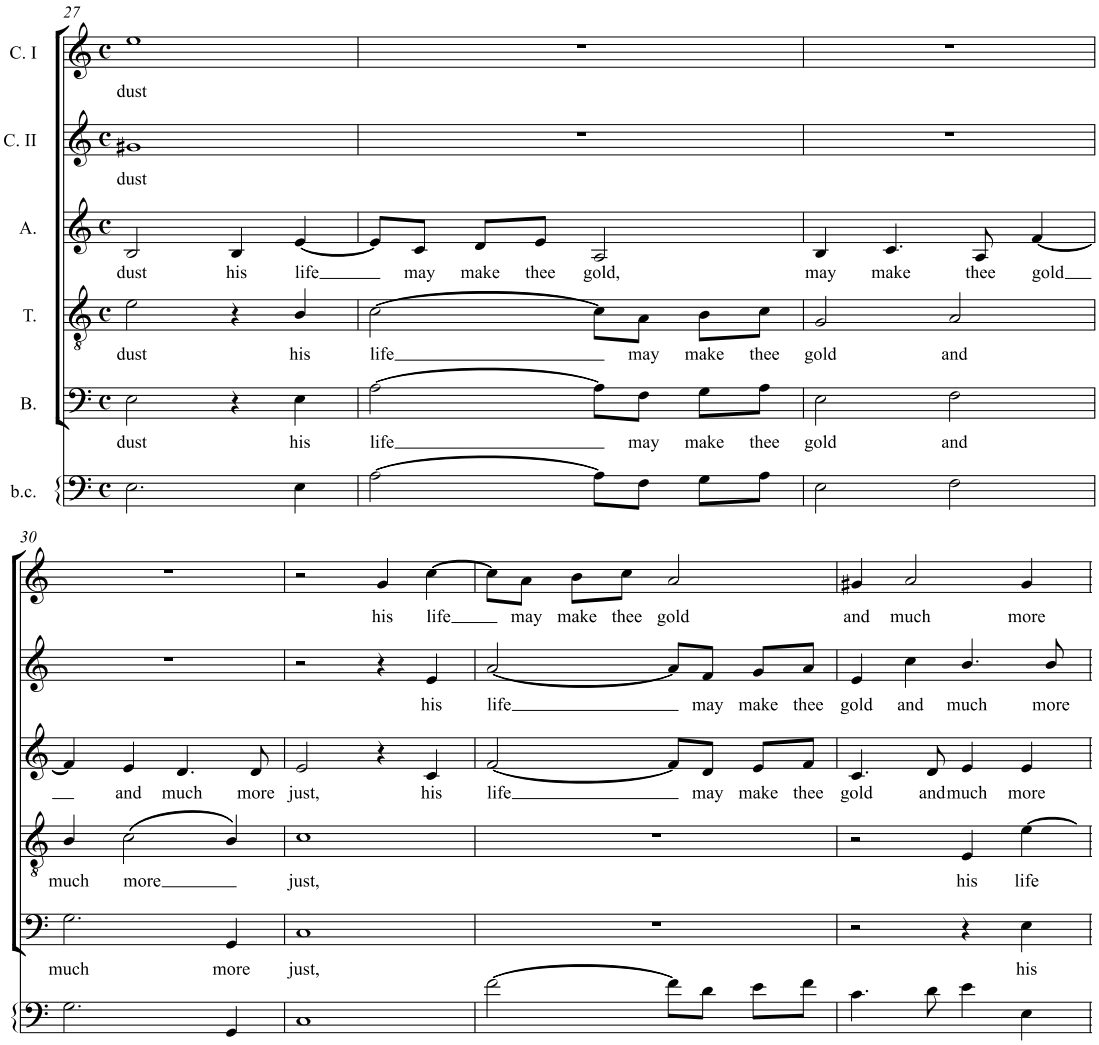


Within this 'full' section (bb.24–39) of *Rise Heart, thy Lord is Risen* there are a number of changes in texture, such as the two three-voice textures that are featured between bars 27–33, which Jeffreys achieves through the dual use of the mid-voice (alto): firstly as the 'bass' in a three-part texture featuring the upper voices and, secondly, as the 'treble' in a three-part texture featuring the lower voices (Ex. 7.12). Thus, Jeffreys creates the illusion of a six-part texture with five voices, adhering to the principles of the *stile concertato*. However, the dual use of the

[38] Wulstan, D., ed., Orlando Gibbons: Verse Anthems, *Early English Church Music*, 3 (London, 1962), 180–82.

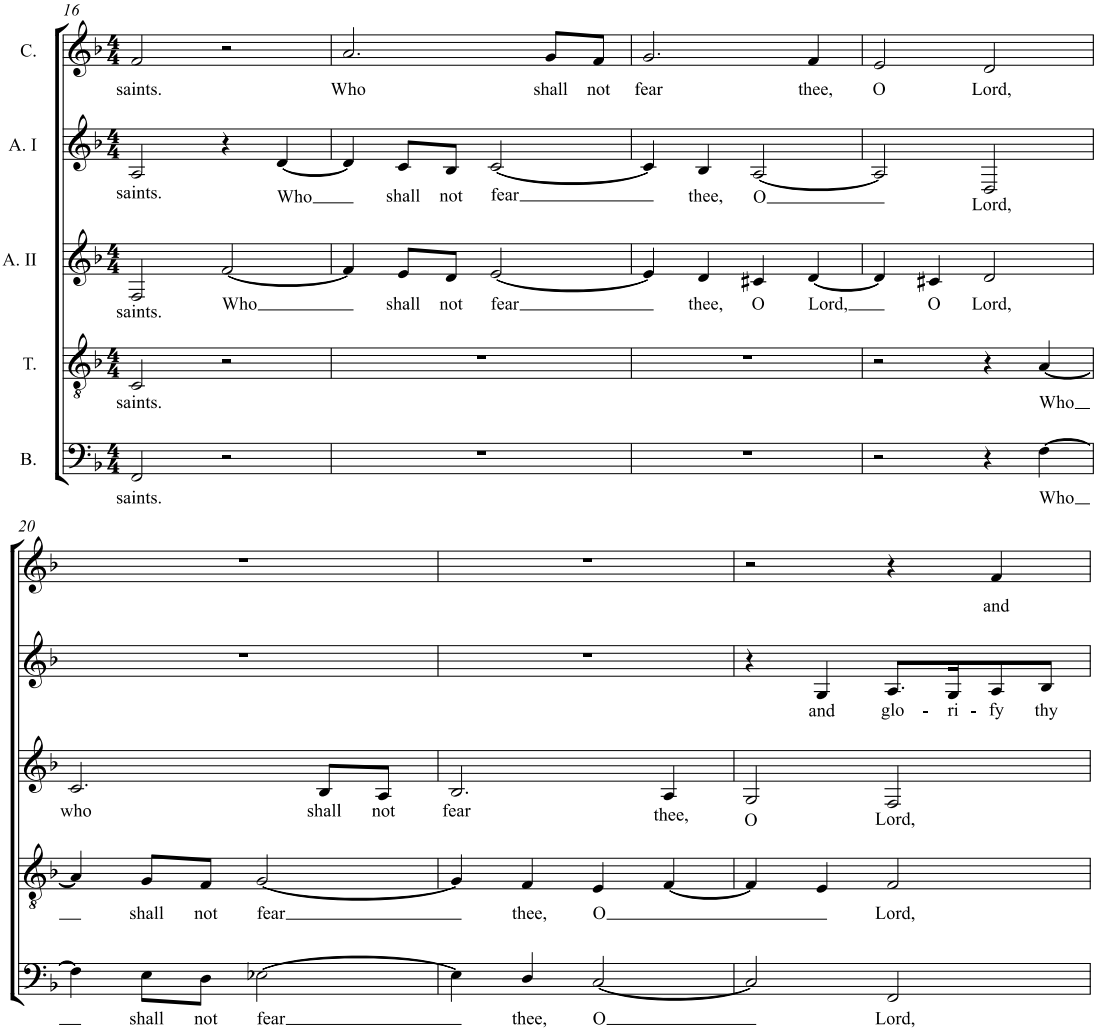
mid-voice can be observed in the works of Tomkins. For example, this device is present in *Great and Marvellous are thy Works* between bars 16–22 (Ex. 7.13).

Example 7.12: Jeffreys, *Rise Heart thy Lord is Risen*, bb.27–33[39]



[39] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', II, 589–90.

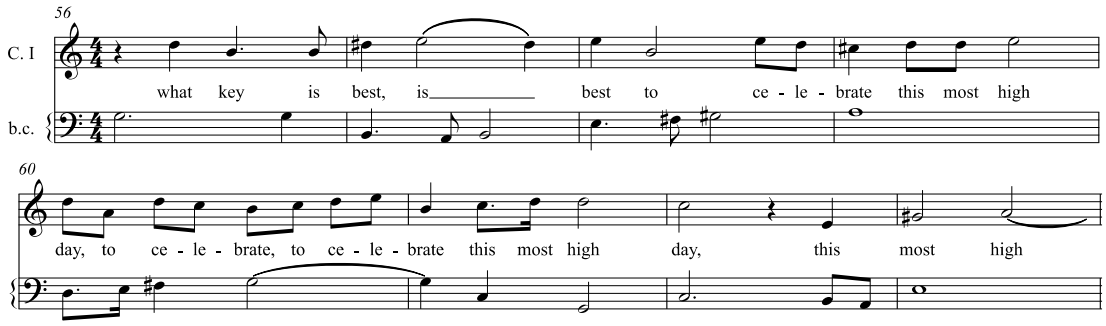
Example 7.13: Tomkins, *Great and Marvellous are thy Works*, bb.16–22[40]



At bar 40 of *Rise Heart, thy Lord is Risen* Jeffreys returns to a 'verse' section, in line with the next stanza of the poem, which is scored for solo cantus throughout. During the course of this verse there are a number of tertiary shifts of harmony (e.g. bb.56–57 and bb.62–62) but, again, there are long progressions of chords related by a fifth (Ex. 7.14). The chord progression in example 7.14 is as follows: G B E A D G C G C E. Ostensibly, Jeffreys favours progressions with a strong tonal direction but that are interrupted by abrupt harmonic shifts.

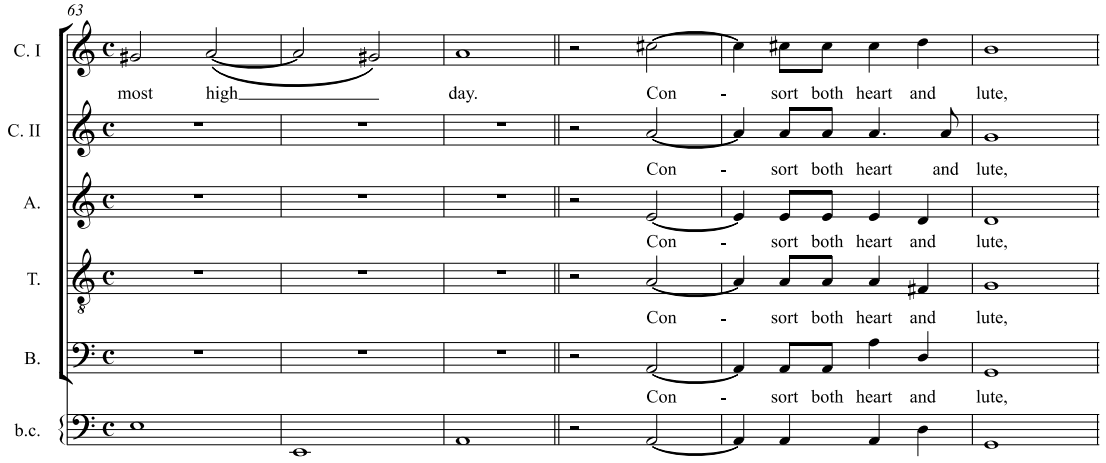
[40] Rose, B., ed., Thomas Tomkins: Musica Deo Sacra: V, *Early English Church Music*, 37 (London, 1991), 46–47.

Example 7.14: Jeffreys, *Rise Heart, thy Lord is Risen*, bb.56–63[41]



There is no restatement of the final couplet by the chorus in this verse; instead there is a continuation into the third and final verse (b.66), where there is a dramatic change to a five-part homophonic texture (Ex. 7.15).

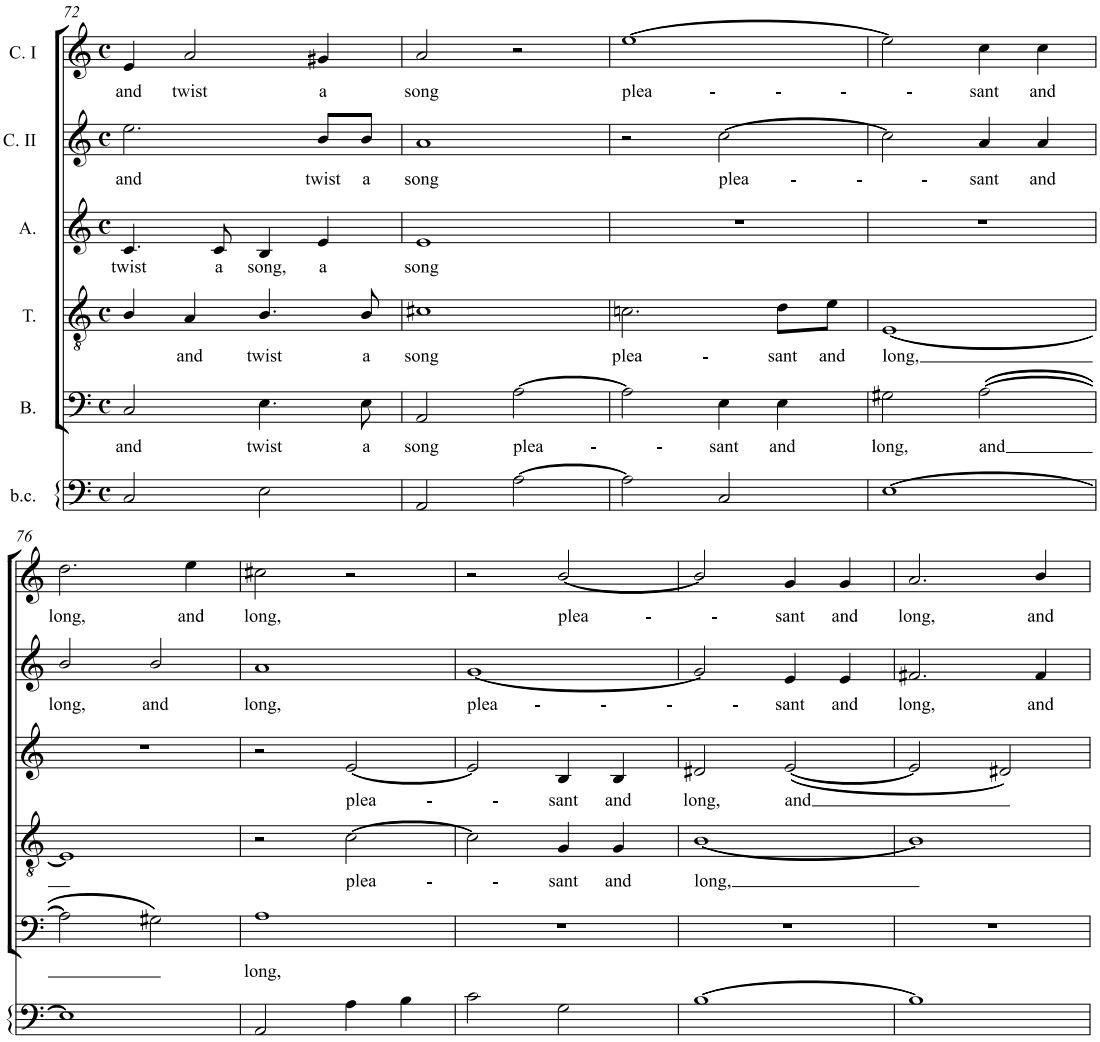
Example 7.15: Jeffreys, *Rise Heart, thy Lord is Risen*, bb.63–68[42]



At the text 'twist a song, pleasant and long' Jeffreys responds to the poetic imagery with expressive melodic lines that are ideally matched: at 'twist a song' the voices weave around each other, creating passing dissonances, and at 'pleasant and long' the note lengths become literally much longer and drawn-out, appositely depicting the text (Ex. 7.16).

[41] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', II, 592–93.
[42] *Ibid*., II, 593.

Example 7.16: Jeffreys, *Rise Heart, thy Lord is Risen*, bb.72–77[43]

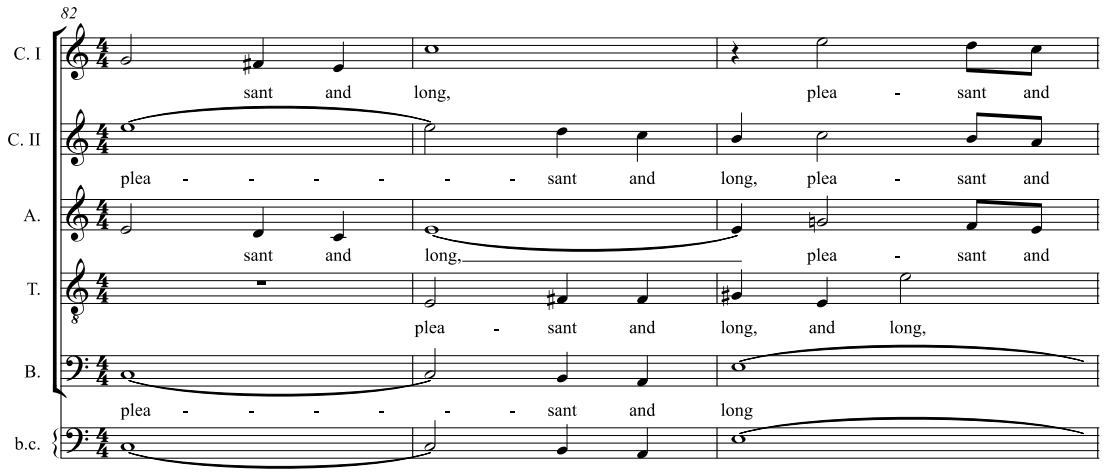


Example 7.17 demonstrates a number of pertinent characteristics of Jeffreys' compositional language that have parallels with madrigals of Pallavicino, Gesualdo, and d'India. Firstly, on beats three and four of bar 82 there is an unprepared 9–8 4–♯3 double suspension. Secondly, in bar 83 there is a further example of Jeffreys' use of a note cluster, resulting in a passing dissonance. On beat three the following pitches are sounded simultaneously: B, c′′, d′′, e′, f♯. Moreover, this note cluster is followed by, on beat four, the chord of F♯ half diminished seven.

[43] *Ibid*., II, 594.

Thirdly, at bar 84 a false relation between G♯–G♮ is introduced, contrasting the chords of E major and E minor in close succession.

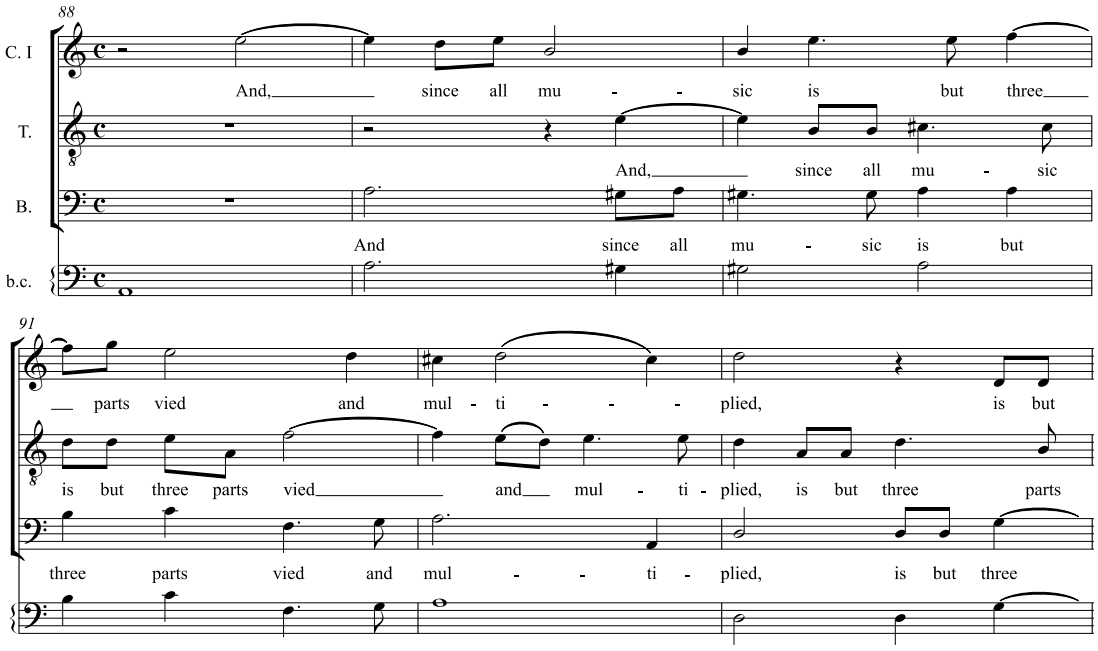
Example 7.17: Jeffreys, *Rise Heart, thy Lord is Risen*, bb.82–84[44]



Following the natural repose of the text, Jeffreys begins a new 'verse' section at bars 88–116, again providing contrast with the preceding 'full' passage. This 'verse' section proves to be another example of Jeffreys' literal scoring of the text—like that identified in *Whisper it Easily*—where he responds to the text 'and, since all music is but three parts vied and multiplied' with a trio comprising solo cantus, solo tenor, and solo bass (Ex. 7.18). The bass voice is used time and again in verse sections; it will be recalled that the opening 'verse' is scored for tenor and bass. The imitative texture and literal scoring of this trio, along with the intricate cross-rhythms, vividly portrays the meaning of the text.[45]

[44] *Ibid.*, II, 595.
[45] *Ibid.*, IV, 200.

Example 7.18: Jeffreys, *Rise Heart, thy Lord is Risen*, bb.88–93[46]



At bar 116 the final 'full' section begins and, identical in procedure to the first verse, the chorus restate and elaborate the final two lines of the stanza: 'O let thy blessed spirit bear a part, and make up our defects with his sweet art'. Not only is the compositional procedure the same as the treatment of the first stanza, but so too is the texture. The 'full' section opens with a five-part voice-leading texture, followed by two contrasting three-voice groups of voices: one high and one low, where the mid-voice has a dual role. The middle stanza, therefore, is the only one that continues directly into the following stanza without an interruption of the dramatic flow, i.e. where the final two lines are restated by the chorus.

[46] *Ibid*., II, 596.

Look Up All Eyes

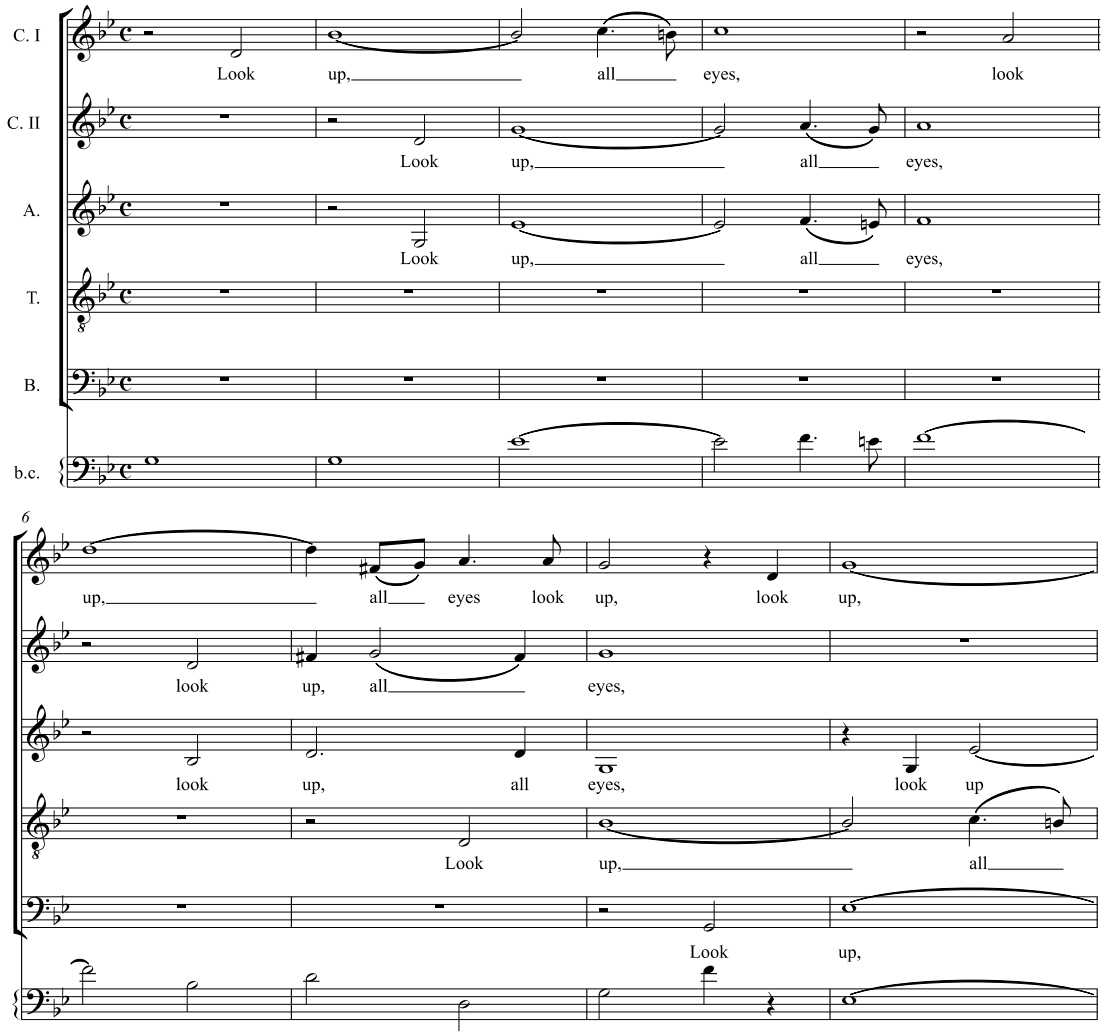
> Look up, all eyes, look up: the earth is now a scorned thing, gone is the jewel of the ring.
> Have the stars knees? See, O see how they bow: some mighty peer travels the milky way.
> The sun's at gaze, he's entertained to welcome him with an encomium.
> Why trembles he? Alas, he's overcome with majesty, poor orator, and's dumb.
> Prompt him, ye Angels: silent too are they, lost in a maze.
> How shall we then sing his praise, vessels of clay, full to the brim with grief of losing him whom they have gained?

Look Up All Eyes is scored for two cantus, alto, tenor, bass voices, and basso continuo (original clefs: C1, C1, C3, C4, F4) and, unlike the other anthems under consideration, is not cast in verse form. The reason for this formal divergence is the nature of the poetry, which reports the Ascension of Christ from witnesses' viewpoints in a conversational manner. Instead of artificial divisions into 'verse' and 'full' Jeffreys takes advantage of the inherent dialogic quality of the poem, responding with a 'kind of choral dialogue'.[47]

The anthem opens with an entry from cantus I, who introduces the text 'Look up all eyes' which is then echoed by cantus II and alto I one bar later. The motive that Jeffreys sets this text to is characterised by an ascending leap of a minor sixth, followed by a further ascent through a raised third (the alto line is transposed a fifth below), outlining a seventh (Ex. 7.19).

[47] *Ibid.*, IV, 200.

Example 7.19: Jeffreys, *Look Up All Eyes*, bb.1–9[48]



Aston comments that this melodic figure is 'physically uplifting but also sorrowful: for in raising our eyes to watch the body of Jesus ascend to heaven we are immediately aware that he is leaving us'.[49] At bar 7 the tenor enters with the same text and rising minor sixth interval, which is followed a bar later by the bass. As the lower voices enter the emotional intensity of the anthem increases and, thereafter, the heads of the crowd are turned upwards until all eyes are fixed on the rising body. Jeffreys' employment of dramatic realism can be seen through the way

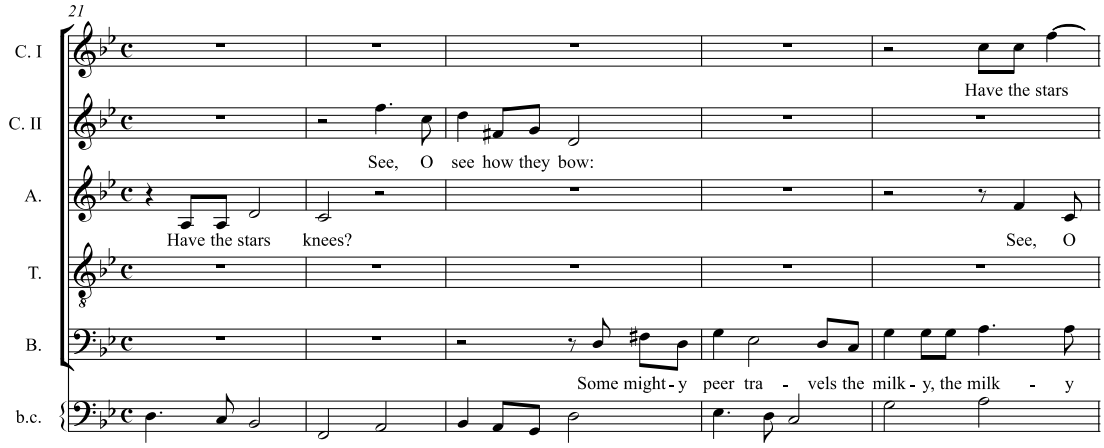
[48] *Ibid*., II, 604–05.
[49] *Ibid.*, IV, 201.

that the entries become closer and closer, and the rhythmic values of the phrases are shortened, as the message is passed on more and more urgently between the crowd. Aston suggests that the words 'the earth is now a scorned thing', which are sung in pairs, represent separate groups within the crowd engaging in conversation.[50]

At bar 21, however, there is a complete change of texture and, as the dialogue becomes more excited, the melodic phrases become more fragmented. Throughout this passage, Jeffreys returns to his favoured compositional device of combining contrasting and complementary motives. There are three motives present in this passage that combine to create the impression of random remarks coming from the crowd: the alto asks 'have the stars knees?' which is followed by the cantus' disjunct descending melodic phrase 'see, O see how they bow', which, in turn, is interrupted by a third motive introduced by the bass, 'some mighty peer travels the milky way' (Ex. 7.20). Aston suggests that 'the three melodic fragments are thrown against each other in realistic imitation of an excited crowd who overhear a remark and quickly pass it on to those standing near them'.[51]

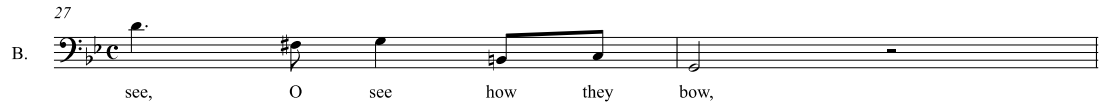
[50] *Ibid.*, IV, 201.
[51] *Ibid.*, IV, 201.

Example 7.20: Jeffreys, *Look Up All Eyes*, bb.21–25[52]



Once again, the largest technical demands are made of the bass voice. At bars 27–28 the 'See, O see how they bow' motive is featured in the bass voice part but, where it has previously spanned the range of no more than a tenth, here it spans a twelfth, ranging from d′ to G (Ex. 7.21).

Example 7.21: Jeffreys, *Look Up All Eyes*, bb.27–28[53]

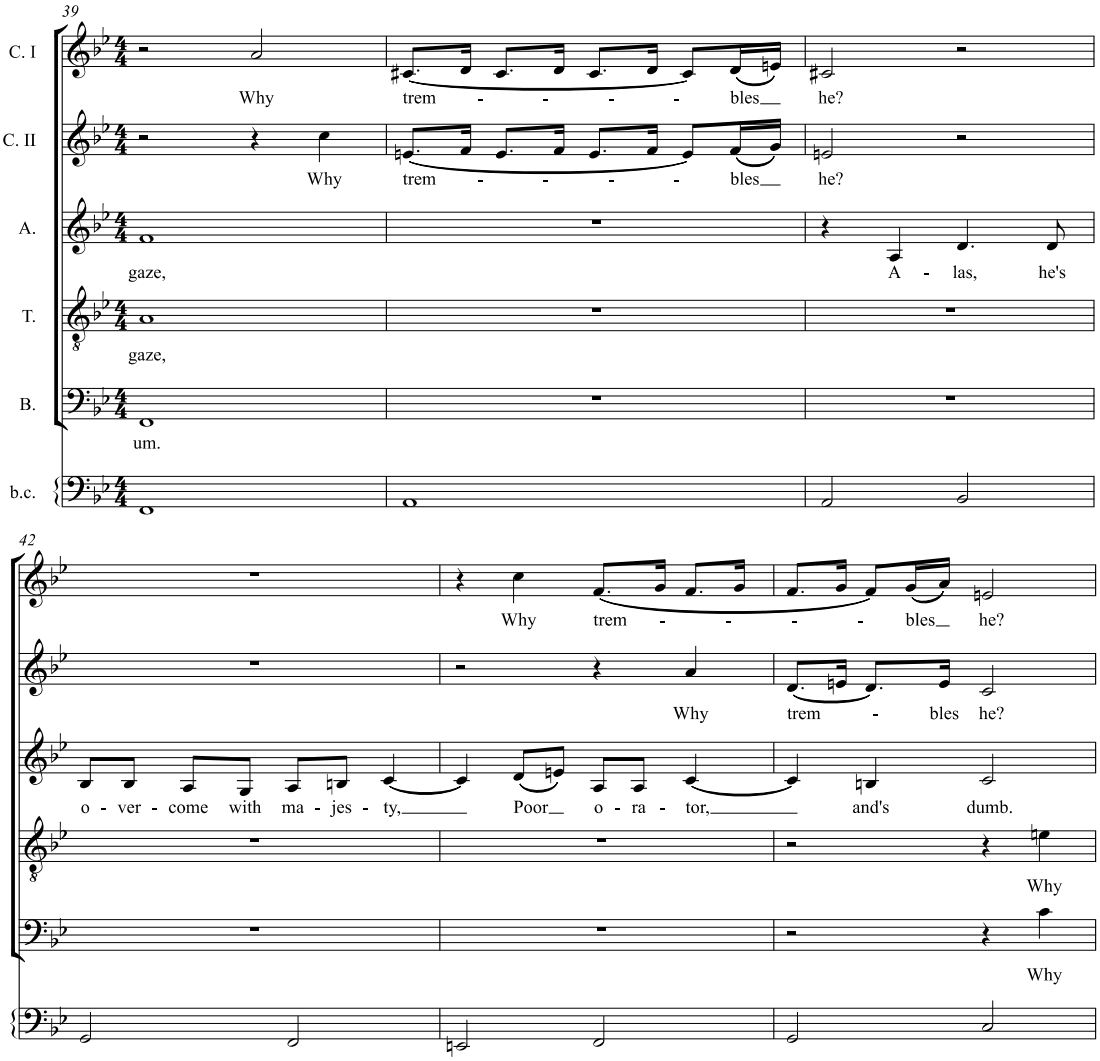


Following the double bar line at bar 34, the anthem continues with a texture of conversational interplay between the voices. Most notably, the cantus I and II introduce a new motive at the text 'Why trembles he?' that is characterised by a dotted quaver-semiquaver pattern, vividly depicting the trembling sun. The question is answered by the alto, who responds 'Alas, he's overcome with majesty, Poor orator and's dumb' (Ex. 7.22). These two phrases are subsequently taken up by the other voices and contrasted against each other. However, the second phrase

[52] *Ibid*., II, 608.
[53] *Ibid*., II, 609.

gradually dominates the first, since the question no longer needs to be asked; 'all agree that the sun is "overcome with majesty" and exhort the angels to prompt him'.[54]

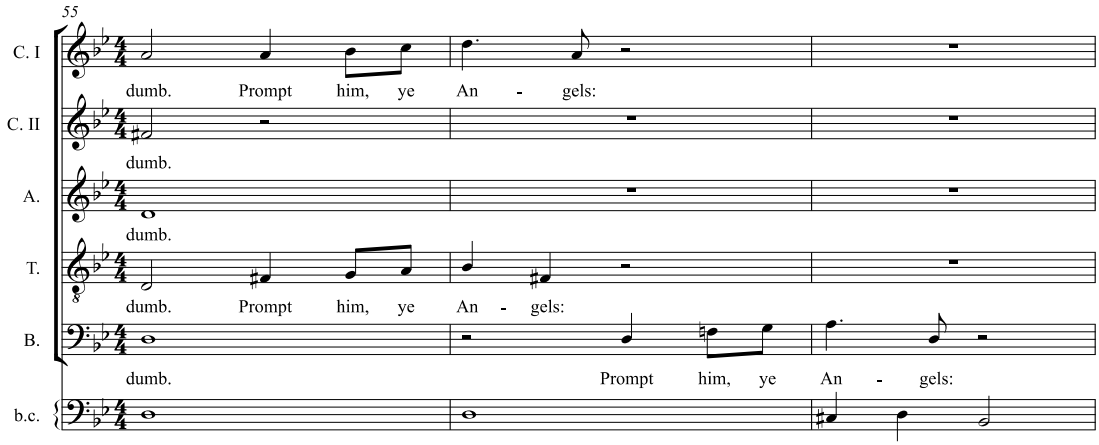
Example 7.22: Jeffreys, *Look Up All Eyes*, bb.39–44[55]



Such a madrigalian response to the text is demonstrated only a few bars later, where the angels are also struck dumb—'silent too are they'—represented literally by the breaking off of a phrase, followed by rests (Ex. 7.23).

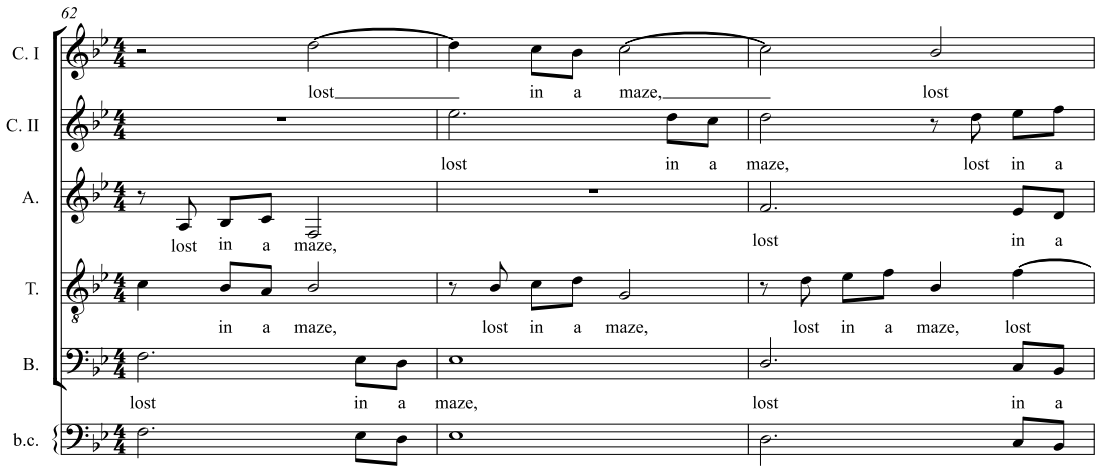
[54] *Ibid.*, IV, 202.
[55] *Ibid.*, II, 611–13.

Example 7.23: Jeffreys, *Look Up All Eyes*, bb.55–57[56]



Starting at bar 58 the voices weave ecstatically around each other, conveying a sense of joy and perplexity.[57] Jeffreys presents two contrasted motives simultaneously here ('Prompt him, ye Angels' and 'Silent too are they, lost in a maze') in an imitative texture. Jeffreys' proclivity for suspensions is also evident in this passage; at bars 62–64 there are two consecutive 7–6 suspensions (Ex. 7.24).

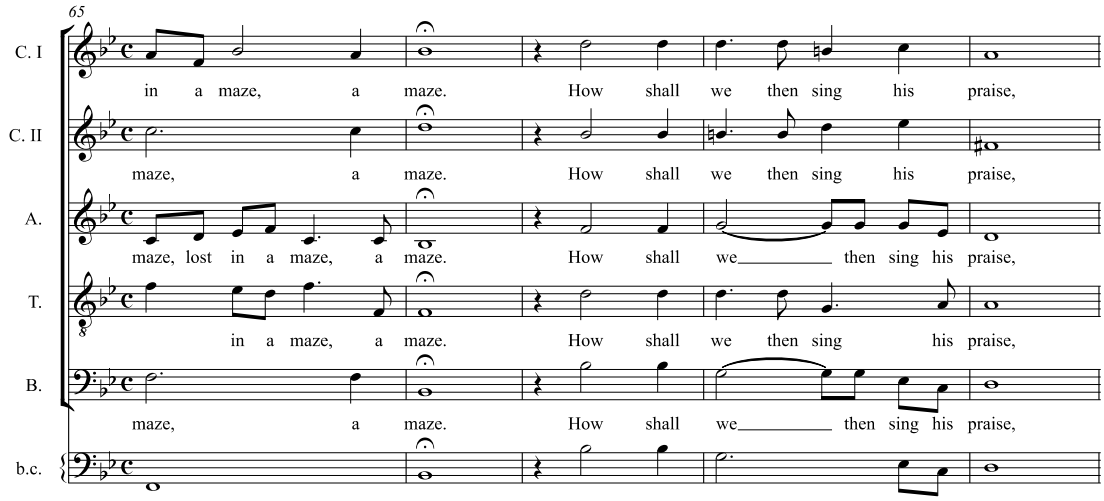
Example 7.24: Jeffreys, *Look Up All Eyes*, bb.62–64[58]



[56] *Ibid*., II, 615.
[57] *Ibid*., IV, 202.
[58] *Ibid*., II, 616–17.

However, following a perfect cadence on B♭ at bar 66, Jeffreys dramatically introduces an emphatic passage of homophony at the text ‘how shall we then sing his praise’ (Ex. 6.25).

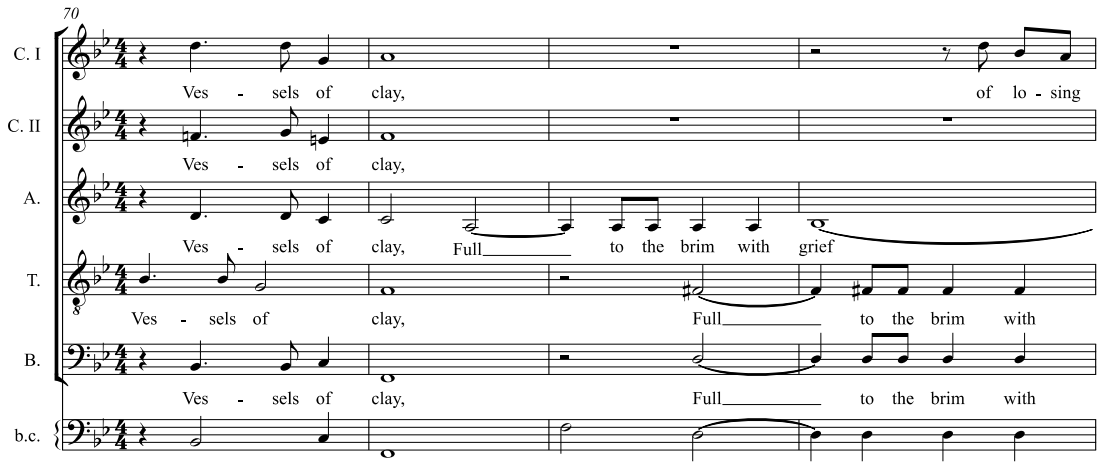
Example 6.25: Jeffreys, *Look Up All Eyes*, bb.65–69[59]



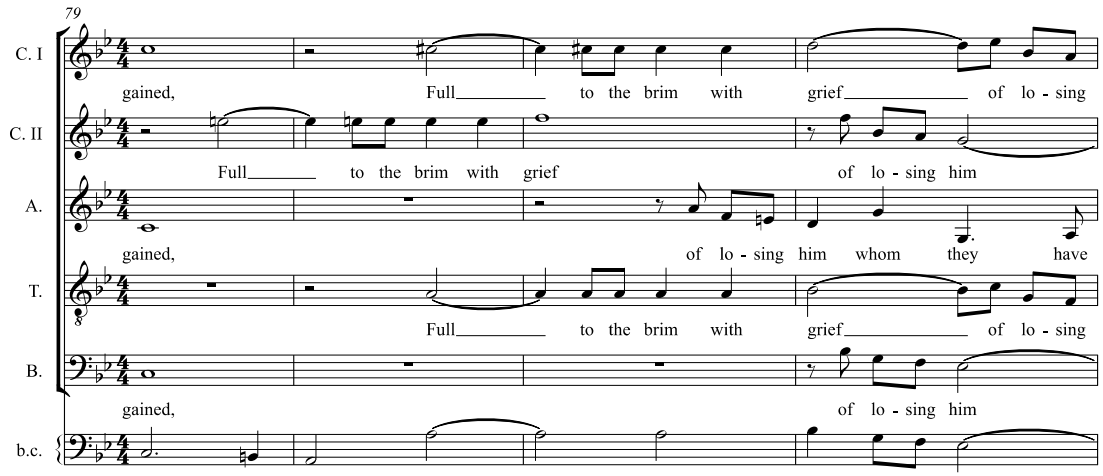
The homophony is short lived, however, and an imitative texture is soon restored at the text ‘Full to the brim with grief of losing him’. Jeffreys conveys this sentiment by employing a number of characteristic compositional devices that intensify the dramatic narrative. Firstly, at bars 71–72, Jeffreys introduces the text with a tertiary shift of harmony from F major to D major. At bars 79–80 Jeffreys repeats this procedure where the text is restated, shifting downwards a third harmonically from C major to A major (Exx. 7.26 and 7.27).

[59] *Ibid*., II, 617–18.

Example 7.26: Jeffreys, *Look Up All Eyes*, bb.70–73[60]



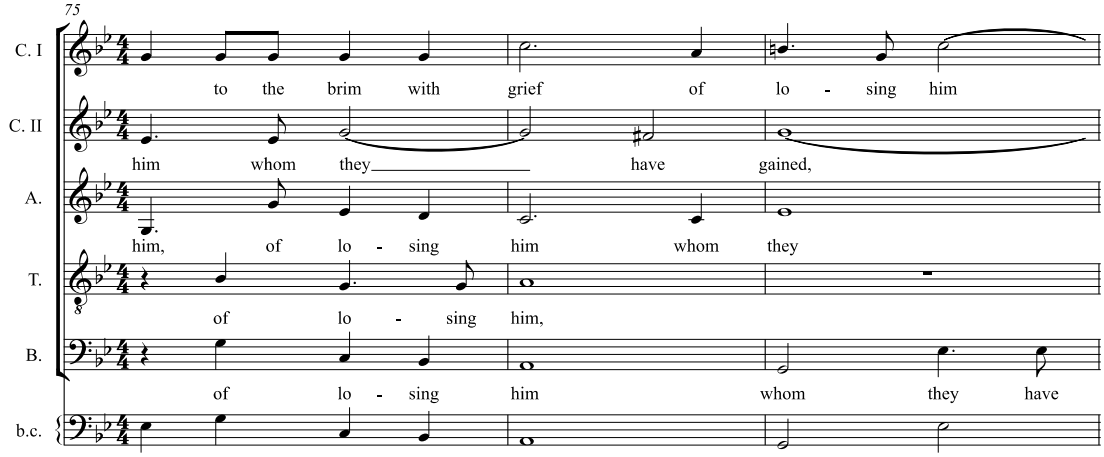
Example 7.27: Jeffreys, *Look Up All Eyes*, bb.79–82[61]



The F augmented triad featured in bar 81 (Ex. 7.27) is also worthy of note. Jeffreys' predilection for this type of triad has already been observed and is a prominent feature of *Look Up All Eyes*, particularly in this concluding passage of the anthem. Further examples can be found in bar 73 (Ex. 7.26), bar 77 (Ex.7.28), and bar 86 (Ex. 7.30).

[60] *Ibid*., II, 618.
[61] *Ibid*., II, 619–20.

Example 7.28: Jeffreys, *Look Up All Eyes*, bb.75–77[62]

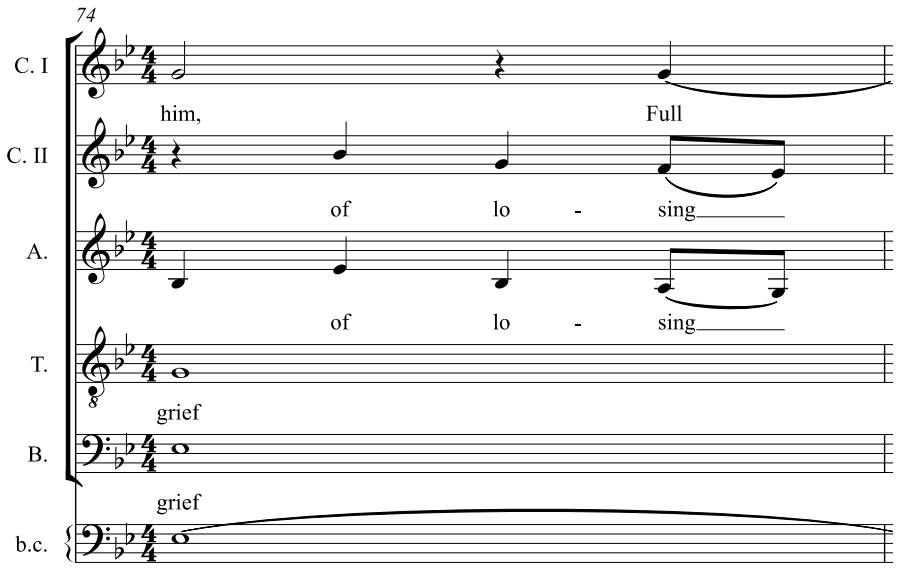


Similarly, Jeffreys makes use of diminished triads, albeit with less frequency (Ex. 7.28). At bar 76 there is a 7–♯6 suspension that resolves on to a chord of F♯ diminished in first inversion.

At bar 74 Jeffreys includes a note cluster, resulting in a passing dissonance at the text concerning grief. On beat four the following pitches are sounded simultaneously: e♭, f˝, g, g´, a (Ex. 7.29).

[62] *Ibid*., II, 619.

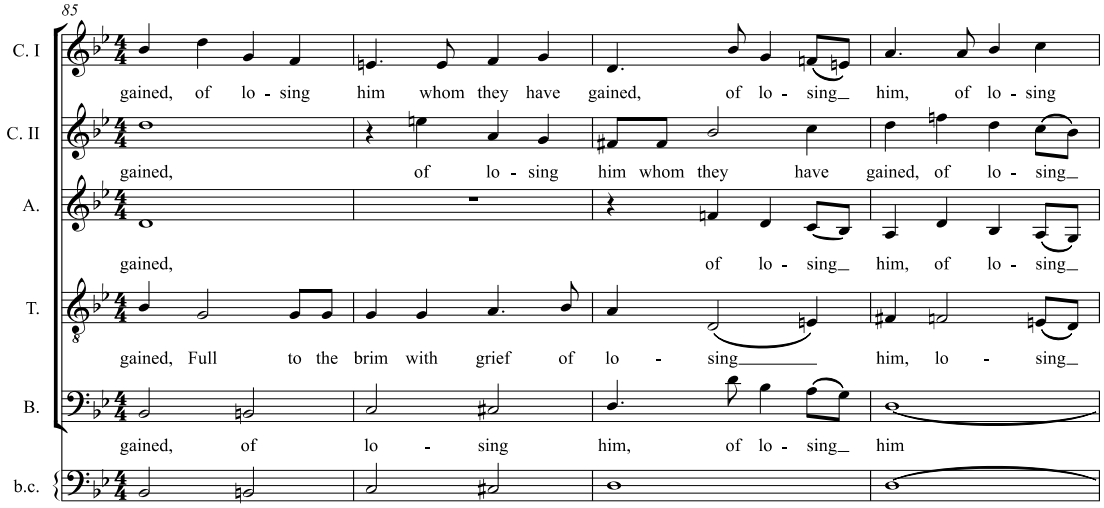
Example 7.29: Jeffreys, *Look Up All Eyes*, b.74[63]



At bars 85–87 there is an ascending chromatic melodic line in the bass voice, which is doubled by the basso continuo, rising through a third from B♭ to d (Ex. 7.30). The affective purpose of this melodic line, with its two consecutive chromatic alterations (B♭–B♮ and C♮–C♯), is without question.

[63] *Ibid*., II, 619.

Example 7.30: Jeffreys, *Look Up All Eyes*, bb.85–88[64]



Finally, false relations appear with relative frequency throughout this anthem but, with respect to this final passage, bars 87–88 provide the clearest example (Ex. 7.30). Here, there is an oscillation between F♯–F♮, juxtaposing the chords of D major and D minor, and unsettling any firm sense of tonal direction.

Aston aptly observes that *Look Up All Eyes* concludes 'on a note of passionate dejection: Christ has left us, and with him all hope seems to be gone'.[65] The compositional procedures that have been identified certainly confirm, and amplify, this view.

[64] *Ibid.*, II, 621.
[65] *Ibid.*, IV, 202.

A Music Strange

A music strange,
Full of delight and change,
Steals to mine ears.
The noise is harsh;
It is some drunkard's strains.
Say, men of Sion, how can this be:
The day is yet but in her infancy?
Hark, 'tis ravishing,
As if a choir of nightingales should sing
Who should be lord of the spring or year.
No Babel's builders are alive again,
Shrunk, laid full low. Is that proud tower
Become the scorn of every shower?
But the fair mount, framed by these men,
Shall rise, whispering the skies.
O ye who love your lives, make haste and fly:
Another deluge comes, climb here or die.

Of the four anthems currently under discussion, *A Music Strange* has been described quite correctly as 'perhaps the finest of the set';[66] a view that will be supported in the following paragraphs. The text of *A Music Strange* lacks the poetic skill witnessed in Herbert's *Rise Heart, thy Lord is Risen*; the poetic statement is more diffuse and, stemming from the undisciplined rhythm, the verse is more awkward and uneasy.[67] Paradoxically, these shortcomings work to Jeffreys' advantage. Whereas *Rise Heart, thy Lord is Risen* is complete in itself as poetry and does not require musical elaboration, the reverse is true of *A Music Strange*. Indeed, Jeffreys' musical treatment adds a sense of continuity to the seemingly disparate ideas presented in the poem and, furthermore, the vivid imagery of the poetry demands a daring musical response; a challenge that Jeffreys meets convincingly. Aston comments that 'the musical images perfectly match the words, and the work is almost symphonic in its structural and dramatic growth'.[68]

[66] *Ibid.*, IV, 195.
[67] *Ibid.*, IV, 193–94.
[68] *Ibid.*, IV, 195.

A Music Strange is scored for two cantus, alto, tenor, bass voices, and basso continuo (original clefs: C1, C1, C3, C4, F4), with the option of instrumental accompaniment.[69] This anthem is again divided into 'full' and 'verse', which is essential for the dramatic structure:[70] at bars 54–67 Jeffreys features a bass solo and at bars 68–85 there is a passage for trio (cantus I, cantus II, and bass).

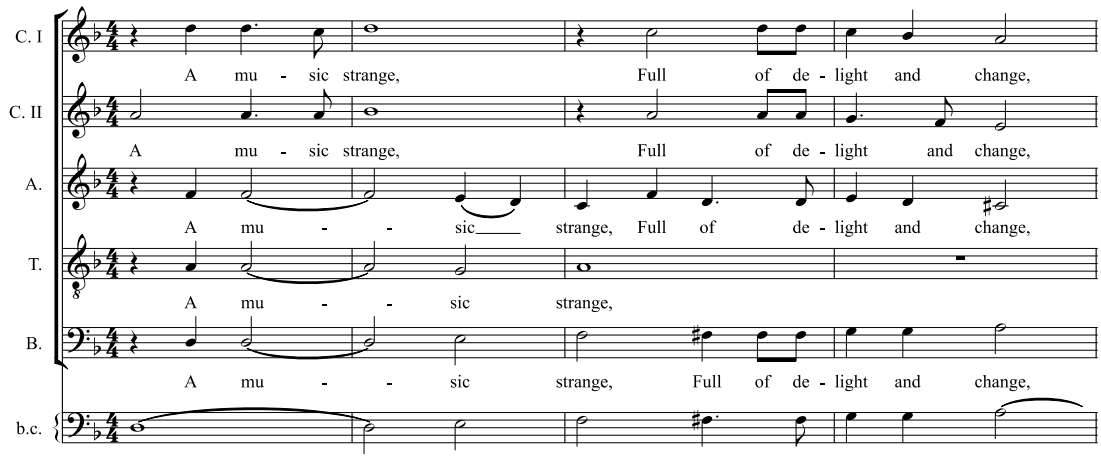
The opening bars of *A Music Strange* are indeed musically strange, hovering between modality and tonality (Ex. 7.31). In bars 1–2 the three lower voices sound the tonic triad of D minor but the two cantus subvert the establishment of any clear sense of key: cantus I descends from d′′ to the natural seventh c♮′′ before rising back to the tonic; underneath this, however, cantus II rises from a′ to b♭′, creating a dissonance—♭9—above the tenor, a. Instead of a regular suspension, the 'effect of the harmonic clash is to suggest a sub-mediant triad superimposed on a tonic chord'.[71] At bar 3 the first tertiary shift of harmony occurs at the introduction of the text 'full of delight', from F major to D major, featuring the attendant false relation between F♮–F♯. Following a cadence on the dominant, the homophonic texture changes at bar 5 to one of imitation where a series of passing dissonances unfold before the voices come to rest on a D major triad.

[69] In *Lbl* Add. MS 10338 Jeffreys adds in the margin a passage 'for instruments alone' (bb.16–20), and it is reasonable to assume that the voice parts were intended to be doubled by instruments throughout. This may also be the intention in the five related five-part anthems, but there are no separate instrumental passages in these anthems.

[70] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', IV, 203.

[71] *Ibid.*, IV, 203.

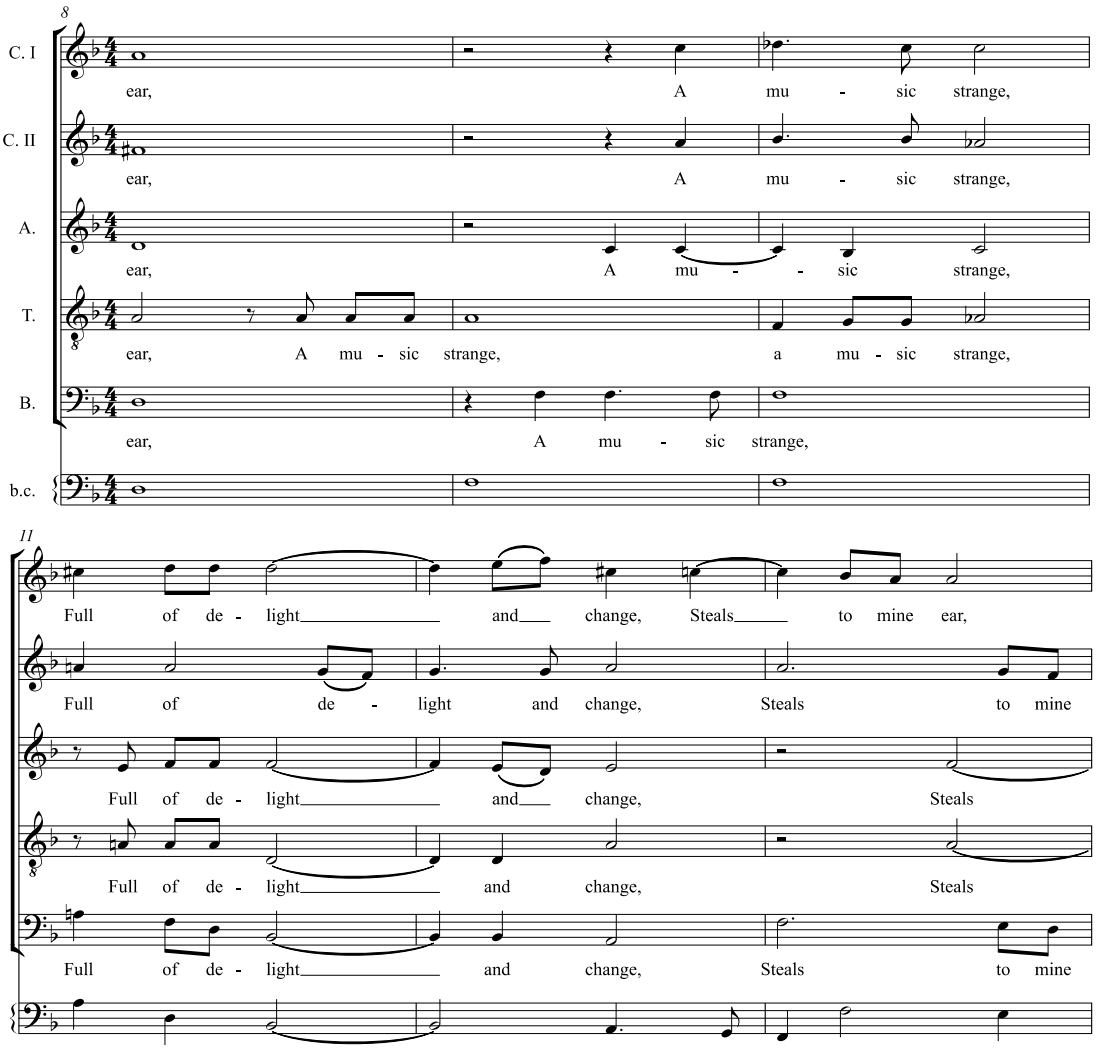
Example 7.31: Jeffreys, *A Music Strange*, bb.1–4[72]



At bar 9, where the opening line of text returns, there is another tertiary shift of harmony from D major to F major. Although there is a repeat of the text 'A music strange', this restatement does not return to the original homophonic texture, creating a sense of urgency. Moreover, the music moves harmonically to F minor (D♭ and A♭ are introduced) in bar 10 before a third tertiary shift to A major in bar 11 at the text 'full of delight'. This tertiary shift is even more daring than the previous two because of the two inherent false relations: A♭–A♮ and C♮–C♯. In bar 12, however, Jeffreys quickly reverses, through more false relations and a final tertiary shift, arriving back at F major in bar 13 (Ex. 7.32).

[72] *Ibid*., II, 624–25.

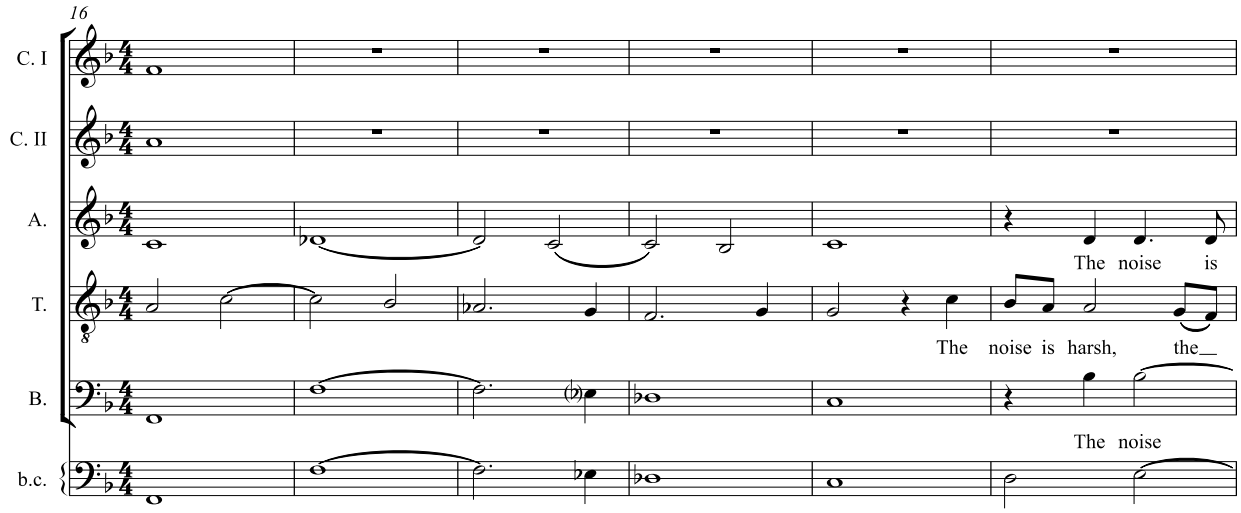
Example 7.32: Jeffreys, *A Music Strange*, bb.8–13[73]



To be expressly clear, Jeffreys includes no fewer than four tertiary shifts of harmony in the space of thirteen bars. The gently descending motive 'steals to mine ear' returns before the passage concludes with a cadence in F major at bar 16. However, the F major tonality is immediately contradicted in the following brief instrumental passage by the (re)introduction of D♭ and A♭, once again indicating F minor but at bar 21 Jeffreys once again rejects it in favour of F major, which is firmly re-established with a perfect cadence at bars 24–25 (Ex. 7.33).

[73] *Ibid*., II, 626–27.

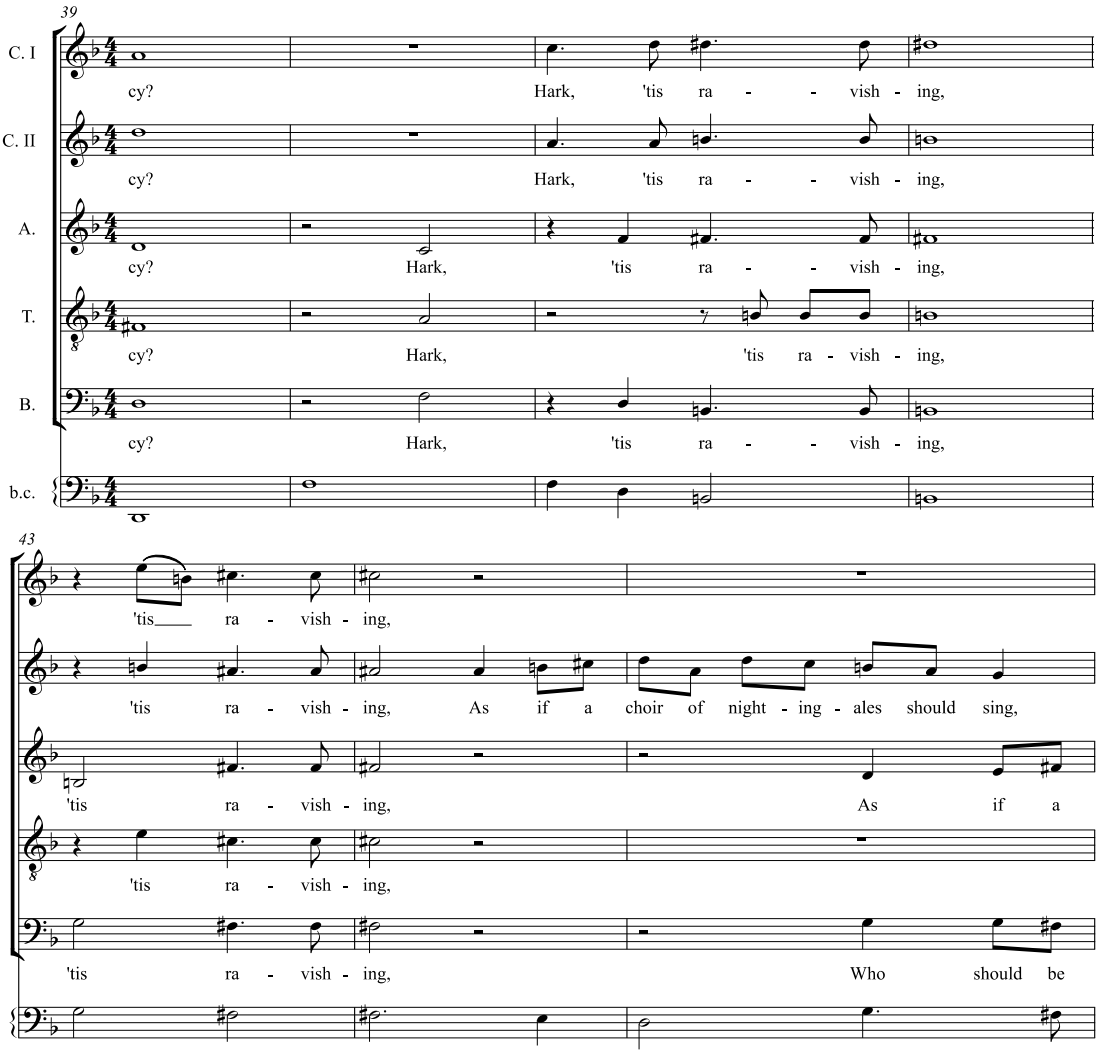
Example 7.33: Jeffreys: *A Music Strange*, bb.16–21[74]



Probably the most harmonically extreme chromatic passage in Jeffreys' *oeuvre* occurs in this anthem, between bars 39–45, at the text 'Hark, 'tis ravishing' and is easily comparable, if not more daring, than the violent chromaticism of Gesualdo. At bars 39–40 Jeffreys introduces the new line of text with yet another tertiary shift of harmony, from D major to F major. From this point on, the music moves with a rapid harmonic pace, by way of D minor, to B major (this progression itself outlines successive downward tertiary shifts, i.e. F, D, B), before advancing in the following bar to F♯ major, where the voices settle (Ex. 7.34). In the space of only five bars, Jeffreys moves from F major to F♯ major.

[74] *Ibid*., II, 627–28.

Example 7.34: Jeffreys, *A Music Strange*, bb.39–45[75]



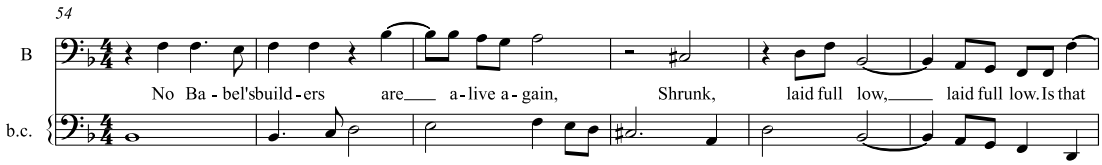
This thick five-part texture and rich harmonic resource is broken at bar 45 where there harmonic tension is dramatically reduced with yet another tertiary shift—in a subdominant direction—from F♯ major to D major, and a fugato texture is introduced at the text ‘As if a choir of nightingales should sing’.

Similarly, up to this point of the anthem a five-part texture has largely prevailed. However, at bar 54 the ‘verse’ section begins, which is scored for solo bass, providing a marked contrast with the

[75] *Ibid*., II, 633–34.

music that has gone before. The bass voice is again singled out for a solo passage, but this time there is nothing particularly virtuosic about the writing; this is more than likely because the bass solo serves merely as an introduction to the subsequent trio.[76] While the 'verse' passage conforms to the declamatory style, Aston remarks that it is 'tempered to some extent by the melodic lyricism of the voice part'[77] (Ex. 7.35).

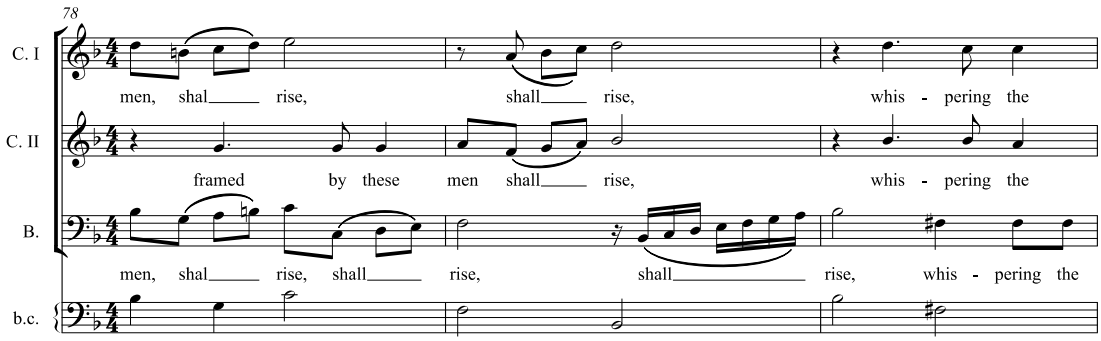
Example 7.35: Jeffreys, *A Music Strange*, bb.54–59[78]



The trio, scored for cantus I, cantus II, and bass, begins at bar 68 and is similar to the previous solo by its reliance on a lyricism 'that is wholly appropriate to the sense of the words'.[79] Jeffreys takes the opportunity to employ manneristic gestures, where they present themselves, in his setting of words. For example, at bars 78–80, Jeffreys sets the text 'shall rise' to motives that musically match the sentiment be expressed, i.e. conjunct ascending figures (Ex. 7.36). Also worthy of note in this example is Jeffreys' use of augmented and diminished chords, and passing dissonances. On beat 3 of bar 80, there is a B♭ augmented chord in second inversion that moves, by way of a clashing suspension and anticipation, to a chord of F♯ diminished. Unusual and highly dissonant progressions can be found time and again in Jeffreys' music.

[76] The range of the bass voice throughout the anthem, however, is again two octaves: D to d'. Jeffreys uses pitch as a means of word painting; the lowest note is reserved for the word 'die' at b.108 while the highest note depicts the fair 'mount' (the Church) at b.76.
[77] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', IV, 205.
[78] *Ibid.*, II, 636.
[79] *Ibid.*, IV, 205.

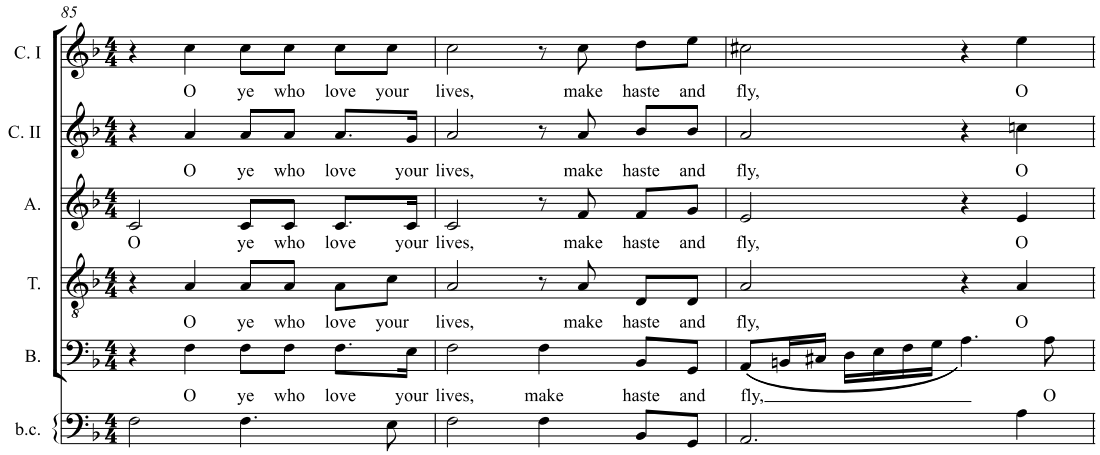
Example 7.36: Jeffreys, *A Music Strange*, bb.78–80[80]



It is probable that the voices are deliberately restrained in this trio passage to maximise the dramatic impact of the return to 'full' at bar 85, where the five-part homophonic texture is reintroduced in a startling manner. Such a change of texture and mood again adheres to the fundamental principle of contrast of the *stile concertato*. Unsurprisingly, the trio ends on a chord of A major and the 'full' begins on a chord of F major; yet another tertiary shift of harmony. The effect of this stark contrast is like a paroxysm from the chorus who implore in homophonic declamation 'make haste and fly'; the semiquaver runs in the bass (b.87) and cantus I and II (b.90) increase the urgency of their plea (Ex. 7.37).

[80] *Ibid*., II, 639.

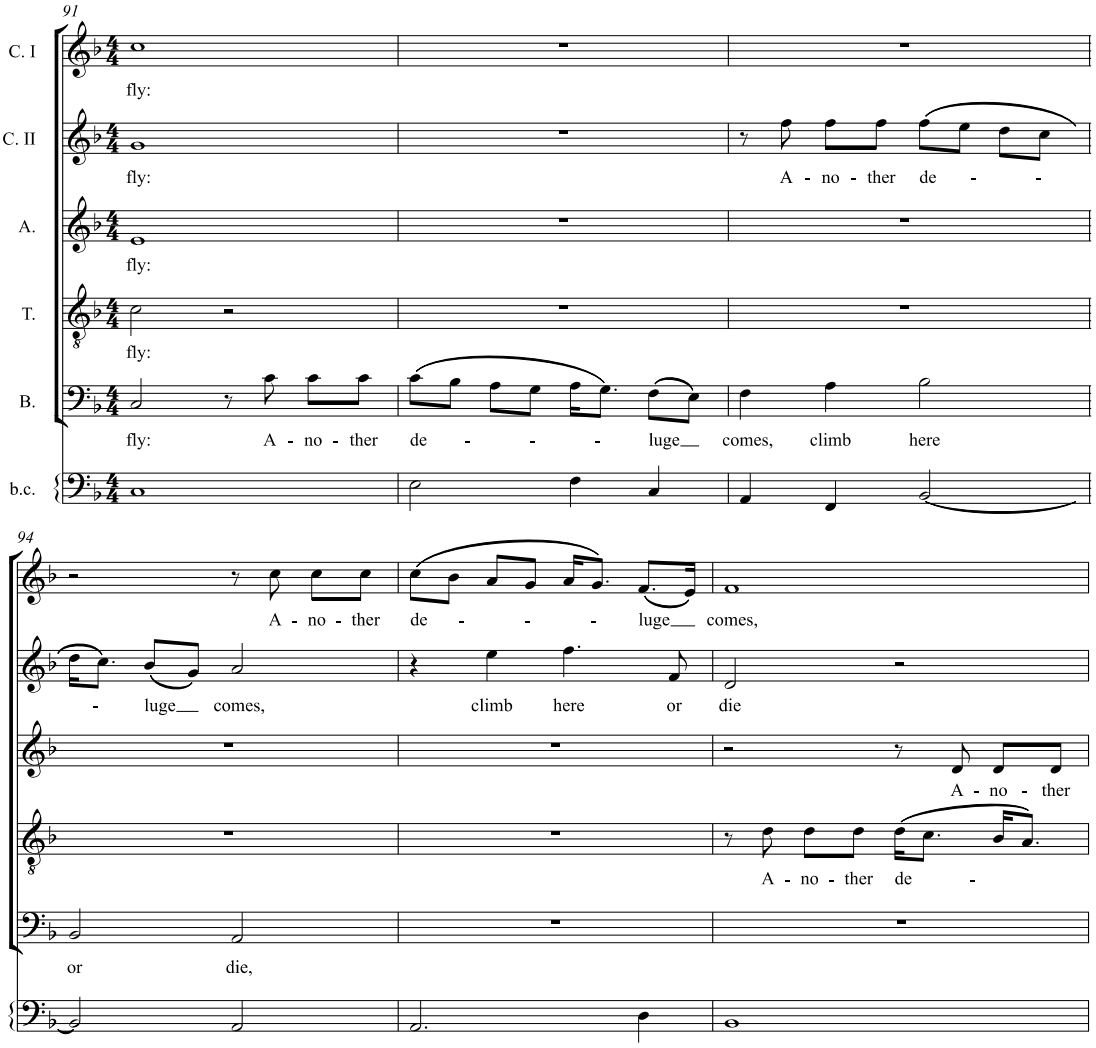
Example 7.37: Jeffreys, *A Music Strange*, bb.85–87[81]



Between bars 91–108 Jeffreys utilises the device of *contrapposto*, simultaneously developing two contrasted but complementary motives. At bar 91 a new florid melodic figure is introduced by the bass; Jeffreys sets the word ‘deluge’ melismatically, which descends in a scale-like manner. This figure is then taken up by cantus II in bar 93 and by cantus I in bar 94 (Ex. 7.38). Simultaneously, however, the bass introduces the second contrasting figure, against cantus II, at bar 93. In this contrasting motive Jeffreys sets the words ‘climb here or die’ disjunctly, falling abruptly through the interval of a minor ninth.

[81] *Ibid*., II, 640.

Example 7.38: Jeffreys, *A Music Strange*, bb.91–96[82]

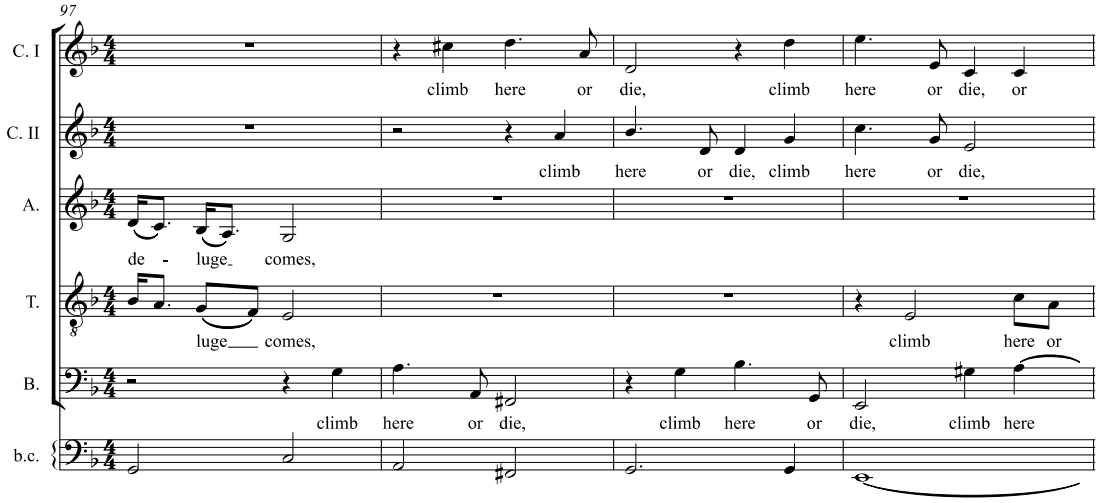


Thereafter, Jeffreys develops both of these contrasting motives, setting them against each other. For example, the interval through which the second motive descends becomes wider and wider, particularly in the bass voice. In bars 97–100, the first appearance of the motive in the bass voice spans a minor tenth and in the following bars it spans a diminished twelfth (compound tritone) (Ex. 7.39). The expansion of these intervals helps to bring the anthem towards a climax; Aston comments that 'the mood is one of utter desperation: only by climbing the "fair mount" (the

[82] *Ibid*., II, 641–42.

Church) can we escape the Flood, but the music is dominated by the jagged downward leaps until, at bar 105, it begins to unwind into the cadence'.[83]

Example 7.39: Jeffreys, *A Music Strange*, bb.97–100[84]



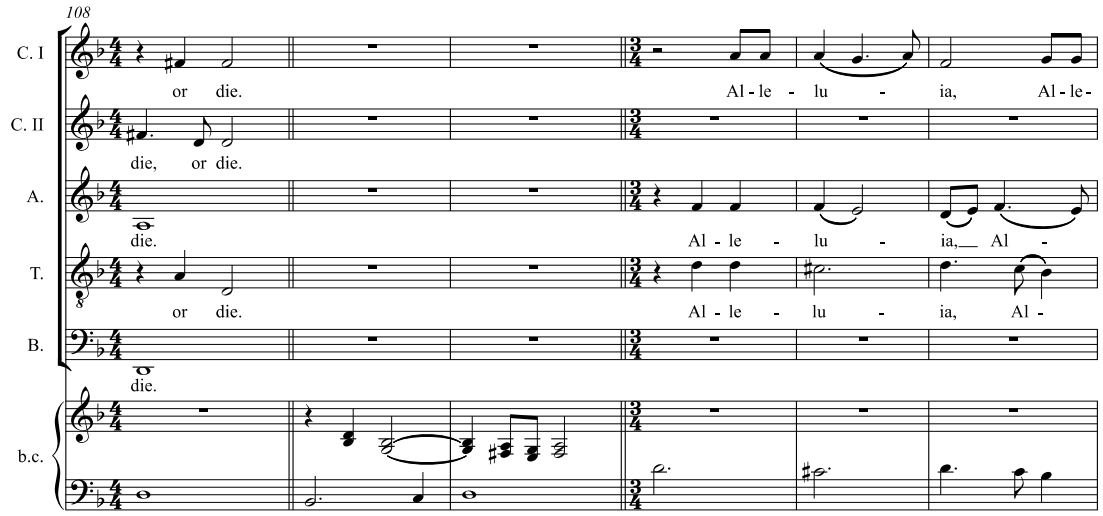
If attention is directed to bar 100, Jeffreys' proclivity for an augmented sonority and false relations can once again be seen. The bar opens with C major harmony (first inversion) and cantus II's arppeggiated descent includes a g♮′. However, on beat 3, Jeffreys introduces a g♯ in the bass voice, creating a false relation with the g♮′ and producing a C augmented triad in first inversion. Such melodic and harmonic treatment contributes to the growing sense of climax and violence that Jeffreys achieves.

It has been made clear in earlier parts of this dissertaion that Jeffreys often reserves the emotional climax of a piece for the concluding section; *A Music Strange* provides probably one of the best examples of this procedure. Analogous to Jeffreys' burial anthem *In the midst of life,*

[83] *Ibid.*, IV, 206.
[84] *Ibid.*, II, 643.

the concluding 'alleluia' section is 'an expression of deep and unquestioning personal faith'.[85] Following an imperfect cadence in G minor at bars 107–108, a two-bar instrumental interlude brings to an end the violence of the previous section. The interlude is accompanied harmonically by a shift of a third from D major to B♭ major, which is followed by another to D minor in which key the 'alleluia' section begins (Ex. 7.40).[86]

Example 7.40: Jeffreys, *A Music Strange*, bb.108–113[87]



Moreover, Jeffreys' adoption of triple metre for the 'alleluia' section provides a further element of contrast. Aston's summary of this concluding section is as follows:

> Its gentle lyricism and harmonic simplicity are profoundly moving, the more so because we still recall the terror of the Flood and the struggle to flee from it. But, the music tells us, there can be only one escape, and that is by simple acceptance of God's love: for the power of faith is stronger than the destructive forces of evil.[88]

[85] *Ibid.*, IV, 206.
[86] In *Lbl* Add. MS 10338 the realisation above the basso continuo is written out in full.
[87] Aston, P., *Op. cit.*, 'George Jeffreys and the English Baroque', II, 645–46.
[88] *Ibid.*, IV, 206.

A Music Strange probably represents Jeffreys' finest composition, featuring elements of the *stile nuovo* and many idiomatic compositional procedures, arriving at his most original and personal work.

A Note on Possible Performance Contexts

Unfortunately, at present, it is not possible to establish a performance context for any of Jeffreys' music with certainty. However, while speculative, a number of scenarios do seem likely. Firstly, there is some evidence that music was performed at Hatton's principal residence, Kirby Hall. Wainwright has noted that mention is made, in two undated letters from Christopher Hatton IV to his wife Cecilia, of the shipment of organ pipes to Kirby Hall and that this organ was probably used at the family's private devotions as well as for secular music-making.[89] Although there was no chapel at Kirby Hall, it has been suggested by Chettle that the room over the gateway in the north loggia was used as a chapel.[90] The possibility that the 'mount', outside the garden to the south, could at one time have provided a performance context is worth entertaining. This low hump, now a vantage point, marks the site of the church in the former village. Indeed, the name Kirby was derived from 'Cherchberie', meaning a village with a church, but it was demolished during the making of the gardens.[91] It is also possible that Jeffreys' liturgical music was used at the local parish church in Weldon, St Mary the Virgin, only a number of miles from Kirby Hall. Wainwright has revealed that Jeffreys' father-in-law, Thomas Mainwaring, was rector there from

[89] *Lbl* Add. 29571, ff. 64–65 & 68. See Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 25–26.
[90] Chettle, G. H., rev. P. Leach, *Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire*, English Heritage (London, 1986).
[91] Worsley, L., *Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire*, English Heritage (London, 2000). I am unsure, however, precisely when the demolition of the church and surrounding houses was undertaken.

1614 until his death in 1663. It is unlikely, however, that a local provincial church would have had singers skilled enough to perform Jeffreys' more adventurous music.

While Jeffreys was at the Civil War Court at Oxford, between 1643–1646, his music could have been performed there. Following the Royalist victory at the battle of Edgehill (23 October 1642), Charles I took up residence at Christ Church, Oxford and when Henrietta Maria returned from Holland she joined the king, taking up residence at Merton College. Wainwright has shown that music played a part at the wartime court, suggesting that it was even something of a musical centre and that Hatton's musicians acted as 'replacement' court musicians for both the king and queen.[92] Moreover, he contends that the surviving manuscript evidence suggests that the performing repertoire was both sacred and secular small-scale Italian music.[93] This music could be performed easily with only a handful of singers and a continuo player—well-suited to the depleted musical resources of a wartime court—and would have appealed to the educated tastes of noblemen. It is not unreasonable to conjecture that Jeffreys' pre-1648 music was composed and performed in this context. Indeed, he may even have been the continuo player.

London also provides a hypothetical performing context, especially during the Commonwealth. Hatton III inherited Hatton House, Holborn in 1646 following the death of Elizabeth Newport-Hatton. Although Hatton House was commandeered by Parliamentarian soldiers in early 1649, there is some evidence to suggest that High Church worship—officially banned—continued to take place, if not in the chapel there. Peter Gunning maintained such services at the Exeter House Chapel on the north side of the Strand, and Lady Hatton is known to have been

[92] See Wainwright, J. P., 'Images of Virtue and War: Music in Civil War Oxford', *William Lawes 1602–1645: Essays on His Life, Times and Work*, ed. Andrew Ashbee (Aldershot, 1998), 121–142.
[93] *Ibid*., *passim*.

arrested for attending the Christmas Day service in 1657.[94] It is not unlikely that Jeffreys' post-1648 music was composed for performance at Gunning's Exeter House services, which is supported by the fact that he asked Jeffreys to compose the music for the Communion text 'Glory to God' in May 1652.[95] Wainwright has surmised:

> Both Gunning and Jeffreys were employed by the Hatton family and both had a common background of Royalist service at Oxford: a collaboration between the two at the unofficial High Church services in the Exeter House Chapel would therefore seem likely.[96]

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to investigate the performance contexts for Jeffreys' music more deeply, but the hypothetical scenarios outlined above provide starting points for further inquiry.

Conclusion

Throughout the course of this chapter an attempt has been made to identify the ways in which Jeffreys can be seen to fulfil Platoff's *change* condition of influence. Fundamentally, Jeffreys transferred his knowledge and proficiency in the techniques of the *stile nuovo*, in particular the *stile concertato*, to the English anthem but without wholly relinquishing his native compositional trends. The result is unique. The most notable compositional features to recur persistently throughout the consideration of the four anthems in this chapter, all of which are typical of the *stile nuovo*, include: affective declamation; virtuoso writing, particularly for the bass voice; contrasting homophonic sections in a pervading imitative texture; musical imagery; melodic and harmonic chromaticism, and dissonance all used for expressive purposes; and, unexpected harmonic progressions. However, these 'progressive' characteristics are counterbalanced by

[94] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 149.
[95] See the annotation on f. 106 of *Lbl* Add. MS 10338.
[96] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 150.

compositional devices that are typical of Jeffreys' English predecessors, such as Gibbons and Tomkins:

> Jeffreys' indebtedness to the Italian style is especially apparent in the Latin settings, although the English works also bear evidence of Italian influence. Counterbalancing the Italian flavour is the typical English reliance on polyphony and the rhythmically deliberate declamatory lines.[97]

It is my contention, then, that in these anthems Jeffreys not only fulfils Platoff's *awareness* and *similarity* conditions of influence but, importantly, that he also fulfils the third and final condition of *change*. Consequently, when measured against the paradigm of influence devised and purported by this dissertation, apropos Rosen, Meyer, and Platoff, Jeffreys' music can be seen to be strongly influenced by the latest Italian trends and developments of the *seicento*.

Moreover, I assert that the influence of contemporary Italian music on Jeffreys was truly profound, inspiring him to his most original thought and personal work. In these anthems he demonstrates his transcendence of mere mimicry and replication of the composers he revered and admired; having internalised the methods of the *stile nuovo* Jeffreys was subsequently capable of applying them to his own compositions. Ultimately, Jeffreys' solution was a syncretism between the techniques of the *stile nuovo* practiced by his Italian contemporaries and the elements of his native English polyphonic tradition. Without question Jeffreys' five-part verse anthems are his most unique achievement and represent his often-overlooked contribution to the history of seventeenth-century English music. Indeed, the ongoing discourse has revealed Jeffreys' wholehearted commitment to the *stile nuovo*, which exceeds that shown by his contemporaries, placing him at the vanguard of developments in English sacred music in pre-Commonwealth and pre-Restoration England. Consequently, in the words of Wainwright,

[97] Bergdolt, K. E., *Op. cit.*, I, 205.

‘George Jeffreys must be recognised as the chief pioneer of Italianate sacred music in England’.[98]

[98] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 159.

Chapter 8: Other Royalist Composers

A recurring theme in this dissertation is the close link between progressive Italianate sacred music in England and composers who were active at the Royal courts of Charles I and Henrietta Maria, or who were associated with court-related circles. Given their significance, Dering and Jeffreys have hitherto remained at the centre of discussion, but they were not exclusive in their composition of Italian-influenced sacred music. In this chapter, other composers among their contemporaries who were sympathetic to the Royalist cause and who produced Italianate sacred music, to greater or lesser extents, will be explored. The figures central to this chapter, whose music will be detailed in a series of case studies, are: William Child, Henry and William Lawes, Walter Porter, and John Wilson.

William Child

William Child (1606/7–1697) was an English composer and organist who was active in Royal service throughout his career. The facts concerning the birth and early life of Child are scarce.[1] According to Anthony Wood, however, Child was 'educated in the musical praxis under one Elway Bevan the famous composer, and organist of the cathedral church there [Bristol]' and in a note on Bevan he says, 'He bred up Dr. Will Child to vocal & instrumental musick in the latter end of Ki[ng] Jam[es] I'.[2] There is no evidence to suggest that Child was a chorister at Bristol Cathedral but it is probable that he came into contact with Bevan through Thomas Prince—a

[1] See Ashbee, A., Lasocki, D., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485–1714* (Aldershot, 1998), 244–249; Zimmerman, J. M., 'The Psalm Settings and Anthems of William Child (1606–1697)' (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1971), I, 1.

[2] Hudson, F., Large, R., 'William Child (1606/7–1697) – a new Investigation of Sources', *The Music Review*, 31 (1970), 265.

musician of Bristol and probably a singing-man of the cathedral—and Bevan may have taught him privately. Child was apprenticed to Prince on 5 April 1620, but the Bristol Burgess Book contains no record of Child's admission as a freeman.[3] It is likely, therefore, that Child had left Bristol for Windsor before completing his apprenticeship which should have terminated in 1628.[4] On 19 April 1630 Child was elected to the next vacant clerkship at St George's Chapel, Windsor, and two years later, on 26 July, 1632, one of St Anthony's exhibitions or almsplaces, previously held by Elizabeth Foord, was assigned to him.[5] On this latter occasion Child is referred to as organist in a Chapter Act of 1632, an office which he probably received following the death of John Mundy (*c.*1555–1630). When the other organist, Nathaniel Giles (*c.*1588–1634), died no other appointment for a second organist was made. It was agreed instead that Child should receive the double stipend, provided he found an adequate deputy when he was absent (in the 1630s it was probably £32).[6]

On 8 July 1631, Child was admitted BMus at Oxford and as part of his exercise he was required to compose 'cantilenam quinque partium'. Hudson has written that Child 'is described as being of Christ Church though he did not matriculate there: evidently it was normal practice for a music graduand to attach himself to a college in order to take his degree'.[7] Zimmerman has pointed out that matriculation was not necessary in order to receive a degree and that the requirements for a BMus merely involved having studied music for seven years and having composed a piece of music for five parts which must be publicly performed.[8] Following the

[3] Hudson, F., et al., 'Child, William', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 20 July 2011).
[4] Hudson, F., Large, R., *Op. cit.*, 266.
[5] *Ibid.*, 266.
[6] *Ibid.*, 267.
[7] *Ibid.*, 268.
[8] Zimmerman, J. M., *Op. cit.*, I, 8. See Williams, C. F. A., *A Short Historical Account of the Degrees in Music at Oxford and Cambridge* (London, 1893); Mallet, C. E., *A History of the University of Oxford*, II (New York, 1924).

Restoration, Child received his DMus on 8 July 1663,[9] which required five more years of study beyond the Bachelor's degree and a composition of six or eight parts. Anthony Wood states that Child celebrated the completion of this degree in an act at St Mary's Church on the 13th of the same month.[10]

During the Civil War, in 1643, Child and the rest of the Windsor establishment were ejected from St George's Chapel, and throughout the Commonwealth cathedral services were suppressed, leaving many musicians previously employed by the church without employment. Samuel Arnold states that 'during the ravages of this recess, Dr Child had retired to a small farm which he then occupied, and having apparently a presentiment that he should live to see the King restored, amus'd himself at his leisure, in composing many *Services and Anthems*'.[11] However, no evidence has hitherto been found to support Arnold's claim. Many musicians sought employment at the households of members of the nobility and it is quite possible that Child served as a private musician to the Earl of Sandwich during the Interregnum.[12] In May and October 1647 the Committee for Sequestration in Bedfordshire paid salary arrears to 'Wm Child, late organist of Wyndsor ... and his son late Quirister there' of £20 18s. 2d. (and a second payment of that amount). On 21 January 1646 Child received £24 8s. 0d. by order of the House of Lords, being seven months' arrears and, by an order of the Trustees for the Maintenance of

[9] See Oxford, University Archives MSS, Register of Congregation, 1659–1669, f.41: 'Supplicat, etc. Guil. Child Musica Baccalaureus ut gratiase secum dispensetur pro Circuiti causa est quod hesterna pluvial impeditus Circuitum peragere non potuit: Conceditur July 8'.

[10] Wood, Anthony à, *Athenae Oxonienses* and *The Fasti, or Annal of the University*, reprint 1813, *Fasti*, II, col. 459, IV, col. 265–6 in Hudson, F., Large, R., *Op. cit.*, 268.

[11] Arnold, S., *Cathedral Music* (London, 1790), 39.

[12] Zimmerman, J. M., *Op. cit.*, I, 18. Henry Cooke (*c.*1615–1672) is known to have been employed to teach the Hatton children and to have visited the Hatton residences regularly, presumably in Northampton and London.

Ministers, dated 24 February 1658, Child was 'to have £5 on certificate of his poverty from Lord Montague, provided he show what office he held'.[13]

At the Restoration, Child was returned to his former office at Windsor, but, in addition, he was also made one of the organists of the Chapel Royal. The three organists assigned to the Chapel Royal were: William Child, Christopher Gibbons, and Edward Lowe.[14] Moreover, Child was granted the post of 'Composer of Wind Musick' and cornettist in the King's Music, replacing Alfonso Ferrabosco III who had died during the Interregnum. Other composers for the king's private music included Matthew Locke, John Jenkins, and Henry Lawes.[15] Child was in attendance at the coronations of Charles II (1661), James II (1685), and William and Mary (1689) and was recognised as the oldest musician at the coronation ceremony of James II on 23 April (St George's Day), 1685. It is worth noting some of the other preeminent Gentleman of the Chapel Royal who participated in the ceremony: Michael Wise, counter-tenor; William Turner, counter-tenor; Henry Purcell, organist at Westminster; Nicholas Staggins, Master of the King's Music; and John Blow, Master of the Children of the Chapel.[16] That Child's—and H. Lawes'—music continued to be held in high regard by the following generation is revealed by considering the list of choral music performed at the coronation of James II (Table 8.1), where it was featured alongside the likes of Purcell and Blow.

[13] Matthews, A. G., *A Revision of 'John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, 1642–60*', (Oxford, 1948), 22 in Hudson, F., Large, R., *Op. cit.*, 268.
[14] See Ashbee, A., et al., *Op. cit.*, *passim*; West, J. E., *Cathedral Organists Past and Present* (London, 1899), 106–107.
[15] Zimmerman, J. M., *Op. cit.*, I, 12.
[16] *Ibid.*, I, 22.

Table 8.1: A List of Choral Music Performed at the Coronation of James II

Anthem or Service Music	Anthem Type	Composer
I was glad when they said unto me	Full	Henry Purcell
Let thy hand be strengthened	Full	John Blow
Come Holy Ghost	Full	William Turner
Zadok the Priest and Nathan the Prophet	Full	Henry Lawes
Behold, O Lord, our Defender	Full	John Blow
The King shall rejoice	Full	William Turner
Te Deum		William Child
God spake sometimes in visions	Verse	John Blow
My heart is inditing	Verse	Henry Purcell

The final years of Child's life seem to have been untroubled and he died on 23 March 1697. Child was buried 'in Woollen' in St George's Chapel three days later and his gravestone is near the present entrance to the organ loft.[17]

Nearly all of Child's extant work is for the Anglican rites, but it is of significance that his Latin 'Te Deum and Jubilate' was 'made for the right worshipful Dr. Cosin', indicating that he was involved in the Laudian or High Church movement of the 1630s.[18] The manuscript sources for these works are unique to Peterhouse,[19] the Cambridge College most closely associated with the High Church movement, and where John Cosin (1595–1672) was once Master (1635–1644).[20] During his earlier years, Cosin was a member of the so-called 'Durham House group' who were a group of anti-Calvinist divines that gathered around Bishop Richard Neile's London house in the Strand; other prominent members included William Laud and John Buckeridge. Following

[17] Hudson, F., et al., *Op. cit.*.

[18] Le Huray, P., *Music and the Reformation in England: 1549–1660* (London, 1967), 359. For a detailed account of Laudianism see Trevor-Roper, H., 'Laudianism and Political Power', *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans* (London, 1987), 40–119; Hoffman, J. G., '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 (1982–83), 94–105.

[19] Webster cites Peterhouse MS 489:60 by way of example. Webster, P. J., 'The Relationship Between Religious Thought and the Theory and Practice of Church Music in England, *c*.1603–1640' (PhD diss., University of Sheffield, 1990), 203.

[20] Milton, A., 'Cosin, John (1595–1672)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press (Accessed 10 December 2012).

the troubles of the 1640s, Cosin fled to Paris and was appointed by the king 'to serve as chaplain to the protestant members of Queen Henrietta Maria's court in France',[21] Milton continues:

> For the next decade and a half he [Cosin] did what he could to keep the beleaguered protestant royalist exiles together, operating initially from quarters in the Louvre, and later in the residence of the English ambassador, Sir Richard Browne, whose chapel provided an important and visible base for the exiled Church of England.[22]

In Chapter 4 it was revealed that Hatton also fled to Paris (24 November 1646) to join many other eminent Royalists in exile, one of whom was Cosin. This was not their first encounter, however. Cosin and Hatton had been associates since the coronation of Charles I in 1626 where both men were present: Cosin as master of ceremonies and director of the choir (his translation of the *Veni Creator* was employed), while Hatton was created a knight.[23] It will be recalled that Hatton patronised clergymen and theologians, particularly members of the High Church party such as Peter Hausted (*c*.1605–1644), Jeremy Taylor (1613–1667), and Peter Gunning (1614–1684). Wainwright comments that 'Hatton's patronage of this group of High Church clergymen had its roots in Cambridge in the early 1630s and revolved around the eminent Arminian, Edward Martin (d.1662), one-time chaplain to Archbishop Laud ...'.[24] Hatton is likely to have been acquainted with Martin from at least October 1631, the date of Martin's appointment as Rector of Uppingham;[25] in 1634 Martin appointed Hausted as his curate.[26] Hausted's involvement in the Royal visit to Cambridge has already been noted (Chapter 4) but he is closely connected with Hatton in a number of ways. In 1636, Hausted dedicated his *Ten*

[21] *Ibid*.
[22] *Ibid*.
[23] Wainwright has recently discovered the hand of Bing (a Hatton copyist), supervised by Jeffreys, in the Peterhouse Caroline partbooks. This provides evidence that Hatton, Jeffreys, and Bing had a presence in 1630s Cambridge and establishes a definite link between Hatton and his musicians and the High Church party. See Wainwright, J. P., 'Widening the Cambridge Circle', *Music and Worship in Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge: The Peterhouse Partbooks in Context*, ed. Scott Mandelbrote (forthcoming).
[24] Wainwright, J. P., *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670*) (Aldershot, 1997), 13.
[25] Uppingham is around 8 miles North West of Hatton's principal residence, Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire.
[26] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 13.

Sermons to Christopher Hatton III, the contents of which reveal his extreme Laudian views and his appointment as Vicar of Gretton[27] in 1639, and his additional sinecure of the Hatton advowson of Wold (1643–1645) were a direct result of Hatton's patronage.[28] Taylor had also at one time been chaplain to Archbishop Laud and a Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, which has been described as 'a great favourer of popish doctrines and ceremonies'.[29] In 1638 Taylor replaced Martin and Hausted at Uppingham and continued with the reforms they had instigated, including the installation of an organ for use in divine worship.[30] When Hatton moved to Oxford in 1642, in support of the Royalist cause, both Hausted and Taylor joined him. Unfortunately for Martin, he was imprisoned by the Parliamentarians in London until 1648, precluding his presence at the Civil War Court at Oxford. While in Oxford, Hausted and Taylor were created Doctors of Divinity of the University of Oxford on 1 November 1642 and both continued their religious writings.[31] Taylor accompanied the Royal army as Chaplain in Ordinary to Charles I until his capture at Cardigan Castle in 1645. A number of his works were dedicated to Hatton including: *The Sacred Order and Office of Episcopacy* (1642), *A Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying* (1647), and *The Great Exemplar of Sanctity and Holy Life* (1649). Finally, then, mention must be made of Gunning, 'a prominent Royalist divine who preached regularly before the exiled Court at Oxford'.[32] Gunning was a student and later Fellow of Clare Hall in the early 1630s and it is likely that Hatton first encountered him around that period. After taking holy orders, Gunning was appointed curate to Little St Mary's in Cambridge by the Master of Peterhouse. Gunning is known to have preached against 'the rebellious League' in Great St

[27] Gretton is around 3 miles North West of Hatton's principal residence, Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire.
[28] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 13.
[29] *Lbl* Harley 7019, f.79 in Wainwright, J. P., *Ibid.*, 13.
[30] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, *Musical Patronage*, 13.
[31] *Ibid.*, 14.
[32] *Ibid.*, 14.

Mary's, Cambridge, and was imprisoned by the Parliamentarians for a short period. In 1644 he retired to Oxford, joining his Royalist friends, and on 10 July 1644 he was incorporated Master of Arts at the University of Oxford and was conferred with the degree of Bachelor of Divinity on 23 June 1646.[33] Following the capitulation of Oxford, Gunning was appointed by Hatton as his son's tutor in September 1646 and throughout Hatton's period of exile, Gunning acted as Hatton's agent in supplying books from London.[34] It appears that during the Commonwealth Gunning managed to maintain High Church worship in the chapel of Exeter House in the Strand, despite the fact that it was officially banned, with Lady Hatton attending services throughout the 1650s. On Christmas Day 1657, however, the diarist John Evelyn recorded that '"The Chapell" was surrounded with Souldiers" and a number of the congregation, including Lady Hatton and Evelyn himself, were "surpriz'd & kept Prisoners"'.[35] The current discourse serves to highlight the complex web of relationships and connections between supporters of Charles I and William Laud and those who are known to have taken an interest in the *stile nuovo*. Indeed, Child's Royalist sympathies are manifested in several of his anthems, for example, *O Lord ye heathen are come into thine inheritance*, written *... in ye year 1644 On ye occasion of ye abolishing The Common Prayer And overthrowing ye constitution, both in Church and State,* and *O praise ye ye Lord Laud yee ye name of ye Ld, ... composed ... upon ye Restauration of ye Church And Royall Family in 1660* (BM *Harl.* 7338).[36]

It is tempting to speculate that members of the High Church movement were disposed to the development of newer Italianate methods of composition. However, Peter Webster suggests that such a view should be offered with a degree of caution. His research, although concerned with

[33] *Ibid.*, 15.
[34] *Ibid.*, 15.
[35] *Ibid.*, 18–19.
[36] Hudson, F., Large, R., *Op. cit.*, 271.

English liturgical music, has indicated that there is insufficient evidence to draw such a conclusion.[37] I suggest that a more varied story may be told if attention is drawn to Laudian music intended for domestic use rather than Laudian music used for the celebration of the liturgy. It is important to recognise a number of dichotomies with regard to sacred music, particularly in mid-seventeenth-century England, and to make distinctions between liturgical and non-liturgical, cathedral and court, public and private, Anglican and Catholic. Such divisions, however, can be problematic and the lines are often blurred.

Peter Le Huray has noted that Child's anthems make 'gentle use of Italianate mannerisms'[38] and three of his short 'full' anthems—*Bow down thine ear, O God, wherefore art thou absent,* and *Woe is me*—'are especially memorable for their very Italianate chromaticism'.[39] *O bone Jesu,* however, demonstrates Child's indebtedness to the *stile nuovo* at its fullest and is his 'most successful essay in the *stile nuovo*'.[40] Zimmerman's description of Child's compositional style recalls the *stile concertato* typical of Dering and Jeffreys and their Italian contemporaries, which Child was attracted to:

> It may be said that the overall design of Child's psalm settings and anthems generally consists of alternating homophonic sections with a point of imitation or points of imitation, the latter either in a polyphonic texture where all voice participate independently in the imitative activity or in a hybrid texture where the imitation is sung simultaneously by two voices in parallel thirds or tenths. This hybrid texture is especially prevalent in the psalm settings.[41]

Indeed, it is Child's *The First Set of Psalmes of III. Voyces Fitt for Private Chappels or Other Private Meetings with a Continued Base either for the Organ or Theorbo Newly Composed after the Italian Way* that is particularly germane to this dissertation. This publication was issued by James Reave in London in 1639 and remained Child's only printed collection of music. During

[37] Webster, P. J., *Op. cit.*, 204.
[38] Le Huray, P., *Op. cit.*, 360–61.
[39] *Ibid*., 360–61.
[40] *Ibid*., 397.
[41] Zimmerman, J. M., *Op. cit.*, I, 195.

the Commonwealth John Playford twice reprinted Child's *Psalmes*, in 1650 and 1656, under the title *Choise Musick to the Psalmes*. The collection contains twenty psalm settings, but rather than using texts from a metrical psalter, Child is unusual is choosing settings from the Prayer Book version of the psalter. The importance of this publication is threefold: firstly, it was dedicated to Charles I and the Knights of the Garter, showing strong Royalist sympathies; secondly, it is an early English example of settings for three voices with continuo, rather in the manner of Dering; and thirdly, the music betrays signs of Italian influence. Wainwright has commented that 'it is noteworthy that as late as 1639 Child is describing his psalms as "after the Italian Way" as if it was something unusual'.[42] He writes further that 'the title of Child's publication also emphasises the private nature of his music as if "modern" Italianate music was considered best suited to private devotional meetings rather than public liturgy'[43], a sentiment that will be considered in due course. Moreover, while Child's description 'after the Italian way' may have been a marketing ploy to attract music aficionados, it is not without some degree of validity as will become clear.

The inclusion of a basso continuo has been highlighted on a number of occasions as a 'progressive' compositional feature. Child's adoption of a 'continued base [sic]' is therefore a marker of his willingness to embrace contemporary musical developments. In point of fact, Child is one of the earliest composers to publish English psalm settings with a continuo part. To my knowledge, only two earlier publications appeared in England that included a figured bass: Peerson's *Mottects or grave chamber musique* (1630) and Porter's *Madrigales and Ayres* (1632). Peerson includes a rudimentary basso continuo with some basic figuring, while Porter's instruction on throrough-bass is accompanied by his idiosyncratic figuring. Despite Child's

[42] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit., Musical Patronage*, 157.
[43] *Ibid.*, 157.

claim, however, the basso is, more often than not, little more than a *seguente*; where the bass voice is present the basso follows it exactly and only where the bass voice is absent does the basso maintain any degree of independence—this is also true of Dering, Viadana, and many of the other composer heretofore considered.

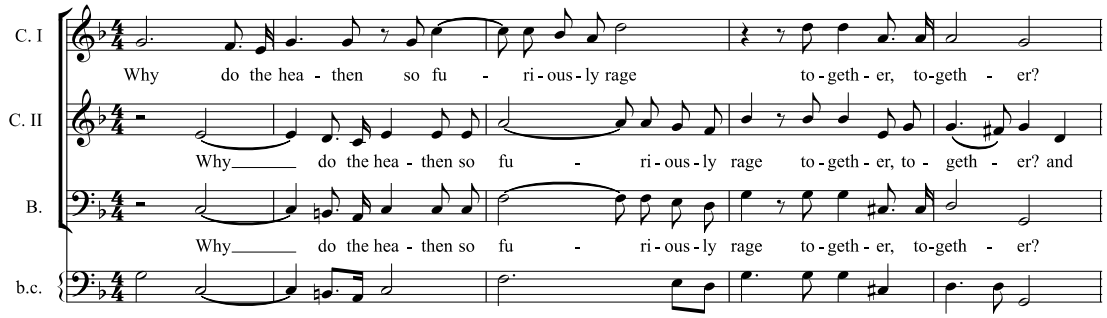
All of Child's *Psalmes* are scored for two treble voices, bass, and continuo (original clefs: C1, C1, F4, F4), and 16 of the psalm settings include a repeat sign in the middle and at the end of the piece. Although these structural repeat markings suggest 'binary form', Zimmerman has pointed out that this suggestion 'is not confirmed by the music as there is no motivic connection between the two divisions; neither do the key relationships at the end of the first half and beginning of the second follow a binary pattern'.[44] The overwhelming majority of Child's psalm settings are through-composed. The two exceptions are: *Preserve me, O God*, which can be seen to conform to a binary schema because of its key relationships (there is no motivic connection) and *O Lord our Governor*, which is the only example of ternary form in Child's publication.[45]

The textures used by Child were alluded to above and the 'voice-leading' texture certainly dominates many of the psalm settings which is contrasted with sections of homophony. This 'voice-leading' texture is defined by the combination of elements of homophony and polyphony, typically where a motive is introduced by one voice and immediately imitated by the other two voices in parallel thirds or tenths (Ex. 8.1), and on occasion in parallel sixths.

[44] Zimmerman, J. M., *Op. cit.*, I, 184. While the terminology of Zimmerman is anachronistic the point he is making stands. These labels are used here in a descriptive sense without the imposition of later theoretical thought and connotations. The intelligibility of the text to a twenty-first century reader is my primary concern.

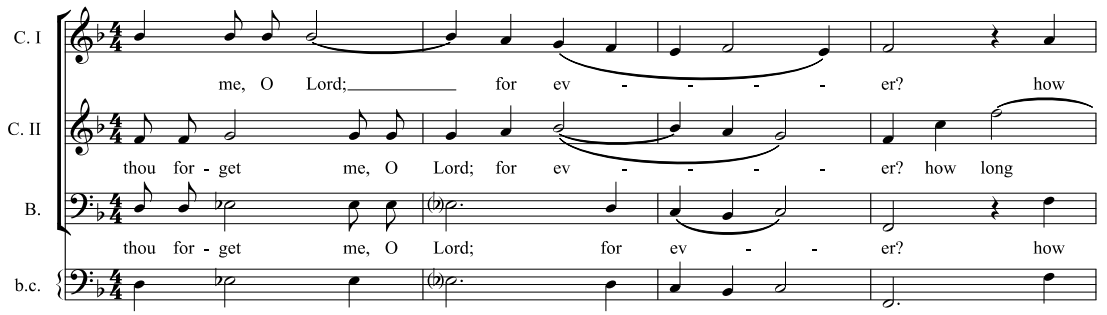
[45] *Ibid.*, I, 184.

Example 8.1: Child, *Why do the heathen*, bb.1–5[46]



Similarly, another example of a 'voice-leading' texture that features regularly in Child's psalm settings is the crossing of adjacent parts in order to maintain clearly-defined motives (Ex. 8.2).[47]

Example 8.2: Child, *How long wilt thou forget me*, bb.3–6[48]

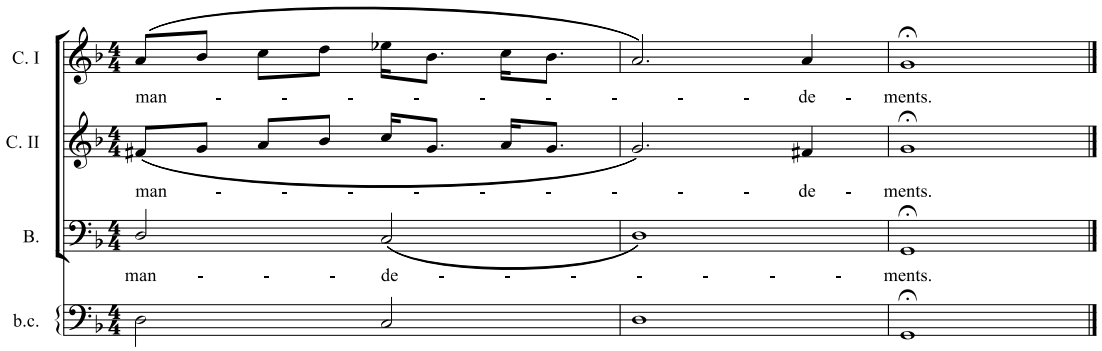


The approach to the final cadence in *O that my ways* (Ex. 8.3) features the cantus I and II in parallel thirds while the bassus is doubled by the basso. The congregation of the two equal upper voices over a bassus that follows the continuo line is typical of Croce and Cifra. More importantly, however, is the Lombardic rhythm that accompanies this duet style. Not only has this Italianate approach to a final cadence been encountered in previous chapters, but Jeffreys' predilection for this rhythmic figure has been highlighted as integral to his compositional

[46] *Ibid.*, II, 6
[47] *Ibid.*, I, 162.
[48] *Ibid.*, II, 52.

procedure. Child's inclusion of this overtly Italianate cadential figure shows an embracing of up-to-date compositional techniques of the *stile nuovo*.

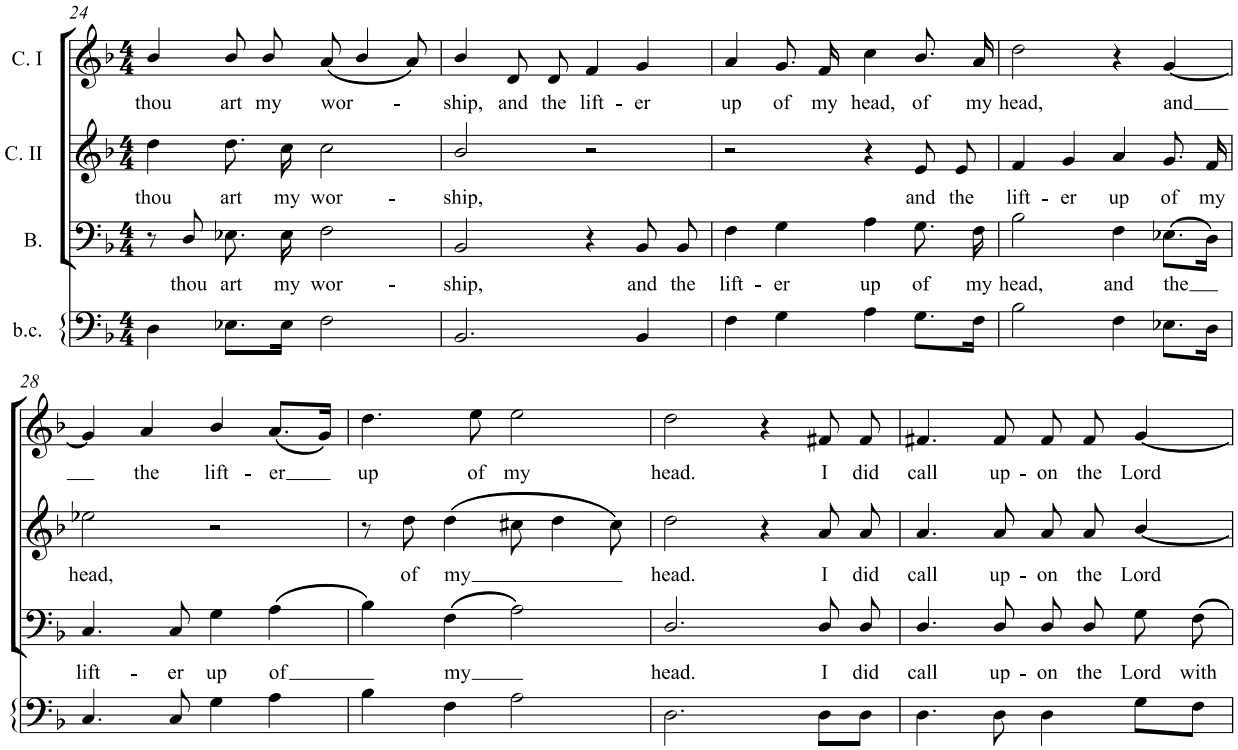
Example 8.3: Child, *O that my ways*, bb.49–51[49]



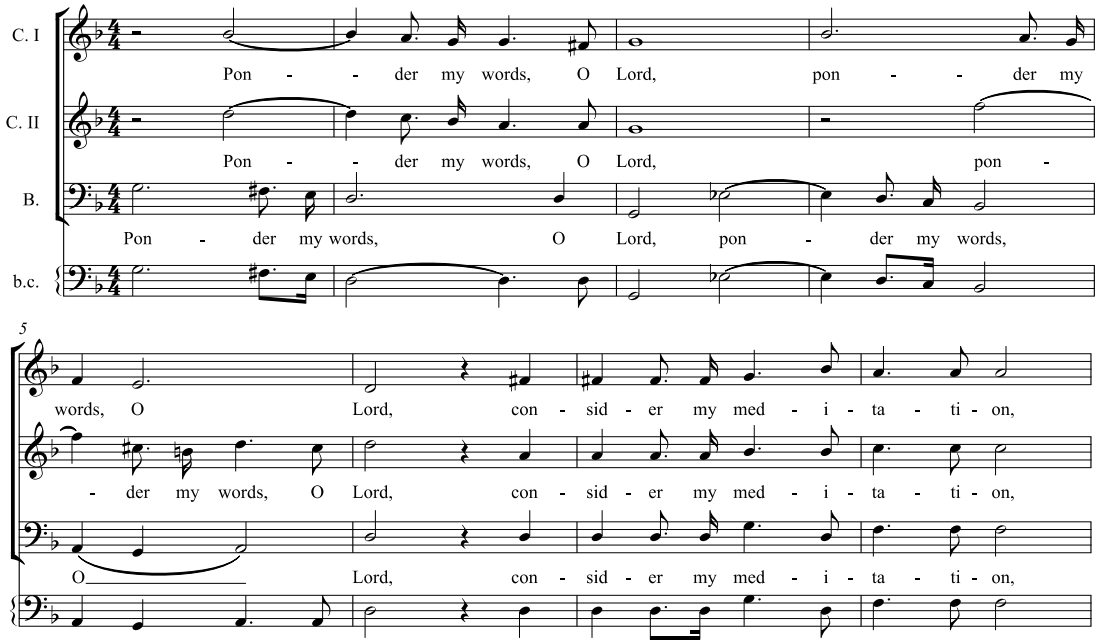
Although appearing less frequently in the *Psalmes*, Child makes use of solo writing (Ex. 8.12) and employs the interplay of short concise motives between the voices, maintaining congruity with the *stile concertato*. Examples of polyphonic writing, where all the vocal parts are independent, are found relatively frequently. Both the polyphonic and 'voice-leading' textures are constantly interspersed with each other and with passages of homophony (Exx. 8.4 and 8.5) to provide contrast.

[49] *Ibid*., II, 82.

Example 8.4: Child, *Lord, how are they increased*, bb.24–31



Example 8.5: Child, *Ponder my words, O Lord*, bb.1–8[50]



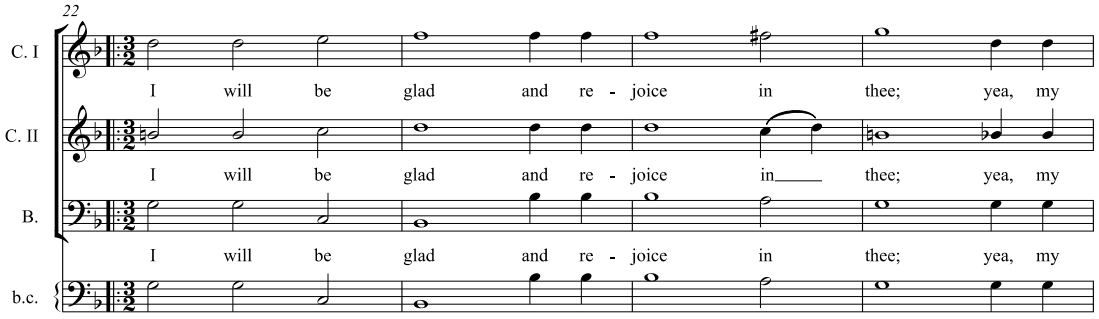
[50] *Ibid.*, II, 19.

Zimmerman makes the point that the 'many homorhythmic sections that appear in Child's psalm settings reflect the period's current trend away from the complex polyphony of the preceding era and foreshadow the more homophonically oriented anthems of his later contemporaries in the early Restoration period—Christopher Gibbons, Henry Cooke, and Benjamin Rogers'.[51] Child's setting of *O Lord, rebuke me not*, for example, is almost entirely homophonic.[52] However, while Zimmerman's contention is true enough it is worth bearing in mind that by the time of Child's publication such a technique was well established and therefore also harks back to the likes of Viadana and Croce at the turn of the seventeenth century.

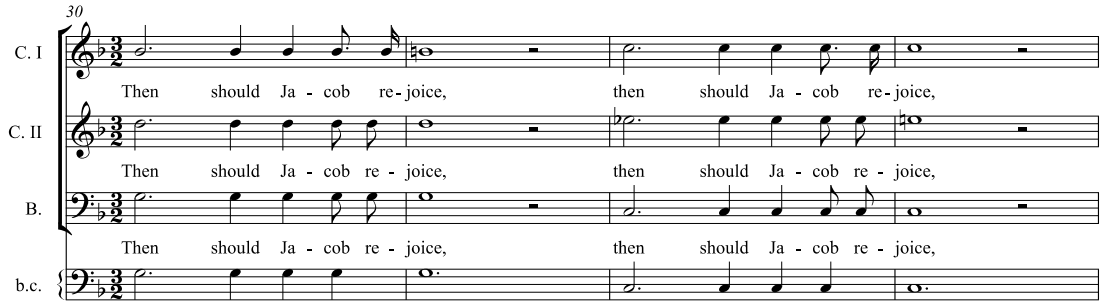
The contrasting of duple- and triple-time metres is one of the fundamental principles of the *stile concertato* and has been used, to lesser and greater extents, by all the composers hitherto explored in this dissertation. It is unsurprising, then, to learn that Child also employs the use of contrasting triple-time metres in his psalm settings. His employment of this device, however, is rather sparing, featuring in only two of his *Psalmes*: *I will give thanks* and *O that the salvation*. In both cases it is the laudatory nature of the text that provokes a triple metre response from Child, which is entirely in keeping with the compositional procedures of the *stile nuovo*—precisely the same response was witnessed in Jeffreys' motets and anthems. At bar 22 of *I will give thanks* (Ex. 8.6) the text is 'I will be glad and rejoice in thee; yea, my songs will I make of thy name', while at bar 30 of *O that the salvation* (Ex. 8.7) the text concerned is 'Then should Jacob rejoice, and Israel should be right glad'. The sentiment of rejoicing is present in both texts but in *I will give thanks* Child reverts back to duple time—emphasising the element of contrast—whereas in *O that the salvation* he maintains a triple metre until the end of the piece.

[51] *Ibid.*, I, 93.
[52] In this psalm setting Child intersperses homophonic passages with brief passages of imitation.

Example 8.6: Child, *I will give thanks*, bb.22–25[53]



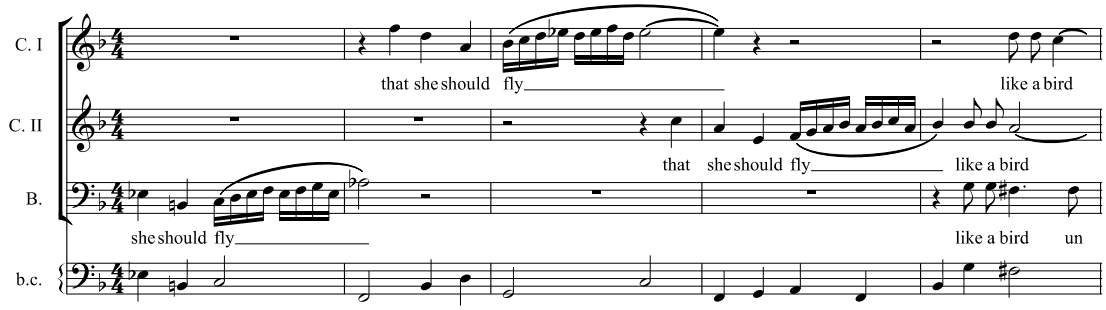
Example 8.7: Child, *O that the salvation*, bb.30–33[54]



Child's word setting is, by and large, syllabic and quasi-declamatory.[55] Melismatic writing, however, is not entirely absent and features occasionally, usually as a means of word painting. In his setting of *In the Lord put I my trust* (Ex. 8.8), Child sets the word 'fly' to an ascending run of semiquavers that features in all three voices, depicting the meaning of the text in musical terms.

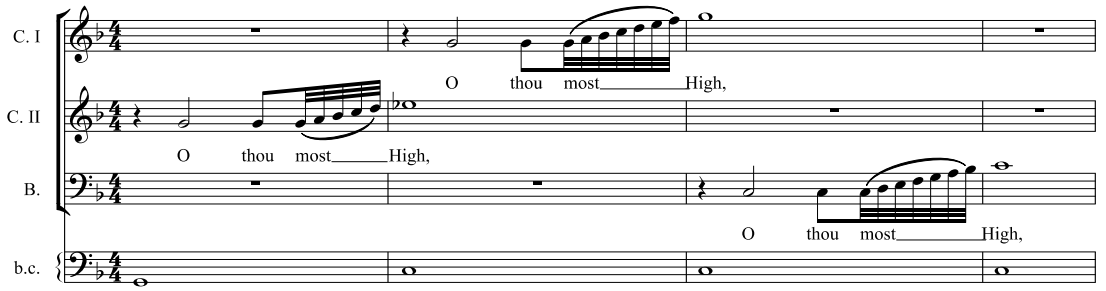
[53] Zimmerman, J. M., *Op. cit.*, II, 37–38.
[54] *Ibid*., II, 70.
[55] There are no examples of recitative-like melody to be found in Child's *Psalmes* but he does feature such melodic writing in his anthems. See for example: *O praise the Lord* and *Alleluia, thou who when all*. This observation lends further support to Child's appropriation of compositional techniques associated with the *stile nuovo*.

Example 8.8: Child, *In the Lord put I my trust*, bb.8–12[56]



Child primarily uses word painting for three different purposes: firstly, to portray emotion; secondly, to imitate sounds; thirdly, to symbolise direction and motion.[57] The following examples serve to illustrate the current compositional parameter:

Example 8.9: Child, *I will give thanks*, bb.29–32[58]

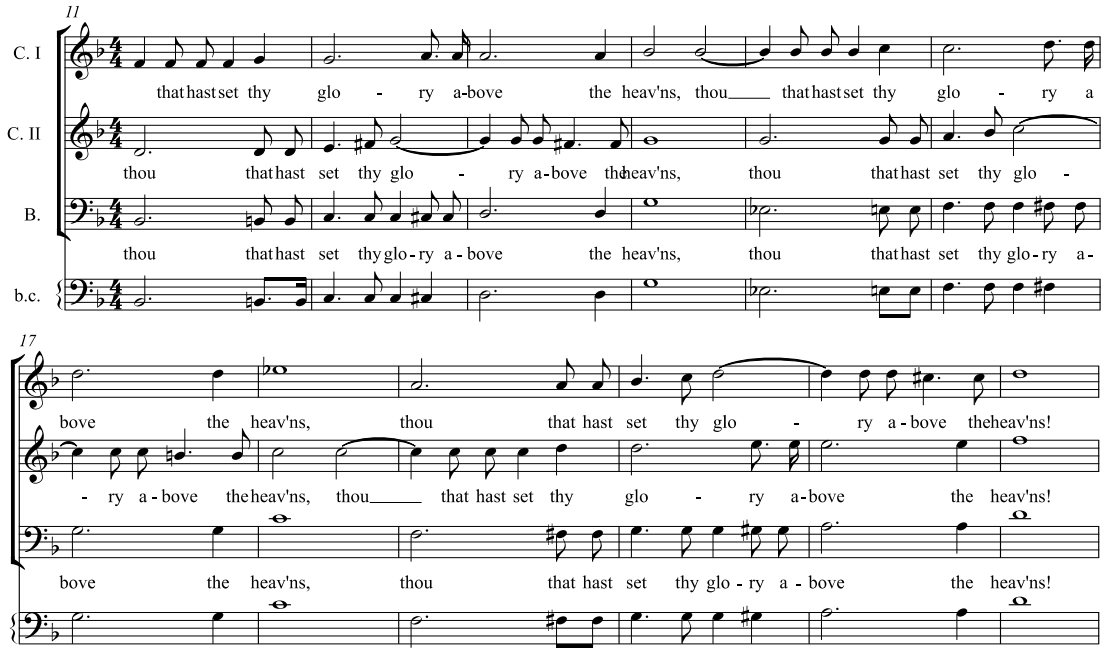


At bar 29 of *I will give thanks* the piece reverts back to duple metre from triple metre and Child introduces a new motive at the text ‘O thou most high’ (Ex. 8.9). Not only is the word ‘high’ set to the upper limits of each voice’s range—in the cantus I and bassus parts these are their highest notes in the work—but it is approached by an ascending scale. Such virtuosic vocal technique and elaborate decoration show further signs of influence from contemporary Italian music.

[56] Zimmerman, J. M., *Op. cit.*, II, 44–45.
[57] *Ibid*., I, 214.
[58] *Ibid*., II, 38–39.

Similarly, Child's setting of *O Lord our governor* uses melodic direction and pitch to reflect the image of 'heaven'. At the text 'thou that hast set thy glory above the heavens', Child features an ascending melodic figure that peaks on the word 'heaven' (Ex. 8.10). Moreover, Child intensifies the meaning of the text through chromaticism and repetition. The melodic figure in the bassus rises chromatically through a major third and then leaps upwards by a fourth at the cadence, which is repeated at a perfect fourth (bb.15–18) and then again a tone higher (bb.19–22).

Example 8.10: Child, *O Lord our governor*, bb.11–22[59]

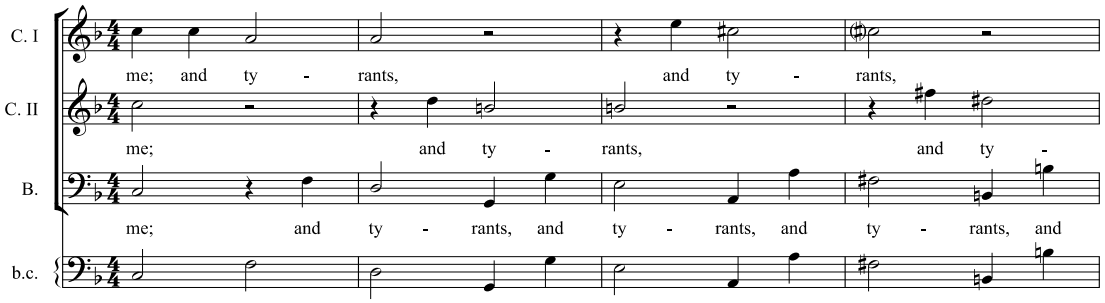


If attention is cast back to example 8.7, the triple-time passage begins with a chord of G minor, but at the word 'rejoice' Child includes a chromatic alteration—B♭–B♮—contrasting minor and major on the same root and conveying the 'delight' of the text. Moreover, in the following bars Child repeats this idea twice; firstly, a fifth lower, contrasting C minor and major and then subsequently a fourth higher, contrasting F minor and major, which concludes with a perfect

[59] *Ibid.*, II, 32–34.

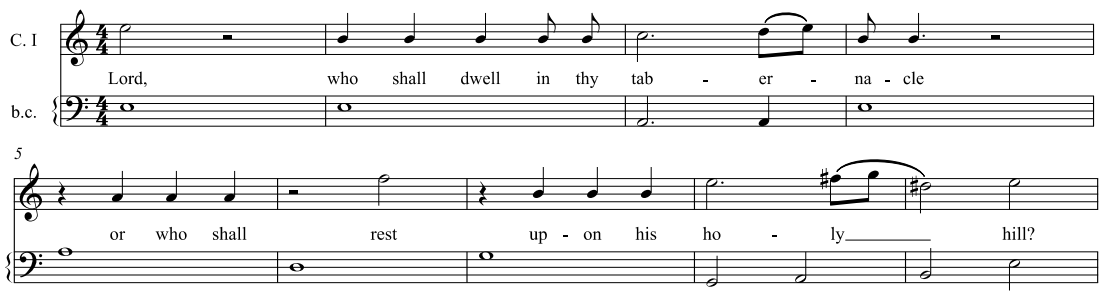
cadence on B♭. Child appears to be taking advantage of a tonal design at this point, moving through a series of root movements that are related by a fifth. A similar harmonic sequence features in *Save me, O God,* where a V–I progression proceeds in successive ascending seconds (Ex. 8.11).

Example 8.11: Child, *Save me, O God,* bb.32–35[60]



On occasion, Child's word painting borders on the madrgalian, employing touches of mannerism. The opening cantus I solo in *Lord, who shall dwell* (Ex. 8.12) is set in a quasi-declamatory manner and Child uses rests to heighten the expression of the text. The minim rest after 'Lord' matches the rhetorical expression of the text, taking a moment of repose before stating the question. Furthermore, Child uses a minim rest to interrupt the flow of the text, representing literally the word 'rest'.

Example 8.12: Child, *Lord, who shall dwell,* bb.1–9

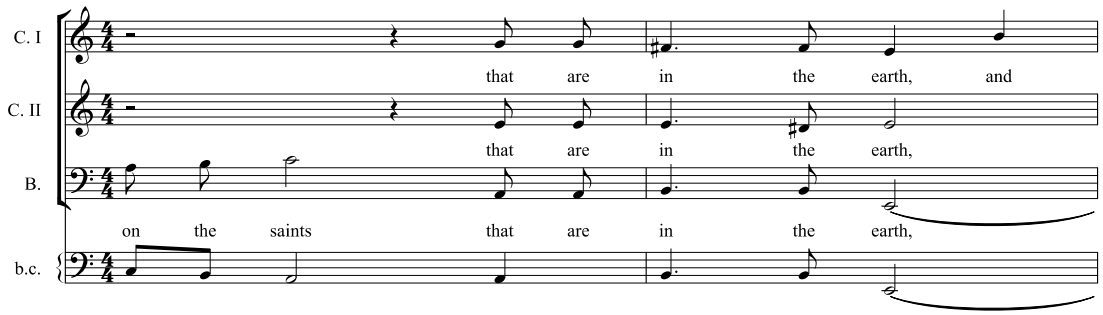


[60] *Ibid*., II, 75.

Example 8.12 also demonstrates the independent continuo line that supports the solo voice. When the bass voice enters at bar 10, however, the basso becomes a *seguente*. This ambivalent role suggests that the continuo is perhaps at an incipient stage in Child's compositional procedure, and is comparable with Dering's employment of the continuo.

Before turning to chromaticism, harmony, and dissonance, it is important to highlight Child's preference for the bass voice, rather like Jeffreys. Unfortunately, the *Psalmes* do not reveal the full extent of Child's writing for the bass voice and it is necessary, therefore, to consider momentarily some of his anthems. By way of confirmation, Zimmerman has written that, 'he [Child] manifests a definite predilection for the solo bass voice in the verses. Within the seventy-two solo verses or subsections, fifty-one feature the bass voice or voices, either alone or with other soloists'.[61] That said, in many of his psalm settings, Child includes the largest leaps and the most extended ranges in the bassus part (Ex. 8.13). Leaps of sevenths, octaves, and tenths are not uncommon and the largest range to be found in the *Psalmes* features in *Preserve me, O God*, which spans a thirteenth.

Example 8.13: Child, *Preserve me, O God*, bb.30–31[62]



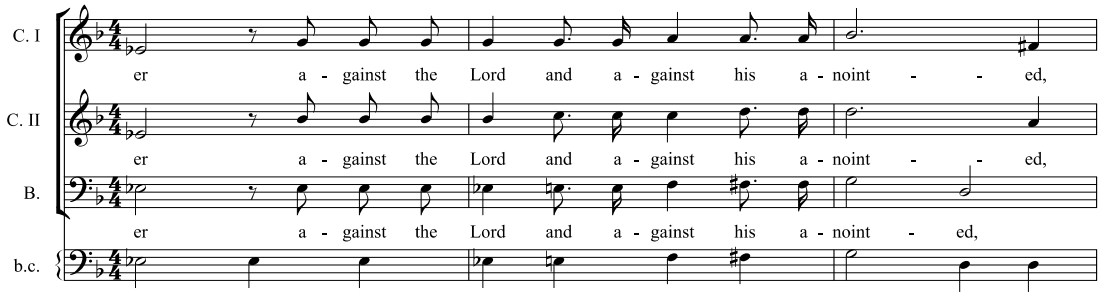
[61] *Ibid.*, I, 164.
[62] *Ibid.*, II, 65.

This precise range can also be found in Child's anthem *The earth is the Lord's*, although it is not the most extensive range to be observed. It is interesting to note that the anthem *O how amiable are thy dwellings* includes a bassus part with a two-octave range from D–d′; precisely the same bass range found in Jeffreys' anthems. While there is no evidence to support the claim that both Child and Jeffreys were composing for the same performer—a John Gostling-like figure—one is tempted to draw such a conclusion, although it remains mere speculation.

In some of the previous examples, instances of chromaticism in Child's *Psalmes* have been encountered, but here a few specific examples will be detailed. It must be admitted that chromaticism, used for expressive purposes, is not a prevalent feature of Child's psalm settings. Nevertheless, there are moments where Child utilises chromaticism, harmony, and dissonance to great effect.

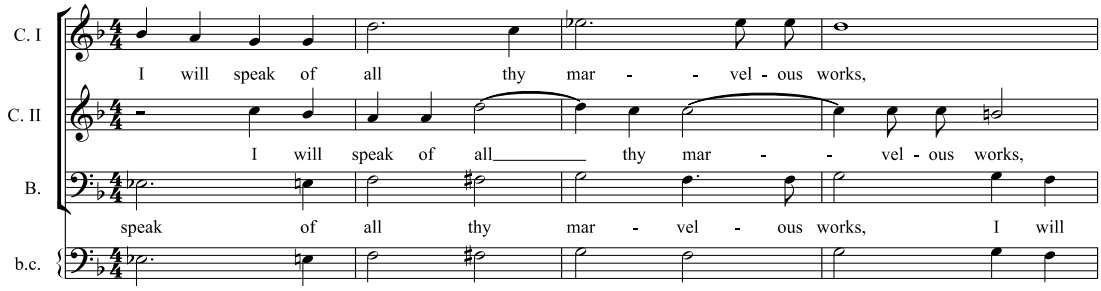
Melodic chromaticism is used in both *Why do the heathen* and *I will give thanks* (Exx. 8.14 and 8.15). At bars 26–28 of *Why do the heathen* where the text concerned is 'against the Lord', Child includes a chromatically ascending figure in the bassus, which underpins the homophonic texture. The chromatic ascent through e♭ to g results in a chord progression that includes two abrupt tertiary shifts of harmony—E♭ major to C major and F major to D major—which causes an unsettling mood. The chromaticism is introduced here to convey the sense of discontent and displeasure at mortal man acting against the law of God.

Example 8.14: Child, *Why do the heathen*, bb.26–28[63]



The same chromatic ascending bass is included in *I will give thanks*. However, the resultant chord progression is less abrupt and Child's chromatic response to the text is occasioned from a sense of exaltation and praise rather than from a more negative sentiment.[64]

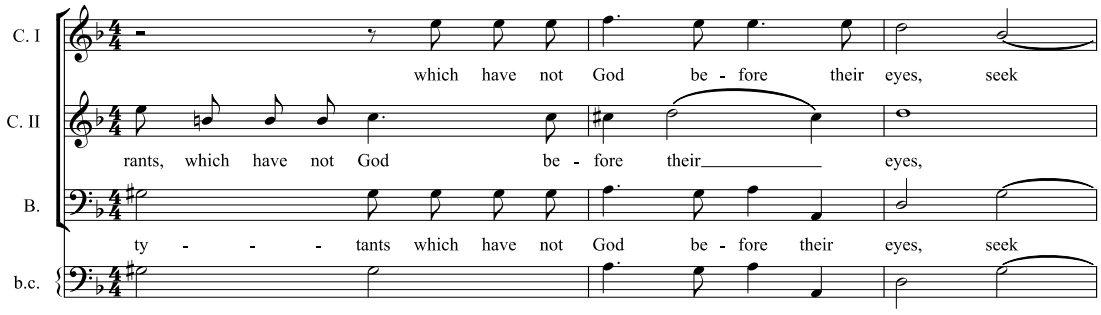
Example 8.15: Child, *I will give thanks*, bb.14–17[65]



A similar technique is used by Child in *Save me, O God* at the text 'which have not God before their eyes'. This time, however, the ascending chromatic line is in the cantus II. Child represents the loss of sight of God through chromaticism but also by the unusual use of two augmented chords in chromatic succession: C^+ and F^+ (Ex. 8.16). While the chromaticism used by Child is by no means extreme, the use of augmented chords and unexpected progressions is, once again, reminiscent of Jeffreys' style.

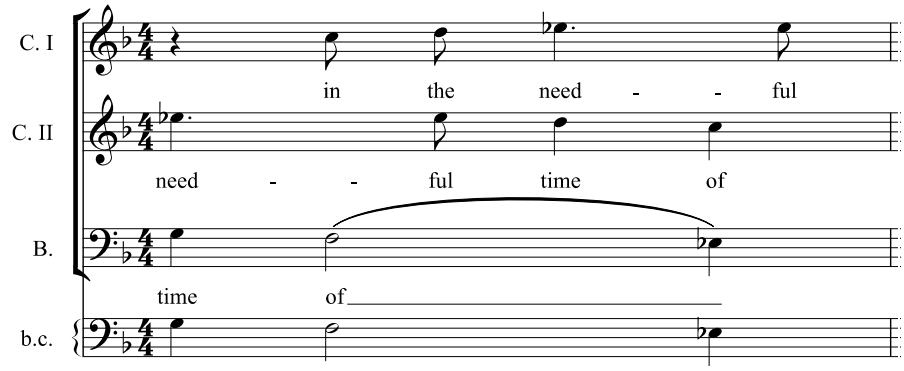
[63] *Ibid*., II, 8–9.
[64] The anthem *O Lord, rebuke me not* includes an instance of chromaticism used to depict sorrow. Child includes a chromatic alteration on the word 'weeping' in the typical manner.
[65] Zimmerman, J. M., *Op. cit.*, II, 37.

Example 8.16: Child, *Save me, O God*, bb.36–38[66]



Why standest thou so far off includes an example of Child's unusual use of passing dissonance, created by the use of accented and unaccented passing notes simultaneously (Ex. 8.17). The result is a sustained flattened seventh above the bass combined with a sixth: e♭′′ and d′′.

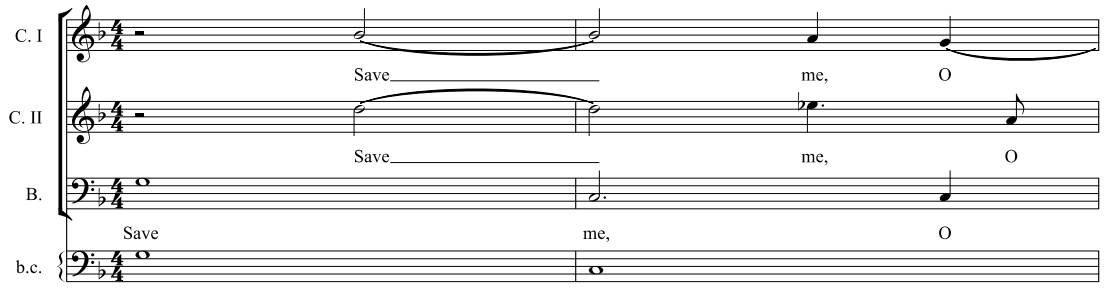
Example 8.17: Child, *Why standest thou so far off*, b.16



In Chapter 6 Jeffreys' proclivity for a 9–7 sonority was illuminated and, although a rarity, examples can be found in Child's *Psalmes*. The opening bars of *Save me, O God*, for example, begin on a chord of G minor in a 'voice-leading' texture, but when the bass descends by a fifth and the two upper voices maintain their notes, a 9–7 sonority is created (Ex. 8.18).

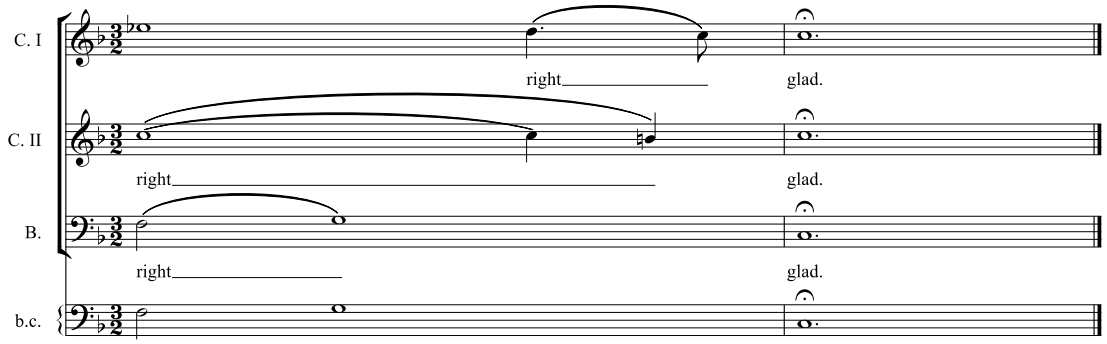
[66] *Ibid*., II, 75–76.

Example 8.18: Child, *Save me, O God*, bb. 1–2[67]



Child also uses the cadential pattern that includes the simultaneous resolution of a suspension and an anticipation in the same register, resulting in dissonant seconds, at the final cadence of *O that the salvation* (Ex. 8.19).

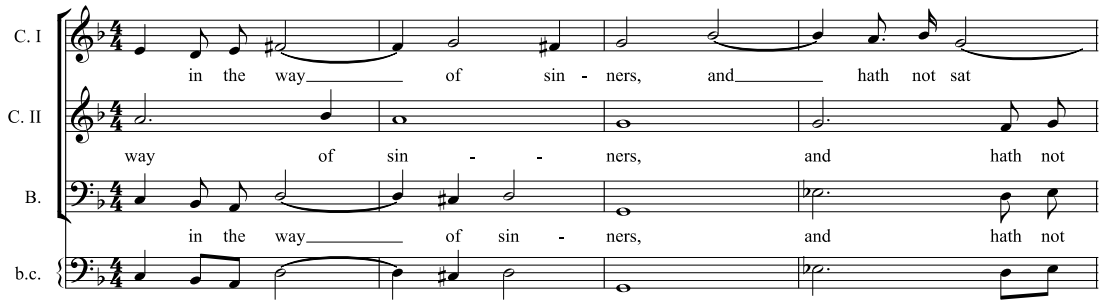
Example 8.19: Child, *O that the salvation*, bb. 39–40[68]



The juxtaposition of chords related by a third is also a device that Child uses with relative frequency throughout his *Psalmes*. Such a procedure occurs twice in *Blessed is the man*, at bars 10–11 (Ex. 8.20) and at bars 20–21 (Ex. 8.21). On both occasions the tertiary shifts of harmony are employed as a means of intensifying the sentiment of the text. In the first instance, the move from G minor to E♭ major reinforces the virtuousness of the man who keeps the Lord's covenant, particularly he that 'hath not sat in the seat of the scornful'.

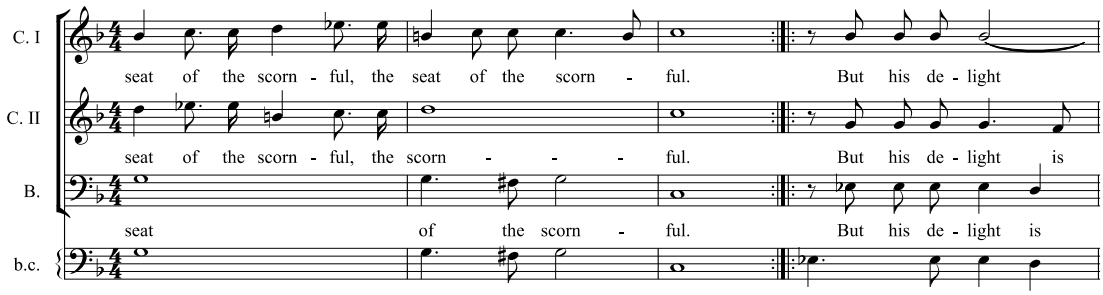
[67] *Ibid*., II, 72.
[68] *Ibid*., II, 71.

Example 8.20: Child, *Blessed is the man*, bb. 8–11[69]



Similarly, following the repeat sign at the middle point of this psalm setting, the text changes from notions of ungodliness, sin, and scorn to one of 'delight', which is accompanied by the juxtaposition of C major and E♭ major.

Example 8.21: Child, *Blessed is the man*, bb. 18–21[70]

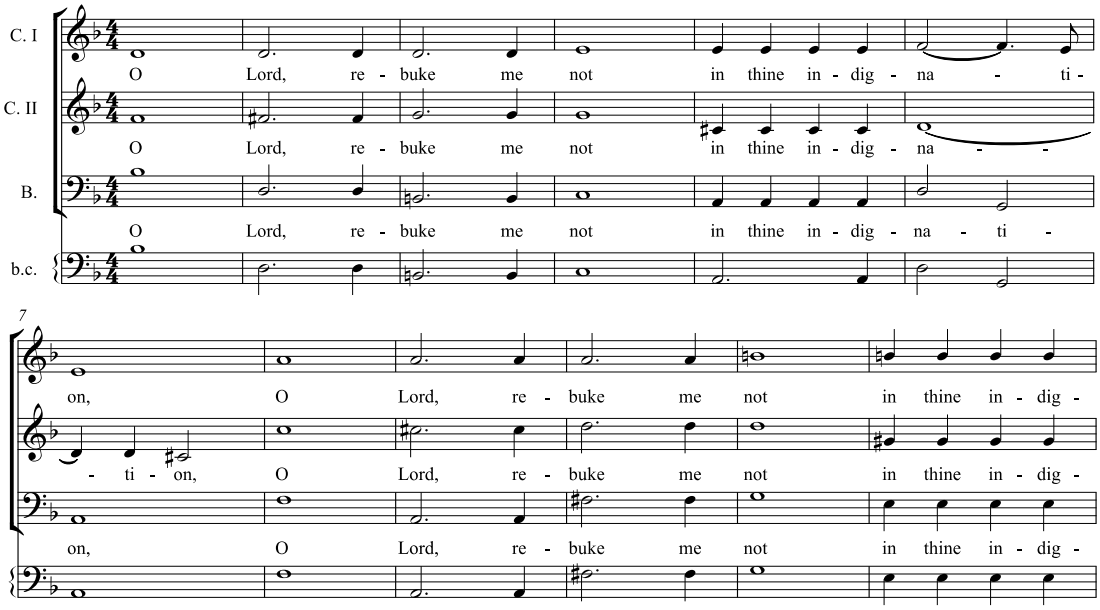


The opening twelve bars of *O Lord, rebuke me not* (Ex. 8.22) are particularly noteworthy in relation to tertiary shifts of harmony since Child includes no fewer than four examples in such a short space: bars 4–5, C major–A major; bars 7–8, A major–F major; bars 8–9, F major–A major; bars 11–12, G major–E major. Such a preponderance of unexpected harmonic shifts and attendant false relations—C♮–C♯ and G♮–G♯—emphasises the chromatic alterations and creates

[69] *Ibid*., II, 1–2.
[70] *Ibid*., II, 2–3.

a sense of tonal instability. Child's employment of repeated tertiary shifts, I suggest, is deliberate, reflecting man's trepidation of God's admonishment.

Example 8.22: Child, *O Lord, rebuke me not,* bb. 1–12[71]



Child increases the level of dissonance at the word 'indignation' by including a 7–6 suspension in the cantus I followed immediately by a 4–3 suspension in the cantus II. This word is also conspicuous by the fact that it is the only word not to be set monosyllabically in a pervading homophonic texture. It is in such ways that Child demonstrates the paramount importance of the text and its depiction in musical terms. Moreover, example 8.22 is noteworthy for Child's use of sequential repetition by section; the second statement of the text is repeated down a fourth and is a technique not unfamiliar to Dering.

Child is clearly aware of the compositional techniques of the *stile nuovo* and makes use of a number of them, if sparingly. Certainly, the concern he shows in portraying the text in musical

[71] *Ibid*., II, 23.

terms is congruous with the *seconda pratica*. Child demonstrates an acceptance, but by no means a wholehearted commitment like Jeffreys', to the *stile nuovo*. That Child's *Psalmes* should be reprinted twice during the Commonwealth raises a number of interesting hypotheses that will be offered in the concluding section of this chapter.

Henry and William Lawes

Henry Lawes (1596–1662) was a composer and singer and was the leading English songwriter of the seventeenth century. Henry was the elder brother of William Lawes (1602–1645) who was also a musician and composer. William also wrote vocal music, with equal facility as Henry, but also made innovations with chamber works, particularly those for viols or violins with continuo.[72]

It is possible that Henry Lawes was a chorister at Salisbury Cathedral where his father was a lay vicar and, maybe as early as 1615, he was employed to teach music to the daughters of John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater. Spink has suggested additionally that 'there is some evidence that he [Henry] may also have been patronized by William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, whose house at Wilton was within a few miles of where Lawes was born'.[73] On 1 January 1626, Henry became 'pistoler'—the most junior position—of the Chapel Royal, in which capacity he would have sung at the coronation of Charles I on 2 February.[74] On 3 November, in the same year, he was appointed Gentleman. His appointment as one of the musicians to Charles I's 'Lutes, Viols

[72] Pinto, D., 'Lawes, William', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 28 September 2012). For the chamber music see Lefkowitz, M., ed., 'William Lawes: Consort Music', *Musica Britannica*, 21 (London, 1963; 1971) and Pinto, D., ed., 'William Lawes: Fantasia-Suites', *Musica Britannica*, 60 (London, 1991).

[73] Spink, I., 'Lawes, Henry', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 28 September 2012). See also Ashbee, A., Lasocki, D., *Op. cit.*, 706–709.

[74] Spink, I., *Henry Lawes: Cavalier Songwriter* (Oxford, 2000), 114.

and Voices' is dated 6 January 1631 and it is likely that in this capacity he took part in various court masques during the 1630s.[75] Working in collaboration with his brother, Henry provided songs for Davenant's masque *The Triumph of the Prince d'Amour* (23 February 1636) and, interestingly, he may have been involved in Townshend's Masque for Lady Hatton (1 March 1636).[76] Other masques that Henry is known to have supplied music for include Strode's *The Floating Island* and Cartwright's *The Royal Slave*, both of which were performed for the king's visit to Oxford on 29–30 August 1636. Henry was also 'closely involved in the production of Milton's *Comus* performed at Ludlow Castle on 29 September 1634 to mark the Earl of Bridgewater's appointment as Lord President of the Council of Wales'.[77]

There appears to be no evidence linking Henry Lawes with the Civil War Court at Oxford, and during the Commonwealth he became a teacher—like many musicians—for 'the Voyce or Viole'. He remained in Royalist circles, surrounded by intellectuals and members of the aristocracy; Lady Dering was one of his pupils and the Duchess of Newcastle is known to have been in regular attendance at the fashionable concerts he hosted at his house. Following the Restoration, Henry was reinstated in both of the positions that he had previously held in the King's Musick and the Chapel Royal. In addition, he was made 'Composer in ye Private Musick for Lutes and Voices' and his anthem *Zadok the Priest* was sung at the coronation of Charles II on 23 April 1661.[78] The following year, on 21 October 1662, Henry died and was buried in Westminster Abbey four days later.

[75] Spink, I., *Op. cit.*, 'Lawes, Henry'. For a discussion of the 'Lutes, Viols and Voices see Cunningham, J., *The Consort Music of William Lawes 1602–1645* (Woodbridge, 2010), 1–22.
[76] Spink, I., *Op. cit.*, 'Lawes, Henry'.
[77] *Ibid.*
[78] *Ibid.*

William Lawes, six years Henry's junior, was also possibly a chorister at Salisbury Cathedral. His musical talent was recognised early by Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, who had William apprenticed to John Coprario.[79] Pinto has suggested that William could have encountered Alfonso Ferrabosco (1575–1628) at the earl's Wiltshire estate and that 'an unsubstantiated report by Henry Hatcher (1843) places William in the private music of Charles, Prince of Wales, before the age of 23, and states that the association continued after Charles became king in 1625'.[80] However, there is no documentary evidence to support Hatcher's claim. William gained a post in the royal household in 1635 following the death of John Laurence, replacing him as a lutenist, and joining his brother as a musician for the 'Lutes, Viols and Voices'; it is unlikely that such an appointment would be made without casual involvement in the day-to-day supply of music.[81] During the 1630s, William established a reputation in London as one of the finest performers on the new twelve-course theorbo, emulating his brother Henry. This eminence brought him to the attention of Bulstrode Whitelocke who selected him, alongside Simon Ives, to compose music for Shirley's *The Triumph of Peace* (1634). Shirley's masque was performed—by musicians including Porter and Wilson—under the auspices of the Inns of Court and was intended to demonstrate loyalty to the crown.

At the outbreak of Civil War, and following Charles' establishment of his wartime court at Oxford in 1642, William enlisted as a soldier. Pinto suggests that William may have been present at the Siege of York in April–June 1644, which was 'the occasion of a casual round written for the royalist garrison at Cawood (the Archbishop of York's castle)'.[82] The following year, William saw action at the Siege of Chester where he was sadly killed. Charles I instituted a

[79] Pinto, D., *Op. cit.*. See also Ashbee, A., Lasocki, D., *Op. cit.*, 710–12.
[80] Pinto, D., *Op. cit.*.
[81] *Ibid*.
[82] *Ibid*.

special mourning for William, preoccupied with loss of a kinsman whom he had honoured with the title 'Father of Musick'. William's death sparked an outpouring of royalist artistic commemorations. Thomas Jordan's pun, 'Will. Lawes was slain by such whose wills were laws', has become particularly renowned, but similar tributes were paid by Robert Herrick in *Hesperides* (1647–8), Robert Heath in *Clarastella* (1650) and John Tatham in *Ostella* (1650).[83] The greatest encomium, however, was the publication of *Choice Psalmes* (1648) which is the focus of this case study.

Choice Psalmes appeared nine years after Child's *Psalmes* and was another overtly royalist publication that contains psalm settings for three voices and continuo. This collection, by William and Henry Lawes, was entitled *Choice Psalmes Put into Musick for Three Voices. The most of which may properly enough be sung by any three, with a Thorough Base*,[84] and was prefaced by Milton with the following sonnet:

> To my Friend M^{r}. Henry Lawes
>
> Harry, whose tunefull and well measur'd song
> First taught our English Music how to span
> Words with just note and accent, not to scan
> With *Midas* eares, committing short and long.

The contents of this publication, which includes thirty psalms by Henry Lawes, eight elegies on the death of William Lawes by his brother, Dr J. Wilson, J. Taylor, J. Cobb, Cpt. E. Foster, S. Ives, J. Jenkins and J. Hilton, thirty psalms and an elegie on J. Tomkins[85] by William Lawes, and in the continuo partbook his canons, were collected by Henry Lawes and dedicated to Charles I:

> I could not answer mine owne Conscience... should I dedicate these compositions to any but your Majestie; they were born and nourish'd in Your Majesties service, and long since design'd ... an

[83] *Ibid*.
[84] Printed in four separate partbooks: cantus primus, cantus secundus, bassus, thorow base [*sic*].
[85] John Tomkins was an organist of the Chapel Royal who died in 1638.

> offering to Your Royall hand...Your Majesties known particular affection to David's Psalmes ... as also in regard much of Your Majesties present condition is lively described by King David's pen.[86]

As well as serving as an offering to the persecuted king, *Choice Psalmes* was intended as a monument to Henry's younger brother, William Lawes, who had been killed at the siege of Chester, fighting with the Cavaliers. The main body of the publication consists of the sixty compositions contributed by the Lawes brothers. Although the collection was not published until 1648 Murray Lefkowitz has argued convincingly that this group of sixty pieces was all composed between the years 1636 and 1639.[87] His assertion is based on the probability that the Tomkins' elegy was composed shortly after the organist's death in 1638, which shares a stylistic similarity with the sixty settings by the Lawes brothers. Moreover, Henry Lawes states in the introductory section "To the Reader" that:

> As for that which is my part in this Composition [collection], I had not thought at all (though much urg'd) to publish; but that, as they had their birth at the same time with his, and are of the same kinde, so they might enter both into the light together, and accompany one another being so neere allied.

It is quite possible, as Lefkowitz suggests, that these pieces might have been composed between 1637 and 1638 when the theatres were closed due to the plague; it was during this period that King Charles sought consolation and spiritual diversion in his Chapel.[88] This proposition is most credible and draws the corollary, although conjectural, that William Child's *Psalmes* (1639) were also composed for the king's devotions, since he was serving as an organist at the Chapel Royal at this time. More recently, Spink has noted that 'although Lawes stated that his and his brother's psalms "had their birth at the same time" we do not know when that was. It must have been well before their publication, however, for some were in use at Oxford soon after 1636'.[89] Spink's

[86] Quoted in Dearnley, C., *English Church Music 1650–1750: In Royal Chapel, Cathedral and Parish Church* (London, 1970), 240.
[87] Lefkowitz, M., *William Lawes* (London, 1960), 237.
[88] Zimmerman, J. M., *Op. cit.*, 46–47.
[89] Spink, I., *Op. cit.*, *Cavalier Songwriter*, 119.

assertion is supported by the fact that the manuscript *Ob* MS Mus. Sch. E.451, in the hand of Edward Lowe, bears this date and includes a number of Henry and William Lawes' psalms.

The title of the collection *Choice Psalmes* indicates the setting of psalm texts, which of course many are, but it should be noted that some texts are from Jeremiah and Isaiah.[90] Nevertheless, the texts of the psalm verses are taken from George Sandys' *Paraphrases upon the Psalmes of David* (1636).[91] This verse Psalter was published at the height of the Laudian ascendancy and is the most important example of a 'Laudian' style in English poetry.[92] In point of fact, Sandys' *Paraphrases* was expanded in 1638 and, in addition to containing Sandys' *Job*, other Biblical paraphrases and commendatory poems,[93] it included psalm-settings by Henry Lawes.[94] His *A Paraphrase upon the Psalmes of David: by G[eorge] S[andys]: set to New Tunes for Private Devotion* (1638) includes 24 tunes in various metres, which are to be fitted to Sandys' metrical versions of the psalms.[95] The private devotional nature of these settings is reflected in the scoring of solo voice with continuo accompaniment. Indeed, the Psalter of Sandys was the version used by Charles I during his imprisonment on the Isle of Wight,[96] providing evidence of its private devotional use.[97]

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[90] See Robinson, A., '"Choice Psalmes": A Brother's Memorial', *William Lawes 1602–1645: Essays on his Life, Times and Works*, ed. Andrew Ashbee (Aldershot, 1998), 179–180.

[91] *A Paraphrase upon the Psalmes of David*, the *Bible*, Bishop Andrewes' *Sermons*, Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, and Herbert's *Divine Poems* are all listed as among the king's favourite books. See Carlton, C., *Charles I, The Personal Monarch* (London, 1995), 326. Andrewes and Hooker were two of the most eminent High Church writers in seventeenth-century England. See Addleshaw, G. P. O., *The High Church Tradition: A Study in the Liturgical Thought of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1941).

[92] Ellison, J., *Travel, Colonialism and Tolerance in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 2002), 175.

[93] By poets including: Falkland, Thomas Carew, Edmund Waller, Sidney Godolphin, Henry King, and others.

[94] Ellison, J., 'George Sandys: Religious Toleration and Political Moderation in an Early Anglican' (DPhil, University of Oxford, 1998), 123.

[95] Spink, I., *Op. cit.*, 'Lawes, Henry'. One tune is assigned to all verses of several psalms of matching metre; the tunes and basses are syllabic minims and semibreves. See Robinson, A., *Op. cit.*, 175–95.

[96] Sir Thomas Herbert, *Memoirs of the Two Last Years of the Reign of King Charles I* (London, 1702), 43.

[97] See Lowell, V. M., 'English Metrical Paraphrases of the Bible, 1549–1696' (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1947); Huttar, C. A., 'English Metrical Paraphrase of the Psalms, 1500–1640' (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1956); Ellison, J., *Op. cit.*, 'George Sandys'.

George Sandys (1578–1644) was the son of Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, and was a traveller and a prestigious writer; Dryden declared that Sandys was 'the best versifier of the former age'.[98] Similarly, Samuel Woodfield, the Restoration divine and member of the Royal Society, held Sandys in high enough esteem to rank him equal with George Herbert.[99] In 1625 Sandys became a gentleman of the privy chamber of Charles I and spent the following decade serving on a royal commission that advised on the state of the colony of Virginia; some time before 1638 he was appointed to the subcommittee for foreign plantations under the Laud commission.[100] The poetry of Sandys' *Psalms* (1636) glorifies Charles I as a supremely moral ruler, but simultaneously warns against tyranny and religious persecution.[101] Sandys maintains a dual role of panegyric and admonition,[102] and his publication is therefore inextricably linked with political and theological concerns surrounding the Caroline government and Laudian reforms.[103] That the Lawes brothers should select Sandys' *Psalmes* in the first place pays testament to their royalist sensibilities. Moreover, they chose to set to music the more felicitous verse settings included in his collection, reaffirming their fervent support of the king and the Royalist cause.[104]

Choice Psalmes is the collection that is central to this case study. Musically, these works resemble the style of Child's *Psalms* (1639)—it is interesting to remember that this publication was reprinted in 1650 and 1656 under the revised title, *Choice Musick to the Psalmes*—and include a figured thorough-bass, following in the example set by Viadana, which was also

[98] Davis, R. B., *George Sandys: Poet Adventurer* (London, 1955), 224.
[99] Ellison, J., *Op. cit.*, 'George Sandys', 123.
[100] Ellison, J., 'Sandys, George (1578–1644)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Accessed 15 October 2013).
[101] Ellison, J., *Op. cit.*, 'George Sandys', 121.
[102] Sandys' *Psalms* includes a separate dedication to Henrietta Maria; an Anglican Psalter dedicated, in part, to a Roman Catholic.
[103] See Ellison, J., *Op. cit.*, 'George Sandys', *passim*.
[104] Robinson, A., *Op. cit.*, 178.

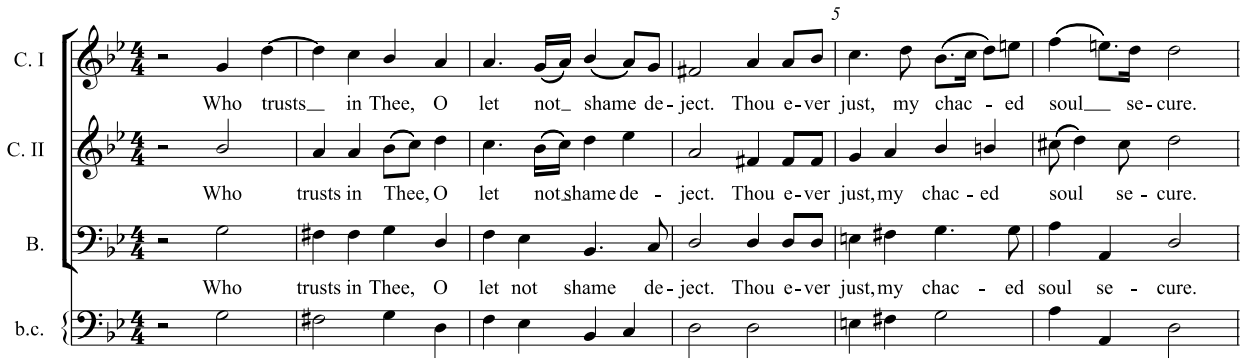
embraced by Porter and Child.[105] The scoring for two trebles, bass, and continuo is also another example of the 'trio-sonata' texture observed in Child's psalm settings. Henry is known to have been resistant to the fascination and predilection with Italian music shown by his fellow countrymen. In the prefaces to his *Ayres and Dialogues* (1653) and *Second Book of Ayres, and Dialogues* (1655) Henry derides the 'unthinking admiration with which Italian music was accepted in England'.[106] By way of illustration, he recounts his own setting of the list of contents of Cifra's *Scherzi et arie* (1614) which had been praised and revered as a 'rare Italian song'. Henry's view will be kept to the fore when considering to what extent the compositional devices used in the *Choice Psalmes* embrace the *stile nuovo* and it is his compositions that will be used in the following paragraphs.

In general, the psalm settings employ a largely imitative texture that is interpolated with brief passages of contrasting textures, such as voice-leading and homophony. The text setting is almost entirely syllabic and quasi-declamatory, reflecting the sentiment of Milton's sonnet (p.373), and the use of melisma is restricted to the occasional passing (accented and unaccented) note or other non-essential harmony notes (anticipations, escape notes, upper/lower auxiliaries). Often the parts are divided two against one in various combinations and are always supported by a basso continuo. Again, like Child, the instrumental basso is little more than a *seguente*, following the bass voice identically (except for minor rhythmic elaborations). The opening six bars of *Who trusts in thee* demonstrates these stylistic observations (Ex. 8.23).

[105] In a comparable manner to Porter, the figuring is not entirely competent; it incompletely describes the upper parts rather than adding anything to the harmony. The three vocal parts maintain harmonic coherence and therefore render the instrumental bass optional.

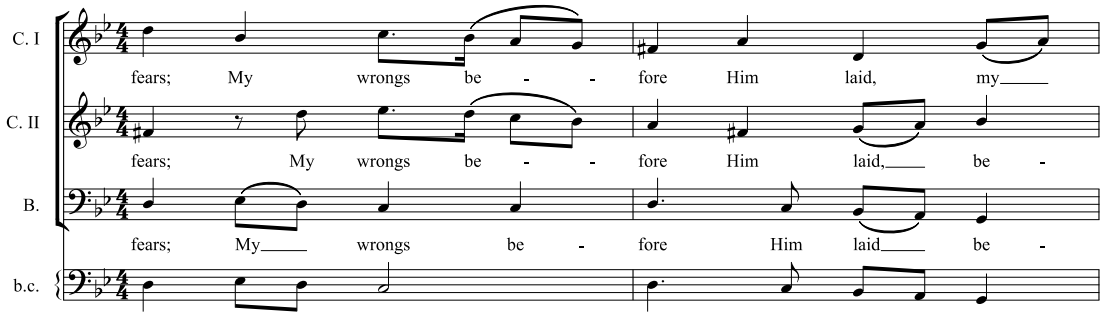
[106] Spink, I., *Op. cit.*, 'Lawes, Henry'.

Example 8.23: H. Lawes, *Who trusts in thee*, bb.1–6[107]



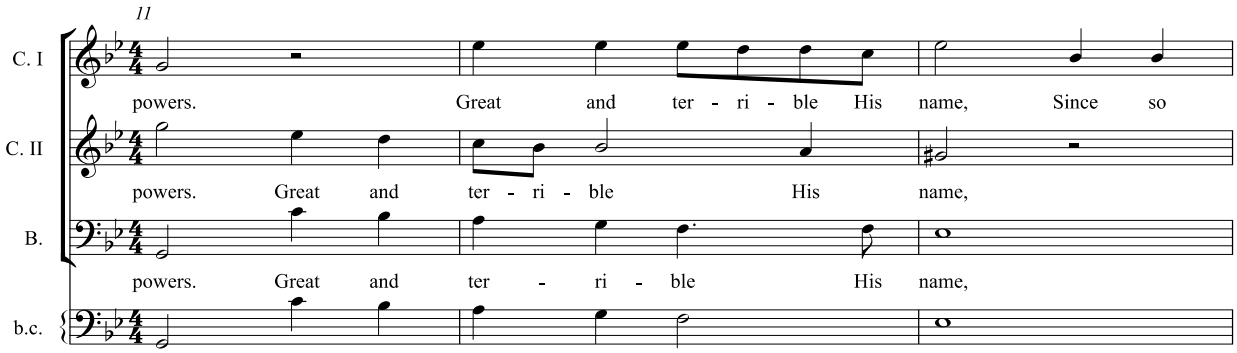
A propensity for the sonority of parallel thirds and tenths is evident. The two upper voices frequently unite in parallel thirds while the bass and basso proceed in unison (Ex. 8.24). Similarly, the pairing of the cantus II with the bass in parallel tenths appears with a relative degree of regularity (Exx. 8.25 and 8.26).

Example 8.24: H. Lawes, *With sighs and cries*, bb.8–9[108]

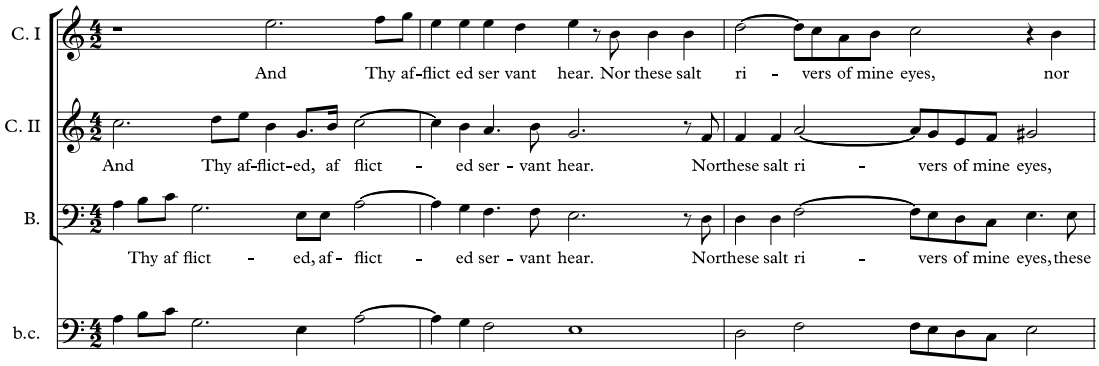


[107] Dearnley, C., ed., *Treasury of English Church Music, Volume Three: 1650–1760* (London, 1965), 1.
[108] *Ibid.*, 3.

Example 8.25: H. Lawes, *Now the Lord his reign begins*, bb.11–13[109]



Example 8.26: H. Lawes, *Lord to my prayers*, bb.5–7[110]

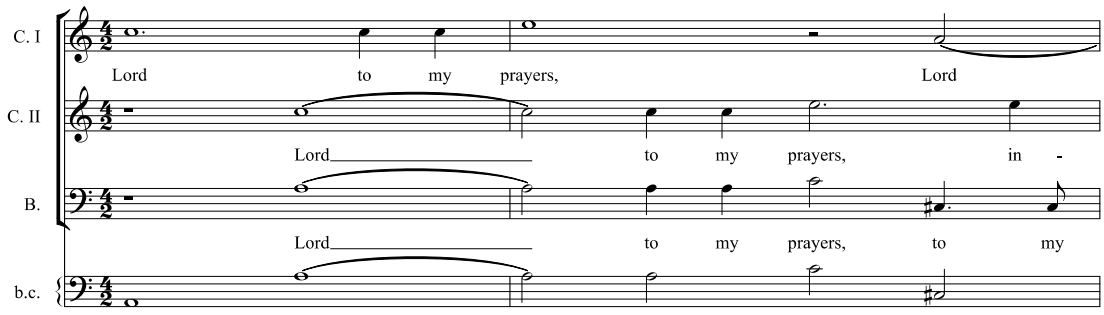


The contrasting of textures and voice pairings is indicative of the *stile concertato* and demonstrates an acceptance and appropriation of up-to-date Italian compositional techniques. It is surprising, therefore, that the contrast of metre does not feature in the psalm settings, with the exception of one piece;[111]Dering too avoids the frequent use of triple-time passages. The setting of *Now the Lord his reign begins* includes a concluding 'hallelujah' passage but instead of employing a triple-time metre, as may be expected, Lawes eschews this device and remains in duple metre.

[109] *Ibid.*, 4.
[110] *Ibid.*, 7.
[111] William Lawes' No.xxix, *In resurrectione*, features a contrasting triple-time 'Halleluiah' section that reverts back to the original duple metre.

Further inclinations towards the *stile nuovo* can be seen from the inclusion of tertiary shifts of harmony, chromaticism, and dissonance used for expressive purposes. The setting of *Lord to my prayers* opens on a chord of A minor and on the third beat of bar two shifts by a third to a chord of C major. On the following beat, Lawes moves to a chord of A major—another tertiary shift—oscillating between minor and major chords constructed over the same root; a device employed frequently by Jeffreys. The harmonic progression is unsettling and highlights the false relation between C♮–C♯, which is emphasised by the awkward descending diminished octave leap in the bass (Ex. 8.27).

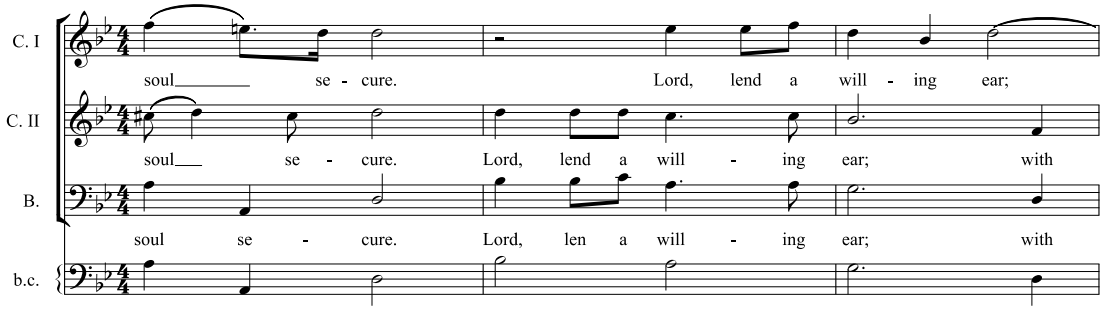
Example 8.27: H. Lawes, *Lord to my prayers*, bb.1–2[112]



This juxtaposition of unrelated chords coincides with the second plea of *Lord to my prayer* and intensifies the supplication for the Lord to 'incline thine ear'. Another example of Lawes using this device for affective purposes occurs in *Who trusts in thee* (Ex. 8.28).

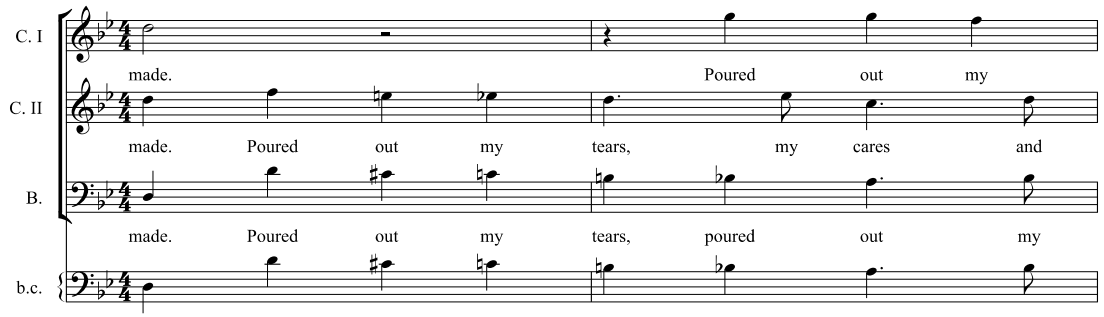
[112] Dearnley, C., ed., *Op. cit.*, *Treasury of English Church Music*, 7.

Example 8.28: H. Lawes, *Who trusts in thee*, bb.6–8[113]



The most striking example of melodic chromaticism features in *With sighs and cries*. At the introduction of the text 'poured out my tears', Lawes includes a descending chromatic fourth in the bass voice that starts at the upper limit of the voice's register (Ex. 8.29).[114] Time and again, such a madrigalian reaction to the text has been highlighted as typical of many of the composers included in this dissertation.

Example 8.29: H. Lawes, *With sighs and cries*, bb.5–6[115]



Likewise, in the opening bars of this psalm setting Lawes includes a 7–6 suspension on the word 'cries' to portray the anguish of the text (Ex. 8.30) This type of word painting is not an isolated

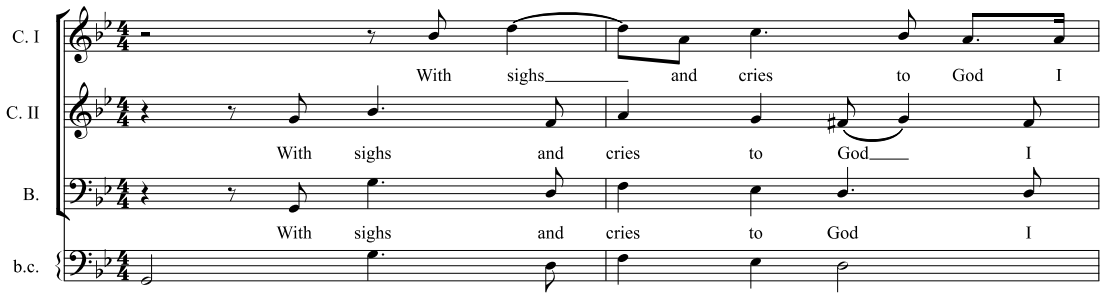
[113] *Ibid.*, 1.

[114] In William Lawes' setting of *Judah in exile wanders* the bass voice has two similar instances of melodic chromaticism. Firstly at the text 'her virgins weep', Lawes includes a chromatically descending fourth in the bass voice: d – A; secondly, at the text 'her priests lament' the chromatic descent in the bass voice is extended to span an octave: a – A.

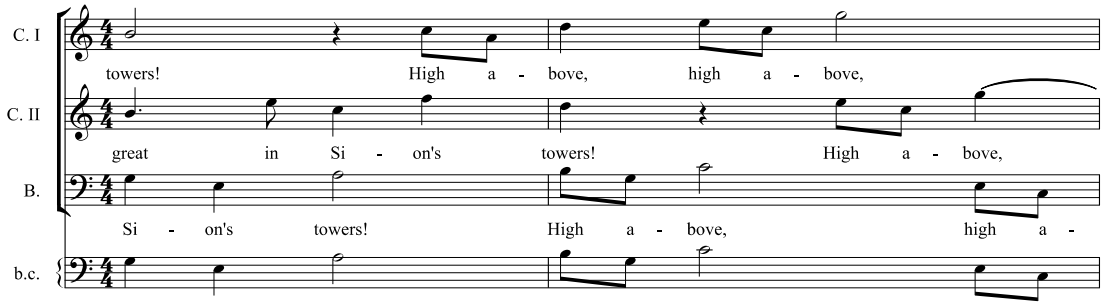
[115] Dearnley, C., ed., *Op. cit., Treasury of English Church Music*, 2.

example in the psalm settings. For example, in *Now the Lord his reign begins* Lawes depicts the direction of the text 'high above' in a literal sense, by setting the words to high pitches (Ex. 8.31).

Example 8.30: H. Lawes, *With sighs and cries*, bb.1–2[116]



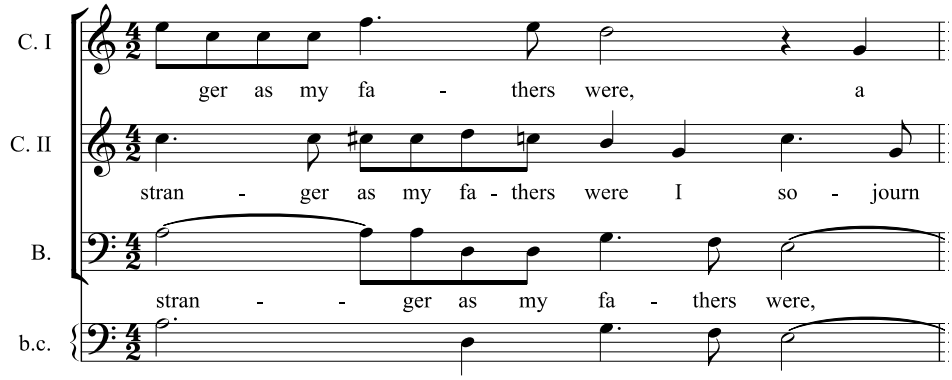
Example 8.31: H. Lawes, *Now the Lord his reign begins*, bb.7–8[117]



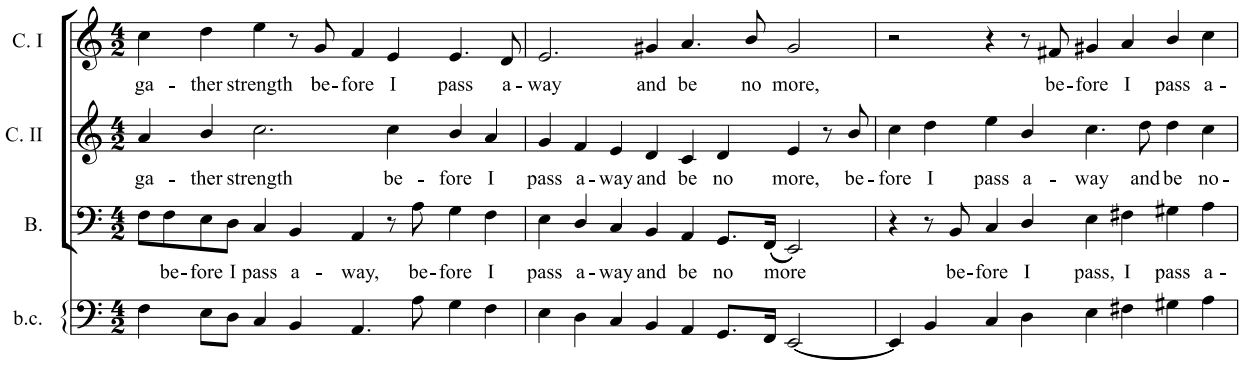
Finally, then, the use of augmented, diminished chords, and sevenths are used, if not routinely, regularly. *Lord to my prayers* includes both augmented and diminished chords, which can be found in isolation (Ex. 8.32) and in close proximity (Ex. 8.33). Moreover, example 8.33 highlights Lawes' inclusion of sevenths, which can be found earlier in the work (Ex. 8.26). *Now the Lord his reign begins* also makes use of the augmented triad (Ex. 8.34).

[116] *Ibid.*, 2.
[117] *Ibid.*, 3.

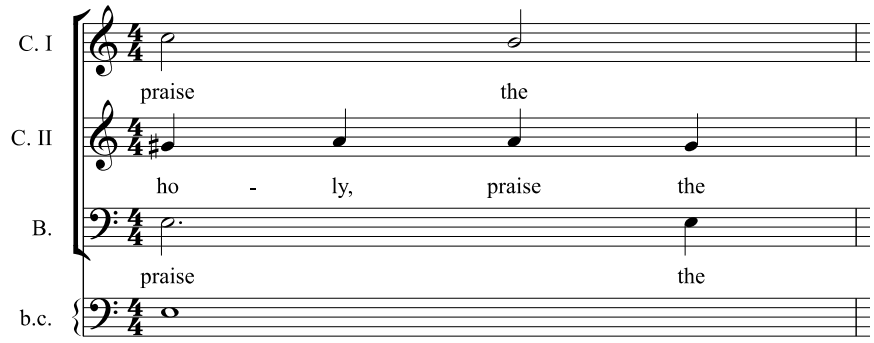
Example 8.32: H. Lawes, *Lord to my prayers*, b.10[118]



Example 8.33: H. Lawes, *Lord to my prayers*, bb.15–17[119]



Example 8.34: H. Lawes, *Now the Lord his reign begins*, b.18[120]



[118] *Ibid.*, 8.
[119] *Ibid.*, 9.
[120] *Ibid.*, 4.

The psalm settings included in *Choice Psalmes* by Henry Lawes embrace elements of the *stile concertato*. The simple style evades the wholehearted commitment to the *stile nuovo* shown by Jeffreys, but certainly the *Choice Psalmes* warrant the description Italianate. These observations confirm the view held by Spink that Lawes' *Choice Psalmes*:

> Are best described as being in an open imitative style that recalls the Italian 'sacred concerto', two upper voices intertwining with each other and a bass (doubled by a thorough-bass). Successive lines of the text are treated in free, declamatory counterpoint, with much use of parallel thirds and sixths, but some homophonic writing also. Chromaticism and unorthodox dissonance treatment are a feature, as are false relations and augmented chords.[121]

It is clear to see that Child and Lawes are treading the same path compositionally; as it happens they were probably reacting to the same set of compositional circumstances and both seem to have been composed in the late 1630s. In the subsequent case study, it will be suggested that Walter Porter's *Mottets* ostensibly seems to be part of this same *milieu*.

Walter Porter

Walter Porter (*c*.1587/*c*.1595–1659) was an English composer, lutenist, and tenor, and was trained as a chorister at Westminster Abbey. In 1603, Porter was a chorister at the funeral of Elizabeth I and on 15 February 1612 he sang tenor in George Chapman's Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn masque.[122] His voice must have broken sometime between these two occasions and on 5 January 1616 Porter was promised the next tenor vacancy among the Gentleman of the Chapel Royal; he was sworn in on 1 February 1617.[123] On 12 March 1622, Porter was granted a licence to travel abroad for three years, 'probably in connection with the Earl of Bristol's

[121] Spink, I., *Op. cit.*, *Cavalier Songwriter*, 119–20.
[122] Spink, I, 'Porter, Walter', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 20 July 2011). See also Ashbee A, Lasocki, D., *Op. cit.*, 904–907.
[123] Spink, I, *Op. cit.*, 'Porter, Walter'.

embassy to Madrid to arrange the "Spanish match"'.[124] As a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, Porter was present at Charles I's coronation in 1633 in Edinburgh, and in the following year he took part in Shirley's masque *The Triumph of Peace* as both singer and theorbo player.[125] Porter's next appointment was as Master of the Choristers of Westminster Abbey in 1639. Following the outbreak of Civil War, Porter is known to have lived in the household of Sir Edward Spencer between the years 1644 and 1656, and received sporadic payments as a former member of the Chapel Royal until the year 1649.[126] By the year 1658, however, Porter was living in poverty, petitioning the authorities at Westminster Abbey several times for a pension, he writes (probably in 1658) that 'being 70 and odd yeeres of age[,] his strength and faculties decayed, his wants dayly increased and his charitable freindes neere all deceased'.[127] Porter died the following year and was buried on 30 November 1659.

Porter's *oeuvre* shows strong signs of Italian influence and, in the preface to his *Mottets of Two Voyces* (1657) in copies at Christ Church, Oxford, there is the autograph insertion 'Monteverde' after the words 'my good Friend and Maestro'.[128] Porter's annotation has been taken as proof that he studied with Monteverdi in Italy,[129] and Ian Spink contends that the style of his *Madrigales and Ayres* (1632) 'supports Porter's claim, for they are virtually the only English madrigals in concertato style'.[130] Spink further suggests that the years between 1612 and 1615 is the most likely period of Porter's contact with Monteverdi, acknowledging however that

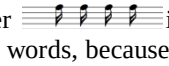
[124] *Ibid.*
[125] *Ibid.*
[126] *Ibid.*
[127] Dearnley, C., *Op. cit.*, 65.
[128] *Och* Mus. 818–23 and 878–880. In point of fact, every copy of the Porter *Mottets*, except those in the British Library and Royal College, contain the manuscript autograph insertion 'Monteverde' (and other annotations).
[129] See, for example, Arkwright, G. E. P., 'An English Pupil of Monteverdi', *The Musical Antiquary*, 4 (1913), 236; Hughes, C. W., 'Porter, Pupil of Monteverdi', *Musical Quarterly*, 20 (1934), 278–88; Spink, I, 'Walter Porter and the Last Book of English Madrigals', *Acta Musicologica*, 26 (1954), 18–36.
[130] Spink, I, *Op. cit.*, 'Porter, Walter'.

documentary evidence is lacking.[131] While Porter's association with Monteverdi is attractive and entirely feasible, Wainwright is more sceptical, arguing that 'there is no other evidence to support the tradition and it would have been quite possible for Porter to have been well acquainted with the works of Monteverdi without having left England'.[132] It is revealing, perhaps, that in the preface to his *Mottets* Porter writes that his 'aim in the composing of these divine hymnes, was at good ayre, variety, and to marry the words and notes wel [sic] together, according to the saying of that famous musician, Mr Robert Johnson'; for a model of composition, Porter explicitly refers to an English composer, not an Italian.[133]

Nevertheless, Porter's Italianate *concertato*-style music, exemplified in his *Madrigales and Ayres*, is not in question. In this publication, Porter demonstrates a thorough acquaintance with the *stile concertato*, and includes:

> Solo, duet and dialogue writing within the five-part texture, occasional recitative, virtuoso solo passages and the use of the *trillo*. A continuo ('Harpesechord, Lutes, Theorbos') is obligatory, the bass is copiously figured, and there are introductory three-part 'toccatos, sinfonias and ritornellos' for two violins and bass, which also play with the voices in 'full' sections. Other pieces, consisting of two imitative upper parts over a bass, are in the style of chamber duets or trios, and there are also tuneful ayres or partsongs with verse and chorus sections. One of them, *Farewell*, is a solo madrigal constructed over what seems to be a strophic bass related to the folia or *passamezzo antico*.[134]

In the preface to this volume, furthermore, which Porter addresses 'To the Practitioner', he confirms his knowledge and awareness of Italian performance practices and musical directions, writing:

> Where you find many Notes in a place after this manner  in rule or space, they are set to expresse the *Trillo*: I have made use of these *Italian* words, because they shall not mistake, and sing them, if they were expressed in English, being mixed amongst the other wordes, *Tace* which

[131] *Ibid.*
[132] Wainwright, J. P., 'The Dissemination and Influence of Monteverdi's Music in England in the Seventeenth Century', *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen*, eds. Silke Leopold and Joachim Steinheuer (London, 1993), 108.
[133] Hughes, C. W., *Op. cit.*, 282.
[134] Spink, I, *Op. cit.*, 'Porter, Walter'.

> is, that the Voyces or Instruments, are to be silent, or hold their peace, till such or such things be performed, also the word *forte*, which is strong or loud ...

The influence of Italian music on Porter has been established, but heretofore only with respect to his secular music, which is not the primary concern of this dissertation. What then of Italian influence on Porter's sacred works? Here it must be admitted that Porter's contribution to sacred music was small and only a scant amount survives. It is also the case that the extant works vary considerably in their absorption and assimilation of Italian styles. In 1635, five full anthems and five verse anthems by Porter were in the repertory of the Chapel Royal, but only one, *O praise the Lord* (Ps.147), survives.[135] Incidentally, this anthem was published in Porter's *Madrigales and Ayres* and has since been edited by Peter Le Huray in his *The Treasury of English Church Music, Volume II* (London, 1965). The reconciliation between Italian compositional procedures and native English traditions, such as the anthem, was highlighted in the previous chapter apropos Jeffreys. In *O praise the Lord*, Porter achieves a similar syncretism of two disparate idioms, demonstrating strong Italian influences that are forged on to the English verse anthem.

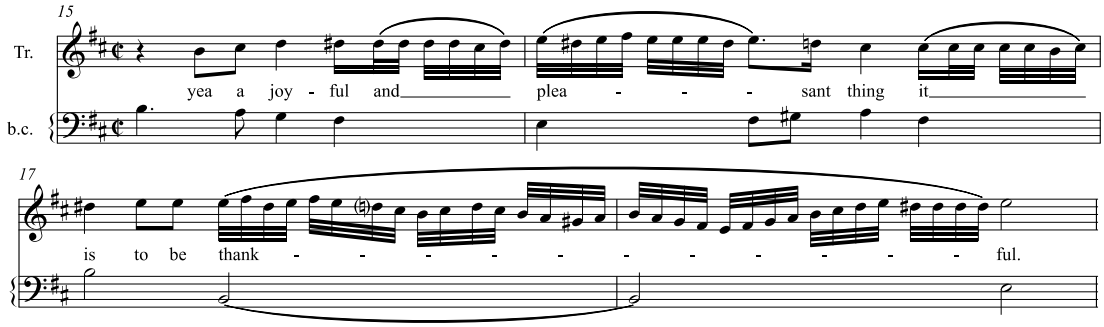
O praise the Lord is scored for cantus, alto I, alto II, tenor, bass voices, and basso continuo (original clefs: C1, C3, C3, C4, F4), and contains three verses that are set for treble; treble and tenor; treble, tenor and bass respectively. The solo writing is extremely florid, although by and large it is reserved for the treble (Ex. 8.35).[136] At various cadential points, however, there are examples of mellifluous tenths (Ex. 8.36). Porter includes a few examples of word painting, setting the words 'thankful', 'praise', and 'pleasure' to appropriately melismatic phrases, but

[135] *Ibid.*

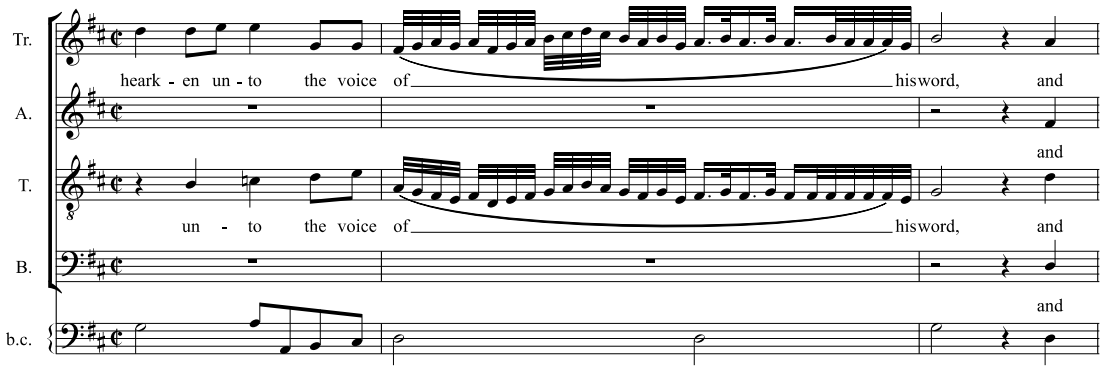
[136] Porter's *Farewell once my delight*, which is also contained in his *Madrigales*, relies on this same device. The cantus part is characterised by florid writing and is accompanied only by the bass and basso continuo. This texture alternates with a contrasting four-part (ATTB) ritornello that is typically quasi-homophonic and/or imitative. Spink has written that 'in both [*O praise the Lord* and *Farewell once my delight*], qualities of recitative and aria combine in bravura style, set and sung with all the passion of which the virtuoso was capable'. See Spink, I., *Op. cit.*, 'Walter Porter and the Last Book of English Madrigals', 26.

again such examples remain chiefly reserved for the treble. In general, Porter's text setting is quite understated, avoiding the dramatic intensity that Jeffreys achieved.[137]

Example 8.35: Porter, *O praise the Lord*, bb.15–18[138]



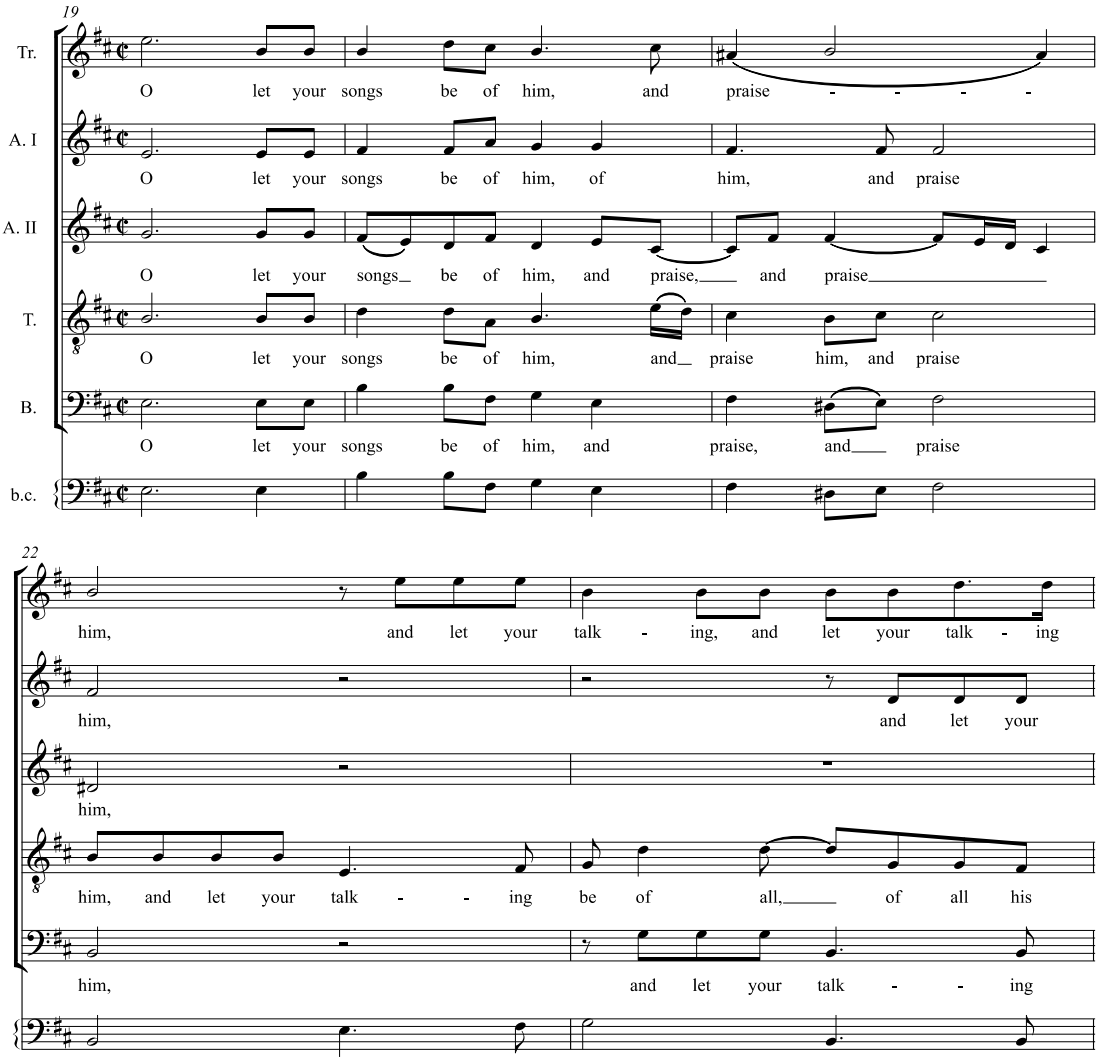
Example 8.36: Porter, *O praise the Lord*, bb.78–80[139]



In marked contrast to the verse sections, the full five-part choruses are much simpler, anticipating, perhaps, Purcell's church style.[140] Here, Porter relies on largely homophonic textures that alternate with short, rhythmic, concise motives in a pervading imitative texture (Ex. 8.37).

[137] It is of course accepted that singers were used to adding their own graces and embellishments to notated music.
[138] Le Huray, P., ed., *Treasury of English Church Music, Volume Two: 1545–1650* (London, 1965), 233.
[139] *Ibid.*, 243.
[140] Spink, I., *Op. cit.*, 'Walter Porter and the Last Book of English Madrigals', 18–36.

Example 8.37: Porter, *O praise the Lord*, bb.19–23[141]

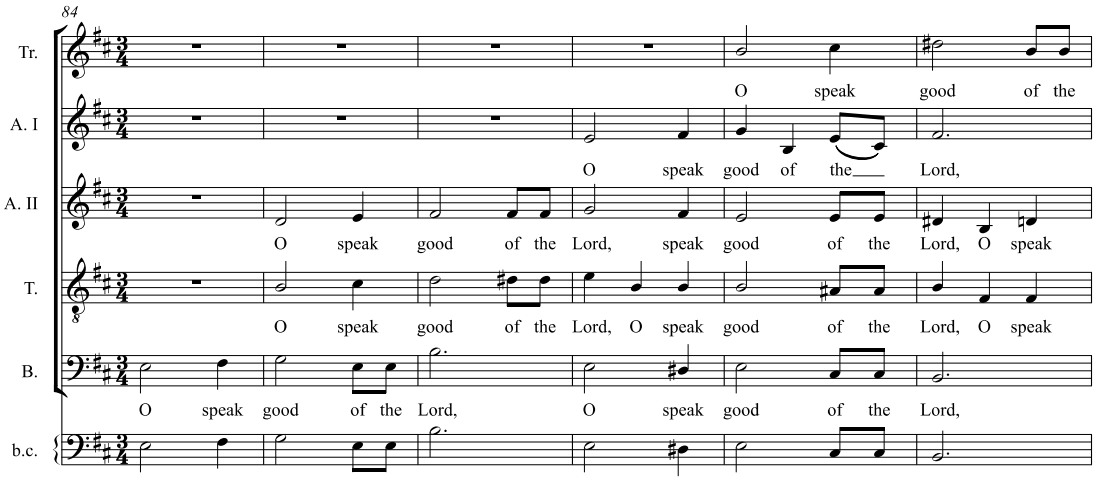


Porter makes use of a significant number of textural contrasts, exploring imitation, homophony, counterpoint and the writing for solo voice, duet, trio, quartet, and a full five-part sonority. The interplay of concise rhythmic motives, typical of the *stile concertato*, and the use of contrasting and complementary motives, however, is absent. Nevertheless, the ever-changing contrast of texture is amplified by the contrast of metre at bar 84, where the final full section begins. Up until this point the anthem has remained in duple time, but Porter introduces a brief triple-time

[141] Le Huray, P., ed., *Op. cit.*, *Treasury of English Church Music*, 234.

passage between bars 84–92 at the text ‘O speak good of the Lord’ before returning to duple time (Ex. 8.38).

Example 8.38: Porter, *O praise the Lord*, bb.84–89[142]



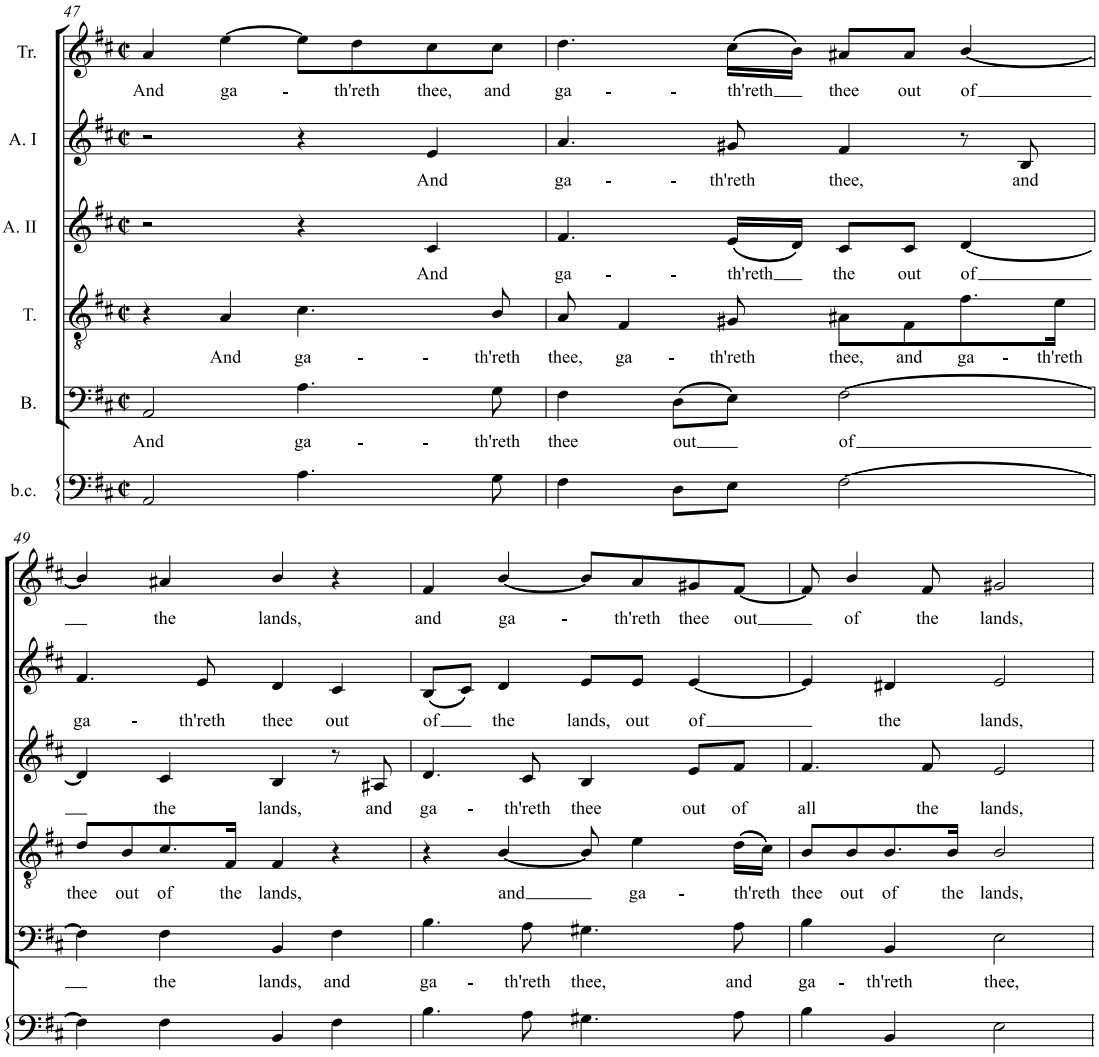
Porter’s contrast of metre at this point is likely to be a gesture of emulation; there is nothing in the meaning of the text that suggests a triple-time metre and the scansion of the text does not require a change. It is worth bearing in mind that ‘the 1621 editions of Monteverdi’s first three books of madrigals, the 1622 edition of Book IV, the 1620 editions of Books V and VI, the 1628 editions of Book VII and the first *Scherzi musicali*, the 1632 edition of the second *Scherzi musicali*, and the 1623 edition of the *Arianna* lament were all available for sale in the London book shop of one Robert Martin’.[143] It is entirely possible, therefore, that Porter could have known some or all of the Monteverdi publications that were made available via Martin before having published his *Madrigales*. Porter’s knowledge of the Italian style, including the composition of sinfonias, toccatas, duet and trio canzonettas, and the employment of triple-time contrasts and strophic variations, demonstrated in his *Madrigales*, is indicative of the

[142] *Ibid.*, 244.
[143] Wainwright, J. P., *Op. cit.*, ‘The Dissemination and Influence of Monteverdi’s Music in England in the Seventeenth Century’, 108.

compositional procedures found in Monteverdi's *'Concerto', Il Settimo Libro de Madrigali* (1619).

Porter includes a basso continuo, which tends to suggest a 'progressive' approach and, indeed, the continuo remains entirely independent when accompanying the solo treble, allowing the florid writing and attendant expression to sound unimpeded. When the bass voice enters, however, the organ accompaniment becomes little more than a *basso seguente*, following the bass voice exactly (compare Exx. 8.35 and 8.39).

Example 8.39: *O praise the Lord*, bb.47–51[144]

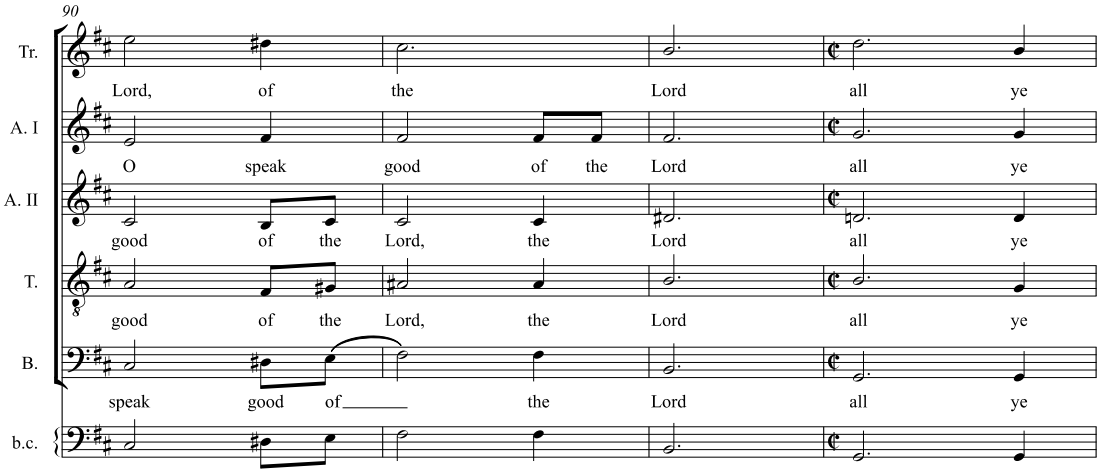


O praise the Lord betrays a clear sense of tonal organisation, in which Porter sticks closely to the 'tonic' key and makes consistent use of fifth progressions. There are a few instances of false relations and tertiary shifts of harmony, such as at bars 92–93 (Ex. 8.40). Porter's inclusion of this device could be seen as perfunctory, rather like the change of metre. The use of chord progressions related by a third, in the music hitherto considered in this dissertation, has been associated with the portrayal of textual meaning, but this is not the case in the example cited

[144] Le Huray, P., ed., *Op. cit.*, *Treasury of English Church Music*, 238.

from *O praise the Lord*. Porter avoids any striking deviations of harmony and there are no instances of extreme chromaticism in this anthem.

Example 8.40: Porter, *O praise the Lord*, bb.90–93[145]



Is the style of *O praise the Lord* typical of Porter's sacred music? To answer this question, attention must be turned to Porter's collection of *Mottets for Two Voyces* (1657). This publication is misleadingly named because, in point of fact, it is a collection of 17 metrical psalms in English; all but two are paraphrases of verses by the poet George Sandys.[146] Porter was living in poverty by the late 1650s and this publication was intended to improve his financial situation. The title page of this slim three-volume set states that the partbooks were 'Printed by William Godbid for the Author', and were 'Published by Walter Porter', suggesting that this enterprise was financed by Porter himself. The entire collection is dedicated 'to the highly Honour'd, and most Hopefull Gentleman, EDWARD LAURENCE Esq', and in the preface Porter explains that, 'I must confess the most of these Mottets were composed for a great Lover of Musick, and my especial friend, Sir Edward Spencer, an Honorable Mecenas to all Virtuosos

[145] *Ibid.*, 245.

[146] The two exceptions are: III. To Sir Edward Sebright, *Behold now praise the Lord* (Ps.134) and V. To John Mostin Esq, *I will lift up mine eyes to heav'n* (Ps.121).

known to him...'. Perhaps Porter hoped that, following Spencer's death in 1656, Laurence would step into his shoes,[147] securing himself a new patron. Curiously, however, Porter also dedicates each individual 'mottet' to a named friend or colleague; the sole gift he can offer them, 'not having, according to the blessed Apostle St. Peter, either Gold or Silver'.[148] It is likely that Porter issued a printed copy of his *Mottets* to these dedicatees, but whether he reaped any financial reward from the venture is unknown. One further point of interest is that Porter added handwritten addresses to the recipients of copies that were intended for donation. Significantly, one such copy of his *Mottets*, preserved in *Ob* Mus. Sch. D.349, was dedicated to another former Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, Dr John Wilson (1597–1674), lutenist, composer, and Oxford D.Mus.[149]

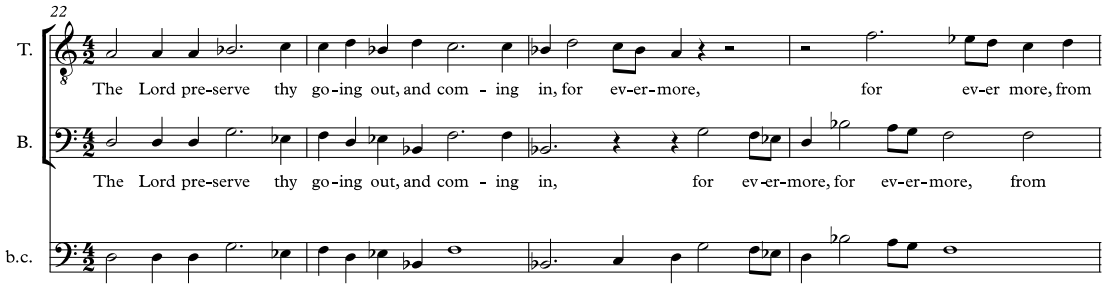
In comparison to the contents of the *Madrigales*, very little attention has hitherto been paid to Porter's *Mottets*. Peter Le Huray touched on them in his *Music and the Reformation* (1967) but his comments are no more than cursory.[150] Similarly, Ian Spink, a Porter scholar, has written little else other than, 'the *Mottets* are comparatively [with the *Madrigales*] uninteresting. They are settings for "treble or tenor and bass, with the continued base or score" in a quasi-declamatory style, intended for domestic devotions'.[151] In the following paragraphs an attempt will be made to evaluate Spink's comments and assessment of Porter's motets by considering to what extent they embrace elements of the *stile nuovo*.

[147] Milsom, J., *Christ Church Library Newsletter*, 8/1, 2, and 3 (2011–2012), 3. ISSN 1756-6797.
[148] *Ibid*. Tomkins' *Songs of 3, 4, 5, and 6 Parts* (1622) provides a precedent: each piece bears a specific dedication, including figures such as Orlando Gibbons, Nathaniel Giles, John Coprario, John Danyel, William Heyther, and William Byrd.
[149] The fact that three out of the ten extant copies of Porter's *Mottets* survive at Oxford and that Porter dedicates a copy to Wilson further highlights the close-knit 'Royalist' musical culture.
[150] See Le Huray, P., *Op. cit.*, *Music and the Reformation*, 400–401.
[151] Spink, I., *Op. cit.*, 'Porter, Walter'.

Porter's choice of scoring in his *Mottets* (treble or tenor, bass, and basso continuo) is congruous with the few-voice genre that has been a central focus of this dissertation. Moreover, the rise of the small-scale *stile concertato* has been recounted in this dissertation previously and it seems, ostensibly, that Porter is writing in that Italianate idiom. Indeed, Porter adheres to the fundamental principle of contrast of the *stile concertato* throughout, particularly with respect to texture and, in a more limited capacity, metre. It must be admitted, however, that the style of Porter's 'motets' is very straightforward and they bear a striking resemblance to the psalms of the Lawes brothers.[152]

Porter achieves a wide range of textural contrasts in his *Mottets*, making the most of the possibilities available in only a three-part texture. Porter includes passages for solo voices and duet, and continually contrasts homophony with simple imitation. Quite often Porter's homophonic writing is comparable to the Venetian homophony that was encountered in Chapter 3, exemplified by Croce, whereby the voices and the accompaniment all share the same rhythm, the organ part is a *seguente*, and little attention is paid to declamation. The passage below from *I will lift up mine eyes to heav'n* (Ex. 8.41) demonstrates Porter's employment of such homophonic writing contrasted with the following imitative treatment of the text 'for evermore'.

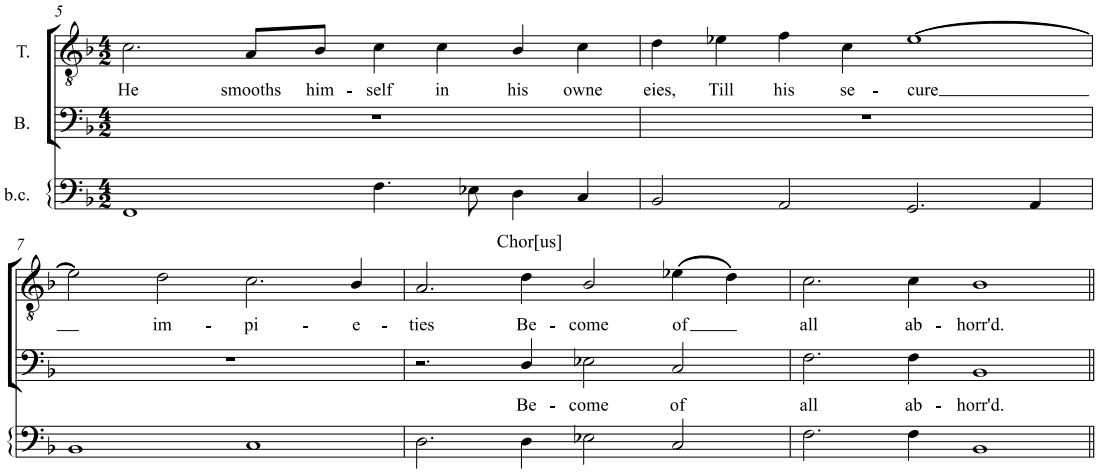
Example 8.41: Porter, *I will lift up mine eyes to heav'n*, bb.22–25



[152] Le Huray, P., *Op. cit., Music and the Reformation*, 400.

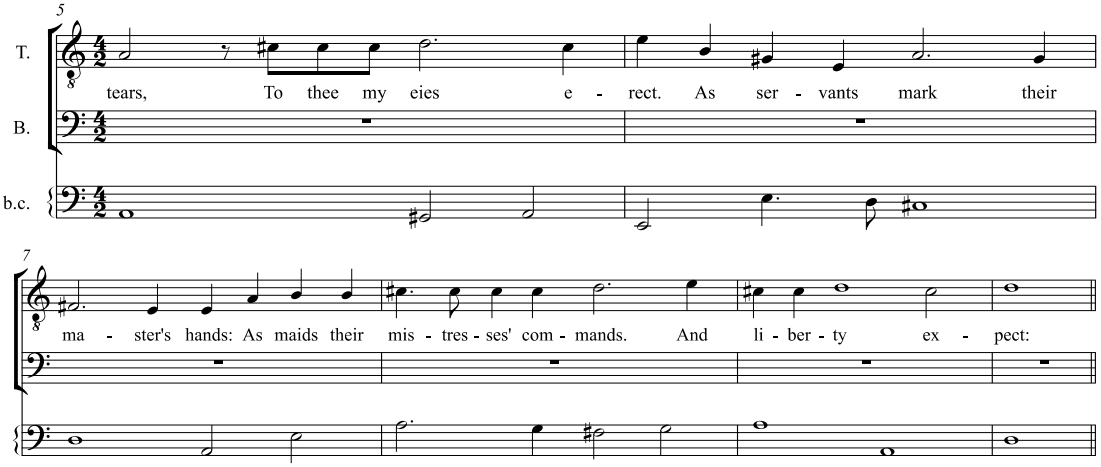
Some of the ‘motets’ in Porter’s collection are ‘full’ throughout but others are arranged as simple verse anthems, alternating between ‘verses’ for solo voices and ‘full’ choruses in two parts for treble/tenor and bass. For example, *When I the bold transgressor see* is cast in verse-anthem form (Ex. 8.42): the opening verse is scored for solo tenor (bb.1–8), which is followed by a brief ‘chorus’ (bb.8–9); the second verse is scored for solo bass (bb.10–16) and is followed by another brief ‘chorus’ (bb.16–19); the anthem concludes with a final ‘chorus’ (bb.20–31) that is characterised by simple imitation between the two voices.

Example 8.42: Porter, *When I the bold transgressor see*, bb.5–9

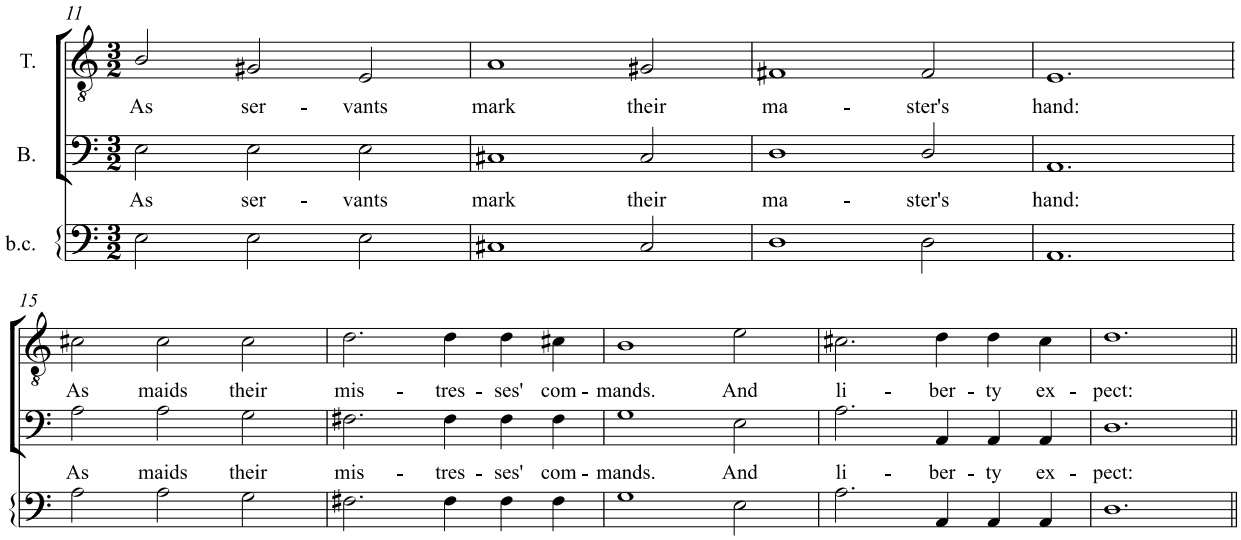


One English trait that endures in Porter’s composition of verse-anthems, and one that has been highlighted as indicative of Gibbons and Jeffreys, is the restatement of text by the ‘chorus’ which is derived from the ‘verse’ material. *Thou mover of the rolling sphears* provides an example of Porter using this technique (Exx. 8.43 and 8.44), in addition to Venetian homophony (bb.11–19) and a contrasting triple-time metre.

Example 8.43: Porter, *Thou mover of the rolling sphears*, bb.5–10[153]



Example 8.44: Porter, *Thou mover of the rolling sphears*, bb.11–19[154]

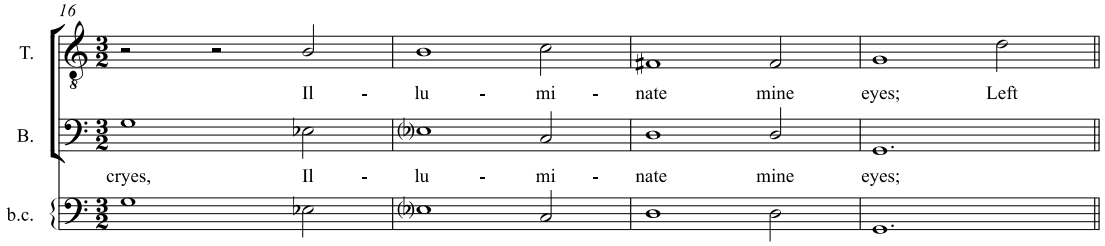


While Porter's inclusion of contrasting triple-time sections is not widespread, they appear with some frequency. There is a sense, however, that the contrasting metres are included as a gesture to the *stile concertato*, rather than for any inherent musical reason. In the example above (Ex. 8.44) the triple-time metre is used to emphasise the contrast in texture. Similarly, in *How*

[153] Wainwright, J. P., ed., *Walter Porter: Collected Works* (forthcoming).
[154] *Ibid.*

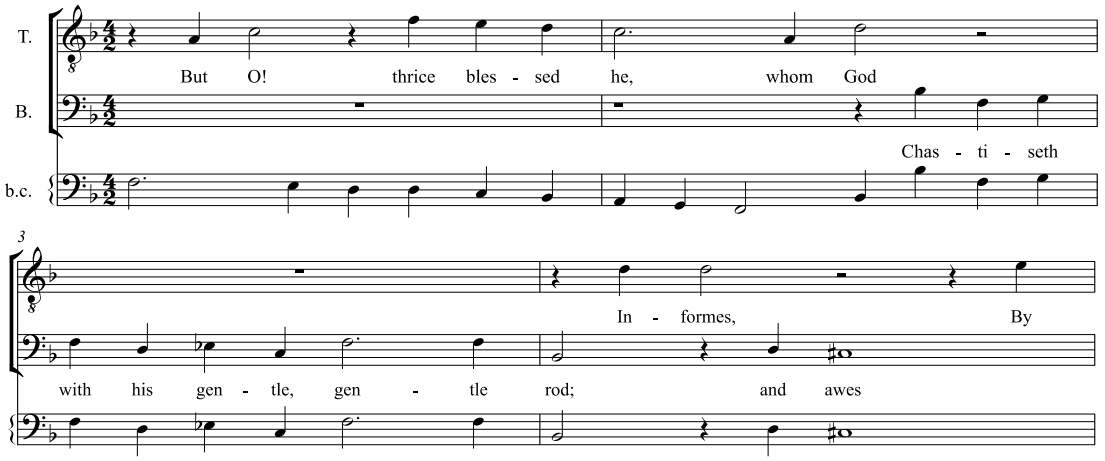
long Lord, for example, Porter's triple-time writing amounts to a total of four bars (bb.16–19) and is not particularly occasioned by the meaning or scansion of the text (Ex. 8.45).

Example 8.45: Porter, *How long Lord*, bb.16–19[155]



Porter's inclusion of a basso continuo has already been touched upon, but more often than not the accompaniment is little more than a *basso seguente*. Without exception, where the bass voice is present it has little independence from the basso accompaniment, save for a few minor rhythmic elaborations. Where the bass voice is absent, however, the basso continuo functions fully. The 'motet' *But O thrice blessed he* demonstrates this point clearly (Ex. 8.46).

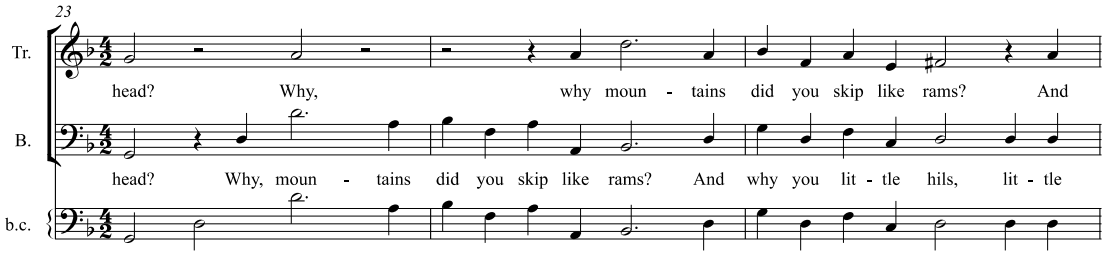
Example 8.46: Porter, *But O thrice blessed he*, bb.1–4[156]



[155] *Ibid.*
[156] *Ibid.*

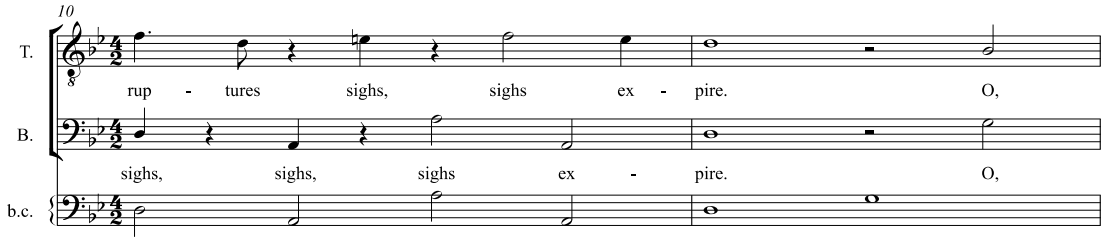
Throughout this collection, Porter employs, almost exclusively, syllabic word setting and displays little engagement with declamatory principles. It is for these reasons, in part, that Porter's 'motets' lack some of the dramatic intensity witnessed in Jeffreys' compositions. There are places, however, where Porter does include melismatic writing and indulges in word-painting, some of which borders on the mannerism associated with the madrigal. The following examples serve to elucidate some of Porter's less simple style:

Example 8.47: Porter, *When Israel left th' AEgyptian land*, bb.23–25[157]



At the text 'Why mountains did you skip like rams?' (Ex. 8.47), Porter cannot avoid illustrating the text musically through obvious word painting. The bass voice leaps up an octave from d to d′ (the highest note of the bass part) and then proceeds through a disjunct melody that includes another octave leap, but this time downwards from a to A, simultaneously representing the 'mountains' and the 'skip' of the text; the treble imitates the bass passage.

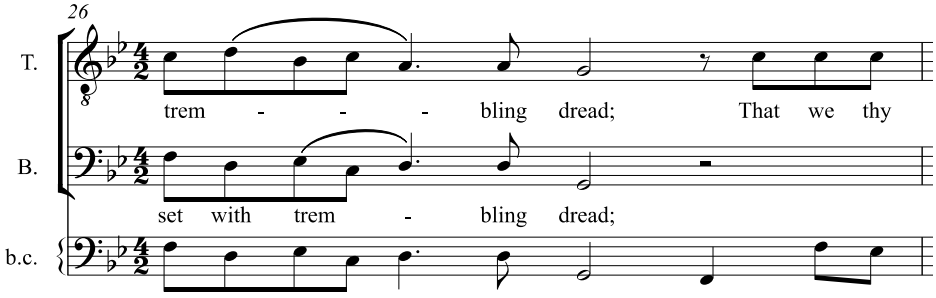
Example 8.48: Porter, *Cast off and scattered in thine ire*, bb.10–11



[157] *Ibid.*

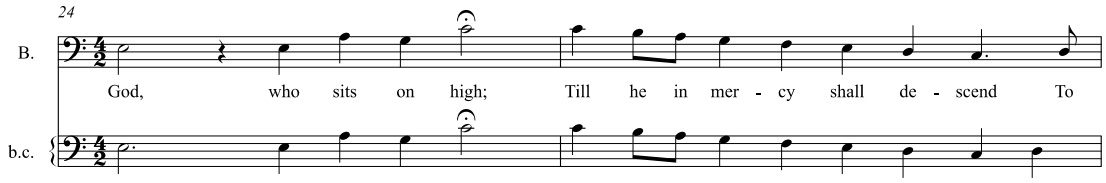
The word ‘sighs’ provokes a Manneristic response from Porter in *Cast off and scattered in thine ire* (Ex. 8.48), whereby a rest follows the word. The effect is an exhaling of breath that mimics a literal sigh.

Example 8.49: Porter, *Cast off and scattered in thine ire*, b.26



Other madrigalisms can be found in these works, such as the melismatic setting of the word ‘trembling’, in *Cast off and scattered in thine ire* (Ex. 8.49) and the literal interpretation of the text in musical terms found in *Thou mover of the rolling sphears* (Ex. 8.50), where the word ‘high’ is set to the highest note found in the bass voice and the subsequent descending melody accompanies the text ‘shall descend’.

Example 8.50: Porter, *Thou mover of the rolling sphears*, bb.24–25[158]

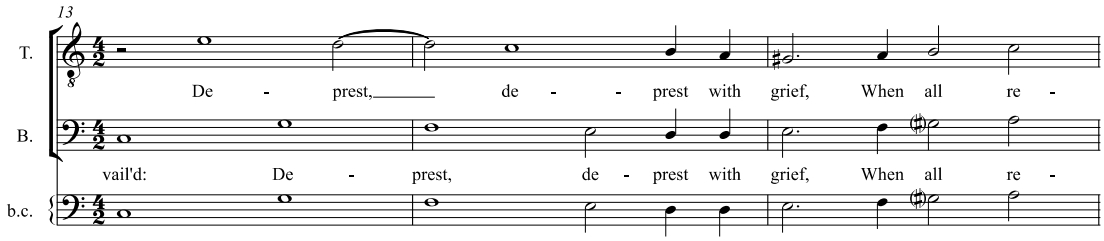


Porter’s used dissonance sparingly, but one example where it is used for an expressive purpose can be found in *My soul intirely shal affect the Lord* (Ex. 8.51). The word ‘deprest’ is set to

[158] *Ibid.*

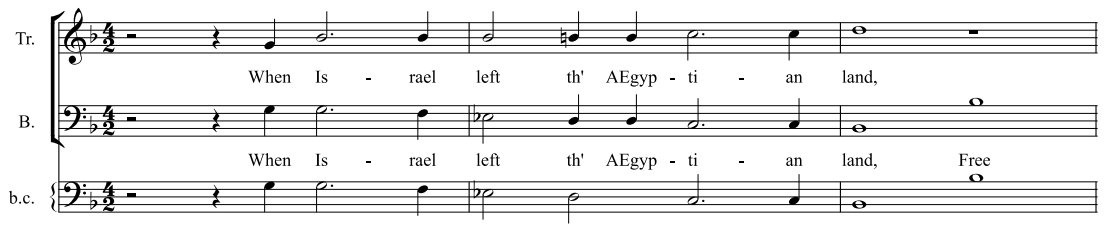
consecutive 6–5 suspensions, expressing the anguish of the text through the affective use of dissonance.

Example 8.51: Porter, *My soul intirely shal affect the Lord*, bb.13–15[159]



By and large, Porter avoids extreme dissonances; the passage in example 8.51 is one of the few occasions where Porter includes a suspension that does not appear in conjunction with a cadence. There is also a conspicuous absence of chromaticism in Porter's 'motets', and an absolute paucity of extreme chromaticism. Dolorous and amorous texts in particular have been shown to provoke a chromatic response by composers with an interest in the *stile nuovo*, but this is a procedure almost entirely absent in Porter's 'motets'. One of the only examples comes from the opening bars of *When Israel left th' AEgyptian land* (Ex. 8.52), where there is a chromatic alteration from b♭′ to b♮′ in the treble line, which is followed in the following bar with a B♭ in the bass.

Example 8.52: Porter, *When Israel left th' AEgyptian land*, bb.1–3[160]



[159] *Ibid.*
[160] *Ibid.*

Many of the false relations that appear in Porter's 'motets', however, can be accounted for by the quintessentially English style, synonymous with earlier composers, such as Byrd, whereby a raised and normal sixth and seventh degree are employed simultaneously in contra-motion when writing in a minor mode, i.e. an ascending B♮ against a descending B♭ in D minor.[161]

It seems reasonable to conclude that Porter's 'motets' demonstrate Italian influences and, to a large extent, adhere to the techniques of the *stile concertato*. However, in this collection, Porter has not entirely relinquished elements of his native style, which precludes a complete appropriation and assimilation of the *stile nuovo*. While Porter's knowledge of the latest compositional procedures is evident, his style in these works is tempered by elements of his musical English heritage.

That Porter's *Mottets* were intended for domestic devotions is not in question. In the late 1650s Porter was living in penury and this self-financed publication venture was intended to be a remedy. Appealing to a domestic market, therefore, is likely to have generated more income; not only were few-voice motets in vogue, but they are easily performable by amateur musicians. Indeed, this view is vindicated by Pepys in his diary entry, recorded on 4 September 1664, where he writes, 'the boy and I again to the singing of Mr Porter's motets ...'.[162]

A fundamental question remains at the forefront of the current discourse: why do Porter's *Madrigales and Ayres*, published in 1632, represent a more proficient assimilation of the *stile nuovo* than Porter's *Mottets*, published 25 years later? Such an inconsistency in style seems peculiar at the very least. Unfortunately, there is, at present, no definite answer but a few hypotheses are worth considering. Therefore, I offer two working hypotheses: one for a 1630s

[161] Hughes, C. W., *Op. cit.*, 281.
[162] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys, V: 1664*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews (London, 1971), 261.

date of composition and one for a 1650s date of composition. Both are equally plausible, but at the time of writing I tend to favour the latter. The fact that the *Mottets* were intended for a domestic market may have something to do with the simplicity of style. A publication that is beyond the capabilities of an amateur musician is surely not going to be a best-seller and would have done little to alleviate Porter's desperate financial vicissitude. This conjectural view, however, is based on the assumption that the 'motets' were composed around the time of publication, which is not necessarily the case. It is possible that Porter composed the 'motets' in the late 1630s, sometime after the publication of Sandys' *Paraphrase upon the Psalmes* (1636). It has been noted previously that these works resemble Henry Lawes' own two-voice settings of the Sandys' paraphrases, if not a little more sophisticated, which appeared in 1638. On stylistic grounds it seems safer to date the Porter motets as contemporary with H. Lawes, rather than 1657. If this is the case, then it is not unreasonable to suggest that Porter's 'motets' could have been used for private devotions at the King's court during the 1630s, given that Porter was present at court throughout the 1630s and the settings of Sandys' psalms by H. Lawes provide such a context. It is tempting to speculate further that Porter published these pieces in 1657 because of the crumbling of the Commonwealth and the Royalist resurgence that began to emerge in the late 1650s, knowing that they would appeal to Royalist sensibilities; this view is amplified by the consideration of John Wilson in the following case study. Indeed, a number of Porter's works are dedicated to members of the nobility. Nevertheless, the 'motets' could simply represent Porter acquainting himself with the few-voice idiom in the 1630s, which were then shelved and, when falling on hard times, provided him with a ready-made source of income through publication. Unfortunately for Porter, he died very soon after their appearance.

These hypotheses, however, are somewhat undermined by three considerations: manuscript sources, the dedications, and the preface. To my knowledge, there are no manuscript copies of the *Mottets* which, if the music had been in circulation for twenty years or so, might be expected. Similarly, why would Porter dedicate music that had already been available for decades to living characters in 1657? While this is not impossible it does seem unlikely. These concerns are exacerbated by carefully reading his preface:

> The Inducement of my Composing of two ["two" added in ink] Parts onely, was in regard of the scarcity of Voyces, it being both difficult and troublesome to get two Voyces, much more three or foure together, to Sing Sure and Masterlike.

The suggestion that such a paucity of voices existed at the Caroline court during the 1630s is surely untenable. On the balance of probability a Commonwealth dating is, after all, the most likely period of composition. Regardless, the publication date must be a deliberate statement of his Royalist allegiances and is a supposition that will be revisited below. It is clear, then, that there remains much work to be undertaken on Porter and getting to grips with the dedicatees of the *Mottets* would be a first step in the right direction; the answer to a more definite dating of composition is likely to come from such inquiry.

John Wilson

John Wilson (1595–1674) was born in Faversham, Kent, and, like Porter, was an English composer, lutenist, and singer (counter-tenor).[163] It is likely that Wilson was 'trained as a choir boy at Faversham Parish Church and was later assistant organist, though "the Parish registers

[163] See Ashbee, A., Lasocki, D., *Op. cit.*, 1157–1159.

have no record of his life or activities here"'.[164] Since a number of Wilson's songs for *The Maske of Flowers*,[165] collaborating with Lanier and Coprario, and *Valentinian*—both 1614—survive it seems probable that he was involved in the musical life of the court and the London theatre from an early age.[166] Moreover, he was connected with the King's Men and songs by Wilson survive for plays put on by them between 1614 and 1629.[167] On 21 October 1622 Wilson was recommended to the Lord Mayor of London by Viscount Mandeville as one of the 'Servants of the City for Music and voice' and was duly appointed a city wait, a position he still held in 1641;[168] this is the first documented record concerning the details of Wilson's career. In 1635 he entered the King's Musick among the lutes and voices at £20 a year with the usual annual livery of £16 2s 6d;[169] the entry is recorded as follows:

> 1635, 30 May – Warrant to furnish and deliver unto John Wilson, one of his Majesty's musicians in ordinary in the place of Alphonso Balles, deceased, such liveries yearly during life, and at such times as the said Alphonso Balles had enjoyed. Also a patent of £20 per annum to the said Wilson to commence from the death of Alphonso Balles to continue during life.[170]

Wilson was made Musician in Ordinary for the lute and Mary Hobbs has corrected the common error that such a position was inferior to a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal like Lawes. Hobbs writes, 'the difference was one of function, not status; the Gentlemen were singing men, and Wilson was chiefly in demand as a lutenist. As a musician in *ordinary*, he was in constant attendance upon the King'.[171] Furthermore, Wilson's name appears again in 1641, fourteenth on a list of his Majesty's musicians, under the heading 'For Lutes, Viols and Voices'.[172] According

[164] Henderson, H. P., 'The Vocal Music of John Wilson' (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 1962), 15.
[165] For example, Wilson's song *Kawasha comes in Majestie*; it also appears in his *Cheerful Ayres or Ballads* (1660).
[166] Spink I., 'Wilson, John', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 30 November 2012).
[167] *Ibid.*
[168] *Ibid.*
[169] *Ibid.*
[170] de Lafontaine, H. C., ed., *The King's Musick: A Transcript of Records Relating to Music and Musicians (1460–1700)* (London, 1909), 91 in Henderson, H. P., *Op. cit.*, 21.
[171] Hobbs, M., 'John Wilson's Literary Sources', *The Lute Society Journal*, 17 (1975), 10, see footnote 9.
[172] Henderson, H. P., *Op. cit.*, 22.

to Anthony Wood, Wilson was a kinsman of Walter Porter,[173] who, it will be remembered, was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal between 1617 and 1644. Wood's suggestion seems entirely plausible given the details that have hitherto been revealed about Wilson's life. Interestingly, Porter and Wilson must have met at the Inns of Court performance of Shirley's *Triumph of Peace* in 1634. Porter's involvement in the masque was detailed above (p.385) and, similarly, Wilson—at this time a London Wait—was 'borrowed' to sing and play the theorbo lute.[174] When the court moved to Oxford in 1642, following the outbreak of civil war, Wilson, demonstrating his Royalist allegiances, went there to continue in the service of Charles I. On 10 March 1644, while at the Civil War Court, Wilson graduated with the degree of DMus at the University of Oxford. Wood records the following account at the conferral ceremony:

> John Wilson, now the most noted musician of England, *omnibus titulis et honori academicis in professione musicae par, et in theoria et praxi musicae maxime peritus* (as it was said in the public register of convocation) was then presented and actually created doctor of music.[175]

In a number of publications, Wainwright has discussed the role of music at the Civil War Court at Oxford,[176] relying—although not solely—on the accounts of both Wood and Hawkins. The following passage in particular, recorded by Hawkins, is somewhat extensive and gives some indication of the musical activities in Oxford during the Civil War:

> It will be easily conceived that the prohibition of Cathedral service left a great number of musicians, as namely, organists, minor canons, lay-clerks and other persons attendant on choirs, without employment; and the gloomy and sullen temper of the times, together with the frequent hostilities that were carried on in different parts of the kingdom, during usurpation, had driven music to a great degree out of private families. The only place which these men could, as to an asylum, resort, was to Oxford, whither the King had retired; there went with him thither, Dr Wilson, one of the gentlemen of his chapel, and he had an organist with him named George Jeffries; these and a few others, with the assistance of the University people, made a stand against

[173] Anthony Wood (*Athenæ Oxonienses … To Which are Added, Fasti*, I, col. 801) took the expression "loveing Cous[in]" to indicate kinship, but it is most likely an expression of friendship rather than signifying consanguinity.
[174] Hobbs, M., *Op. cit.*, 10.
[175] Wood, A., *Athenae oxoniensus*, ed. Philip Bliss (London, 1813–1820) in Henderson, H. P., *Op. cit.*, 24.
[176] See in particular Wainwright, J. P., 'Images of Virtue and War: Music in Civil War Oxford', *William Lawes 1602–1645: Essays on His Life, Times and Work*, ed. Andrew Ashbee (Aldershot, 1998), 121–42.

> the persecution of the times; choral services were performed there after a very homely fashion, and concerts of vocal music and instrumental music were sometimes had in the rooms of Gentlemen of the University for the entertainment of each other. But this lasted only till the surrender of the garrison in 1646, when the King was obliged to leave the place; however, the spirit that had been excited in favour of music during the residence there, and the continuance of Dr Wilson in the University, who was professor, and a man of cheerful disposition, contributed to an association of Gentlemen of the University, with the musicians of the place, and these together established a weekly concert.[177]

The garrison at Oxford capitulated to Parliamentarian forces on 24 June 1646 and Wilson fled the city to shelter nearby at the home of Sir William Walter of Sarsden, Churchill. Walter and his Lady were apparently both lovers of music, providing Wilson the opportunity to continue his musical activities, writing and performing at his leisure. Henderson has commented:

> Certainly most of his music, both published and in manuscript, seems to be dated from this period. It is certain that Wilson's 'An Elegie to the Memory of his Friend and Fellow, Mr. William Lawes', printed in Henry Lawes' *Choice Psalmes*, 1648, was composed at Sarsden.[178]

During the reign of James I regular musical gatherings, in private settings (houses and colleges), of amateurs and professionals had become widespread, e.g. Nicholas Yonge and John Milton, the elder.[179] This phenomenon continued into the Commonwealth, which is evidenced from Anthony Wood's account of weekly meetings held by distinguished musicians at Oxford in the 1650s; 'he describes Wilson as "the best at [the lute] in all England", telling how Charles I delighted to listen and "did usually lean or lay his hand on his shoulder" as he played'.[180] This sign of royal approval was not uncommon, since Lanier and the Lawes brothers enjoyed the same favour.[181] Wood makes it clear that Wilson was 'the leading spirit of the little group of Oxford musicians who met at the home of Will Ellis to make music during the troubled days of the war'.[182] He achieved quite a reputation during his period in Oxford both for his jovial disposition and his

[177] Hawkins, J., *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776; repr. 1875), iv, 323.
[178] Henderson, H. P., *Op. cit.*, 25. William Lawes was killed at the siege of Chester in 1645.
[179] Hobbs, M., *Op. cit.*, 6.
[180] Wood, A., *Athenae oxoniensus*, ed. Philip Bliss (London, 1813–1820), ii, 71 in Hobbs, M., *Op. cit.*, 7.
[181] Duckles, V., 'The "Curious" Art of John Wilson (1595–1674): An Introduction to His Songs and Lute Music', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 7/2 (1954), 93.
[182] *Ibid.*, 94.

erudite, discerning judgement of music; in the words of Wood, 'he was a great pretender to buffoonery, and the greatest and most curious judge of music that ever was'.[183] These sentiments are echoed, time and again, by other contemporary accounts such as Sir Robert Southwell's versified impressions, which were written while he was an undergraduate at Queen's College.[184] Duckles writes 'the subject which moved this amateur poet to the heights of artificial eloquence was "Dr. Wilson and his lute at Ellis his meeting, Dec. 31, [16]55"':[185]

> Silence! I saw from its dark coffin rise
> This prison'd Lute: and then I lost my eyes.
> All senses did unite to bear a share,
> And throng'd into the portals of mine ear.
> The Profound Orpheus, seated with content,
> Deign'd to embrace the silent instrument,
> But by the virtue of his hand's ex'cute,
> Life trickled from his fingers on the lute,
> Which, being inspired, first each grateful string
> His power, his bounty, and his praises sing.
> Rhetorick of Raptures (at first dash) was there
> Drown'd in the wondering whirlpool of mine ear;
> Then he a new-born voluntary hurls
> Through the conduit of its inward curls.
> His curious hand his fancy did bedeck,
> And Musick followed every finger beck.
> He ruled that Sphere, and his command was such
> That, by the influence of a flying touch,
> Each gut ensnared a soul: never evok'd string
> But to embrace his fingers with a ring.
> I stood amazed such power in gut to see,
> That from the Dung-hill took its pedegree [*sic*].
> Fountain of Pleasure, all whose parts and themes,
> Whose slender strings are thy enchanting streams;
> Thy lustrous melody all Bliss can sum,
> And waft a soul to its Elisium.

The word 'curious' had different connotations in the seventeenth century compared to its modern-day usage, denoting something unusual or strange. At the time it referred to 'a quality of workmanship that was skilful or ingenious, or to a product that was choice, excellent, or fine. It also had a subjective meaning in which it signified an act of judgement that was precise, clear,

[183] Wood, A., *Lives of English Musicians*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wood D.19 (4) in Duckles, V., *Op. cit.*, 94.
[184] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. poet. f. 6.
[185] Duckles, V., *Op. cit.*, 95.

and well-defined—the usage intended by Wood in praising Wilson as a "most curious judge of music"'.[186] Similarly, Robert Herrick seems to have known Wilson at Oxford since he includes the following verse, probably written by Henry Lawes, in his *Hesperides* (1648):

> Touch but thy lyre, my Harry, and I hear
> From thee some raptures of the rare Gotiere [the famous French lute player, Denis Gaultier]
> Then if thy voice commingle with the string
> I hear in thee the rare Laniere to sing,
> Or curious Wilson; tell me, canst thou be
> Less than Apollo, that usurps't such three?

Perhaps the most commendatory comments, however, are made by Henry Lawes in his poem that prefaces Wilson's *Psalterium Carolinum* (1657)—the publication central to this case study, which will be examined below:

> ... Since nothing, truly, can thy worth explain,
> But the composures of thine own rich brain.
> Thou need'st no Trumpet to proclaim thy Fame,
> Thy Lyre most sweetly warbles forth thy name;
> Which every one must needs admire that hears,
> Unles he have nor Soul, nor Sense, nor Ears.
> This tribute all must pay, but none can raise
> (Unles he have an equall skill) thy praise.
> From long acquaintance and experience, I
> Could tell the World thy true integrity
> Unto thy Friend, thy true and honest heart,
> Ev'n mind, good nature, all but thy great Art,
> Which I do but dully understand ...
> For this I know, and must say't to thy praise,
> That thou hast gone, in Musick, unknown wayes,
> Hast cut a path where there was none before,
> Like Magellan traced an unknown shore ...

The fact that this encomium is written by Henry Lawes, the most admired composer of his age, lends considerable weight to the view that Wilson is a composer worthy of study and that historiography has been unkind to him. The pejorative comments made by Dr Charles Burney, in particular, have perhaps skewed historical perceptions of Wilson, although musicological

[186] *Ibid.*, 95.

scholarship from the mid-twentieth century to the present is reversing this trend.[187] Wilson remained in Sarsden until 1656 when he returned to Oxford and was appointed professor of music at the university, which is recorded in the university archives:

> Mus. Doc. – John Wilson... In 1656 he succeeded Arthur Philips as Professor of Music. Professor of the Practical part, or Choragus. The Lectureship had been by this time diverted from the intentions of its founder, Heather.[188]

While Oxford remained a refuge for scholars of Royalist leanings during the Interregnum, Wilson's appointment could be seen as peculiar, especially when noting that Cromwell was in effect the Chancellor. Perhaps Wilson's Royalist sympathies were overlooked because of the great reputation he enjoyed as a musician. Wilson remained in this position until 1661 when he 'resigned the professorship in favour of his friend Edward Lowe (who made manuscript copies of many of Wilson's songs)'[189] and was reappointed to the restored King's Musick at the court in London. In the following year, on 21 October 1662, Henry Lawes died and Wilson succeeded him as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. Wilson's positions at the Restoration court were something of sinecures, 'a reward for his royalist sympathies, [more] than for any real demand for his services'.[190] Wilson died at his home at the Horse-Ferry, Westminster on 22 February 1674, remaining active until the very end:

> Dr. John Wilson departed this life the 22nd day of Feb., 1673, in whos place was sworne Mr. Rich. Gadbury, a counter tenor from Windsor, the 16th day of March, 1673.[191]

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[187] Burney believed that the only possible reason for the esteem in which Wilson was held was the extremely low level of musical life in seventeenth-century Oxford. See Burney, C., *A General History of Music*, ed. Frank Mercer (London, 1935), II, 314.

[188] Williams, C. F. A., *A Short Historical Account of the Degrees in Music at Oxford and Cambridge* (London, 1893), 82 in Henderson, H. P., *Op. cit.*, 26.

[189] Spink I., *Op. cit.*, 'Wilson, John'.

[190] Duckles, V., *Op. cit.*, 94.

[191] Rimbault, E. F., *The Old Cheque-Book, or Book of Remembrance, of the Chapel Royal, from 1561–1744* (Westminster, 1872) in Henderson, H. P., *Op. cit.*, 32.

Wilson was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey; 'the inscription (now recut) on the gravestone reads: "John Wilson/ D in Musick Here/ Interrd Dyed/ February y 22/1673 [=1674]/ Aged 78 Years/ 10 months and/ 17 Dayes"'.[192]

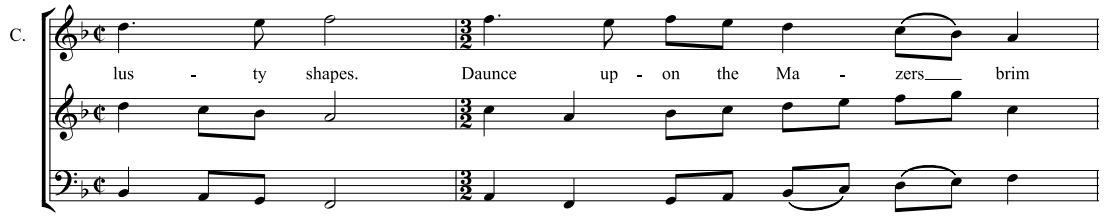
The overwhelming majority of Wilson's *oeuvre* comprises his songs and the manuscript *Ob* Mus. b. 1 (dated 1656, *olim* MS. 2885), which is mainly in the hand of Edward Lowe, preserves 226 of them.[193] The manuscript includes many English settings as well as 30 settings of Latin texts by the likes of Horace and Ovid. The Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts does not attempt to identify the sources of the texts but provides the following summary, 'Short English songs chiefly amorous (foll. 19v, 160v etc); dialogues (foll. 74v, 97); more serious songs (fol. 151v); and odes of Horace (foll. 163, 167v, 183v) with a few poems of Ausonius (fol. 170v), Claudian (fol. 177v), Martial (fol. 179v), Petronius (fol. 180v), Statius (fol. 181v) and Ovid (fol. 204), all in Latin'.[194] Other songs by Wilson have been identified for the following plays, although some of the dates are doubtful: Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher's *Valentinian* (*c.*1614); Thomas Middleton's *The Witch* (*c.*1616); Fletcher's *The Mad Lover* (1616), *The Queen of Corinth* (*c.*1617), *The Bloody Brother* (?1617), *The Loyal Subject* (1618), *Women Pleas'd* (*c.*1620), *The False One* (*c.*1620), *The Pilgrim* (1621), *The Wild-Goose Chase* (1621), *The Spanish Curate* (1622), and *Love's Cure* (?1625); John Ford's *The Lovers' Melancholy* (1628); Richard Brome's *The Beggar's Bush* (?1622) and *The Northern Lasse* (1629).[195] He also set to music four songs from William Cavendish's *The*

[192] Spink I., *Op. cit.*, 'Wilson, John'.
[193] See Cutts, J. P., 'Seventeenth-Century Lyrics: Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Mus, b. 1', *Musica Disciplina*, 10 (1956), 142–209; Crum, M., 'A Manuscript of John Wilson's Songs', *The Library*, 5th ser., X (1955), 55–57. Worthy of note is number 62 (ff.50^{v}–51), *Peace muttring thoughts*, which is Wilson's setting of a text by George Herbert; the poet who is the only known source of the texts for Jeffreys' anthems.
[194] Madan, F., Craster, H. H. E., eds., *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1922–24), MS. 2885.
[195] Spink I., *Op. cit.*, 'Wilson, John'.

Varietie, acted by the King's Men at the Blackfriars Theatre, 1639–42, and works in Thomas Jordan's anthology of Cavalier poems.[196]

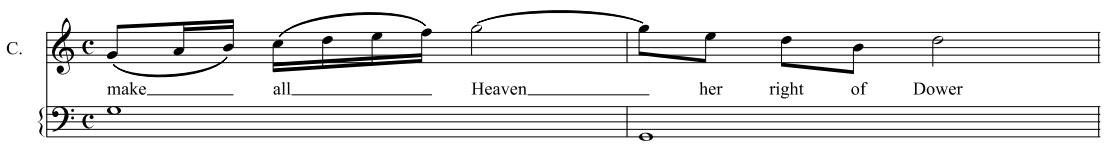
A cursory examination of Wilson's songs reveals the appropriation of a number of compositional techniques associated with the *stile nuovo*, such as contrasting metres, the use of chromaticism and dissonance for affective purposes, declamation, virtuosic passages, and word painting. The following examples are included to elucidate Wilson's awareness and application of the compositional devices that have been described above because they feature more pronouncedly in his songs than in the pieces included in his *Psalterium Carolinum*.

Example 8.53: Wilson, *Good Lyeus ever young*[197]



Example 8.53 demonstrates Wilson contrasting duple and triple metres for affective purposes. The subject of the text—dancing—is conveyed through the employment of a triple metre, which has an inherent dance-like quality.

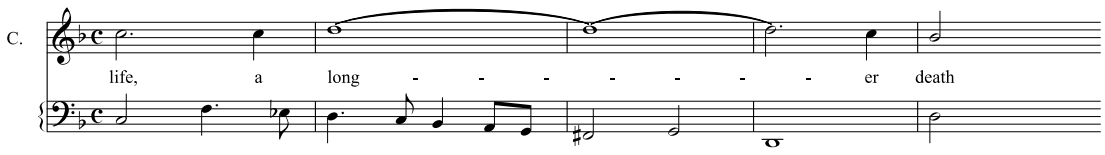
Example 8.54: Wilson, *Vertue, Beauty, forms of honour*[198]



[196] *Ibid.*
[197] Henderson, H. P., *Op. cit.*, 218.
[198] *Ibid.*, 219.

Example 8.54 highlights Wilson's use of word painting; the ascending octave run, in semi-quavers, up to g´´ is used to represent the idea of 'heaven'. The direction of the melody and the height of the pitch are used in a literal sense to depict the kingdom of heaven. In earlier parts of this dissertation both Jeffreys and Child have been shown to employ precisely this musical representation of 'heaven'. Another literal interpretation of the text, in musical terms, appears in *Sleepe in your Lidds*, whereby Wilson sets the word 'longer' to extremely long note lengths (Ex. 8.55), resembling the mannerism of madrigalists. One final word setting that has by now become familiar is the dotted rhythm associated with the word 'tremble', and Wilson proves no exception (Ex. 8.56).

Example 8.55: Wilson, *Sleepe in your Lidds*[199]

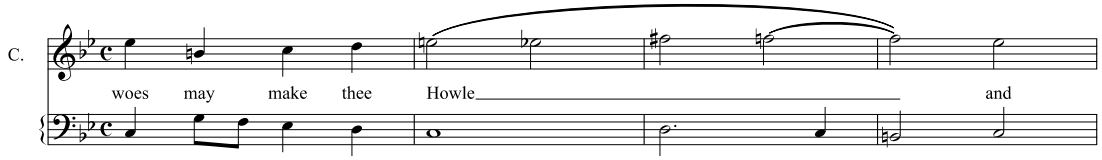


Example 8.56: Wilson, *The Hower is come*[200]

Wilson uses melodic chromaticism with relative frequency to depict the subject of the text. In *Languish and dispaire my hart*, Wilson sets the word 'howle' to a rather bizarre and chromatic melodic line (Ex. 8.57). The two chromatic alterations are not unusual, but the use of an augmented second, which separates them, is certainly not typical.

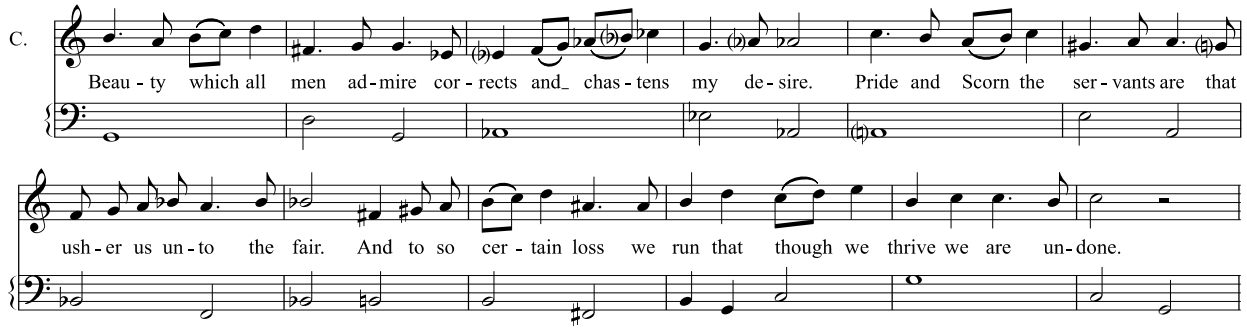
[199] *Ibid.*, 221.
[200] *Ibid.*, 222.

Example 8.57: Wilson, *Languish and dispaire my hart*[201]



However, if one is to dig a little deeper, examples of unusual harmonic progressions and more extreme chromaticism can be found. Indeed, Duckles points to the song *Beauty which all men admire* as an example of Wilson's 'bizarre harmonic imagination'.[202] The text of the song is a trivial Cavalier lyric and Duckles questions why it should have been selected for treatment in such an unconventional fashion.[203] If the arguments made in this dissertation are correct, then such a work by a Royalist composer, resident in Oxford during the 1640s and 1650s, should not be unexpected. The 'unconventional' harmonic progressions arise from the chromatically ascending bass, which arrives at perfect cadences successively in G, A♭, A, B♭, B, and C in rapid succession (Ex. 8.58).[204]

Example 8.58: Wilson, *Beauty which all men admire*[205]



[201] *Ibid.*, 220.
[202] Duckles, V., *Op. cit.*, 97.
[203] *Ibid.*, 97.
[204] *Ibid.*, 97.
[205] *Ibid.*, 97.

The lute songs contained in the Bodleian manuscript by Wilson reveal at its fullest his willingness to experiment with harmony and dissonance. The following description by Duckles provides a neat summary:

> The tablatures reveal an astonishing amount of harmonic interest and variety concealed between the rather pedantic declamatory melodies and the continuo bass lines, qualities which could scarcely be deduced from the lines themselves. The lute part is spiced with accented passing tones and non-chord tones. He is fond of the sonorities of parallel tenths and chains of sixths chords; his favourite cadence chord is the dominant seventh, frequently unprepared ... His dissonance is harmonically conceived and does not develop from the continuity of the inner voices. Sometimes it is motivated by the text, but there is no slavish pictorialism. It is evident that the quality of the lyric as a whole influences the composer's choice of harmonies and selection of key. He uses much greater freedom in the choice of key than is found in the work of the earlier lutenist song composers ...[206]

It can be surmised, then, that Wilson was familiar with the compositional techniques of the *stile nuovo* and that, like Jeffreys, in particular, he had a predilection for chromatic experimentation. These observations help to substantiate Lawes' claims that Wilson 'hast gone, in Musick, unknown ways'.

During the seventeenth century a significant number of publications included music by Wilson, although many of the songs were published in reissues or reprints of a single work; more or less all of Wilson's published music appears in collections containing works by one or several other composers.[207] It will come as no surprise that the preponderance of published works by Wilson were the responsibility of John Playford.[208] The publication that provides the focus of this case study, however, is Wilson's *Psalterium Carolinum: The Devotions of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings, Rendered in Verse. Set to Musick for 3 Voices and an Organ or Theorbo* (1657). *Psalterium Carolinum* was actually a versification of Charles I's *Eikon*

[206] *Ibid.*, 98.
[207] Henderson, H. P., *Op. cit.*, 34.
[208] For example: *Catch that Catch can* (1652); *Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues* (1652); *Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues* (1653); *Catch the Catch can* (1658); *Select Ayres and Dialogues* (1659); *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1660); *Musick's Delight* (1666); *Catch that Catch can* (1667); *Select Ayres and Dialogues* (1669); *The Musical Companion* (1673); *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion* (1686).

Basilike[209] by Thomas Stanley (1625–1674) in which 'the form and language of the prayers resemble the psalms and actually include many allusions to the psalms and other parts of Scripture, but Charles, and not King David, assumes the role of the psalmist, and the events related concern the history of England rather than that of Israel'.[210] Stanley's odes were published with four accompanying partbooks (cantus primus, cantus secundus, base [*sic*], and basso continuo); these contain Wilson's 27 musical settings which are scored for two trebles and a bass, with a simply-figured bass for continuo. The musical style of these works is comparable with Henry and William Lawes's *Choice Psalmes* (1648) and Walter Porter's *Mottets* (1657), essentially devotional music.[211] Henry Lawes' prefatory poem was quoted above (p.409) and if, in the words of Le Huray, his 'fulsome verse is to be depended upon, Wilson was indeed one of the foremost exponents of the Italian style'.[212] This proposition will be considered in the remainder of this chapter, assessing to what extent Wilson can be seen to be embracing elements of the *stile nuovo*. Before proceeding to the musical elements of the *Psalterium Carolinum*, however, it is necessary to consider firstly the political aspects of the publication.

Writing in the late-nineteenth century, Henry Davey comments, 'it is very remarkable that such a work was published by Cromwell's own Professor of Music in 1657 when the Protector was absolute monarch over the British Isles and foreign rulers trembled before the British ambassadors'.[213] Le Huray echoes Davey's assertion, commenting 'that Wilson dared to publish

[209] The authorship of *Eikon Basilike* is a point of contention and has been the subject of much scholarly attention. At present scholarly opinion has judged that the work is based on notes by Charles I. See Treacy, S., *'Psalterium Carolinum*: Music as Propaganda in Seventeenth-Century England', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, 19 (1993), 45–69.

[210] Treacy, S., *Op. cit.*, 49.

[211] Spink I., *Op. cit.*, 'Wilson, John'. It is possible of course that the contents of *Psalterium Carolinum* were composed before the year of publication, perhaps while Wilson was at Sarsden. Either way these works could not have been intended for performance at the king's court, despite their stylistic resemblances to the compositions hitherto discussed, since they must have been composed between 1649–1657.

[212] Le Huray, P., *Op. cit.*, 399.

[213] Davey, H., *History of English Music* (London, 1895), 268.

such a work at that time is a tribute to his royalist loyalties if not to his common sense. He seems, nevertheless, to have escaped serious trouble with the authorities, though there is some evidence that he was quickly forced to withdraw the book from circulation'.[214] Scholes has proffered a number of suggestions, all speculative, for the accommodating attitude of the Puritan government:[215] the assumption of Cromwell's (who was known to be a lover of music) tolerance of Wilson's Anglicanism and the supposition that *Psalterium Carolinum* was dismissed as the undertaking of a mere musician.[216] Scholes writes, 'it almost seems as though in those strict Puritan and Republican times one could harbour any political or religious opinion one liked so long as it was set to music'.[217] However, more recently, Treacy has recognised that music scholars seem to have been 'unaware of the connection between *Psalterium Carolinum* and *Eikon Basilike*, and they register surprise that Stanley and Wilson were able to publish such an unabashedly Royalist collection during the Interregnum'.[218] Indeed, Wilson dedicates the publication 'To the Glory of God, the sacred memory of His Late Majestie, and to the Right Reverend Clergy of the Church of England'. In spite of this, Treacy draws attention to the fact that, on the day of Charles I's execution, copies of *Eikon Basilike,* subtitled *The POURTTAICTURE of His Sacred MAJESTIE in His Solitudes and Sufferings*, were readily available. The publication became a bestseller and, despite the authorities' best efforts, by the end of 1649 alone there were 35 English editions. By the end of the Interregnum another four were available, as were the 20 foreign language editions, available in Latin, Dutch, French,

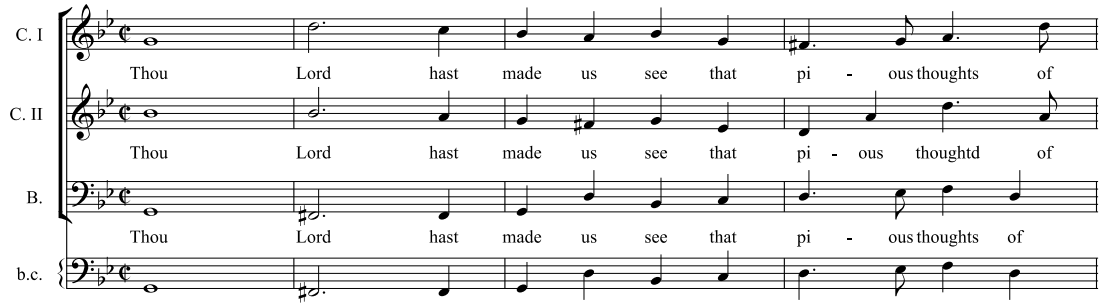
[214] Le Huray, P., *Op. cit.*, 399.
[215] See Scholes, P. A., *The Puritans and Music in England and New Engand: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations* (London, 1934).
[216] Treacy, S., *Op. cit.*, 54.
[217] Scholes, P. A., *Op. cit.*, 139.
[218] Treacy, S., *Op. cit.*, 51.

German, and Danish.[219] *Eikon Basilike* became extremely popular, to the extent that those in power were wary of upsetting public opinion. Even after Parliament prohibited further printing of the book, it was difficult to sustain effective censorship.[220] It seems sensible to suggest, then, as Treacy does, that Stanley and Wilson 'figured out that *Psalterium Carolinum* would escape censorship by riding on the general crest of popularity of the original *Eikon Basilike*, published eight years earlier'.[221] Immediately after the Restoration, in 1660, *Psalterium Carolinum* was reissued.

Wilson's settings of Stanley's odes are syllabic, declamatory, in duple metre, and entirely homophonic (with the exception of an occasional passing note and simulated imitative entry). It must be admitted from the outset that if Wilson was one of the foremost exponents of the Italian style then the works contained in his *Psalterium Carolinum* do not reveal it fully. Wilson demonstrates a rather pedestrian musical style comparable to Porter's *Mottets*. Nevertheless, like Porter and Child, Wilson is unable to escape the influence of Italian compositional techniques entirely. The opening bars of *Thou Lord hast made us see* (Ex. 8.59) are indicative of Wilson's musical style throughout the entire publication.

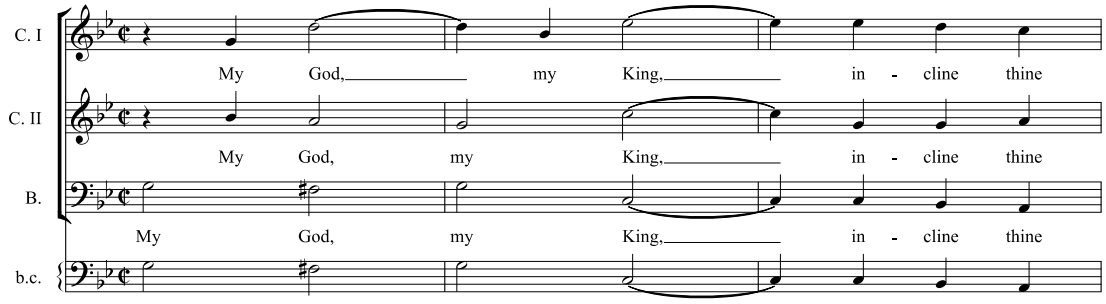
[219] *Ibid.*, 47. Three Latin editions, two published in England and one in Holland; seven editions in Dutch, also published in 1649; seven French editions, published both in France and England in 1649 and 1650; two German editions, and one Danish.
[220] *Ibid.*, 54.
[221] *Ibid.*, 54.

Example 8.59: Wilson, *Thou Lord hast made us see*, bb.1–4



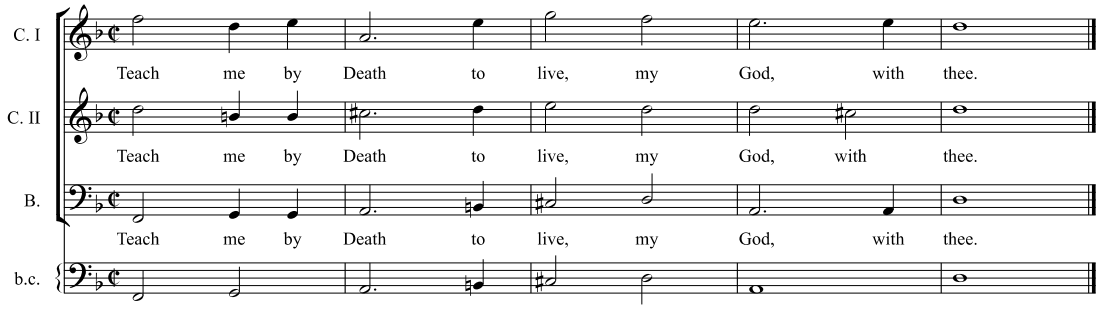
Occasionally, Wilson breaks the homophonic texture, albeit briefly, with one of voice-leading. Such interjections, however, are ephemeral, lasting for one or two bars before the homophonic texture is restored (Ex. 8.60).

Example 8.60: Wilson, *My God, my King, incline thine ear*, bb.1–3



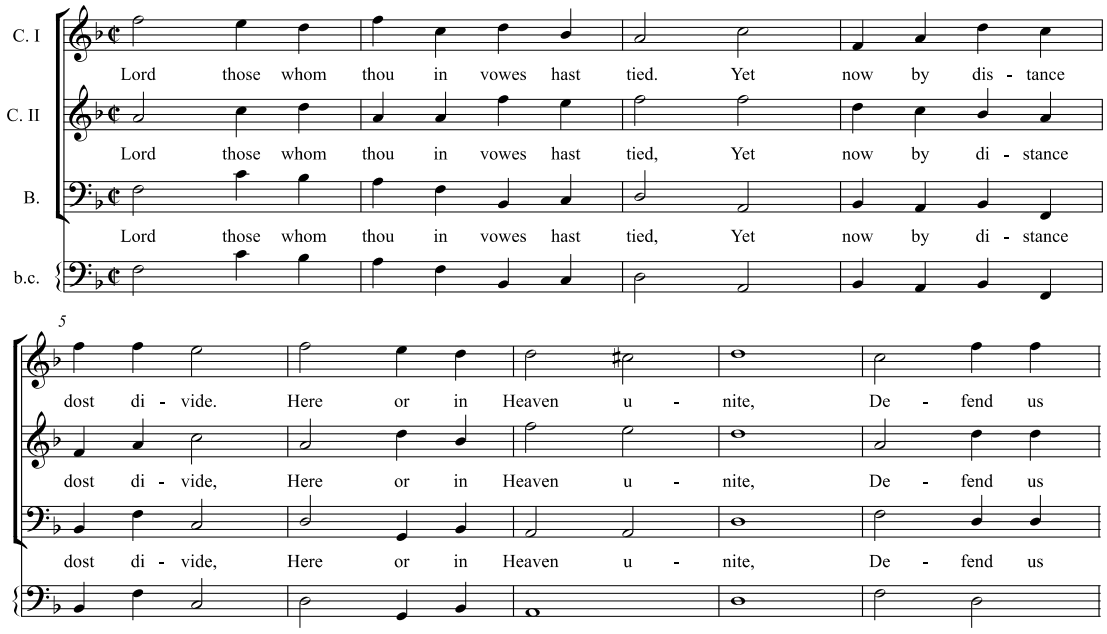
Examples 8.59 and 8.60 also demonstrate that the keyboard accompaniment is little more than a *basso seguente*. The only independence that the bass voice maintains is minor rhythmic elaborations here and there. A recurring texture in Wilson's settings, although fleeting, is the congregation of the two upper voices in parallel thirds, while the bass voice follows the accompaniment (Ex. 8.61).

Example 8.61: Wilson, *Thou that fill'st heaven and earth*, bb.47–51



Wilson also appropriates the Italianate compositional procedure of tertiary shifts of harmony. Time and again, the composers featured in this dissertation have relied on such a device for affective purposes and Wilson is no exception. In the opening nine bars of *Lord those whom thou*, for example, Wilson twice shifts from a chord of D to F, though there seems no obvious textual reason for it in this instance (Ex. 8.62).

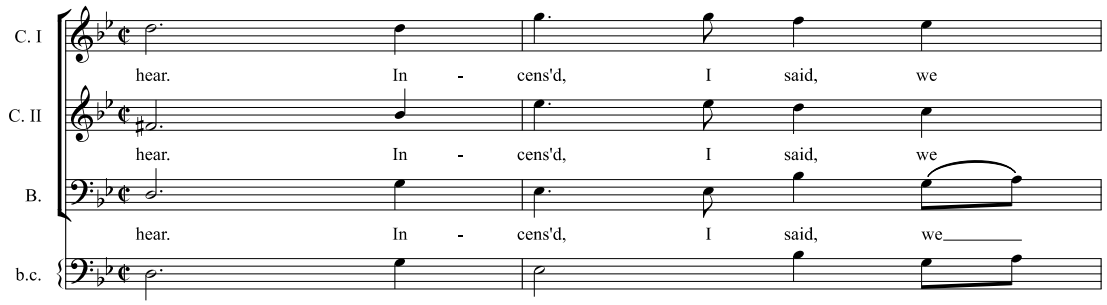
Example 8.62: Wilson, *Lord those whom thou*, bb.1–9



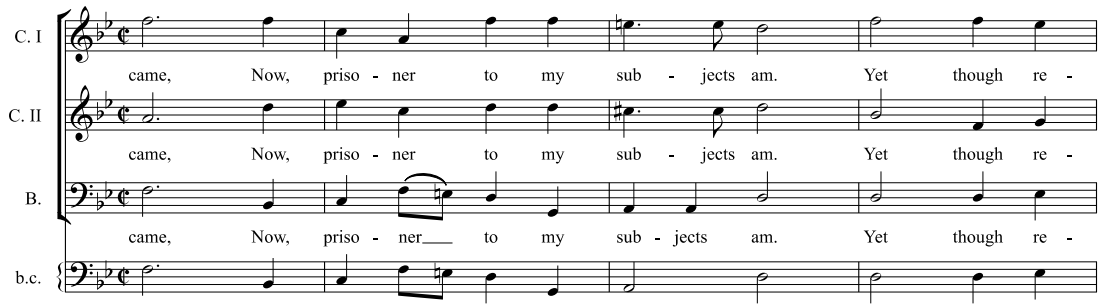
On two occasions in *My God, my King, incline thine ear*, Wilson includes a tertiary shift of harmony for affective purposes. On the word 'incens'd', Wilson includes a move from G minor

to E♭ major, allocating these unrelated chords to each syllable of the word (Ex. 8.63). Moreover, the texture here provides another example of the two upper voices uniting in parallel thirds over a *basso seguente*. At the text 'Rebellious I to thee became, now, prisoner to my subjects am. Yet though restrain'd my person be, by grace enlarge my heart to thee', Wilson separates the two contrasting sentiments with a move from a chord of D to a chord of B♭ (Ex. 8.64). The juxtaposition of these harmonies possibly portrays the acceptance of sin and subsequent repentance.

Example 8.63: Wilson, *My God, my King, inline thine ear*, bb.7–8



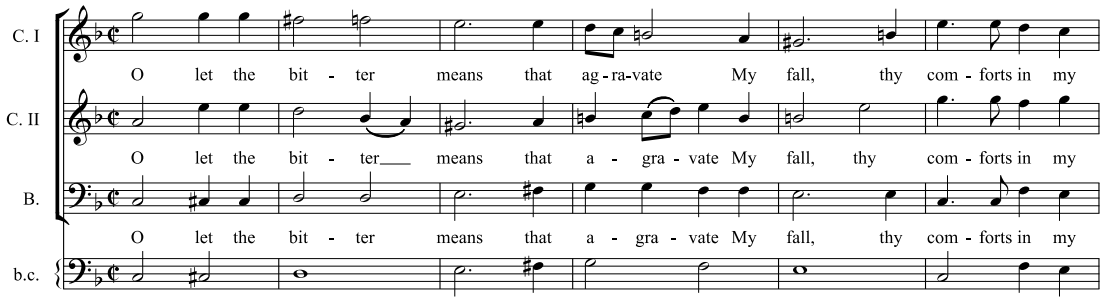
Example 8.64: Wilson, *My God, my King, inline thine ear*, bb.31–34



Wilson's chromaticism and experimental and piquant harmonies were detailed above in relation to his songs, but they also feature sparingly in *Psalterim Carolinum*. The setting of *Thou that fill'st heaven and earth* provides a number of examples pertinent to the current discourse, particularly bars 23–28 (Ex. 8.65). The text concerned is 'O let the bitter means that aggravate

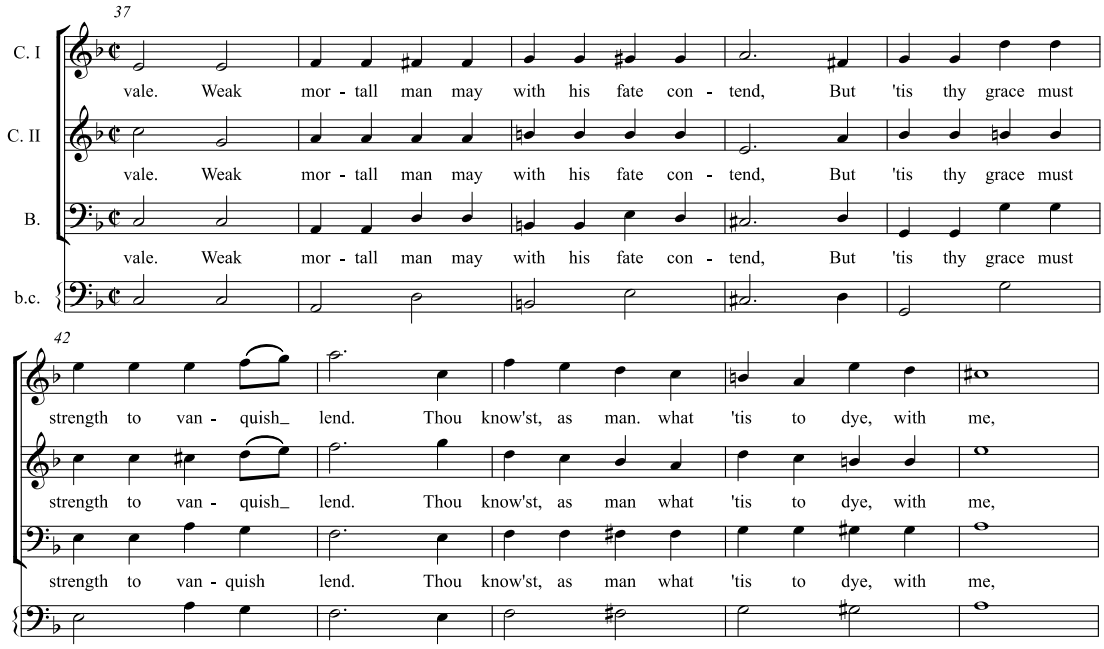
my fall, thy comforts in my soul dilate'. The first chord of the passage includes an unprepared seventh which is followed by a chord of C♯ diminished, caused by the chromatically ascending bass. The cantus I part simultaneously has a counter descending chromatic melodic line and the chromatic alteration—F♯–F♮—occurs on the word 'bitter'. In the following bars Wilson uses a number of compositional devices to depict the word 'aggravate'. Further seventh chords are featured in bars 25 and 26, the cantus II has an accented passing note, there is a 4–3 suspension, and the simultaneous resolution of a suspension and an anticipation at the Phrygian cadence on E. The passage subsequently proceeds from E major harmony with a tertiary shift to C major in bar 28.

Example 8.65: Wilson, *Thou that fill'st heaven and earth*, bb.23–28

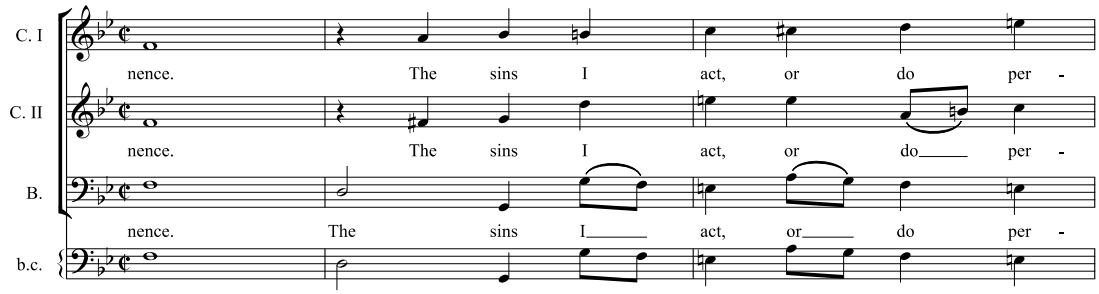


Later on in this setting, Wilson introduces a motive that ascends chromatically through the interval of a fourth (Ex. 8.66). The motive is introduced by cantus I at bar 37 and is subsequently imitated by cantus II (b.40) and bass (b.43). The result is chromatic alterations between F♮–F♯, G♮–G♯, B♭–B♮, C♮–C♯. This same ascending chromatic fourth can be found in *My God, my King, incline thine ear* (Ex. 8.67). At bar 23 there is a perfect cadence in F which is followed by a tertiary shift to a chord of D major at bar 24, where Wilson introduces the chromatic motive in the cantus I part.

Example 8.66: Wilson, *Thou that fill'st heaven and earth*, bb.37–46

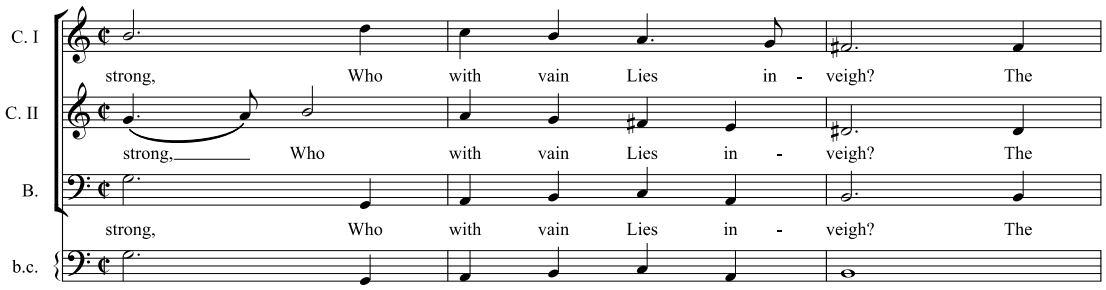


Example 8.67: Wilson, *My God, my King, incline thine ear*, bb.23–25



Alongside Wilson's proclivity for seventh chords, diminished and augmented chords also feature relatively frequently in Wilson's harmonic lexicon. In many instances, the inclusion of these types of chords is the result of linear chromaticism (see Exx. 8.65 and 8.66), but not always. For example, the diminished chord employed on the word 'lies' in *O Lord thou seest my wrongs* is an example of word painting rather than a by-product of chromaticism (Ex. 8.68).

Example 8.68: Wilson, *O Lord thou seest my wrongs*, bb.18–20



It is clear, then, that Wilson embraces elements of the *stile nuovo* in his *Psalterium Carolinum*, but in a very gentle manner. The appropriation of some of the compositional techniques of the *stile nuovo* is evident, but Wilson largely eschews the *stile concertato*. In general, despite the examples above, he shows little concern to the portrayal of the text and does not include any florid writing. While the private devotional and domestic (amateur) aspects of this publication are recognised, Wilson's *Psalterium Carolinum* is, perhaps, of more significance politically and theologically than musically.

Conclusion

From the Laudian Peterhouse College of Cambridge of the 1630s to the end of the Commonwealth in Oxford, a close-knit group of Royalist composers were active, writing music intended to glorify Charles I and, in some cases, likely to be intended for performance at his private devotions. The close relationships and connections between Child, the Lawes brothers, Porter, and Wilson have been described in this chapter and their Royalist allegiances made abundantly clear. The three-voice settings of the publications that have been the focus of this chapter have all been scored for two trebles and bass, with continuo accompaniment. Moreover,

all of these collections have demonstrated a simple musical style, exercising some restraint in the appropriation and assimilation of contemporary Italian compositional techniques. Such a style pays testament to the private devotional context for which these compositions were to be performed. I suggest that the psalms composed by Child and the Lawes brothers during the late 1630s, and possibly Porter's *Mottets*, were intended for private devotional use at the court of Charles I.

Until this chapter, the case has been made that elaborate and Italianate music is a Royalist phenomenon. However, although these publications are not without Italian influences, the more austere musical settings that have been encountered suggest that such a view should be tempered. Why could the Royalists not have simple music too? It is perfectly reasonable to suggest that the king had a simple functional type of devotional music at his court. A further performance context can be established from the following account given by Wood, who recorded that, upon endowing the Music Lecture, William Heather stipulated:

> Imprimis, that the Exercise of Musick be constantly kept every week, on Thursday in the afternoon, afternoons in Lent excepted. Secondly, I appoint Mr. [Richard] Nicholson, the now Organist of Magd. Coll. to be the Master of Musick, and to take charge of the Instruments ... Thirdly, I do appoint that the said Master bring with him two boys weekly, at the day and time aforesaid, and there to receive such company as will practise Musick, and to play Lessons of three Parts, if none other come.[222]

This practice was established at Oxford in 1627 and the possibility must be entertained that many of these psalms of a Royalist disposition could have been performed at Oxford during the Interregnum, most likely at the weekly meetings during the 1650s described by Wood; this seems to be the most likely performance context for Wilson's *Psalterium Carolinum*.

[222] Wood, A., *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, ed. John Gutch (1796), ii, 358–359 in Crum, M., 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', *Music and Letters*, 48/1 (1967), 23.

It may seem peculiar that these Laudian composers should compose settings of psalms, given that it seems to have been primarily a Puritan practice. Scholes, however, writes 'it is quite an error to look upon psalm singing as a specifically Puritan practice, though the Puritans were especially devoted to it'.[223] If Roger North's account from his *Musick's Monument* (1676) can be trusted then the Royalists were engaged in psalm singing during the eleven weeks Siege of York (1644), where the king—and quite likely William Lawes—was present. While the works of Child, William and Henry Lawes, Porter, and Wilson currently under consideration betray the Puritan style of worship and psalm singing, it is pertinent that, without exception, they avoid the Sternhold and Hopkins translations used by the Puritans. Child chose the prose psalms of the *Book of Common Prayer*, Porter and Lawes relied on the anti-Calvinist paraphrases by Sandys, and Wilson set the odes of Stanley. The deliberate rejection of a fundamental Puritan tenet suggests strongly a collective statement of their Royalist sympathies. I do not think it is too fanciful to suggest that the publication of these psalm settings were acts of political propaganda and protest against the Protectorate. While conjectural, it may be the case that these composers were engaged in acts of deliberate subterfuge, couching their Royalist allegiances in a 'Puritan' style of music that would not have aroused suspicions. Moreover, in 1650 and 1656 Child's *Psalmes* were reissued, and in 1657 both Porter's *Mottets* and Wilson's *Psalterium Carolinum* were published. When considered alongside the fact that Jeffreys, another prominent Royalist, entered an 'industrial' copying period in the late 1650s, it would appear that there was resurgence and galvanising of Royalist sentiment towards the final years of the Commonwealth.

This chapter has demonstrated that Royalist composers active during the 1630s–1650s, to varying degrees, assimilated the compositional devices synonymous with the *stile nuovo*. While

[223] Scholes, P. A., *Op. cit.*, 272.

it is impossible to chart the precise line of influence of Italian music on Child, the Lawes brothers, Porter, and Wilson in the same way that it can be with Jeffreys, I contend that Platoff's three conditions of influence can be met. These composers gained *awareness* of contemporary Italian music through their Royal connections (primarily at court) and all of them have been shown to exhibit some *similarity* with the *stile nuovo*. The four publications considered in this chapter are homogeneous in their musical style, which is unified through the significant number of shared compositional devices. The third condition of influence, *change*, can be accounted for by the suggested performance contexts for these works, whereby a simple setting is suitable for private devotional use by amateur musicians, the king's musicians, or the weekly meetings in Oxford during the Commonwealth.

By way of comparison, the music considered in this chapter highlights precisely the 'progressive' nature of Jeffreys' Italianate musical style. Jeffreys surpassed all of his contemporaries in his willingness to experiment with the latest Italian methods of composition and, in many ways, his pre-1648 works are more 'progressive' than those produced during the Commonwealth by his Royalist counterparts who have been the focus of this chapter.

Finally, it remains only to write that at the Caroline court there were many shades of religious opinion: there were not merely Calvinists and anti-Calvinists, Laudians and anti-Laudians, Catholics and anti-Catholics but numerous different religious and political views straddling these binary opposites.[224] Such nuances extend to the political and musical outlooks of the court during this period. The publications central to this chapter, therefore, offer a conduit into the complexities of the period and the multivalent musical and religious contexts of the Caroline Court and Commonwealth.

[224] Ellison, J., *Op. cit., Travel, Colonialism and Tolerance in the Seventeenth Century*, 175.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

The argument has been made throughout this dissertation that a number of English composers, working between 1625–*c.*1660, appropriated and assimilated the compositional techniques of the *stile nuovo* into their own compositions. Awareness of the developments in contemporary Italian music was achieved by the immigration of Italian musicians to England, the travelling of English musicians to Italy, and through the dissemination of printed music. Indeed, the case of Christopher Hatton III has revealed that Italian music of the 1620s and 1630s, primarily Venetian, was available hot-off-the-press via the London bookseller Robert Martin. Presumably Hatton was not Martin's only customer and it is likely that further collections await discovery, which may shed more light on the interest in Italian music taken by English collectors, patrons, and musicians during the seventeenth century. Furthermore, the scribal dissemination of this repertoire was widespread; the compositions of Merula, Sances, and Trabattone, for example, were frequently copied into Restoration manuscripts.[1]

All the English composers considered in this dissertation have been shown to exhibit Royalist allegiances and were either employed at the royal court or moved in court-related circles. It must be admitted that the phenomenal interest taken in Italian music during the seventeenth century in England seems to have been largely confined to this Royalist faction, who remained absolutely up-to-date with musical trends in Italy. The first English composer of sacred music to demonstrate a comprehensive assimilation of the *stile nuovo* was Richard Dering, demonstrated most clearly in his few-voice *concertato* motets. For this reason it was argued in Chapter 3 that he should be recognised as the progenitor of Italianate sacred music in seventeenth-century

[1] Wainwright, J. P., *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)* (Aldershot, 1997), 197: see in particular Table 29, 201–203.

England, and that some of Dering's small-scale motets were likely to have been composed (between 1625–1630) specifically for performance at the court of Henrietta Maria. During the 1630s and 1640s, following the death of Dering, the efforts of William Child and the Lawes brothers represent the continued influence that the *stile nuovo* exerted on English composers; the same is true of the publications that appeared in the late 1650s by Walter Porter and John Wilson. The small-scale settings by these composers were the subject of Chapter 8, which revealed to varying degrees their willingness to embrace the *stile nuovo* and, importantly, provided a conduit to the political and religious complexities of Civil War and Commonwealth England.

At the forefront of 'progressive' music in England between the 1630s and 1650s, however, was George Jeffreys, who remained unrivalled and unparalleled. Throughout the course of Chapters 4–7, Jeffreys was revealed to be the chief pioneer of Italianate sacred music in pre-Restoration England. Jeffreys was exposed to the Italian music in Hatton's collection, particularly the small-scale *concertato* motets by the lesser-known contemporaries of Monteverdi, and his copying and, presumably, performance of this music is very likely responsible for his wholehearted commitment to the *stile nuovo*. Jeffreys' composition of 58 *concertato* works before 1648 is a remarkable achievement and one that has yet to be fully recognised. Writing in the 1970s, Aston and Bergdolt lacked the contexts of patronage and the Caroline court, which has been afforded to this dissertation, to assert convincingly the 'progressive' nature of Jeffreys' music. Jeffreys' employment of the basso continuo, affective declamation, virtuosic writing, chromaticism used for expressive purposes, and the compositional techniques of the *sitle concertato* confirm his appropriation and assimilation of the *stile nuovo*. Moreover, his experimentation with extreme chromaticism and astringent dissonances is especially noteworthy

since he moves beyond his Italian *concertato* models. In the second part of Chapter 5, it was necessary to consider the madrigals of Pallavicino, Gesualdo, and d'India to account for the more 'experimental' side of Jeffreys' compositional style. It is interesting to note that some of Jeffreys' earlier works demonstrate his proficiency in the *stile nuovo* at its fullest while some of his later works seem to be more archaic. For example, *Hosanna filio David* relies on the polyphonic style of a bygone generation and extreme chromaticism is entirely absent from *He beheld the city*. That Jeffreys' understanding and ability to compose in the *stile nuovo* seems to be fully forged as early as the closing years of the 1630s supports the assertion that he was the most 'progressive' composer of sacred music in pre-Restoration England. Moreover, Jeffreys' most unique achievement is his series of five-part English verse-anthems, detailed in Chapter 7, in which Jeffreys achieves a syncretism and reconciliation between English and Italian idioms.

If the argument here is to be accepted then some thorny questions of historiography must be asked. Jeffreys remains little known, he is almost entirely absent from music histories, his appointment as a professional musician was extremely short lived, and he was not influential on his contemporaries or on the succeeding generation of English composers. Why did Jeffreys remain a secondary composer during his lifetime and why is he perceived as such in the twenty-first century? The first part of the question was touched on in Chapter 4, where Jeffreys was shown to be a victim of political circumstances. The outbreak of Civil War and the subsequent Commonwealth period disrupted the musical system of the establishment. The Royal court provided a centre for the finest musicians in this country (and from abroad), drawing talent, both precocious and established, from the provinces to London. The agglomeration of the greatest performers and composers available resulted in a prodigious musical establishment. The disbandment of court, therefore, was catastrophic. Consequently, many musicians, such as Henry

Cooke, sought employment as teachers during the Commonwealth but others, like Walter Porter, found themselves living in penury. Moreover, Cromwell's discontinuation of the Anglican rite rendered the great cathedrals of England silent. The complete disarray and decimation of a once thriving musical system left little or no opportunity for Jeffreys to gain employment as a musician. Jeffreys' short musical career, as organist to Charles I at the Civil War court, ended in 1646 when the city capitulated. Unfortunately, any hopes Jeffreys may have had for a court position at the Restoration were dashed by Hatton's impropriety, suffering as a result of his patron's ignominy. Besides, Jeffreys was no longer a young man by 1660 and had been through a period of sickness (probably severe) only a few years before. Paradoxically, it is Jeffreys' provincialism and isolation from court that allowed him the freedom to experiment and to become truly original.

Jeffreys' compositions were not widely disseminated, many of which survive only in a couple of sources, and only his two-voice motet *Erit gloria Domini* was published during his lifetime. By the time of its appearance (1674) Jeffreys' pioneering achievements had long been forgotten; strangely the motet is not representative of Jeffreys' *concertato* style. After spending much of the Interregnum at the court of Louis XIV, Charles II returned to England eager to emulate the cultural practices of the French, preoccupying the court with new fashions and tastes. It is true that behind the French Baroque musical styles are Italian methods—Lully and Cardinal Mazarin were both Italians—and England was gripped by a new wave of Italian influence following the Restoration by the likes of Colista (1629–1680), Legrenzi (1626–1690), and Vitali (1632–1692). One of the most popular composers in mid-seventeenth-century England was Giacomo Carissimi (1605–1674), who remained an inescapable influence on any musician raised in London during

the period of the Restoration.[2] These developments must, in part, be responsible for sidelining Jeffreys' work of a previous generation. It would seem that circumstances conspired against Jeffreys and that he was desperately unfortunate.

In historiographical terms, Jeffreys has suffered as result of his status as an amateur musician. Constructions of English music history are typically centred on London and/or major institutions, such as the Chapel Royal and cathedrals. A consequence of the writing of these histories is the inadvertent marginalisation of music, musicians, and composers that are on the outside. Naturally, some musicians and composers are promoted at the expense of others. If Jeffreys is measured against a London-centred or Chapel Royal-centred yardstick then, of course, he can be seen as secondary and peripheral. However, such a measurement misses the point and has resulted in the almost exclusion of an important composer from mainstream English music histories. By extension, the hegemony of Italian-centred (particularly north Italian) music histories views England as peripheral and has resulted in the representation of English musical culture as 'conservative'. I contend that past writers of music history have unwittingly, but damagingly, skewed modern day perceptions of English music history in general and of Jeffreys in particular. Both the music of England and of Jeffreys will be viewed more profitably on their own terms. Likewise, if the dominant historical narrative is challenged, and is constructed from an alternative locus, a different picture begins to emerge. Indeed, the court-centred historical narrative of this dissertation reveals a 'progressive' musical culture, whose chief exponent was Jeffreys. By and large, musicological interest has centred on, and promoted, the English madrigal school and pre-Reformation and Elizabethan 'Tudor music', with English *concertato* music of

[2] Dixon, G., 'Purcell's Italianate Circle', *The Purcell Companion*, ed. Michael Burden (London, 1995), 49.

the seventeenth century suffering as a result. In recent years this historiographical lacuna has started to be remedied, and this dissertation is a small contribution towards that same goal.

This dissertation has demonstrated that English composers, between the death of William Byrd and the birth of Henry Purcell, continued to be influenced by Italian music and that George Jeffreys' remarkable contribution to English seventeenth-century music deserves to be fully recognised. The appreciation and fascination for Italian music demonstrated by Dering, Jeffreys, Child, the Lawes brothers, Porter, and Wilson, echoes the interest shown by Elizabethan composers and foreshadows the preoccupation of English composers of the Restoration.

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Manuscripts

Lbl Add. MS 10338: A large scorebook containing both vocal and instrumental compositions by George Jeffreys. Various layers copied *c*. 1640–1662.

Lbl Add. MS 31479: A set of four partbooks containing Latin motets for one to three voices and basso continuo by Italian composers. Copied by George Jeffreys in the mid to late 1650s (from earlier manuscripts?) and include a few additions made in the 1670s.

Lbl E.1076: *Psalterium Carolinum. The devotions of His Sacred Majesty Charles the First in his solitudes and sufferings, rendred in verse*. John Wilson. London: printed for John Martin, James Allestry, and Thomas Dicas, and are to be sold at the Bell in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1660.

Lbl K.8.a.11.: *Choise Musick to the Psalmes of Dauid for Three voices with a continuall Base either for the Organ or Theorbo, etc. (Cantus Primus.) (Cantus Secunds.) (Bassus.) (Basso Continuo.)*. William Child. London: Printed for John Playford, 1656.

Lbl K.4.h.7.: *Mottets of two voyces for treble or tenor and bass : with the continued bass or score: to be performed to an organ, harpspycon, lute or bass-viol / published [or rather, composed] by Walter Porter, who was one of the Gentlemen of the Royal Chappel of the late King, and Master of the choristers at Westminster*. Walter Porter. London: Printed by William Godbid for the author, 1657.

Lbl Mad. Soc. MSS G55–9: Five partbooks from a set of six containing Latin motets for four and five voices and basso continuo by Italian composers. Copied by George Jeffreys in the late 1650s (possibly from earlier manuscripts).

Add. MS 31479 and MS G55–9 complement each other and are so similar in format that they must have originally formed a single collection.

Och Mus. 484–8 (11): Printed. Complete set of five partbooks, in 15 tracts.

Tract 11: Tarquinio Merula, *Musiche concertate et altri madrigali à 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. voci*. Libro secondo. Con basso continuo. Opera Decima. Del cavalier Tarquinio Merula maestro di cappella nella Chíesa Maggiore di S. Maria di Bergomo.

Venice: Appresso Bartholomeo Magni, 1635

Och Mus. 877–80: A miscellany of manuscript and printed music, assembled in four volumes for Henry Aldrich in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Mus. 877–80 contains a total of seven layers, five of which are manuscript, the remaining two printed. The printed layers and two of the manuscript layers are complete; the remaining three manuscript layers now lack a partbook, and may well have been incomplete by the time they came into Aldrich's possession.

Layer 1: (Mus. 878–80 only): manuscript. Three partbooks from a set of four, containing ten motets by Richard Dering; copyist unidentified, English, probably early 1640s.

Layer 2: (Mus. 878–80 only): manuscript. Three partbooks from a set of four, copied on gatherings inserted between and after sections of Layer 1, and containing further motets either by Richard Dering or attributable to him on stylistic grounds; English, probably early 1640s. Layer 2 was copied by three scribes working collaboratively. The first, George Jeffreys, appears to have supervised the project, and was principally responsible for copying clefs and text-underlay. The second scribe, who has not been identified, copied only music. The third scribe, Stephen Bing, principally copied music, but also selectively added alternative text-underlay.

Layer 3: (Mus. 878 and 880 only): manuscript. Two partbooks from a set probably of three, containing vocal works by Claudio Monteverdi and Angelo Notari, copied by Notari himself; English, probably early 1640s.

Layer 4: (all four partbooks): printed: John Wilson, *Psalterium Carolinum* (London, 1657).

Layer 5: (Mus. 878–80 only): printed: Walter Porter, *Mottets of two voyces for treble or tenor and bass* (London, 1657).

Layer 6: (Mus. 880 only): manuscript. Basso continuo parts for motets by Italian composers, copied by Stephen Bing; English, after 1643 (and possibly 1650s).

Layer 7: (Mus. 880 only): manuscript. Basso continuo parts for three sets of five-voice madrigals by Carlo Gesualdo (books 2, 1 and 4), copied by Stephen Bing; English, 1640s. This layer was presumably intended to complement printed editions of Gesualdo's madrigals, and possibly the copies now bound within Mus. 908–12.

Och Mus. 893–9 (4): Printed. Complete set of seven partbooks, in 4 tracts.

Tract 4: Giovanni Battista Aloisi, *Contextus musicarum proportionum, quo concertuum varietate binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis, & senis vocibus debitum, ac devotum reddit aulae caelesti laudum, precumque obsequium*. F. Ioannes Baptista Alovisius Minorita Convent. Art. & Sac. Theologiae Doctor ... Opus quartum.

Venice: Apud Bartholomeum Magni, 1637

Och Mus. 926–30 (1 & 3): Printed. Complete set of five volumes, in 17 tracts.

Tract 1: Biagio Tomasi, *Motecta binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus concinenda cum Litaniis B. Mariae Virginis quattuor vocibus* ... Auctore Blasio de Tomasiis ... Opus sextum.

Venice: Appud Bartholameum [sic.] Magni, 1635

Tract 3: Giovanni Felice Sances, *Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci di Gio. Felice Sances musico dell' augustissimo, & invittissimo Imperatore Ferdinando III[.]* Dedicati a sua s. c. maestá.

Venice: Appresso Bartolomeo Magni, 1638

Och Mus. 931–5 (6, 8 & 10): Printed. Complete set of five partbooks, in 12 tracts.

Tract 6: Giovanni Battista Aloisi, *Corona stellarum duodecim antiphonis Beatae Virginis ter ductis binis, ternis, & quaternis vocibus stylo musico promendis, contexta, gemmisq; encomiorum, qu[a]e in litaniis ei tribuuntur, adornata, quam adorabundus* ... F. Ioannes Baptista Alovisius de Bononia ord. min. conu. Art. et S. Theol. Doctor, nec non illustrissimi et excel. principis ac Domini, D. Maximiliani a Dietrichstain secretaries ...

Venice: [Colophon:] Stampa del Gardano. Appresso Bartolomeo Magni, 1637

Tract 8: Francesco Maria Marini, *Concerti spirituali di Francesco Maria Marini da Pesaro maestro di cappella della Republica di S. Marino[.]* Concertati a 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. voci, & con instrumenti. Novamente stampati. Libro primo.

Venice: Appresso Bartolomeo Magni, 1637

Tract 10: Agostino Facchi, *Motetti a doi, tre, quatro, & cinque voci con le Littanie della Madona à 6. & il basso continuo, libro sec.* Del P. Agostino Facho organista nel Domo di Vicenza. Accademico Filomuso.

Venice: Appresso Bartolameo Magni, 1635

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Rovetta, G. B., *Bicinia Sacra ... Liber III* (Antwerp, 1648).

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Appendix

Italian Musicians at the English Court

Name	Notes
Albrici, Bartolomeo (*c.*1640–1687–)	Italian musician to Charles II; Gentleman in the Catholic Chapel of James II, 1665–1688; [composer]
Albrici, Leonora	Italian musician to Charles II, 1665–1670–
Albrici, Vincenzo (1631–1696)	Italian musician to Charles II, 1665–1668; [composer]. Pupil of Carissimi.
Bassano, Alvise (d.1554)	Recorder, sackbut; 1531–; 1539–1554
Bassano, Andrea (1554–1626)	Sackbut, recorder, instrument repairer; 1572–1626
Bassano, Anthony [I] (d.1574)	Recorder, sackbut, instrument maker; 1531–; 1538–1574
Bassano, Anthony [II] (1579–1658)	Recorder, flute; 1615–1642
Bassano, Arthur (1547–1624)	Recorder, 1570–1624
Bassano, Augustine (d.1604)	Recorder, 1550–1604
Bassano, Baptista (d.1576)	Recorder, 1539–1576
Bassano, Edward [I] (1551–1615)	Recorder, 1575–1615
Bassano, Edward [II] (1588–1638)	Sackbut, 1627–1638
Bassano, Henry (1597–1665)	Recorder, sackbut; 1622–1642; 1660–1665
Bassano, Jasper (d.1577)	Recorder, sackbut; 1531–; 1539–1577
Bassano, Jeronimo [II] (1559–1635)	Recorder, viol; 1578–1635
Bassano, John (d.1570)	Recorder, sackbut; 1531–; 1539–1570
Bassano, Ludovico (d.1593)	Recorder, 1568–1593
Bassano, Mark Anthony (1546/7–1599)	Sackbut, 1564–1599
Bassano, Scipio (1586–1613)	Viol?. 1609–1613
Bassano, Thomas (?1589–1617)	Flute?, 1615–1617
Battaglia, Matteo	Italian musician, 1666–1677–
Bernard, Jasper [Gasparo de Bernardo] (d.1531)	Sackbut, –1528–1531
Bernardi, Bernardo	Gentleman in the Catholic Chapel of James II, –1688
Bresica, Bustis, Giovanni Pietro de	Lute, 1512–*c.*1536
? Casa Nova, Peter de	Marshal of the Trumpeters, –1483–1514–
Cazale, Gianbattista (*c.*1654–1706)	Organist in Catholic Chapel of James II, 1686–1688
Cefalo, Pietro	Italian musician, 1666–1673
Conti, Anthony	Lute, 1550/1–1579
Corbetta, Francesco (d.1681)	Guitar, –1664– [composer]
Cotterau, Symon	Italian musician to Charles II, –1670–
Draghi, Giovanni Battista (d.1708)	Italian musician to Charles II; organist to Queen Catherine of Braganza, –1664–1691
Fede, Innocenzo (*c.*1661–1732)	Master of Music in the Catholic Chapel of James II, 1686–1688; [composer]
Ferrabosco, Alfonso [I] (1543–1588)	Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, 1562–1588; [composer]. Bap. Bologna.
Ferrabosco, Alfonso [II] (*c.*1575–1628)	Viol; instructor of royal children; composer, 1592–1628. Born in England.

Ferrabosco, Alfonso [III] (d.1652)	Instructor; viol, 1628–1642
Ferrabosco, Henry (d.1658)	Wind instruments; composer, 1625–1645
Ferrabosco, John (1626–1682)	Livery allowance, 1630–1642; [composer]
Gaffoyne, Jasper (d.1584)	Dancing master, 1542–1584
Galli, Francisco	Italian musician to Charles II, –1675–1679
Galli, Marco Antonio (1623–1703)	Gentleman of Queen Mary's Catholic Chapel, –1687–1688
Galliardello, Caesar (1568–1627)	Violin, 1585–1627
Galliardello, Mark Anthony (d.1585)	Violin, 1545–1585
Galliardello, Paul (d.1563/4)	Violin/viol, 1543–1563/4
Grandi, Antonio Maria	Gentleman of James II's Catholic Chapel, –1687–1688
Grasso, Ambrosio	Violin, 1558–1582
[Kellim], Albert (de Venice) (d.1559)	Viol/Violin. 1540–1559; [composer]
[Kellim], Francisco (de Venice) (d.1588)	Viol/Violin, 1543–1588
[Kellim], Paul (de Venice)	Viol/Violin, 1543–1544
[Kellim], Vincent (de Venice)	Viol/Violin, 1540–1555
?Lugario, John Maria	Groom of the Queen's Privy Chamber, 1607–1632
[Lupo], Alexandro (da Milano)	Viol/Violin, 1540–1544–
Lupo, Ambrose (da Milano) (d.1591)	Viol/Violin, 1540–1591
Lupo, Horatio (1583–1626)	Violin, 1611–1626. Bap. St Olave, Hart Street.
Lupo, Joseph (d.1616)	Violin, 1563–1616. Born in Venice
Lupo, Peter (d.1608)	Violin, 1567–1608; [?composer]
[Lupo], Romano (da Milano) (d.1542)	Viol/Violin, 1540–1542
Lupo, Theophilus (d.1650)	Violin, 1627–1642; [composer]
Lupo, Thomas [I] (1571–1627/8)	Violin; composer, 1588–1627–
Lupo, Thomas [II] (1577–)	Violin, 1598–1642
Maria, Anthony (d.1572)	Sackbut, 1539–1572
?Maria, Peter	Sackbut, 1529–1531
Memo, Dionysus	Friar; organist, 1516–1519–; [composer] *first organist at St Mark's
Notari, Angelo (1566–1663)	Lute, 1610–1663
?Padua, John de	Shawm, 1506–1507
?Padua, John de	Architect; musician, 1543–1551–
?Paradiso, Ranaldo (d.1570)	Flute, 1568–1570; [composer]
Petala, Edward (d.1587)	Sackbut, 1559–1587
Petala, Mark Anthony	Sackbut, –1525–1552
Philiberi, Giovanni Battista	Gentleman of the Catholic Chapel of James II, –1688
Reggio, Pietro (1632–1685)	Italian musician; bass singer 1665–
Ronchi, Charles	Gentleman of Queen Mary's Catholic Chapel
Ronchi, James/Giacomo (*c*.1645–1715)	Gentleman of the Queen's Catholic Chapel, 1673–1703–
Ronchi, Peregrine	Gentleman of the Queen's Catholic Chapel, –1687–
?Ruga, Barthelemy (1634–1715)	Gentleman of the Queen's Catholic Chapel, –1687–1688
?Sachelli, Bernadin	Gentleman of the Catholic Chapel of Queen Mary, –1687–1688
?Sachelli, Francis	Gentleman of the Catholic Chapel of Queen Mary, –1687–1688
Salvador, Ipolito de	Sackbut, –1525–1531–

Salvator, Fraunces de	Sackbut, –1525–
Sansoni, Signor	Gentleman of the Catholic Chapel of James II, –1687–1688
Sebenico, Giovanni	Master of the Italian Music, 1666–1673
Simon, Anthony (d.1552/3)	Sackbut, –1538–1552/3
Simon, Peregrine (d.1541/2)	Sackbut, –1525–1541/2
Suarez, Hilario	Italian musician to Charles II, 1666–1679
Zenti, Girolamo	Instrument maker, –1664