FROM BYRD TO GIBBONS BY WAY OF HOOPER:

THE PERFORMANCE OF CONSORT ANTHEMS FROM THE GOLDEN ERA

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE REFERENCE TO A CRITICAL EDITION OF

THREE ANTHEMS BY EDMUND HOOPER

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Abstract

This research is concerned with the consort anthem, considered here as a subset of the English, post Reformation verse anthem repertory, comprising works that are accompanied by instrumental consort. Existing literature on this topic problematises the classification and terminology associated with the repertory, but scholarly debates to date have tended to avoid the most important question of all for practitioners: 'how does it work in performance?' Investigation of the issues around original performing pitch shows how its adoption is a necessary prerequisite to understanding how historical voice-types and instrumental timbres can be deployed effectively in performance. A close study of the compositional style displayed by composers from Byrd to Gibbons in the new idiom of verse-singing reveals it to be highly rhetorical, casting the solo singer as musical orator and thus equipping him to fulfil the key reformist agenda of making devotional text both persuasive and comprehensible. An introduction to three major anthems in verse style by the little-known Edmund Hooper establishes the context for a first critical edition of these works, included in volume 2. It argues that they reveal Hooper to be a significant figure in the development of the consort anthem and of the verse anthem generally, pointing the way forward to Gibbons, Tomkins and beyond. A chapter is devoted to performance issues encountered during the recording project 'In Chains of gold' that grew out of the present research and provides an account of how performance practice insights were applied in practice.

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Acknowledgements

Abbreviations and library *sigla*

Abbreviations

c.	*circa*
ed., eds.	edited by, editor(s)
edn(s)	editions(s)
ex.	example
fo., fos.	folio, folios
fig., figs.	figure, figures
MS, MSS	manuscript, manuscripts
n., nn.	note, notes
p., pp.	page, pages
r	*recto*
repr.	reprinted
sig., sigs.	signature, signatures
v	*verso*
vol., vols.	volume, volumes

Library *sigla*

All libraries are located in Great Britain unless otherwise stated

Ckc	Cambridge: King's College, Rowe Music Library
Cp	Cambridge: Peterhouse, Perne Library
DRc	Durham: Cathedral Library
GL	Gloucester: Cathedral Library
Lbl	London: British Library
Lcm	London: Royal College of Music
Llp	London: Lambeth Palace Archiepiscopal Library
NYp	United States, New York NY: Public Library
Ob	Oxford: Bodleian Library
Och	Oxford: Christ Church Library
Oj	Oxford: St John's College Library
WRch	Windsor: St George's Chapel Library
Y	York: Minster Library and Archives

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INTRODUCTION

This research combines a written thesis with recorded demonstrations of practice and concerns a peculiarly English musical form.[1] Its repertory is large, stretching from its flowering in the late Elizabethan and Jacobean eras, beyond the Restoration into a second bloom, attracting on its way contributions from many of the country's finest composers. But here we are concerned only with that first period, centred in the reign of James 1st and spanned by the two towering figures of William Byrd and Orlando Gibbons. In exploring it, I aim to uncover a path between the two of them that has remained largely neglected.

Edmund Hooper (*c*. 1553—1621), a composer highly regarded in his own time, is little known to many today beyond some canticle settings and, perhaps for some, his short and widely copied anthem *Behold, it is Christ*. His is a highly individual voice, less polished than those of Byrd or Gibbons, but passionate. We get a strong sense of him as a practical musician, thanks to surviving pieces of bureaucratic evidence from his place of work at Westminster Abbey — payslips and receipts for maintaining viols for his choirboys or hiring cornetts and sackbuts for ceremonial events — some made touchingly personal by his signature. Three of his large anthems, written in the 'verse style' that Byrd did much to create, are here examined in detail and a first critical edition of them, to be found in Volume 2, is central to this research. Taken together, they throw new light on the development of the 'consort anthem' as a musical form. But immediately we are brought up against the first question that must be confronted: what do we mean by a 'consort anthem'? Since the principal research questions to be addressed in the following pages can all be grouped under the heading 'how does this music work in performance?', their answers will be addressed mainly to performers, who want to understand more about how to sing and play it. And those

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[1] The recordings, which include two CDs made in the 'In Chains of Gold' recording project that forms part of the present research, are referred to at points throughout the thesis and are all in the public domain as well as listed in the Bibliography & Discography section.

performers would probably refer to these three Hooper anthems by a term that is more familiar to them: 'verse anthem'. Clearly, a refinement of these terms is needed for the present research, since it appears that after more than sixty years of learned discussion of the repertory, there is still insufficient agreement about what they should mean.

A brief historiographical survey

In the century that has now passed since the inception of Oxford University Press's ground-breaking series of editions *Tudor Church Music*, Peter le Huray was by no means the first to write about the phenomenon of late Elizabethan and Jacobean sacred music in verse style, but he was undoubtedly the one who put it fully into its Reformation context, and it is to his authoritative *Music and the Reformation in England 1549–1660* that all subsequent scholarship on the subject still refers. Since his book appeared in 1967, scholars have been unable to agree on satisfactory nomenclature for the repertory, for the simple reason that so little with historical precedent exists. He did at least define succinctly the manner in which the new verse style differed from 'all earlier solo-chorus forms', namely in the 'use of obbligato instrumental accompaniments', pointing out that whereas '[pre]-Reformation verse music can well be performed without instrumental support; late sixteenth century verse music would be hopelessly incomplete without it.'[2] Beyond that, whilst acknowledging the several references to the use of wind instruments in church music, such as cornetts and sackbuts,[3] he seems to have taken for granted that the instrumental group accompanying the consorted variety of verse anthem would have been a viol consort, though with the proviso that 'viols seem rarely to have been used' in a service context.[4]

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[2] Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 217.
[3] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, especially pp. 125–31.
[4] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, p. 128.

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'Consort anthem': a refinement?

The following ten years saw a number of contributions to the discussion of 'verse anthems', their sources and performance, partly reflecting an increased interest in their choral use, such as in the world of Oxbridge college choirs in which Le Huray had himself worked. In 1978, Andrew Parrott felt moved to caution against the (presumably growing) tendency that 'viols … are nowadays assumed to be appropriate for verse anthems',[5] citing Charles Butler's complaint about the unseemliness of retuning string instruments during a service,[6] but his main thrust was the advocacy of cornetts and sackbuts, adding to Le Huray's earlier list of historically recorded instances. A matter of months later, John Morehen sought to distinguish between two types of verse anthem by introducing an ahistorical term: 'consort anthem'.

> In brief, verse anthems with organ were large-scale pieces for liturgical use whereas consort anthems were for domestic use in one-to-a-part context.[7]

In so doing, he appeared to regard 'consort' and 'viols' as synonymous (as well as incompatible with organ) and made no allowance for other instrumental combinations, relegating cornetts and sackbuts to a footnote.[8] His invitation to take up this new terminology was declined by Craig Monson (1982), from whom enthusiasm for it might have been

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[5] Andrew Parrott, '"Grett and Solempne Singing": Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War', *Early Music*, 6.2 (1978), 182–87 (p. 185) <https://doi.org/10.1093/earlyj/6.2.182>. This was subsequently re-published and re-worded to 'viols are commonly believed to have been the natural (or ideal) means of accompaniment'. See Andrew Parrott, '"Grett and Solompne Singing": Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War', in *Composers' Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical Performance.* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 368–80 (p. 374).

[6] Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik, in Singing and Setting: With The Two-Fold Use Thereof [Ecclesiastical and Civil]* (London: John Haviland, 1636), p. 103. See my detailed discussion of Butler in later chapters.

[7] John Morehen, 'The English Consort and Verse Anthems', *Early Music*, 6.3 (1978), 381–85 (pp. 383–84).

[8] '… so far as the verse anthem and consort anthem were concerned the viols and organ were regarded as mutually exclusive.' See Morehen, 'The English Consort and Verse Anthems', p. 383; also fn 7 p. 385.

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expected, in view of the fact that his entire subject-matter concerns 'voices and viols'.[9]

Monson is happy to regard consort-accompanied anthems (of which his research remains the most complete survey) as a subset of 'verse anthem' but has little to say about the controversy of viols playing in church, once again citing Charles Butler.[10] Similarly, Kathryn Smith (1988) in her narrower study of verse anthems in the collection GB-Och MSS Mus. 56–60 saw no advantage in the term, mentioning it only twice in passing, whilst straying into problematic territory with a definition which omits specific mention of the organ entirely (presumably understanding it to be part of the 'choral concept'):

> As fate or imagination would have it, three disparate Elizabethan musical elements combined to form the verse anthem as a genre: the solo voice, favored by the lute song; the choral concept, cemented by the long tradition of the cathedral and collegiate establishments and the recent craze for madrigals; and the viol consort, the most fashionable instrumental grouping of the period.[11]

David Wulstan (1985) pointedly avoids it,[12] but this is no doubt largely because he had very firm views on the sound and performance of the repertory, as indeed he did for both medieval and Renaissance choral music generally: 'verse anthem' included not only those with organ but also those with 'concerted' or 'instrumental' accompaniments (his solutions to the problem of categorisation)[13] and all were perfectly at home in the church environment. With regard to those by Gibbons he writes:

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[9] He uses the term only once, in relation to early forms of Byrd's verse anthems, later adapted for organ accompaniment. See Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-50: Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor, Mich: UMI Research Press,U.S., 1982), p. 2.

[10] Monson, *Voices and Viols*, pp. 297–8, fn. 8.

[11] Kathryn Ellen Smith, 'Music for Voices and Viols: A Contextual Study and Critical Performing Edition of Verse Anthems in Christ Church (Oxford) MSS 56-60' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champagne, 1988), p. 105.

[12] To the extent of not mentioning Morehen's article at all, unlike Monson's book.

[13] David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London: J.M. Dent, 1985), e.g. p. 334.

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> It must therefore be concluded that Gibbons' instrumental anthems were designed for church, rather than private, use.[14]

Return of the 'consort anthem'?

In 1995 the concept of 'consort anthem' was once again embraced by Ross Duffin, enthusiastically taking up the cause of cornetts and sackbuts, this time with particular reference to the Christ Church part-book set Mus 56–60,[15] earlier examined by Smith. It is part of his argument that '[many] consort anthems that survived in the repertoire for some decades were converted to organ-only verse anthems in their later sources, as the consort idiom faded from use.'[16] By this time, the first volumes in two separate series of scholarly practical publications of the repertory had made an appearance: *John Ward, The Complete Works for Voices and Viols in Five Parts*, edited by Ian Payne (1992)[17] and *Thomas Tomkins, Five Consort Anthems*, edited by David Pinto and Ross Duffin (1994).[18] In his introduction to the Ward volume, refining the generality of the published title, Payne initially describes the five works contained (all of which take the familiar form of alternating sections for solo voice(s) and full chorus) as either 'extended consort songs', 'verse anthems' or a 'consort

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[14] Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, p. 91. I shall describe my own experience of his approach 'from the inside' in Chapter 1.

[15] Ross Duffin, '"Cornets and Sagbuts" Some Thoughts on the Early Seventeenth-Century English Repertory for Brass', in Stewart Carter (ed.), *Perspectives in Brass Scholarship* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1995), pp. 47–60. His suggestion was later pursued in Masters research by Nathaniel Wood and is discussed in Chapter 4. See Nathaniel Wood, 'Cornetts and Sackbuts in the English Church: Reconstructed Unique Anthems from Christ Church (Oxford) MSS Mus. 56-60, and Associated Performance Practices' (unpublished MA, Case Western Reserve, 2007).

[16] Duffin, '"Cornets and Sagbuts"', p. 59. In another article published in the same year, Duffin uses the term 'consort anthem' to define two such works contained in the Blossom part-books, whilst also using 'verse anthem' to refer to works in consort form, for which keyboard accompaniments are found in GB-Och MS Mus. 67. See Ross W. Duffin, 'New Light on Jacobean Taste and Practice in Music for Voices and Viols', *Le Concert Des Voix et Des Instruments à La Renaissance*, 1995, 601–18 (pp. 605 and 611).

[17] John Ward, *The Complete Works for Voices and Viols in Five Parts*, ed. by Ian Payne (St Albans: Corda Music, 1992).

[18] Thomas Tomkins, *Five Consort Anthems*, ed. by David Pinto (London and Bermuda: Fretwork Editions, 1994).

song',[19] though he later uses the term 'consort anthem' to describe one of the 'verse anthems', to clarify the fact that it exists only in that form (and not as one with organ accompaniment).[20] In the Tomkins volume, Pinto uses 'verse anthem' to refer to the extensive body of Tomkins' anthems in verse style, whilst adding in footnote comment 'The term 'consort anthem' applied exclusively to verse anthem … seems justifiable.'[21] Later editions by the same editors of similar repertory by Ward (1998), Gibbons (2004) and Amner (2015), follow their earlier policies.[22] A reconstruction by John Milsom, published in 2013, of another such work by Tomkins follows a not dissimilar path, though titled (at his request) simply 'for voices and viols', whilst describing it in the introduction as 'cast in the form of a verse anthem', lending itself to performance 'as a consort anthem' by use of his reconstructed instrumental parts.[23]

Terminological objections

A consensus of a kind seemed to have been reached, many scholars treading warily around the terminological hole that history has left, content to use 'consort anthem' for the identification of a subset of 'verse anthem', most of them without committing themselves to whether such a 'consort' would ever have been heard in a setting other than the domestic. Not so Roger Bowers (in 2012), on two counts:

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[19] Nos. 1 & 2, 3 & 4 and 5 respectively.

[20] Ward, *Voices and Viols in Five Parts*, p. 3.

[21] Thomas Tomkins, *Five Consort Anthems*, p. iv, fn. 6.

[22] John Ward, *The Complete Works for Voices and Viols in Six Parts*, ed. by Ian Payne (St Albans: Corda Music, 1998); Orlando Gibbons, *Orlando Gibbons: The Consort Anthems*, ed. by David Pinto, 3 vols (London: Fretwork Editions, 2003); John Amner, *The Consort Anthems*, ed. by Pinto David (London: Fretwork Editions, 2015).

[23] Thomas Tomkins (attrib.), *O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance*, ed. by John Milsom (London: Fretwork Editions, 2013), pp. ii–iii.

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> The term "consort anthem" will not be used, for it seems to be a
> contradiction in terms; the "anthem" was sung only in church, in which
> location the consort of viols was never used.[24]

The solution? 'Consort song', at any rate for the purposes of the relevant article, in which

Bowers is concerned with 'William Byrd's music to religious vernacular texts'. Under his

classification, one of the well-known early works recognised by most as a 'consort anthem',

Byrd's *Christ rising again from the dead* in its manifestation as published in 1589,[25] is

designated as one of three 'Consort Songs, surviving also in adaptation as Verse Anthems'.[26]

Many might be surprised to learn that, by extension, Gibbons' *This is the record of John*,

probably the most famous example of the genre, is henceforth to be downgraded from an

'anthem' to a mere 'song' when heard accompanied by viols, if that is the implication.

Bowers' approach appears to be followed by Richard Rastall, in his recent edition of Martin

Peerson's 'Sacred Songs' (2018), stating that 'the term "consort anthem" — which is often

used rather loosely for such songs — is inappropriate' (though without elaborating on

whether it is ever appropriate).[27] Andrew Johnstone, on the other hand, in his recent

'reappraisal' of Byrd's vernacular church music (2014) is untroubled by the 'ahistorical' use

either of this term or of 'verse anthem', for the reason that:

> it surely remains pertinent simply to enquire whether a given work was
> conceived with an accompaniment for viols or for organ, and to recognize
> that distinction with appropriate terminology. The need to do so was first

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[24] Roger Bowers, 'Ecclesiastical or Domestic? Criteria for Identification of the Initial Destinations of William Byrd's Music to Religious Vernacular Texts', in *William Byrd: A Research and Information Guide*, ed. by Richard Turbet (New York and London: Routledge, 2012), 134–60 (p. 155) fn. 17.
[25] William Byrd, *Songs of Sundrie Natures* (London: Thomas East, 1589).
[26] Bowers, 'Ecclesiastical or Domestic', p. 153. The other two are *An earthly tree* and *Have mercy upon me*.
[27] Martin Peerson, *Complete Works: Sacred Songs*, ed. by Richard Rastall (Moretonhampstead: Antico Edition, 2018), p. v.

stressed many years ago by John Morehen, and it is to be regretted that his example has gone largely unheeded in more recent scholarship.[28]

Some conclusions

Where does this all leave us? David Pinto, as so often a perceptive eye outside the academic bubble, thought in 2015 that the salami-slicing had gone too far. He takes us back to:

> 'full' and 'verse', the contemporary terms for a procedural or textural divide; almost self-explanatory with 'full'. In 'verse' soloists sing sections; full choruses alternate …

and points to the *cul de sac* that Morehen's 1978 article first signposted, and down which too much subsequent discussion has unproductively wandered:

> The modern novelty 'consort anthem', built on admittedly scarce evidence and depleted sources, creates a by-form by medium alone, and explicitly deems instrumental ensemble a determinant of domestic use, never church, and never combined with organ.[29]

Some of his most enlightening pieces of source-reading are discussed in my later chapters,[30] but his main argument concerns the lack of evidence on which too many restrictive pronouncements have been made:

> Peter Le Huray's unchallenged, standard discussion of Anglican repertoire up to the civil war frankly admitted a dearth of church sources for the whole foundation period until well beyond 1603: 'between 1565 and 1617 there is almost nothing, apart from the Ludlow fragments. The gap could not have been more awkwardly placed, for it completely spans the most fruitful period in the entire history of pre-Restoration English church

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[28] Andrew Johnstone, 'The Vernacular Church Music of William Byrd: A Reappraisal of Chronology, Authenticity and Context' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Trinity College (Dublin, Ireland). Department of Music, 2014), p. 130 <http://www.tara.tcd.ie/handle/2262/90246> [Accessed 27 November 2019]. Here again, however, the assumption seems to be that the term 'consort' *necessarily* implies viols. See above, Parrott, Duffin and Wood and also in Chapter 4.

[29] David Pinto, 'Consort Anthem, Orlando Gibbons, and Musical Texts', *The Viola Da Gamba Society of Great Britain*, 9 (2015), 1–25 (p. 3). Every time the stale topic of 'Did viols ever play in church' is raised yet again, this writer finds it difficult to un-recall the 1960s hit from the Bonzo Dogg Doo-Dah Band 'Can blue men sing the whites?'. < https://youtu.be/Gw-TVrR8wZc> [Accessed July 8 2021].

[30] See e.g. Chapter 4.3 and 4.7.

music'. That, unvarnished, is a musical void until 14 years after the death of Elizabeth I: the very time that consort anthem burgeoned.[31]

The 'consort anthem' today

To return to where this detour began, there is no avoiding a recourse to some modern terminology, since history has not left to us an adequate supply. It is obvious from the foregoing survey that there are irreconcilable differences between the ways that the terms 'verse anthem' and 'consort anthem' have been used in academic writing. The latter is an entirely modern construct, but the former does, at least, have connection with some relevant historical usage,[32] whilst having the advantage of being generally familiar to most performers today. The two terms will therefore be used here without the restrictions that some scholars from Morehen onwards have sought to impose upon them. '**Verse anthem**' will denote the wider class of music in 'verse style' that includes *both* those works that are accompanied solely by organ (for which the clarification 'choir and organ' may be added, where necessary) *and* the smaller number that are accompanied by instrumental consort;[33] and in order to refer specifically to the latter group — the principal concern of this thesis — the term '**consort anthem**' will be used. Neither of these two terms as used here will carry *any implication* about where the music might originally have been performed.

Bowers excludes the word 'anthem' from association with a viol consort, despite the clear evidence of Michael East's own use of it in this context.[34] Morehen's fencing-off of the

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[31] Pinto, 'Consort Anthem', p. 13.

[32] Michael East uses the phrasing '*Anthemes* for *Versus* and *Chorus*' in the titles of his Fourth and Sixth Bookes (1618 and 1624) and similar wording in the table of contents to his Third Set of Bookes (1610). A score by Tudway of Edward Gibbons' *How hath the city sate solitary*, although a late source, describes the work as a 'Verse Anthem for 2 voices'.

[33] As it happens, both the East and Edward Gibbons 'verse anthems' referred to above are in fact 'consort anthems', according to this definition.

[34] East describes the 'anthemes' in his 1618 and 1624 publications as 'Apt for Viol[l]s and Voyces'. The same must be true of those in his 1610 publication, in that they appear alongside instrumental Fancies, surely intended

category 'consort anthem' as exclusively 'domestic' discourages exploration of the relationship between two parallel versions of the same work — one for consort and the other for choir and organ — where that work exists (or might have existed) in both. As previously observed, it also ignores the possibility of a consort that might well have been used in a church context.[35] These legalistic distinctions, imposed from a modern perspective, are unhelpful when the music is considered (as in the present thesis) from the viewpoint of today's performers. The cross-over between the two types of scoring is substantial,[36] to the extent that where a piece survives with sources for both, it makes no sense to imply to the performer by such definitions that their treatment should be fundamentally different.[37] Clearly, the factor that they have in common constitutes the very essence of verse style — verse singing — and this research is largely concerned with how that sounds to the listener and is executed by the solo voice(s). For, despite the associations that this repertory still holds for many today, the verse anthem generally (and the consort anthem to an even greater extent) is in many respects not 'choral' music at all; and the structural feature that it introduced, of verse sections that involve fewer singers than the alternating chorus sections, was not designed merely for the practical convenience of choirs afflicted by Reformation austerity measures.[38]

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for viols. Since these publications were clearly destined for the domestic market, there is no reason to suppose that East expected such 'anthemes' to be performed 'only in church' (re Bowers above).

[35] See footnotes above and discussion in Chapter 4.5 regarding use of a consort of cornetts and sackbuts; also discussion in Chapter 3A and in the Introduction to the Hooper edition in Volume 2 on the use of such a consort in Hooper's *O God of gods*.

[36] '… about a third of known consort forms are doubled by cathedral versions': Pinto, 'Consort Anthem', p. 3.

[37] Two of the three Hooper anthems examined as part of this research exist in both and sound decisions about both musical text and performance implications can be made only by considering the two in parallel. See further below.

[38] 'The advantages of the new style must soon have been obvious … The verse style obviously saved a good deal of rehearsal time'. See Peter Le Huray and John Harper, 'Anthem', 3. History *c*1565–*c*1644, *Oxford Music Online* <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.00998> [Accessed July 20, 2021].

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

What is the sonority of a consort anthem? Can any conclusions be reached about the types of voices and instruments that are needed to perform it?

No modern scholar has had as much to say about how verse and consort anthems should 'sound' as David Wulstan, and more than thirty-five years have passed since he wrote about the subject in his book *Tudor Music*.[39] Recent research has given us much more information about some of the yardsticks to which he attached importance in defining his concept of the sound, such as the pitch of English organs in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In Chapter 1A, I re-examine his writings in the light of findings from the Early English Organ Project, in order to show that his conclusions about historical voice-types were misleading, largely contributing to the modern concept of an all-purpose 'English' choral sonority, pioneered in the ensemble that he founded and which so many have since emulated. However commercially successful when applied to pre-Reformation repertory, this sonority fails to engage with the sheer earthiness of the later, reformed style and in particular with the extraordinary fusion of secular and sacred influences that feed into the verse anthem form. Examination of contemporary writings on voice-types, such as those of Charles Butler (cited by Wulstan but arguably misconstrued), combined with statistical analysis of how the tessitura of written parts actually relates to our new understanding of historical pitch, show the modern 'countertenor' voice to be at the centre of the problem, replacing the guts of the typical five-part 'Tudor' choir with a sound that is too often murky and disembodied, whilst in its solo manifestation lacking in reformist zeal. The much more credible character of the

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[39] David Wulstan, *Tudor Music*.

historical 'Contratenor' is explored with reference to recent research into that phenomenon by writers such as Andrew Parrott, Simon Ravens and John Potter.[40]

Wulstan also pronounced on the instruments that should accompany a consort anthem, principally viols. Taking as its starting point my personal experience of the impracticality of Wulstan's 'high pitch' approach, Chapter 1B describes the performance-led research carried out by the 'Orlando Gibbons Project', which I set up to explore the feasibility of performing and recording consort anthems at the somewhat lower and historically verifiable 'Quire pitch' (discussed in the previous chapter). The project's use of both viols and cornetts and sackbuts in its recordings is discussed with justifications for choosing them, and a theory proposed by Ian Harwood for a 'high family' of viols, tying in conveniently with Wulstan's own 'up a minor third' concept of vocal pitch, is reconsidered, again with reference to my own practical experience. A new statistical analysis, this time of surviving English bass viols, is cited in support of the demonstrable practicality of tuning appropriately sized viols to Quire pitch — a practice that finds convincing parallel in German repertory a century later and which was successfully employed in the 'In Chains of Gold' recording project under my artistic direction.

What is the language of the consort anthem? Since this is a musical form that emerges in a period of English culture widely recognised as a 'golden age' for literature, drama and poetry, can we look for connections between them and the music of the consort anthem, that may help us to understand and articulate its language?

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[40] Andrew Parrott, 'Falsetto Beliefs - The "Countertenor" Cross-Examined', in *Composers' Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 46–121; Simon Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice: A History of High Male Singing* (New York: Boydell & Brewer Group Ltd, 2014); John Potter, 'Reconstructing Lost Voices', in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 311–16; John Potter, *Tenor: History of a Voice* (Yale University Press, 2009).

INTRODUCTION

This thesis will argue that verse-singing, the defining feature of the new verse anthem form, to which consort anthem belongs, is nothing less than musical oratory, going far beyond any precedent in earlier English sacred music, that has been suggested to offer a model.[41] This is extremely 'wordy' music, intent on the clear and persuasive declamation of text. The verse-singer requires an order of priorities which is strikingly similar to that proposed in a different context by the singer and composer, Giulio Caccini, working and writing in exactly the same period in Italy:

'text, rhythm and sound last of all, and not the other way around'. [42]

His memorable phrase is quoted without any suggestion that such a remarkable parallel should have occurred through any identifiable musical borrowing at the time. *Le Nuove Musiche* was not published in English translation until Playford's in 1664.[43] But it resonates and is referred to a few times in this thesis, because the approach that Caccini advocates is so clearly contrary to that of most choirs and chorally trained singers today, when they try to perform a verse anthem, and yet is so clearly required if the oratory of verse-singing is to have its intended effect.

The methodology followed in Chapter 2 is to identify the music's rhetoric so that it can be realised in performance (by singers and players alike, since, by the nature of consort anthem, the two share the same material). Whilst Caccini's new style of 'speaking in song' could draw on decades of Italian theoretical writing and discussion, English composers had no such resource, nor do they hint at an 'oratorical' approach when they write about text-

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[41] For example, '…the structured contrast between choral and solo singing already long manifest by the performance of responsorial plainsong, so tendering the crucial alternation of verse and full singing…'. Bowers, 'Ecclesiastical or Domestic', p. 148.

[42] 'la favella, e'l rithmo & il suono per ultimo, e non per lo contrario …'. Giulio Caccini, *Le Nuove Musiche* (Florence: Marescotti, 1602) 'Ai Lettori'.

[43] John Playford, *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London: Godbid and Playford, 1664).

setting, which is rarely. Models for how to do it, however, and for how to frame an argument and persuade an audience, were all around them in the poetry and writing of the period. The language skills of classical rhetoric, widely taught in the English school curriculum from the early sixteenth century onwards, were available for adaptation to music. Rhetoricians such as the Peachams (Elder and Younger) draw specific parallels between literary and musical 'figures' and theoretical works by Thomas Morley and Charles Butler show that the alert listener expected to be drawn in by rhetorically constructed presentation of text.[44] I examine all of these, but the lack of an agreed vocabulary with which to illustrate the workings of musical rhetoric in this peculiarly English style remains a hindrance. Mindful of the objections of Brian Vickers to the misappropriation (as he sees it) of well-established classical figures by Burmeister and later German theorists, as well as by some modern critics,[45] I seek in this chapter to build on the development of a suitable language of musical rhetoric, as exemplified by Andrew Johnstone in his recent study of Byrd's vernacular church music.[46]

What is Edmund Hooper's particular contribution to the consort anthem? How does it relate to earlier and later works in the genre by Byrd, Gibbons and their contemporaries?

Peter le Huray drew attention to Hooper's three large verse anthems, *O God of gods*, *Hearken, ye nations* and *The Blessed Lamb*, giving the impression that all three survived as both verse anthems and consort anthems. Regrettably that is not the case with the first of

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[44] Henry Peacham (The Elder), *The Garden of Eloquence* (London: H Jackson, 1577); Henry Peacham (The Younger), *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1627); Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597); Butler, *The Principles of Musik*.

[45] Brian Vickers, 'Figures of Rhetoric/Figures of Music?', *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric*, 2.1 (1984), 1–44 <https://doi.org/10.1525/rh.1984.2.1.1>.

[46] Johnstone, 'The Vernacular Church Music of William Byrd', for example pp. 284–91.

INTRODUCTION

them, although, for reasons that are discussed in Chapter 3, there is good reason to think that it once did. He was of the opinion that they were 'unlikely ever to come into general use again', due to 'the very inadequate Elizabethan and Jacobean verse' which they set,[47] and he has been proved largely correct, if not for that reason. *The Blessed Lamb* has, at least, previously been recorded by choirs,[48] albeit only in an arrangement,[49] and its Easter text and attractive qualities might yet earn it a firmer place in choral repertory, but the other two are so intimately linked to momentous events in the Jacobean state that such an outcome is hard to imagine. They are all, however, of great interest in the development of the verse style.

These two works are major contributions to what can be termed a sub-genre in the verse idiom: the 'occasional' anthem. *O God of gods* was written to mark either the accession or the coronation of James I (it is not certain which) and *Hearken, ye nations* the outrage of the Gunpowder Plot. It has not been possible within the limits of the present research, despite strong circumstantial evidence here discussed, to establish a firm date for first performance of either work, but future archival research might well be able to do so. For *O God of gods* a precise date is known for its revival in the reign of Charles I and this, together with an intriguing network of musical quotation linking other occasional works by William Byrd, Orlando Gibbons, John Bennet and arguably also Thomas Tomkins, points to a tradition of commemorative court music, which Hooper did much to establish and which provides yet more fertile ground for future research, stretching perhaps even beyond the Restoration. In Chapter 3 each of these anthems is examined in turn, looking at the very different stylistic means by which Hooper treats his three texts. All three are illustrated by recorded

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[47] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, p. 259.
[48] 'Vigilate', the Renaissance Singers, directed by David Allinson (ASIN: BOOBPBBPZM, 2013); 'Behold it is Christ', The Choir of Selwyn College, Cambridge directed by Andrew Gant (ASIN: B0000667UW, 2007).
[49] A manuscript reconstruction by Le Huray himself, transcribing the four extant consort parts to keyboard and supplying the missing bassline.

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performances which form part of the data to this research. *O God of gods* and *Hearken, ye nations* are performed in their consort anthem form on volume two of the CD series 'In Chains of Gold', as part of a performance project of which I am artistic director.[50] *The Blessed Lamb* can be both seen and heard in a video recording resulting from an online Zoom workshop, which I directed with students from Royal Birmingham Conservatoire and scholars from Jeffrey Skidmore's Ex Cathedra choir, at his kind invitation.

What issues of particular interest have arisen in the course of recordings made in the 'In Chains of Gold' project and what new insights have emerged from this research which can be taken forward into a future recording of this repertory?

In Chapter 4, I examine this final question under eight headings, drawing on my experience of working with the wide range of performers involved in the two CD recordings made so far and making comparative reference both to these and to other recordings in the public domain:[51]

1. The use of proportional metre

2. The relationship between versus and chorus

3. The rhetoric of 'extremity' and its relationship to voice-type

4. The relevance of tactus and tempo

5. Wind instruments and organs in the consort anthem

6. The influence of performance spaces

7. The instrumental doubling of vocal lines

8. The experience of performing consort anthems: singers' notes

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[50] *'In Chains of Gold': The English Pre-Restoration Verse Anthem vol. 2* (Signum SIGCD609, 2020).
[51] See footnote 1 above.

In the Epilogue, I review the research questions above and summarise the ways in which I have sought to address them. I also outline the anticipated content of a third recording in the 'In Chains of Gold' series, which will aim to benefit from insights into the performance of consort anthems that have been gained over the course of recording volumes 1 and 2 and from the findings of the research presented here.

ETHICS STATEMENT

The 'assembly and performance' workshops on the choir and organ version of Hooper's *The Blessed Lamb*, described in Chapter 3C of this thesis, invited participants to assess their experience of the sessions and to contribute ideas on how design might be improved for a future event. Information sheets and consent forms for collecting this data were designed in consultation with the Royal Birmingham Conservatoire Research Ethics Committee, and these can be found both at the end of Chapter 3C and in Appendix 3.

CHAPTER 1
Implications of the original performing pitch. A: Voices

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> If British composers of the time wrote their music for specific voices, with
> a characteristic sonority in mind, then our understanding of the music will
> be severely hampered if we fail to take into account considerations of vocal
> colour peculiar to the period.[1]

What is the 'vocal colour' of a consort anthem? Given that, for the purposes of performance,

the consort anthem is considered in this thesis as a form of verse anthem in which the

accompaniment is taken by consort instruments rather than organ, and if the verse anthem can

reasonably be considered as a late-emerging species of English sixteenth-century polyphony,

many might suppose that we already know the answer. More questions have already been

raised in the course of that sentence, which would need further investigation, but David

Wulstan was certainly one who seemed sure of the answer. As one of the foremost scholars

of the repertory in the last fifty years, he wrote extensively about the music and the way it

should sound and could demonstrate his views in a large number of recordings by his

ensemble, *The Clerkes of Oxenford*. The influence of those recordings has been huge in

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[1] David Wulstan, 'Vocal Colour in English Sixteenth-Century Polyphony', *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society*, 2 (1979), pp. 19–60 (p. 19).

Implications of the original performing pitch. A: Voices

forming a widely held concept of 'English choral sonority', supposedly appropriate for a

huge range of sacred vocal music up until the Restoration, and can still be felt today in the

sound of English cathedral choirs and professional vocal ensembles, when they perform it.

Such is its ubiquity (disregarding for the moment whether the upper line is sung by boys or

by women) that for many, as Andrew Parrott has observed,

> there seems to have been an unbroken tradition of choral singing from the
> Restoration up to the present day. The music of Tallis and Byrd, for
> example, has never entirely disappeared from the Anglican repertory and it
> is all too easy, when listening to such music sung by today's cathedral
> choirs, to assume that one is hearing, as it were, the real thing.[2]

But at the root of it all is a fundamental misconception regarding performing pitch, which has

consequences for vocal colour, much more far-reaching than might at first appear, and no less

so for the instruments in a consort anthem. Let us begin there and make a circuit of the

problem.

1A.1 The impractical in action

As a professional viol player in the late 1970s, playing in a consort as part of a recording by

the *The Clerkes of Oxenford* of consort verse anthems by Orlando Gibbons, directed by

Wulstan,[3] I experienced for myself some of the more implausible consequences of his theory

for the correct performing pitch of the music. The parts that we were given to play from were

not in the original key,[4] having been transposed up by a minor third, in order supposedly to

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[2] Andrew Parrott, '"Grett and Solompne Singing": Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War', in *Composers' Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 368–80 (p. 368).
[3] Orlando Gibbons, *Church Music I*, The Clerkes of Oxenford, David Wulstan (dir.) (Calliope CAL 1611, 1976)
[4] It was not until the 1990s that performance material for large areas of the consort anthem repertory started to become available in the original key (and note values), with publications such as: Thomas Tomkins, *Five Consort Anthems, Edited and Reconstructed by David Pinto* (London and Bermuda: Fretwork Editions, 1994); John Ward, *The Complete Works for Voices and Viols in Five Parts, Transcribed and Edited by Ian Payne* (St

pitch the music at the level at which it would originally have sounded, in accordance with the theory that Peter Le Huray amongst others had already proposed and which Wulstan followed.[5] Such transposition leaves the instruments in a consort anthem with keys that are both impracticable and unidiomatic on historical instruments. Whilst a key such as *B-flat* minor, for example, might be visited in passing in one of the more extreme passages of a fantasia for viols by Jenkins or Lawes, it is encountered nowhere in the surviving parts of any consort anthem. It cannot seriously be maintained that viol players of the period would have transposed an anthem written in G minor, a very common key in this repertory, up a minor third for the comfort of the singers, yet such was the result on this occasion of Wulstan's application of the 'high pitch' theory. The recording bears witness to the fragile and under-nourished sound of viols being played in tonalities which make little or no use of their naturally rich open-string resonance. If a historical unequal temperament had been used, as is nowadays widely practised by both viol and wind consorts (though not in Wulstan's day), the intonation would also have been seriously compromised due to enharmonic misspellings, leading to the viols sounding unacceptably out of tune and requiring complicated measures to correct them, such as split frets.

1A.2 Unconvincing alternatives

It seems that Wulstan's experience as an instrumentalist might have had more to do with

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Albans: Corda Music, 1992); John Ward, *The Complete Works for Voices and Viols in Six Parts, Transcribed and Edited by Ian Payne* (St Albans: Corda Music, 1998); Orlando Gibbons, *The Consort Anthems, Edited and Reconstructed by David Pinto*, 3 vols (London: Fretwork Editions, 2003); John Amner, *The Consort Anthems, Edited by David Pinto* (London: Fretwork Editions, 2015).

[5] For example: Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p, 112; David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London, Dent, 1985) p. 200; John Caldwell, 'The Pitch of Early Tudor Organ Music', *Music & Letters*, 51 (1970), pp. 156–63 (p. 156); Roger Bray, 'More Light on Early Tudor Pitch', *Early Music*, 8 (1980), pp. 35–42.

brass instruments than with strings,[6] so he may not have been best placed to appreciate the

practical effect of his high pitch theory upon viols. In an article written in 1966 for the

Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association, he suggested that, rather than tune their

strings up by a minor third, the players should use a *capo tasto* when playing consort

anthems.[7] Quite apart from there being no historical basis for such a proposition, the fact that

it could be made at all is somehow indicative of the extent of disconnect between the worlds

of singers and players of 'early music' at the time. Some years later, Wulstan found support

for his theory of 'high pitch', referred to by him as 'sounding *Eflat* pitch', in the proposition

made by Ian Harwood, that historical sizes of English viols survived which indicated that

whole families would effectively have formed consorts tuned to this pitch.[8] For reasons given

later in this chapter, Harwood's proposition is unconvincing and the surviving evidence

points to a different, but much more likely result.

1A.3 Treble extremes

Another feature of the recording sessions was the novel experience of multiple soprano

'burnout'. Wulstan had reconstructed a number of Gibbons verse anthems with the

comparatively rare scoring of Treble parts on the top line rather than the usual Mean. In his

book *Tudor Music* he describes his concept of this voice type (Triplex, to give it its

contemporary denomination) as 'high soaring' and elsewhere as 'very high', agreeing with

the description of it given by Peter Le Huray in his earlier reconstruction of the Weelkes

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[6] Sally Dunkley, 'David Wulstan Obituary', *The Guardian*, 2 June 2017, section Music
<http://www.theguardian.com/music/2017/jun/02/david-wulstan-obituary> [Accessed 28 June 2018].
[7] David Wulstan, 'The Problem of Pitch in Sixteenth-Century English Vocal Music', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 93 (1966), pp. 97–112 (p. 106).
[8] David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London: J.M. Dent, 1985), pp. 101–2.

service 'for trebles'.[9] So it was, but, inconveniently for the recording, so high that a succession of young sopranos from the *Clerkes* had to be pressed into service, one after another, in order to record his reconstruction of 'Praise the Lord, O my soul', changing to a new soprano every fifteen minutes or so, as each exhausted her ability to sing the frequent high *a*"- and *b*"-*flats* required at this pitch. Not only was the text unintelligible at that height, but the exercise seemed to prove beyond doubt that such an impractical theory could not survive collision with the reality of performance. How had we arrived at this position?

1A.4 The 'high pitch' theory: an anatomy

Wulstan's view of the correct 'vocal colour' for this period of music is described at length in his chapter 'A High Clear Voice'.[10] It is inextricably linked to his advocacy of 'high pitch', one of the main foundations of which is a theory about English organ pitch, which he sets out in a section beginning

> The pitch of organs is known from several sources.[11]

The work of the Early English Organ Project (EEOP) showed that this pitch, far from being known, had in fact been misunderstood. Its findings have been clearly explained by Andrew Johnstone in an *Early Music* article of 2003, and do not need to be rehearsed in full here.[12] It is sufficient to summarise that the EEOP analysed the surviving physical evidence of English organs from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in particular pipes taken from a

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[9] Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, p. 240; Wulstan, 'The Problem of Pitch'; David Wulstan, 'Vocal colour in English sixteenth-century polyphony', *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society*, 2, pp. 19-60 (p. 38). <https://doi:10.1017/S0143491800000155> [Accessed: 24.03.2021].

[10] Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, pp. 192–249.

[11] Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, pp. 200–2.

[12] Andrew Johnstone, '"As It Was in the Beginning": Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music', *Early Music*, 31 (2003), pp. 507–25.

1631 organ at Standford-on-Avon,[13] and its conclusion, corroborating analysis already published in the 1880s by Alexander Ellis,[14] but since largely ignored or misrepresented, was that evidence pointed strongly to a standard 'church' pitch of around A473, or, as Bruce Haynes describes it in his *History of Performing Pitch*, 'Quire pitch'.[15] That is a bit more than a semitone above A440, much less than Wulstan's minor third – indeed about two semitones lower than what we had become used to hearing from *The Clerkes of Oxenford* in this repertory and are still likely to hear in the majority of choral performances of 'Tudor church music' today.

1A.5 Enter the 'countertenor'

A different line of reasoning in favour of the 'high pitch' in *some* post-Reformation English choral music has been presented by Roger Bowers.[16] Whereas Wulstan applied his high pitch theory to the performance of pre-Reformation choral music,[17] Bowers criticises Wulstan for this and finds it anachronistic.[18]A key feature which is common to both positions, however, is a belief in the 'countertenor' voice type in its modern sense of falsetto Alto. Essentially, Bowers sees a continued usage of the falsetto voice in English music extending as far back as the late mediaeval period and argues that this and the voice type usually named 'Contratenor' in the pre-Restoration verse anthem period (or, at any rate, before '1642') are

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[13] Martin Goetze, *St Nicholas, Stanford on Avon, Remains of the c. 1631 Organ*, The Harley Foundation Technical Report no.5 (revised edn 2002), pp. 8–9, 14–15.

[14] Johnstone, '"As It Was in the Beginning"', p. 520. Also see Alexander John Ellis, 'The History of Musical Pitch', Journal of the Society of Arts, 28 (1880), pp. 293–336.

[15] Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of 'A'* (Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 2002), pp. 88–92.

[16] Roger Bowers, 'Chains of (Rehabilitated) Gold', *Early Music Review*, 159, 2014, pp. 10–17.

[17] Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, pp. 192–249.

[18] Roger Bowers, 'To Chorus from Quartet: The Performing Resource for English Church Polyphony, *c*. 1390–1559', in *English Choral Practice 1400–1650*, ed. by John Morehen (Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 1–47 (pp. 45–47).

one and the same.[19] Since, as Andrew Parrot colourfully puts it, this voice-type has come to be 'widely seen as the very emblem of early vocal music',[20] and since it features so frequently in solo roles as well as occupying such a central position in the typically five-part scoring of the verse anthem repertory, it is necessary to ask the question: what can be said about the 'real' Contratenor?

First, we must be clear about its notated range. The following diagram shows the typical notated vocal ranges of the four most common voices of Tudor vocal polyphony (Figure 1.1):[21]
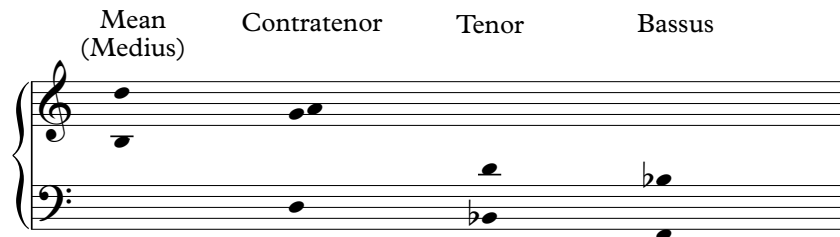
Figure 1.1: Typical notated vocal ranges, English sacred music,
late 16th C to early 17th C

Both Wulstan and Bowers, together with many other scholars, accept that these notated ranges are used remarkably consistently by most composers of the period.[22] The second diagram shows these ranges when transposed up a minor third, to conform to the high pitch theory (Figure 1.2):

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[19] Bowers, 'To Chorus from Quartet'; Bowers, 'Chains of (Rehabilitated) Gold', p. 12. The name given to the line in question may sometimes differ, for example to 'altus' in secular parts, but it is its notated range that is at issue here.

[20] Andrew Parrott, 'Falsetto Beliefs – The "Countertenor" Cross-Examined', in *Composers' Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 46–121 (p. 46).

[21] A fifth voice, higher than the Mean and commonly named 'Triplex' or 'Treble' is much less common; it will be referred to again later in this chapter.

[22] See for example Roger Bowers, 'To Chorus from Quartet: The Performing Resource for English Church Polyphony, c. 1390–1559' in John Morehen (ed.), *English Choral Practice (1400–1650)* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 1-47 (pp. 42–3); Bowers, 'Ecclesiastical or domestic? Criteria for identification of the initial destinations of William Byrd's music to religious vernacular texts', in Richard Turbet (ed.), *William Byrd: A Research and Information Guide*, 3rd edn (New York and London, 2012), pp. 134-60; Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, pp. 120–22; David Wulstan, 'The Problem of Pitch in Sixteenth-Century English Vocal Music', Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association, 93 (1966), pp. 97–112 (p. 100); Wulstan, 'Vocal Colour', pp. 39–40.

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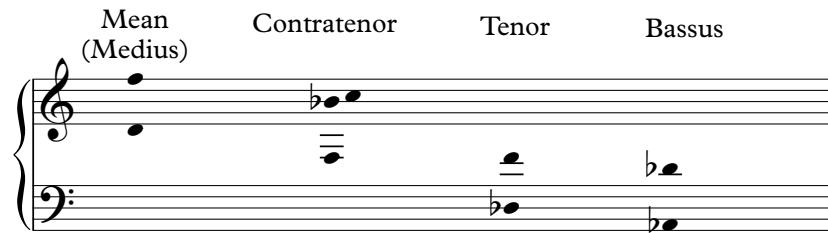
Figure 1.2: Typical notated vocal ranges, English sacred music,
late 16th C to early 17th C, *transposed up by a minor 3rd*

From Figure 1.2 it can be seen that the range of the 'Contratenor' line, when transposed from its original pitch to the higher pitch, places it beyond the range of any 'normal' tenor voice and makes it effectively inaccessible to any kind of male voice production other than falsetto Alto.[23] Wulstan advances a number of reasons for why he regards the modern concept of falsettist 'countertenor' as typical of the 'vocal colour' of the Tudor period,[24] but his argument contains a number of questionable assertions, such as:

> Sheltered from direct contact with operatic (and therefore continental) influence, an unbroken line of tradition may be seen here to extend back at least as far as Purcell. Not only have boys' voices and male altos been a constant feature, but the range of voices has also remained largely unchanged[25]

and

> The facility for falsetto singing (by adult male, boys' and women's voices), the paucity of 'true' tenor voices and the 'duller' tone production all may be cited as characteristic of English singing,[26]

and

> The music of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, supported by documentary sources … shows that there were as many countertenors in

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[23] Though not, as we shall see below, of historical tenors using the falsetto extension technique described by certain writers in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
[24] Wulstan, 'Vocal Colour', p. 19.
[25] Wulstan, 'Vocal Colour', p. 23.
[26] Wulstan, 'Vocal Colour', p. 29.

> choirs as tenors and basses put together … the obvious conclusion is that
> they were … falsettists[27]

They all return ultimately to his now discredited analysis, cited to justify the use of the

falsetto alto, that:

> We have evidence that English church organ pitch was a minor third higher
> above modern pitch[28]

As we have seen, the research of the EEOP showed us that we have no such evidence.

1A.6 Organ pitch: an irrelevance?

Bowers, on the other hand, describes the EEOP research as work of 'great erudition of much

interest' and he has produced no evidence of his own to contradict it. However, he argues that

> … it can have no bearing upon the issue of the sounding pitch of the
> timbres of voice engaged for the contemporary liturgical choir…. In no
> sense … was singing pitch determined by organ pitch. When
> accompanying voices, the player would transpose as necessary.[29]

Parrott points out that this presents a misleading picture and cites many descriptions from all

over Europe of organs giving pitch for the choir in a close, collaborative relationship.[30]

Certainly, secondary transposition might take place in particular circumstances, but this

would need to be within limited bounds.[31] Transposition by a semitone, for example, would

be impractical due to the temperament likely to be in use. In England, this was no less the

case, perhaps with secondary transposition by a tone, in the manner described by Thomas

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[27] G. M. Ardran and David Wulstan, 'The Alto or Countertenor Voice', *Music & Letters*, 48.1 (1967), pp. 17–22 (p. 17).
[28] Wulstan, 'The Problem of Pitch', p. 98; also *Tudor Music*, p. 200 and following.
[29] Bowers, 'Chains of (Rehabilitated) Gold', p. 15.
[30] Parrott, *Falsetto Beliefs*, pp. 81–84.
[31] See J. Bunker Clark, *Transposition in Seventeenth Century English Organ Accompaniments and the Transposing Organ*, 4 (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1974) and specifically pp. 23-37 for how this applies to the English transposing organ.

Morley to his pupil.[32] Furthermore, it is difficult to see how Bowers' argument for 'high

pitch' can convincingly be reconciled with the description given by Nathaniel Tomkins of a

standard perfect fourth relationship between organ and choir pitches.[35] If the organ pitch was

in fact a tone lower than the level assumed by Wulstan and proponents of their version of

'high pitch' theory, the *c* key played on the organ would produce a Quire Pitch *e-flat* rather

than an *f* — an unlikely result.

1A.7 Falsetto singing: a continental practice?

In recent years, Parrott, Simon Ravens and, more recently, Timothy Braithwaite have all

written extensively on the subject of the modern 'countertenor' and argued that there is no

evidence whatever of falsetto singing in English music during the periods that both Wulstan

and Bowers claim that it was practised.[36] Parrott argues that all of it is more convincingly

realised by standard tenor and bass voices without the need for falsetto.[37] Furthermore, he is

able to point to a catalogue of recorded performances by his own Taverner Consort to

demonstrate convincingly how this works in practice.[38] All three writers cite documented

accounts of falsettists employed in Spanish and Italian choirs, for example in Rome in the late

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[32] Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597), pp. 155–56.

[35] In the words of his letter to John Sayer of May 1665 (Oxford, Boldleian Library, MS Add. C304a, f.141r): 'double F fa ut of the quire pitch & according to Guido Aretines scale (or as some term it double C fa ut according to ye keys & musiks) an open pipe of ten foot Long …' (though, as Andrew Johnstone points out, he has confused the pipe lengths and is really talking about the 5-foot Principal). See Johnstone, '"As it Was in the Beginning"', p. 515.

[36] Simon Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice: A History of High Male Singing.* (New York: Boydell & Brewer Group Ltd, 2014); Andrew Parrott, 'Falsetto Beliefs - The "Countertenor" Cross-Examined', in *Composers' Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 46–121; Timothy Braithwaite, 'An Overview of the History of the Countertenor Voice and Falsetto Singing', pp. 24–30 <https://www.cacophonyhistoricalsinging.com/countertenor-project> [Accessed December 2 2021].

[37] Parrott, 'Falsetto Beliefs', pp. 47–50.

[38] For example: 'Masterworks from late-medieval England and Scotland' CDC 7496612 (EMI); Taverner 'Mass Gloria tibi Trinitas a6' CDC 7491032 (EMI); Tallis 'Latin Church Music I: Spem in alium a 40, complete responds' CDC 749555 (EMI)

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15th century under Pope Sixtus IV,[39] pointing out that they are clearly singing the soprano line, not a lower part. In the following century, with the advent of castrati into wealthier choirs, the less well-endowed institutions engaged falsettists for the same rôles, being unable to afford the more glamorous alternative. But in England, the high level of training of boy singers made the employment of such voices unnecessary.[40] Of particular interest in the period that we are considering, namely the late 16th and early 17th centuries, is the account of the English traveller Thomas Coryat, who encountered what appears to have been a falsettist during his travels to Venice in 1608:

> I alwaies thought that he was an Eunuch, which if he had beene, it had taken away some part of my admiration, because they do most commonly sing passing wel; but he was not, therefore it was much the more admirable. Againe it was the more worthy of admiration, because he was a middle-aged man, as about forty years old. For nature doth more commonly bestowe such a singularitie of voice upon boyes and striplings, then upon men of such yeares.[41]

The significant point here is that, despite being known to have lived in Winchester and Oxford during the 1590s, where he would surely have heard for himself the phenomenon of falsettist countertenors in the choir, had they existed, he appears to be entirely surprised by what he is hearing.[42]

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[39] Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice*, Chapter 3: Renaissance Europe, fn.16.

[40] Though, of course, this was no longer the case following the Civil War, when Matthew Locke describes the need for '*Cornets* and *Mens feigned Voices*' to substitute for trained boys, when the Chapel Royal was reconvened. See Matthew Locke, *The Present Practice of Musick Vindicated* (London, 1673), p. 19.

[41] Thomas Coryat, *Coryat's Crudities* (London, 1611), pp. 252–53.

[42] Dennis Arnold identified the singer in question as the priest 'il falsetto di Piove'. See Denis Arnold, 'Music at the Scuola Di San Rocco', *Music & Letters*, 40/3, 1959, p. 238. The question of whether he was singing in the soprano or alto register is an interesting one. Tim Braithwaite points out that, in his Italian-English dictionary of 1598, Florio translates the word 'Falsétto' as 'a false treble or countertenor in musicke', but cautions 'whether this is a comment on Italian or English practises is hard to ascertain'. See Braithwaite, 'History of the Countertenor Voice', p. 19. Either way, it was evidently a sound outside Coryat's experience.

1A.8 The English cathedral alto tradition

Whilst there is no evidence of an English falsettist tradition in the period which concerns us

here, there clearly was by the late nineteenth century, as Ravens relates, though to judge by

contemporary accounts, much of it of mediocre standard.[43] He refers to a fascinating meeting

of the Musical Association in 1937, at which the speaker, John Hough, gives a talk entitled

'The Historical Significance of the Counter-tenor'.[44] Early on, he shows awareness of a

prevailing confusion over terminology:

> In our time, by 'counter-tenor' is understood the rare *tenore altino* in
> Rimsky Korsakov's opera *The Golden Cockerel* — an unusually high
> voice whose worth is as inestimable as that of the *basso profondo*. A bass
> or baritone voice produces an alto falsetto whose working range
> corresponds to that of the counter-tenor … It is certain that by 'altus' was
> meant the high male voice: a discussion of the meaning of the prefix in
> 'contralto' and 'contratenor' would be of interest. There is still confusion in
> the terminology of this voice, as there was in the eighteenth century, when
> the deep voices of women singers on the stage were often styled 'counter-
> tenor', especially in performance of male roles.[45]

In his following survey of relevant repertory, he ranges widely from music by Dunstable as

far as nineteenth-century Glebe singing, with an implication that an unbroken English

tradition of falsetto singing might exist throughout, but his conflation of many different types

of music suffers from insufficient consideration of the significance of performing pitch. (For

example, his extensive discussion of Restoration repertory shows no awareness of the

influence of 'French' pitch, perhaps as low as *c*. A400, which is now recognised to be a major

factor in determining the nature of the 'countertenor' voice of that period.) However, when it

comes to the Stuart verse anthem, he is in no doubt that 'questions of pitch become

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[43] Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice*, Chapter 7: England and the First Countertenor Falsettists.

[44] John Hough, 'The Historical Significance of the Counter-Tenor', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*,
64.1 (1937), pp. 1–24 <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrma/64.1.1> [Accessed August 5 2021].

[45] Hough, 'The Historical Significance', p. 1. Though he might here have been confusing such singers with the
castrati who were prominent on the stage at this time and were also referred to by the term 'contralto'.

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momentous' and shows that an orthodox view, that the correct performing pitch in this case

was *at least* a minor third higher than at present, had already taken hold:[46]

> In some compositions the layout of parts corresponds with our methods, but
> often the preponderance of low bass F's, E's and even D's together with an
> ineffective treble range entails transposition of a minor or major third
> above. *This is the record of John* when accompanied by viols would give
> the basses many low E's.[47]

Of particular interest is Hough's speculation that there might have existed 'a special set of

viols kept for church pitch purposes' with the result that 'this method restores the original

alto solo'. As we shall presently see, his speculation now seems entirely probable, but with

regard to a crucially different pitch and a crucially different voice-type.[48] In the following

discussion, the chairman, Sir Percy Buck, relates his own experience of hearing a quite

different kind of high male voice, which was in his view the 'real thing' and a rare pleasure to

hear:[49]

> In all my experience, in Cathedral and Church Choirs, and elsewhere, I
> have only come across two singers who really had counter-tenor voices,
> i.e., who had voices of tenor quality pitched exceptionally high….On the
> whole I think those two voices did produce an effect in the works they sang
> far better than any of the artificial altos. It was quite beautiful to hear four-
> part singing with the real counter-tenor taking the second line.

Only a few years after this meeting, in late 1944, Michael Tippett famously discovered Alfred

Deller singing as a lay clerk in Canterbury Cathedral. His choral role was cathedral alto, but it

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[46] Interesting evidence of the 'Chinese whispers' effect to which Johnstone refers (Johnstone, '"As it Was in the Beginning"', p. 521). Ouseley's original suggestion that Tudor church pitch might be somewhat higher than in his time, his own estimate being by about a tone (Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley, *A Collection of the Sacred Compositions of Orlando Gibbons* (London: Novello, Ewer and Company, 1873), p. [iii]) has already been considerably inflated.

[47] Hough, 'The Historical Significance', p. 4. As it happens, his analysis was incorrect. There are just two of such notes in the bass line, a low *E* and a low *E-flat,* and both only in the lowest instrumental part. The six low *F*s in the vocal bass are unexceptional for the verse anthem repertory.

[48] Ironically, during later questions, the speaker states 'I should imagine the true counter-tenor has a compass a third higher than a tenor'. Had he not being misled by the erroneous theory that the original pitch was as much as 'a major third' higher, he might have realised that his 'true countertenor' was indeed a tenor and not an alto.

[49] Hough, 'The Historical Significance', pp. 20–1.

was as soloist in Henry Purcell's *Music for a while* that Tippett first heard him sing, inspiring

his much-quoted reaction:

> … 'the centuries rolled back'. For I recognised absolutely that this was the
> voice for which Purcell had written.

The impression that he made on the composer was so overwhelming that their collaboration

over the following years both established Deller as a famous artist and, in the process,

introduced the term 'countertenor' to the wider public.[50]

1A.9 The 'countertenor' established

Writing in *Tudor Music*, more than twenty-five years after Tippett's conferring of the title

'countertenor' on his discovery, Alfred Deller, Wulstan accepted it as incontrovertible.

> Now that the voice has been restored to something approaching its former
> popularity in England, it is hard to credit that its revival is so recent. The
> revivification of the voice was due to the artistry, and indeed bravery — for
> curious reactions preceded its acceptance — of Alfred Deller.[51]

He was anxious to remove any remaining doubt of the kind that Buck had raised at the

Musical Association meeting (though his reasoning is irrelevant):

> It should be clear … that the notion that the 'countertenor' is a type of tenor
> quite distinct from the alto is wholly erroneous. It rests principally upon
> false etymology: the name of the *contratenor* part of earlier music merely
> reflected the way in which the composition was put together; the
> countertenor part was often lower than the tenor.[52]

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[50] Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice*, Chapter 1: The Discovery of Alfred Deller, fn. 3. Ravens also reminds us in a later section 'England in the Age before Deller' (Chapter 8, location 5112) that there were prominent falsettists in England in the earlier part of the century, such as John Hatherley Clark and Charles Hawkins, the latter even being referred to as a 'counter-tenor', but it was clearly Tippett and Deller between them who gave the term its modern profile.

[51] Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, p. 223.

[52] Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, p. 242.

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Seeking to bolster his thesis with scientific evidence, he enlisted the support of a laryngologist in experiments to show whether there was any physiological difference between the voice production of the modern 'countertenor' and the traditional Cathedral alto.[53] He proved to his own satisfaction that there was none, that it was all a matter of whether the voice had been properly trained, but this veneer of scientific certainty tells us, in the end, nothing about whether a voice production which is 'almost exclusively' falsetto, as he had acknowledged Deller's to be,[54] is one and the same as the historical 'Contratenor'.

The time has come to ask the crucial question. Considering the way that Contratenor parts are written in the repertory that we are considering here, and given what we now know about historical performing pitch, does this music really 'work' when sung by the modern 'countertenor'?

1A.10 Contratenor parts and the modern 'countertenor'

The description given by Hough at the Musical Association meeting of the technique used by Deller and the great majority of modern 'countertenors' is still broadly true:

> The compass of the alto *falsetto* is usually spread over the middle C to the C above. The alto singer uses his ordinary voice in a very light way from F on the bass stave to middle C or D, and the whole art lies in joining the two.[55]

Some now prefer (and are indeed encouraged) to extend the falsetto down further, even below middle C, in the interests of avoiding exposure of the break between the two voices — sometimes referred to as modal (chest voice) and falsetto, or, more succinctly, M1 and M2.[56]

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[53] G. M. Ardran and David Wulstan, 'The Alto or Countertenor Voice'.
[54] Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, p. 223.
[55] Hough, 'The Historical Significance', p. 4.
[56] See e.g. Braithwaite, 'History of the Countertenor Voice', p. 5.

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Under cover of the chorus section, a surreptitious change of register might be possible, but in the great majority of the verses which are set for this voice it is quite another matter, especially if uniformity of tone all the way down in falsetto is considered obligatory.[57] The problem with the lowest notes of this register is not only that they become weaker in descent, in common with other voice-types, but also that they become inconveniently fragile, as they approach the break into chest voice. To turn all this to advantage in a passage that is written in this tessitura around the break is a challenge, well-illustrated in two famous passages from Gibbons' *This is the record of John*. In the first, John the Baptist vehemently denies the suggestion that he is the Christ with a flamboyant gesture that propels him to the lowest extremity of the range on *f* (See Example 1.1):

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[57] I am grateful to the professional countertenor and singing teacher, Nicholas Clapton, for relating to me his experience of singing in the choir of Christ Church, some forty years ago, in which he was actively discouraged from using chest voice at all in this kind of repertory (private correspondence). And, as previously observed, Wulstan described Alfred Deller's voice, used as a model for decades of countertenors who followed him, as being 'almost exclusively' falsetto. Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, p. 223.

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Example 1.1: Orlando Gibbons *This is the record of John*, bars 12–18 (notated pitch)

In the second, John denies that he is the prophet Elias, his emphatic answer 'No' again taking him progressively down to the lowest extremity of the range on *f* (See Example 1.2):

Example 1.2: Orlando Gibbons *This is the record of John*, bars 31–40 (notated pitch)

At a seminar and workshop in 2013, hosted by the Centre for Research in the Arts, Social

Sciences and Humanities (CRASSH) in Cambridge under the title 'Chains of Gold: rhetoric

and performance in the verse anthem',[58] Geoffrey Webber presented a survey of all available

recordings of this anthem. One of these was of the Choir of King's College Cambridge with

The Jacobean Consort of Viols, conducted by Sir David Willcocks,[59] in which the piece was

transposed up, not by a minor but by a major third from F into A. The conclusion of the first

of the above examples therefore sounded as follows (See Example 1.3):

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[58] March 1-2, 2013. http://www.crassh.cam.ac.uk/events/24652
[59] Now available as 'Gibbons: Church music', Decca, catalogue no. 4758184. Originally ZRG5151 (1959)
recorded August 1958.

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Example 1.3: Orlando Gibbons *This is the record of John*, bars 15–18
(transposed up a major 3rd)

The event was reviewed in an article by Roger Bowers, cited earlier. In it he refers to the reaction of listeners:

> … at the conference itself a degree of perhaps injudicious mirth was directed toward recorded performances made by falsettists of the solo part in the verse anthem version of Orlando Gibbons's *This is the record of John.* Perhaps there lay in the composer's text-setting a degree of subtlety overlooked by the speaker and audience. "I am the voice of one that crieth in the wilderness" does indeed need to be sung out strongly at a firm point in the tessitura. But the descending phrase on "I am not the Christ" and that set to "and he answered No" are rightly placed toward the bottom of the alto register. John the Baptist found himself being asked if he was a reincarnation of one of the greatest of the prophets, or even 'the Christ' himself. As Gibbons appreciated, the appalled denial of someone else's blasphemously mistaken view that you might be the Messiah was something to be undertaken with horrified reticence and shocked humility, rather than trumpeted across the Judæan wilderness with a tenor megaphone.[60]

As one who was present at the occasion, I can attest that the 'mirth' that had greeted this particular recording was entirely understandable, for it had very obviously required the placement of an extremely close microphone for the low passages to be heard at all. It is a passage that is notorious amongst falsettists, and even when it is sung by a competent

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[60] Bowers, 'Chains of (Rehabilitated) Gold', p. 16.

professional the result tends to be subdued to the point of blandness, since so much vocal

effort has to be devoted to maintaining the sound at all, let alone agility in this fragile

register. Is this really what Gibbons wanted? Bowers resorts to some fanciful hermeneutics to

persuade us that it amounts to a justifiable interpretation of the scene depicted. His

characterisation of John's motivation as 'horrified reticence and shocked humility' flies in the

face of what most of us would expect from the Baptist's persona as described in the Bible.

Straight talking rather than timidity seems altogether more likely, coming from one who later,

at the cost of his life, has no compunction in denouncing to Herod his illegal marriage to

Herodias. In any case, in the first of these two scenes, the blasphemous suggestion that he

might be the reincarnated Elias has not yet been made, so there is no obvious reason for him

to be 'appalled' whilst bluntly declaring 'I am not the Christ'. As it happens, it is exactly at

the time of the English Reformation that John the Baptist appears for the first time as a

central character in English staged drama, portrayed as an heroic figure of religious reform,

which hardly suggests that he was viewed as one who is easily shocked.

But there is a much more important and interesting reason why this interpretation is

misconceived from a musical point of view. The clue lies in the word 'plainly'. We cannot be

sure how Gibbons came to use the translation used at this point by Tyndale and in the

Bishops Bible and Geneva versions. Perhaps it had been chosen for him in preference to the

King James version, which does not use the word at all and instead gives 'And he confessed,

and denied not: but confessed, I am not the Christ'.[61] He may simply have preferred, for

musical reasons, not to be obliged to repeat 'confessed'. Whatever the reason, his use of

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[61] The anthem was written for Archbishop Laud, whilst he was president of St John's College, Oxford, which was from 1611 to 1621, and he may have chosen the text. The King James version, although appearing in 1611, took some time to be taken up widely, and Gibbons, like other composers, continued to use the older translations in many works. However, he did use the King James on occasion, namely in the verse anthem 'Sing unto the Lord'. I am grateful to Professor Peter McCullough for his insights here and following (private correspondence, May 2020).

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'plainly' enables him to set up an intriguing antithesis between the meaning of the word and the manner in which he sets John's ensuing declaration, which is anything but 'plain'. Of the definitions of 'plainly' given in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the majority refer to content or sense: 'without doubt', 'openly, publicly', 'without duplicity or reserve', 'with clarity of understanding … distinctly'. But two refer to the *manner* in which the matter is communicated: 'without ornament or embellishment', 'so as to be clearly perceived or understood'.[62] Yet the quaver figure to which he sets 'I am not' in bar 17 is self-evidently an ornament and one that is quite ostentatious in this context. What is the point he is making?

In a later chapter on rhetoric in the verse style,[63] I discuss this particular passage in relation to other examples of the sophisticated rhetorical language which is typical of Gibbons' verse writing. It is sufficient to say for the present purpose that these quavers constitute a rhetorical figure in the form of a simple *passaggio*, or ornamental *division* to give its English term. As such, it requires to be executed with the clarity and panache that would be expected in both vocal and instrumental ornamentation of the period, sounding as if it has been improvised in the moment. Its very *un*plainness throws into relief the bluntness of John's denial: that is the whole point. Unless the figure can be articulated in a way that makes it sound surprising and remarkable, that point is entirely lost, yet such is the case with the way that we hear it when the part is sung by a modern falsettist. Since the notes are then buried 'toward the bottom' of the falsetto register, they are inevitably subsumed into the indistinct legato that is a feature of that fragile tessitura. When, on the other hand, the figure lies 'at a firm point in the tessitura', namely in the central region where *passaggi* such as this

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[62] See "plainly, *adv. 1*", OED *Online*, Oxford University Press, March 2022, <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/144993> [accessed June 13 2022].
[63] Chapter 2.5 'Layers of meaning'.

would normally be placed for an instrument or a voice, and where it naturally lies in its untransposed form for a tenor voice-type, it can be executed with agility and ease without any need for a 'megaphone'.

1A.11 Making the 'break'

If, on the other hand, the lower notes of a Contratenor part are to be sung by the falsettist in his tenor register, where is the break to be made into falsetto for the modern 'countertenor'? In the passage cited earlier, Hough describes the break to be in the region around *c*' or *d* ' (and he is referring to these notes in terms of normal modern pitch). This is the practice of the great majority of modern exponents of this voice-type, but does it make practical sense in the light of the surviving parts? If a survey is made of the ten sacred consort anthems by Gibbons in GB-Och MS Mus. 21 (in their original, untransposed keys), it clearly does not,[64] since the notated region around *c*' or *d* ' is the very centre of where the Contratenor parts predominantly 'sit'. The scoring of all these anthems is for Mean, Contratenor 1, Contratenor 2, Tenor and Bassus. The following two diagrams present pitch data for Contratenor 1 and Contratenor 2 in graphic format, including only those sections which are texted and with pitches illustrated in a bar graph which shows the duration in semibreves spent on each pitch, averaged across the ten anthems (Figures 1.3 & 1.4).[65] It will be immediately noticed that the highest note is *a*' and the lowest tenor *d*, as illustrated earlier.[66]

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[64] For reasons to be explained in Chapter 4.3, this list omits the 'high' key version of *See, see, the Word is incarnate*, as well as the secular *Do not repine, fair sun*.

[65] Pitches are shown according to the Midi system normally used for scientific discussion, where Middle C is C4. Reference points are also indicated in the lowest line by corresponding namings according to the Gamut, where Middle C is 'C sol fa ut'. This and the following analytical diagram (Figure 1.4) are generated from data contained within the Consort Anthem Database to be found in the Appendix to this research. Through that same database can be accessed similar diagrams, analysing the ranges of voice-parts to more than 120 consort anthems — the great majority of the repertory. (The compilation of this database is ongoing work).

[66] See Figure 1.1.

Implications of the original performing pitch. A: Voices
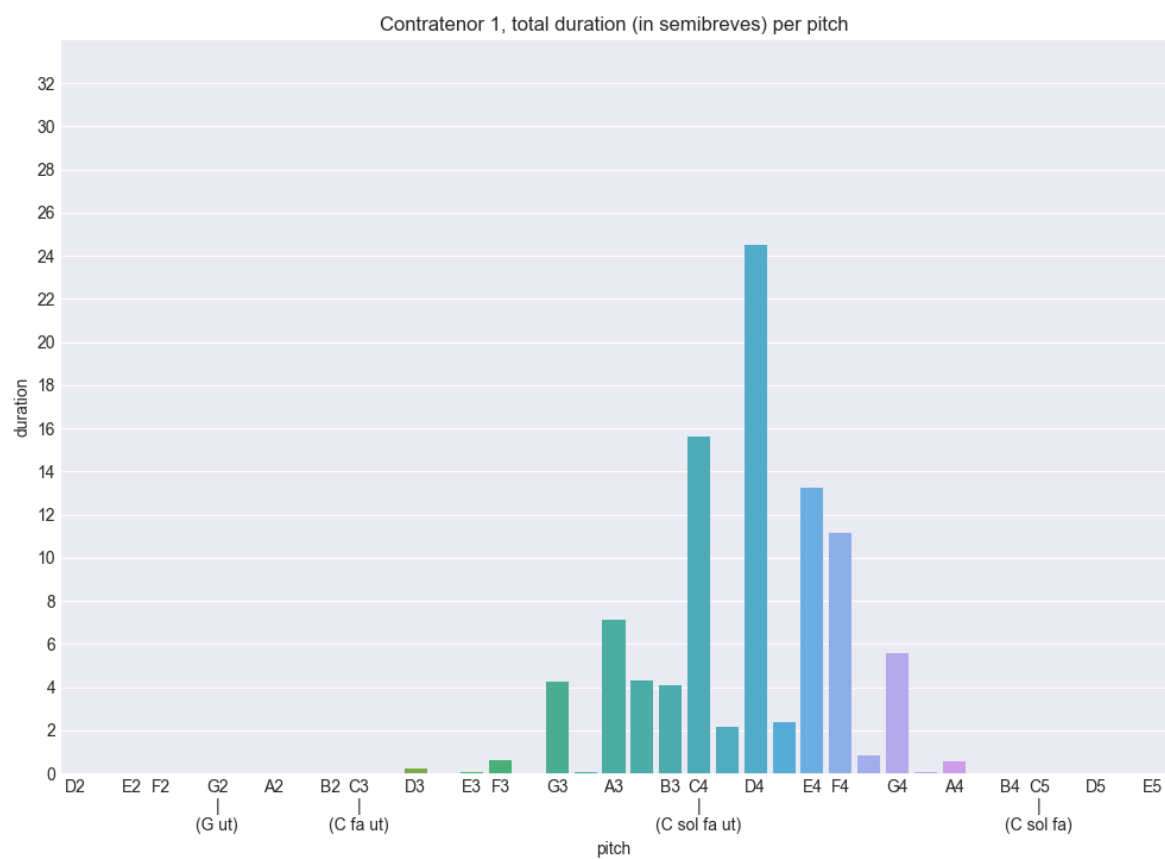
Figure 1.3: Orlando Gibbons, 10 sacred consort anthems,
average pitch durations, Contratenor 1
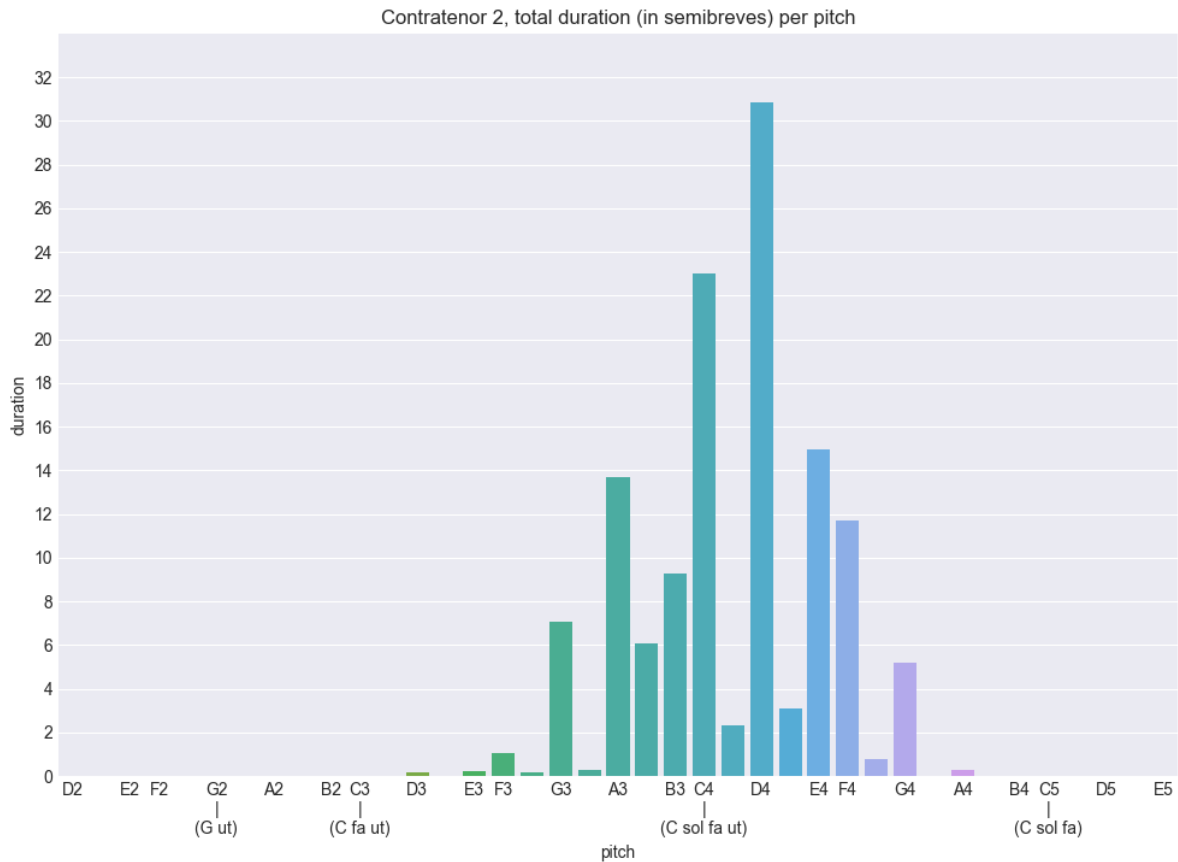
Figure 1.4: Orlando Gibbons, 10 sacred consort anthems,
average pitch durations, Contratenor 2

A constant changing back and forth between the two registers in such a congested area is, not surprisingly, highly unsatisfactory and destroys the carefully constructed symmetry of the musical sentence, as is illustrated in the opening verse of two of the other anthems (Examples 1.4 & 1.5):

Example 1.4: Orlando Gibbons *Behold, thou hast made my days*,
Contratenor 2, opening verse

Example 1.5: Orlando Gibbons *Blessed are all they that fear the Lord*,
Contratenor 2, opening verse.

Considering now the upper end of Gibbons' Contratenor writing, written *g'* and especially *a'*,

it is noticeable that these are not used randomly, but usually at the peak of a carefully

constructed arc (as in the example above) or perhaps at a moment of special tension. A good

example of this is in *See, see, the Word in incarnate*, at the description of the resurrection

(Example 1.6):

Example 1.6: Orlando Gibbons *See, see, the Word is incarnate*, bars 63–72

Here, as the three singing voices describe the earthquake and darkening of the sky, the

Contratenor surges up dramatically to shatter the bounds of hell as Christ is 'risen up in

victory'. We should surely expect the voice to sound appropriately stretched at a moment

such as this, as we should at both extremities of the range in a passage from *Sing unto the*

Lord, where the text 'when I go down into the pit' clearly requires it to convey the whole

scope of the singer's ability, not just a convenient portion of it (Example 1.7):

Example 1.7: Orlando Gibbons *Sing unto the Lord*, Contratenor 1, bars 76–81

Here, then, is the nub of the problem for the 'countertenor' singing Contratenor lines.

He must cover the whole typical range of the parts from tenor *d* to *g'* or *a'*, therefore needing

to use both chest voice and falsetto ('M1' and 'M2'), joining the two at the natural break

point in the region around *c'* or *d* '; yet the way that Contratenor parts are written shows this

to be the very area of heaviest traffic, making disguise of the join as awkward as it could be.

Furthermore, when he reaches the upper extremity of the range, around *g'* or *a'*, any self-

respecting falsettist has at least another fifth to go before he begins to reach his limit. Put

crudely, he is like an aeroplane that has barely left the ground or a car barely out of third

gear. This is manifestly an inefficient way for a composer to use such a voice-type and, given

the lack of any evidence for it in documentation of the period, it makes no sense to use it

here, when there is a much more convincing alternative. What might that be?

1A.12 Return of the 'Contratenor'

Once again, Parrott summarises the issue:

> Heroic, theatrical or celebratory solo writing designed to exploit the top
> register of a man's natural voice will clearly have a very different effect,
> however well sung, when placed in the medium-to-low range of a falsetto
> voice.

and he puts his finger on another important point:

> … whole repertories that depend on speech-like naturalness and directness of verbal communication — English lute songs, consort songs and verse anthems, for example — risk being jeopardized by an 'unnatural' voice singing well above the pitch of its owner's speaking voice.[67]

The 'speaking' quality of the verse-singer's voice is one to which I shall return several times during this thesis. In this respect, the kind of voice that we are talking about for the Contratenor is probably little different from that which is required for the part of the Evangelist in Bach's Passion settings, namely a very similar vocal range and comparable responsibility for making the text clear and meaningful. Drawing a parallel with music of our own time, John Potter argues that the priority of text over sound is also a feature of modern popular music:

> If we want a model to base our concept on, we can draw (with care …) some parallels with modern rock singers. We would not normally identify male rock singers as tenors even if they sing in the tenor range (which many do, frequently in a relatively high tessitura). This is because they are not trying to make a tenor sound, but are delivering the text in a way which is related to their speaking voices …[68]

I will not be alone in finding that clarity of text is probably the weakest feature of the falsetto voice when singing in the very area where it is most required, as the earlier diagrams showed. And it is the inherently covered quality of sound that most contributes to the indistinct character of Contratenor lines in the five-part chorus sections, when sung in this manner. What is needed is a quality that is altogether more incisive.[69]

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[67] Parrott, 'Falsetto Beliefs', 94.

[68] John Potter, *Tenor: History of a Voice* (Yale University Press, 2009) e-book, Chapter 1, location 147.

[69] Ironically, it is Bowers who best expresses my feelings about this aspect in a passage which, although quoted here out of his own context, perfectly describes what is so usually heard. (He is here criticising Wulstan for his use of high pitch in pre-Reformation repertory, a practice which he does not support). His refers to: '… two alto voices, who have to sing predominantly in the weaker sections of their register. By this process the whole intended core of the choral sound is enfeebled, leaving in the middle of the texture insufficient tone to hold together the two outer ends of the tonal spectrum.' See Bowers, 'To Chorus from Quartet', p. 47.

In the five-part scoring that is typical of consort anthem repertory, there is usually a requirement for two Contratenors (in the case of a work for Decani and Cantoris choir, therefore at least four). This would seem to imply that there must have been a plentiful supply of suitable voices, yet this seems contrary to the contemporary account of Charles Butler, who observes of the Contratenor line that

> … in harmony it hath the greatest grace: specially when it is sung with a right voice: which is too rare[70]

Peter Phillips recognises the problem and offers some practical advice to choirs:

> ... Perhaps the most satisfactory solution is to use an ordinary tenor or baritone and an ordinary falsettist together on the part, expecting each to drop out as the range moves to an extreme. Between them neither end of the compass will be a strain and with practice the two could sing as a perfect team even in solo work.[71]

But this pantomime-horse approach to the role, even if available as a last resort to the chorus of an ill-equipped modern choir, clearly has no relevance to the Contratenor soloist in a verse section. Phillips even acknowledges that 'it is possible that a tradition has been lost here' yet seems to show little interest in rediscovering what that might be. Ravens and Braithwaite, on the other hand, cite some important historical examples that may throw light.

1A.13 Later manifestations of the high tenor voice

It is widely acknowledged that, in the era following the Restoration, composers wrote for two different kinds of Contratenor voice, a lower and higher range, both written in C3 Clef, the

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[70] Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik, in Singing and Setting: With The Two-Fold Use Thereof [Ecclesiastical and Civil]* (London: John Haviland, 1636), p. 42.
[71] Peter Phillips, 'Performance Practice in 16th-Century English Choral Music', *Early Music*, 6.2 (1978), pp. 195–99 (p. 198).

lower being almost certainly for a high tenor.[72] Indeed, it is claimed that Purcell himself may

have been such a singer.[73] Tenors Charles Daniels and Samuel Boden have both recorded

several examples of solo writing for Contratenor, which demonstrate well the particular

expressive edge that such 'high wire' skill brings to the music, compared to the much more

usually heard falsetto version.[74] It is often wrongly supposed that this kind of voice is the

English equivalent of the French *haute contre*, but accounts of the latter make clear that this

was very different, and probably a good deal more acerbic.[75] Ravens, Braithwaite and Parrott

all write extensively on this subject, from which it emerges that, by the later eighteenth-

century, the French taste differed substantially from the newly emerging Italian school of

tenor singing, which appears to have found a mellifluous way of combining the M1 and M2

voices, more commonly described as chest and falsetto, into a light extension of the normal

tenor range.[76] With a survey of French authorities such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Jérome

de Lalande, to be understood (he suggests) in the light of the more dispassionate outside

observer Johann Joachim Quantz, Parrott sums up what had become a turning point for the

tenor voice in European music.

> With this we come, I believe, to the heart of the matter. From the
> documentary evidence presented in this brief study it emerges — quite

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[72] Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice*, Chapter 6, The Purcellian Counter-Tenor; Braithwaite, 'A History of Falsetto', p. 40; Parrott, *Composers' Intentions*, pp. 273–9.

[73] though this supposition is based largely on the contemporary account of a performance of his *'Tis nature's voice*, in which the identification of Purcell as the performer is not entirely clear. See Parrott, *Composers' Intentions*, p. 277.

[74] Charles Daniels, *Hail, Bright Cecilia*!, IV. 'Tis Nature's voice', Gabrieli Players dir. Paul McCreesh, Deutsche Gramophon Archiv, 2002. Samuel Boden, *An Ode on the Death of Mr Henry Purcell*, Arcangelo dir. Jonathan Cohen, Hyperion 2017. Both singers number amongst the eight high tenors who sing Contratenor verse anthem parts in the two 'In Chains of Gold' recordings on Signum, forming part of the data to this thesis.

[75] See, for example, the descriptions of this voice-type by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and especially Charles Burney, viz 'such screaming, forcing and trilling as turned me quite sick' in Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice*, Extempore 4: 'Reserved Spaniards: Cultural Stereotypes and the High Male Voice', Kindle Location 2424.

[76] Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice*, Chapter 5: 'Baroque Europe', *The French Haute-Contre*, Kindle Location 2846; Braithwaite, 'An Overview of the History of the Countertenor Voice and Falsetto Singing', https://0799f6a5-7462-4a05-8162-fd5403329489.filesusr.com/ugd/a5f0e3_a51f942171324376a6b2c3880c747a33.pdf, pp. 40-45; Parrott, *Composers' Intentions*, pp. 122-45.

> plainly, it seems to me — that the use or non-use of falsetto (in the sense of head voice, as most of us would call it) was seen as a central factor in the polarisation of Italian and French vocal traditions. Its cultivation throughout the 18th century (and beyond), was seen as a defining characteristic of Italian singing, one which distinguished it sharply from French practice.[77]

Strange as it might seem, it was the great *castrati* teachers such as Pier Francesco Tosi and Giambattista Mancini,[78] rather than their unbrutalised tenor colleagues, who advocated and taught this subtle, blending technique, guiding the *voce di petto* through the *voix mixte* into the lighter register of *voce di testa*, and thereby establishing the highly successful Italian style of tenor singing, until it gave way in the next century to demands for the greater power of the *tenore di forza*. One imagines that the demonstration of that new technique by the French tenor Duprez, introducing the novelty of a high *c″* sung with full chest voice rather in a light head voice, would have horrified Morley just as much as it did Rossini, whom it was designed to impress.[79]

1A.14 Reviving the Contratenor today

What relevance does any of this excursion into later centuries have to a Contratenor in a seventeenth-century consort anthem? The point here is simply to suggest that, in all probability, what Phillips refers to as a 'lost tradition' in coping with these high-ranging lines consisted in something very similar to the Italian falsetto extension of the modal tenor voice, which Tosi and Mancini were later to advocate, but which subsequently fell out of fashion.[80]

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[77] Parrott, *Composers' Intentions*, p. 129.

[78] Pierfrancesco Tosi, *Opinioni de'cantori Antichi, e Moderni o Sieno Osservazioni* (Bologna: dalla Volpe, 1723), LXXI; Giovanni Battista Mancini, *Pensieri e Riflessioni Pratiche Sopra Il Canto Figurato* (Vienna: Ghelen, 1774), LXXV.

[79] See Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice*, Chapter 7: 'The Passing of the Castrati'; Parrott, *Composers' Intentions*, p. 137.

[80] John Potter describes a remarkable 'last gasp' era of this technique, taken to extraordinary heights of virtuosity by a number of tenor singers for Mozart, Haydn and, remarkably, with a soprano *f″* by a tenor for

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It is a technique which needs to be re-discovered and re-established. Encouragement should be given to young tenors, before they are trained by conservatoire teachers to inflate their M1 voice with the *forza* demanded by modern concert hall and opera house conditions, to make the transition to M2 a few notes higher. The use of falsetto at the upper end of Contratenor lines can be highly effective if used judiciously. Whilst there were, no doubt, some light tenors in early seventeenth choirs whose modal voices ascended seamlessly through the range without perceptible 'break', just as there are today,[81] there must have been others who coped by extending the modal voice upwards into an area where the lightness of falsetto can become a virtue.[82] What they surely did not do is sing these parts by extending the falsetto downwards. It makes no sense and it does the music a disservice.

1A.15 Charles Butler

I have occupied a lot of space in this chapter, discussing the true identity of the Contratenor, because its character is such a major factor in the way that the repertory sounds, both in verse and chorus. But it is only one of the five voice-types that are illuminatingly described by Charles Butler: Treble, Mean, Countertenor, Tenor and Bass. It is valuable to examine each of them here, since they have particular relevance to the verse anthem, the musical form for which Butler shows a preference:

Bellini in *I Puritani* in 1834. John Potter, 'The tenor-castrato connection, 1760–1860, *Early Music* (2007), pp. 97–110.

[81] I am grateful to Samuel Boden, a leading professional 'high tenor' who took part in both 'In Chains of Gold' verse anthem recordings referred to elsewhere, for his analysis of his own voice in this register, which he describes as ascending significantly beyond the normal range of M1 without any feeling of transition into M2. (private correspondence).

[82] I am grateful to Rogers Covey Crump, another leading professional high tenor and participant over recent decades in several recordings by groups such as the Taverner Consort, King's Consort and Hilliard Ensemble for similar self-analysis. He describes being encouraged by Andrew Parrott to develop what was, in his own words, an 'unexceptional' tenor range, specifically in order to master the 'high tenor lines of Purcell'. Whilst he is a clear example of a 'real Contratenor' who is comfortable 'sitting in the upper end' of his range, he also describes judicious use of falsetto for high notes according to musical context. This seems arguably what many verse anthem Contratenors are likely to have done (private correspondence).

> … a solemn [sacred] Anthem, wherein a sweet Melodious Treble, or
> Countertenor, sings single, and the full Choir answers …[83]

Beginning with the one which we have been examining so far, Butler's description of the Countertenor as the 'highest part of a man' was cited by Wulstan to justify his view that this must refer to the male falsetto.[84] Whilst this interpretation can neither be proved nor disproved by anything that Butler writes elsewhere, the view strongly argued by Parrott and Ravens, that falsetto was not used in England during the period in question, and that the voice-type to which Butler refers is of the high tenor variety, is consistent with another phrase that Butler uses for it, namely 'a sweet shrill voice'.[85] A number of contemporary meanings have been offered for the word 'shrill', Ravens suggesting that it may imply a certain edginess,[86] but as Braithwaite observes

> It seems particularly unlikely to associate this term with the typically rather
> subdued sound of 'falsettists' performing in the lowest part of their register
> which would be demanded by the 'countertenor' part.[87]

1A.16 The 'ordinary compass of human voices'

Treble and Bass

Butler's other descriptions of voice-types give good reason to think that the performing pitch which lies behind them must be lower than the Wulstan concept of 'high pitch'. For example, his reference to the Treble as simply 'the highest part of a boy or woman', and to the Bass as 'a deep, full, and pleasing voice',[88] are earlier qualified in an important way.

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[83] Butler, *The Principles of Musik*, pp. 40–2.
[84] Wulstan, *Tudor Music* pp. 233-49; *The Principles of Musik*, p. 42.
[85] Butler, *The Principles of Musik*, p. 41.
[86] Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice*, Chapter 4 Late Medieval and Renaissance England, 'Charles Butler and the "sweet shrill voice"', location 2191.
[87] Braithwaite, 'History of the Countertenor Voice', pp. 29–30.
[88] Butler, *The Principles of Musik*, pp. 41-2.

> Within the ordinary compass of human voices (from the lowest Note of a
> Man's Bass, unto the highest of a Boy's Treble) are contained three
> Septinaries of Musical Notes: *although there are found some Basses that*
> *reach below, and some Trebles that arise above this ordinary compass.*
> [my italics][89]

Clearly, Butler's normal Treble is not the 'very high treble' who would have been needed to

cope with the impractical demands of the *Clerks of Oxenford* Gibbons recording, described

earlier, whilst his Bass, in order to produce the necessary fundament of tone, must have been

of a maturity, which Phillips discounts as a hindrance:

> It takes a mature singer with a developed technique to manage a
> consistently low part and we have already suggested that mature voices
> cloud the texture. Very few singers can manage this part with the necessary
> clarity. Transposition up by a tone or minor third aids the lighter voice …[90]

On the contrary, whilst the standard lowest note of the bass compass is *Fa ut*, written *E* and *D*

below this are found not infrequently, for example in Tomkins, Mundy and Ward.[92] The

'real' bass voice required for early Italian opera roles, such as that of Caronte in Monteverdi's

L'Orfeo, was probably just as available in England. In the absence of such stage opportunity

here, such singers would undoubtedly have been sought after to underpin the leading church

choirs and to execute verse solos with extended lower range, just as the Reverend Gostling

was a couple of generations later by Henry Purcell.

Tenor and Mean

The difference of roughly a tone between Wulstan's 'high pitch' and Quire pitch makes a

crucial difference in fitting the pieces of the 'Tudor' choral jigsaw into place. Butler remarks

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[89] Butler, *The Principles of Musik*, p. 9.
[90] Peter Phillips, 'Performance Practice in 16th-Century English Choral Music' (p. 198).
[92] e.g. Tomkins *Sing unto God, Thou art my king, O God*; Mundy *Sing joyfully unto God our strength*; Ward *Let God arise*.

that that typical singer of the Tenor line was 'an indifferent voice',[93] a characterisation supported by contemporary comment,[94] yet Wulstan misses the obvious conclusion:

> Most 'real' tenors today dislike singing the music of the Tudor period, finding their part too low for comfort; the sixteenth century tenor compass *more nearly resembled that of a modern baritone*. [my italic][95]

In fact, when such parts are sung at the correct pitch, they do not merely 'resemble' that of the modern baritone, they fit it very convincingly. When pushed higher by one tone, as they are at 'high pitch', the upper end of the range starts to become strained. By constantly confusing the historical Tenor vocal line and the modern 'tenor' voice-type, Wulstan propagates the same 'false etymology' that he had himself earlier criticised in relation to the 'countertenor',[96] leading him to the conclusion, that a 'paucity of 'true' tenor voices' was a 'characteristic of English singing'.[97] There is no basis for this claim.

Recently, important light of a rather more scientific kind has been thrown on the nature of the Mean voice, described by Butler:

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

In a number of studies, Martin Ashley has demonstrated that the typical vocal training of the modern English boy treble fails to produce a technique and solidity of tone capable of coping convincingly with the notated range of Mean parts at the lower end, below about e'.[98] He discusses physiological reasons for this, which are beyond the scope of the present research,

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[93] Butler, *The Principles of Musik*, p. 41.
[94] e.g. Laud 'an ordinary voice': Le Huray, *Music and Reformation*, p. 120.
[95] Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, p. 244.
[96] Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, p. 242.
[97] Wulstan, 'Vocal Colour', p. 29.
[98] Martin Ashley, 'English Choirboys Ancient and Modern: Some Preliminary Investigations into Acoustic Profiles Associated with Renaissance Choral Music', *researchgate.net*, 2020 <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.36185.13928> [Accessed March 25 2021].

involving transition between M1 and M2, or more colloquially 'modal' and 'head' voice, but which are closely related to earlier discussion of the historical Contratenor voice. The evidence seems to be that the historical Mean almost certainly had a natural register break in the area between written *d* " and *e*".[99] This corresponds closely to the upper limit of the music commonly notated for it, implying that this limit was a result of the natural tessitura of trained boy Means who sang the part.

1A.17 Some conclusions

Butler's descriptions of the five principal voice-types in sacred music of his time cannot be said to give unambiguous definitions of their vocal colour. But, when the EEOP research findings on organ and singing pitch are taken into account and voices are used which accord more logically with his descriptions than those which Wulstan and the high pitch theorists were forced to adopt, the pieces of the vocal jigsaw fall naturally into place. At Quire pitch, the clarity and 'ring' of high tenor voices singing the Contratenor lines in the upper part of their register must be balanced by baritonal voices singing the Tenor lines in the upper register of theirs, giving the central area of the five-part texture the essential vibrancy that it otherwise lacks, whilst the bassline must be properly supported by 'real' bass voices singing in their lower register. In some respects, it corresponds to the way that the sonority of a viol consort works, when the lowest part is taken by a long-stringlength 'consort' bass, playing on the lower strings, whilst inner parts are taken by smaller basses and tenors, playing on their upper strings. Andrew Parrott describes what happens in the vocal context, when such a carefully calibrated balance is distorted by the introduction of a foreign body:

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[99] 'This corresponds to a small lift or *passagio* point that is found in many boys' voices and which can sometimes be troubling when rehearsing boys in the C5-E5 region.' Martin Ashley, 'Wee shall heare the fearest voices', *researchgate.net*, October 2020, p.4 <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.27822.74563>.

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> When an unneeded falsetto voice is shoe-horned into a vocal texture there
> is an inevitable knock-on effect for all of the voice parts ... Difficult though
> this is to put into words, such inadvertent interference with the carefully
> calibrated sonorities and textures evolved by composers who were
> themselves singers and whose knowledge and understanding of the choral
> medium has rarely been matched is hardly likely to lead to an improvement
> on their original intentions.

In November 2016, under my artistic direction, The Orlando Gibbons Project set out to make a first complete recording of the Gibbons consort anthems.[100] The starting point was to put into practice the vocal scoring principles set out by Butler, as I understood them, and, in the words of David Wulstan with which we began this chapter, 'to take into account considerations of vocal colour peculiar to the period',[101] though with very different conclusions to the ones that he had reached. (The only respect in which we did not follow them was in using women rather than boys on the top line, a decision that had to be taken for a variety of practical reasons.)[102] But what were the implications of original performing pitch to be for instruments?

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[100] *'In Chains of Gold', The English Pre-Restoration Verse Anthem Vol. 1: Orlando Gibbons – Complete Consort Anthems,* Fretwork, His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts, Magdalena Consort (Signum SIGCD511, 2017).

[101] Wulstan, 'Vocal Colour', p. 19.

[102] I discussed the idea at an early stage of the project planning with Andrew Carwood, Director of Music at St Paul's Cathedral. It was clear in conversation with him that it would be difficult to find boys with the necessary Mean vocal timbre for the range of the parts, due to the predominantly Treble training of modern English choristers (see also the research by Martin Ashley, referenced above). I decided to compromise on this element of the original 'vocal colour' that we were seeking to recreate, in favour of the much greater reliability and musical maturity of women's voices, bearing in mind the project's restraints on time and finance. But the use of boy Means is certainly an aspect of the music's performance that a future project should aim to study, as is the use of 'old pronunciation': see Chapter 4.8 'Singers' notes'.

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Implications of the original performing pitch. B: Instruments

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Having adopted Quire pitch for voices as the starting point of the Orlando Gibbons Project in 2016, it seemed entirely logical to do so for the accompanying instruments in a consort anthem. In the case of wind instruments, that suggestion was relatively uncontroversial, in that most cornett and sackbut players were by then used to playing German or Italian music of the period at 'high' pitch of around A466 and suitable reproduction instruments had been available for some time, although rarely heard in English sacred repertory.[1] To suggest the same for a consort of 'classical' English viols (as opposed to earlier ones in 'Renaissance' style) was quite another matter.

1B.1. Cornetts and Sackbuts.

In *Composers' Intentions*, Andrew Parrott assembled a substantial body of historical evidence for the use of cornetts and sackbuts in English sacred music.[2] More recently, Helen Roberts has researched the performance practice of the wind bands and individual instrumentalists

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[1] At the time, I was aware of a radio broadcast of a concert of verse anthems given by the early brass ensemble His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts with a single-voice vocal consort but not of any other instance.
[2] Andrew Parrott, '"Grett and Solompne Singing": Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War', in *Composers' Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 368–80 especially pp. 379-80.

who contributed to cathedral music during the period in question.[3] Scant physical evidence survives, however, for English cornetts and thus for their performing pitch. The two most important extant English examples, treble cornetts at Christ Church, Oxford, dating from 1605, are pitched at about A440. These have recently been shown by Jamie Savan to have been probably designed to play, by upward transposition of a tone, with the Christ Church organ, which is estimated to have been pitched a little higher than Quire pitch.[4] The pitch adopted for our recording project was A466. This was for practical reasons, mainly caused by the availability of reproduction high pitch cornetts, which tend to be made to convenient standard of A466 (a semitone above modern pitch) and by the tuning limitations of organs with shifting keyboards. Whilst this is a little lower than the Quire pitch estimate of A473 made by the EEOP and implemented in the first two reproduction 'Tudor' organs arising from that research, a later reproduction by the same makers, Goetze and Gwynn (the 'St Teilo'), was built at A466 in order to make it more compatible with other instruments, and this was the organ used in the second of our project's recordings.[5] A466 can reasonably be described as a very near approximation to Quire pitch and not far removed from what an English cornettist of the period might have encountered. (Indeed, one surviving English tenor cornett of the period is estimated to play at this pitch.)[6]

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[3] Helen Roberts, 'Wind Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals, *c*. 1580–*c*. 1680: Towards a Performance Practice' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Birmingham City University, 2019).
[4] Jamie Savan, 'Unlocking the Mysteries of the Venetian Cornett: Ad Imitar Piu La Voce Humana', *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 28 (2016), pp. 31–55 <https://doi.org/10.2153/0120160011004>. Also Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of 'A'* (Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 2002), p. 91.
[5] *'In Chains of Gold', The English Pre-Restoration Verse Anthem Vol. 2: William Byrd to Edmund Hooper: Psalms and Royal Anthems*, Fretwork, His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts, Magdalena Consort, art. dir. William Hunt (Signum SIGCD609, 2020).
[6] A particularly valuable feature of the recording was the rare opportunity to hear this tenor size of cornett playing Contratenor lines in such repertory, for which its range is ideally suited. I am grateful to Jamie Savan for information about the one that he played on the recording, which was a reproduction by Christopher Monk, based upon an original from about 1608 in The Museum of Norwich at the Bridewell, estimated to play at about A466. See < http://norfolkmuseumscollections.org/collections/objects/object-3168996737.html>. He points out that the text on this website is confusing: this is the only English tenor to survive in an English collection (although there may well be English-made Bassano tenors surviving in continental collections).

I considered two of the Gibbons anthems recorded on the first of the project's CDs to be particularly well suited to accompaniment by cornetts and sackbuts:[7] *Great King of gods* and *O all true faithful hearts*, which are both associated with important royal events. A third anthem, *Lord, grant grace*, contains a brief but magnificent central section of eight-part antiphony, which seemed to invite their participation.[8] On the second CD, Byrd's *Look and bow down* survives as a lute intabulation of a consort song but is known to have been performed as part of an outdoor ceremony at which loud wind would have been entirely appropriate,[9] and in Hooper's *O God of gods*, cornetts and sackbuts are integral to my reconstruction of the work as a consort anthem.[10] All these pieces are discussed in later chapters together with the implications of their wind accompaniment.

1B.2. Viols

A consort of viols played in most of the consort anthems in our project and has generally been regarded as the most likely accompaniment to the majority of surviving consort anthems, although it is rarely specified.[11] A significant number of viols survive from the period in question, but, as with any stringed instrument, it is impossible to determine a fixed pitch at which they originally played. Hitherto, the compromise that Fretwork had adopted for choirs that were willing to experiment with singing the music at Quire pitch had been to tune the viols to A415, and play from parts transposed up one tone, thus achieving a resultant

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[7] *'In Chains of Gold', The English Pre-Restoration Verse Anthem Vol. 1: Orlando Gibbons – Complete Consort Anthems*, Fretwork, His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts, Magdalena Consort, art. dir. William Hunt (Signum SIGCD511, 2017).
[8] See further in Chapter 4.5 'Wind and organ'.
[9] See Preface by Andrew Johnstone to William Byrd, *Eight Fragmentary Songs, Edited and Reconstructed by Andrew Johnstone* (London, Fretwork Editions 2020), especially pp. xvi–xvii.
[10] See 'Three anthems by Edmund Hooper: 1. *O God of gods*'; also Chapter 4.5 'Wind and organ'.
[11] As, for example, in John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes* (1615), Michael East, *Third Set of Bookes* (1610), *Fourth Set of Bookes* (1618) and *Sixt Set of Bookes* (1624).

performing pitch of A466. It can be argued that this is what a viol player of the period might

have been expected to do, in order to reach the pitch and accommodate the singers, but whilst

the keys that result from such a transposition are much more idiomatic for viols than the ones

produced by Wulstan's minor third transposition, the resulting occurrence (not infrequent) of

accidentals such as *d-sharp* and even *a-sharp* tends to create significant intonation

difficulties, when using historical unequal temperaments. Furthermore, the overall sonority is

compromised by the more restricted use of open string resonance. The whole experience had

reinforced my conviction that viol players of the period would have played this music in the

written key, if the means were available to do so, and it raised the question: were some viols

made of a smaller size, in order to make them more suitable for tuning to Quire pitch?

1B.3. Viol sizes in relation to pitch

A415 has become a pitch of convenience for many viol consorts playing their standard

instrumental repertory, just as it has for ensembles playing later Baroque music.[12]

Professional players of today tend to gravitate towards larger instruments, needing frequently

to produce as much volume as possible when performing in spaces that are much larger than

would have been expected by consorts of the seventeenth century, but in valuing greater size,

they could claim to be following the advice of Thomas Mace, who, writing in 1676, advises

'Let your *Bass* be *Large*'.[13] Indeed, the idea that a viol might be too large is one that seems

not to be mentioned in historical writing.[14] In the case of Fretwork, the consort of which I

was a founder member, the bass instruments in the consort were particularly large, and we

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[12] Though for amateur viol consorts, A440 is often regarded an alternative that might be necessary for combining with wind instruments.
[13] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London: T. Ratcliffe and N. Thompson, 1676), p. 246.
[14] Michael Fleming and John Bryan, *Early English Viols: Instruments, Makers and Music* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 318.

agreed that A415 was the highest pitch at which they would comfortably play.[15] I was not aware of any modern precedent for using a consort of smaller English viols tuned to Quire pitch,[16] nor of any reasoned argument for so doing, such as I put forward for our project.[17]

The recent study of surviving English viols and their makers by Michael Fleming and John Bryan has concluded that it is very difficult to make any accurate deductions about the pitch for which a surviving English viol of this period may have been designed to play,[18] since so many have been altered in ways that make their original dimensions uncertain, most of all those of the neck and hence of the original string length.[19] Nevertheless, in view of the wide range in size of surviving English instruments within a given category (treble, tenor or bass) as recorded in the *Database of Historical Viols*,[20] compiled for the Viola da Gamba Society of America by Tom MacCracken, and even after omitting those where doubt exists about the category to which the viol belongs,[21] a reasonable conclusion is that differing pitch standards are likely to play a major part in this diversity of size.[22] In view of recent research

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[15] Being copies of what was at the time thought to be the largest surviving early seventeenth century consort bass viol, by Henry Jaye with a string length of 80cm, they sound strident when tuned to A440, and a higher pitch than this introduces further problems, such as the breaking point of gut strings.

[16] As mentioned earlier, 'Renaissance' viols of a sixteenth century type, such as copies of Italian instruments of the Ciciliano or Linarol design, are nowadays played at A466 relatively frequently, but I was not aware of a consort playing viols of the classical English design at this pitch. I have since learned that Peter Tourin, the viol maker and researcher, may have conducted some experiments in this, but I do not have confirmation of it.

[17] See <https://www.orlandogibbonsproject.com/blog/radical-reassessments-of-the-gibbons-consort-anthems-no2-performing-pitch-and-its-implications-for-consort-instruments> [Accessed 3 May 2022].

[18] 'We are still some way from reaching a consensus concerning the parameters governing actual pitch at which viol consorts played in early modern England, leading to theories that there may have been more than one generally agreed level, depending on the size of the instruments, or that viols may have played at different pitch levels when performing alone or in combination with voices or keyboard instruments'. Fleming and Bryan, *Early English Viols*, p. 15.

[19] Michael Fleming (private correspondence)

[20] A subset of the 'Database of Historical Viols' <https://vdgsa.org/pgs/viols/viols.html> [Accessed 3 July 2018, temporarily offline on May 2 2022 but expected to be available again shortly]. (In footnotes that follow, reference numbers are used from this database to identify certain instruments: 'DHV No.' or 'Tourin ID'.) As Fleming observes, this diversity is much greater than is exhibited in surviving violins: Fleming and Bryan, *Early English Viols*, p. 316.

[21] For example, a viol in the Victoria Albert Museum (DHV No. 878; Tourin ID VIC 02, KENS 6, bearing the label 'Henry Jaye 1667) has been variously referred to as 'alto', 'counter tenor' and 'small tenor'.

[22] Modern viol makers sometimes propose that such variation in string length is simply a matter of the client's taste. Superficially, it might seem that way, when comparing sets of viols to sets of lutes, for which there is historical evidence of a similarly large variation in sizes, but the true picture is more complex. Hector Sequera

into the gut strings for bowed instruments that we think were used during the period in

question,[23] it seems improbable, for example, that two bass viols, which are gut-strung

throughout and have a major difference in string length, were originally intended to play at

the same pitch. [24]

1B.4. The Harwood theory of English viol sizes

At a meeting of the Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain in November 2002, Ian

Harwood gave a presentation, in which I took part as a demonstrator, of a theory that he had

earlier expounded in the journal *Early Music*.[25] Referring to the existence of a number of 'in

between' sizes of viol, which museum curators had found it difficult to assign to the three

recognised categories of bass, tenor and treble,[26] Harwood sought to explain their function by

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investigated the issue of lute sizes in some detail in relation to his study of music in the Paston household. See Hector Sequera, 'House Music for Recusants in Elizabethan England: Performance Practice in the Music Collection of Edward Paston (1550–1630)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 2010), pp. 114, 129–41. He argues that, whereas Philip Brett had assumed that Paston's lute intabulations of vocal music should be assessed in relation to a single, standard lute in G, it seems much more likely that a set of multiple sizes, for example including ones in adjacent tunings of A and F/E, would have been normal in the period for a sophisticated musician such as Paston. (The Fugger inventory from Germany in 1566 lists as many as seven sizes). He goes on to speculate that a lute maker might well have tailored such a set to the 'anthropometrics' of the owner, 'allowing the builder to build a *G*-lute at a convenient size for the player, and then build the rest of the set based on the proportions of the first one'. We should be wary of drawing too close a parallel between sets of lutes and viols, since the physical demands of chordal and single-line playing do not equate straightforwardly and there is no written historical evidence for English consort viols of this period in adjacent tunings, such as the lutes described above. The three sizes of viol were the D bass, the G tenor and the D treble (even though some viol players today may find it convenient to play later repertory such as Locke or Purcell on 'hybrids' such as a 'small tenor' in A or an 'alto' in C. See previous footnote). One can reasonably conclude, however, that by the process of 'anthropometric' tailoring that Sequera describes, the reference pitch of one lute-playing household could differ from that of another by a significant degree, there being no necessity in the world of domestic music-making of the time for conformity to a common pitch standard. This is therefore a different set of circumstances to that which may have applied to viols in the sphere of Quire pitch.

[23] See, for example, a description by Oliver Webber of factors that relate gut string tension to sounding string length and pitch, 'The Monteverdi Violins' < http://www.themonteverdiviolins.org/strings.html> [Accessed 30 August 2018].

[24] The significance of this comparison will become apparent from the discussion below.

[25] Ian Harwood, 'A Case of Double Standards?: Instrumental Pitch in England c1600', *Early Music*, 9 (1981), pp. 470–81.

[26] These 'in between' sizes being, for example, the 'small bass' or 'large tenor' by Blunt (1605) in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; or the 'small tenor' by Jaye (1667) in the Victoria and Albert Museum: Harwood, 'A Case of Double Standards', p. 473, 4a and 4b.

postulating two, interlocking families of viol size,[27] separated in pitch by a perfect fourth. In

justifying this proposal, he pointed to a publication by Tobias Hume,[28] in which the song

Cease leaden slumbers (The Queens New-Yeeres Gift) is scored to the accompaniment of two

viols playing from tablature and a third from staff notation, with the following instruction on

the page (Example 1.8):

'The Viole that playeth this part must be set fowre Notes
lower then the other, and he must bee somewhat longer
then the two small Basse Viols which play the Tableture
being alwaies tuned alike and set as the Lute'

Example 1.8: Tobias Hume, Captain Humes Poeticall Musicke, sig. B

Harwood proposed that the 'two small Basse Viols' must be the lowest members of a high-

pitch family, and the third 'somewhat longer' (in other words larger) than the two 'small'

ones, must be the lowest member of a low-pitch family, tuned a perfect fourth below them.

The fact that all three are named 'Bass Viol' was explicable by virtue of their role as bass

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[27] In Harwood's scheme, the tenor viol of the 'low' family' was also the bass of the 'high' family.
[28] Tobias Hume, *Captain Humes Poeticall Musicke* (London: John Windet, 1607).

within their respective families. He went on to propose that, if the pitch of the low family

were a tone below modern pitch,[29] that of the high family would need to be a minor third

higher than modern pitch, noting that

> This happens to be the level advocated by one school of thought for English
> church music of the period, which must affect the argument with regard to
> 'consort anthem' and other music for voices and viols.[30]

As we have seen, that school of thought (advocating the 'high pitch' discussed in the previous

section of this chapter) is no longer credible, but as a participant in the demonstration of

Harwood's theory, I found it unconvincing on other grounds. Firstly, according to the

proportions advocated by Thomas Mace and generally accepted by viol makers today, the

surviving instruments which he chose to illustrate his thesis did not belong together in the

groupings that he proposed, since the sizes of the larger members of the family were

significantly too small in relation to the smallest one.[31] It was also clear to me from

Harwood's demonstration that the sonority of the high-pitch family had insufficient

foundation to be an effective accompaniment for a consort of voices. Secondly, the grid

pattern of instrument sizes that Harwood proposed seemed improbably neat and inflexible, in

view of the diversity of dimensions that is evident in surviving originals, and it did nothing to

explain the many examples with dimensions that fall outside his grid. A more likely

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[29] Ephraim Segerman, 'A Survey of Pitch Standards before the Nineteenth Century', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 54 (2001), 200–18 (p. 207); Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch,* pp. 95–6. Segerman's estimate of English consort pitch is somewhat lower than that of Haynes, whose book probably appeared after Harwood had prepared his presentation.

[30] Harwood, 'A Case of Double Standards', p. 480. David Wulstan supports Harwood's interpretation, describing this as '*E flat* pitch'. See David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London: J.M. Dent, 1985), pp. 101–2.

[31] Mace advocates, for example, that the string length of the bass in a consort should be twice that of the treble. The string length of surviving old viols of the period is considered unreliable, since, as Fleming points out, so few have their original neck, therefore body length is the best available guide, since the two measurements are closely related. Harwood's high-pitch consort consisted of a treble with body length of 33cm (the original Henry Jaye instrument, DHV No. 271; Tourin ID GAL 04, used by the Orlando Gibbons Project: see below) and a bass of body length 55.5cm (Blunt, Ashmolean Museum, DHV NO. 27; Tourin ID ASHSMOL 6, referred to above), well short of Mace's guideline. Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument*, p. 246.

explanation of this diversity is that there was a variety of pitch standards in use, ranging from

Quire pitch at the upper end of the scale down through various secular pitches, some of these

being a product of purely local conditions,[32] and giving rise in some cases to correspondingly

different sizes from the maker.

The significance of establishing the probable level for Quire pitch is that this seems to

be an upper standard that was both widely shared and relatively fixed. By contrast, the upper

level of pitches postulated by Harwood (a minor third above A440) was a product solely of

his attempt to explain a single piece of music with no known parallels in English literature for

the viol.[33]

1B.5. Choirboys, viols and Quire pitch

One area of practice where there is very likely to have been a requirement for viols at Quire

pitch is the musical training of choirboys. Jane Flynn has given several examples of how a

viol would have been the ideal accompaniment to choirboys practising techniques that they

would need in their church duties.[34] The choirboy could play a simple plainsong on the viol

whilst practising the technique of descanting with his voice. There is ample evidence of viols

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[32] One such standard is the pitch of a house organ, where that can be established. For example, Goetze and Gwynn estimated the pitch of the organ that John Jenkins is likely to have known in the Le Strange household at Hunstanton Hall to be about A420–25: James Collier and Dominic Gwynn, *The 1630 Consort Organ from Hunstanton Hall, Norfolk, England, now in St Luke's, Smithfield, Virginia, USA. A Technical and Historical Report* (Welbeck 2002).]; < https://www.goetzegwynn.co.uk/organ/1630-chamber-organ-st-lukes-smithfield-virginia-usa/> [Accessed: 01.05.2021]; see also Mark Keane, 'Domestic Sacred Music in Jacobean England: John Amner's Sacred Hymnes… for Voyces and Vyols (1615)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal Irish Academy of Music, 2019), pp. 56–62.
See further on this in my discussion of 'Extremities' in chapter 4.3.
[33] The interval of a fourth between the two basses in the Hume piece could equally well be achieved by tuning the lowest bass down an extra tone simply for this piece, since its role is clearly undemanding. (The accompanying 'Meane Lute' would then need to be of an appropriately large size.) I am not aware of any other piece of English viol music from the period which might support Harwood's claim for two distinct viol families separated by a fourth.
[34] Jane Flynn, 'Viol-playing in Choristers' Musical Education in Sixteenth Century England', *The Viol*, 40 (2015), pp. 15-19.

being taught in choral institutions,[35] and this would be an obvious use for them. It would

clearly be logical for the viols that were used for this purpose to be tuned at the pitch at which

the boys would later need to sing what they had practised, namely Quire pitch. Indeed, it

would be impractical for this not to be the case. By extension, one may reasonably speculate

that this was the pitch at which the boys were often called upon to perform in the popular

chorister plays and entertainments of the mid-sixteenth century, for which viols were the

most likely instruments being played.[36]

1B.6. Evidence from English viols of the period

How do the sizes of surviving English viols inform this picture? A survey of all English bass

viols, currently known at the time of writing, that survive from the period up to 1660 is made

possible by the *Database of Historical Viols*.[37] The caveats raised by Fleming and Bryan, and

referred to above,[38] need to be repeated before attempting to draw any firm conclusions from

their measurements.

1. Many instruments may have been altered in the course of their life

2. The original string length (which is the factor that has the closest relationship to sounding pitch) is usually difficult to establish with certainty.

However, the length of the body is much less likely to have been altered than the neck, and

the probability that makers used a common ratio for body length to string length is strong

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[35] Edmund Hooper, in his post at Westminster Abbey, was responsible for the upkeep of the viols and for teaching viols to the choristers. See Westminster Abbey Muniments 40079 (1586), 33653 (1599), 47620 (1602), 47629 (1606), all referring to viols or viol strings. Thomas Wiborough is recorded as teaching the viol to 'the scholars' at Ely followed By Robert Claxton, and later Michael East may well have done the same. See Keane, pp. 56–62.

[36] Jane Flynn, 'The Education of Choristers in England during the Sixteenth Century', in *English Choral Practice 1400-1650*, ed. by John Morehen (Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 180–99 (pp. 191–99). Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 211–27.

[37] See above: 'Database of Historical Viols' <https://vdgsa.org/pgs/viols/viols.html> [Accessed 3 July 2018 temporarily offline on December 2 2021 but expected to be available again shortly].

[38] Fleming and Bryan, *Early English Viols*, p. 15.

enough to use this measurement as an informative guideline. In the period before 1660, the

technology of over-winding strings with wire was still unknown, therefore the direct physical

relationship between string length and pitch must necessarily have played a much greater role

in determining a viol's size. The advent of string over-winding changed that relationship

profoundly.[39] The MacCracken database records forty bass viols from this period with their

dimensions,[40] and their body lengths can be summarised in the following chart, which is

compiled from MacCracken's data (Figure 1.5):[41]
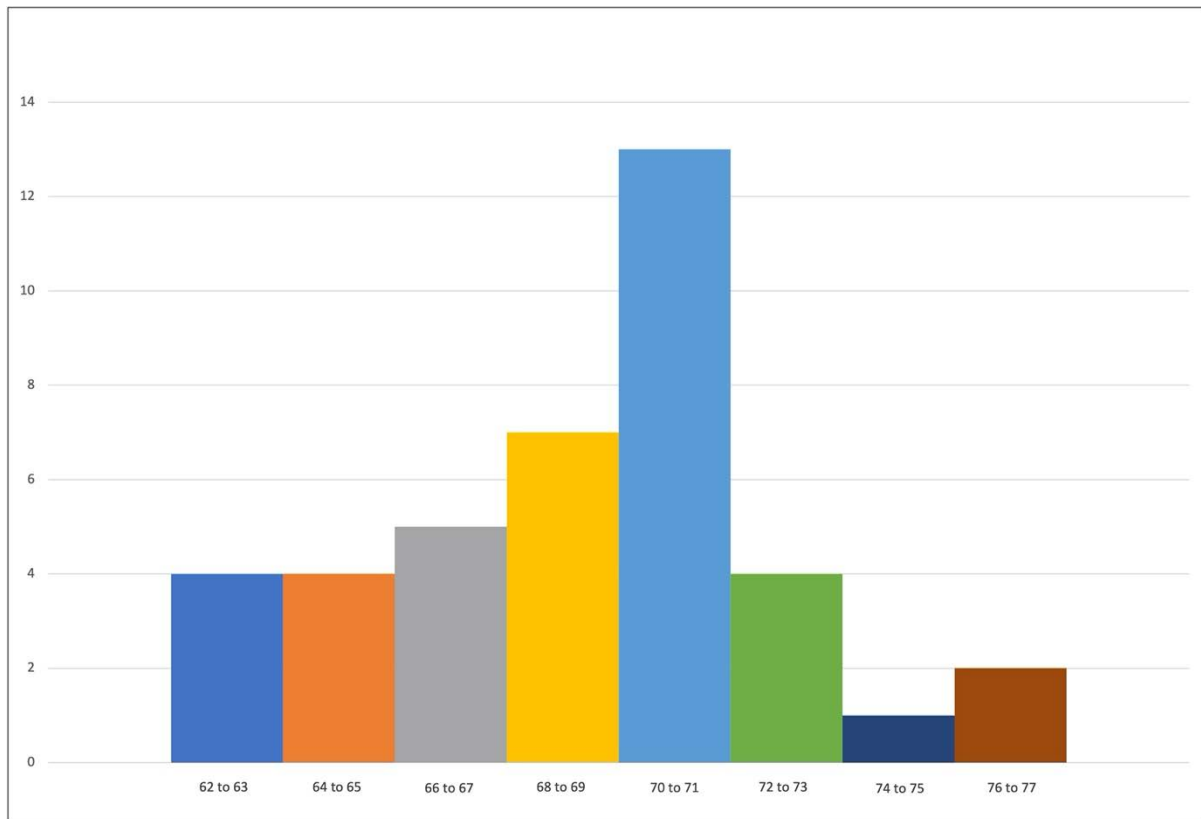
Figure 1.5: Body length in centimetres for 40 surviving English bass viols pre 1660 [42]

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[39] It was this technology – winding a metal wire onto a gut core – that made it possible in the later seventeenth century to develop the violoncello and the French 7-string viol, in both of which a lower sounding pitch for the bottom, overwound strings was achieved by the added mass of the wire winding, avoiding the need for the long string lengths of instruments made before the introduction of this technology.

[40] One further bass is recorded, in private hands, but its body length is not known.

[41] I am extremely grateful to Tom MacCracken for correspondence on this subject and for his kind provision of data, but I accept full responsibility for my presentation of it here.

[42] x-axis = ranges of body length ('62 to 63' represents body length ranging from 62cm to 63.9cm, '76 to 77' represents the range 76cm to 77.9cm, etc) and y-axis = number of surviving bass viols within the given range.

At the extremes of this sample, the shortest recorded body length is 62.9cm and the longest is

77.5cm – a difference of 23.2%. With the sole aim of showing the possible range of sounding

pitch that this difference might represent, a calculation can be made using a simple ratio, as

follows.

The sounding length of a string is in inverse proportion to its pitch. For example, if a

gut-strung treble viol with a string length of 36cm tunes its second open string to the note *a'*

at modern concert pitch, this produces a frequency of 440Hz. If that string length is halved

(for example, by stopping the string halfway, at the octave) the sounding length becomes

18cm and the frequency produced is 880Hz. Returning to the sample of bass viols above, if

the shortest body length is taken (for the sake of argument) to represent a Quire pitch of

A475, then, all other factors being equal (such as the tension of the string) the longest body

length would represent a pitch of A385.5: a span of between a minor and major third. This

lower pitch falls in the middle of the band that Bruce Haynes, citing Thomas Mace, refers to

as 'Consort pitch'.[43] I do not suggest that each gradation in body size *necessarily* represents a

corresponding difference in the pitch at which the instrument was tuned or for which it was

built. As Bryan postulates,[44] it is possible that for any given pitch, slightly smaller and

slightly larger viols were made, in order to gain better response in the upper or lower ranges

respectively. Furthermore, there are other factors at work in determining the optimum playing

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[43] Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch,* pp. 95–6. A similar survey from the database of all instruments described as 'treble' within this date range produces an even wider span of pitches, according to a similar calculation, but it is difficult to be certain that the larger instruments (with body length of 40cm and above) are indeed trebles in d" tuning, rather than some kind of larger species. For example, it has been suggested that a treble in c" tuning might have existed, though there is no firm evidence of this. On the other hand, reference can be found to a 'counter-tenor' size which must have been smaller than a tenor and larger than a normal treble. See Lynn Hulse, 'The Duke of Newcastle and the English Viol', *Chelys: The Journal of the Viola Da Gamba Society [of Great Britain]*, 29 (2001), 41. See also Fleming and Bryan, *Early English Viols*, 15. However, there is no known evidence that a bass viol of this period in England was tuned other than in the standard d' tuning.
[44] Fleming and Bryan, *Early English Viols*, p. 42.

pitch for a viol, not least the physical peculiarities of the instrument itself. Nevertheless, I suggest that a difference of more than 20% in size between the largest and smallest instruments in this sample of bass viols can safely be described as highly indicative of a significant range of tuning pitches probably in use during this period.

1B.7. Assembling a Quire pitch viol consort

My experience of playing in Fretwork over many years contributed to an increasingly informed interest in the wide variety of sizes in surviving English viols that are used as models by makers today. It eventually suggested to me that there were probably several of these originals that could comfortably have been tuned to A466. This suspicion was confirmed by the *Database of Historical Viols*. It lists a privately owned treble by Henry Jaye dated 1630 with a body length of 33cm,[45] which is an instrument that a colleague in Fretwork had borrowed during the group's early years and tuned at the pitch most often used for playing viol consort music today, at least by professional players, namely A415. It seemed to me at the time to be improbably small to play at that pitch, and the incompatibility appeared more pronounced when the bass players in the group commissioned copies of a particularly large surviving English bass viol, which has a body length of 76.5cm and seems clearly most comfortable at a 'low' pitch.[46] But there was then no perceived reason to tune the Jaye treble to A466, let alone to assemble a consort of complementary small tenors and basses to tune a whole consort to such a high pitch, nor even any apparent interest amongst the viol-playing community as a whole in the idea. In the light of Fretwork's unsatisfactory experience of

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[45] DHV No. 271; Tourin ID GAL 04.
[46] DHV No. 1257 (Tourin No. unavailable.) Its estimated original string length is 80cm. An even larger English bass viol has since come to light in Australia with an estimated original string length of *c*. 84cm, possibly by Turner 1640–50.

performing consort anthems with choirs,[47] the publication of the EEOP research seemed to me to require reconsideration of all these issues. Another member of the group owned a small old English bass viol,[48] to which two modern tenors and a bass were added, of compatible size according to Mace's proportions, thus forming a five-part Quire pitch consort. The instruments were all completely restrung, with the benefit of advice from a leading expert on historical stringing,[49] and when playing anthem parts that we had previously played on our larger consort transposing up a tone, the immediate impression was of a striking clarity and translucence of sonority,[50] partly resulting from the greater involvement of open strings, as well as the purer intonation made possible by playing in the original key. These are significant factors to be taken into account when realising the complex polyphony of many consort anthems, especially those by Gibbons.

1B.8. Later evidence of high pitch viols

Whilst it may never be possible to prove that some English viols of this period were built specifically to play at Quire pitch, the evidence of surviving instruments, combined with historical voice-types and the music itself, point strongly towards this. As illustrated above, the *Database of Historical Viols* also records a number of surviving English originals that may well belong to a large family suited to Mace's 'Consort Pitch', which Haynes estimates

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[47] See previous section.

[48] String length 66.5cm; DHV No. 1146 (Tourin No. unavailable).

[49] I am grateful to Oliver Webber, director of the Monteverdi String Band and also of the gut string manufacturers 'Real Guts'. The significance of completely restringing for the higher pitch is considerable. Many early string players are often required to play their instruments at a higher pitch for only a short period, perhaps a single concert, and may therefore be compelled to tune higher (for example from A415 to A440) simply by tightening the strings. This is apt to produce a louder and more strident tone. Complete restringing restores a more natural string tension and therefore a more relaxed sound.

[50] Curiously, the *Gramophone* reviewer of 'In Chains of Gold' Vol. 1 declared herself to be entranced by the 'glistening cobweb delicacy of tone' and 'uncanny beauty' which she experienced in hearing the three instrumental items which were included on that CD at 'the perilous heights of A466', whilst evidently failing to understand the reason for having assembled a Quire pitch consort for the main purpose of the Gibbons consort anthems. See Alexandra Coghlan, *Gramophone*, November 2017, p. 83.

to have been around A390 to 400.[51] None of this diverse picture is a peculiarly English, pre-

Restoration phenomenon, for it is replicated some hundred years later in Germany in the

works of J. S. Bach, some of which show evidence of equally low and high pitch standards

being combined.[52] He composed some of his pre-Leipzig church cantatas for viols that were

clearly tuned to the equivalent high pitch of 'Chorton', whilst other instruments were

incorporated in the same piece, playing at pitches as low as *circa* A390.[53] Interestingly, it is

the sonority of viols playing at Chorton – a pitch which today many still find unusually high

for the instrument[54] – that seems to be a feature that Bach both expected and for which he

specifically wrote.[55] Similarly, the tessitura of the voices in these early cantatas is crucially

related to the pitch at which he expected them to sing, a factor which is distorted when, as so

often today, the pieces are performed at A415, the pitch which he came to adopt only when

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[51] Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch,* pp. 95-6. See above.

[52] Throughout the seventeenth century in Germany there would have been a church music tradition which Bach inherited, in which string instruments such as viols belonged to individual churches and were kept tuned to the high organ pitch. Haynes traces the history of these different German pitches from Praetorius onwards in *A History of Performing Pitch,* pp. 76–83 and 133–58.

[53] One of these, BWV 152 *Tritt auf die Glaubensbahn*, is also an example of Bach incorporating low pitch wind instruments and a viola d'amore, all tuned to the equivalent of Consort Pitch, a minor third below Chorton. See Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch*, pp. 254–55.

[54] Clearly it was not unusual for viol makers of Bach's time. In a recent article, Friedemann Hellwig, author of the authoritative book on the work of Joachim Tielke, the most prominent German viol maker *c.*1700, identifies a group of six bass viols amongst the several surviving by Tielke, which are distinctly smaller than the rest (one of them even preserving its original string length) and, according to Hellwig, the only rational explanation is that they were built to be tuned to high 'Chorton' pitch. Friedemann Hellwig, 'Fragen zu den Viole da Gamba Joachim Tielkes', *Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte*, 80 (2016), pp. 169–73.

[55] In the case of his *Actus Tragicus*, BWV 106, I have shown elsewhere that a particularly subtle feature of his writing for one of the viols, in particular an articulation notated at one point in the upper part, cannot be realised unless the viols play in the written key at *Chorton* pitch – in other words, is absent when the piece is transposed up a tone in order to perform it at so-called 'normal' Baroque pitch of A415. William Hunt, 'In Search of the Original Performing Pitch: A Worthwhile Element of Musicological Research or Simply a Matter of Taste?', a paper given at the 18th Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music, Cremona, July 2018 (publication forthcoming). Happily, this can be heard in a forthcoming recording by the Dunedin Consort (Linn Records (2021) CKD672). In the same presentation, I argued from notational evidence in the autograph manuscript that Bach's original performance and intention in the case of his sixth Brandenburg Concerto was that the two bass viols should be *Chorton* basses, tuned a minor third higher than the rest of the instruments, which would have been at *tief Kammerthon*. There is a recording of this too by the Dunedin Consort: Linn Records (2013) CKD430. In both cases, the director, Professor John Butt, was kind enough to accept my analysis.

he reached Leipzig.[56] If we do not restore the sonority which he expected, we are doing a

significant disservice to the music.

All of these considerations are equally true of the English repertory with which the

current research is concerned. Yet, whilst in modern Bach performance a spirit of welcome

enlightenment has accompanied investigation of the issues of performing pitch, in the case of

the great consort anthem repertory of Byrd, Gibbons, Tomkins and their contemporaries, it

has still to penetrate very far into the Anglican gloom.

1B.9. Some conclusions

The recording project of 'In Chains of Gold' was intended, in some respects, as a 'proof of

concept': that the sacred consort anthems of Orlando Gibbons and with them a large

proportion of the pre-Restoration consort anthem repertory demonstrably 'work'

convincingly at Quire pitch. The vocal lines, when allocated to the historically correct voice

types, fall naturally into place and consort instruments, if correctly chosen, are perfectly

happy to play at this pitch without improbable contortion or transposition, whilst the

surviving physical evidence (both contemporary and later) shows it to be likely that this is

how the music was performed. All this, to adapt the words of David Wulstan with which this

chapter began, contributes to our recreation of the true 'vocal *and instrumental* colour

peculiar to the period' and hence to our 'understanding of the music'. [58] But these

considerations are, of course, secondary to the main purpose of a consort anthem:

communication of the text.

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[56] Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch*, pp. 214–5, 242–6.
[58] Wulstan, 'Vocal Colour', p. 19.

CHAPTER 2
Rhetoric and poetics in the verse style

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In *The Motives of Eloquence*, Richard Lanham describes the 'infatuation with rhetoric' and resultant 'stylistic explosion' which distinguishes English sixteenth-century literature.[1] He quotes an observation made in 1944 by C.S.Lewis:

> Rhetoric is the greatest barrier between us and our ancestors … Older than the Church, older than Roman Law, older than all Latin literature, it descends from the age of the Greek Sophists. Like the Church and the law it survives the fall of the empire, rides the *renascentia* and the Reformation like waves … Nearly all our older poetry was written and read by men to whom the distinction between poetry and rhetoric, in its modern form, would have been meaningless. The beauties which they chiefly regarded in every composition were those which we either dislike or simply do not notice … If ever the passion for formal rhetoric returns, the whole story will have to be rewritten and many judgements may be reversed.[2]

In the summer 2007, I played as a member of the viol consort Fretwork in a number of choral Evensong performances in Cambridge University college chapels as part of a 'Festival of Evensongs', including consort anthems by Byrd, Tomkins and Gibbons. A critic reviewed the events in an article in *The Spectator*, writing that such repertory 'is utterly distinct from later

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[1] Richard A. Lanham, *The Motives of Eloquence: Literary Rhetoric in the Renaissance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976), p. 33.
[2] C.S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), III, p. 61.

church music', due to to 'its eschewal of rhetoric, pathos, word-painting'.[3] It was in the last

decades of the sixteenth century that the musical form of 'verse anthem' emerged. Can it

really have escaped the influences that so clearly shaped the literature and poetry of the

period?

For a composer's intentions to be realised, music depends not only on the medium of

performance but also the understanding and priorities of the performers, and in one respect

that may of itself explain the *Spectator* critic's reception of what he heard on that occasion.

The anthems were being sung by prominent Cambridge college choirs, steeped in a modern

Anglican choral tradition, whose characteristics, in the words of Timothy Day, are widely

regarded as 'purity of tone, accuracy in intonation, precision in ensemble, and an absence of

rhetoric'.[4] What, then, is the relevance of rhetoric to a verse anthem?

2.1. German and English theoretical writing

The background of English post Reformation culture and education, and the relevance of

rhetoric to arts of the written word, have both been extensively discussed.[5] In the field of

music, despite the recent efforts of Judy Tarling to make musicians more aware of rhetoric's

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[3] Robin Holloway, 'Heaven before Your Eyes', *The Spectator*, 30 June 2007, p. 53.

[4] Day goes on to record the way that 'historians, critics, journalists and cathedral musicians themselves' tend to describe this typically Anglican sound: 'The "essence" of the cathedral choir said one authority is "the boy's voice", and its men are "at their best when they blend with that clean white tone". Again and again throughout the century the same epithets have been used to characterise the singing, "pure", "otherworldly", "ethereal", "impersonal"; writers who do not admire the style refer to its "coldness", its lack of "passion" or "personality", to the cultivation of beauty of sound at the expense of any real expressiveness, to "under-interpretation", to rather barren meticulousness…'. Timothy Day, 'English Cathedral Choirs in the Twentieth Century', in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. by John Potter, Cambridge Companions to Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 123–32 (p. 123) <https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL9780521622257>. See also Timothy Day, *I Saw Eternity the Other Night: King's College, Cambridge, and an English Singing Style* (Penguin UK, 2018), Kindle location 273.

[5] See e.g. Peter Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380-1620* (OUP Oxford, 2011); Peter Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge University Press, 2002); Miriam Joseph, *Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language* (Philadelphia, Pa.; Lancaster: Paul Dry; Gazelle [distributor, 2008), pp. 8–13.

importance in the practice of historically-informed performance,[6] the English verse anthem

repertory has remained largely immune.[7] Yet the association of rhetoric with music in

Renaissance thinking has solid foundation in classical writing. Quintilian's *Institutes*, notably

Book I chapter X, contain many references to the parallels between oratory, music and

expressive use of the voice, and these were often cited:

> the art of letters and that of music were once united: indeed Archytas and
> Euenus held that the former was subordinate to the latter … (I.X.17)
>
> Now I ask you whether it is not absolutely necessary for the orator to be
> acquainted with all these methods of expression which are concerned firstly
> with gesture, secondly with the arrangement of words and thirdly with the
> inflexions of the voice, of which a great variety are required in pleading.
> (I.X.22)
>
> an orator will assuredly pay special attention to his voice … (I.X.27)[8]

In Germany, Luther regarded music as a 'gift from God' and esteemed it second only to

theology in 'proclaiming the truth' of the word of God. His letter to composer Ludwig Senfl,

dated 4 October 1530, contains his most extended statement:

> I plainly judge, and do not hesitate to affirm, that except for theology there
> is no art that could be put on the same level with music, since except for
> theology [music] alone produces what otherwise only theology can do....
> This is the reason why the prophets did not make use of any art except
> music … and proclaimed truth through Psalms and songs.[9]

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[6] Judy Tarling, *The Weapons of Rhetoric: A Guide for Musicians and Audiences* (St. Albans: Corda Music, 2005).

[7] See also Andrew Parrott: 'The spirit of enquiry that characterizes current work on performance practices of the past appears as yet to have had little impact on the world of English church music'. Andrew Parrott, '"Grett and Solompne Singing": Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War', in *Composers' Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 368–80 (p. 368).

[8] Translations from Loeb Classical Library.
<https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/e/roman/texts/quintilian/institutio_oratoria/home.html>

[9] *Luther's Works: American Edition*, ed. by J Peilikan and H Lehmann, 55 vols (St. Louis: Concordia, 1955), pp. 427–28. 'Et plane iudico nec pudet asserere, post theologiam esse nullam artem, quae musicae possit aequari, cum ipsa sola post theologiam id praestet, quod alioqui sola theologia praestat, scilicet quietem at animum laetum . . . . Hinc factum est, ut prophetae nulla sic arte sint usi ut musica, dum suam theologiam non in geometriam, non in arithmeticam, non in astronomiam, sed in musicam digesserunt, ut theologiam at musicam haberent coniunetissimas, veritatem psalmis et canticis dicentes'.

He laid the groundwork for a rich literature of German writing on the theory of musical

rhetoric, beginning with Burmeister and later followed by Nucius, Bernhard, Printz, Walther,

Mattheson and others, developing the theory of *Figurenlehre*, that was to be so influential in

the later German Baroque. Following the Reformation in England, the state of affairs for

church composers was altogether more precarious and music's position in public worship was

preserved principally through Queen Elizabeth's personal affection for fine sacred music in

her private chapel. Writing in 1572, John Bossewell declared

> 'One of the seven Liberall Sciences: It is almost bannished in this
> Realme. If it were not, the Queenes Majestie did favour that excellente
> Science, Singinge men, and Choristers might goe a begging, together with
> their Maister the player on the Organes'[10]

Roger Bowers describes how Elizabeth deftly navigated difficult legal waters to 'claw back'

ground that had been lost in negotiation with reformists at the outset of her reign.[11] These had

resulted in the adoption into the 1559 Settlement of the 1552 version of the Book of Common

Prayer, which made no specific reference to music in the reformed practice of worship,

against her own preference for the 1549 version, which had expressly allowed for it, for

example during Communion and in morning and evening prayer.[12] The Royal Injunctions of

1559, in particular the forty-ninth, offered her composers a lifeline (effectively a 'blank

cheque', to use Jonathan Willis' phrase)[13] to write sacred vocal music in a range of styles

despite opposition from hard-line reformists, who continued to oppose it throughout the

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[10] John Bossewell, *Workes of Armorie, deuyded into three bookes, entituled, the Concordes of Armorie, the Armorie of Honor, and of Coates and Creastes* (London, 1572), Book III 'Cotes and Crestes', fo. 14r.
[11] Roger Bowers, 'The Chapel Royal, The First Edwardian Prayer Book, and Elizabeth's Settlement of Religion, 1559', *The Historical Journal*, 43.2 (2000), pp. 317–44 (p. 321) <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X99001107>.
[12] Bowers, 'The Chapel Royal', pp. 341–3.
[13] Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England* (London, Routledge, 2010); Kindle (Taylor & Francis, 2016) p. 57, location 1375.

century.[14] But arguments in favour of music in worship were moving from the late medieval

and Renaissance view of it as an abstract science of number, reflecting the divine ordering of

the universe, towards a reformed, humanistic discussion of its communicative power: 'a

transformation from ontology to rhetoric', as Willis describes it.[15] For example, Henry

Howard's counter in *A Defense of the Ecclesiastical Regiment in Englande* to the polemic of

Thomas Cartwright rejects the puritan view that a musical setting distracts from the meaning

of its text, that 'our minds are withdrawn from weighing of the dittie by sweetnesse of the

note'.[16] On the contrary, Howard writes, just as Cartwright employs the 'floures and

ornaments of Rhetoricke' to reinforce verbal argument, so too can music:

Sith cunning saying, and cunning singing are al one in effect'[17]

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[14] Erasmus had complained in his Commentaries on the New Testament that 'Modern church music is so constructed that the congregation cannot hear one distinct word … yet according to priests and monks it constitutes the whole of religion'. (See Peter Le Huray in *Music and the Reformation in England 1549–1660* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 11.) Yet he was far from being the opponent of art music that this famous quotation might suggest. Indeed, like Luther, he regarded music as 'Divina res', and he also showed a sophisticated interest in the relationship between sung and spoken declamation (see footnote later in this chapter). But he was particularly critical of the low moral standards of professional singers, whom he termed 'the dregs of humanity' (Clement A. Miller, 'Erasmus on music', *Musical Quarterly*, 52 (1966) pp. 332–49 (especially pp. 339, 345–6, 349)). Rob Wegman argues that Erasmus' principal concern, when music was used in worship, was that it should show 'moderation', presumably unlike the Eton school, which he would have heard during his visits to England in between 1499 and 1517, and whose highly melismatic style he would have considered an indulgence unjustified by the text. (See Rob Wegman, *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 105–66.) Above all, the cost of training singers to perform such feats was a misuse of the church's resources: 'How many paupers, dying in want, could be supported by the salaries of singers?' (Miller, 'Erasmus on music', p, 339). A more austere view of sacred music in any form is evident in the influential Heinrich Bullinger's warning 'Let no man think that prayers sung with man's voices are more acceptable unto God, than if they were plainly spoken or uttered' and is echoed in the disapproval later expressed by Bishops Grindal and Horne (Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism,* Kindle pp. 49 & 58–9, locations 1232 & 1393–1412). Furthermore, events such as the Convocation of 1562, which had sought to abolish all 'curious singing and playing of the organs' and the publication in 1572 of *The admonition to the parliament* showed that these views continued to simmer in the background (Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, Kindle pp. 58 & 65, locations 1393 & 1519).
[15] Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, Kindle p. 239, location 6298.
[16] Henry Howard, *A Defense of the Ecclesiastical Regiment in Englande, Defaced by T.C. in His Replie Agaynste D. Whitgift* (London: Henry Bynneman for Humfrey Toy, 1574), p. 176, in the final section of his book, entitled 'Of Singing'.
[17] Howard, *A Defense*, p. 177.

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A somewhat different groundwork to that of Luther is being laid here, one that suits

an English use of musical rhetoric, less explicit than that being pursued by Burmeister in

Germany but of no less significance. It was to develop during the ensuing decades, enabling

stylistic techniques learned from classical oratory to be harnessed in musical ways to further

the principal reformist objective of making sacred text accessible. In the words of the forty-

ninth injunction:

> … that there be a modest and distinct song so used in all parts of the
> common prayers in the church, that the same may be as plainly
> understanded, *as if it were read without singing* (my italics)[18]

It is the parallel drawn between spoken and sung declamation that is significant, although one

that is articulated much less by musicians than by writers — hence a process of rhetorical

analysis taking place the opposite direction to that in Burmeister's Germany, as Andrew

Johnstone observes.[19] Amongst a profusion of literary rhetoricians in this period, Francis

Bacon is convinced of the relationship:

> There be in *Music* certain *Figures*, or *Tropes*; almost agreeing with the
> *Figures* of *Rhetoric*;[20]

and Henry Peacham the Elder is unusual in providing musical equivalents for a number of

rhetorical figures which he gives in his *Garden of Eloquence* in definitions that are not

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[18] *Iniunctions geuen by the Quenes Maiestie* (London: Richard Jugge and John Cawood, 1559; STC 10099.5), sig. C4r–v.
[19] See Andrew Johnstone, 'The Vernacular Church Music of William Byrd: A Reappraisal of Chronology, Authenticity and Context' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Trinity College (Dublin, Ireland). Department of Music, 2014), p. 284 <http://www.tara.tcd.ie/handle/2262/90246> [Accessed 16 May 2022].
[20] Francis Bacon, *Sylua syluarum: or A naturall historie in ten centuries* (London: J. H. for William Lee, 1626), p. 38.

always easy to interpret.[21] For *epizeuxis* (emphatic repetition of a word with no other words

between)[22] he writes

> a figure, whereby a word is repeated, for the greater vehemencie, and
> nothing put in between … An example of Virgil: Ah Coridon, Coridon,
> what madness hath thee moved

and of the 'use of this figure'

> … in respect of pleasant affections it may be compared to the quaver in
> Music.[23]

Peacham the Younger, is more specific:

> Yea in my opinion, no Rhetoric more persuadeth, or hath greater power
> over the mind: nay, hath not Music her figures, the same which Rhetoric?
> …. What is a *Revert* but her *Antistrophe*? Her reports, but sweet
> *Anaphora's*? her counterchange of points, *Antimetabole's*? her passionate
> Aires, but *Prosopopoea's*? with infinite other of the same nature.[24]

Yet, without musical examples to which to attach these terms, in the way that Burmeister

does in his *Musica Poetica*,[25] it is sometimes difficult to know what he means. In our own

time, Gregory Butler tried to address this problem by reading Peacham's remarks in the light

of the interpretations of similar rhetorical terms given by Burmeister and later German

writers,[26] finding close parallels with literary definitions given by Lee Sonnino.[27] Brian

Vickers, a prominent scholar of literary rhetoric, was unconvinced, having difficulty with the

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[21] Henry Peacham (The Elder), *The Garden of Eloquence* (London: R.F. for H Jackson, 1593). Note that these musical comparisons were added only in the 1593 edition, not in the 1577. Examples (with their corresponding page numbers in the 1593): *symploce* (pages 43-44), *epizeuxis* (47), *traductio* (49) and *articulus* (57). *Figure*: A general term for any striking or unusual configuration of words. Richard A Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 78–80.

[22] Lanham, *A Handlist*, p. 71. (This and all subsequent definitions of rhetorical terms given in parentheses are taken from Lanham.)

[23] Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence*, pp. 47–8.

[24] Henry Peacham (The Younger), *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1627), p. 103.

[25] Joachim Burmeister, *Musica Poetica* (Rostock: S. Myliander, 1606).

[26] Gregory G. Butler, 'Music and Rhetoric in Early Seventeenth-Century English Sources', *The Musical Quarterly*, 66.1 (1980), pp. 53–64.

[27] Lee A. Sonnino, *A Handbook to Sixteenth Century Rhetoric* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1968).

concept of musical 'meaning' and mistrusting the very notion of 'musical rhetoric', on the

basis that music lacks the semantic essentials of a spoken language which would qualify it for

the application of classical rhetorical terminology.[28] But, as we shall see, his conclusion

> My feeling is that this whole enterprise was of more use to critics—
> condemned to having to use language to describe music— than to creators[29]

does not hold true when we come to look at English sacred music of the period in verse style

and the circumstances under which it was written.

2.2 Morley's use of rhetorical language

The few statements that we have from English composers and musicians of the time show

that they were well aware of what they understood to be the rhetorical power of sacred music

if deployed effectively. Morley's criticism of choir singers who 'cry louder in their choir than

their fellows' is well known,[30] but the lines that follow are particularly interesting:

> … they ought to study how to vowel and sing clean, expressing their words
> with devotion and passion whereby to draw the hearer, as it were, in chains
> of gold by the ears to the consideration of holy things.

His use of this striking image in connection with the word 'passion' calls to mind another

image that would have been familiar to any student of classical rhetoric, namely that of the

god Hermes, holding his audience captive with the power of his eloquence (Figure 2.1):

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[28] Brian Vickers, 'Figures of Rhetoric/Figures of Music?', *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric*, 2.1 (1984), pp. 1–44 (p. 43) <https://doi.org/10.1525/rh.1984.2.1.1>. This is a view of language that he shares with Susanne K. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key: A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite and Art*, 3rd edn (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1993), pp. 228–29. Vickers' argument seems often to be as much with Ms Sonnino, for the accuracy of her definitions, as with Butler for his use of them. In any case, Vickers acknowledges that authorities are not consistent amongst themselves.
[29] Vickers, 'Figures of Rhetoric', p. 41.
[30] Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597), p. 179.
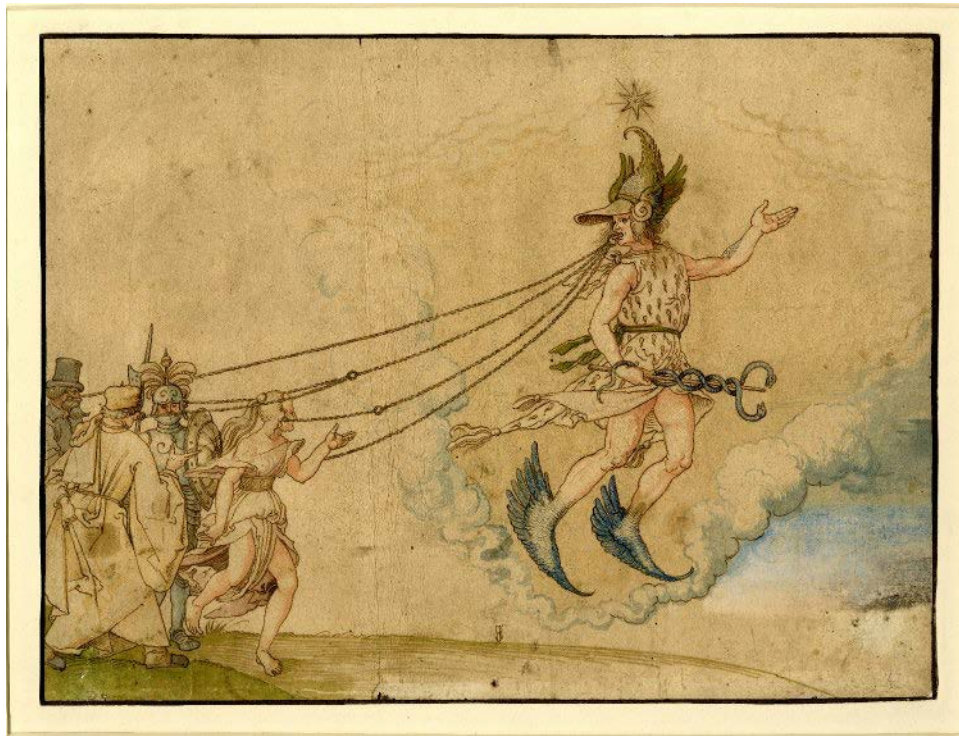
Figure 2.1: Allegory of Eloquence, after Dürer (estimated *c*. 1503)[31]

The great advantage of the new verse style, that appeared in the last decades of the sixteenth century, was that its very structure prioritised declamation by a solo voice. The direct, 'one-to-one' relationship of verse-singer to congregant listener was the key element in focussing attention on devotional text to make it 'plainly understanded'. Elevated by the composer to the status of orator, a verse singer would need to be equipped with all the rhetorical weapons appropriate to that role. A few lines later on from the passage quoted above, Morley makes clear that it is in these terms that he sees the function of well-crafted sacred music:

> This kind of all others which are made on the ditty, require the most art, and moves and causes the most strange effects in the hearer, being aptly framed for the ditty and well expressed by the singer. For it will draw the auditor (and specially the skilful auditor) into a devout and reverent kind of consideration of him for whose praise it was made.

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[31] The British Museum, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_SL-5218-176>.

A number of phrases here link his description unmistakeably to concepts of rhetoric

and to the understanding amongst Morley's contemporaries of how these apply to

performance oratory. The phrase '… moves and causes the most strange effects in the hearer'

surely refers to the quasi-magical hold of the orator over his audience that is discussed in

early seventeenth-century theory of acting,[32] especially with regard to *pathos* (term used both

for the technique of stirring emotion (especially in a law court) and for the emotions

themselves) and *enargeia* (generic term for visually powerful or vivid description which

recreates someone or something, as several theorists say, 'before your very eyes' — a term

which we shall come to presently).[33] The phrase '… aptly framed for the ditty and well

expressed by the singer' is surely a reference to the partnership of composer and singer in the

elocutio (Latin term for style, the third of the five parts of rhetoric) and *actio* (Latin term for

delivery, fifth of the five parts) of rhetorically performed vocal music.[34] The phrase 'skilful

auditor' (complement to Howard's 'cunning singing') is a reminder that skilful composition

and performance presupposes that the listener is already instructed in, and thus aware of, the

rhetorical weapons being deployed for emotive persuasion — to 'pierce' their conscience, to

borrow a phrase from Peacham.[35] Otherwise, performance is reduced to empty aural titillation

without moral purpose. Neither Morley's readers nor any contemporary audience to a

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[32] See Joseph R. Roach, *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), pp. 25, 32–33.

[33] Lanham, *A Handlist*, pp. 64 & 111. *Actio* is understood in this case as performance of the composition by the singer. Roach cites these figures in relation to Thomas Heywood's *Apology for Actors* (1612), which 'attempted to establish the liberality of the player's art as a species of rhetoric', as well as to the description by Quintilian in *Institutes* VI.II.35 ('I have often seen actors, both in tragedy and comedy, leave the theatre still drowned in tears after concluding the performance of some moving role') of how the spirit of the actor/orator is able, through strongly identifying with the passions, to have power to alter the body's physical state. See Roach, *The Player's Passion,* pp. 24–9.

[34] The five 'Parts' of classical rhetoric are: *Inventio, Dispositio*, *Elocutio, Memoria* and *Pronuntiatio* sometimes referred to as *Actio*. See Lanham, *A Handlist* pp. 164–6. Heywood (see note above) emphasises *Action*, which he sees as specific to the performance of acting and which I take here to be equivalent to the performance of singing. See Roach, *The Player's Passion,* p. 32.

[35] See below.

dramatic or musical performance would have found anything unusual in the language being used here. Vickers' objection to the attempts of modern scholarship to understand how the music operates rhetorically is misguided and perhaps arises from a misunderstanding of the very purpose of composers such as Byrd, Tomkins and Gibbons, when they wrote sacred vocal music. This has nothing to do with the 'self-expression' of a nineteenth-century composer, hence argument concerned with the 'meaning' of the music misses the point.[36] It is instead entirely functional, its purpose being to focus attention through a variety of musical devices on the *text*, sometimes revealing layers of meaning, which may not at first be obvious. These devices need to be identified if the music is to be meaningfully performed.

2.3. Peacham's 'figurative flowers'

In the Preface to his 1577 edition of *The Garden of Eloquence*, Peacham the Elder speaks of the 'figurative flowers' of eloquence, describing them thus:

> such as delight the ears, as pleasant reports, repetitions and running points in music; whose utility is so great that I cannot sufficiently praise them, and the knowledge of them so necessary that no man can read profitably or understand perfectly either poets, orators or the holy scriptures without them, nor any orator able by the weight of his words to persuade his hearers, having no help of them – but being well stored with such plausible furniture, how wonderfully shall his persuasions take place in the minds of men, and his words pierce into their inward parts![37]

How can they contribute to the deeper understanding of a piece of devotional text, when it is set to music? Andrew Johnstone demonstrates how a lateral view of the fugal technique that Byrd developed for his Great Service shows him to be using simple rhetorical figures of

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[36] As Andrew Johnstone points out, contemporary rhetoricians, both English and German, 'were untroubled by modern semiological concerns about music's lack of meaning'. Johnstone, 'The Vernacular Church Music of William Byrd', p. 287.

[37] Henry Peacham (The Elder), *The Garden of Eloquence* (London: H Jackson, 1577), p. A iii.

repetition to set his text (*anaphora*, *epistrophe* and *symploce*) — all 'instantly recognisable to educated Elizabethans', as he points out.[38] In musical terms, short fugal entries display the characteristics of such figures through having identical opening or closing pitches, sometimes both, and shapes that are clearly similar. A variant of the process is at work in his consort anthem *Have mercy upon me, O God*, but in this case within the horizontal plane of the Cantus line, to which our ear is drawn by the soloist in the opening verse. The anthem sets the first three verses of penitential psalm 51, which begins 'Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness' (Example 2.1):

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[38] Johnstone, 'The Vernacular Church Music of William Byrd', p. 290 and Example 5:7, p. 416. See also more generally on the subject of musical rhetoric in Byrd pp. 284–97.

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Example 2.1: William Byrd *Have mercy upon me, O God*, bars 5–19 [39]

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[39] ©Andrew Johnstone 2019, edited and reconstructed; see Appendix for full score. Audio Example '03 Byrd - Have mercy upon me, O God'. Track 3 'In Chains of Gold vol. 2' timecode 0.00–1.03 (the example begins with a short instrumental introduction, bars 1–5).

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Rather than expound all this text in the opening verse, Byrd spreads it across three consecutive sections *Verse 1 – Chorus 1 – Verse 2,* so that we do not hear 'after thy great goodness' until the second verse. Before that completion, we hear three simple, mantra-like statements of the plea 'Have mercy upon me, O god'. For each new statement, the words are an exact repeat — a mirror image — but the musical settings (leaving aside the textural change resulting from alternation of *Verse* and *Chorus*) are not. It is by subtle musical variations that our attention is drawn, and the rhetorical weighting of the text is altered by each new musical context.

For the initial words 'Have mercy upon me', the rhythmic shape remains identical with each iteration, whilst the pitches fall and then rise, as the melodic contour is first compressed and then stretched upwards (Example 2.2):

Example 2.2: *Anaphora*, William Byrd *Have mercy upon me, O God*, bars 5–16

The tone of voice of each repeat of the plea is thus altered (in accordance with Quintilian's insistence on variety in the orator's vocal 'inflexions'), the last one with its added semitone at the peak in bars 14-15 being the most intense. Despite such differences, the overall musical

effect is clearly recognisable as equivalent to *anaphora* (repetition of the same word or words at the beginning of successive clauses).[40]

At the chorus repeat of the closing words 'O God', shape, pitches and contour all remain identical (A), but a crucial difference is in the alteration of harmonic underpinning (B). (The harmony had changed significantly below the phrases of the previous example but here it is more subtle.) As a result, the tone of voice is changed again (Example 2.3):

Example 2.3: *Epistrophe*, William Byrd *Have mercy upon me, O God*, bars 5–13

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[40] *Anaphora*: Lanham cites an example from Peacham: 'The Lord sitteth above the water floods. The Lord remaineth a king for ever'. Lanham, *A Handlist*, p. 11.

Nevertheless, the musical effect here is clearly recognisable as equivalent to *epistrophe* (repetition of a closing word or words at the end of successive clauses or sentences).[41]

In Verse *2*, a change in direction of the Cantus line for the words 'O God' (Example 2.1, bars 15–16), leads on to 'after thy great goodness', and now a third figure emerges, *Anadiplosis* (repetition of the last word of one clause to begin the next).[42] In this case, it is a single musical pitch that is repeated, so that a chain connects the ends of the first two statements to the beginning of the third through repetitions of *a*' (Example 2.4):

Example 2.4: *Anadiplosis*, William Byrd *Have mercy upon me, O God*, bars 9–16

2.4. Rhetorical repetition

To borrow a phrase from Miriam Joseph, these are all musical examples of 'patterns or fashionings of language', familiar in writing of the period.[43] They entrap the ear, so to speak, in the outer strands of a web that draws the listener ever further in. And since to the educated listener they would seem reminiscent of rhetorical figures that derive from the use of words, they would naturally have the effect of turning the attention back onto the text that they

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[41] *Epistrophe* (also *Antistrophe*): Lanham cites an example from Peacham: 'When I was a child, I spake as a child; I understood as a child; I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things.' Lanham, *A Handlist*, p. 16.

[42] *Anadiplosis*: Lanham cites an example from Peacham: 'If we live, we live unto the Lord, if we die, we die unto the Lord'. (Peacham refers to this figure as 'the Rhetoricall Eccho'.) Lanham, *A Handlist*, p. 10.

[43] Joseph, *Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language*, p. 48.

ornament. Each involves a different kind of repetition and Henry Peacham lists no fewer than eleven of such figures in his manual *The Garden of Eloquence,* for three of which – *Simploce*, *Epizeuxis* and *Traductio* – he describes musical equivalents.[44] Composers of the later Baroque often used textual repetition as a fuel to power the engine of melodic sequences (examples of *Halleluias* and *Glorias* spring easily to mind). In an Elizabethan or Jacobean anthem in verse style it tends to be employed sparingly, so that its effect is not wasted. As John Hoskins writes in 1599

> … as no man is sick in thought upon one thing but for some vehemency or distress, so in speech there is no repetition without importance.[45]

It might, for example, be used to clarify material that is theologically difficult. Charles Butler observes

> … if the Points Dittie be not apprehended at the first; yet, in the iterating thereof, it may.
> Such repeats should be emphatical, importing some special matter: and which, in Divine uses, may help both to excite and to express due zeal and devotion.[46]

We saw in *Have mercy upon me* how Byrd creates devotional intensity by having the chorus repeat not only the words but also the shapes of the preceding verse.[47] His settings of other penitential psalms show the same process at work.[48]

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[44] See footnote above.

[45] John Hoskins, *Directions for Speech and Style*, ed. by Hoyt H. Hudson (Princeton University Press, 1935), p. 12.

[46] Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik, in Singing and Setting: With The Two-Fold Use Thereof [Ecclesiastical and Civil]* (London: John Haviland, 1636), p. 97.

[47] A form for which Andrew Johnstone has created the name 'psittacine'. See especially Johnstone, 'The Vernacular Church Music', pp. 163–72. He notes that Joseph Kerman used the phrase 'rhetoric of iteration' to refer to Byrd's use of the device of repetition, without going as far as to identify actual rhetorical figures in his composition. Joseph Kerman, '"Write All These down": Notes on a Byrd Song', in *Byrd Studies*, ed. by Alan Brown and Richard Turbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 112–28 (p. 127).

[48] See *Hear my prayer* and *O Lord, rebuke me not,* tracks 1 and 2 respectively on the CD *'In Chains of Gold' vol. 2*. See also Appendix for musical scores.

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Grammar school education taught repetition as the basic method of learning. *Miriam Joseph* describes how a class would learn twelve-line sections of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and recite them to the class next above, which would in turn recite them to the next higher.[49] The structure of alternating verse and chorus sections in a verse anthem makes it an ideal vehicle for moral instruction, the verse singer 'reciting' a moral text, the chorus repeating words to affirm that it has learned the moral lesson and all in a process with which the listener(s) can identify.[50] As Butler observes, such reiteration may also serve to highlight a detail which was missed on first hearing.

> … sometime one part sings single, which is easily understood: and when the Quire sings, you have the help of some special treatable voice, (whereunto you may attend) and of the Repeats, which at the second or third time, make that plain, which at the first was not observed.[51]

2.5. Layers of meaning

Gibbons is adept at setting text in ways that reveal multiple layers of meaning. In *This is the record of John*, the words 'make straight' are first set to a powerfully angular gesture in the vocal line, jumping upwards firstly by a third and then by a fourth, conveying the vehemence of John's command and inviting the singer to exploit the force of the monosyllable and its triple-consonants (Example 2.5):

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[49] Joseph, *Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language*, pp. 10–11.
[50] See further on this subject in chapter 4.2.
[51] Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik*, p. 111.

Example 2.5: Orlando Gibbons *This is the record of John*, bars 70–74[52]

When the words reappear in the following chorus, Gibbons irons out this jagged contour into a straight line in stepwise motion and reinforces the command by causing it to be heard in all five 'layers' of the counterpoint in *stretto* entries. Hence, by a stroke of melodic *mimesis* (imitation of gesture, pronunciation or utterance),[53] he conjures up the idea of 'straightness' that the earlier, angular gesture had not yet revealed (Example 2.6):

Example 2.6: Orlando Gibbons *This is the record of John*, bars 82-86

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[52] Edited by David Pinto, © Fretwork Editions FE25 (London, 2004).
[53] *Mimesis*: Lanham elaborates 'self-conscious role-playing, as when a rhapsode reenacts the poem he is reciting'. Lahnam, *A Handlist*, p. 102.

Earlier in the anthem, Gibbons sets the words 'I am not the Christ' to a flamboyant

quaver gesture which I discussed in an earlier chapter and described as a 'rhetorical figure',[54]

but how can its use here be explained? (Example 2.7):

Example 2.7: Orlando Gibbons *This is the record of John*, bars 12–18 (notated pitch)

I argued that the clue lies in the preceding word 'plainly' and that Gibbons is setting up an

antithesis between the words of John's denial and the manner in which he is made to deliver

them, which is the very opposite of plain and therefore throws their blunt sense into relief.[55]

The rhetorical technique of making persuasive argument by illustrating contrast, perhaps

between different but related concepts or levels of meaning, was an intellectual exercise

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[54] See Chapter 1.A.10.
[55] It is thus a rhetorical form of word-setting that would fall into the category that Miriam Joseph terms 'Contraries and Contradictories', whereby 'Often a matter is more clearly understood in relation to its contrary'. See Joseph, *Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language*, pp. 322–5.

recommended by the ancients from Aristotle to Cicero and used by many Renaissance

writers. It could be expressed in a list, through one of the many figures of *division*,[56] or

distilled into a single word by punning on its different meanings. As Miriam Joseph reminds

us, witty word-play of this kind can be found even at moments of high seriousness, from the

sermons of Lancelot Andrewes to the tragedies of Shakespeare. However (as she goes on to

observe), just as this type of rhetorical ornament 'was frequently despised as false or

degenerate wit from the eighteenth century to the present day',[57] so the lugubriousness that is

typical of today's Anglican choral approach to Gibbons' many-layered language misses the

point at moments such as this. In drawing our attention to the Baptist's words with these

quavers, Gibbons is executing a musical pun at a more subtle level, since the figure is itself

an example of ornamental *division* (a musical term that, although it is probably familiar to

most through publications such as Christopher Simpson's *The Division Violist* a few decades

later, was clearly in currency well before Gibbons).[58] There can be little doubt that Morley's

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[56] For example *Dieresis* or *Partitio*, as set out by Peacham in *The Garden of Eloquence* (1593), pp. 123–5 and displayed by Jacques in Shakespeare's *As you like it* (4.1.10): 'I have neither the scholar's melancholy, which is emulation; nor the musician's, which is fantastical; nor the courtier's, which is proud; nor the soldier's, which is ambitious; nor the lawyer's, which is politic …' etc. For an extensive examination of figures of division see Joseph, *Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language*, pp. 111–9.

[57] See Joseph, *Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language*, p. 164. We shall examine the influence of Andrewes' rhetorical language (to which she makes particular reference) in a later chapter on Hooper's *Hearken ye nations* (see Chapter 3B). For punning in Shakespeare at a moment of high drama, see for example *Macbeth* (2.5.55):

<div align="center">If he do bleed</div>

    I'll gild the faces of the grooms withal,

    For it must seem their guilt.

[58] Christopher Simpson, *The Division Violist* (London: Godbid and Playford, 1659). For earlier use of the term the *Oxford English Dictionary* cites a number of examples from the 1590s, including Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Pt. 1* (3.1.206) 'Ditties … Sung by a faire Queene … With ravishing division to her Lute'. See *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, March 2022, "division, *n,* 7. Music" *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/56156 [Accessed June 8 2022]. The poet Walter Raleigh makes the same pun in his poem 'What is our life?' with the words 'Our mirth the music of division', as he embarks upon a rhetorical list of comparisons ('Our mothers' wombs the tiring houses…' etc.). Gibbons gives it musical expression in his madrigalian setting with a flurry of quaver 'divisions' throughout the parts at this point. In a section of my later chapter on proportional metre (4.1.7) I refer to a musical pun executed on the word 'lighten' in his setting of the Nunc dimittis, which escapes the notice of Anglican choirs who have not realised that Gibbons is referencing the Galliard dance-step.

'skilful auditor' would have made this connection, but it would have required (in Henry

Howard's phrase) 'cunning singing' to identify and articulate it in the first place.

In the opening verse of *Blessed are all they that fear the Lord,* Gibbons repeats the

words 'and walk in his ways' with only slight alteration to the musical setting, in order subtly

to change the emphasis (Example 2.8):[59]

Example 2.8: Orlando Gibbons *Blessed are all they that fear the Lord*, bars 4–7

In the first iteration, the emphasis is clearly on 'walk', the figure of dotted minim followed by

two quavers imparting a certain swing of confidence to the gesture; whereas, on the repeat of

the words, the replacement of quavers by slower paced crotchets for 'in his' makes for a more

deliberate delivery, throwing the attention onto 'his ways'. Examples such as these bring to

mind the parallel drawn by Vicentino in *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*

> And the experience of the orator teaches us that he speaks now loudly, now
> softly, and slower and faster, and with that he moves the listeners greatly.
> What effect would an orator have if he recited a beautiful speech without
> proper attention to the accents, the pronunciation, and fast and slow
> motions, and speaking softly and loudly[?]. . . The same must be true in
> music.[60]

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[59] This could perhaps be described as a kind of musical *polyptoton*. Literally 'repetition of words from the same root but with different endings'. Lanham, *A Handlist*, p. 117.

[60] '... & la esperienza, dell'Oratore l'insegna . . . che hora dice forte, & hora piano, & più tardo, & più presto, e con questo muove assai gl'oditori . . . che effetto faria l'Oratore che recitasse una bella oratione senza l'ordine de i suoi accenti, & pronuntie, & moti veloci, & tardi, & con il dir piano & forte[?] . . . Il simile dè essere nella Musica'. Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica Musica Ridotta Alla Moderna Prattica* (Rome: Antonio Barre, 1555), book

2.6. Cumulative repetition

Tomkins' funeral anthem for Prince Henry *Know you not* contains several kinds of rhetorical

repetition, arranged in a highly structured manner. The chorus section at the centre of the

work, setting the politically charged words 'Great Britain mourn', is an example of the

simultaneous use of more than one standard figure (Example 2.9):

Example 2.9: Thomas Tomkins *Know you not*, bars 83–88[61]

This effectively combines into a hybrid the figures *epizeuxis* and *articulus* (a [small] part,

division),[62] both of which are mentioned by Peacham in his 1593 revision of *The Garden of*

Eloquence as being remarkable for their musical parallels. Robert Toft points to a similar use

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4, chap. 42 ('Regola da concertare cantando ogni sorte di compositione'), fol. 89ᵛ (incorrectly numbered 88 in the print) as cited in Ruth I. DeFord, *Tactus, Mensuration and Rhythm in Renaissance Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), Kindle location 7209-7211.

[61] Edited and reconstructed David Pinto, ©Fretwork Editions FA12 (London, 2009).

[62] Lanham, *A Handlist*, p. 23. As we saw above, Peacham likens *epizeuxis* to the 'quaver in Music'. His full description is: '… in respect of pleasant affections it may be compared to the quaver in Music, in respect of sorrow, to a double sigh of the heart, and in respect of anger, to a double stab with a weapon's point'. (Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence*, p. 48). His definition of *articulus* is also quite specific as to its notational parallel with the semibreve: 'This figure serveth to pleasant brevity, and also is very convenient to express any vehement affections: in peaceable and quiet causes it may be compared to the semibreve in Music …' (Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence*, p. 57). Vickers might well object that, from the standpoint of classical oratory, *articulus* should be used to describe the articulation of a series of words that differ rather than simply reiterate, as in an example from the anonymous *Ad Herennium*: 'You have destroyed your enemies by jealousy, injuries, influence, perfidy' (See Vickers, 'Figures of Rhetoric', p. 22). Yet the harmonic change with each repeat of the initial 'mourn' ensures that each *sounds* qualitatively different and each is thus articulated.

of articulated semibreves, a quadruple 'sigh of the heart' (to use Peacham's phrase), in the

opening of John Danyel's *Griefe, keepe within* (Example 2.10):[63]

Example 2.10: John Danyel, *Griefe, keepe within*, Cantus, opening bars

Earlier, in the second verse of the anthem, Tomkins sets up a dialogue between Mean and

Contratenor to extol the virtues of the deceased Prince Henry, with text adapted from

Lamentions 4:2. 'The precious son of Zion, comparable to fine gold, how is he esteemed as a

pitcher, the work of the hand of the potter.' (Example 2.11):

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[63] Robert Toft, *Tune Thy Musicke to Thy Hart: The Art of Eloquent Singing in England, 1597–1622* (Toronto, Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 41.

Example 2.11: Thomas Tomkins *Know you not*, bars 39–51

Here, whole phrases, rather than single words, are repeated as musical points are exchanged

between the two voices, not in simple echo but in a species of extended *epizeuxis*, enhanced

by musical gesture and in increasing iteration. Starting at bar 40, we hear 'comparable to fine

gold' twice, 'how is he esteemed' three times, 'as a pitcher' four times. From bar 42 the

gestures become gradually more extreme, reaching upwards, first by a fourth, then a sixth,

then an octave, to convey the boundlessness of the esteem in which the prince is held. From

bar 47, the pace of delivery is suddenly accelerated from minim to crotchet, the more to

contrast with the longer, undulating contour of the last phrase (for which a third voice enters,

to amplify the expansiveness), evoking the caressing movements of the potter's hands. On

paper, the whole process may seem rather studied, even mechanical, but it successfully

combines a certain ritualistic severity with more madrigalian gestures.

2.7. Other rhetorical figures

i. *Prosopopoea*

Peacham the Younger, in the passage quoted earlier, sought to associate certain rhetorical

figures with musical equivalents. Perhaps the most intriguing is this:

> hath not Musicke her figures, the same which Rhetorique? … her
> passionate Aires, but *Prosopopoea's*? with infinite other of the same
> nature.[64]

Johnstone argues that *prosopopoea* (personification)[65] should be understood in the light of

George Puttenham's definition: a figure that is used 'if ye will attribute any humane quality,

[such] as reason or speech, to dumb creatures or other insensible things…'.[66] He proposes:

> Presumably, the human quality assumed by Peacham's 'passionate aire' is
> affection—a quality Burmeister confined to the related figure *pathopoeia*
> (arousing the emotions), and which he imputed to the emphasizing of a
> scale-degree not belonging to, or not normally prominent within, the
> mode.[67]

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[64] Peacham (The Younger), p. 103.
[65] See further Lanham, *A Handlist*, pp. 123–4.[66] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (London:
Richard Field, 1589), p. 200.
[66] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (London: Richard Field, 1589), p. 200.
[67] Johnstone, 'The Vernacular Church Music', pp. 286–87.

CHAPTER 2
Rhetoric and poetics in the verse style

Whilst acknowledging that Byrd is unlikely to have had any knowledge of Burmeister's

writing, he makes a strong case for Byrd having linked these two figures, pointing to the way

that the composer uses 'accidental B♭'s' in his Great Service and related anthems 'at moments

when the texts … allude to affections'.[68] There is no doubt that Byrd uses accidentals for

emotional effect in his consort anthems. In *Christ rising*, at the text 'forin that he died', an

accidental *e-flat* is introduced in the bass, causing what 'classical' solmisation theory would

regard as an enforced downward hexachord mutation, therefore aptly expressing the

heaviness of 'death'. That movement is immediately contradicted by the sharpness of a

positive motion upwards,[69] which leads us optimistically to 'he died but once to put away sin'

(Example 2.12):

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[68] Johnstone suggests that '[in] addition to these instances of *pathopoeia*, Byrd's "B♭'s" also suggest *prosopopoeia*, since they are most frequently deployed in clauses that refer to groups of persons ("the house of his servant David", the "Apostolick Church", "the face of all people")'. Johnstone, 'The Vernacular Church Music', p. 287. He refers to a number of modern scholars, notably Joseph Kerman, Philip Brett and Mike Smith, for whom rhetoric, and thus figures such as these, are an accepted element of Byrd criticism. Kerman writes of the evident desire amongst composers in this period to 'make music rhetoric' and he offers the telling observation 'Sooner or later … Byrd always brings in a third semitone, a B♭ or an E♭ which artfully lacerates the modal purity.' Joseph Kerman, 'Byrd, Tallis, and the Art of Imitation', in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. by Jan La Rue (New York: WW Norton, 1966), pp. 532, 537.

[69] For an account of the complex relationship between *b-flat* and *b-natural* in musical theory over preceding centuries and the erotic implications that were increasingly exploited in their use as accidentals in text-setting, see Bonnie Blackburn, 'The Lascivious Career of B-Flat' in *Eroticism in Early Modern Music*, ed. by Bonnie Blackburn and Laurie Stras (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 19–42. For a performance perspective on both of these features, see further in Chapter 4.8.2 of the present thesis 'Singing the hexachord'.

Example 2.12: William Byrd *Christ rising*, bars 25–29

Hooper achieves a similar effect by introducing an accidental *B-flat* in bar 16 of the bassline

in *O God of gods* (Example 2.13):

Example 2.13: Edmund Hooper *O God of gods*, bars 14–8

Here it is again the weightiness, implicit in the harmonic movement to an accidental flat, that

fits the word that is to be coloured: the sceptre, symbol of royal power and responsibility.[70]

Conversely, Byrd introduces accidental sharps to heighten tension in the penitential palm

setting *O Lord, rebuke me not* at the words 'Turn thee, O Lord, and deliver my soul'

(Example 2.14):

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[70] See chapter 3A for further discussion of this passage.

Example 2.14: William Byrd, *O Lord, rebuke me not*, bars 64–74

The harmony is forced tortuously upwards by the sinner's earnest plea for deliverance

through the introduction of accidental sharps on *f*', *B*, *g*' (and, by extension, *c*'),[71] inducing an

emotion of insecurity through increasing modal remoteness, but with the words 'O save me'

we are brought home to the security of *F*.[72] This all has significant implications for the

performers, which I discuss in a later chapter.[73] For the present purpose, it seems reasonable

to describe such a use of accidentals as 'rhetorical', if only because this manner of 'renaming'

a note, as Morley might have described it, is so closely analogous to a *trope* (a figure which

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[71] Reconstruction as a consort anthem by Andrew Johnstone, ©2019. Track 2, *'In Chains of Gold' vol. 2*.

[72] For discussion of a comparable passage in Hooper's *O God of gods*, at bars 68–73, where the introduction of accidental sharps on *d* ' expresses through harmonic remoteness the finality of the second coming, see Chapter 3A.

[73] For discussion of the implied tone colour of accidentals and the subject of intonation rhetoric, see the Chapter 4 on Performance, for example 4.8.2 'Singing the hexachord'.

alters the meaning of a word or words, rather than simply arranging them in a pattern of some

sort).[74] That is how our 'skillful auditor' would probably have recognised it.

ii. *Auxesis*

Johnstone identifies what he calls the '*auxesis* figure' in Byrd's Great Service – a process of

harmonic augmentation,[75] which Byrd's German contemporary, Burmeister, would have

recognised as analogous to Quintilian's figure of *climax* (mounting by degrees through linked

words or phrases):[76]

> It was the energy of Africanus that gave him his peculiar excellence, his
> excellence that gave him glory, his glory that gave him rivals.[77]

He cites an example from the opening to the Magnificat of Byrd's Great Service (Example

2.15):[78]
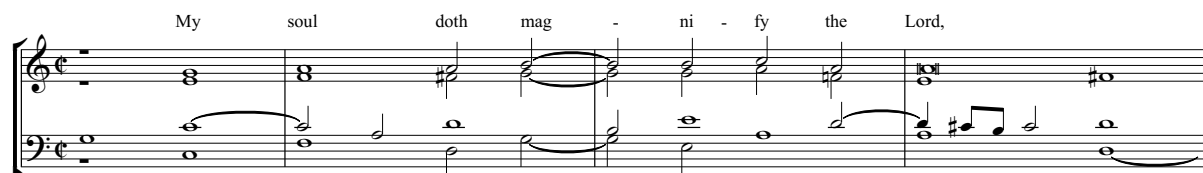
Example 2.15: William Byrd Magnificat from the Great Service, opening bars:[79]

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[74] Lanham, *A Handlist*, pp. 154–7.

[75] *Auxesis*: 1: Use of a heightened word in place of an ordinary one; 2: Words or clauses placed in climatic order; 3: Building a point around a series of comparisons; 4: A general term for *Amplificatio* or one of the subdivisions thereof. Lanham, *A Handlist*, pp. 26–8.

[76] Lanham, *A Handlist*, p. 36; Joachim Burmeister, *Musical Poetics*, trans. by Rivera (Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 172–75.

[77] Africano virtutem industria, virtus gloriam, gloria aemulos comparavit.' Quintilian *Institutio oratoria*, IX.3.56; translation from Loeb Classical Library <https://penelope.uchicago.edu/thayer/e/roman/texts/quintilian/institutio_oratoria/home.html> [Acessed June 2 2021].

[78] Johnstone writes: '… in the calculated gradations of Byrd's musical phraseology it is hard not to see something of the definition of auxesis given by his English contemporary George Puttenham: it is the "figure of increase because every word that is spoken is one of more weight than another".' Johnstone, 'The Vernacular Church Music', pp. 47–8.

[79] Edition © Andrew Johnstone 2019

Tomkins uses the effect of stretching higher and higher upwards, by intervals of a third and a
fourth, effectively to 'magnify' the greatness of the deceased Prince Henry at the opening of
Know you not (Example 2.16):

Example 2.16: Thomas Tomkins *Know you not*, bars 3–9

Byrd does the same in the duetting vocal lines of his consort anthem *Christ rising,* where, in
their progressively rising entries, the two solo Means seem to evoke the very act of Christ's
resurrection (Example 2.17):[80]

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[80] It could be described as another example of vocal *mimesis*, to be compared to the earlier examples from *This
is the record of John* and *Know you not*. See above.

Example 2.17: William Byrd *Christ rising*, bars 6–19

iii. *Enargeia*

In the opening bars of Gibbons' *Behold, thou hast made my days* it can become difficult to

separate the different figures that are being used, such is the intricacy of the structure:

auxesis, *gradatio*, *palilogia*, all are candidates.[81] These are all terms which Vickers accuses

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[81] *Auxesis*: 1: Use of a heightened word in place of an ordinary one; 2: Words or clauses placed in climatic order; 3: Building a point around a series of comparisons; 4: A general term for *Amplificatio* or one of the subdivisions thereof. *Gradatio* – see *Climax*: Mounting by degrees through linked words or phrases, usually of increasing weight and in parallel construction. *Palilogia*: – 1: *Anadiplosis*: repetition of the last word of one line or clause to begin the next (see footnote above); 2: *Iteratio*: repetition for vehemence or fullness. See Lanham, *A Handlist*, respectively pp. 26, 8, 36, 106, 10, 94.

Burmeister and German theorists of confusing, when they apply them to music, and perhaps

with some justification.[82] But there can be no doubt that the effect of this intense web of

musical 'rhyming', now spread not only through the linear plane of a single line, but across

the lateral plane of counterpoint, is to create a powerful emotional climax that builds towards

the first vocal entry,[83] enabling us to absorb the essence of the word 'Behold' four (arguably

five) times before it is even uttered (Example 2.18):

Example 2.18: Orlando Gibbons *Behold, thou hast made my days*, bars 1–5

Gibbons, perhaps more than any other composer of consort anthems, uses the rhetorical

potential of the consort structure to illuminate important elements of text, arguably equivalent

to the rhetorical concept of *enargeia*.[84] The distinction between *enargeia* and *energeia* is

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[82] 'The rhetoricians of music in fact confused *auxesis* and *gradatio*, interchanging the names, but never dealt with the more complex structure of *gradatio*. Even with *auxesis* they seem forced to take it in its most general terms. For Burmeister it occurs "when a harmony made up only of consonances under one and the same text while being repeated once, twice, or three times or more, grows and rises". Music takes over the name but only the idea of "increase" or "enlargement". In rhetoric *pallilogia* describes the repetition of a word, as distinct from a group of words, sometimes involving a change of meaning: in Burmeister's musical rhetoric it is "a simple repetition of a series of pitches". This is to borrow merely the general idea of repetition.' Vickers, 'Figures of Rhetoric', p. 29.

[83] *Climax* is indeed yet another relevant term, especially apt in the case of counterpoint: 'mounting by degrees through linked words or phrases, usually of increasing weight and in parallel construction' See Lanham, *A Handlist*, p. 36.

[84] See earlier footnote in relation to Thomas Morley: *Enargeia*: generic term for visually powerful or vivid description which recreates someone or something, as several theorists say, 'before your very eyes'. See Lanham, *A Handlist*, p. 64.

much discussed by rhetoricians and this has musical implications.[85] By the time of Henry

Playford's famous praise of Henry Purcell in 1698, describing him as

> having a peculiar Genius to express the Energy of English Words, whereby
> he mov'd the Passions of all his Auditors.[86]

the two have become merged. If there is a useful distinction to be made, it might be that

energeia is a wide category,[87] applicable to aspects of word-painting, such as the use of

extremes of pitch to colour a word,[88] or a particularly effective evocation of its sound and

shape when spoken,[89] whereas *enargeia* engages a dimension which lies beyond either of

these. Later in the same verse, Gibbons combines the two at the line 'And verily, every man

living is altogether vanity'. Here it is the essence of the word *verily*, that Gibbons wants to

capture, and he does it by mirroring both the rhythm and the shape of the word in all five

layers of the counterpoint — a moment of revelation. The close succession of stretto entries

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[85] Alexander Gill in his *Logonomia Anglica* of 1619 discusses the correct use of rhetorical accent by the orator in terms of musical pitch. '..rhetorical accent is when, in order to imprint the meaning more powerfully on the mind, the emphasis is placed more on one word than another...*all* monosyllables are 'sharpened', made acute (grammatically speaking). All the same, in the context of rhetoric, those vowels (*vocibus*) imbued with meaning, force and clarity (ἐνάργεια), receive at the least an orator's accent, or a forcible pitch or stress (*toni* ἐνέργεια).' I am grateful to David Pinto for this translation, which differs from that of Danielsson and Gabrielson (see *Alexander Gill's Logonomia Anglica (1619)*, trans. by Bror Danielsson and Arvid Gabrielson (Almqvist & Wiksell, 1972), pp. 174–5). Pinto here draws attention to the distinction made by Gill between the two terms and to his use of words such as 'acute', 'grave' and 'baritonal' to refer to pitch/stress. This aspect of oratorical declamation is one that is given prominence by a number of rhetoricians. Erasmus, using acute, grave and circumflex accents, goes so far as to describe the correct pronunciation of Latin words in terms of steps of the hexachord: vídi and vîdit equivalent to *fa re* and *fa mi*. See Derek Attridge, *Well-Weighed Syllables: Elizabethan Verse in Classical Metres* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 58. The relationship between declamatory pitch and stress, as taught in grammar school Latin, seems likely to have had an influence on musical text-setting, at least in this period of early Reformist vernacular translations of sacred texts formally familiar in Latin, but was beyond the scope of the present research.
[86] Henry Purcell, *Orpheus Britannicus* (London: Heptinstall, 1698), p iii 'From the Bookseller to the Reader'.
[87] Lanham suggests it is 'a more general term for vigour and verve, of whatever sort, in expression'. Lanham, *A Handlist*, p. 64.
[88] I give a number of examples of this in the chapter 4.3, such as use of the lowest bass notes to express strength and power (Tomkins *Sing unto God* bar 12, Mundy *Sing joyfully* bars 12, 46 & 65) or the highest notes of the Contratenor range to express sovereignty, monarchy or divinity (Gibbons *Great King of Gods* bar 6, Hooper *O God of gods* bar 55-6, Bull *Almighty God* bars 73 & 96).
[89] Often when adopting a more madrigalian style, such as later in Gibbons' *Behold, thou hast made my days*, his use of a diminutive, falling crotchet figure to express littleness in 'O spare me a little' (bars 64-5) or Amner's use of a preceding crotchet rest to express the inhalation of breath in 'sigh a part' in *Consider all ye passers by*, bars 57–8.

acts as a surge of vivid light to illuminate the inner meaning of truthfulness from above and

from below (Example 2.19):

Example 2.19: Orlando Gibbons *Behold, thou hast made my days*, bars 10–13

2.8. Rhythms of speech

This example also illustrates a musical device which Gibbons sometimes uses for another

kind of effect, one which lies on the border between rhetoric and poetry, since it involves the

rhythm of text as much as its meaning.[90] He sets the word 'verily' in a unit of triple metre

(♩. ♪ ♪), which draws special attention to it. In this case, it has the effect of infecting all the

parts around it, but the device can also be used to set a passage of the vocal line apart from

those that surround it, as in these bars from *This is the record of John* (Example 2.20):

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[90] This triangular relationship with music is referred to by George Puttenham, who saw no distinction between the two disciplines of rhetoric and poetry, describing the latter as 'speech by meter … a kind of vtterance more cleanly couched and more delicate to the eare then prose is, because it is more currant and slipper vpon the tongue, and withal tunable and melodious, as a kind of Musicke, and therfore may be tearmed a musicall speech or vtterance, which cannot but please the hearer very well. See Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, opening of Chapter IIII, 'How the Poets were the first Philosophers, the first Astronomers and Historiographers and Oratours and Musiciens of the world'.

Example 2.20: Orlando Gibbons *This is the record of John*, bars 9–18

From a dramatic viewpoint, this anthem is concerned with transitions between reported speech and the actual words of John himself or of the Levites who are interrogating him and these are moments of high drama. At bar 12 we encounter John for the first time, having been posed the question 'Who art thou?'. In order to make clearer the distinction between these two types of speech, Gibbons creates a metrical diversion. The vocal line at 'And he confessed' moves imperceptibly into triple metre of 3/2, where it seems to hover aloof for 'denied not'; then we are brought crashing to earth and back into duple tactus for John's actual words 'I am not the Christ', set to the flamboyant quaver gesture discussed earlier.[91] It

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[91] See Chapter 1A.10. As there discussed, this is a fine example of Gibbons' use of the musical 'pun', another of which I identify in Chapter 4.1.7.

is an arresting moment (or at least it should be),[92] and its notation is perhaps made clearer by
removing modern barlines and ties and inserting *Mensurstrich* in the following example
(Example 2.21):
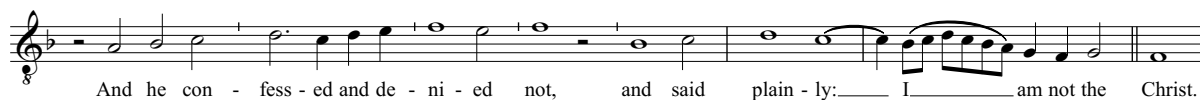
Example 2.21: Orlando Gibbons *This is the record of John*, Contratenor 2, bars 12–18

The technique is extended even further in the third verse of the anthem, this time to set apart
the Levites' question 'What sayst thou of thyself? (Example 2.22):

Example 2.22: Orlando Gibbons *This is the record of John*, bars 55–64

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[92] Some of the reasons why it so often falls flat in performance are discussed in Chapter 1A 'Implications of the
original performing pitch for voices'.

Here, the triple metre emerges in the vocal line in bar 56 and continues all the way to 'sent us' in bar 61, imparting a certain oiliness to the Levites' attempts to ingratiate themselves, until the bassline's rogue *e-flat* in 62 heralds the fateful question, which arrives four-square in duple tactus in bar 63. Once again, the removal of modern barlines and ties makes the rhythm clear. A singer of the period, reading from the original mensural notation, would immediately have seen the shapes of triple metre that emerge (Example 2.23):
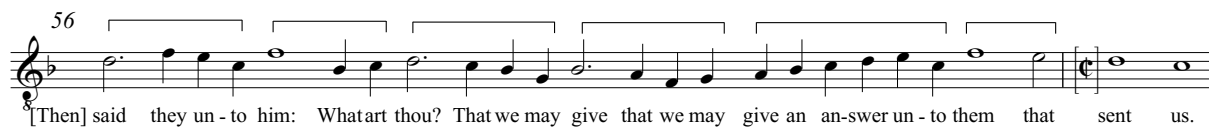
Example 2.23: Orlando Gibbons *This is the record of John*, Contratenor 2, bars 56–64

Looked at poetically, there is a certain parallel here between the way that these two separate metres are held in tension, one with another, and the use by poets of the period of *enjambement* to let the natural rhythms of speech overflow the bounds of the pentamer line:[93]

> We are such stuff
> As dreams are made of, and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep   (*The Tempest* 4.1)

Looked at rhetorically, these two passages may suggest a different interpretation of *prosopopoeia* from the one that Johnstone proposes in interpreting the remarks of Peacham the Younger. Gavin Alexander points out that this figure (meaning literally 'making a mask' in Greek) is defined by Abraham Fraunce as

> a fayning of any person, when in our speech we represent the person of
> anie, and make it speake as though he were there present: an excellent
> figure, much used of Poets[94]

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[93] George Wright describes this as the 'counterpoint of line and sentence' in his study of metre in Shakespeare. See George T Wright, *Shakespeare's Metrical Art* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1988), pp. 213–19.

[94] Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike* (London: Printed by Thomas Orwin, 1588), sig. G2ʳ.

and is grouped by Erasmus 'under the heading *enargeia*'.[95] By releasing the words of the

speaker from the duple tactus — those of John in the first passage and of the Levites in the

second — Gibbons creates for them a 'mask' of triple metre which makes them sound as if

they are separate whilst being also present. But it is the tearing away of the mask in bars 16

and 61 that is in each case the *coup de théâtre*. We are abruptly returned to duple tactus, so

that the full impact of what follows may take effect: 'I am not the Christ' and 'What say'st

thou of thyself?'. In that these effects are achieved entirely by playing with the rhythm of

speech, Gibbons might be seen as applying the second of Caccini's principal priorities in his

definition of *seconda pratica* vocal music

> text, rhythm and sound last of all …[96]

with the aim of throwing a more vivid light on the first priority: the meaning of the text. In

that respect, it seems entirely justifiable to classify this musical device as 'rhetorical'.

2.9. Some conclusions

If Caccini's remark is relevant to a discussion of the English verse anthem, it may seem odd

that the first chapter of this research has been concerned only with the third item in his list,

the one which he clearly considered the least important of the three, namely sonority. The

reason for this is simple. Many still tend to regard anything under the umbrella term 'verse

anthem' as the business of church choirs and choral evensongs, with all that that implies for

the sonority and performance style that goes with them, as described at the beginning of this

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[95] Gavin Alexander, 'Prosopopoeia: The Speaking Figure', in *Renaissance Figures of Speech*, ed. by Sylvia Adamson, Gavin Alexander, and Katrin Ettenhuber (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 97–112 (p. 103).
[96] Giulio Caccini, *Le Nuove Musiche* (Florence: Marescotti, 1602) 'Ai Lettori': 'la favella, e'l rithmo & il suono per ultimo'.

chapter by Timothy Day — notably an 'absence of rhetoric'.[97] Even when smaller groups of

such singers congregate to perform a consort anthem, they often bring with them those same

'choral scholar' priorities and the same misconceptions of vocal sonority discussed in

Chapter 1. This is to doubly distort the true nature of the music. The issue of historical

sonority must be addressed and the music's correct order of priorities restored before it can

be properly understood. We are still left, however, with C.S. Lewis' observation, that rhetoric

remains 'a barrier' for the modern audience, which is just as true for this particular body of

music as it is for the period's literature or verse. The composer's use of rhetoric must be first

identified and its relevance to text-setting understood, so that it may then be articulated in

performance. In Chapter 4 I try to suggest some ways to do this and in the CDs that are

included as part of the data to this research some recorded examples are offered, which are

perhaps more easily appreciated in hearing than can be analysed in writing.

It is significant that Henry Playford's remarks on the 'energy' of words in the preface

to *Orpheus Britannicus* and Morley's recommendation of 'passion' to church singers in his

Plaine and Easie Introduction, map out between them a hundred years of English 'Baroque'

to which Byrd, Hooper and Gibbons belong just as surely as does Henry Purcell, in that all of

them understood music to be a rhetorical language. The evocative reference that their

vocabulary has in common and their conception of the singer as orator make that quite clear.

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[97] See footnote above.

CHAPTER 3: Three Anthems by Edmund Hooper
3A: *O God of gods*

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Peter Le Huray, in his major repertory study *Music and the Reformation in England 1549–*

1660, wrote of three works by Hooper

> Splendid as Hooper's verse music is, it is unlikely ever to come into
> general use again since nearly all of it is set to very inadequate Elizabethan
> and Jacobean verse. The two occasional pieces, "Hearken ye nations", and
> "O God of Gods", are veritable cantatas, each lasting for between four and
> five minutes … The Easter anthem [Le Huray's term for *The Blessed*
> *Lamb*, the third of the three anthems that are the subject of my research] is
> on a similar scale … [1]

It is a slightly surprising observation, in that the first two works are so intimately connected

with specific historical events in the reign of James I that they have no realistic prospect of

ever coming into 'general use' in liturgy, if that is what he meant. Both, however, are

fascinating works with few close parallels in the whole consort anthem repertory. The third of

the anthems is not restricted by such a connection and is a delightful work in its own right,

which deserves to be revived and performed. It is probably the only one of the three that can

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[1] Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549–1660* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 259.

reasonably be described as 'typical' of Hooper's style or of consort anthems generally. *O God of gods* and *Hearken, ye nations* are both recorded on the second CD in the series 'In Chains of Gold',[2] which forms part of the data for this research, and I shall examine both of these in relation to the historical 'occasions' to which they relate. I shall then discuss *The Blessed Lamb* in the context of a performance case study that I carried out with singers from the *Ex Cathedra* scholar scheme during the 2020 pandemic restrictions, which resulted in a digital video collage that proved instructive as a research exercise.

It is not possible to understand the first two of these works musically without relating them to their historical context, so closely are the political strands of the moment intertwined with Hooper's vivid expressive language. They are, as Le Huray suggests, true *pièces d'occasion* — an expression which Andrew Johnstone has used to describe two important works by William Byrd in the genre to which Hooper was later to contribute. The first of these is *Look and bow down*, of which Johnstone writes:

> this important *pièce d'occasion* can be seen as a link in the chain
> connecting the consort song, the consort song with chorus, and the through-
> composed consort anthem.[3]

One of a dozen of Byrd's consort songs that survive only in lute intabulations and which Johnstone has recently reconstructed, it sets verse attributed to Queen Elizabeth I on the defeat of the Armada in 1588.[4] The second relevant Byrd work is *Rejoice unto the Lord*, a

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[2] *'In Chains of Gold' vol. 2* (Signum SIGCD609, 2020), tracks 15 & 17.

[3] See Andrew Johnstone, 'The Vernacular Church Music of William Byrd: A Reappraisal of Chronology, Authenticity and Context' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Trinity College (Dublin, Ireland). Department of Music, 2014), p. 140 <http://www.tara.tcd.ie/handle/2262/90246> [Accessed 27 November 2019]. *Look and bow down* is published in *Eight Fragmentary Songs by William Byrd,* ed. by Andrew Johnstone (London: Fretwork Editions, 2020). This work is also recorded on *'In Chains of Gold' vol.2*, track 8. The term 'occasional anthem' also has an established usage in recent scholarship. See for example *John Ward: The Complete Works for Voices and Viols in Six Parts*, ed. by Ian Payne (St Albans: Corda Music, 1998), p. 2.

[4] Description of the text from a source in the Royal Maritime Museum, Greenwich, MS SNG/4 (formerly MS FD/2): 'A songe made by her ma[jes]tie | and songe before her at her | cominge from white hall | to Powles

consort song that was probably performed to Queen Elizabeth on Accession Day, November

17th 1586, a date which came to be known during her reign as 'The Queen's Day'.[5] How do

these two pieces relate to Hooper's *O God of gods*?

3A.1 Two settings of *O God of gods*

The same text is set by both Edmund Hooper and John Bennet. As yet, no record of the first

performance of either piece has come to light, but we do know that a repeat of the Hooper in

some form, perhaps a later arrangement of the original, was a feature of the visit by Charles I

to Durham in 1633, on his way to Scotland.[6] By this time, later sources of the work,

principally in Durham, refer to it as being for the 'Kings Day',[7] echoing a celebration which

in the Elizabethan era had marked the anniversary of the accession, to which the Byrd consort

song *Rejoice unto the Lord* also belongs (see above).[8] Yet the accession of Charles I was on

March 27th, and he did not reach Durham until early June, so there was evidently no bar by

that time to performing it in celebration of some other royal occasion. Hooper's original

intention is likely to have been much more specific, as we shall see. The text of both settings

originates with Sir George Buc, master of the revels and historian.[9] Buc's *Daphnis*

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throughe fleetestre[et] | in Anno D[omi]ni 1588 [in margin] Songe in December after | the scatteringe of the
Spanishe Navy.'

[5] *The Collected Works of William Byrd, Volume 15, Consort Songs for Voice and Viols*, ed. by Philip Brett
(London: Stainer and Bell, 1970), p. 170, citing an article by Thurston Dart and Philip Brett in *Harvard Library
Bulletin*, XIV (1960) p. 353, though the date is misleadingly given in this Byrd volume as November 19th. The
song is also published in *Eight Consort Songs by William Byrd,* ed. by Stewart McCoy and Bill Hunt (London:
Fretwork Editions, 1990).

[6] Treading, here, in the footsteps of his father, who had himself made a single, return visit to Scotland in 1617
(also by way of Durham) in connection with which Gibbons composed two occasional pieces in verse form:
Great King of gods and *Do not repine, fair sun*.

[7] See further below and Critical Commentary.

[8] Roy Strong describes how this yearly celebration was elevated into a national festival, with parallels in
literature of the period, notably Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and Philip Sidney's *Arcadia:* 'All over
England the Queens subjects expressed their joy in her government by prayers and sermons, Bell ringing,
bonfires and feasting.' See Roy C. Strong, 'The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth
I', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21.1/2 (1958), pp. 86–103 (pp. 86–87).

[9] The mastership was granted to him by James I in 1603 and had possibly been promised to him previously by
Elizabeth I. Promoted to gentleman of the privy chamber and granted a knighthood on the accession, his main

Polystephanos, An Eclog Treating of Crownes and of Garlandes … Addressed, and consecrated to the Kings Majestie, was published in 1605. In it, by way of 'Epistle Dedicatorie', garlanded family tree and fifty-seven eight-line stanzas of verse, he traces James' royal lineage in exhaustive detail, establishing his 'Majesties tytle, and descent from the ancient Kings of Great Britaine'. This culminates in the eighteen lines of his *Hymne inauguratory for his Majestie* that begin both musical settings (Figure 3.1):
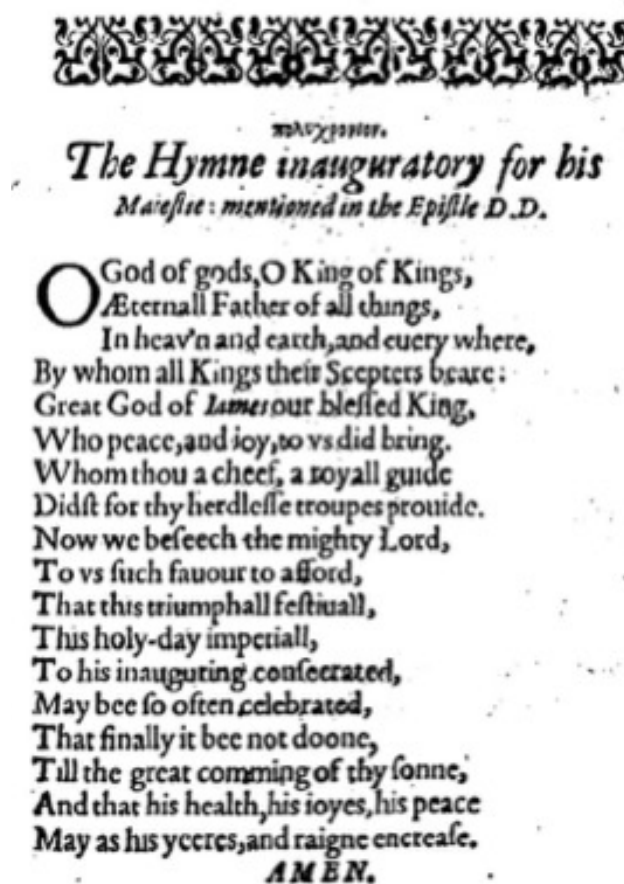
Figure 3.1: George Buc, *Daphnis Polystephanos*, sig. [G4ʳ]
(London: G Eld for Thomas Adams, 1605)

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responsibilities were later to be the arranging of court entertainments and the censorship of plays for performance on the public stage, in which capacity he cast his eye over late works of Shakespeare, such as *The Tempest*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *Othello*, *Henry IV* parts I and II, *Pericles*, and *Twelfth Night*. Arthur Kincaid, 'Buck [Buc], Sir George (Bap. 1560, d. 1622), Master of the Revels and Historian' (Oxford University Press, 2008) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3821 [Accessed October 30 2021].

3A.2. Changes to Buc's verse

Bennet makes changes to the first half of these lines, which (apart from some distortion of the metrical structure) are inconsequential in their effect on the general sense.

> O God of gods, O King of kings
> Eternal Father of all things,
> In heaven above and everywhere
> By whom all kings their sceptres bear
> God of our sovereign James king of peace
> Heaven's darling, England's happiness
>
> *For him we praise thee in this song*
> *And pray that we may praise thee long.*

Hooper makes none at all, beyond a poetically infelicitous substitution of 'guideless' for 'herdless' in the eighth line. In the second half, the positions are reversed, Bennet making only minor adjustments, whilst Hooper makes others that are substantial:

> Now we beseech thee, mighty Lord
> To us such heavenly grace afford
> That this unite united monarchy
> This empire of Great Brittany
> To thy high pleasure consecrate
> May so long bless his royal state
> That finally it be not done
> Till the great coming of thy Son.
>
> *And that his health, his joys, his peace*
> *May as his reign and years increase.*

Gone are Buc's 'festival' or 'holiday' to be 'celebrated', and in their place are inserted political concepts of 'united monarchy', 'empire', 'Great Brittany' and 'royal state'. The significance of these changes will be examined below. Thereafter, both Hooper and Bennet add, with only minor differences between them, a further verse, followed by a paraphrase of psalm 150:

> To the almighty Trinity
> Three persons in one deity

Most bright and glorious in heaven
All praise, all thanks, all laud be given.

With organs, trumpets and with flutes
With cornetts, clarons and with lutes
With harps, with cymbals and with shawms
With sacred anthems and with psalms
With notes of angels and of men
Sing Alleluia. Amen.

3A.3. Significance of the changes

What are we to make of Hooper's changes to his original text? Bennet's retention of the

original wording suggests a regularly observed festival, most obviously the new equivalent

under James of what in the reign of Elizabeth had come to be known as the 'Queen's Day'.

When James acceded to the throne in 1603, this naturally became the 'Kings Day'.[10] But the

term would not have denoted celebration of his coronation, only of his accession to the

throne, as the equivalent festival had been for Elizabeth: in her case November the 17th and

in his March the 24th. As stated earlier, Hooper's *O God of gods* is described in later part-

book sources as a piece appropriate to the 'Kings Day'. Those sources are principally in

Durham and were probably used on the occasion of Charles I's visit in 1633,[11] which was

marked with a number of musical celebrations.[12] Other part-books of this period from the

same institution contain 'King's Day' anthems by Gibbons, Weelkes, Giles and Cranford.[13]

But there is no such specification in what must be the earliest source for the Hooper, namely

the so-called Barnard part-books in the Royal College of Music (GB-Lcm MSS 1045–

[10] Strong, 'The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth I', p. 103.
[11] MSS C2 Contratenor [1 Decani], C3 Contratenor 2 Decani, C11 Tenor Decani, C14 Tenor Cantoris, C16 Bass Decani.
[12] Brian Crosby, 'The Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral, *c*. 1350–*c*. 1650' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 1993), pp. 195–96.
[13] Set 5: MSS C2 (1 Contratenor Decani), C3 (2 Contratenor Decani), C7, first Fascicle (I Contratenor Cantoris) and C14 (Tenor Cantoris), nos. 40 *Grant Holy Trinity* by Gibbons, 41 *Give the king thy judgements* by Weelkes, 42 *Thou O God that guides* by Giles and 43 *O Lord make thy servant* by Cranford. Hooper's *O God of gods* is no. 39. See Crosby, 'The Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral', p. 246.

1051).[14] For Bennet's setting, there is similarly no specification in either of the two earliest

sources, Myriell's part-book set (GB-Lbl Add. MSS 29372–6) and a set in Christ Church,

Oxford (GB-Och MSS Mus. 56–60). We can take into account the subtitles given in a

Restoration source, James Clifford's *Divine Services*,[15] where the texts of both settings are

printed, Bennet's being described as 'For the Kings Inauguration' and Hooper's, which

follows it, as 'Another of the same'. Craig Monson, perhaps on this evidence, describes

Bennet's anthem as 'intended for the anniversary of the coronation of King James, if not in

fact for the actual coronation',[16] but this depends on a certain definition of 'inauguration'.[17] In

any case, James' coronation did not take place until nearly a year after his accession, due to

the intervention of a plague in London.

3A.4. James I's entry into London

Following Elizabeth's death on March 24th 1603, James made a delayed entry into the city in

May with a somewhat low-key coronation in the traditional period of July, since the plague

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[14] In this set the addressee is James, whereas in another of the later sources, a set in Peterhouse, Cambridge (GB-Cp MSS 33–4, 38–9 & 47–9) it is Charles I. The work would have entered the college's library from Durham through John Cosin who was made a prebendary of Durham in 1624, later rising to Archdeacon of the East Riding in 1625, and appointed master of Peterhouse, Cambridge in 1635. The significance of his connection with the two institutions and their collections of music manuscripts is discussed fully in John Morehen, 'The Sources of English Cathedral Music, *c*.1617–*c*.1644' (unpublished Ph.D., University of Cambridge, 1969), pp. 2, 119, etc. Also in Crosby (see above) and Anderson: Simon John Anderson, 'Music by Members of the Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral in the 17th Century.' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 2000).

[15] James Clifford, *The Divine Services and Anthems Usually Sung in His Majesties Chappell and in All Cathedrals and Collegiate Choires in England and Ireland* (London: Nathaniel Brooke and Henry Brome, 1664), nos. CXXVI and CXXVII.

[16] Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600–50: Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor, Mich: UMI Research Press,U.S., 1982), p. 66 fn 62, citing an article by Frank Harrison, who makes a similar assumption. Frank L. Harrison, 'Church Music in England', *The New Oxford History of Music*, 4 (1968), 1540–1630 (p. 512).

[17] In fact, both anthems enjoyed an 'afterlife' by being recycled for celebrations by later Stuart royalty. Hooper's, as previously mentioned, was used for Charles I in 1633. Bennet's was also rededicated. In its two earliest sources, each in consort form, it is addressed to James, but, when it appears in the Barnard part-book manuscripts for choir and organ, it is addressed to Charles. Intriguingly, Hooper's is entered on earlier pages in those same books addressed to James. Even more intriguingly, Bennet's appears in a much later source, the part-book set at the Rowe Library in Cambridge, GB-Ckc MSS 9–17, estimated *c*. 1660, where it is once again addressed to 'James'. Was its inclusion here as a historical curiosity, or might it conceivably still have been of official use in the reign of James II?

compelled postponement of his formal coronation entry until March of the following year.

Thomas Dekker, Ben Jonson and Thomas Middleton all wrote material for various

sumptuous pageants, one by Dekker being originally intended for the May accession entry

and 'layd by' (held over) until the 1604 entry.[18] Great triumphal arches were designed by the

architect Stephen Harrison, preserved in engravings by William Kip, this one of the

'Londinium' arch showing musicians playing,[19] as they had done for the accession entries of

Mary and Elizabeth (Figure 3.2).[20] Here, then, are a number of major state events for which

commissioned celebratory music might be appropriate. Hooper's anthem is on an altogether

grander scale than Bennet's work, and it is tempting to think of it in this connection, but a

closer examination of the previously noted 'political' vocabulary (which, in Hooper, takes the

place of Buc's 'festival … so often celebrated') suggests a purpose which goes deeper than

the normal pomp and circumstance of such occasions. What might this have been?

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[18] Anne Lancashire, 'Dekker's Accession Pageant for James I', *Early Theatre*, 12.1 (2009), pp. 39–50 (p. 42).
[19] Wind instrumentalists in panels above each of the arches.
[20] Lancashire, 'Dekker's Accession Pageant for James I', pp. 40–41.
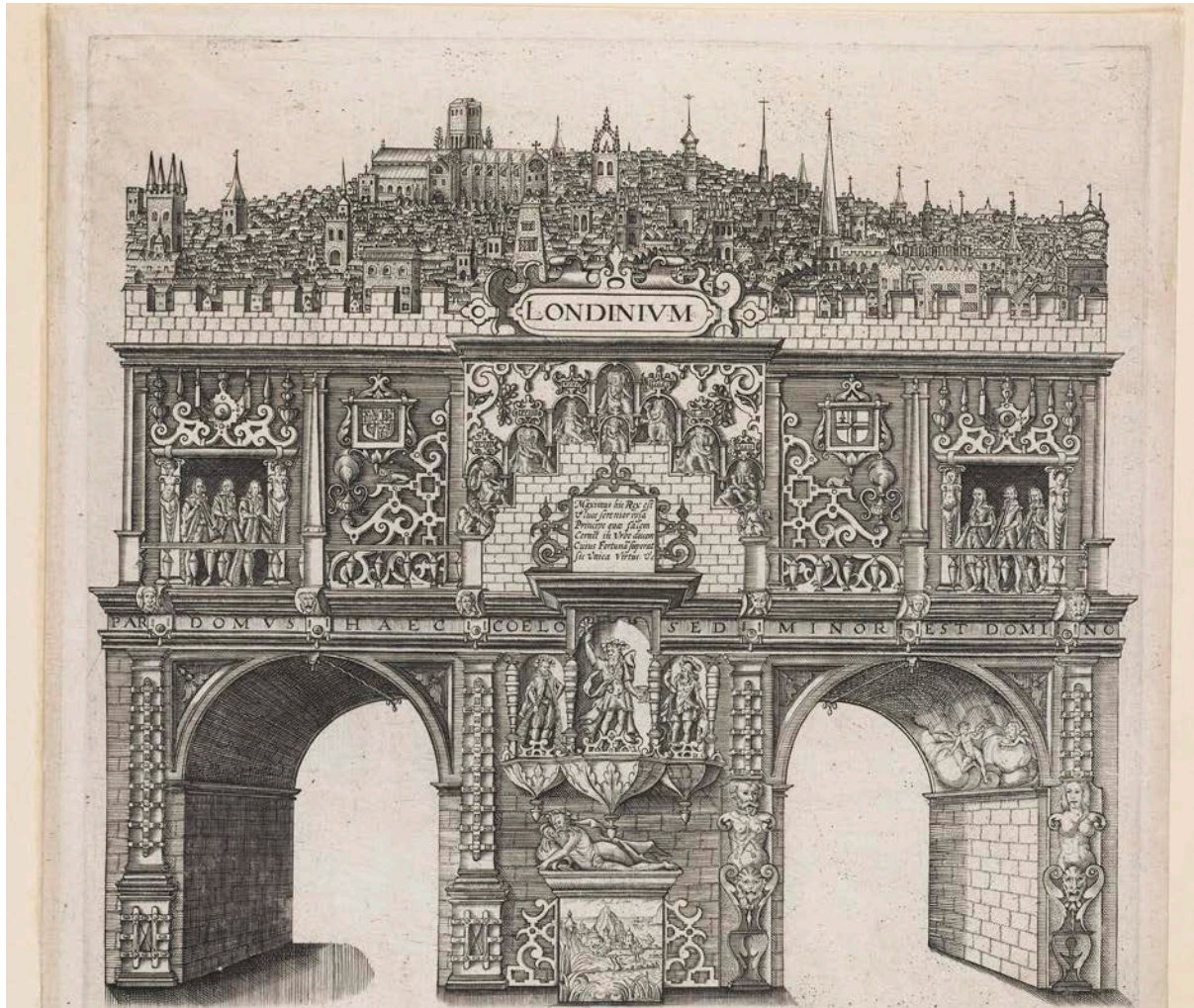
Figure 3.2: 'Londinium' arch, architect Stephen Harrison, engraving by William Kip [21]

3A.5. James I's speech to Parliament

On March 15th 1604, James finally made his delayed royal entry into London, described by

Thomas Dekker in *The Time Triumphant*,[22] passing through the Londinium arch at Fenchurch

and onwards by way of six further triumphal arches and various pageants along his

processional route. Four days later, James appeared before Parliament to present his first

speech, a moment of huge importance in establishing his authority and regal purpose. I

suggest that Hooper's anthem probably had more relevance to this than to any of the

foregoing or possibly any subsequent festivities. In his illuminating study of the speech and

of the occasion, David Bergeron writes:

> Most of the ideas that inform James's speech find some kind of dramatic
> representation in the pageant. Indeed … the pageant and Parliament speech
> form a continuous event, designed to honor, instruct, and celebrate the
> king. These two events constitute the most important public events of
> James's early English reign and therefore make an exceptional claim for
> historical significance. In order to reach Westminster and Parliament,
> James must first figuratively and literally pass through London's civic
> pageant.[23]

This continuity, his passage from the one into the other, is designed to establish his dual

charisma: that of his lineage on the one hand and of his office on the other.[24] Bergeron

observes that by referring to himself in the third person, as 'my Person', a phrase that he uses

fourteen times within the speech, James succeeds both in reinforcing his power as a symbol

and drawing attention to his physical presence. He uses the word 'Body' no less than

seventeen times, to refer both to himself and to the 'whole Body of this Kingdom', of which

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[22] <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-time-triumphant-describing-james-is-entry-into-london-15-march-1604> [Accessed January 20 2021].
[23] David M. Bergeron, 'King James's Civic Pageant and Parliamentary Speech in March 1604', *Albion*, 34.2 (2002), pp. 213–31 (p. 213).
[24] Bergeron, 'King James's Civic Pageant', p. 214.

he is the head. Reflecting on the way that this same kingdom has been forged and defended

by the victories in battle of his royal forbears, he introduces a powerful metaphor:

> What God hath conjoined then, let no Man separate. I am the Husband, and
> all the whole Isle is My lawful Wife: I am the Head, and it is My Body: I
> am the Shepherd, and it is My Flock, I hope therefore, no Man will be so
> unreasonable, as to think that I, that am a Christian King under the Gospel,
> should be a Polygamist, and Husband to Two Wives; that I, being the Head,
> should have a divided and monstrous Body; or that, being the Shepherd to
> so fair a Flock, whose Fold hath no Wall to hedge it, but the Four Seas,
> should have my Flock parted in Two.[25]

Here, in language resonant of the Prayer Book marriage ceremony, he touches upon the first

of the two main themes of his speech: Peace and Union. Whilst referring back to the Wars of

the Roses, he also looks forward to union of the English and Scottish crowns, as part of his

mission to bring peace:

> But the Union of these Two princely Houses is nothing comparable to the
> Union of Two ancient and famous Kingdoms; which is the other inward
> Peace annexed to My Person.

If we now explore the way in which Hooper articulates these two themes in the musical

language of the consort anthem, it becomes apparent that he does so by means of a series of

deftly employed musical metaphors, perhaps best regarded as coalescing in a single allegory.

3A.6. Setting the scene

What emerges is a far cry from the liturgical form in which the anthem has come down to us.

If the polytheistic implications of Buc's opening line 'O God of gods' were not enough to

make it theologically poisonous as a piece originally intended for church, the subsequent

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[25] 'House of Commons Journal Volume 1: 22 March 1604.' Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 1,
1547–1629. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1802. 142–149. British History Online. Web. 30 October
2021. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol1/pp142-149>.

political messaging should convince us that it more probably began life at court. Hooper

employs a number of the dramatic devices that would have been part of a stage production,

drawing on the origins of the consort song in choirboy plays, which are an important root of

the consort anthem.[26] We open with a single 'actor' who declaims a prayer to the Almighty,

then, in a steadily unfolding *gradation* (mounting by degrees through linked words or

phrases),[27] we are led to the point at which the sceptre is held aloft for all to see. The fifth line

'Great God of James our blessed King' is the cue for the entry into this verse of a second

voice, a new actor. Where has he been until now? His rôle is partially an acrobatic one,

delivering the first iteration of 'Great God of James, our blessed King' and enabling his

partner to vault over him, a tone higher, with his repeat of the phrase (Example 3.1):

Example: 3.1: Edmund Hooper *O God of gods*, bars 19–22

No doubt, a court audience would also have understood this doubling of voices as a portrayal

of the dual *charisma* of the monarch, referred to by James in his Parliament speech, or of the

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[26] See for example Jane Flynn, 'The Education of Choristers in England during the Sixteenth Century', in *English Choral Practice 1400–1650*, ed. by John Morehen (Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 180–99 especially pp. 194–9. Also Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 212–27.

[27] Richard A Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms.* (University of California Press, 1991), p. 36. (See under 'Climax'): 'Mounting by degrees through linked words or phrases, usually of increasing weight and in parallel construction'.

ancient doctrine of the monarch's two bodies, 'natural' and 'politic' — a legal definition that

had been well known during the reign of Elizabeth.[28]

3A.7. The King's Peace

The concept of the Kings Peace and its expression in music is one that was to become

familiar in the court masques that were an important feature of James reign.[29] Within

Hooper's setting of Buc's reassuring line 'Who peace and joy to us did bring' is a concealed

homage (Example 3.2):

Example 3.2: Edmund Hooper *O God of gods*, bars 23–6

The reassurance is directed to the assembled court, whilst the homage is addressed

(presumably with Buc's knowledge) to the composer of the passage from whom Hooper has

borrowed the musical point (Example 3.3):

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[28] See Johnstone, 'The Vernacular Church Music of William Byrd', pp. 89–91.

[29] Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque 1604–1640*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 7–11. See, for example, Ben Jonson in *The Irish Masque* (1613):
This is that James of which long since thou sung'st,
Should end our country's most unnatural broils ;
and if her ear, then deafen'd with the drum
Would stoop but to the music of his peace
She need not with the spheres change harmony.

Example 3.3: William Byrd: *Rejoice unto the Lord* bars 52–7.

We encountered this song earlier. As a fellow member of the Chapel Royal, Byrd was quite

likely to have been present at the first performance of Hooper's anthem,[30] yet the significance

of the borrowing here is not simply its musical interest – a four-note point shared

contrapuntally between voice and accompaniment – but its historical context.[31] As previously

mentioned, Byrd probably wrote this work to celebrate the Accession anniversary ('Queen's

Day') of Elizabeth in November 1586.[32] The anonymous text gives thanks for the 'eight and

twenty years' of Elizabeth's reign, which have resulted in a state of 'peace from foreign

---

[30] William Byrd became a Gentleman of the Chapel in 1572, following the death of Robert Parsons. Hooper became a Gentleman in March 1604.

[31] I am grateful to Dr Andrew Johnstone for alerting me to this musical link, but it is the wider political one which I suggest makes Hooper's quotation here particularly remarkable.

[32] See above: article by Thurston Dart and Philip Brett in *Harvard Library Bulletin*, XIV (1960) p. 353.

fears' and contrasts this with the turmoil and unrest abroad. Hooper's borrowing achieves the

two-fold object of conveying reassurance that the peace of Elizabeth will indeed be continued

under James (as indeed he promises in his speech to Parliament), whilst also connecting with

the tradition of court anniversary celebration,[33] a tradition which can arguably be traced

beyond the Restoration into the court odes of Purcell.

3A.8. Union

James speaks to Parliament of 'Union' in language of the marriage ceremony and Buc

reflects this in the form of an image on the second page of his *Daphnis Polystephanos* (Figure

3.3):

QVOD DEVS CONIVNXIT,
HOMO NON SEPARET.

Math. 19.
Quatuor hasce cruces clypeo coniunxit in vno.
(Quas ergù nemo separet) ipse Deus

A. 2.

Figure 3.3: George Buc: *Daphnis Polystephanos*, 'Quod Deus coniunxit', sig. A.2ʳ

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[33] Hooper was already familiar with such celebrations whilst at Westminster Abbey through his involvement with the Queen's Day in 1599 and in 1602. See Introduction to Hooper critical editions below.

Although Buc does not mention the term 'Union' in the text of his *Hymne inauguratory*,

Hooper introduces it in one of his more surprising changes to the original verse. In place of

>That this triumphal festival,

Hooper sets

>That this unite united monarchy

Despite appearing at first to be a rather cack-handed intervention imposed upon the composer

by a court minion with a poor grasp of metre, it presumably had special significance for

James. For 'unite' must here be not a verb but an adjective, and a Scottish one at that. The

Oxford English Dictionary defines this adjectival form as

>'*Obsolete* (*Scottish* in later use)'
>
>Combined or formed into one; united

and gives two contemporary examples:[35]

>1548 *Hall's Vnion: Henry IV* Introd. f. ii.: 'By the whiche marriage…the redde Rose, was vnite and ioyned with the white Rose'.
>
>1605 *Famous Hist. Capt. Stukeley* sig. G1ᵛ: 'that Spaine and Portingall shalbe unite'.

Hence, 'unite united', whilst being strictly tautologous, neatly gives equal weight to the

Scottish and English meanings. How does Hooper give musical expression to the concept of

Union?

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[35] See "unite", *OED* Online, Oxford University Press, December 2020, Entry/214758.

3A.9. Great Brittany

An ingenious element in Hooper's structuring of this anthem is the gradual accumulation of

solo voices throughout the passage of the three verses which precede the final chorus,

creating an effective crescendo of its own. In the first verse, we hear a single voice, joined by

a second at the words 'Great God of James'. In the second verse, we begin in similar fashion,

the second voice joining at bar 52 with the words 'This empire of great Brittany' (Example

3.4):

Example 3.4: Edmund Hooper, *O God of gods* bars 50–9

The pair cadence, and then the phrase is repeated with the addition of a third and then a

fourth voice. It would have required no great effort of imagination for the audience to

understand this as an elegant representation of firstly the 'two ancient and famous kingdoms'

of England and Scotland, followed by the 'empire', in which France and Ireland make up the

four, just as described in James's later proclamation of October 1604 (Figure 3.4):[36]

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[36] https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/royal-proclamation-declaring-james-vi-and-i-to-be-king-of-great-britain.
British Library, shelf mark C.112.h.1.(44.). An essential precursor to James' claim had been Thomas
Cromwell's 'Statute in Restraint of Appeals' of 1532 (also called 'Act of Appeals' and 'The Ecclesiastical
Appeals Act' https://www.henryviiithereign.co.uk/1532-act-of-appeals-preamble.html) proclaiming that 'this
realm of England is an Empire'. This Act had allowed Thomas Cranmer both to annul Henry's marriage with
Catherine of Aragon and to make lawful his clandestine marriage to Anne Boleyn. Description of Anne's
ensuing Entry into London on May 31st, 1533, with its attendant pageants and 'great melody', prior to her
coronation on June 1st, also provides interesting comparison with James' own, following those of Mary and
Elizabeth. See Stewart Mottram, *Empire and Nation in Early English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge:
Brewer, 2008), especially Chapter 2 'Royal Supremacy and the rhetoric of empire: Anne Boleyn's 1533 Entry',
pp. 67–104.

uing Us president for our doing, not borowed out of Forraine Nations, but from the Actes of our Progenitors, Kings of this Realme of England, both before and since the Conquest, hauing not had so iust and great cause as We haue.

Upon all which considerations We doe by these Presents, by force of our Kingly Power and Prerogatiue, assume to Our selfe by the cleerenesse of our Right, The Name and Stile of K I N G O F G R E A T B R I T T A I N E, F R A N C E, A N D I R E L A N D, DEFENDER O F T H E F A I T H, &c. as followeth in Our iust and lawfull Stile, And doe hereby publish, promulge and declare the same, to the ende that in all Proclamations, Missiues forreine, and Domesticall, Treaties, Leagues, Dedicatories, Impressions, and in all other cases of like nature, the same may be vsed and obserued. And to the ende the same may be the sooner and more vniuersally diuulged both at Home and abroad : Our will and pleasure is, That the same Stile be from hencefoorth vsed vpon all Inscriptions vpon our currant Moneys and Coynes of Gold and Siluer hereafter to be Minted. And for that Wee doe not Innouate or assume to Us any new thing, but declare that which is and hath bene euident to all; Our will and pleasure is, That in such Appellations or Nominations, as shall be hereafter made by force of these presents, the same shall bee expressed in such and the same maner and forme, and after such computation, as if We had assumed and declared the same the first day of our Raigne of our Realme of England; Forbearing onely for the present that any thing herein conteined doe extend to any Legall proceeding, Instrument, or Assurance, vntill further Order be taken in that behalfe.

Giuen at our Pallace of Westminster the twentieth day of October, in the second yeere of our Raigne of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotland the eight and thirtieth.

God faue the King.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings moft Excellent Maieftie.

ANNO DOM. 1604.

Figure 3.4: James I, Proclamation (1604) declaring the King's intention to "assume ... the name and stile of King of Great Brittaine, France and Ireland".

Even if the less musical courtiers present could not readily hear the difference between two-part and four-part harmony, a modicum of staging would have made the symbolism of the moment immediately clear.

After the chorus, there follows a short verse 'To the Almighty Trinity', symbolically cast by Hooper in ternary metre, in which the line 'three persons in one deity' makes an obvious connection with the two 'Persons' of the king, illustrated in the opening verse, and

serves also to express the idea of 'divine right' without needing to articulate it in so many words. We are led by a succession of staggered entries to the verse's closing line (line 22, bars 97–102) 'All praise, all thanks, all laud be given' with the addition of a fourth and, finally, a fifth voice. With a closing, subtle touch, designed to create anticipation of something greater to come, Hooper composes a cadence not in five-part, but in six-part harmony, of which only the upper five parts are sung. The bass remains in the left hand of the organ alone (Example 3.5):

Example 3.5: Edmund Hooper, *O God of gods*, bars 97–102.

The acoustic effect produced is of an incomplete vocal sonority. Where is the missing sixth

singer?

3A.10. Metaphor and allegory

Now for Hooper's master stroke. As so often in his anthems, one feels the power of a

dramatist's mind behind the music, and this is nowhere more evident than at bar 102, where

he executes a veritable c*oup de théâtre* to create another musical metaphor to illustrate

James' theme of Union.

I have argued elsewhere that the expansion of the chorus at this point from five into

six parts may originally have been effected by adding a single instrument rather than a new

voice to each of the Decani and Cantoris choirs.[37] However the transition was achieved, it is

not difficult to imagine that there is an excellent opportunity here for more staging, to mark a

powerfully symbolic moment in the performance. Firstly, the body of voices that has up to

this point sung as a single, five-part choral unit, with identical material being sung by each of

Decani and Cantoris, would need now to be spatially separated for the ensuing antiphony to

have any meaningful effect. If sung as a liturgical anthem from choir stalls, this separation

would already be present. In a secular context, this could be achieved with choreography,

opening a space in the centre, in which the new, sixth voice could appear. Might this also

have been the cue for the entry of a new *dramatis persona*, who processes between the two

wings, now representing the two kingdoms, for the ensuing twenty bars, one answering to the

other in perfect rapport, until at bar 123 (perhaps with the aid of some suitable stage business)

they are reunited for the closing final 'Alleluia Amen'?

This is a complex musical structure, perhaps best described as an extended musical

allegory, and it can be represented in different ways. The following diagram traces the

principal strands, showing how some of them expand whilst others contract, ultimately

leading to James' goal of Union (Figure 3.5):

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[37] See Chapter 3D 'Scoring and Reconstruction'.

CHAPTER 3: Three Anthems by Edmund Hooper
3A: *O God of gods*

Edmund Hooper *O God of gods*
Musical allegory of Union

	soloists ('orators')	concepts		themes	chorus(es)	parts
verse 1	1	**Kingship**	*O God of gods* (prayer)			
			... all Kings their sceptres bear (entry of James)			
	2		*... great God of James* (James's Two 'Persons')			
			... peace and joy	**Peace**		
chorus 1			*Whom thou a chief and royal guide*		1	5
verse 2	2	**Monarchy**	*...unite ...... united*	**Union**		
			(Scottish English)			
	4	**Empire**	*Empire of Great Brittany*			
			(+ Ireland & France)			
chorus 2			*And that his health, his joys, his peace*		1	5
		Trinity				
verse 3	5	3	*To the Almighty Trinity* (Three 'Persons' : ternary meter)			
antiphony	6	2	*With organs, trumpets & with flutes*		2	6
			(Scotland & England exchange verses of psalm 150)			
chorus 3		1	*Alleluia, Amen*	**Union**	1	6

Union of Scotland & England

Figure 3.5: Edmund Hooper, *O God of gods*, chart showing
strands of expansion and contraction leading to Union.

Might the *dramatis persona* who unites the two choruses have been King James himself? In view of the many court masques that were to follow James' accession, in which members of the nobility took parts in the drama of the main event that followed the anti-masque,[38] this seems entirely possible. As James himself wrote in the treatise on government *Basilikon Doron*, which he addressed to his son Henry (Figure 3.6):

> A King is as one set on a stage, whose smallest actions and gestures, all the people gazingly doe behold[39]

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[38] For several examples, see Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque*, pp. 85–86, 103 etc.

[39] James VI of Scotland/James I of England, *Basilikon Doron or His Majesties Instructions to His Dearest Sonne Henry The Prince* (London: Felyx Kyngston for John Norton, 1603), p. 103.

In the absence of any evidence about when it was first performed, all we can say is that

Hooper's anthem, both in the way that its original text was altered and in its very design,

seems intended as a musical 'staging' of James' project for union of the two kingdoms.
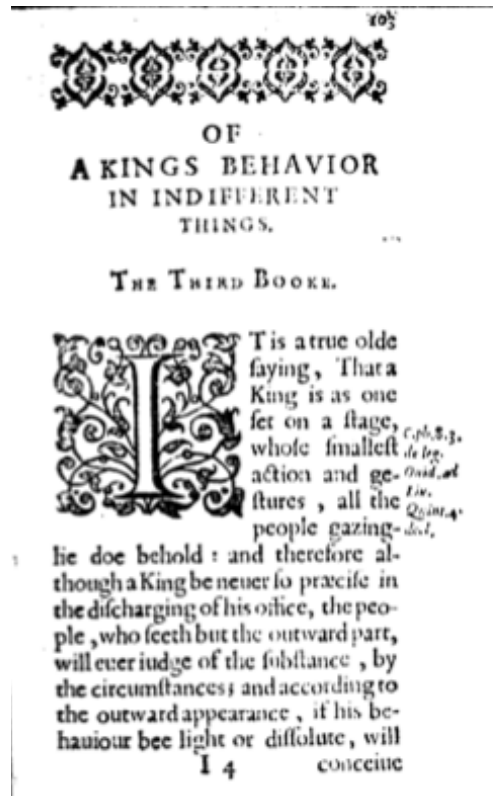
Figure 3.6: James I, *Basilikon Doron* (1603) p. 103, sig. I4ʳ

3A.11. Aspects of Hooper's musical language

Hooper matches the grandeur of his theme with an opening melodic line that is appropriately

expansive and rooted in tradition (Example 3.6):

Example 3.6: Edmund Hooper, *O God of gods*, bars 5–10

He takes the *tricolonic* structure of Buc's opening lines,[40] whereby two short phrases are amplified by a longer third

> O God of gods
>
> O King of Kings
>
> Eternal Father of all things

and mirrors this in musical terms by placing voice and accompaniment in metrical tension. He extends the voice's tactus units of two minims into units of three, whilst the accompaniment remains in two, so that the vocal line seems to overflow beyond the bounds of the tactus (Example 3.7):[41]

Example 3.7: Edmund Hooper, *O God of gods*, bars 5–8

Secondly, he exploits the influence that older modal thinking still holds over newer tonal harmony in order to create melodic tension. In terms of classical solmisation,[42] the contour of the line effectively covers the whole of the natural hexachord, starting in the centre with *sol* and falling to *re,* but at the point where we expect it to continue down to the lower extremity of *ut,* it abruptly changes direction to the upper one, extending at the word 'Eternal' one step beyond, to *una nota super la*, as if reaching for 'Eternity' (Example 3.8):

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[40] Lanham, *A Handlist*, p. 154. The line 'A horse, a horse! My kingdom for a horse!' from Shakespeare's *Richard III* is a familiar example. (See also Chapter 2.3, Peacham's 'figurative flowers'.)

[41] This is a favourite device of Gibbons. See for example his use of it in the third verse of *This is the record of John*, as I discuss in Chapter 2.

[42] 'classical' in the sense of 'continental', since English musicians seem mostly to have used a simplified four-syllable system in practice, though the 'classical' system was still recognised in theory and can be a useful way to describe music of this period in pre-tonal terms.

Example 3.8: Edmund Hooper, *O God of gods*, bars 5–8 (b)

With the *b'-natural* of 'in heaven above' in bar 11 we are elevated into the hard hexachord,
but the summit is reached only in bar 16, with the presentation of that powerful symbol of
both earthly and divine authority, the sceptre. Here, with both vocal line and accompaniment
in unanimous ternary metre, Cantus and Bassus move in opposite directions. The former
ascends to *d* ", the highest point of the line so far, and the latter descends to *B-flat*, the weight
of the regal symbol seeming to cause the ground to give way beneath (Example 3.9):

Example 3.9: Edmund Hooper, *O God of gods*, bars 14–18

In examples 3 and 4 above, we witnessed a second actor entering the stage at the
words 'Great God of James' and heard Hooper's politically pointed quotation of Byrd's
consort song *Rejoice unto the Lord* (Example 3.10):

Example 3.10: Edmund Hooper, *O God of gods*, bars 23–28

As well as giving prominence to James' theme of Peace,[43] through a type of textual repetition that the rhetorician Henry Peacham might well have identified as *traductio* (general term for repetitive word-play with an interval between words),[44] this passage is also a good example of Hooper's use of multiple solo voices to draw on the theatrical roots of the consort song. Peter Phillips, in his survey of Hooper's verse music is unimpressed by what he describes as the composer's 'non-melodic style' and 'quasi-canonic technique', writing that

---

[43] See above, 3A.7 'The King's Peace'.

[44] This definition from Lanham, *A Handlist,* p. 153. Henry Peacham defines it: 'A forme of speech which repeateth one word often times in one sentence, making the oration more pleasant to the eare.' And of its musical relationship, Peacham continues: 'This exornation is compared to pleasant repetitions and divisions in Musicke, the chiefe use whereof is, either to garnish the sentence with oft repetition, or to note well the importance of the word repeated.' Henry Peacham (The Elder), *The Garden of Eloquence* (London: R.F. for H Jackson, 1593), p. 49. See further in Chapter 2.

In Hooper's verse anthems the solo sections are almost without exception given over to contrapuntal richness.[45]

but he seems not to have appreciated the deliberate 'stageyness' of the composer's treatment of text. Hooper uses it again in the second verse at bars 50–59, as we saw in Example 8, to express the concept of Empire, with four solo voices representing the four nations that make up 'great Brittany', and at the end of the verse to refer to the 'second coming' (Example 3.11):

Example 3.11: Edmund Hooper, *O God of gods*, bars 68–73

Here, Hooper also shows his willingness to push sonority into extreme areas for expressive purposes. The introduction of *d-sharps* would have sounded quite sour in the likely temperament of organs of the period, but in this context it is effective in conveying the idea of finality — a boundary which earthly harmony can scarcely reach.[46]

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[45] Peter Phillips, *English Sacred Music: 1549–1649*, 2. impr (Oxford: Gimell, 1992), p. 245.
[46] See Chapter 4.3 on 'Extremities' for discussion of how Hooper and other composers use the upper limits of the vocal range for similarly expressive effect.

3A.12. *O God of gods* in relation to other court music

i. Byrd *Look and bow down*

As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, *Look and bow down* is a large-scale, 'occasional'

composition by Byrd, which constitutes a clear precedent for *O God of gods* in celebrating a

state event of major importance. They have certain features in common. Firstly, the stately,

pavan-like processional quality of the opening bars is evident, setting a serious tone for the

exposition of texts which will treat, in their different ways, of the relationship between God

and the monarch. The tone of the Byrd remains relatively sober throughout, but like the

Hooper, it contains several rhetorical devices to enhance its expression, notably the extreme

contour of the of the Mean's opening line 'Look and bow down', plunging to a low *b-flat* and

compelling the listener to experience the depth to which the Lord is begged to incline his ear

(bars 7-8),[47] and later, the chain of jagged steps of a third to depict the 'scattering' of the

enemy (bars 66–71). Perhaps most of all, it can be felt in the mastery with which Byrd creates

gradual accumulation and expansion over the course of the piece: the simple rise in vocal

tessitura from verse 1 to verse 2 at the entry of the Triplex for 'My soul ascend' (bar 42 ff),

and then in the bringing together of high and low voices for the third verse, culminating in the

soaring phrases of bars 109–113 and 118–125 at 'The soul of me his Turtle dove'.

ii. Tomkins *Know you not*

It is this aspect of cumulative grandeur through musical architecture that Hooper can be said

to take forward and develop as model for the 'occasional anthem', and his influence can be

felt in a large work by one of his younger Chapel Royal colleagues only a few years later.

This is the anthem *Know you not*, written by Thomas Tomkins for the funeral of Prince

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[47] See Appendix for a score of this piece.

Henry in 1612. There are accounts of music being performed in connection with the various formal events preceding the actual funeral, which was on Monday December 7th, 1612, Henry having died on November 6th. Extant part-books make clear that *Know you not* was written for the funeral itself.[48] One contemporary account records that 'The Gentlemen of the Kings Chapell, with the children thereof, sung diuers excellent Antheams, together with the Organs, and other winde instruments',[49] and the assumption has been made that this must refer to the performance of Tomkins' anthem. David Pinto points out, however, that this description must refer to music performed at one of the prior events.[50] However that may be, a scoring of cornetts and sackbuts with organ seems entirely feasible for this anthem, and it would be an appropriate sonority for a funeral.

The structural similarities between the two pieces are significant. In the nobly sombre first verse, Tomkins, like Hooper, immediately creates tension between *mi* and *fa*, another example of modal language still being used for an expressive purpose in a more modern tonal context. The contrary forces of accidental *b-naturals* and *e-flats* in the opening points build up an irresistible pressure which elevates the bass soloist from the soft up into the natural hexachord for the phrase that a prince.[51] Over this, in bars 6–7, Tomkins sets an arching 'crown' motif of parallel thirds in the treble instruments, a figure which will return in the closing chorus (Example 3.12):

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[48] GB-Och Mus 697–709.
[49] *The funerals of the high and mighty Prince Henry, Prince of Wales etc*. (London 1613), sig. A4r.
[50] *Thomas Tomkins: Know You Not* (London: Fretwork Editions FA12, 2010), p. i. David Pinto's consort reconstruction is used for the musical examples that follow here.
[51] See also in Chapter 2.

Know you not

THOMAS TOMKINS
restituit David Pinto

Example 3.12: Thomas Tomkins, *Know you not*, bars 1–9

In the second verse, the similarity of rhetorical approach between the two composers is at its most obvious. Whereas Hooper introduces ever more characters at significant turns of the narrative, Tomkins builds a crescendo through the accumulation of textual repetitions: 'comparable to fine gold' twice (bars 40–42), 'how is he esteemed' three times (bars 42–47), 'as a pitcher' four times (bars 47–49) and so on.[52] At the central point of *Know you not* we

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[52] See also in Chapter 2.

find another musical setting of James's proclaimed 'Great Britain'. Hooper's was in four

parts; Tomkins' is in three, then four, and finally in six parts (Example 3.13):[53]

Example 3.13: Thomas Tomkins, *Know you not*, bars 76–88

A key structural feature of *O God of gods*, as we have seen, is Hooper's expansion

from five into six parts for the final section. In the context of his dramatic plan, the effect is

of the music seeming to burst at its seams, the five former parts no longer able to contain its

pent-up pressure, so that its only outlet is the antiphonal release of the closing psalm.

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[53] See further on all of these points in Chapter 2.

Something of the same inexorable expansion is felt at the onset of the closing chorus of *Know you not*, where the six parts of 'sob and sing' are insufficient to convey the emotional force of 'sigh and say', so that the bass has to divide and give way for the addition of a seventh part at bar 130 (Example 3.14):

Example 3.14: Thomas Tomkins, *Know you not*, bars 126–34

This leads to a return of the 'crown' motif that we heard in the opening verse, now distributed

through all the parts to the words 'ah, his glory' (Example 3.15):

Example 3.15: Thomas Tomkins, *Know you not*, bars 154–61.

Tomkins has borrowed Hooper's idea of structural expansion and taken it one stage further.

iii. The 'occasional' anthem

In Gibbons' anthems *Great King of Gods* and *O all true faithful hearts* the influence of

Hooper is present in other ways.[54] Both open with the same pavan-like stateliness that

distinguishes the opening of *O God of gods*, the former keeping its simple melodic line

within the bounds of the natural hexachord for the whole opening verse. In all three verses,

regularity of rhyme and metre are reflected in the formal symmetry of the musical setting. In

O all true faithful hearts Gibbons, like Hooper (and, as we have seen, Tomkins) creates

gradatio[55] by accumulating more solo voices over the course of the verses:

Verse 1   Contratenor 2

Verse 2   Mean & Contratenor 2

Verse 3   Mean 1 & 2, then progressively

                     + Contratenor 1

                     + Contratenor 2

                     + Tenor

                     + Bassus

so that the final iteration of the chorus 'Rejoice in him, give thanks, his great name praise',

which is a Galliard-like refrain, acts as both a climax and a relief, leading naturally into the

'Amen'. But it is *Great King of Gods*, which in two elegant quotations seems to cement the

structure for which Hooper may have laid the foundation with his homage to Byrd. The first

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[54] Rubric on the first page of the score of *Great King of gods* in GB-Och MS Mus. 21 'This anthem was made for yᵉ kings being in Scottland', indicating that it was presumably performed in London preceding his departure on royal progress in May 1617. See Orlando Gibbons, *Orlando Gibbons: The Consort Anthems*, ed. by David Pinto, 3 vols (London: Fretwork Editions, 2003) vol. 1, p. xiv. For *O all true faithful hearts* the heading in Mus. 21 is 'A thanks Giving for the kings happy recoverie | from a great dangerous sicknes'. Pinto relates this to a 'public thanksgiving made about 2nd April 1619'. See vol. 2, p. xii.

[55] See footnote above.

is in the second verse, where Gibbons' phrase 'And prospering all his ways' echoes Hooper's

'All praise, all thanks, all laud' from his *O God of gods* (Examples 3.16 & 3.17):

Example 3.16: Edmund Hooper: *O God of gods* (re Tenor 1 Cantoris), bars 97–98

Example 3.17: Gibbons: *Great King of Gods* (re Contratenors 1 and 2), bars 46-49

The other instance is earlier in the piece, a little more concealed within the mesh of

contrapuntal imitation, where Gibbons' 'Our sacred sovereign head' echoes Bennet's 'in

heaven and earth and everywhere' from his own setting of Buc's verse (Examples 3.18 &

3.19):

Example 3.18: John Bennet: *O God of gods* bars 14–16

Example 3.19: Gibbons: *Great King of Gods* bars 4–9.

We know that *Great King of Gods* was performed in 1617, and we assume that Hooper's

setting of *O God of gods* had by then also received its first performance. Bennet's piece

appears in the Myriell collection *Tristitiæ Remedium* (GB-Lbl Add. MS 29372–6) which

bears the date 1616, though, as we have seen, the Hooper was performed again for Charles I

and the Bennet may have been during the reign of James II.[57] So it is that this quartet of

works by Byrd, Bennet, Hooper and Gibbons presents us with an intriguing mycelium of

court composition, extending its reach from the Elizabethan sixteenth-century through the

Stuart seventeenth. Is it simply a case of one composer signalling in coded language to

another? Or might it be part of a more sophisticated project to reflect the mystique of royal

continuity? It certainly suggests a fruitful area for future research.

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[57] See above.

CHAPTER 3: Three Anthems by Edmund Hooper
3B: *Hearken, ye nations*

*****

Less than three years after James's accession, court and country were thrown into turmoil by the Gunpowder Plot of November 5th 1605. Hooper's anthem *Hearken, ye nations* was written to mark the occasion,[1] and the newly created church feast of 'Gunpowder Treason' was decreed by Parliament in January 1606 to be a day of commemoration to be observed throughout the nation by attendance at a special form of morning prayer.[2] No record has emerged to establish beyond doubt which of the subsequent November 5th anniversaries was the occasion for the anthem's first performance, but the anonymous anthem text is preserved in four sources,[3] one of which is directly associated with Chapel Royal usage and is estimated to date from between 1625 and 1635.[4] This suggests that the anthem was still being used for Gunpowder Treason commemoration days in the reign of Charles I.

Hooper's anthem is extraordinary in its intensity of tone, even by his own standards and certainly when compared to other verse anthem writing of the period. It is clearly an unusual requirement for a composer to be asked to respond in music to an act of terrorism, and the experience of our own times enables us to empathise with the sheer horror and

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[1] Subtitled 'For the 5th of November' and 'November 5th' in GB-Och Mus 1220–4 and GB-WRch 18–20 respectively.
[2] *Lancelot Andrewes: Selected Sermons and Lectures*, ed. by Peter McCullough (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 391.
[3] GB-Lbl MS Harley 4142, GB-Lbl MS Harley 6346 & Clifford *The Divine Services and Anthems*. These are all discussed in the Critical Commentary to three Hooper anthems, in Volume 2.
[4] GB-Ob MS Rawl. Poet. 23, also discussed in the Critical Commentary.

heightened emotion that the anthem expresses. It would surely have resonated with those who

had so narrowly avoided the outrage's intended consequences. The lines that Hooper sets

may not be great verse (see the full text at the end of this chapter); indeed, Le Huray cited the

quality of Hooper's texts as a major defect of his work,[5] and it has been suggested that

Hooper wrote some of his anthem texts himself.[6] What seems likely in the case of this anthem

is that his main inspiration came not from the usual sources of the Bible or the Book of

Common Prayer, but from a particular sermon.

3B.1. The verse anthem and the reformist sermon

This is an intriguing connection, which I shall examine from three different angles: firstly in

the trajectory of Hooper's anthem and the way that its architecture mirrors that of a famous

sermon, delivered by one of the prominent preachers of the day for the same occasion;

secondly in the musical language that Hooper uses to express similar ideas; and thirdly, in a

section of Chapter 4 on 'Performance', looking more broadly at links between the verse

anthem and reformist preaching and how they may inform our performance of the music

today.

The principal text on which Hooper draws is Psalm 118, verses 23–24:

This was the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes,
This is the day, which the Lord hath made: let us rejoice and be glad in it.[7]

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[5] See Chapter 3A. 'Splendid as Hooper's verse music is, it is unlikely ever to come into general use again, since nearl all of it is set to very inadequate Elizabethan or Jacobean verse'. See Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 259.

[6] Andrew Gant, unpublished programme notes to a concert by the Renaissance Singers, London (2010), and accompanying notes to a recording of works by Hooper and others, *Vigilate*, The Renaissance Singers, directed David Allinson (2013) (available as a digital download but not as a physical CD).

[7] The Geneva Bible, 1599 (spelling modernised).

In his verse paraphrase, Hooper replaces the adjective 'marvelous', used by Coverdale and in

subsequent translations,[8] with 'wondrous', as used in Sternhold and Hopkins' metrical

psalter:[9]

> This is the day Himself made, Oh rejoice
> And sing his praises with a cheerful voice.
> Consider this, you true of heart and wise
> It is God's work and wondrous in our eyes.

3B.2. Lancelot Andrewes: a sermon for Gunpowder Treason Day

In *Sermons at Court* and in a more recent study,[10] Peter McCullough refers to the great

preacher of the later Elizabethan and earlier Jacobean court, Lancelot Andrewes, as a central

figure in re-establishing the place of sacred vocal music in worship against a background of

Puritan opposition, arguing that he does not fit with the simplistic portrayal of the period as

one of liturgy largely devoid of musical content.[11] He points out, for example, that, over the

course of the period 1610–19, during which Andrewes preached three important Nativity

sermons in the Chapel Royal, it was the court practice there that the sermon would be

immediately followed by an anthem, sung by the Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel.[12]

McCullough cites some of Andrewes' most remarkable court sermons, drawing attention not

only to the high esteem in which he clearly holds fine sacred music and the value which he

places upon it in the praise of God, but also to the musicality with which his language is

suffused. One such sermon is the one preached by Andrewes on the first anniversary of the

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[8] The Great Bible (1539), The Geneva Bible (1560) and The Bishops' Bible (1568).

[9] Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, et al, *The whole booke of Psalmes collected into Englysh metre* (London: John Day, 1562 etc).

[10] Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire], New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 101–67; Peter McCullough, 'Music Reconciled to Preaching: A Jacobean Moment?', in Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie, eds., *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 109–29.

[11] McCullough, 'Music Reconciled to Preaching', p. 109.

[12] McCullough, 'Music Reconciled to Preaching', p. 114.

Gunpowder Plot, 'Gunpowder Treason Day'. The occasion was November 5th, 1606, at

Whitehall Palace. Of particular significance for Hooper's anthem is the fact that this was a

service before the full Chapel Royal, to which Hooper had been appointed in 1604. Those

verses from Psalm 118 are taken by Andrewes for his text, and the opening paragraph of his

sermon is a good example of how his rhetoric reverberates (Figure 3.7):

> To entitle this time to this Text, or to shew it pertinent to the present occasion, will aske no long processe. This Day of ours, this *fift* of *November*, a day of God's *making*; that which was done upon it was the *Lord's doing*. CHRIST's own application (which is the best) may well be applied here: *This day, is this Scripture fulfilled in our ears*. For, if ever there were a *Deed* done, or a *Day* made by *God*, in our days; this *Day*, and the *Deed* of this *Day* was it: If ever He gave cause of *mervailing* (as, in the first;) of *rejoycing* (as in the *second verse*) to any Land; to us this day, He gave both: If ever *saved*, *prospered*, *blessed* any; *this day*, He *saved, prospered,* and (as we say) *fairely blessed* us.[13]

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[13] Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, ed. by William Laud and John Buckeridge (London, RSTC 606, 1629), p. 889.

Figure 3.7: Sermon given by Lancelot Andrewes, November 6th 1606

3B.3. The language

The powerful accumulation of alliteration, *homoioteleuton* and *anaphora*, leading to a final

tricolon,[14] sweeps the listener forward with a persuasive force that owes as much to

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[14] *Homoioteleuton*: in English, the use of similar endings to words, phrases or sentences. Peacham gives this example: 'Eloquent is he who can invent excellently, dispose evidently, figure diversely, remember perfectly.' *Anaphora*: repetition of the same word at the beginning of successive clauses or verses. *Tricolon*: three unit pattern common in many prose styles. Richard A Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 83, 11 & 154.

musicality as to logic. It is as if he is creating his own acoustic through the multiplication of

internal rhymes. Bearing in mind that the space of the Whitehall Chapel, from what we know

about it from contemporary accounts before its destruction in 1698, was not at all large, and

would presumably have been acoustically dry, owing to the multitude of courtiers who were

present at this service,[16] the generation of sonority exhibited here through use of language

displays one of the most prized skills of an orator. Andrewes builds inexorably to a climax at

the halfway point of his oration,[17] and likewise Hooper to a musical caesura at the psalm

paraphrase in the centre of his anthem (Example 3.20):

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[16] Its length is estimated at 'some 70 feet' by McCullough and was likely to have had rich furnishings and hangings that would also have dampened reverberation. See McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, pp. 16, 19–20. Also Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England, Architecture and Court Life 1460–1547* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 197, 203, 205, Plan 13; Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: The Official Illustrated History* (London: Merrell, 2008), pp. 21, 47–8.

[17] McCullough, *Lancelot Andrewes*, p. 154, line 2. All references to Andrewes' sermon text are taken from McCullough's edition.

Example 3.20: Edmund Hooper, *Hearken, ye nations*, bars 51–60

The way that Andrewes develops his argument in reaching this point has striking parallels with the dramatic course of the anthem, and they are worth examining. The phrase 'our King anointed' (anthem line 5) already references the sacred dimension, and with it an implied relationship to the Old Testament. (Both sermon and anthem pick up this thread later, quoting from another psalm, 'You shall not touch mine anointed'.)[18] Andrewes goes to considerable

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[18] Psalm 105.15. See Hooper lines 19-20 and McCullough, *Lancelot Andrewes*, p. 152, line 24.

lengths to draw connections between King James and King David, between the narrowly

escaped horror of the present and David's 'deliverance' from his own 'danger':

> …his enemies came about him, compassed him round, compassed and kept
> him in on every side..[19]

He goes on to identify members of James' court with 'David and his three Estates' and with

specific figures from the Old Testament, linking Queen Anne to 'Queen Esther', Prince

Henry to 'Salomon', and so on through a long list of biblical names.[20] Hooper creates a

similar effect in lines 7 and 8 of the anthem:

> Our honourable senate, people, peers
>
> Men, women, infants of all sorts and years

The *asyndeton* (omission of conjunctions between words, phrases, or clauses) of this

shocking catalogue is expressed in a trumpet-like motif, which breathlessly crams the nouns

together, leaving no space for the separating commas (Example 3.21):[22]

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[19] McCullough, *Lancelot Andrewes*, p. 149, lines 10-35
[20] McCullough, *Lancelot Andrewes*, p. 151, lines 13-26
[22] *Asyndeton*, *Brachylogia*. See Lanham, *A Handlist*, p. 25.

Example 3.21: Edmund Hooper, *Hearken, ye nations*, bars 34–7

3B.4. A dismall daye

Andrewes has been at pains to stress the especially evil nature of 'this *Day*' in contrast to

other days:

> ..*blacke* and *dismall dayes*, dayes of sorrow and sadd accidents; they are and
> may be counted (saith *Job*) for no *dayes*: *Nights* rather, as having the *shadow
> of death* upon them; or, if *dayes*, such as his were, which *Sathan* had *marrd*,
> then which GOD has *made*.[23]

and, in illustration of this, he paints a horrific picture of the carnage, which the outrage had

intended to inflict

> …where so much bloud, as would have made it *raine blood*, so many baskets
> of *heads*, so may peeces of rent bodies cast up and downe, and scattered all
> over the face of the earth.

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[23] McCullough, *Lancelot Andrewes*, p. 148, lines 32–35.

Hooper captures this in the grim phrase 'bloodthirsty ire' (line 9, bars 44–45). And, in the following bars, there is more evidence of sermonising echoes in the phrase 'brands new taken from the fire' (line 10, bars 46–49). On the same day that Andrewes gave this sermon, another was being preached by William Barlow, Bishop of Rochester before the Privy Council on a text from Zecharia 3.2, using this same phrase: 'Is this not a brand, snatched out of the fire?'[24] Might this be where Hooper borrowed it? (See Figure 3.8):
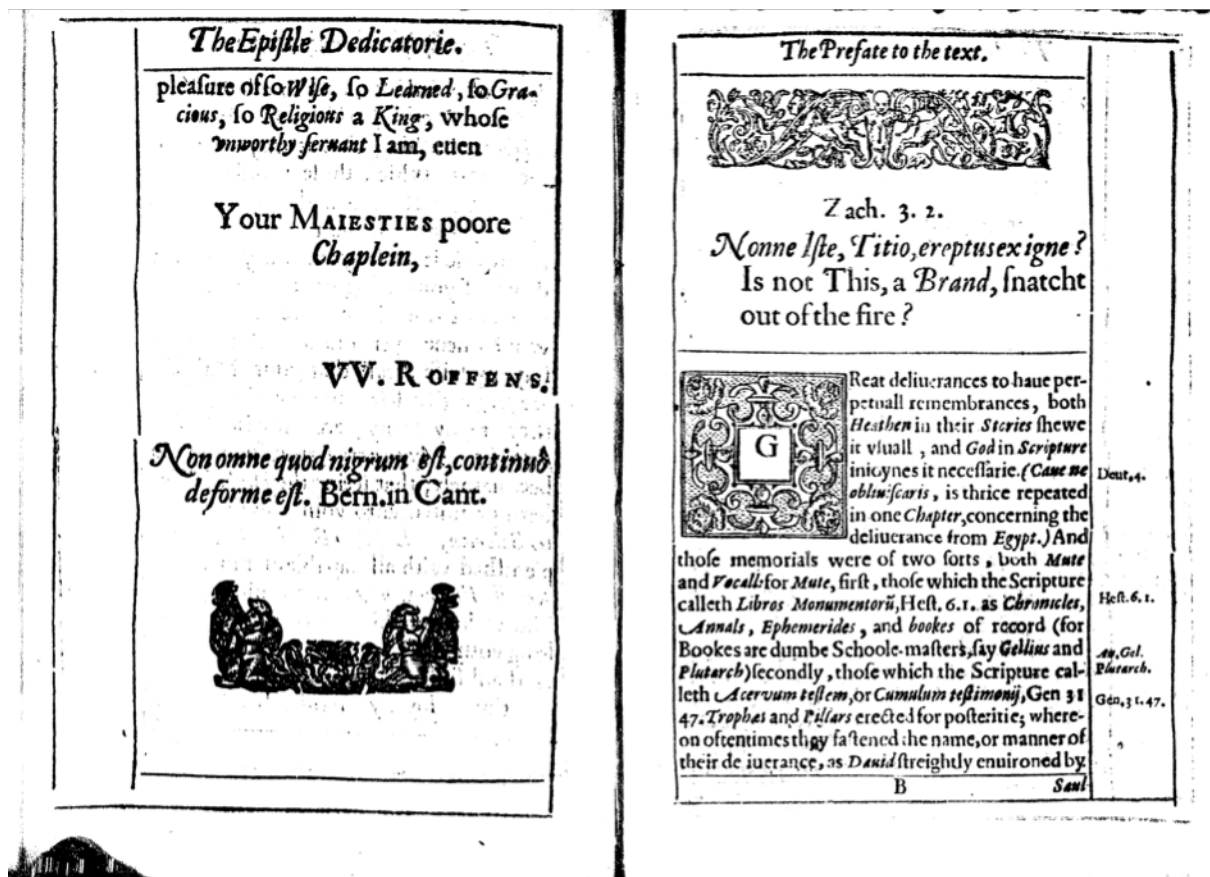
Figure 3.8: sermon given by William Barlow, November 6th 1606

The section closes with the Sternhold and Hopkins exhortation to '…sing his praises with a cheerful voice' (line 12, bars 55–60).

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[24] Later published as William Barlow, *A Brand, Titio Erepta, on the Fift Day of November Last before the Honourable Lordes of His Majesties Privie Councell and the Grave Judges of the Law, London, Windet and Law (1607)* (London: John Windet for Mathew Law, 1607).

3.B.5. '*God's doing*'

We have arrived at the mid-way point of both sermon and anthem. In each case, it is marked by an address made directly to the audience, commanding attention. Andrewes, having laid out the full horror of the event and the miraculous avoidance of disaster, poses a rhetorical question: 'But by whom, whose doing?' For him, the answer is clear.

This was *God's doing* (the *deliverance*).[25]

Hooper creates an abrupt change of mood and texture, as the two bass soloists direct us to the moral lesson (line 13). 'Consider this, Ye true of heart and wise' (Example 3.22):

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[25] See McCullough, *Lancelot Andrewes*, p. 398.

Example 3.22: Edmund Hooper, *Hearken, ye nations*, bars 57–65

It is the musical equivalent of the raised finger in John Bulwer's 'Art of Manuall Rhetoricke',

published in 1644, [26] a finger that one might well imagine Andrewes raising at this very

moment (Figure 3.9):

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[26] John Bulwer, *Chirologia or The Naturall Language of the Hand· Composed of the Speaking Motions, and Discoursing Gestures Thereof. Whereunto Is Added Chironomia : Or, the Art of Manuall Rhetoricke. Consisting of the Naturall Expressions, Digested by Art in the Hand, as the Chiefest Instrument of Eloquence, by Historicall Manifesto's, Exemplified out of the Authentique Registers of Common Life, and Civill Conversation. VVith Types, or Chyrograms : A Long-Wish'd for Illustration of This Argument. / By J.B. Gent.*
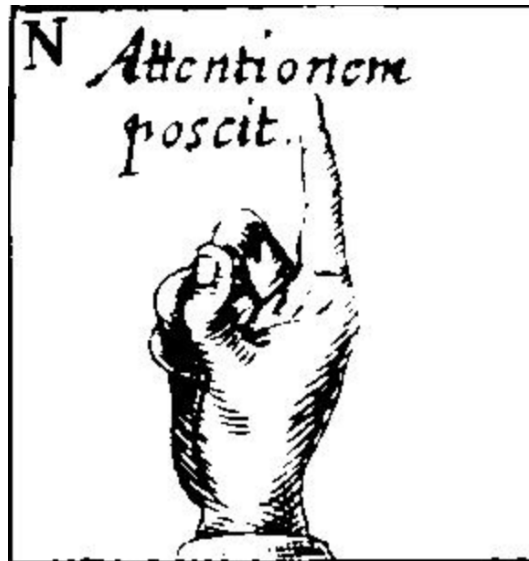
Figure 3.9: John Bulwer, 'Attentionem poscit', *Chironomia*,[27] p. 95.

And so, we come to the anthem's moral conclusion (lines 14–15, bars 71–86)

> He sends his terrors to affright, not kill
>
> As signs more of his pow'r than of his will.

Although the lesson that Andrewes draws is somewhat more nuanced:

> Truely, not man's doing this: it was the *Lord's*. … The *blow* was the *Devill's*: the *ward* was *God's*. Not *man*, but the *Devill* devised it: Not *man*, but *God* defeated it.[28]

3B.6. 'Instruments of the Queer'

As we near the crux of Andrewes' argument, it takes an unexpectedly musical turn. If this is

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Philochirosophus. (London, Printed by Tho. Harper, and are to be sold by R[ichard] Whitaker, at his shop in Pauls Church-yard, 1644) *Chironomia*, p. 95.

[27] (trans) 'He calls for attention'.

[28] McCullough, *Lancelot Andrewes*, p. 154, lines 3–7. *ward*: watch, protection.

God's doing and it is indeed 'marvelous in our eyes', is it not our duty to 'rejoice and be glad

in it' as the psalm instructs us?

> If this, the *day*, *the* LORD *hath made*; then, this, the *day*, wherein we to
> *rejoyce*: when *He makes*, we to *make*; and our *rejoycing* in it, is our *making*
> of it.[29]

For, he reasons, this is a rejoicing that must be 'seene and heard both'. And, bearing in mind

that Andrewes is here preaching not only to the court, but also before the Chapel Royal, he

calls for it to be expressed in full musical participation:

> [The Lord] will have it *seen* in the *countenance*, *heard in the voice*; not onely
> *preaching*, but *singing* forth His *praise*. And that, not with *voices* alone, but
> with *instruments*, and not *instruments* of the *Queer* alone, but instruments of
> the *steeple* too, *bells* and all, that so it may be *Hosanna in altissimis*, in the
> very *highest key* we have. This for *exultemus*.[30]

This and several subsequent repetitions of 'Hosanna' lead Peter McCullough to suggest that

the first anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot (November 1606) may have been the occasion

for the first performance of a setting of *Hosanna to the Son of David*, either by Weelkes or by

Gibbons.[31] Since he seems not to have been aware that Hooper was the composer of *Hearken,*

ye nations,[32] McCullough was not in a position to make what may be a significant connection

here. I suggest that this lies in the source for the consort parts of the anthem, namely the

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[29] McCullough, *Lancelot Andrewes*, p. 157, lines 2–4.

[30] McCullough, *Lancelot Andrewes*, p. 158, lines 4–8. McCullough speculates that this passage may constitute indirect evidence of the participation of string instruments in Chapel music: McCullough, *Lancelot Andrewes*, p. 401; elsewhere he refers to documentation of the interior of Andrewes's episcopal chapel at Winchester House in Southwark, which contained a 'music table of deal', apparently measuring 2 X 1 yards with 'forms' [benches] on three sides. Roger Bowers has suggested that a likely use for this item was as a music table, at which viol players could sit. See McCullough, 'Music Reconciled to Preaching: A Jacobean Moment?', p. 117. See further below on the likely dimensions of Andrewes' chapel in Chapter 4.5 and on possible implications for the kind of anthem that these players might have accompanied in Chapter 4.6.

[31] McCullough, 'Music Reconciled to Preaching', p. 120.

[32] McCullough, *Lancelot Andrewes*, p. 401. Here he relates the text of *Hearken, ye nations* to the Andrewes sermon through its paraphrase of Psalm 118. 23–4, citing the anthem text in Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet. 23, but describing the anthem as 'anonymous' (though it is in fact attributed there to 'E. Hooper'). His later writing in 'Music Reconciled to Preaching' suggests that he was not yet aware of this connection.

(incomplete) part-book set Och MS Mus 56–60. Hooper's anthem is copied into a section at the end of each book, separated by blank pages from the main body of music, each piece titled 'for 2 bases'. The first piece in this section is Michael East's *Sing we merrily*, setting a text which rapidly became popular under James I through its frequent repetition of the phrase 'the God of Jacob'. The second piece is *Hearken, ye nations*, and the third is none other than Weelkes's setting of *Hosanna to the Son of David*. Together with the strong echoes of Andrewes' sermon in Hooper's anthem, the appearance of these three pieces in sequence is suggestive of a link between them all; and November 5th, 1606, could be the event that ties them together.[33]

3B.7. Aspects of Hooper's musical language

From the very outset of *Hearken, ye nations* we are put on edge. *Mi* and *fa* are in close combat in the opening bars, as the tensions exerted by rising *c-sharp* and falling *c-natural* pull in opposite directions (Example 3.23):

Example 3.23: Edmund Hooper, *Hearken, ye nations*, bars 1–3

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[33] Andrewes was Bishop of Chichester from 1605, which adds weight to his connection with Weelkes, who was *informator choristarum* at the Cathedral from between 1601 and 1602 onwards.

Even when the thrusting upward movement of the lower parts seems to be gaining the upper

hand, the repeated *f'-naturals* and *b'-flats* of the *la mi fa* figure in the upper voices keeps

bearing down (Example 3.24):

Example 3.24: Edmund Hooper, *Hearken, ye nations*, Cantus & Quintus, bars 3–7

Hooper creates an unnerving atmosphere which perhaps comes closer in feeling to one of the

great dramatic works of the period than to anything by his composer contemporaries — one

which takes similar themes of regicide and the overthrow of natural order as part of its

inspiration: Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, probably first performed in 1606. Just as we are made to

feel unsure of tonality at the opening of Hooper's anthem, so Shakespeare's leaves us

doubting everything we see on stage as the terrifying sounds of 'Thunder and Lightning'

open his play. Are these creatures before us male, female or even human? (only the stage

direction tells us they are 'Witches'):

> Fair is foul, and foul is fair   *Macbeth* 1.1.11
>
> So foul and fair a day I have not seen   *Macbeth* 1.3.37

Hooper's penchant for 'false relation' is frequently in evidence, and some cadences have a

distinct air of musical hysteria (Examples 3.25 & 3.26):

Example 3.25: Edmund Hooper, *Hearken, ye nations*, bars 10–14

Example 3.26: Edmund Hooper, *Hearken, ye nations*, bars 38–42

Perhaps a more suitable term is 'equivocation',[34] a word which plays an important rôle, both in *Macbeth* and in the history of the moment.[35] So highly charged is the atmosphere caused by such conflicts, and so dense the texture, that inner voices seem sometimes to suffocate, requiring them to force their way to the surface in an effort to be heard, like the Tenor in this next example, struggling past the *d '-natural/d '-sharp* clash of Contratenor against Sextus, as it reaches for its cadential *g'-sharp* in 53 (Example 3.27):[36]

Example 3.27: Edmund Hooper, *Hearken, ye nations*, bars 52–56

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[34] Another possibility is 'contraries', which Sister Miriam Joseph demonstrates Shakespeare to have used in order to represent disorder and confusion, viz. Macduff: 'Such welcome and unwelcome things at once | 'Tis hard to reconcile.' (*Macbeth* 4.3.137*)*. See Miriam Joseph, *Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language* (Philadelphia, Pa.; Lancaster: Paul Dry ; Gazelle [distributor, 2008), pp. 130–2. See also Chapter 2.5 'Layers of meaning' for 'contraries' in punning and figures of *division*.

[35] The word is introduced in the scene with the Porter (2.3.) and later features in Macbeth's scene with the witches, when he learns that Birnham Wood is moving towards Dunsinane. 'To doubt the'equivocation of the fiend | That lies like truth' (5.6.43–4). Politically, it was a strategy employed by Jesuits (whom many suspected of being behind the Gunpowder Plot) when making ambiguous statements in order to save lives, advocated, for example, by Henry Garnet in *A Treatise of Equivocation*, a pamphlet published in 1598. For a modern perspective on political equivocation, see perhaps Peter Oborne, *The Assault on Truth: Boris Johnson, Donald Trump and the Emergence of a New Moral Barbarism* (London: Simon and Schuster 2021).

[36] It is worth noting here that, from the performer's point of view, the timbre of singers at the top of their voice range is required at the core of the vocal consort in order to express the sheer anguish of moments like this. In other words, the Contratenor lines need to be sung not in the comfortable middle of a falsetto register, but in the upper part of a high tenor, whilst Tenor lines similarly exploit the upper end of a baritone. I discuss the issue of vocal extremity in Chapter 4.3.

In Hooper's anthems, the stage is never far from the pulpit, and this is nowhere more evident than in the unapologetically melodramatic moment of bar 75. We saw above how the raised finger of Bulwer's gesture is realised musically by an abrupt change of mood for the preacher's moral lesson 'Consider this' in bar 61.[37] It is now raised again, this time pointing upwards with gestures of a rising fourth and a rising third at the words 'as signs more of his power than of his will' (Example 3.28):

Example 3.28: Edmund Hooper, *Hearken, ye nations*, bars 74–78

3B.8. An anthem of the moment

In that it is so specific to the circumstances of the Gunpowder Plot, *Hearken, ye nations* does not provide an obvious model, in the way that *O God of gods* does, for later occasional anthems. A fair criticism of it as a piece is not so much that the quality of the verse is poor, as Le Huray had objected, but that it is so trapped in the horror of the moment that it is unable to stand back from it and speak to us in a manner that is relevant today. In its own time,

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[37] See above, Figure 3.10.

Tomkins' *Know you not* may perhaps show signs of the influence of Hooper's highly

chromatic lines in passages such as this (Example 3.29):

Example 3.29: Thomas Tomkins, *Know you not*, bars 96–104

and more specifically in Tomkins' use, in a similar harmonic context to Hooper, of a plangent

arch of parallel thirds to the words 'ah, his glory' (Examples 3.30 & 3.31):

Example 3.30: Edmund Hooper, *Hearken, ye nations*, bars 38–42

Example 3.31: Thomas Tomkins, *Know you not*, bars 156–159

Perhaps Hooper's texts were, in the words of Le Huray, sometimes 'inadequate', but he was more than equal to the task of responding powerfully and emotionally to the challenging subject of the Gunpowder Plot in this extraordinary piece.

Hearken, ye nations Anthem text

Hearken, ye nations, O come see and hear
all ye that serve the Lord in truth and fear
and we will show what wonders his high hand
hath done unto our souls and to this land.
Our king anointed with his blessed seed,   *5*
our sacred Prophets that our souls do feed,
our honourable Senate, People, Peers,
Men, Women, Infants of all sorts of years

This day our God from foes' blood-thirsty ire
hath saved as brands new taken from the fire.   *10*
This is the day himself made. O, rejoice
and sing his praises with a cheerful voice.

Consider this, ye true of heart and wise:
it is God's work and wondrous in our eyes.
He sends his terrors to affright, not kill   *15*
as signs more of his power than of his will.
O may our Moses trust in him his tower
and all our Aarons magnify his power.
He is our shield. May no unhallowed arm
touch his anointed nor his prophets harm.   *20*

Record we this to all posterity
that they may praise him to eternity
and join in holy fear with one accord
to keep this day holy to the Lord.

Text: Anonymous, R, H42, H46, Cl

CHAPTER 3: Three Anthems by Edmund Hooper
3C: *The Blessed Lamb*, a performance case study

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As part of my research I had planned two major practical events in order to study issues

arising in the performance of verse anthems. The first, in March 2020, was a workshop to be

held in the University of Birmingham, making use of the reconstructed 'Tudor organ' situated

there,[1] involving organ students from Royal Birmingham Conservatoire, singers from the 'Ex

Cathedra' choir's scholar scheme as well as academics and other outside participants; the

second, a concert to be directed by me as part of the International Biennial Baroque

Conference to be held at Royal Birmingham Conservatoire in July 2020, was to involve a

smaller number of those same singers, accompanied by the professional viol consort

Fretwork. Both of these events had to be cancelled, owing to the lockdown regulations

resulting from the COVID-19 crisis. They were partly intended to carry forward practice-led

research demonstrated by Helen Roberts in her recent PhD on wind instruments in provincial

English cathedrals.[2] Amongst other things, Roberts had examined the interaction between

voices and this same Tudor organ when performing sacred choral music, mostly of the post-

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[1] The 'St Teilo' reconstruction of an English organ of the Tudor period, made by Goetze and Gwynn, as used in the second recording in my 'In Chains of Gold' series of CDs.< https://www.goetzegwynn.co.uk/organ/st-teilos-church-organ-at-st-fagans-cardiff/> [Accessed May 13 2021].

[2] Helen Roberts, 'Wind Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals, *c*. 1580–*c*. 1680: Towards a Performance Practice' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Birmingham City University, 2019).

Restoration period. Participants had been asked to give their reactions to different kinds of

realisation of the organ accompaniment as well as to different combinations of other

participating instruments, mostly cornetts and sackbuts. It had been my intention in the first

workshop to examine the performance of verse anthems to the organ by Byrd and Gibbons

together with Hooper's *The Blessed Lamb*, using contemporary organ accompaniments,

looking at the implications for both organist and singers, and, in the later concert, to rehearse

and perform the alternative consort form of this same Hooper anthem, as well as other

consort anthems by Byrd and Gibbons, drawing conclusions about the different implications

for interaction with consort instruments. When both of these events had to be cancelled, the

director of the choir, Jeffrey Skidmore, suggested that we take the singers and move the

project to a series of weekly Zoom meetings over the course of April through to July. The

format of the project had necessarily to change.

3C.1. Assembly and performance workshop on Zoom, April – July 2020

In place of the practice-led data collection demonstrated by Roberts, our alternative was to

make recordings of the Hooper anthem in stages, using the available technology, and to learn

from the results at each stage before progressing to the next. As many musicians the world

over were discovering for the first time during this period of enforced distancing, the

technology of Zoom did not allow for live ensemble singing due to the problems of latency.

Having made a few attempts at singing passages together during the Zoom session 'in real

time', this was soon abandoned, and we resorted to making recordings that were assembled

digitally as a patchwork of individual contributions, recorded on a variety of devices. These

were then played back at the following meeting, discussed amongst us, sometimes with

presentations shared by me on related stylistic subjects, and then re-recorded in a new draft

over the following week. In this way, issues arising from the construction experience could

be absorbed into a kind of extended experiment under 'laboratory' conditions, leading to a

concrete end-product in the form of a complete video recording of the work, which at least

had elements of performance vitality despite the highly artificial nature of the process.[3] Since,

at the time of writing, there seems no immediate prospect of a return to the 'normal''

conditions that would be necessary for a research workshop of the kind that I had envisaged

(and we are warned that the current abnormality might return again at any time for some

years to come) it is worthwhile here to record some details of the way that we proceeded in

these sessions and the advantages, such as they were, that their enforced distancing might

suggest for future practice-led research in this field.

3C.2. Recording plan

I had agreed with director of Ex Cathedra, Jeffrey Skidmore, that our main focus of study

would be Hooper's *The Blessed Lamb*, and that we would examine this in the context of a

general survey of early verse anthem repertory and style. The first issue was to decide how

the singers should record their individual contributions to an ensemble 'patchwork'

performance of the work. Since the only instrumental accompaniment available to us was

some kind of digital organ sound, it was clear that we needed to use one of the original organ

parts and that this should be a separately recorded track to be integrated into the whole. It was

not practical at this time to enlist an organist into the project, and so I needed to produce an

organ track myself for the purpose. An early experiment, adding a click track to a synthetic

---

[3] As one of the sopranos observes during one of these sessions, it is remarkable how the solitary nature of these individual recordings can be translated into an ensemble outcome, when the individuals are seen singing together in the assembled 'performance'. And, as the director Jeffrey Skidmore commented, the 'spirit' of the singers' commitment to performance comes across almost tangibly, due to the added visual element. The video performance, Video ex. 3CV, can be found in the accompanying Appendix material.

organ sound, generated from the Sibelius notation program in which I had entered the full

score, was rejected on two counts. The click track was deemed both unnecessary and

inhibiting and the organ sound was of unacceptably poor quality. I therefore invested in a

high-quality sampling of a historic organ, with which I was able to process the organ part

from my Sibelius score and thus record an organ track to accompany the singers, whilst at the

same time making a musically more acceptable contribution to the assembled performance.[4]

The disadvantage of not having the part played by an actual organist was that I needed to

notate features such as articulation and *ritardandi* in the Sibelius program in a somewhat

cumbersome way,[5] but this did at least allow me to have precise control of them, as well as of

tempo throughout the work, which was of particular importance in executing the proportional

relationship between duple and triple sections, which I describe below. The lack of

opportunity to investigate the consort version of the anthem with Fretwork meant that we

needed to give attention to certain key features of that setting, in particular the ornamental

writing in some of the vocal parts, in order to compare them to the plainer organ setting, and

an extended passage of this was recorded as an appendix to the main audio recording.

3C.3. Case study 1: William Byrd *Christ rising*

By way of preparation for our project on the Hooper anthem, we began with a session

examining William Byrd's *Christ rising*, since the choir needed for its own reasons to post a

video recording of the first section of this work on its website in time for Easter. I used the

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[4] This was a high-resolution sampling by Sonus Paradisi of an Italian organ in Brescia, dated circa 1600 and attributed to Antegnati, set up as a MIDI instrument through the Hauptwerk software system, with which I was already familiar through my work in recent years with the Dunedin Consort. A sampling of the St Teilo organ being unavailable for this purpose, this was probably the nearest that we could come to simulating an English organ of the period in the opinion of Dominic Gwynn (private correspondence).

[5] For example, shortening many minims to double dotted crotchets and semibreves to double dotted minims, to imitate rather basic organ articulation; the *ritardandi* were entered using a succession of metronome markings in preference to using the notation program's default settings.

opportunity to introduce key elements of the verse style to singers more used to a 'choral'

approach to the music and highlighted a number of stylistic features arising in this section, all

of them resulting from a desire to give primacy to the text:

1. The expressive use of certain notes and intervals in individual lines to colour
   words

2. The dramatic interplay between solo voices

3. The verse/chorus structure and its dramatic implications

4. The possibility of treating elements of the notation, particularly note-lengths,
   as more suggestive than prescriptive, in the interests of bringing out textual
   rhythm

We looked at passages where these features are evident and discussed how they might be

realised in practice. In the opening verse (Example 3.32) I suggested that the *f'-sharp* in the

first entry of Cantus 2 requires a particular tone quality appropriate to the hard *mi* character of

the accidental, which is in deliberate conflict with the underlying modal scale, referring here

to the sources cited by Anne Smith in her chapter on solmisation in *The Performance of 16th-

Century Music*,[6] and that this sets off a kind of repartee between the two soloists in their

expression of 'rising', vying with each other in successively higher entries, and seeming to

summon up Christ's body from the grave in the very act of resurrection.

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[6] Anne Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music: Learning from the Theorists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 20–54.

Example 3.32: William Byrd, *Christ rising*, bars 1–13

I suggested that the entry of the first chorus needs principally to sound a powerful response to the way that the verse finishes in bar 18, requiring the two soloists to make a blunt statement of the word 'not' in bar 18, rather than a conventionally polite cadence. We then discussed my encouragement of the chorus singers to disregard the notated semibreve and minim note-lengths of 'Death from henceforth' in the interests of shorter and more forceful accents, which could better convey the dramatic intention of this scene (Example 3.33):

Example 3.33: William Byrd *Christ rising* bars 14–22

Jeffrey Skidmore was of the opinion that this suggestion raises some difficult issues of

ensemble (could Byrd not have notated shorter notes followed by rests if he had wanted

this?). Some of the singers observed that it would be much easier to achieve unanimity if we

were all in the same space, and that, in the present situation, such an unusual approach to the

music would need to be made clear in a set of instructions for making a new recording. In

view of the lack of rehearsal time, however, we decided that, since the immediate

requirement was for a recording to be made public, it was better to keep to a more

conventionally 'natural' approach, and to save experimentation with my potentially

disruptive ideas for the later sessions that would be devoted to the Hooper. The new

recording of the Byrd can be heard here, and it is a good example of the current 'Anglican choral' style in which verse repertory of this kind is generally performed today.

After the meeting, I proposed to Jeffrey that we devote the next two sessions to Zoom meetings that would include Anne Smith, joining us remotely from Switzerland and guiding us through the rudiments of solmisation. My idea was that this would give the singers some insight into how musicians of the period might instinctively have approached the music on the basis of their theoretical training. This accordingly took place over the course of the next two Zoom meetings, during which Smith demonstrated to us the basic rules of movement within and between hexachords in continental theory, explaining how musicians would have understood musical space. She also covered the remarkable writings of theorists such as Martin Agricola and Sancta Maria on the way that choirboys were taught to characterise the different steps of the hexachord by varying their tonal quality, and how the respectively soft and hard qualities of *fa* and *mi* are applied to accidentals.[7]

3C.4. Case study 2: Edmund Hooper *The Blessed Lamb*

We turned now to Hooper's *The Blessed Lamb*. Over the course of the following sessions, I would introduce ideas on how to approach a section of the work, giving primacy of place to expression of the text, sometimes making presentations to show the relevance of poetry and rhetoric. Over the following week, a first draft recording of that section would be made. Then, in the following session, we would listen to and discuss the assembled result and a new recording would be made. The issue of soft and hard syllables and their relevance to the word-setting came up early on and raised questions of how to realise this in practice. The verse uses a variety of poetic means to lead us cumulatively forward through the first two

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[7] Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music*, pp. 28–45.

lines to arrive at the stark image of Christ on the cross, and Hooper responds to these with

various musical devices.

> The Blessed Lamb, the holy promised seed
> Sent in time's fullness sinful man to save
> For our sins guiltless on his cross did bleed
> Mocked, wounded, spit on, scourged like a slave.

The first requirement was to find a way to deliver the word 'Blessed', so that 'Blessed Lamb'

would have sufficient presence to maintain its influence through the vocal line as the subject

of this long sentence, all the way to the verb 'bleed' and on to the end of the verse. Referring

back to our sessions with Anne Smith, I pointed out that, for the first entry (Medius Decani),

the phrase is begins by focussing on *f*', in other words *fa* of the natural hexachord, which

immediately gives it a soft quality, appropriate to the concept of 'blessedness' (Example

3.34):

Example 3.34: Edmund Hooper, *The Blessed Lamb*, bars 1–9

We then looked for a way to caress the initial consonants 'Bl' and shape the word so that it could be both soft and sufficiently weighted for its musical role. At the same time, I encouraged the singers to find a natural inflexion of the bisyllabic words 'blessed', 'holy' and 'promised', so that the accented and unaccented syllables felt naturally aligned with the down ('strong') and up ('weak') strokes of the semibreve tactus respectively, and as close as possible to speech rhythm.

In the following phrase, we discussed the relative importance of the verb 'sent' and the overall trajectory of the line towards the word 'fullness'. Jeffrey wanted to treat the three-minim unit 'sent in time's' as a palpably triple rhythm — effectively a bar of 3/2 — avoiding an accent on 'in', whereas I was concerned that this should not detract from significance of the bassline's fall of fifth into the soft sonority of *B-flat*, another *fa*, prefiguring the warmth and liquid sonority in the word 'fullness'. Hooper achieves this with a broadening of note lengths and introduction of a dissonant 2nd between the voices into bar 11, followed by another on 'save' in bar 12 (Example 3.35). By the time a second recording was made, we seemed to have achieved a satisfactory synthesis of all these elements.[8]

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[8] Compare 1st draft (audio ex. 3C1) timecode 0.00–0.35 with final version (audio ex. 3C2) 0.00–0.33. This and the other audio examples cited here can be found in the accompanying Appendix material.

Example 3.35: Edmund Hooper, *The Blessed Lamb*, bars 9–13.

In the following passage, we discussed how to express the character of the word 'guiltless' in bar 14, the unexpected *mi* character of the accidental sharp in 14 (its 'false' relationship to the surrounding *f-naturals* on the first minim of 13 and the second of 14), and in particular how to articulate the way that the hard 'g' consonant stands out from the assonant 's' in surrounding words (save, sins, (guilt)-less, sins, cross). (See Example 3.36):

Example 3.36: Edmund Hooper, *The, Blessed Lamb*, bars 13–16

In instrumental terms, it is somewhat analogous to the effect of a typically 'baroque' string

articulation, achieved with two successive down-bows (Example 3.37):

Example 3.37: successive downbows

In trying to follow my spoken example, the singers, not surprisingly, found it at first

somewhat unnatural,[9] and the first recording did indeed come across as rather mannered.[10]

But on the second recording this had been more successfully assimilated (Example 3.38).[11]

We discussed how, beginning with the repeat of the *f*'-*sharp* on 'guiltless' in bar 15, the

emotional temperature is progressively raised in the following bars with more hard *mi* sounds

of *b*'-*natural* , *c*"-*sharp* and *g*'-*sharp* into bar 17, where the poetry requires a different musical

effect. I suggested that the percussive, hard consonants in 'mock't', 'wounded' and especially

'spit on' require note lengths much shorter than notated (here we picked up a point I had

made about the first chorus entry in *Christ rising* — see above). Although the first recording

of this passage brought out much of the effect I had encouraged, the cadence into the last

word of the line, 'slave', was anti-climactic and failed to invite a strong chorus response. This

led us back to the point that I had previously raised in *Christ rising*, namely that — as is so

often the case in a verse anthem — the way that a verse section ends needs to motivate the

entry of the following chorus. In this case, the horror of our reaction to Christ's humiliation

was missing in the way that the word 'slave' was delivered, and on the re-recording (with the

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[9] One of them wondered whether this should amount to a comma after 'sins', but Jeffrey Skidmore suggested this would be too much.
[10] audio ex. 3C1 timecode 0.35–0.41.
[11] audio ex. 3C2 timecode 0.33–0.40.

assistance of some added bitterness in the way that Contratenor Decani now sings 'scourged')

the transition into the chorus is more dramatically convincing.

Example 3.38: Edmund Hooper, *The Blessed Lamb*, bars 13–20

3C.5. The verse in triple metre

Two unusual features of the work provided us with the opportunity to investigate them in

different ways and to record the results. The first of these is the next verse, beginning at bar

34, which is set in triple metre, evoking a galliard dance rhythm which might seem at odds

with the pathetic sentiment of the text but is in fact used by Hooper to powerful effect.

His eyes wept tears of blood to see their blindness
His heart was pierc'd with spear, but more with grief

The time signatures used in both the consort and organ versions of the piece strongly suggest

that there should be a proportional metrical relationship to the preceding and following

sections, which are both notated in duple metre, and I shall examine in detail the theory

behind this important issue of performance in Chapter 4.1. Neither of the two available

recordings that I had been able to find of the work treat the relationship in this way, and

instead proceed with more or less the same minim speed throughout.[12] I wanted the singers to

adopt a proportional relationship (maintaining essentially the same semibreve tactus, which

now becomes equivalent to a whole bar of 3/2) but it was clear that they needed some time to

become comfortable with the speed. I emphasised the importance of keeping focus on the

semibreve, rather than on the minim pulse, and of slightly lifting the minim beats of 'his eyes

wept', in order to land with more weight on the dotted minim downbeat of 'tears', imitating

the rhythm and steps of the galliard dance (♩♩♩♩. ♩♩), whilst at the same time finding an

appropriate strength of chest tone for the very low notes on 'blood' (Example 3.39):

Example 3.39: Edmund Hooper, *The Blessed Lamb*, bars 35–39

[12] *Vigilate*, the Renaissance Singers, directed by David Allinson (ASIN: BOOBPBBPZM, 2013); *Behold it is Christ*, The Choir of Selwyn College, Cambridge directed by Andrew Gant (ASIN: B0000667UW, 2007).

Other features which required careful attention were (a) the avoidance of excessive weight on the second, unstressed syllable of 'blindness' in bar 43, due to the singers' natural tendency towards vibrato on longer notes, (b) the need for strong articulation of the cross rhythm in bars 45–46 and (c) the need to find an appropriately melodramatic gesture for 'but more with grief', especially in Medius Decani and Tenor Decani, which heralds the abrupt mood change in the transition back into duple metre at bar 49 (Example 3.40). There was consequently a considerable quantity of detail to be fitted into this short, fast-moving section and I decided to ease the process by a slight relaxation of the tempo, reducing the speed of the triple section from minim = MM135 (which would have produced an exact proportional relationship to the preceding and following duple sections in minim = MM90) to minim = MM120. I considered that this constituted an entirely reasonable 'bending' of a framework that did not need to be regarded as rigidly metronomic, provided that it did not prejudice the underlying feeling of a constant semibreve tactus that runs throughout.[13] After discussing the results of a first recording and then making a second, these details were successfully assimilated.[14]

3C.6. Alternative speed, alternative text

Since the opportunity was available, we later made a second recording of this verse without the proportional relationship, maintaining a constant speed of minim = MM90, so that a comparison could be made. There is no doubt in my mind that the result lacks two important enhancements of the text-setting that are introduced by the faster minim pulse of MM120. (It is misleading to refer to this simply as a 'faster tempo', since the underlying semibreve pulse

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[13] As I shall argue in Chapter 4.1 and 4.4, which examine the theoretical background to this issue, everything depends on thinking of (and feeling) music of this period in terms of large note values rather than small ones — semibreve rather than minim. Only in this way can such metrical relationships be successfully navigated, and only in these terms can the relationship of musical and poetic metre in text-setting be understood.

[14] Compare audio ex. 3C1 beginning timecode 1.32 with final version audio ex. 3C2 beginning timecode 1.32.

feels constant.) The first of these is the raising of emotional temperature due to the feeling of

greater urgency at the beginning of the verse, and the second is, conversely, the abrupt

restraint of forward motion at the transition in bar 49, due to the immediately slower pace of

the minims, which adds weight to the angular dotted rhythms in 'agony of soul'.[15] The effect

of maintaining a constant minim speed, into the triple metre and out of it, is to nullify both of

these (Example 3.40):[16]

Example 3.40: Edmund Hooper, *The Blessed Lamb*, bars 40–50

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[15] These could perhaps be regarded as a species of musical rhetoric related to the literary figure of *asyndeton*, which creates urgency through 'the omission of conjunctions between words, phrases or clauses' (Richard A Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 25). The ability to hold the attention of an audience by varying the speed of delivery was a device recognised as a powerful tool, more of the orator than of the writer (See Vicentino's *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*, referenced below) but here it is demonstrably in the control of the composer.

[16] Compare non-proportional version, audio ex. 3C3, from timecode 1.32, or from the preceding chorus to hear the effect in context (timecode 0.52).

It is interesting to consider how the surviving alternative text to this anthem might have been

set in this verse (Example 3.41):[17]

Example 3.41: Edmund Hooper *The fruitful branch of Jesse's blessed stem*, bars 40–50

If it is set as suggested here, it benefits even more from these two changes of pace. At the

opening, the violent image conveyed by 'To bruise the serpent's head' gains from the feeling

of added urgency, whilst the entry of the Lion of Juda in bar 49 is enhanced by the abruptly

slower minim speed and stiffer rhythm, suggesting strength and power. Altogether, it is an

instructive illustration of how triple metre could be used to express a subtle change of tone

inherent in the text, rather than simply as musical variety for its own sake. Perhaps it is best

regarded as another example of how a verse anthem composer can use musical metre

rhetorically.[18] The solo verse-singer is being treated as an orator, holding the listener's

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[17] The text survives in a Chapel Royal wordbook and is set to music only in the two surviving Bassus parts. See Introduction to the Hooper Edition.

[18] See further on this point in Chapter 4.1 'Proportional metre', in which I examine Gibbons' use of triple metre for the verse 'To be a light to lighten the Gentiles' in his setting of the Nunc dimittis from the Second Service.

attention by varying the pace of delivery, and it once again brings to mind a relevant passage

in Nicola Vicentino's *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*

> And the experience of the orator teaches us that he speaks now loudly, now softly, and slower and faster, and with that he moves the listeners greatly. What effect would an orator have if he recited a beautiful speech without proper attention to the accents, the pronunciation, and fast and slow motions, and speaking softly and loudly[?]... The same must be true in music.[19]

3C.7. *Passaggi*

In the second half of the anthem, we examined a passage which is set with ornamental

passaggi written into the vocal lines, but only in the consort version of the anthem, not in the

choir and organ version in cathedral part-books (Example 3.42):

Example 3.42: Edmund Hooper, *The Blessed Lamb*, bars 79–82

I asked the verse singers to record a version of this passage using the consort version's

decorations, with the idea of recreating what cathedral singers might have sung, or even

improvised spontaneously, when they sang the anthem with the alternative text from the same

choir books on Easter Sunday.[20] This kind of decoration is by no means unprecedented in

choir part-books. Hooper himself notates similar quaver divisions in his large verse anthem *O*

Lord, turn not away thy face (Example 3.43), though such decorative writing is more

commonly found in secular sources.

Example 3.43: Edmund Hooper, *O Lord, turn not away thy face*, bars 28–32

In the present case, the very bareness of the triadic minim figure to which the words 'this day

he died' are set in the church sources seems to invite some degree of decoration to celebrate

the resurrection when the anthem is repeated on Easter Sunday, and it might have been

considered superfluous to notate any extra notes for this purpose in the choir books, or

perhaps confusing, lest they be applied to the wrong text. As regards the question of

improvised decoration, the simple stepwise division writing that we find in both these Hooper

anthems is similar to examples notated by Maffei in the letter to his patron that he published

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[20] audio ex. 3C4 (the extract begins a few bars before bar 77).

in Italy in 1562,[21] in which he describes how to learn the art of improvising *passsaggi* without

the need of a teacher, in other words an art that was taught by oral and not written tradition

(Figure 3.10):

Figure 3.10, Camillo Maffei, *Delle Lettere Del Sr. Gio. Camillo Maffei..*, sig. Dᵛ, p. 37.

It is reasonable to suppose that such a tradition was current in England by the end of the

sixteenth-century, when the solo voice in English sacred music starts to find a role in the new

medium of verse anthem. I suggested to the singers that the few surviving notated examples

of soloistic decoration in verse anthem sources are evidence that much more of this practice

might have been improvised, as part of a tradition, than has been preserved in notation. I

invited Professor Jamie Savan to join us in one of our meetings, whilst we were studying this

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[21] Camillo Maffei, 'Delle Lettere Del Sr. Gio. Camillo Maffei Da Solofra' (Naples, 1562).

passage, so that he could demonstrate the way that a cornettist might have elaborated upon

these figures and encourage the singers to invent some of their own.

3C.8. Final chorus: finding motivation for repetition

The final chorus, beginning in bar 89, was the subject of much discussion. We looked for

ways to make the rhetorical repetitions of 'holy, O holy' and 'blessed be the Lamb' more

convincing by a variety of vocal means. For example, I suggested that the dotted minim on

the first note of each descending phrase should be sounded in a 'bell-like' manner, starting

with somewhat shorter dotted minims but growing cumulatively longer with each reiteration

of the figure. Jeffrey Skidmore was of the opinion that vibrato sometimes became excessive

and clouded the texture, whilst some of the singers thought that this was a natural

consequence of my having asked them for more intensity of expression. The solution to these

kinds of issue, it was agreed, would have been much easier to achieve, had we all been

together in the same space. In producing the organ track for our recording, I made my own

contribution to the cumulative crescendo by adding the pedal of the virtual Antegnati organ at

the Bassus entry in bar 90 and a further octave stop for the Amen in bar 112.[22]

3C.9. Recreating cathedral practice

On hearing the play-through of our final recording of the complete work, Dr Helen Roberts,

another guest at one of our meetings, suggested that an alternative version should be made by

adding cornett and sackbut to this chorus. The argument was drawn from her own research

into the use of wind instruments in English cathedral music,[23] notably at Durham, and the

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[22] The pedal stop on the Antegnati organ is 'Contrabasso'. Dominic Gwynn is of the opinion that English organs might have had such a capability by this time, but that there is no surviving physical proof (private correspondence).

[23] See Roberts, 'Wind Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals', cited above.

survival of choral parts for this anthem in the collection at Durham Cathedral library gives

good reason to suppose that this enhancement represents the way that it may well have

sounded when performed in that space.[24] Our complete video recording of the work therefore

includes these two instruments (with the cornett improvising florid decoration of the Medius

line, taking a stage further the ideas that we had discussed in relation to the *passaggi* section

earlier — bar 76 ff, see above) and the video itself is set against the background of the Quire

of Durham Cathedral.

3C.10 Conclusions on the Zoom format for performance research

i. Remote involvement

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, this series of Zoom sessions was organised at short

notice to replace a workshop that had to be cancelled, due to unforeseen circumstances. It

was, in many purely musical respects, an inadequate substitute, largely because of the

requirement to replicate in a necessarily artificial manner results that would have been

achieved much more easily, and in less time, if all participants had been together in the same

space. Nevertheless, there are certain advantages to this online workshop format, which, in

view of circumstances at the time of writing, seems quite likely to be one to which academic

projects may need to resort in the future. It is worth examining some of them here.

The most obvious is the advantage of involving participants in the performance

experience in a meaningful way, despite them being remote from it. In our case, one was a

student from Taiwan, who had needed to return home at short notice; others were situated in

different parts of the country. The sheer practical difficulties of bringing many participants

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[24] One listener for whom such an occasion would no doubt have been less than enjoyable is Peter Smart, whose sermon given in 1628, railing against 'popish' practices, many of them musical, was at the centre of protests against the 'high church' movement associated with John Cosin. See Roberts, 'Wind Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals', pp. 56–60.

together for one afternoon with a particular musical instrument (the Tudor organ situated in the University of Birmingham), which was available only in a space that is always in heavy demand, meant that it was in fact much easier to enable all this to take place online (and on repeated weekly occasions), with the substitution of a virtual instrument which has certain relevant similarities to the one that was not physically available.[25] From a research point of view, worthwhile results could certainly be obtained without either the participants or the equipment being necessarily together in the same space.

The disadvantage of enforced isolation, with the singers recording their individual contributions to a patchwork performance that would later be assembled through digital editing, was offset in a number of ways. They were able to concentrate in a more focused manner on their individual performance, and on the way that it fitted into the whole, than would have been possible if they were singing only in ensemble, as would have been the case in the workshop. I was able to listen to individual contributions and make suggestions to them when we met, using some extracts for illustration. In listening back together to the first edit during the following Zoom meeting, they were able to analyse and discuss the result, and then modify their performance in a subsequent recording. To achieve this degree of granular analysis by making multitracked recordings of live rehearsals would be a very cumbersome process.

ii. Participant feedback

In making these individual recordings, it was possible for the participants to recreate some aspects of the experience of singing from a part-book, rather than from a score, in that they

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[25] The Hauptwerk software system which we used, and with which I was already familiar through a few years working with it in the Dunedin Consort, now makes available an impressive list of high-resolution samplings of historic organs, which enable close study to be made of how such instruments work in performance situations.

were required to focus more on the geography of their individual lines. It had been my

intention in the planned workshop to provide individual parts, imitating choir part-books of

the period, and to ask them to sing from these rather than from scores.[26] The purpose of the

two sessions with Anne Smith, before we embarked upon the Hooper anthem, had been to

equip them with some basic knowledge of solmisation, to enable them to negotiate their parts

by this method and acquire understanding of how singers of the period might instinctively

have reacted to their individual lines. I strongly believe that it is valuable in music of this

period to understand melodic lines in terms of the hexachord framework, for example in

order to appreciate the setting of text in relation to 'hard' and 'soft' hexachord syllables, as

we examined in sessions that I have discussed earlier in this chapter. However, unfortunately,

I feel that this element of our Zoom project would have needed to be planned further in

advance than was possible in the circumstances, and therefore that less benefit was achieved

from it than I had hoped. One participant's view was typical in this respect[27]

> I did find it interesting, but I would have needed to spend a bit more time
> on it to properly understand it …

although others, one of whom had some prior experience of the subject, had an encouragingly

positive reaction:

> I'd read about the concept of 'hard' and 'soft' notes in a hexachord during
> my degree but had never been encouraged to try them out in my singing (all
> the work on that subject was written and very theory-y [sic]), so that was
> very cool! Definitely changed how I went about phrasing and how I
> approached finer tuning things. I'm excited to try them out with other
> musicians so we get the instant feedback …. Having to switch syllables
> when moving away from the 'home' hexachord also made me much more
> aware of exactly when my part was heading into crunchier areas, and why
> it might be doing that.

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[26] In fact I did this for one of our later meetings, asking them to record their contributions to Hooper's *Behold, it is Christ* in this manner.

[27] See below the 'Questionnaire' given to participants to complete: 'Questions for singers' / No.4

> The solmisation was interesting, particularly the moods seemingly inherent in particular degrees of a hexachord,

> It gave a really interesting context to the research and recording, and had a profound effect on the way I approached the project.

> it sparked me to do my own research into these concepts and I was able to apply this to better my understanding within the meetings and apply it to the music, particularly in the tuning and the phrasing elements. I look forward to exploring this further

More specifically on the subject of singing from part-books, there was clear agreement

amongst some that it brings a different kind of insight into the music:[28]

> it really teaches you to listen to others and engage with how your part impacts the music and whole ensemble … it's been really great to engage with it once again.

> I really enjoyed seeing the relationship between the parts and the organ. It helped the way I understood the music.

> I found that very interesting, especially all of the Dec/Can divisions of having two choirs of M, C-T, C-T, T, B … Singing from partbooks is also such a different skill to our regular way of singing. Having to count a lot and not having the ability to follow other parts to get a note for the next entry one has to pitch it from the last. It also forces one to listen more to the other singers as there is no indication of the other parts and whether another part might have a more interesting or important phrase in the context of the full texture, and therefore maybe [sic] change the dynamics on the spot.

(this participant adding, in relation to the subject of *passaggi*):

> What was also very interesting was the written and unwritten ornaments which one never hears in a traditional cathedral setting!

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[28] 'Questionnaire': 'Questions for singers' / No.5

3C.11. Conclusions

All in all, this was a successful project from the point of view of my research, despite the unexpected need to adjust at an early stage to a different format. It gave me the opportunity to experience the gradual reconstruction of Hooper's anthem, from notation in a manuscript to living sound, with some very talented young singers, who came to it without the preconceptions that might have been present in more experienced members of established choirs. My interaction with the singers required me to look for ways to explain my conception of the piece in relation to its text, to show how I see the verse motivating the musical gestures. I attempted to do this by reference to its poetic and dramatic content as much as to its meaning, whilst also viewing the work in the context of what I understand to be the musical thought processes of the period. In retrospect, the project would have benefited from a clear overall plan at the beginning.

> There could maybe have been better communication at the start about how the sessions would be run, and the scale of the commitment … [29]

was a perfectly reasonable criticism. Unfortunately, this was not possible, since the proposal of a series of Zoom meetings emerged at very short notice and it was not clear at the beginning how many meetings there would be nor how much ground we could cover. After the initial requirement to make a video of the first half of Byrd's *Christ rising* (partly for Ex Cathedra's internal reasons), it was realised that the making of a similar video recording would be a useful goal towards which we could aim with the Hooper anthem. A rough plan was then agreed, to construct this in weekly stages, as I have described. This decision was taken between me and the choir director, Jeffrey Skidmore, as were subsequent ones about

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[29] 'Questionnaire': 'Questions for everyone' / No.1

the format of each new meeting as we progressed. Reviewing the recordings of all these

meetings in order to write this report, I think that too much of the conversation seems to be

between the two of us and not enough involves contributions from the individual singers.

(Some of the Questionnaire comments confirm this,[30] whilst admitting to understandable

hesitancy about speaking in the unfamiliar context of a Zoom meeting.) In addition, the

process of screen- and audio-sharing (for the purpose of my presentations) seemed

cumbersome, due to my own unfamiliarity with the Zoom technology, which, in common

with many academics over these past months, I needed to learn 'on the job', with the result

that interest and attention span was not always held at optimum level. All of this could be

much more efficiently executed if such an online project were planned from the start.

The problems of latency in technologies such as Zoom are well-known. Although I

have described some benefits in the system that we developed (making sectional 'patchwork'

recordings, which would be analysed in following meeting and then re-recorded) there is no

doubt that the ability to make some music 'in real time' during these sessions would have

greatly enhanced the whole process. This was not possible in our case. We could have

rehearsed small passages of verse with a few solo voices, in order for me to clarify what I

meant in certain musical gestures, before the next patchwork recording was made. I was

aware, when we began our sessions, that software such as *Jamulus* was being developed in

order to overcome such latency problems,[31] and I investigated whether we might be able to

use it, but at the time this did not prove possible. On a future occasion, I hope that it might be.

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[30] For Questionnaire see the end of this chapter and also Appendix 3.
[31] <https://jamulus.io>.

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CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: **Vocal Consort sessions on Zoom with Bill Hunt, Ex Cathedra singers and Jeffrey Skidmore, April to June 2020**

Please write Y[es] or N[o] in each box to indicate your response to the points below then complete the details at the bottom of the form – name, date and signature. Many thanks.

1.   I confirm that I have read and understand the 'Participant Information' regarding the above project at the top of the Questionnaire dated **01/04/2020**. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and (where applicable) have had these answered satisfactorily.

2.   I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.

3.   I agree to take part in the above study.

4.   I agree to audio/visual recordings being made of these sessions.

5.   I understand that the audio/visual recordings made during this project will be used primarily as a research tool by the researcher only and consent to their use in this manner.

6.   I understand that for any other use of such material I will first be asked by the researcher for my consent and am free to withold permission.

7.   I understand that short extracts of the recordings may be used to illustrate specific points as part of a doctoral thesis submission, making them a public document.

       a.   I consent to the use of audio recording in this manner.

       b.   I consent to the use of video recording in this manner.

8.   I understand that my responses to the questionnaire will be anonymised before being used in any published form and consent to their use in this manner, unless I have expessly consented below to being identified

9.   I agree to being contacted again in connection with the current project, for example, should the researcher require clarification regarding any of my responses.

    Please delete as appropriate:

•   I am happy to be identified by name as a participant in any publication or conference presentation arising from this research

or

•   I prefer to remain anonymous.

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

QUESTIONNAIRE

Vocal Consort sessions on Zoom with Bill Hunt (doctoral researcher at Royal Birmingham Conservatoire), Ex Cathedra singers and Jeffrey Skidmore, April to June 2020

Questionnaire: April 1st 2020 (date of first meeting)   PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

The purpose of these sessions was initially to replace events due to take place in March and July 2020, which had to be cancelled due to the Covid crisis. These were (a) a workshop with the reconstructed 'Tudor organ' at the University of Birmingham on March 25th 2020 and (b) rehearsals of a programme of pre-Restoration verse anthem repertory with a view to performance in the Biennial International Baroque Conference at Royal Birmingham Conservatoire on July 16th 2020. It was decided to devote these sessions to a general introduction to the repertory, including a recorded online performance of the first section of William Byrd's consort anthem 'Christ rising', and thereafter to the study of Bill Hunt's reconstruction of a verse anthem for choir and organ by Edmund Hooper, 'The Blessed Lamb'. In the course of the sessions, participants experimented with different approaches to declamatory singing, arising from Bill Hunt's research, and worked towards a video recording of the complete Hooper anthem.

You are invited to answer a few questions about your impressions as a performer during these sessions, and your answers will be used as part of evidence submitted in a doctoral research project on performance of this repertory.

1. What is your role in these sessions?

    1.   Singer
    2.   Other

2. Are you associated with:

    1.   Royal Birmingham Conservatoire
    2.   Other (please specify)

3. If you are a singer:

    1.   What voice range are you and which part(s) did you sing in the Hooper anthem?
    2.   Are you on the Ex Cathedra 'scholar' scheme?
    3.   Are you a first study singer from Royal Birmingham Conservatoire?
    4.   Other (please specify)

Questions for singers

    1.   How did you find the A466 pitch suited your voice? (especially: if you sang Contratenor, how did you cope with the higher tessitura? If you are a bass, how did you cope with the lower tessitura? Other voice ranges: any comments welcome)
    2.   What impressions did you have when singing the Byrd and the Hooper anthems? How did the different styles strike you from a vocal point of view?
    3.   How much experience have you had of singing repertory of this kind? (verse or consort anthems)
    4.   We spent some time learning about musical theory of the period, in particular hexachords and solmisation. How, if at all, did you feel that it altered your understanding of the music, your instinct in phrasing it, or any other aspect of performance?
    5.   We also spent some time in looking at the music from the point of view of individual partbooks as opposed to score. How, if at all, did that affect your attitude to its performance?

Questions for everyone

    1.   How could these sessions have been structured more productively?!

CHAPTER 3: Three Anthems by Edmund Hooper
3D Scoring and reconstruction

*****

My research into the consort anthem was partly inspired by the prospect held out by Peter Le

Huray of three works by Hooper which fit the necessary criteria:

> The two occasional pieces, "Hearken ye nations", and "O God of Gods",
> are veritable cantatas, each lasting for between four and five minutes and
> richly scored for voices and viols. The Easter anthem [Le Huray's term for
> *The Blessed Lamb*] is on a similar scale, and there are string parts, too, for
> this work.[1]

The entry in *Oxford Music Online* is similarly confident of the availability of this material:

> Of the verse anthems three exist in secular versions (with the same texts)
> for voices and viols in addition to the more usual sacred versions for voices
> and organ.[2]

Regrettably, it transpires that no consort parts survive for *O God of gods*, although, as I shall

argue below, there is good reason to think that they once did.[3] However, there is no doubt that

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[1] Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549–1660* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 259.
[2] John Morehen, 'Hooper, Edmund', *Oxford Music Online* <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.13313> [Accessed: 29.10.2020].
[3] It is possible that le Huray confused Hooper's setting with one by John Bennet, which appears in the same source as Hooper's consort verse anthem *Hearken ye nations*: GB-Och MS Mus. 56-60. See more on this below.

all three are magnificent works, without doubt the finest that survive by Hooper in the verse

idiom. The state of the sources turns out to be as follows.

Title	choir & organ version	final	consort version	final
The Blessed Lamb	vocal & organ parts	G	parts incomplete	G
Hearken ye nations	vocal & organ parts	G	parts incomplete	A
O God of gods	vocal & organ parts	G	—	—

Recordings of all three of these anthems are included in the data that forms part of this

research: the first in a performance for voices with organ, the second for voices with

instrumental consort (viols) and the third, in a reconstruction for voices with organ and wind.

3D.1. Which version came first?

A significant number of verse anthems, like the first two listed above, survive in both 'choir

and organ' and 'consort' scoring.[4] Some, like *Hearken ye nations*, are in different keys: a tone

apart, as here, or sometimes as much as a fourth.[5] The implications of this difference in key

are discussed in a later chapter on performance issues, as are the implications of scoring. (The

difference in such cases does not, in itself, supply evidence of which version came first; as we

shall see, that may well have much more to do with different pitch standards which may have

applied to the performance circumstances of each version.) John Morehen was of the opinion

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[4] These two types of scoring have often been referred to as 'sacred' and 'secular' but for reasons which will
become clear elsewhere in this research, that simplification now seems misleading, even if it may be true of the
surviving source material itself.
[5] For example, Gibbons' *See, the Word is incarnate*, which survives in *g* in GB-Och MS Mus. 21 and a fourth
higher in *c* in GB-Och MS Mus. 56–60 and GB-Lbl Add. MS 29372–6.

'that in the majority of cases such as these [i.e. where both scorings survive] the viol version [i.e. the consort version] probably predates the organ version',[6] but he acknowledged:

> the whole question of primacy between parallel versions of the same composition is one on which it is particularly dangerous to theorize, and is one which well deserves further study; the corpus of pieces in question is too large to be ignored.[7]

The subject still awaits detailed study and it is beyond the scope of the present research to speculate in any general sense, since it is concerned primarily with the performance of consort parts, rather than of organ parts. In recent years, convincing 'consort' reconstructions have been made by leading scholars where such parts do not survive, all of them derived from verse anthems for which the only surviving instrumental part is for organ, for example:

William Byrd	*Hear my prayer*	reconstructed Andrew Johnstone
William Byrd	*O Lord, rebuke me not*	reconstructed Andrew Johnstone[8]
Thomas Tomkins	*O God, the heathen are come*	reconstructed John Milsom[9]

3D.2. The argument for reconstructing 'lost' consort parts

The justification for such reconstruction is usually in the organ part itself. In the case of the two Byrd anthems, Johnstone detects unconvincing counterpoint that he judges to have been

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[6] John Morehen, 'The English Consort and Verse Anthems', *Early Music*, 6.3 (1978), 381–85 (p. 385).

[7] Morehen, p. 385.

[8] Both of these are edited and reconstructed by Andrew Johnstone (publication by Fretwork Editions forthcoming) and can be heard on 'In Chains of Gold', vol. 2, Magdalena Consort, Fretwork & His Majestys Sagbutts and Cornetts, art. dir. William Hunt (Signum CD609, 2020). See also Andrew Johnstone, 'The Vernacular Church Music of William Byrd: A Reappraisal of Chronology, Authenticity and Context' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Trinity College (Dublin, Ireland). Department of Music, 2014) <http://www.tara.tcd.ie/handle/2262/90246> [Accessed 27 November 2019].

[9] Edited and reconstructed by John Milsom. It can be heard on 'Spem in Alium: Music for Monarchs and Magnates', The Sixteen dir. Harry Christophers (Coro CORSACD16016, 2003). See also John Milsom, 'Three Verse Anthems Retrieved: Tracking Tomkins', *The Musical Times*, 142.1875 (2001), 54–63. Milsom's reconstruction is published as: Thomas Tomkins (attrib), *O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance,* ed. by John Milsom (London: Fretwork Editions, 2013).

added by a later organist when constructing the part from pre-existing consort parts.[10] In the case of *O God the heathen are come*, Milsom takes his cue from the suspiciously sparse texture, suggesting that what survives is in essence a short score:

> voices enter after rests, then immediately disappear; polyphonic lines end abruptly with directs pointing into the void.[11]

In the case of Tomkins' *Know you not*, an anthem written for the funeral of Prince Henry in 1612, the editor, David Pinto, was able to extrapolate a consort version of the work from a single surviving instrumental line in addition to the surviving organ parts,[12] but that is a rare occurrence.[13] With regard to those anthems which survive in both scorings, Morehen's view is that 'in the majority of such cases of dualism the two versions are not compatible'.[14]

3D.3. Incompatible sources and accidentals

In the matter of accidentals, disagreement between the two versions of Hooper's anthems can be significant. For example, in the opening point of Hooper's *The Blessed Lamb*, the Quintus voice of the secular version shows a *b'-flat* (Example 3.44), whereas in the sacred version the equivalent note is *b'-natural*, in all three surviving organ parts (Example 3.45):[15]

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[10] See, for example, Johnstone, 'The Vernacular Church Music of William Byrd', pp. 153–55.

[11] The source is GB-Och MS Mus. 702, ff. 8v–11v. See Milsom, p. 56.

[12] GB-Och Mus 61 ff.74v-75: a sole part combining voice and instrument for line I. Thomas Tomkins, *Know you not*, edited and reconstructed by David Pinto, Fretwork Editions FA12 (2009), available in the Appendix to this research. Pinto shows that this single part is itself a combination of two *divisi* parts: see his Critical Commentary to the Fretwork Edition, bars 78 & 102.

[13] On the other hand, a considerable number of consort anthems survive with one or two parts missing, which can successfully be reconstructed from a surviving organ part. This is the case, for example, with consort anthem reconstructions by David Pinto of Amner: *Consider all ye passers by* and *I am for peace*, in *John Amner: The Consort Anthems*, ed. by Pinto David (London: Fretwork Editions, 2015). See also reconstructions by Ian Payne: *John Ward: The Complete Works for Voices and Viols in Five Parts, Edited and Reconstructed*, ed. by Ian Payne (St Albans: Corda Music, 1992). All these served as models for two of the Hooper anthems reconstructed as part of the present research: *The Blessed Lamb* and *Hearken ye nations*.

[14] Morehen, 'The English Consort and Verse Anthems', p. 383.

[15] See further in the Critical Commentary to this anthem in the section 'Hooper Edition', volume 2.

Example 3.44: Edmund Hooper, *The Blessed Lamb* (consort) bars 1–4

Example 3.45: Edmund Hooper, *The Blessed Lamb* (organ) bars 1–4

It has been observed by scholars of Hooper's work generally that a principal problem in editing it is the frequent disagreement between surviving sources regarding accidentals. Le Huray gave a clear example of this, citing Hooper's five-part anthem *Behold it is Christ*, one of the most famous anthems of the period, where, in a passage of six bars, no less than twenty different accidentals are suggested by the six principal sources, yet not one of them contains all twenty. He found no 'logical pattern in the way that the accidentals are included or omitted'.[16] Between the two versions of *The Blessed Lamb* there is no obvious logic to the

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[16] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, p. 103.

order in which major and minor harmony occur in two essentially identical passages

(Examples 3.46 and 3.47):

Example 3.46: Edmund Hooper, *The Blessed Lamb* (consort), bars 23–26

Example 3.47: Edmund Hooper, *The Blessed Lamb* (organ), bars 22–25

Not only does this fail to give any clear indication of which version may have come first, but

one must allow the possibility that neither can necessarily be considered 'correct' or

'incorrect', and that perhaps Hooper himself never really made up his mind. What often

seems most important to him, as we shall see in several later examples, is that harmonic

tension is created and maintained.

3D.4. *The Blessed Lamb*: **alternative texts and added** *passaggi*

An unusual feature of the *The Blessed Lamb*, which is present only in the organ version of the

work but illuminated by the consort version, is the passage which immediately precedes the

final chorus. In the consort version the text is:[17]

> From death He rose, for sin no more to die;

In the liturgical sources in Durham and Peterhouse there are alternatives for Good Friday and

Easter Sunday (Example 3.48):

> This day he died, for sin no more to die;
> This day (or 'From death') he rose, for sin no more to die;

---

[17] Confirmed in both surviving word books, MS Rawl. Poet. 23 and Harl. MS 6346.

Example 3.48: Edmund Hooper *The Blessed Lamb* (organ), bars 74–83

Absent, however, are the quaver divisions which are notated in the consort part-books

(Example 3.49):[18]

Example 3.49: Edmund Hooper, *The Blessed Lamb* (consort), bars 79–82

Clearly, these divisions are appropriate only to the resurrection text. Which version came

first?

3D.5. Signs of later arrangement

i. Part writing in *Hearken, ye nations*

There are features in the consort version of *Hearken ye nations* which look more like a first

thought than a later arrangement. Typical is the independence of the Sextus line in certain

bars, often asserting itself at cadence points such as here at bar 41 (Example 3.50):[19]

---

[18] NB the bassline here is editorial.
[19] Also bars 91 and 107. See full score of Hooper Edition.

Example 3.50: Edmund Hooper *Hearken, ye nations* (organ and consort), bars 38–42

In passages such as 46–9 and 108–25, the 'tennis ball' interchange of text between Cantus

and Quintus adds a spatial dimension to the drama which one might expect to be a simple

translation of Decani/Cantoris choral antiphony but is in fact peculiar to the consort version

(Examples 3.51 and 3.52):

Example 3.51: Edmund Hooper *Hearken, ye nations* (organ), bars 46–49

Example 3.52: Edmund Hooper *Hearken, ye nations* (consort), bars 46–50

Even in the opening bars of the consort version, the same kind of alternation between upper

voices, which looks like a typically choral pattern, is soon disrupted in bar 5 with statement

and answer jammed together into a single phrase to create an extravagant swoop up the

octave (Examples 3.53 and 3.54):

Example 3.53: Edmund Hooper, *Hearken, ye nations* (consort) bars 3–6

Example 3.54: Edmund Hooper, *Hearken, ye nations* (organ) bars 3–6

These are surely all features of the original weave, not later embroidery. In comparison, the

part-writing in the Tenor part of *The Blessed Lamb* looks decidedly weak.[20]

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[20] See General Introduction to the Hooper Edition and also Critical Commentary to the anthem.

ii. Unidiomatic keyboard writing

Unidiomatic keyboard writing could be taken as an indication that an organ part is, at least

principally, a reduction of pre-existing consort parts. One might take this view of the rather

clumsy chain of thirds in the left hand of the opening to the sacred version of *Hearken ye*

nations, which lie more naturally as consort lines (Examples 3.55 and 3.56):

Example 3.55: Edmund Hooper, *Hearken, ye nations* (organ) bars 1–3

Example 3.56: Edmund Hooper, *Hearken, ye nations* (organ) bars 1–3

The organ part to *O God of gods*, of which there are three surviving exemplars with little

substantial variation between them, contains some instances of suspiciously awkward writing.

Throughout the work, there are several stretches of a tenth and thickets of dense passagework

(Examples 3.57, 3.58 and 3.59):

Example 3.57: Edmund Hooper, *O God of gods* (organ part) bars 1–6
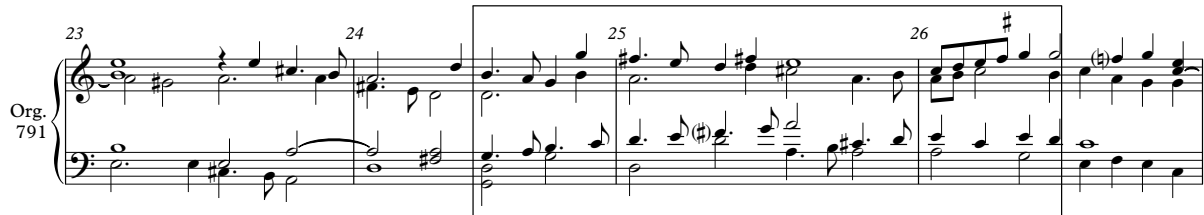
Example 3.58: Edmund Hooper, *O God of gods* (organ part) bars 23–26

Example 3.59: Edmund Hooper, *O God of gods* (organ part) bars 95–98

At the beginning of the second verse there is an expressive line in the left hand that seems

better suited to, and more typical of, a melody instrument than a keyboard (bars 43–44). (See

Example 3.60):

Example 3.60: Edmund Hooper, *O God of gods* (organ part) bars 43–44

Another suggestive feature is the presence of *custos* marks which show where a missing part

should lead (Figure 3.11):[21]

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[21] Reminiscent of John Milsom's comment on similar markings in the keyboard part to Tomkins' *O God, the heathen are come* in GB-Och MS Mus. 702, ff. 8v–11ᵛ. See above.
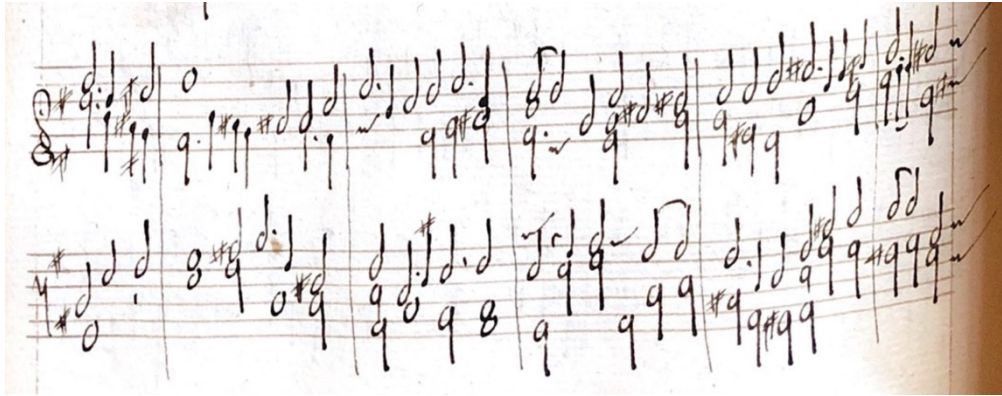
Figure 3.11: GB-Ob MS Tenbury 791, fo. 120ᵛ (detail)[22]

On the other hand, the *bicinium* writing from bar 102 onwards is typical of the way that many

organ parts of the period accompany chorus passages, and in this connection it is particularly

interesting that the two-part writing stops and reverts back to four parts for 110–113, at

exactly the point that the two choirs come together briefly into twelve parts and the harmony

goes up a tone, then returns to *bicinium* again until 'Sing Alleluia' in bar 124.[23] It very clearly

draws attention to a special moment. There are three surviving organ parts to *O God of gods*,

which do not differ very much, and despite occasional passages of unidiomatic writing, they

are all certainly 'playable'.[24] Taken together with the surviving sets of choir vocal parts, there

can be little doubt that they were actually played.[25]

3D.6. The case for reconstruction

Nevertheless, these organ parts to *O God of gods* give the distinct impression of a piece

originally conceived for instrumental consort and only later arranged for choir — an

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[22] Reproduced by kind permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

[23] See chapter 4.5 for a description of how Silas Wollston used the registration possibilities of the Tudor-style 'St Teilo' organ in this passage.

[24] I am grateful to Terence Charlston for his analysis of the organ parts to all three anthems in private correspondence and for pointing out a number of places in this one, where (in his opinion) the writing looks typical of what an organist of the period would play and others where it does not.

[25] The additional benefit that such keyboard parts also served as a convenient way to collate and record a set of consort parts, rather as one would today use a computer notation program, is one to be borne in mind.

impression that is reinforced by further oddities in the choral writing, following the expansion

into six parts at bar 102 for the antiphonal section.[26]

i. Errors suggesting arrangement

At bar 110, where the two choirs briefly overlap and the writing is in twelve parts, there are

consecutive octaves between T2D and MC (Example 3.61):

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[26] I am grateful to Dr Andrew Johnstone for his encouragement to pursue this line of thinking, based upon his wide analysis of many such verse anthem organ parts in his own study of music of William Byrd. See Johnstone, 'The Vernacular Church Music of William Byrd'.

Example 3.61: Edmund Hooper, *O God of gods*, bars 109–11.

It suggests that an arranger of the music into a scoring for double six-part choir, when faced

with the task of distributing between Decani and Cantoris the material which originally made

up this sixth part, found the problem difficult to solve. Shortly after this, at bar 121–122 there

is a brief unison between T1C and T2C, which looks too clumsy to have been Hooper's work

(Example 3.62):

Example 3.62: Edmund Hooper, *O God of gods*, bars 120–24

ii. Reconstructing the original instrumental consort.

What kind of consort might have accompanied the speculative first performance? Much of

the scholarly writing about the consort anthem repertory has made the assumption that a viol

consort would have been the obvious accompaniment. That was certainly Morehen's view,[27]

although such specification in contemporary sources is very rare, a 1615 publication by John

Amner being one of the very few.[28] There is no doubt that in many ways a consort of viols is

an ideal accompaniment for the purpose, as is the case with the other two Hooper consort

anthems, *Hearken, ye nations* and *The Blessed Lamb*, but the inclusion in *O God of gods* of a

paraphrase of Psalm 150 invites wider possibilities, with mention of 'organs', 'trumpets',

'flutes' and many more. In this respect, the other surviving setting of the same text, by John

Bennet, is interesting. His paraphrase of Psalm 150 contains a significant difference in one

line:

> With cornetts, viols and with lutes

Hooper's text here is:

> With cornetts, *clarons* and with lutes

As it appears in the secular part-book sets *Tristitiae Remedium* and GB-Och MS Mus. 56–60,

the more madrigalian character of Bennet's consort setting seems well suited to the domestic

scale of five singers with a five-part viol consort, and it is in good company there with other

consort anthems of this nature.[29] But Hooper's setting is on an altogether grander scale. David

Wulstan and Peter Phillips both suggest cornetts and sackbuts, for example.[30] Is there any

reason to suppose that one scoring is more likely than the other?

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[27] Morehen.

[28] John Amner *Sacred Hymnes* (London: Edw: Allde, 1615).

[29] Such as, e.g., Gibbons's *See, the Word is incarnate*, and Hooper's *The Blessed Lamb* in GB-Och MS Mus. 56-60, and, once again, Gibbons's *See, the Word is incarnate*, together with Bull's *Almighty God, which by the leading of a star* in GB-Lbl Add. MS 29372-76 *Tristitiæ Remedium*.

[30] David Wulstan, *Tudor Church Music* (London, J. M. Dent, 1985), p. 84; Peter Phillips, *English Sacred Music: 1549 - 1649*, 2. impr (Oxford: Gimell, 1992), p. 248; the latter citing Andrew Parrott, '"Grett and Solompne Singing": Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War', *Early Music*, 6.2 (1978), 182–87.

Ross Duffin has observed that the cornett was increasingly making its way into psalm translations during this period.[31] Contemporary musical iconography, such as the wonderful carvings on the doorposts of the chapel at The Charterhouse in London, estimated to date from 1626 and showing treble and tenor cornetts in the company of both viol, lute and some kind of reed instrument, seem to support the idea that they all may have participated in sacred music performance of the period (Figure 3.12):

Figure 3.12: Carving *c*. 1626 in the Chapel of the Charterhouse[32]

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[31] Ross Duffin, '"Cornets and Sagbuts" Some Thoughts on the Early Seventeenth-Century English Repertory for Brass', in Stewart Carter (ed.), *Perspectives in Brass Scholarship* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1995), p. 60, footnote 28.
[32] By kind permission of the Brothers and Governors of Sutton's Hospital in Charterhouse.

But there is an unmistakable clue in Hooper's setting that 'cornetts' are what he had in mind, since he draws special attention to them by singling them out with an antiphonal two-minim exchange of their own. Of all the instruments mentioned in this psalm, cornetts are the only ones to receive this distinction (Example 3.63). The presence of sackbuts together with cornetts as a standard wind support in cathedral music of the period is well attested,[33] and, probably of more immediate relevance, the combination of these instruments as a wind ensemble is also widely documented, both in connection with celebration of the Queen's Day,[34] and in the context of Chapel Royal performance.[35] So, too, is the organ as an accompaniment to wind instruments. There are several descriptions of this for state occasions, such as the visit of an Italian diplomat in 1589 and at a celebration of St George's Day in Whitehall in the 1590s.[36]

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[33] Andrew Parrott cites several instances. See Andrew Parrott, 'Grett and Solompne Singing', in *Composers' Intentions?* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 368–80. Also see Roberts for extensive detail of their participation in cathedral music.

[34] See 'General Introduction' to the Hooper Edition for my references to Hooper's own involvement with them on such occasions, when he was at Westminster Abbey.

[35] See both Parrott and Duffin above.

[36] Parrott, 'Grett and Solompne Singing', p. 370.

Example 3.63: Edmund Hooper, *O God of gods*, bars 106–109

3D.7. Scoring for wind band

For the recording of Hooper's *O God of gods*, made in 2019 as part of the 'In Chains of Gold'

project, I therefore decided to extract consort parts for two treble cornetts, one tenor cornett and three sackbuts from one of the surviving organ parts, and, together with the reconstructed 'St Teilo' Tudor organ, they formed a nucleus of accompaniment throughout the piece. A six-part wind ensemble of this kind seemed an entirely likely one for a grand, celebratory work of this kind, in view of the strong evidence of its connections with court music, a subject which is discussed by Ross Duffin in his analysis of music from the 'Fitzwilliam Wind Manuscript'.[37]

A crucial issue to be addressed was how to execute what I have described as Hooper's *coup de théâtre* at the onset of the last chorus. Here, we return to the issue of the *divisi* Tenor line and the transition from five into six-part writing at bar 102. Hooper clearly intended a dramatic impact to be made at this point. What might it have been?

As I have shown above, the extant six-part vocal writing in the antiphonal section looks unconvincing in two exposed places, suggesting that a later arrangement may have taken place. A solution that is able easily to remove the first infelicity (the consecutive octaves at bar 110) is to postulate that only *one* extra 'voice' originally entered at bar 102, and that the arranger, when he came to re-set it for Decani and Cantoris choir, sought to divide its material between the two sides. If the choral forces for the work were originally one to a part – in other words, a total of ten singers making up two five-part choirs – then the addition of that extra eleventh 'voice' (now performing a single, amalgamated Tenor 2) could become the sixth line of *each* choir. This addition could be another singer, but that would make only a small impression in terms of alteration to the sonority. If it were an instrument, on the other hand, the impact could be much greater.

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[37] Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum 24.E.13-17. See Duffin, '"Cornets and Sagbuts", p. 60.

Below is an example (incorporating the section at bar 110 with the section of consecutive octaves now removed). The new instrumental line is shown beneath the Cantoris choir (Example 3.64). The character of the line which results from such an amalgamation is sometimes quite athletic and looks more obviously instrumental than vocal. An added sackbut would certainly be able to play this part, but, again, the impact might be relatively small in terms of a change to the sonority, since sackbuts would have already formed part of the preceding accompaniment. An instrument which both has the character and definition to make the required impact, and also has a clearly documented association with cornetts and sackbuts and with the loud wind bands of the period, is one of the shawm family. (It also possesses ample pedigree by virtue of its frequent citation in psalm translations and, for good measure, is depicted in the Charterhouse doorpost carvings alongside the two sizes of cornett, as shown above.) My choice was a bass curtal, and this can be heard on the 'In Chains of Gold' recording that forms part of the data of this research.

Example 3.64: Edmund Hooper, *O God of gods*, bars 109–112 (consort reconstruction)

3D.8. Proof of concept?

Needless to say, this is entirely speculative and is only one possible solution to the challenge

of recreating a supposedly 'lost' court performance of *O God of gods*. That was one of the objectives of the January 2019 recording project, and my submission here is that this solution can be shown to work in practice. Another would be to introduce multiple instruments, reflecting more of the range that is cited in the psalm, but raising the question of how far to take this approach. 'Lutes' and 'harp' would pose no problem; others such as 'clarons' and 'trumpets' clearly would, for different reasons, not least of instrumental balance.[38] We can be sure that viols (the scoring suggested by Le Huray) were widely used for consort anthems in certain settings, but the fact that Hooper's text, for whatever reason, does not use the word 'viol' at all, is not a strong recommendation for including them in this piece.

The prospect of introducing an entirely new instrument at bar 102 for dramatic effect leads to speculation about how such an event might have been 'staged'. For example, a significant visual impact could be made by splitting the vocal consort of ten singers, hitherto perhaps grouped together as a single block, into two separated groups for the ensuing antiphonal section. That physical movement would create the opportunity for the new instrument to appear in the centre of the ensemble, perhaps accompanying the entrance of a *dramatis persona*, who then processes between the two wings. Could this be King James himself? Was Hooper's piece in fact part of an elaborate court masque?[39] Bar 123, where the antiphony ends for the 'Alleluia, Amen', could provide the opportunity for some suitable stage business, in which James re-unites the two choirs — another powerful symbol to promote his 'Great Brittany' project.

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[38] See audio ex. 3D1, Appendix material, folder 'Chapter 3 audio and video examples'. Performers: I Fagiolini, Members and Ex-members of The 24 (University of York), English Cornett and Sackbut Ensemble, Robert Hollingworth - Director. Performed March 26th, 2020 at St Lawrence Church, York, as part of the National Centre for Early Music's 'AWAKEN' Festival, supported by Arts Council England.
[39] See Chapter 3A.10 'Metaphor and allegory' for background to this symbolism and earlier in the chapter for reasons to associate *O God of gods* with James I's speech to Parliament in 1604.

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4.1.8. Conclusions

<p style="text-align:center">*****</p>

When the second CD in the series 'In Chains of Gold' was released in summer of 2020,[1] the track *Teach me, O Lord* by William Byrd, caused a mild stir in some academic circles. A review in *Early Music Review* by Richard Turbet explains:

> The third of Byrd's trio of surviving liturgical verse anthems *Teach me O Lord* is performed as such, with organ, but with an intriguing slant to its interpretation. …. In this recording the verse and chorus are rendered with a proportional relationship between the ternary and duple sections, resulting in the verse being sung much more briskly than is usually the case.[2]

Pieces of well-known service music of this period, such as this one, which form part of today's Anglican choral repertory, carry with them a certain weight of tradition, arising out of the way that they have been performed for decades without feeling any need to question it musicologically. Andrew Parrott succinctly summarised the situation as long ago as 1978:

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[1] *'In Chains of Gold', The Pre-Restoration Verse Anthem vol. 2* (Signum SIGCD609, 2020) track 5.
[2] Richard Turbet, *Early Music Review*, July 6 2020, <https://earlymusicreview.com/in-chains-of-gold-the-english-pre-reformation-verse-anthem-volume-2/> [Accessed April 5 2021].

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> The spirit of enquiry that characterizes current work on performance
> practices of the past appears as yet to have had little impact on the world of
> English Church music.[3]

and it is fair to say that not a lot has changed since he wrote it. The particular issue to be

examined here arises in a number of familiar pieces of service music, for example:

Byrd	Second Service Magnificat & Nunc dimittis (doxology)
Gibbons	Second Service Jubilate (opening)
Gibbons	Second Service Nunc dimittis ('To be a light')

as well as verse repertory such as

Byrd	*Christ rising*
Gibbons	*O thou the central orb (O all true faithful hearts)*
	& We praise thee, O Father
Tomkins	*O Lord, let me know mine end*

4.1.1 Notational 'inconsistency'

The question is: whether to treat as 'proportional' the transition within a single piece of music

from a signature of duple metre to one of ternary metre, and vice versa. In the principal

sources for all the above examples, and in several consort anthem sources that are the subject

of the present research, these are notated by just two mensural signatures (Figure 4.1.1):

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[3] Andrew Parrott, '"Grett and Solompne Singing": Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War', in *Composers' Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 368–80 (p. 368). Originally published in 1978: Andrew Parrott, '"Grett and Solempne Singing": Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War', *Early Music*, 6.2 (1978), pp. 182–7 <https://doi.org/10.1093/earlyj/6.2.182>.

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$$\mathbf{\mathcal{C}} \text{ and } \mathbf{\mathcal{C}}$$
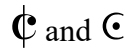
Figure 4.1.1: mensural signatures (1)

In practice, the second signature is not infrequently found to have variant forms (Figure 4.1.2):

$$\frac{\mathcal{C}}{3} \text{ and } \frac{\mathcal{C}}{3i}$$
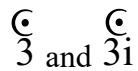
Figure 4.1.2: mensural signatures (2)

This is, no doubt, partly responsible for the common view that, as the reviewer above continued:

> … contemporary sources are inconsistent, and insufficient research has been published

Whilst it is true that some contemporary writing on this issue is disappointingly opaque or lacking in explanatory detail, to describe the general picture as simply 'inconsistent' is to misrepresent what was surely a common attempt by theorists of the period to rationalise a complex, late medieval mensural system into one that was, by this time, probably much more straightforward in practice. Crucially, it is to ignore one particular theoretical work which addresses exactly the issue that concerns us here in an unusually clear and practical manner. When its implications are observed, it restores an expressive dimension of the music that has arguably been lost.

4.1.2. English theoretical writing

The period of roughly 1590 to 1630 embraces the greater body of music in verse style and it is framed by two major works of English musical theory as well as including a number of

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smaller ones. The first is Thomas Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 1597.[4] He sets out with graphical illustration the hierarchical relationship between notated values in the mensural notational system, showing that this was well understood by English theorists of his time. On page 15 (centre) the signature ⊙ is described as denoting *prolation perfect in the time unperfect*, hence the division of each breve into two semibreves and each semibreve into three minims (Figure 4.1.3):
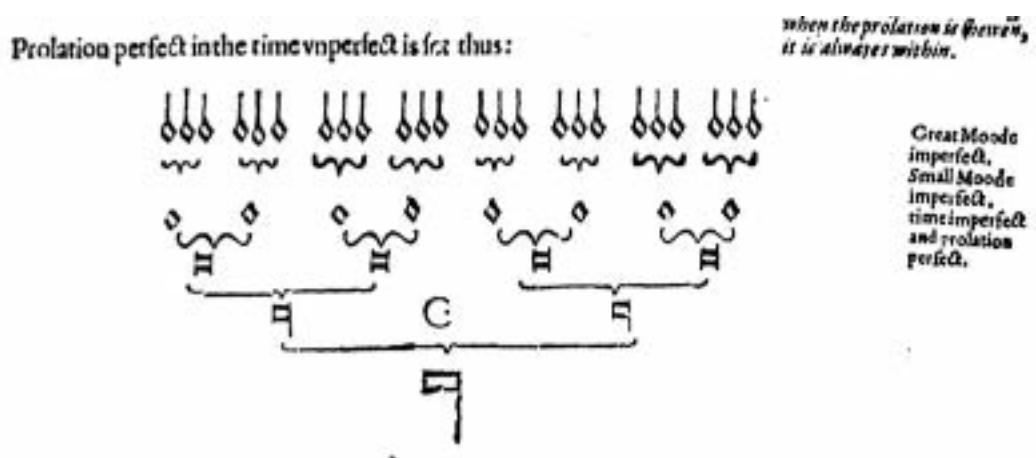
Figure 4.1.3: Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, p. 15.

On page 16, the signature C is described as denoting *unperfect prolation in the unperfect time*, hence the same division for each breve, whilst each semibreve is divided into two minims (Figure 4.1.4):

---

[4] Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597), pp. 12–16.**Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.**

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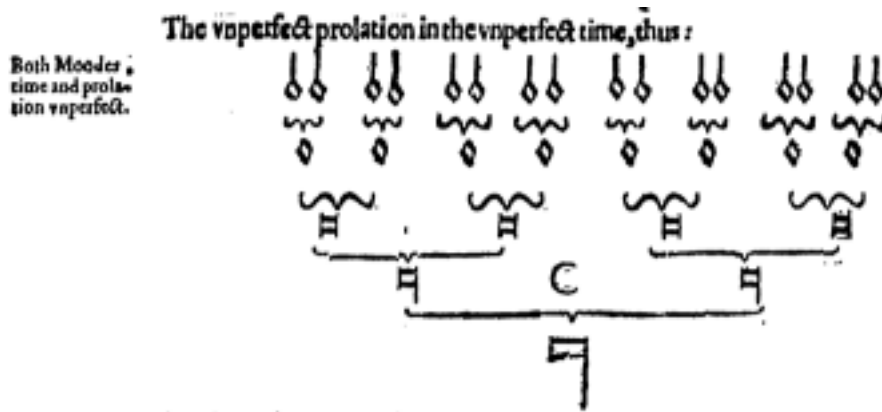
Figure 4.1.4: Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, p. 16.

It is not until page 23 that he introduces the signature ₵ , which, whilst it has no bearing on the subdivision of breves into semibreves and minims, he describes as 'proper to motetes'. This is the signature that concerns us in the present discussion. What is lacking here, however, is a diagram or notated example showing the one-to-one relationship between ₵ and ₵, in other words, how each is realised under a constant tactus or 'stroke', to use Morley's term.[5]

Around the same time as Morley, William Bathe seems to define the parameters of the issue succinctly.[6]

> There be 2. kindes of time, Semibrefe time, & three minim time. Semibrefe time is the striking up & downe of the hand equally in length continuing. Three minim time is the striking downe & then up of the hand equally in length, making each latter stroke, just halfe the former.
> The marke of the former is. ₵
> The marke of the latter is. ₵

---

[5] 'a successive motion of the hand, directing the quantity of every note and rest in the song with equal measure, according to the variety of signs and proportions'. See Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction,* p. 9. Arguably, the relationship can be deduced from his notated example *Christes Crosse* on pages 37 to 53, at the passage bridging pages 39 to 40, where the Cantus and Tenor are both in ₵ and the Bassus changes to ₵ but since this needs to be read in conjunction with remarks on page 54, it is less than explicit.

[6] William Bathe, *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song: Concerning the Practise, Set Forth by William Bathe Gentleman* (London: Thomas Este, 1597) sig. B, Bii.

but again, there is no notated illustration to make the practical implications clear, when one signature is encountered in the same piece of music as the other. The same is true of Thomas Ravenscroft,[7] despite his extensive coverage in both text and tables of 'all perfection and imperfection'.[8] Other theoretical writings by Thomas Campion and John Coprario throw no more light upon the subject.

4.1.3. Charles Butler

Fortunately, Charles Butler, in *The Principles of Musik, in Singing and Setting* (1636), leaves the matter in no doubt.[9] Firstly, he declares unequivocally that the principal unit of time or 'Measure-note' is the Semibreve, confirming both Ornithoparcus and Bathe from more than thirty years earlier.[10] After setting out the names and relative values of all the notes, he then describes the concept of Tactus, the signature denoting 'Duple proportion' (₵) and the signature denoting 'Triple proportion' (₵) and the relationship between the two. It is transcribed here after translation of elements of his idiosyncratic spelling system.[11]

> The principal *Time-note* is the *Sembrief*: by whose Time, the time of all Notes is known: and it is measured by *Tactus* or the Stroke of the Hand, in a certain space or distance: the which, Imitation and Use will make you perfect in.
>
> The parts of *Tactus* are two: [*Thesis* and *Arsis*:] i. the Depression or Fall, and the Elevation or Rise of the Hand.

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[7] Thomas Ravenscroft, *A Briefe Discourse of the True (but Neglected) vse of Charact'ring the Degrees, by Their Perfection, Imperfection, and Diminution in Measurable Musicke, against the Common Practise and Custome of These Times Examples Whereof Are Exprest in the Harmony of 4. Voyces, Concerning the Pleasure of 5. Vsuall Recreations* (London: Printed by Edw: Allde for Tho. Adams, 1614).

[8] Ravenscroft, *A Briefe Discourse*, pp. 6–20.

[9] Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik, in Singing and Setting: With The Two-Fold Use Thereof [Ecclesiastical and Civil]* (London: John Haviland, 1636), pp. 23–4.

[10] Bathe ff. B, Bii. John Dowland, *Andreas Ornithoparcus His Micrologus, or Introduction: Continuing the Art of Singing* (London: Printed for Thomas Adams, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the Signe of the white Lion, 1609), p. 46.

[11] Butler, *The Princples of Musik*, pp. 24–25.

This constant time of the Measure-note doth contain 2 Minims, 4 Crotchets, 8 Quavers, and 16 Semiquavers: and, on the other side, the Brief contains 2 of these Times, the Long 4, and the Large 8: as is here expressed:

So that, every greater comprehending his less two times, one *Large* is as much as 8 *Sembriefs*, or 128 *Semiquavers*.

IV.II. Of *Proportion*

There belongeth to the measure-note *Proportion*: which is fourfold: [*Duple*, *Triple*, *Sextuple*, and *Noncuple*.][12]

Duple Proportion is, when to a *Stroke*, or *Sembrief-time*, is sung 2 *Minims*, [or one *Sembrief* which countervaileth them,] (and consequently 4 *Crotchets*, 8 *Quavers*, and 16 *Semiqavers*) one to the *Thesis* or Fall, and the other to *Arsis* or Rise of the Hand: The sign whereof is this: ₵

Triple proportion is, when 3 Minims [or a Sembrief and Minim,] (and consequently 6 Crotchets and 12 Qavers) go to the Sembrief-stroke: 2 to the Fall, and the third to the Rise of the Hand: the proper Sign whereof is this ₵ Unto which 3 Minims, 2 in *Dupla* are equivalent: and therefore may be sung to them by an other part: for in both Proportions, the Hand falleth in the same instant; though it rise a little sooner in the *Dupla*, than in the *Tripla*: in that, when $\frac{1}{2}$, in this, when $\frac{2}{3}$ of the time is passed.

4.1.4. Tactus: the fall and rise of the hand

Butler's description of tactus, as represented by the fall and rise of the hand (or 'stroke') is in accord with many similar accounts in European musical theory throughout the sixteenth century,[13] but it is his description of this movement in 'Triple Proportion' that is remarkable. Whilst he states, as Bathe had done, that the 'Sembrief-stroke' must in this case be unequally divided, he then goes on to act out the implication, stating that the rise of the tactus hand

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[12] This and other square brackets in this text are original, not editorially added.
[13] Ruth I. DeFord, *Tactus, Mensuration and Rhythm in Renaissance Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 59–68, Kindle locations 2156–2393.

comes 'a little sooner in the Duple than in the Triple'. There would be no point in framing his description in terms of a bodily movement unless he meant Tactus to be experienced both physically and visually rather than merely understood as an abstract concept: he effectively invites the reader to try it out. Although his description of the of the hand movement clearly lacks scientific precision — the rise coming simply 'a little sooner' in *Dupla* than in *Tripla* — this embodiment of Tactus in physical motion, the two downstrokes being simultaneous, imprints the action on the motor memory and focuses the attention on its place in space, as well as in time, with a constant semibreve pulse connecting its two manifestations. It is an explanation based in *performance* (in rhetorical terms, *actio*) and it lifts us out of the rarefied world of theory into that of actual practice.[14] His qualification of the '3 Minims' of Triple proportion, namely that '2 in *Dupla* are equivalent: and therefore may be sung to them by an other part' is reinforced with a notated example on the following page (Figure 4.1.5):

---

[14] The practical character of Butler's explanation is typical of his stance on other musical issues. For example, he reasons that the exclusion of string instruments ('entata') from church music is justified because they 'are often out of tune' in that environment (Butler, *The Principles of Musik*, p. 103 — perhaps an amateur's view with which the professionals of the Chapel Royal might have disagreed, but still one feels that it is clearly rooted in his own experience; and, elsewhere, he sees advantage in the rhetorical structure of music in verse style because of 'the Repeats, which at the second or third time, make that plain, which at the first was not observed'. (p. 111).

Figure 4.1.5: Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik*, p. 26.

This shows the two signatures vertically aligned, along with examples of black notation to

express the proportions 6:1 and 9:1. Furthermore, the addition of the figures '3. 1.' below the

first bar of the example in   𝄵 needs to be read in the light of a paragraph in the following

section 'ANNOT. To CAP. II … *Of Figures and Proportions*:

> (d) Some use for a mark of *Triple* time, black Sembriefs and Minims (and
> then the white Sembrief coming among them taketh up the full Sembrief
> time) but this maketh a confusion of the Proportions: and some use black
> briefs and sembriefs: but these are not so proper: they had indeed their use,
> when the Brief was the Measure-note; but now there is no need of them at
> all: and some, to make sure work, use the mood 𝄵, the black notes, the
> figured number 3.1 and all.[15]

4.1.5. Different forms of notation

His observation that some now adopt a 'belt and braces' approach by combining the simple

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[15] Butler, *The Principles of Musik*, p. 29 para (d).

signature ₵ with 'the figured number 3.1 and all' makes clear that he is aware of the

notational inconsistencies of his time. These can be seen in some surviving part-book sets, in

which the same ternary-metre section of music is notated in different ways by different

scribes within the same set. For example, in Hooper's consort anthem *The Blessed Lamb*, the

part-books from the Christ Church set Och MS Mus. 56–60 use the following signatures at

the beginning of the second verse (Figure 4.1.6):

 (Cantus, Contratenor, Tenor) (Quintus),
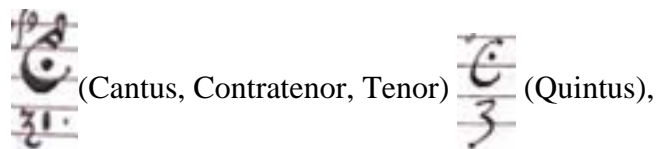
Figure 4.1.6: mensural signatures (3)

whilst one Durham organ book (A2) notates the same passage simply with ₵ and another

(A6) with ₵/3. It cannot be doubted that they all intend the same result. In another Hooper

anthem, *O God of gods*, all the surviving Royal College vocal parts (Lcm MSS 1045–1051)

notate ₵ at the ternary metre verse (bar 88) apart from Tenor Cantoris (1050) which uses

₵/3.[16] Of the two extant organ parts, that of the Peterhouse set (MS 46) notates ₵ whilst the

Tenbury part (Ten 791) notates ₵/3. Again, the two different signatures mean the same.

In the light of Butler's comments, inconsistencies such as these, which are found in

other similar source material of the period, do not provide reasonable grounds for supposing

that by this time, composers no longer intended a proportional relationship, or that

'proportions themselves were little used'.[17] Rather, the assumption that this relationship is

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[16] See Hooper Edition for full score.
[17] Richard Rastall, *The Notation of Western Music: An Introduction* (London, Melbourne and Toronto: J. M.Dent & Sons Ltd, 1983), p. 113.

indeed intended should be the starting point. To return to the list of works with which we

began, however, a brief survey of recordings available at the time of writing will be

illustrative of what we are most likely to hear in practice today.

4.1.6. William Byrd, Second Service, Magnificat & Nunc dimittis (doxology)

i. Sources

The images below show the opening of the Magnificat from two different sources, both from

approximately the period of Charles Butler's work. The first is of the opening of the

Magnificat from the Medius Decani part-book of John Barnard's 1641 collection (Figure

4.1.7):

Figure 4.1.7: John Barnard, 'The First Book of Selected Church Musick', [18] fo. 73ʳ

The second image is from the opening of the same piece in the Batten organ book (Figure

4.1.8):

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[18] John Barnard, *First Book of Selected Church Musick* (London: Edward Griffin II, 1641).
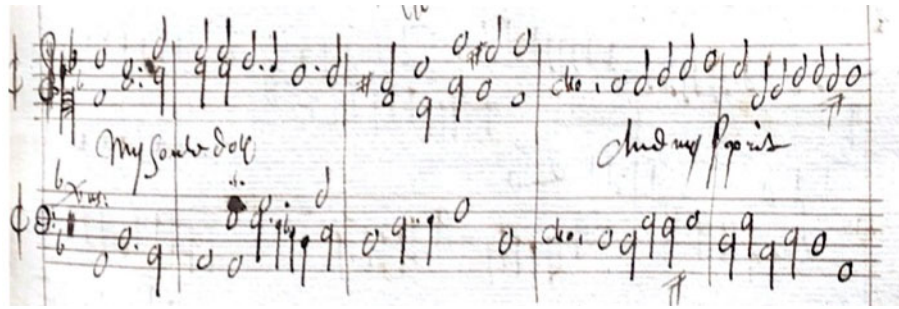
Figure 4.1.8: GB-Ob MS Tenbury 791, 'The Batten Organ Book', fo. 17ʳ (detail)[19]

Both open with the same ₵ mensural signature, normative for this repertory. The next two images, from the same two sources respectively, show the transition into the doxology, at which point a new mensural signature is notated, indicating a metrical change (Figures 4.1.9 and 4.1.10):
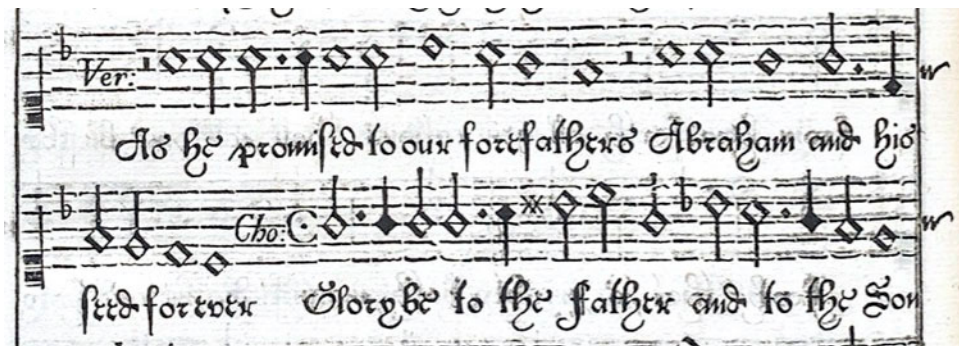
Figure 4.1.9: John Barnard, 'The First Book of Selected Church Musick' (1641), fo. 73ᵛ

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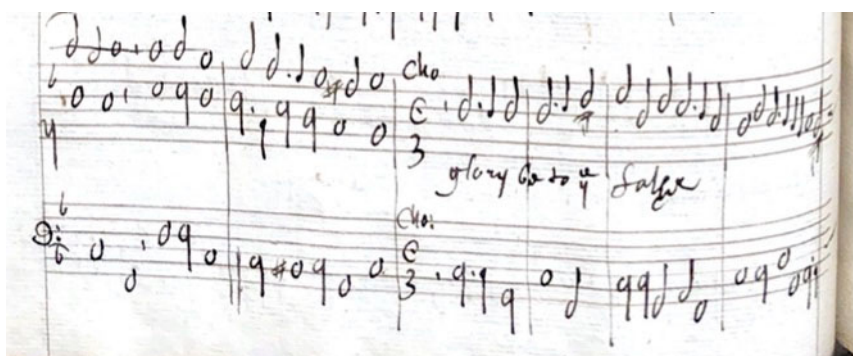
Figure 4.1.10: GB-Ob MS Tenbury 791, 'The Batten Organ Book', fo. 17ᵛ (detail)[20]

What is the metrical change that is intended? The signatures here are not the same, yet it cannot seriously be doubted that they intend the same result, and, as we have seen, the two are described by Butler as being commonly used synonymously to signify a straightforward proportional relationship between the duple and the following ternary metres.[21]

ii. Recordings

At the time of writing, the following five recordings of the Byrd Second Service Magnificat were available.

01 *BBC broadcast*, 17 July 1968, Guildford Cathedral Choir, director Barry Rose,[22] (Bars 64-82: timecode 2'50'' to 3'58'')
02 *William Byrd: Anthems, Motets & Services*, Choir of Hereford Cathedral, director Geraint Bowen (Griffin & Co, GCCD 404, 2008)
03 *The Tudor Choir Book Vol II,* Romsey Abbey Choir, director George Richford (Convivium Records CR040, 2017)
04 *More sweet to hear — Organs & Voices of Tudor England*, Choir of Gonville and Caius College, director Geoffrey Webber (OxRecs Digital, OXCD-101, 2007)

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[20] Reproduced by kind permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford

[21] I do not suggest that the vertical 'barlines' in Batten's organ score carry any metrical significance. The present argument is concerned solely with the time signature that he notates. It is possible that his addition of a minim rest immediately following the time signature, seemingly resulting in a 'bar' of four minims, has persuaded scholars that this somehow denotes a continuation of the preceding duple metre, but the fact that Barnard notates no such rest makes it much more likely that Batten is simply indicating for the organist an articulation or breathing space that might be standard practice before the doxology.

[22] <https://youtu.be/wdJjG8W6b3c> [Accessed 4.5.2021].

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05 *William Byrd Second Service & Consort Anthems,* Choir of Magdalen College, Oxford, director Bill Ives (Harmonia Mundi 907440, 2007)

In each case,[24] the extract that has been examined begins at the preceding passage for solo Mean 'As he promised to our forefathers' at bar 64 and continues through the signature change until near the closing 'Amen'.[25] Analysis is offered below of the approximate underlying minim pulse of the performance, allowing for a retard made by most of them before the change of signature. It is important to stress that the minim *pulse* is used as a reference point for comparing tempi here and in following examples, solely because this can be much more accurately measured than that of the semibreve. But it is still the semibreve *tactus* that is crucial to the underlying musical structure, as will be discussed further below.

In Performance 01, there is no significant change in the underlying minim pulse of *c.* MM84.[26] A proportional change would result in a pulse of MM126.

In Performance 02, the minim pulse is increased from circa MM96 to MM104. A proportional change would result in a pulse of MM144.

Performances 03 and 04 both put the music into its original key, rather than transposed up by a third as in 01 and 02, with accompaniment on one of the 'Tudor' organ reconstructions by Goetze and Gwynn, at *c.* A473. Despite observance of historical performance practice in this respect, the ternary time signature is not treated as signifying any change in minim pulse. Performance 03 is rather more difficult to analyse than 04, since the tempo is somewhat unstable. The solo Mean passage begins at minim *c.* MM72, a good deal slower than most of the piece up to that point, which had been *c.* MM84. At the time

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[24] All recordings referenced here were commercially available at the time of writing under the catalogue numbers given. The live broadcasts were at that time to be found at the URLs cited in the related footnotes.
[25] See Appendix for full score of the vocal parts. Note, however that performances 1–4 all use a different version of the organ part.
[26] It is hardly surprising that many choir directors would see no reason to change at this point, since the edition that they are likely to be using is the one most widely available, by Edmund Fellowes, published by Oxford University Press, which shows no signature change at all.

signature change, it takes a significant step forward in tempo to minim *c.* MM96, but within a couple of bars has settled back to more or less the former tempo of *c.* MM84. A proportional change from MM84 would result in a pulse of MM126.

Performance 05 is unusual, not to say controversial, in that it also pitches the music in the same region of Quire pitch (in this case A466) but does so whilst at the same time transferring the accompaniment from organ to reconstructed consort parts played on viols, the historical basis for which is unproven for service music. Leaving that element aside, it makes an obvious attempt to execute a proportional tempo relationship, moving from the minim pulse of *c.* MM92 up to *c.* MM120 at the signature change. But this is still a significant way short of the proportional relationship that Butler describes. For a duple tempo of MM92, a proportional change would result in a pulse of MM138.

iii. Tactus: the 'feel'

Does any of this really matter, and does it tell us anything important about how the music is understood and 'felt'? It may well be that, for many choir directors today, a proportional application of the new signature would result in a tempo that 'feels' inappropriately fast for a piece of sacred music, but this is simply to misunderstand the nature of Tactus. As we have seen, Butler describes it very clearly as a unit of two halves, with the 'principal Time-note' being the semibreve, but the two halves are qualitatively different.[27] Many modern choir directors, when they direct the common signature of ₵ , fail to convey what one might describe as the 'gravitational' implications of the downstroke minim (Thesis) and upstroke

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[27] In this regard, Professor Rastall's statement that that 'The Tactus throughout the sixteenth century was the M[inim] giving way to the crotchet (C) in the first thirty years of the seventeenth' seems misleading, since clearly at odds with Butler. See Rastall, *The Notation of Western Music*, p. 113. The two halves of the semibreve 'stroke' do indeed each represent a minim, but I suggest that the Thesis and Arsis of the Tactus should not be treated as simply equivalent any more than should the two halves of the poetic foot.

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minim (Arsis), sometimes indicating by their gesture a succession of undifferentiated minim

pulses, sometimes even inverting the very structure of the tactus by marking the semibreve at

the top of the stroke instead of at the bottom (perhaps because of a desire to make indication

of the beat more visible to the back of a choir). All of this has a profound effect on the

relationship between Tactus and text rhythm, as I discuss in a later section on 'Tactus and

Tempo'. As regards the present concern of proportional relationship, the crucial question is

whether focus is maintained on the smaller musical unit, the minim, or on the larger, the

'Principal Time Note' of the semibreve.[28] It may be that directors feel that the former is

necessary in order to keep their trebles in time.[29] Consequently, when it comes to executing

the correct proportional change at ₵, they will have to do so by beating and focussing on the

'new' minim, and a pulse which was already quite rapid (MM92 in the example above) will

now feel distinctly fast (MM138). If instead, focus is maintained on the underlying semibreve

tactus (MM46), this remains constant and, in that sense, nothing in the fundament of the

musical structure 'gets faster'. All that changes is the division of the Tactus from equal to

unequal, with the result that, in the new ternary metre, there are still only two movements of

the hand, down and up, but the first is twice the length of the second. This is the

'proportional' Tactus described by theorists from c. 1500 onwards, such as Agricola.[30]

Returning to the 'gravitational' implications mentioned above, proportional tactus in ternary

metre imparts a weightlessness to the upstroke which perfectly fits the way that Byrd has set

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[28] Of course, if directors are using old editions which reduce all the original note values by half, all of this discussion must correspondingly be in terms of crotchets and minims of the reduced notation.

[29] See Hooper Edition General Introduction, 10.ii 'Performance indications' for an interesting instance in the Royal College Medius parts of Hooper's *O God of gods* where there is notational evidence that this may sometimes have been done to co-ordinate a particularly difficult passage. But the tactus of standard 'semibreve time' would surely have been normative.

[30] DeFord, pp. 67–8, Kindle locations 2354–2398. Her term for this is 'proportionate', however.

the text in this passage, shown by the down and up arrows in the Medius line of the following

example (Example 4.1.1):

Example 4.1.1: William Byrd, Magnificat, Second Service, bars 72–5.

iv. 'Phantom' ternary metre

Perhaps it is the very idea of metaphorically raising a foot off the ground (in keeping with the

very origins of the terms *Thesis* and *Arsis* in Greek classical dance) which is too suggestive of

dance rhythm to be considered appropriate for sacred music, with the result that a

performance remains earthbound. It is particularly perverse, when the tempo of 'Glory be to

the Father and to the Son' emerges sounding exactly the same as, or scarcely different from,

the earlier passage 'For he that is mighty hath magnified me' (bars 23–7), where Byrd has

created a 'phantom' ternary metre within the prevailing duple signature of ₵, in order to

bring out the natural rhythm of the words (Example 4.1.2):

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Example 4.1.2: William Byrd, Magnificat, Second Service, bars 23–7[31]

In modern barring, the passage could well be reformatted to convey the effect (Example 4.1.3):

Example 4.1.3: William Byrd, Magnificat, Second Service, bars 23–7 rebarred

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[31] See Appendix for full score.

If the two passages end up sounding essentially the same, what is the point of the change in signature?

4.1.7. Orlando Gibbons, Second Service, Nunc dimittis

i. The rhetoric of dance

To claim that dance rhythm is out of place in this repertory is to misunderstand the expressive power of suggestion. This is well illustrated in another familiar passage from service music, from the Nunc dimittis from Gibbons' Second Service, at the words 'To be a light to lighten the Gentiles' (Example 4.1.4):

Example 4.1.4: Orlando Gibbons, Nunc dimittis, Second Service, bars 33–40

Manuscript sources are again inconsistent, even within a single set, as a small selection here

demonstrates, but the Batten organ book makes clear what is surely intended (Figure 4.1.11).

In the Peterhouse set of parts, the Medius Decani shows the same, whilst the copyist of the

Medius Cantoris part not only omits the signature at the beginning of the passage but is

evidently confused as to the resumption of ₵ at the end of it (Figures 4.1.12 & 4.1.13):
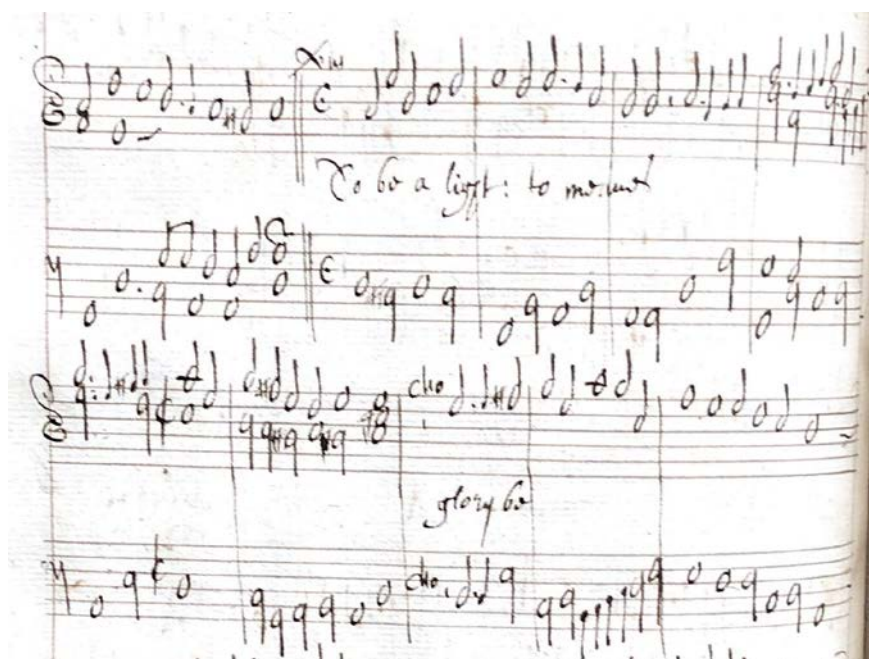
Figure 4.1.11: GB-Ob MS Tenbury 791, 'The Batten Organ Book', fo. 81ᵛ (detail)[32]
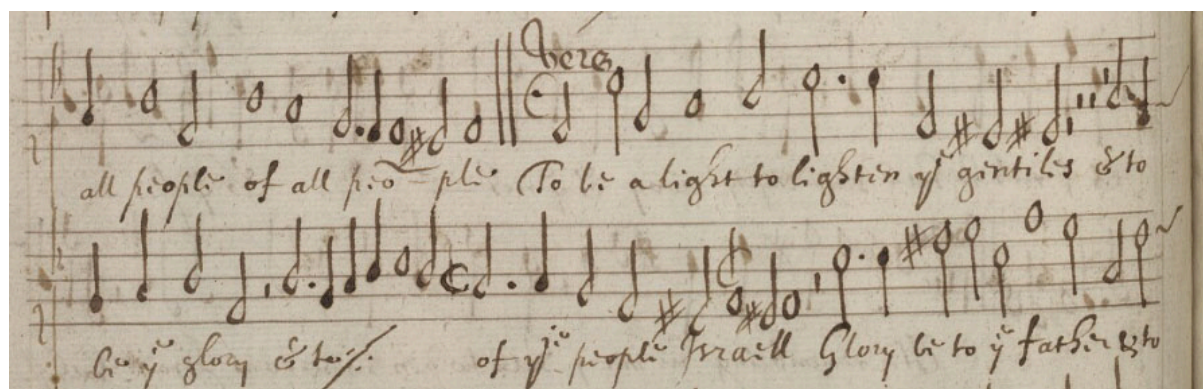
Figure 4.1.12: GB-Cp MS 47, Medius Decani, fo. 95ᵛ (detail)[33]

Figure 4.1.13: GB-Cp MS 34, Medius Cantoris, fo. 94ᵛ (detail)[34]

The edition by Edmund Fellowes, used by many cathedral choirs, has no time signature at the beginning of the piece, halves original note values and gives no indication of any metrical change at the transition into the verse 'To be a light' beyond moving from bars of 4 crotchets to bars of 3. The only instruction given is that the crotchet value should remain the same but become 'slightly slower'. The impression that this gives of the original is clearly misleading (Example 4.1.5):

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[34] Reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

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Example 4.1.5: 'To be a light', Orlando Gibbons from Nunc dimittis, Second Service, edited by Edmund Fellowes and published by Oxford University Press.[35]

Gibbons' use of the galliard rhythm here is both ingenious and enlightening. Whilst slightly extending the standard ♩♩♩♩. ♩♩ galliard pattern by inserting an extra ○♩ in the centre, he exploits the 'syncopace' feature of the step, the spring into the air across the dotted figure (♩. ♩), to illustrate the word 'lighten'. In effect, it is a musical pun: the idea of 'lightness'

---

[35] Orlando Gibbons, *Second Evening Service*, ed. by Edmund H Fellowes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936).

suggested by the dual meaning of the text is reflected in the airiness of the dance step.[36]

Furthermore, in the phrase 'To be a light', the rise of fifth to the second note 'be' is an

encouragement to the singer to avoid an accent on the first note 'To' (an encouragement

which goes mostly unheeded in the following recorded examples), and is also typical of the

way that 'galliard' songs tend to begin their first line with an implication of hemiola, as found

in the openings of two famous ones by John Dowland, *Can she excuse my wrongs* and *My*

thoughts are winged with hope (Example 4.1.6):[37]
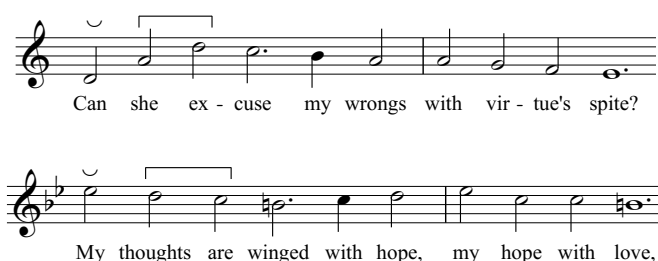
Example 4.1.6: Two 'galliard' songs by John Dowland

ii. Recordings

At the time of writing, the following recordings of the Gibbons Second Service Nunc dimittis

were available.

06   *Tudor Church Music from Durham Cathedral,* Durham Cathedral Choir, directed
     James Lancelot (OxRecs Digital, OXCD-106, 2010)
07   *Glorious Renaissance,* Choir of Wells Cathedral, director Malcolm Archer
     Glorious Renaissance' (Griffin Records GCCD 4019, 2010)

---

[36] See my earlier reference to musical punning by Gibbons in Chapter 2.5. The present case could even be
described as a double pun and another example of Gibbons' multi-layered rhetorical language, combining within
his setting both *energeia* and *enargeia*: the vigour of the dance with the vividness of revelation or
'elightenment'. See Richard A Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms* (University of California Press, 2013).
See also Gavin Alexander's observation 'For Quintilian, *enargeia* is a result of the convincing performance and
evocation of emotion, "which makes us seem not so much to narrate as to exhibit the actual scene, while our
emotions will be no less actively stirred than if we were present at the actual occurrence"'… (*Institutio oratoria*,
6.2.32). *Sidney's 'The Defence of Poesy' and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism*, ed. by Gavin Alexander,
Penguin Classics (London ; New York: Penguin, 2004), p. 381.
[37] Both these songs reappear as instrumental galliards in Dowland's 1604 *Lachrimæ*.

08 *BBC broadcast, 27 November 1970,* Guildford Cathedral Choir, director Barry Rose [38]
　　From 7'34'' (Nunc dimittis begins at 7'09'' after the Magnificat)

09 *Gibbons Choral and Organ Music,* Oxford Camerata, director Jeremy Summerly
　　(Naxos 8.553130, 1995)

10 Magnificat & Nunc dimittis *Vol 10,* Choir of Truro Cathedral, director 1982, director
　　Andrew Nethsingha (Priory Records PRCD553, 2009)

11 *The Canterbury Tradition,* Choir of Canterbury Cathedral, director David Flood
　　(York ambisonic CD 116, 1992)

12 *Orlando Gibbons Second Service and Anthems* Choir of New College, Oxford,
　　director Edward Higginbottom (CRD Records 3451, 1988)

13 *With a Merrie Noyse,* Choir or Magdalen College, Oxford, director Bill Ives
　　(Harmonia Mundi 907337, 2003)

14 *Anthems by Orlando Gibbons,* Choir of Winchester Cathedral, director David Hill
　　(Hyperion Records Limited, Helios CDH55228, 2007)

In each case, the extract examined runs from bar 9 ('For mine eyes hath seen') to bar 47 ('As

it was in the beginning').[40] Analysis here is somewhat more complicated, since many

performances make significant *ritardandi*, either at bars 31–2 ('of all people') or at bars 38–

40 ('of thy people Israel') or both. Columns numbered 1–4 below indicate the following.

1. approximate minim speed (in MM) for the passage leading up to bar 31

2. approximate speed at ₵ for the duet passage 33–37, with indication in brackets of what

　　a strict, proportionally-related tempo should be.

3. approximate speed after ₵ for bars 38–40, with 'rit' indicating a significant *ritardando*

4. approximate speed for the passage from bar 41.

(See Table 4.1.1):

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[38] <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ADmTlZpccSs> [Accessed May 4 2021].
[40] See Appendix for full score.

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Recording no	**1** Bar: 31 MM	**2** 33-37 MM (proportional)		**3** 38-40 MM	**4** 41 MM
06	84	92	(126)	92	84
07	88	96	(132)	96	92
08	76	84	(114)	84	84
09	72	84	(108)	84	84
10	84	92	(126)	92	92
11	88	100	(132)	100	96
12	80	108	(120)	rit	96
13	76	126	(114)	rit	92
14	84	132	(126)	rit	92

Table 4.1.1: Recordings of Orlando Gibbons Nunc dimittis, tempi

All of the performances show a recognition that the Ⓒ time signature suggests faster movement but most do so to only a small degree,[41] far short of a true proportion. Numbers 06 to 11 show no perceptible reaction to the reversion to ¢ at bar 38, in other words the minim pulse remains the same as in the triple metre verse. Numbers 12 to 14 acknowledge the Ⓒ signature with varying degrees of intention to execute a proportional relationship but treat the reversion to ¢ as the opportunity for a significant *ritardando* rather than the immediate reversion to the tempo of the earlier duple metre that the signature would strictly imply.

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[41] The Fellowes edition perversely indicates a slower tempo. See above.

4.1.8. Conclusions

Where does all this leave today's performer, interested in how our counterparts in the early

17th century would have interpreted signatures such as ₵ and their implication of

proportional metre? Instrumentalists are well used to encountering them in consort music of

the period and realising them with what Andrew Parrott describes as a necessary 'spirit of

enquiry'. To do so in sacred choral music seems more controversial, particularly when a

piece is well known through a generally accepted style of choral performance that ignores

them or (more probably) is unaware that they even exist in the original source material. The

effect on such familiar music can be quite significant, changing the whole character of the

piece.

In Byrd's *Teach me O Lord*, where we began this investigation, the critic was

surprised at hearing it open with a 'brisk'- sounding verse, followed by a 'slow' - sounding

chorus. One could argue that this has the effect of setting off the lighter, innocent feel of the

verse sections against the more serious and deliberate mood of the alternating chorus, rather

like a child singing a catechism and being commented on by overseeing elders.[42] A similar

effect is found in the *Jubilate* to Gibbons's Second Morning Service, where the opening verse

'O be joyful, all ye lands' is notated with ₵ in Barnard (and $\frac{C}{3}$ in Batten) with a transition to

₵ at 'Be ye sure that the Lord, he is God', the exuberant dance of the first sentiment

abruptly arrested by the sure-footedness of the second. Often the metrical change can be used

for an obvious rhetorical purpose. For example, the second section of Byrd's *Christ rising*

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[42] John Morehen confided to me that he found the genesis of this piece puzzling, 'a bit of a mess', and that he
had 'always felt that it cries out for viols' (private correspondence). If it had begun life as a consort song
interspersed with chorus sections it would indeed have a very different feel. But, in any case, the state in which
we find it is no reason to disregard the meaning of the signatures used and their possible implication for
proportional metre.

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uses the dotted minim rhythm of the galliard pattern to convey the buoyancy of the word

'risen',[43] the new-found spirit of optimism at the words 'Christ is risen *again*' being

expressed through the physical release of dance; a section in Ramsey's *Hear my prayer* sets

the text 'Quicken me' to ternary metre, to exploit the faster minim pulse that results;[44] a

section of Tomkins' *O Lord, let me know mine end* emphasises the same effect to a frenetic

degree with a plethora of dotted rhythms to convey the futility of 'he heapeth up riches',[45]

and so on. Conversely, just as Gibbons shows in the *Jubilate* example above, the arresting

effect of a proportional return to ₵ can be used to heighten contrast with the graver mood of

text that follows. In Tomkins' *O Lord, let me know mine end* it is made in order to return us

to the serious discussion of 'vanity' with the words 'and now Lord, what is my hope?'.[46] Its

use in Hooper's *The Blessed Lamb* has been discussed in Chapter 3.[47]

As regards the performance of a consort anthem, when we come across ₡ or its

variants in the context of a piece in ₵, I suggest that they should be treated as *prima facie*

evidence that a proportional relationship is intended and an effort should be made to

understand what light that throws upon the meaning of the text. It is certainly not a question

of simply making such passages 'go a bit faster', for that can destroy the unifying factor of a

constant semibreve tactus. Rather, it needs to be part of an altogether more text-centred

approach to verse music generally, revealing how the use of these signatures may be yet

another facet of the rhetorical treatment of text that is a principal feature of the verse style.

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[43] William Byrd *Christ rising* bar nos. 69–70. See Appendix. (In the central section of *We praise thee, O Father*, Gibbons achieves the same effect in an obvious reference to the Byrd anthem. See Appendix.)
[44] Robert Ramsey *Hear my prayer, O Lord*, ed. by Ian Payne (St Albans: Corda Music, 2010), bar nos. 93–4.
[45] Thomas Tomkins *O Lord, let me know mine end* bar nos. 97–105. See Appendix.
[46] Thomas Tomkins *O Lord, let me know mine end* bar no. 106. See Appendix.
[47] Chapter 3C, Edmund Hooper *The Blessed Lamb*, bar no. 49 (organ version), bar 50 (consort version). See Hooper Edition.

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4.2.1 Versus

The antipathy of English reformists towards the use of music in worship has been well documented,[1] yet the verse anthem and, more broadly, sacred music in 'verse style' flourished with remarkable success in the early years of the seventeenth century. At the same time, the prominence of preaching and popularity of sermons were two of the major contributions of Protestantism to public worship and indeed to the literature of the period.[2] What relationship is there between the reformist sermon and this new style of music and how can sermonising inform us about performance of the music today?

i. Jacobean preaching

Two great Jacobean preachers give us clues. In Chapter 3B, I referred to how Peter McCulloch shows the great preacher Lancelot Andrewes to have played a central role in establishing the place of fine sacred music in worship during his association with the Chapel Royal. I pointed to the striking echoes in Hooper's *Hearken, ye nations* of one of Andrewes'

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[1] See e.g. Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549–1660* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 11–12; more generally Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England* (London, Routledge, 2010); Kindle (Taylor & Francis, 2016).
[2] In the opinion of Peter McCulloch, 'the sermon — not Shakespearean drama, and not even the Jonsonian masque was the pre-eminent literary genre at the Jacobean court. No other literary enterprise could captivate, inspire, or even anger the king like a sermon'. See Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire], New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 125.

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most celebrated sermons, given on the first Gunpowder Treason Day in 1606, and I highlighted the musical devices which Hooper employs to express ideas that they have in common. McCulloch cites several examples of Andrewes' rich use of musical language and demonstrates his ingenious use, in a series of sermons, of the conceit of music to make a link between the liturgical practice of the Chapel Royal and the biblical story of Luke 2:10–14.[3] The particular practice to which Andrewes refers is the 'court custom of the sermon being immediately followed by an anthem sung by the Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel',[4] which he justifies by reference to Luke's account of the angel's annunciation to the shepherds:

> And presently after he had done his *Sermon*, there is the *Hymne*, *Gloria in excelsis*, taken up by the Queere of Heaven. An *Angell* makes the one: A multitude of *Angells* sing the other. The whole Service of this day, the *Sermon*, the *Antheme*, by *Angells*, all.[5]

McCulloch shows that Andrewes, in casting himself as the 'evangelizing angel' and the Chapel Royal choir as the 'choral heavenly host who responded to the sermon with an anthem', has here effectively demonstrated the Chapel to be 'the very site of re-enactments of events from the life of Christ'.[6] The musical form of the verse anthem can be seen as mirroring the scene which Andrewes describes. The verse-singing soloist takes the place of the preacher, declaiming devotional text, and the ensemble of the chorus articulates the communal response represented by the 'anthem'.[7] Furthermore, the whole performance of

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[3] Peter McCullough, 'Music Reconciled to Preaching: A Jacobean Moment?', in Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (eds.), *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 109–29 (pp. 113–14).

[4] McCullough, 'Music Reconciled to Preaching', p. 114.

[5] Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, ed. by William Laud and John Buckeridge (London, RSTC 606, 1629), p. 34.

[6] McCullough, 'Music Reconciled to Preaching', p. 114.

[7] Contemporary vocabulary did not distinguish between the old, fully-texted motet style of anthem and the new Reformist creation, that alternates solo verses and chorus sections, other than to describe the first as 'full' and

this act of devotion was one which could be transplanted from the grandeur of the Chapel Royal to the smaller forces of a domestic household. Yet one has only to read Andrewes' powerfully rhetorical language to realise that, if verse-singing was indeed seeking in some degree to emulate preaching, it may have required a very different style of text-delivery to that which we are used to hearing today, when verse music is sung in a 'choral' style. Might it have been closer to 'musical oratory'? In a selection of audio examples I explore what that might mean in practice.

ii. Declamation: Gibbons *Behold, thou hast made my days*

This exploration was one of the primary purposes behind the series of CD recordings 'In Chains of Gold' that I set up in connection with the present research. The first three examples are recordings of the opening verse of *Behold, thou hast made my days* by Orlando Gibbons (Example 4.2.1). Comparison of the three is complicated by the fact that they are sung to two different kinds of accompaniment and at three different pitches,[8] the first two by virtue of transposing the music up from the original key, largely in order to accommodate the music to the vocal ranges of the modern SATB choir.

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the latter as 'single' (terms used, for example, in the Chapel Royal wordbook GB-Ob MS Rawl. Poet 23, cited in the Hooper critical commentaries and elsewhere) whilst the term 'verse anthem' is principally a modern construct. See Introduction.

[8] The audio example 'V01', in the version for choir and organ, transposes the music up 1 tone, performed at A440; 'V02', for voices and viols, transposes it up a minor third at the same pitch; 'V03', also for voices and viols (from the 'In Chains of Gold' project) performs it in the original key at A466.

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Example 4.2.1: Orlando Gibbons, *Behold, thou hast made my days*, bars 1–15

V01, *Anthems by Orlando Gibbons* Robin Blaze, Choir of Winchester Cathedral, director David Hill (Hyperion Records Limited, Helios, CDH55228, 2007)

V02, *Orlando Gibbons,* Duncan Parry, Choir of Trinity College, Cambridge, director Richard Marlow (Conifer, 76505 51231 2, 1995)

V03, *'In Chains of Gold' volume 1*, Charles Daniels, Magdalena Consort & Fretwork

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artistic director William Hunt (Signum SIGCD511, 2017)

I have already suggested that a rhetorical approach to text-setting is a common feature of anthems in verse style.[9] In seeking a more 'speaking' style of delivery appropriate to musical oratory, the verse singer might feel the need to give particular attention to individual words in preference to maintaining the smooth contour of a conventional choral line. This is reminiscent of remarks by the contemporary Italian, Giulio Caccini, when he suggests

> … [that] music is nothing other than text and rhythm, and sound last of all, not the other way around…[10]

Comparing the third audio example to the first two, it is noticeable that Charles Daniels makes frequent use of highly individualised shapes such as *messa di voce*, often not singing the full notated lengths of words. It was certainly not to the liking of certain critics, when the recording was released. A review in *Gramophone* found that

> His solos … lurch in and out of focus, distorting the clarity and shape of Gibbons's lovely lines[11]

On the other hand, *Early Music Review* enjoyed

> … the proper rhetorical declamation of the words, so we have a serious demonstration of what would have been called in contemporary Italy the *seconda prattica*. Here this word-based music is inspired by the verbal finesse of the texts, set with due regard for the 1559 Elizabethan injunction "that the same may be as plainly understood as if it were read without singing".[12]

and John Bryan in *The Viol* found Daniels 'instinctively communicative'.[13]

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[9] See Chapter 2.
[10] '… la musica altro non essere, che la favella, e'l rithmo, & il suono per ultimo, e non per lo contrario …' Giulio Caccini, *Le Nuove Musiche* (Florence: Marescotti, 1602)'Ai Lettori', line 25.
[11] Alexandra Coghlan, *Gramophone*, November 2017, p. 83.
[12] David Stancliffe, *Early Music Review*, January 10th 2018. <https://earlymusicreview.com/in-chains-of-gold-the-english-pre-restoration-verse-anthem-vol-1/> [Accessed October 8 2021].
[13] See John Bryan, *The Viol*, No. 60, Autumn 2020, p. 28.

iii. Declamation: Gibbons *Great King of gods*

The next set of audio examples concerns another Gibbons anthem, the opening verse of his

Great King of gods (Example 4.2.2):

Example 4.2.2: Orlando Gibbons, *Great King of gods*, bars 1–15

V04, *Anthems by Orlando Gibbons,* Robin Blaze, Choir of Winchester Cathedral,
director David Hill (Hyperion Records Limited, Helios, CDH55228, 2007)
V05, *Music from the Reign of King James I,* David Martin, Choir of Westminster
Abbey, director James O'Donnell (Hyperion, CDA67858, 2011)
V06, *'In Chains of Gold' volume 1*, Charles Daniels, Magdalena Consort & Fretwork
artistic director William Hunt (Signum SIGCD511, 2017)

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Again, we have a Contratenor verse to two different accompaniments, the first two

performances being in arrangements for choir and organ, and the third in its original consort

form. Lying mostly about a third higher than the previous passage, this demonstrates another

way in which the Contratenor voice-type is used in verse-writing, as described here by

Andrew Parrott:

> Heroic theatrical or celebratory solo writing designed to exploit the top
> register of a man's natural voice[14]

King James's departure on his Scottish progress in 1617, for which Gibbons wrote the

anthem, would surely have required high-flown oratory appropriate to the occasion. With the

music restored to its original pitch and vocal scoring, we can appreciate the way that Gibbons

uses the upper extremity of the tenor voice to convey the loftiness of 'sacred sovereign head',

exploiting the ringing quality of this tessitura. However elegant the two falsetto recordings of

this phrase, the effect is cool and somewhat disembodied by comparison. Another feature to

note is that, as in the verse from the previous anthem, Daniels emphasises the 'energy' of

certain words, so that the vowel sound does not necessarily last for the whole notated length:

for example, the semibreves 'gods' (bar 3) and 'head' (bar 7).

4.2.2 Chorus

How does the role of the congregation at a sermon relate to that of the chorus in a consort

anthem?

i. Donne and the theatre of sermonising

Whilst Lancelot Andrewes was preaching to the Chapel Royal, on the other side of London at

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[14] Andrew Parrott, 'Falsetto Beliefs – The "Countertenor" Cross-Examined', in *Composers' Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 46–121 (p. 94).

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St Paul's another great preacher of the age, John Donne, used both theatrical and musical metaphor to frame the relationship between the listener (the congregation), the preacher and the Almighty.

> Hath God made this World his Theatre *ut exhibeatur ludus deorum* that man may represent God in his conversation and wilt thou play no part? But think that thou only wast made to pass thy time merrily, and to be the only spectator upon this Theatre? Is the world a great and harmonious Organ, where all parts are play'd, and all play parts; and must thou only sit idle and hear it?[17]

In an essay on Donne's sermons, Margaret Fetzer argues that, through the preacher's use of rhetorical language, the text of a sermon becomes a 'dramatic script, written by God as the author', so that the sermon constitutes 'an actualization or current production, indeed a bringing to life' of it, 'a shared stage where both members of the congregation and the preacher himself have their common appearances … Church-goers are not allowed to simply sit back and consider themselves as nothing but audience'. [18] A powerful image which conveys something of the atmosphere of sermonising as 'performance' is preserved in the memorial to Thomas Sutton at the Charterhouse in the City of London. Here, Brothers of the Charterhouse are shown both listening to and intently discussing a sermon being preached in their chapel (Figure 4.2.1):

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[17] John Donne, 'A Sermon Preached at Pauls Cross to the Lords of the Council, and Other Honorable Persons, 24. Mart. 1616. [1616/17]', in *The Collected Sermons of John Donne*, ed. by Evelyn Mary Spearing Simpson and George Reuben Potter (University of California Press, 1953), p. 25 <https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/JohnDonne/id/47> [Accessed 12 April 2021].

[18] Margaret Fetzer, 'Donne's Sermons as Re-Enactments of the Word', *Connotations*, 17.1 (2007), pp. 1–13 (pp. 6–7). <https://www.connotations.de/article/margaret-fetzer-donnes-sermons-as-re-enactments-of-the-word/> [Accessed April 12 2021].

Figure 4.2.1: Carving in the Charterhouse by Nicholas Stone, 1614[19]

This throws light on another possible role of the chorus in a consort anthem, when this musical act of worship is transplanted to a domestic situation, namely that it not only has the formal function of responding to the preceding verse and thus articulating the musical structure, but that it can also act as a conduit for listening Christian believers — the 'audience' at such a performance — to be 'inserted' into the drama.[20] In so far as the verse singer takes the place of the preacher, those listening should not, in the words of Donne, simply 'sit idle and hear it' but, at the very least, identify with the responses of the chorus. In certain circumstances, they might even have been able to take part musically by joining in themselves. Bearing this in mind, what does the source material tell us about the possible size of the chorus in a consort anthem performance?

ii. Lost performance material

The vast majority of consort anthems have come down to us in the form of sets of amalgamated parts: vocal and instrumental material combined into a single line, where text underlay is set only to those passages which are both sung and played. David Pinto has

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[19] By kind permission of the Brothers and Governors of Sutton's Hospital in Charterhouse.
[20] [They should be] 'fit to be inserted', to use Donne's phrase. Fetzer, 'Donne's Sermons as Re-Enactments of the Word', p. 7.

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demonstrated convincingly that some of these parts show clear evidence of collation from two previously existing sets of separate performance material: vocal and instrumental.[21] John Mundy's five-part consort anthem for solo Bass *Sing joyfully unto God* is a case in point. The sole source for it is a meticulously compiled set of single-line part books, *Tristitiæ Remedium*, dating from around 1616, by which point Jacobean verse music was already in full bloom. Each of the upper four parts fully merge vocal and instrumental material, but the copyist, Thomas Myriell, somehow failed to notice that, in the process, the Bassus part-book omits some essential passages of the instrumental line, resulting in defective harmony.[22] The problem begins in the very opening bars, where missing instrumental notes are represented by the rests that would have appeared in vocal part-books in such passages,[23] and these must therefore be reconstructed editorially. There is no surviving organ part from which to borrow (Figure 4.2.2 and Example 4.2.3):
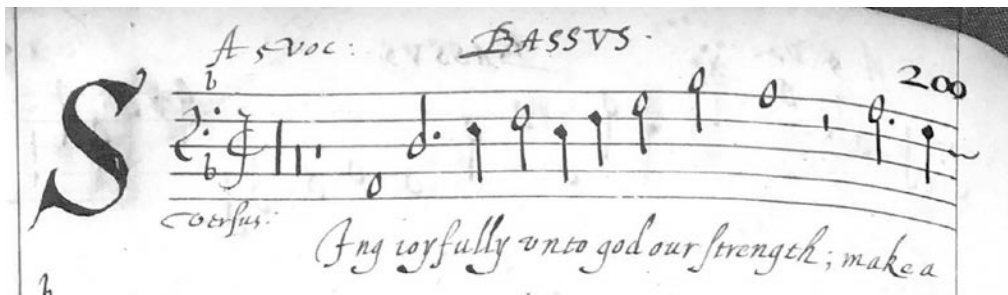
Figure 4.2.2: John Mundy, *Sing joyfully*, Bassus, GB-Lbl. Add. MS 29375 p. 101 [200][24]

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[21] David Pinto, 'Consort Anthem, Orlando Gibbons, and Musical Texts', *The Viola Da Gamba Society of Great Britain*, 9 (2015), 1–25 (pp. 5–13).

[22] Pinto also points out that the Quintus part alternates between C2 clef in sections of instrumental accompaniment to verse and C3 clef in the chorus sections — another sign of separate part-book origins, the clef choice depending on the differing tessituras of parts.

[23] Compare, for example, figures Intr.8–13 in the Introduction to the Hooper Edition, which show the opening pages of various Tenor choir part-books for *O God of gods*, each of them notating multiple breve rests, representing both the accompanying organ and solo voice material that precede the first chorus entry.

[24] Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library.

Example 4.2.3: John Mundy, *Sing joyfully*, bars 1–6[25]

The explanation that Pinto puts forward is that the normally meticulous Myriell was looking at the wrong set of part-books (the vocal one) at the crucial moment of copying from two separate sets *simultaneously*, both now lost.[26] Even when the sole surviving source is not a part-book set but a score, as is the case with the ten Gibbons consort anthems in GB-Och MS Mus. 21, the initial appearance of completeness can be illusory. The opening verse of *We praise thee, O father* shows two of the five parts — the instrumental lines — entirely silent, their place taken by rests notated in full (Figure 4.2.3). Yet the second verse notates the full five-part complement (Figure 4.2.4):

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[25] Edited and reconstructed David Pinto, Fretwork Editions FA15 (London: Fretwork, 2020).
[26] Pinto cites a similar incidence in another set of part-books, that of John Merrro US-NYp MS Drexel 4180–5. Here the Quintus part to Gibbons's secular consort anthem *Do not repine, fair sun* omits the entire instrumental line for verse 2, similarly replacing all notes with the rests that presumably appeared at this point in the vocal part-book. See Pinto, 'Consort Anthem, pp. 6–8. There are several other examples.

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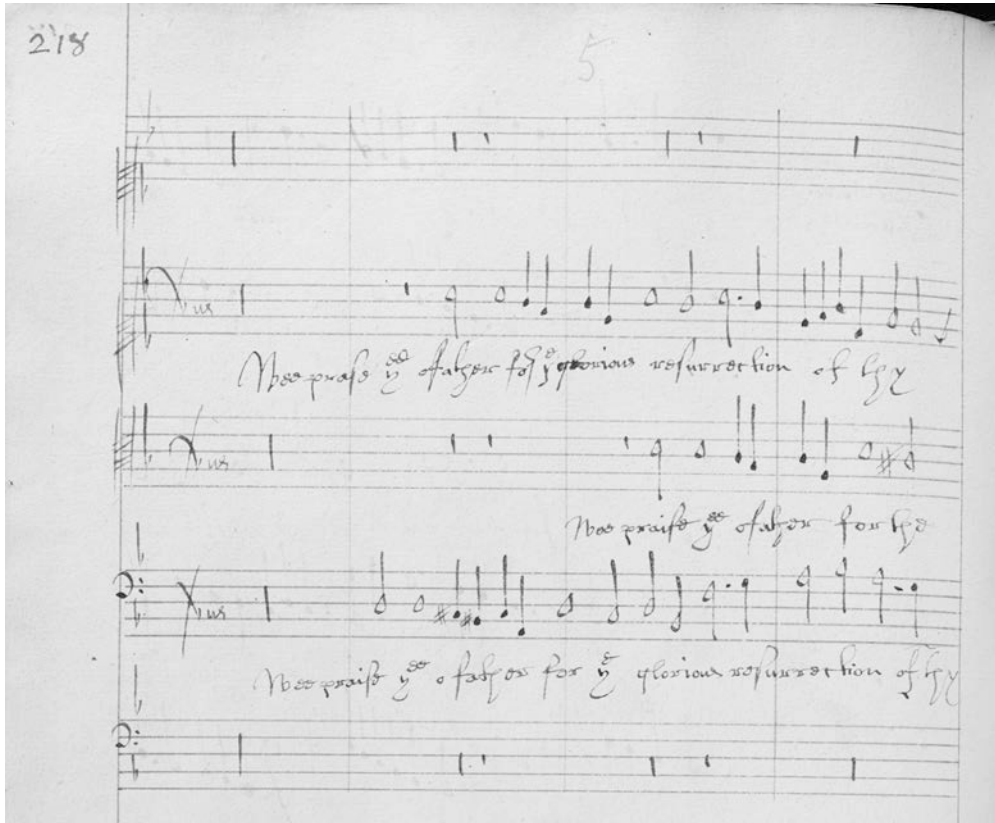
Figure 4.2.3: Orlando Gibbons, *We praise thee, O father*, GB-Och MS Mus. 21 p. 2[27]
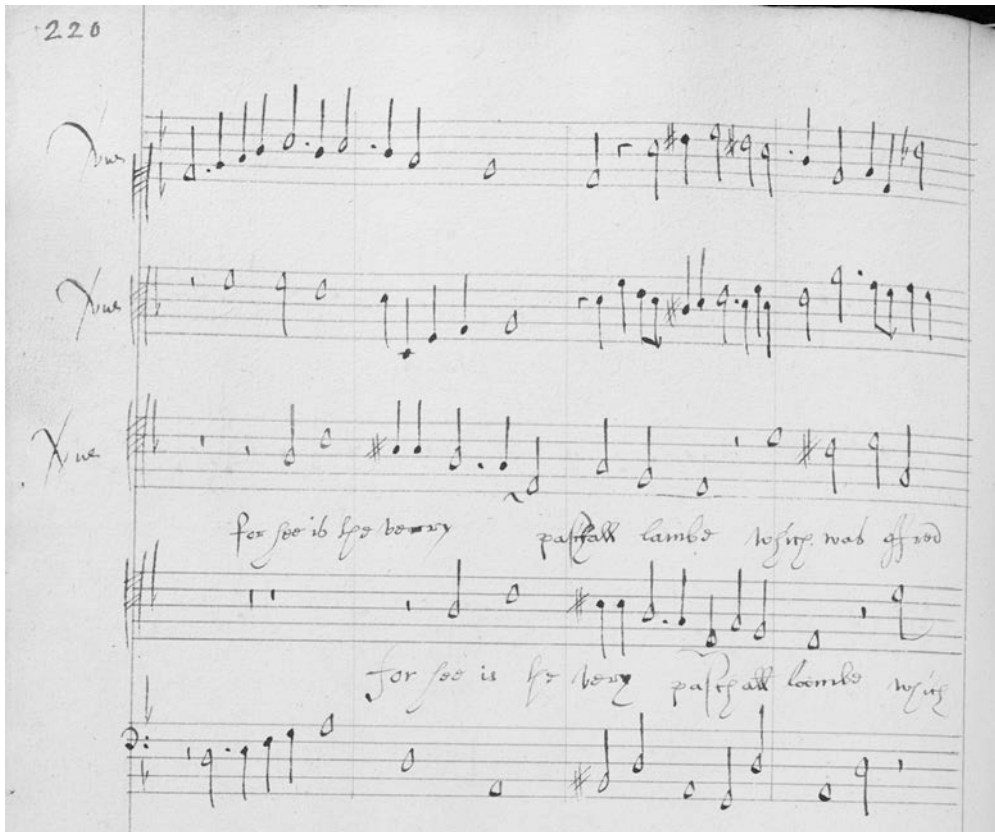
Figure 4.2.4: Orlando Gibbons, *We praise thee, O father*, GB-Och MS Mus. 21 p. 220[28]

The score of the first verse is clearly incomplete.[29] Once again, a process of collation from separate sets of vocal and instrumental material seems to have taken place, but why the instrumental lines are missing from the first verse remains a mystery and requires editorial completion (Example 4.2.4):

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[28] Reproduced by kind permission of the Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.
[29] The surviving organ parts to the choir and organ version of this verse show the initial entries of these missing lines, but the lines disappear by the time all the voices have entered, thereafter leaving the organ to do no more than double the three voice parts.

Example 4.2.4: Orlando Gibbons, *We praise thee, O father*, bars 1–5[30]

iii. Implications for number of singers

Examples such as these are enough to show how unsafe it can be to pronounce upon both

how and where consort anthems were first used, yet Pinto has been something of a lone voice

in highlighting what he describes as the 'vast problem' presented by the loss of such essential

pre-existing source material:

> Not one playing set of deduced sort survives; collateral evidence that any
> existed is meagre. Yet textual evidence is paramount. Deductions from it
> are uncontrovertible, since extant parts (whether labelled ecclesiastical or
> secular, in intact sets or not), and indications from within them, are our sole
> evidence, until supplemented in ways yet to be proposed. Only one
> possible, novel and dismaying conclusion is open: we have lost touch *to
> wellnigh absolute degree* with the consort anthem's primary mode of
> dissemination at an epoch of major cultivation and innovation. We can say
> nothing authoritative about first copying or performance.[31]

What does this all tell us about the number of voices needed for the chorus? Whilst in

practice the instrumental lines of these Gibbons consort anthems can all be satisfactorily

covered by five instruments, the same number of voices is not sufficient, because of the

incidence of *divisi* passages in some verses, which is a feature that distinguishes Gibbons'

---

[30] Edited and reconstructed David Pinto, Fretwork Editions FE25 (London: Fretwork, 2003).
[31] Pinto, 'Consort anthem', pp. 11–12.

consort anthems from the great majority of the repertory. In *We praise thee, O Father,* for example, the Tenor line divides in the second verse, the Mean line in the third verse and both the Mean and Tenor lines in the fourth.[32] On the CD recording 'In Chains of Gold' volume 1,[33] the solution that I adopted was simply to double the size of the vocal consort to ten (two of each of the five vocal lines M, C1, C2, T, B) for all those works in which the issue arises, the others being: *Blessed are all they that fear the Lord*, *O all true faithful hearts*, *Sing unto the Lord* and *Lord, grant grace*.[34] This presented no problem of balance between instruments (in this case viols) and voices in performance,[35] but it raises the important question of how music such as this was originally intended to be heard and the consideration that should be given to that when we perform it today.

iv. The extent of participation

If we imagine a context where the normal requirements of performance to an 'audience' are applicable, such as in the Chapel Royal or other court location,[36] then the existence of a separate set of vocal performance material would enable the standard of presentation that such an occasion would presumably demand. In other words, the inconvenience of singers sharing a part with instrumentalists, thereby restricting ability to 'project' to a listening audience, would not be an inhibiting factor.[37] When a consort anthem was used in a domestic

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[32] Respectively: bars 26–44, 56–72 and 80–95. See Appendix for full score.

[33] *'In Chains of Gold', The Pre-Restoration Verse Anthem vol. 1* (Signum SIGCD511, 2017).

[34] See Appendix for full scores. In *See, see, the Word is incarnate* the Mean line divides only for two brief passages, and a different solution was adopted, namely to double only that line.

[35] Needless to say, in a recording such as this balance problems can be solved with technology. But our experience in performing the anthems beforehand in concert demonstrated that a chorus of ten voices can be balanced perfectly well with a consort of five viols.

[36] Some of the Gibbons consort anthems in the Christ Church Mus 21 score contain markings for 'Cantoris' and 'Decani', such as *Blessed are all they that fear the Lord* (bars 26 and 59), which may or may not be an indication that this version of the anthem was at some point performed in the Chapel.

[37] Pinto points out that this would surely have been a relevant consideration when *Do not repine, fair sun* was performed to James I at Holyrood in 1617 — an occasion that is actually documented. See Pinto, 'Consort anthem', pp. 6–8.

context, for example as part of private devotions, this problem would presumably not have arisen. If the only available performance material was the amalgamated parts that we see in secular collections, perhaps sharing between singer and player was common. Morehen's thesis is 'that the same performers both played and sang',[38] which, though perfectly possible with the right combination of voice-type and viol size, need not be the only explanation for the existence of amalgamated parts. One possibility that seems not to have been given due attention is that they may have been designed, at least for those singing the chorus sections, to be learned by heart for the occasion. It is a common assumption that, where there are none of the complications of *divisi* writing described above, the same five singers in a typical consort anthem sang both verse and chorus sections. Whilst that certainly works for a modern concert performance, it need not be relevant to an act of private devotion. Bearing in mind the line from Donne's sermon, which we considered earlier,

> Is the world a great and harmonious Organ, where all parts are play'd, and all play parts; and must thou only sit idle and hear it?[39]

why would the non-playing listeners at our imagined domestic gathering not have wanted to join in with the chorus of a consort anthem and thus feel part of a communal devotional act? Many of these anthems have chorus sections which are musically relatively straightforward, often even repeating much of the material of the preceding verse, and it would be quite simple for listeners to learn the relevant parts simply by repetition a few times during an evening's music-making, in preparation for a later devotional 'performance'.[40]

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[38] John Morehen, 'The English Consort and Verse Anthems', *Early Music*, 6.3 (1978), pp. 381–85 (p. 383).
[39] See above: 4.2.2.ii.
[40] Helen Roberts makes exactly this point with regard to cathedral choir part-books, suggesting that non-soloist choir members may have used such material as an *aide memoir*, having memorised the relatively small amount of chorus music necessary for later performance. See Helen Roberts, 'Wind Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals, *c*. 1580–*c*. 1680: Towards a Performance Practice' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Birmingham City University, 2019), p. 78. It may be unnecessary to look for evidence that chorus sections were actually copied

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Before a performance of Bach's *Johannespassion* by the Dunedin Consort in the BBC Promenade concerts of summer 2017, the director John Butt took the unusual step of coaching the Albert Hall audience in some Lutheran chorales in a pre-concert rerhearsal, so that they could sing them as part of the following Passion performance, imitating Leipzig practice of Bach's own time. The audience were thus enabled to feel active participants in a musical liturgy rather than mere passive witnesses to an artistic event. In its more intimate way, the English verse anthem, in mirroring Andrewes' combination of 'Sermon and Anthem', has similar power both to communicate and to include.

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out for the purpose, since feats of memorising at the time are well documented, even though they may seem a hurdle to us today.

CHAPTER 4.3
The experience of performing consort anthems: extremities

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In Chapter 1A, I examined the range of contemporary evidence for and modern theories concerning the existence of a standard performing pitch for sacred music in the English church *c*. 1600, with particular reference to recent research by the Early English Organ Project. I then discussed the implications of this for voice-types that may have been used in performance of the consort verse anthem repertory and went on to argue for the use of consort instruments, in particular viols, in ways that had not previously been considered — for example by taking viols of a size suitable for playing at 'Quire' pitch and restringing them specially for this purpose. I set up the 'In Chains of Gold' recording project in 2016 with the express purpose of putting these theories into practice. In the end, however convincing such theories may be on paper (and there had been a number of articles published on the subject, to which I have made reference in other chapters), the only test of value is whether the voices and instruments are able to perform convincingly at this pitch and whether the music benefits as a result. As to the second of these questions, reactions are bound to be, to an extent, subjective and I have referred to ones on both the positive and the negative side.[1] As to the first, there is no doubt that players and singers alike found the experience overwhelmingly positive from the practical point of view. The ranges of the musical lines fitted the 'historical'

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[1] See 4.2 'Versus, chorus and participation'.

voice-types and instruments for which I have argued, and which we attempted to replicate as

far as practically possible,[2] in a remarkable way which I suggest throws an important and new

light on the music.

4.3.1. Extremity of vocal range

A feature which I suggest is particularly noticeable, when the music is located at the

appropriate performing pitch, is the rhetorical use of *extremity* in vocal range. As I have

mentioned in Chapter 2, this relates to one of the fundamental methods of oratorial

persuasion recommended by classical rhetoricians, as described in this passage from

Quintilian's *Institutes*:

> It is by the raising, lowering or inflexion of the voice that the orator stirs
> the emotions of his hearers, and the measure, if I may repeat the term, of
> voice or phrase differs according as we wish to rouse the indignation or the
> pity of the judge. For, as we know, different emotions are roused even by
> the various musical instruments, which are incapable of reproducing
> speech.[3]

Anyone reading through the pages of a cathedral part-book of verse anthem repertory can

confirm that the notated vocal ranges of the standard voice types — Mean, Contratenor,

Tenor and Bass —are strikingly consistent, indeed almost never exceeded. The same is true

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[2] The only area of vocal and instrumental scoring in which we did not attempt to reproduce the historical model
was in the use of boys' voices on the Mean lines. (See Chapter 1 'Implications of the original performing pitch'
(1A Voices). I had discussed this possibility with a leading choir director, Andrew Carwood, director of the
choir at Saint Paul's cathedral, some years beforehand. For a variety of reasons, I had to conclude that it would
be impractical, not least because of the huge amount of time that would be necessary to retrain boys' voices to
adapt to the very different approach that we wanted to take to the music. Whilst this was necessarily a
commercial decision in part, subsequent research that I have read by Martin Ashley (see Chapter 1A.16 The
'ordinary compass of human voices') convinces me that the modern training of boys' treble voices is so
different from that of the 'Mean' voices available in the period *c*. 1600 that any future decision to use them
would require time and expertise that were beyond the scope of our project. This is in no way to claim that the
particular timbre of boys' voices is not an important part of the historical picture. In using women's mezzo
voices to substitute, we tried, in so far as possible, to choose ones with similar range and thus with similar effect
on the ensemble sonority.
[3] Quintilian, 'Institutes', 1.X.25.

of parts that notate consort anthems in 'secular' collections, when they use the same standard

clef system — C1, C3, C3, C4, F4, such as in the Christ Church score-book Och MS

Mus. 21.[5] Generally, composers use the extremity of a vocal range only occasionally, and

when it is done it is for a clear expressive purpose. But it is one thing to notice this on the

page and another to experience it in performance. I hope to illustrate this with a few specific

examples, relating score references to audio by use of time codes from recorded tracks.

4.3.2. Contratenor extremities

The Contratenor voice is perhaps the best barometer of how *extremity* is used to heighten

musical expression, since the 'high wire' timbre of tenor voice-types used on the 'In Chains

of Gold' recordings is so different to that of the modern falsetto countertenor sonority usually

heard in verse anthem repertory when sung by choirs. In the verse passage 'when I go down

into the pit', bars 80–81 from Gibbons' *Sing unto the Lord*, the Contratenor soloist mirrors in

the very contour of his line the effect of being cast down into extreme depths, taking us from

high g' all the way down to a rarely used low d. This is an exceptional use of the full range, as

Wulstan noted in his edition of the repertory,[6] and we can see why it is being done here. But

unless we are able to experience *extremity* in the sound that we hear, its rhetorical force is

weak.[7] If this phrase is sung by a modern falsettist 'countertenor', anyone who is sensitive to

vocal timbre is aware that the upper boundary of the voice is probably another fourth or fifth

higher: there is no sense of having neared the summit. Similarly, the low d is unlikely to have

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[5] See Chapter 1 'Implications of the original performing pitch' (1A Voices) including the diagrams: Figures 1.3 & 1.4. See also the Consort Anthem Database to be found in the Appendix to this research, through which can be accessed similar diagrams, analysing the ranges of voice-parts to more than 120 consort anthems — the great majority of the repertory. (The compilation of this database is ongoing work.)

[6] 'Orlando Gibbons: Verse anthems', *Early English Church* Music, Vol. 3 (1962 Stainer & Bell), p. vii.

[7] Perhaps the earliest use of this rhetoric in the Contratenor voice was in the opening verse of another verse anthem, Thomas Morley's *Out of the deep*, though in the opposite direction: starting with the low d and rising to high g' for 'Lord, hear my voice'. See Appendix for score.

the quality of depths being plumbed, since most falsettists tend to be baritones with a much lower possible range than this. Instead of experiencing the significance of achieving an outer boundary, the listener is conveyed there quite easily through the device of joining two different voices together — one might almost call it a cheat.[8] The effect is not unlike that of some phrases that pass from low in the left hand to high in the right hand in Mozart piano concertos, when they are played on a modern grand piano, rather than on a fortepiano of the period: the expressive force of limits being reached is absent, because there is another octave or so to go in each direction.[9] Examples of this quality in the Contratenor high *g'*, used to express loftiness and majesty are: Gibbons *Great King of gods*, bar 6, 'our sacred sovereign head';[10] Hooper *O God of gods*, bars 55–6, 'this united monarchy' and 64–6, 'bless his royal state';[11] Bull *Almighty God, which by the leading of a star*, bars 73 & 97, 'through Christ our Lord'.[12] Gibbons uses the inherent perilousness of one further step upwards to *a'*, in order to convey the shattering of the 'powers of hell' in *See, see, the Word is incarnate*, bar 70.[13]

4.3.3. Bass extremities

At the opposite extreme, the bottom notes of the Bass voice are frequently exploited in verse writing to convey strength and power. The note *D* is usually the lowest, as in Gibbons *Sing unto the* Lord, bar 12 and Mundy's *Sing joyfully*, bars 12, 46 & 65.[14] But it is also found not

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[8] A rather harsh description, perhaps, and one confided to me by a prominent tenor soloist.

[9] The degree to which the hearer experiences this 'strain' as positive is, of course, subjective. John Bryan, in a review of 'In Chains of gold' vol. 2 for *The Viol* found that the result seemed to 'put the high tenor voices on contratenor parts under some pressure'. See *The Viol*, Autumn 2020, No. 60, p. 28.

[10] 'In Chains of gold' vol. 1 (Signum SIGCD511, 2017) track 5, time code 0.01–0.26

[11] 'In Chains of gold' vol. 2 (Signum SIGCD609, 2020) track 17, time code 1.52–3.10

[12] 'In Chains of gold' vol. 2, track 9, time code 2.45–3

[13] 'In Chains of gold' vol. 1, track 14, time code 2.18–3.10. At this height, one thinks of the way that J.S.Bach writes for the same pitch (*b'* at A415) in the Evangelist part of the *Matthäuspassion* at the words 'und ging heraus und weinete', using it as a rhetorical expression of extreme vulnerability in a voice-type that probably had much in common with the English Contratenor.

[14] 'In Chains of gold' vol. 1, track 12, time code 0.01–1.14; 'In Chains of gold' vol. 2, track 16, time codes 0.01–0.34; 1.17–2.51.

uncommonly in chorus writing too, for example Gibbons *We praise thee, O Father*, bar 106;

Hooper *The Blessed Lamb*, bar 111; Simmes *Rise O my soul*, bars 29 & 40.[15]

4.3.4. A narrow window

Considering all the examples we have examined so far, if we accept that there was indeed a

standard vocal pitch for church music, we can readily see that the window in which to locate

it is quite narrow. In the Mundy anthem, for example, whilst the solo Bass is taken down to *D*

the first Contratenor has several *a*'s (bars 15, 53, 69 & 70). There is little room to move the

pitch either upwards or downwards and Quire pitch, or at least the practical approximation to

it of A466 that we adopted in these recordings,[16] suits both vocal ranges perfectly. There are

some surviving anthems parts, however, in which the upper limits are put under such strain,

or even exceeded significantly, that there is a strong argument for a lower performing pitch

having been envisaged, and here the boundaries become much less clear.

Two works illustrate this feature. Gibbons' secular anthem *Do not repine, fair sun*

was originally a work in three sections, written for James I's visit to Holyrood in 1617, of

which music for only the first two parts survives, the first of these being in verse/chorus

format. In the sole extant source,[17] the 'Tenor I' part is notated in the C3 clef usually

associated with Contratenor vocal parts in sacred vocal music,[18] but (in the second half of the

work) with frequent ascent to high *a'* that is untypical of Gibbons use of this voice-type in his

other verse writing (see bars 84, 89, 90, 93, 102, 114, 136, 137 & 143). The 'Tenor 2' part is

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[15] For Gibbons and Simmes scores see Appendix. For Hooper see Hooper Edition.

[16] See Chapter 1 'Implications of the original performing pitch' (1A Voices).

[17] The Merro part-book set US-NYp Drexel 4180–5.

[18] Apart from a brief excursion into C4 clef, which David Pinto suggests may form part of evidence for the performing material being here amalgamated from separate vocal and instrumental sets. See David Pinto, 'Consort Anthem, Orlando Gibbons, and Musical Texts', *The Viola Da Gamba Society of Great Britain*, 9 (2015), pp. 1–25 (pp. 5–7).

also notated in C3 clef, though with relatively few ascents to *a'*, whilst the bass vocal part lies in a relatively 'baritonal' range, touching low *G* only three times, and notated in F3 clef.[19]

In Hooper's consort anthem *Hearken, ye nations* the vocal pressure is even greater, in that the normally notated upper limit for the Contratenor voice-type is exceeded twice by a tone, with high *b'* in the upper voice (Contratenor in bars 22 & 59), whilst there are quite frequent written *a*'s in both Contratenor and Tenor, each of these parts being notated throughout in C3 clef. Significantly, all the five surviving consort parts to this six-part anthem are headed '2 Bases', even though the lowest of them, Sextus, is again notated in F3 clef and in a 'baritonal' range.[20] The Bassus part is missing but can be reconstructed from the surviving organ and choir parts of the choir and organ version of the anthem.[21] Furthermore, the consort version is set a whole tone higher than the choir and organ version, in *a* rather than in *g*. What circumstances might explain these phenomena?

4.3.5. The effect of low performing pitch

We recorded both of these pieces at a lower performing pitch than the rest of the items on the respective CDs. In the case of *Do not repine,* the effective pitch was A415, a tone below our Quire pitch, which had the effect of restoring both Bassus and 'Tenor' lines to the sounding range that is familiar from Gibbons' writing for Bassus and Contratenor voices-types in the rest of his verse compositions.[22]. In the case of *Hearken, ye nations* the pitch was A392, a minor third lower below 'Quire' pitch and equivalent to the 'consort pitch' discussed by Bruce Haynes,[23] which enabled us to use a much larger consort of viols from the one used for

---

[19] But changing to F4 clef for each untexted, instrumental passage; hence even stronger evidence of the part amalgamation referred to in the previous footnote. See Pinto, 'Consort Anthem, pp. 5–7.
[20] Wulstan wrongly refers to this part as being notated in C5. See David Wulstan, *Tudor Church Music*, p. 204.
[21] See Hooper critical commentary: GB-Och MS Mus. 56–60.
[22] 'In Chains of gold' vol. 1, tracks 6 & 7.
[23] See further below.

the rest of the viol-accompanied anthems on the recording, thus presenting a sonority that was not only lower but also richer.[24] Whilst this affords the opportunity to compare the distinctly different sounds of instruments at either extreme of the known scale of body sizes for English viols of the period, which is a valuable demonstration of practical research in its own right, the most noticeable outcome was the effect on voices. Once again, Contratenor and Bassus voices were relocated into the sounding range that is normal for such voice-types in sacred music and the expressive use of the upper extremity of the former becomes convincing. As Pinto points out, one thing that we can be sure about regarding *Do not repine* is that it was actually performed,[25] not only to the King but by members of his Chapel Royal, presumably singing in their normal range.

As regards *Hearken, ye nations*, I have argued that there was most likely a single event that provided the occasion for performance of both versions of this anthem: consort anthem and verse anthem for choir and organ. That was the first Gunpowder Treason Day,[26] and I have suggested that the consort version might have been composed for a private performance to the King, perhaps in a location such as the Jerusalem Chamber, whilst the choir and organ version was for the Chapel Royal.[27] The consort singers might well have been members of the same Chapel Royal choir. In other words, all three works — *Do not repine* and both versions of *Hearken, ye nations* — would have been intended for 'professional' singers (if one may include under that term boys whose voices were specially trained to combine with the professional men) rather than 'amateurs', with all that that

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[24] This was the case only on the second of the CDs, in the Hooper anthem. On the first, the lower pitch was achieved by transposing the accompaniment down a tone on the Quire pitch consort, from *a* into *g*, since it was not practical to involve a second consort of instruments on that occasion. I regard that as an unfortunate compromise, brought about by circumstances, but the chief priority was to produce a lower performing pitch for the voices.

[25] Pinto, Consort Anthem', p. 8.

[26] See Chapter 3B *Hearken ye nations*.

[27] See Hooper Editions 'Introduction' section 8 *Hearken ye nations.*

implies for 'standard' and 'non-standard' voice ranges respectively. (The Mean range of the choir and organ version also translates convincingly to the Cantus and Quintus ranges of the consort version, when performed at the lower pitch.) Leaving aside speculation about performance location, it is clear that the rubric '2 Bases' at the beginning of the consort parts makes no sense unless the Sextus vocal part lies the within sounding range of a normal 'Bass' voice for the crucial central duet passage 'Consider this', from bar 61 onwards. With lower performing pitch, this is indeed the case, notably at the lowest point in the passage 68–71.[28] So, one conclusion from performance research into this Hooper anthem is that two versions of the same work in keys one tone apart can produce essentially the same sounding result, despite appearance on paper, due only to a difference in performing pitch. We have already touched on this possibility in Chapter 1A, but what can be concluded when two versions of the same anthem are separated by the wider interval of a fourth?

4.3.6. Two versions, a fourth apart

Two consort anthems exhibit this unusual characteristic:

> Orlando Gibbons *See, see, the Word is incarnate*[30]
>
>> GB-Och MS Mus. 21 & GB-Och MS Mus. 56–60 ('low' key versions)
>>
>> GB-Lbl Add. MS 29372–6 ('high' key version)
>
> John Ward, *Let God arise*[31]
>
>> GB-Och MS Mus. 61–6 & GB-Lbl Add. MS 29372–6 ('low' key versions)
>>
>> GB-Och MS Mus. 61–6 & GB-Och MS Mus. 56–60 ('high' key versions)

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[28] Even though in other parts of the Sextus line one can see that it incorporates material that is assigned to the higher voice, Tenor, in the choir and organ version; for example, bars 11–22.
[30] See Appendix for score.
[31] John Ward, *The Complete Works for Voices and Viols in Five Parts*, ed. by Ian Payne (St Albans: Corda Music, 1992).

Even more unusually, as can be seen in the source listing above, the Ward anthem is entered twice in the same set of part-books, Mus. 61–6, the high version followed by the low version. What circumstances might explain this curious duplication? It may be helpful to consider these anthems in the light of a very popular five-part vocal piece of the period, Tomkins' *When David heard*, which was published in a 'high' version in the composer's 1622 madrigal collection 'Songs of 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts' and by his son Nathaniel in the 1668 collection of his father's works 'Musica Deo Sacra' in a 'low' version, a fourth below the madrigal.[32] 'The 'high' versions of all three of these works are distinguished by being notated in 'high clefs', G2 in the highest voice and F3 in the lowest (as indeed are *Do not repine* and the consort version of *Hearken, ye nations*).[33] The use of these two clefs immediately raises the issue of *chiavette*, in other words the possible implication of an intended downward transposition according to strict application of certain rules, as they applied in much continental music of the period.[34] Is this relevant when such clefs appear in parts to consort anthems?

4.3.7. *Chiavette*

An argument was made by H. K. Andrews in favour of the application of *chiavette* rules in publications of Byrd's vocal polyphony, but this is immediately questionable because of his starting point:

> There is reason to think that in Byrd's time three different pitches were in use in England: one for church music, one for secular vocal music, and one for keyboard instruments.[35]

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[32] For the 'low' version of the Tomkins and for both versions of the Gibbons: see Appendix. For the 'low' version of the Ward anthem, see Ward, *The Complete Works for Voices and Viols in Five Parts*.

[33] Though, as mentioned above, this last is lacking its Bassus part in the only surviving source, the set Mus. 56–60. However, the Sextus is described as a 'Base' by the rubric at the opening of the part.

[34] For a discussion of this, see Andrew Johnstone, '"High" Clefs in Composition and Performance', *Early Music*, 34.1 (2006), pp. 29–54.

[35] Harold K. Andrews, 'Transposition of Byrd's Vocal Polyphony', *Music & Letters*, 43.1 (1962), pp. 25–37 (p. 25).

He goes on to make clear that his standard for church music pitch is the one espoused by

Fellowes and Wulstan, 'somewhere between a whole tone and a minor third higher than

present-day pitch', a theory which we now know to be discredited.[36] His assumption

regarding secular vocal music rests upon the assertion of Fellowes that 'the secular vocal

pitch would be much the same as it is now', whilst he dismisses keyboard pitch as 'not the

concern of the present enquiry'.[37] This position is also untenable. Nobody today, a century

after Fellowes' pronouncement, would argue that a single vocal pitch standard operated

throughout the 'secular' world in England outside the remit of 'church music'. Whilst we are

now reasonably confident about church music pitch due to the research of the early English

Organ Project on the surviving evidence of church organs, it is once again keyboards, this

time in the form of surviving secular chamber organs, that provide evidence of a significant

spread of different secular pitches in use. They should certainly be of 'concern' in this matter.

A report by Goetze and Gwynn on the chamber organ at Staunton Harold from the 1630s,

once belonging to the Shirley family, employers of William Lawes, estimates its original

pitch to be about A442, roughly a semitone below 'Quire' pitch; and measurements by

Dominic Gwynn and others of the 'Smithfield' (ex Hunstanton) organ once owned by the

LeStrange family, employers of John Jenkins, estimate that at about A422, roughly a tone

below 'Quire' pitch.[38] Either of these might well have been the reference point for a secular

vocal pitch standard in use by the respective family. Bruce Haynes estimates that an even

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[36] See Chapter 1 'Implications of the original performing pitch'.

[37] See Andrews, 'Transposition', p. 25, citing Fellowes, 'English Madrigal School', xviii.

[38] See < https://www.dropbox.com/s/9o75b9b2thculzo/36%20Staunton%20Harold.pdf?dl=0> [Accessed January 5 2021]; < https://www.goetzegwynn.co.uk/organ/1630-chamber-organ-st-lukes-smithfield-virginia-usa/> [Accessed January 5 2021]; see also David Robert Stuart Force, '"A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend": The Organ in Seventeenth-Century English Domestic Music' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The Open University, 2019), pp. 224–25.

lower pitch around A390, roughly a minor third below 'Quire' pitch, might have been in use as a standard for viol consort music, later referred to by Thomas Mace as 'consort pitch'.[39] Might the voices of a consort-playing household not have referred to that pitch similarly for their singing of madrigals or other secular vocal music?

4.3.8. A pitch standard for transposition

If the presence of *chiavette* notation is to imply transposition down by a set interval, such as a fourth, the question must be: 'down a fourth from what pitch?'. The only area of music making in which a standard performing pitch can confidently be said to have had wide application is in the world of church music, where this was desirable in order to enable a large repertory of compositions to be circulated and used by similarly constituted choirs with similar voice ranges across a wide body of choral institutions. Returning to the example of Tomkins' *When David heard*, as published in its 'low' key version in *Musica Deo Sacra*, it is designed for precisely this world, set in clefs according to its standard and thus sure to sound at the pitch which the composer intended and expected. Furthermore, it is clearly tied to the church organ pitch standard by the inclusion of a part for it in that publication. The 'high' key version of the piece in Tomkins' 1622 publication, in common with a large repertory of other madrigal publications of the period (none of it tied to an organ part), was not intended for this kind of end user. If such a church choir were faced with it, no doubt it might have applied the rules of *chiavette* to transpose down a fourth from its high 'Quire' pitch standard, in order to fit its normal voice ranges and thus result in a performance that sounded at the same pitch as the 'low' key version. But in none of the secular situations described earlier,

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[39] Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of 'A'* (Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 2002), p. 96. See also my suggestion in Chapter 1B 'Original performing pitch: implications for instruments' that the whole range of these pitches up to and including Quire pitch can be corroborated as both likely and practically feasible by the range of surviving bass viol sizes.

with their range of lower, localised pitch standards, stretching down possibly as low as A390, does there seem any reason for 'Quire' pitch to have had any relevance, nor for the consequent practical need to apply the *chiavette* rule of transposition down a fourth. Nor would a Fellowes 'secular vocal pitch' standard have evoked the rule, since there is no good reason to think that such a standard existed. Presumably, a household which could assemble the necessary number and range of voices to perform the piece simply sang it at a level which was convenient for the voices available, and perhaps the composer's use of 'high' clefs to notate the music is no more than an indication of such an expectation.

4.3.9. Instrument pitch

With the two consort anthems, *See, see, the Word is incarnate* and *Let God arise*, each surviving in versions a fourth apart, there are instruments to consider. The 'low' key version of each is perfectly suited to the high 'Quire' pitch, all the chorus vocal lines fitting the normal church choral ranges. The two bass soloists in Ward's *Let God arise* do not exceed anything in Tomkins' several examples of virtuoso bass verse writing (the single low *C* in the lower voice at the words 'they that go down to the sea' being set to disappear as the line sinks into the depths). Although no instruments are specified in the parts, viols tuned to 'Quire' pitch seem the most likely candidates for these 'low' key versions, not least from the point of view of balance.[40] With the 'high' key version of each anthem, each of which is notated with high clefs, problems of sounding vocal range emerge unless a much lower performing pitch is adopted. This is most apparent again in the bass vocal parts. In *Let God arise* the upper bass

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[40] A recording of this anthem with the consort Phantasm accompanying the choir of Magdalen College, Oxford, and performed at A415 is unconvincing is this respect, with the use of a choir adding a further element that is historically questionable (see Chapter 1A 'Original Performing pitch: implications for voices'). *John Ward: Fantasies & Verse Anthems*, Phantasm & Choir or Magdalen College, Oxford, director Daniel Hyde (Linn Records CKD427, 2014).

voice now has a notated range of two octaves from *G* to *g'*, the highest passage coming in a chorus section where unusually high writing out of normal range seems least likely to be called for, and in the Bassus part of *See, see, the Word is incarnate* the range is only a semitone short of that, again up to *g'*. The *sounding* vocal range of the bass voices, if these versions are performed at a high level such as 'Quire' pitch, or even at modern pitch of A440, is equivalent to that of a modern baritone with a high extension, and this kind of virtuosity is very untypical of verse anthem repertory generally. A low performing pitch, perhaps as much as a minor third lower than Quire pitch (in other words around A390–400), restores them to sounding ranges that seem much more credible. We are left with the question: why does the set of part-books Och Mus 61–66 include parts for *Let God arise* twice in succession and a fourth apart?

4.3.10. Conclusions

One possible reason may be the same that I suggest separates the two extant versions of Hooper's *Hearken, ye nations* by a tone: performance at two different pitch standards and in different circumstances, but in the case of this Ward anthem separated by a wider margin. My 'In Chains of Gold' project has demonstrated that a consort of viols tuned to 'Quire' pitch is entirely feasible and makes a convincing accompaniment to consort anthems from Byrd to Gibbons. As I and others have argued, a low 'consort' pitch of around A390 is also perfectly feasible for viols.[41] If the 'low' key parts to *Let God arise* were intended for use in a location where the higher pitch was standard, that could explain their presence in the part-books.[42]

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[41] See Haynes, *Story of 'A'*, p. 96 and see also Chapter 1B above.

[42] Private chapels are places where such a pitch might well have been used, likely locations also of chamber organs, which tend to be at high pitches. See Force, 'A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend', p. 225. David Pinto raises the important question, still in need of further research, of what music was performed in them, although the likely owner of the part-book set in this case, Sir Henry Fanshawe, does not himself seem to have had one.

CHAPTER 4.3
The experience of performing consort anthems: extremities

The 'high' key parts might then be intended for use at a much lower, 'secular' pitch, possibly even enabling the same voice-types to sing both versions without going out of comfortable range. We cannot even be sure that the two versions had the same consort instruments in mind.[43] There are too few certainties about the circumstances of musical performance in England in the early seventeenth century outside the world of church music for a tidy solution such as fixed *chiavette* transposition rules to answer all the questions raised by the use of 'high' clefs in the cases we have been examining. Perhaps, as I suggest above in relation to the example of Tomkins' *When David heard*, the appearance of G2 and F3 clefs combined in parts to a consort anthem indicates nothing more than the composer's expectation 'this is intended to sound lower than it looks'.

See David Pinto, 'A Partbook Set for Consort Anthem Reassessed', *Viola Da Gamba Society Journal*, 13 (2020), pp. 1–19 (pp. 15–16).

[43] Lynn Hulse quotes the fascinating account of music in the private chapel of James Whitelock in 1631: ' … having a very good organ in his chappell, they had good musicke, by way of verse, before the lessons, with lutes, violes, harpe & organ playing togither, all in an upper roome att the lower end of the chappell, with a courtain before them, so that the musick discending, was the more sweet & pleasing, & the musitians not being seen, it seemed, the more rare, diffused, & aery, & was the more delightfull to the auditors …'. See Lynn Mary Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy, *c*.1590–1640' (unpublished Ph.D., University of London, 1992), p. 283 <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/en/theses/the-musical-patronage-of-the-english-aristocracy-c1590--1640(cab186ec-3efc-4694-a6ef-7e731c0c5887).html> [Accessed October 6 2017].

CHAPTER 4.4
The experience of performing consort anthems: tactus and tempo

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In Chapter 4.2 I argued for a 'speaking' style of delivery, when singing the verses of a consort anthem and referred to our exploration of this in the 'In Chains of Gold' recording project. A relevant factor which often presents difficulty to those who are unfamiliar with the repertory and with its notation is Tactus. What is it and how does it affect the way we approach the music?

4.4.1. Misleading editions

When performance of a verse is conceived in terms of Tactus, rather than of a metronome beat, a constraint can be removed, allowing natural rhythms of speech to be released. But it is intimately connected with original notation, and those who are inexperienced with the verse style can find it difficult to achieve when having to contend with certain barriers that are presented by older modern editions of the music. As well as obscuring information about key and vocal ranges through being transposed, these editions may also convey a misleading impression of the whole rhythmic feel of the music through reduction in note values and imposition of modern barring. Notation that was mostly white will look predominantly black and patterns within it may lie hidden. To those inexperienced in original notation, this all matters, because a preponderance of semibreves and minims tends to suggest a slow speed, a line lacking in light and shade, asking to be sung with a constant, uninflected legato.

CHAPTER 4.4
The experience of performing consort anthems: tactus and tempo

4.4.2. A century of Tactus

Having returned to the original notational values, the first requirement is to embrace the

concept of a large unit of tempo rather than a small one. In this repertory and in the period

around 1600, that unit is the semibreve tactus. As an element of musical theory, it was

articulated by Ornithoparcus at the beginning of the sixteenth century,[1] repeated by several

continental theorists over the following hundred years and established clearly in English

practice by Dowland's translation of Ornithoparcus in 1609:

> The writers call this *Tact* the whole, or total *Tact*, because it is the true *Tact*
> of all songs, it comprehends in his motion a *Semibreefe* not diminished …[2]

That statement is followed by a table of notational values, copied by other writers of the

period,[3] which clarifies the semibreve's place in central position, from which the values of all

greater and lesser values are calculated (Figure 4.4.1):

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1 Andreas Ornithoparchus, *Musicae activae micrologus* (Leipzig: Valentin Schumann, 1517), see Roger Mathew Grant, *Beating Time & Measuring Music in the Early Modern Era*, Oxford Studies in Music Theory (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 32. See also George Houle, *Meter in Music, 1600–1800: Performance, Perception, and Notation* (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 3.
2 John Dowland, *Andreas Ornithoparcus His Micrologus, or Introduction: Containing the Art of Singing.* (London: Printed for Thomas Adams, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the Signe of the white Lion, 1609), p. 46.
3 See for example William Bathe, *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song: Concerning the Practise, Set Forth by William Bathe Gentleman* (London: Thomas Este, 1597), sig. B. Bathe also clarifies that there are only two forms of tactus, duple and triple: 'there be 2. kindes of time, Semibreefe time, & three minim time.'

Figure 4.4.1: John Dowland, *Andreas Ornithoparcus His Micrologus, or Introduction: Continuing the Art of Singing*, p.46, sig. O^v

The division of the duple Tactus into two equal halves is described in theoretical writing from the end of the fifteenth century,[4] relating the *Thesis* and *Arsis* divisions variously to the motions of the heart,[5] of the pulse and of the musical director's hand.[6] The significant implication of these physical comparisons is that the two halves, although equal in duration, are not identical in quality. Charles Butler (cited in my earlier section on proportional metre) helpfully draws many of these threads together, writing some thirty years later than Dowland:

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[4] According to Ruth de Ford, subdivision of the tactus is first mentioned by Gaffurio in his *Practica Musice* of 1496. See Ruth I. DeFord, *Tactus, Mensuration and Rhythm in Renaissance Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), Kindle location 2254.

[5] Hence to the diastole and systole. See De Ford on Gaffurio in De Ford *Tactus, Mensuration and Rhythm*, Kindle locations 2620–2651. See generally on references to the heart in Grant, *Beating Time,* pp. 56–9.

[6] 'A steady and measured motion of the hand of the singer', as described by Agricola in *Musica figuralis deudsch* (Hildesheim, 1532), see Grant, *Beating Time*, pp. 18–20; in Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1558), see Grant p. 23. In English writing see Dowland, *Andreas Ornithoparcus*, p. 46; also Bathe, sig. B^v. It is relevant to remember that the terms *Thesis* and *Arsis*, in that they derive from Greek classical dance, already have implications of gravity in the respective lowering and raising of the foot.

> The principal *Time-note* is the *Sembrief*: by whose Time, the time of all
> Notes is known: and it is mesured by *Tactus* or the Stroke of the Hand, in a
> certain space of distance: the which, Imitation and Use will make you
> perfect in.
> The parts of *Tactus* are two: [*Thesis* and *Arsis*:] i. the Depression or Fall,
> and the Elevation or Rise of the Hand.[7]

How does all this relate to the 'singing and setting' of text?

4.4.3. Thomas Campion

A fascinating light is thrown on this question by Thomas Campion. His contribution is

invaluable because he is both a poet and a composer and because so little is written by

English composers that tells us anything about how they choose to set text to music.

Published in 1602, his *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* is not specifically concerned

with music at all, but is part of an argument that has been keenly pursued for the preceding

couple of decades by leading poets, such as Sidney, Spenser and Harvey in favour of

incorporating quantitative classical metre into the development of English verse to make it

more varied and sophisticated and, as they saw it, to stem the tide of lazy rhyming and

relentless iambics.[8] As it happens, Campion was on the losing side of the argument,[9] but in

comparing types of Latin and English verse he makes an intriguing comment, which has

musical implications that have hitherto escaped notice.

> I haue obserued, and so may any one that is either practis'd in singing, or
> hath a naturall eare able to time a song, that the Latine verses of sixe feete,
> as the *Heroick* and *Iambick,* or of fiue feete, as the *Trochaick,* are in nature
> all of the same length of sound with our English verses of fiue feet; for
> either of them being tim'd with the hand, *quinque perficiunt tempora,* they

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[7] Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik, in Singing and Setting: With The Two-Fold Use Thereof [Ecclesiastical and Civil]* (London: John Haviland, 1636), p. 24.
[8] One can see what Campion meant, if only considering the flood of metrical psalms of the period. Another reaction to the phenomenon is captured in Thomas Nashe's wonderful phrase ' …the spacious volubilitie of a drumming decasillabon'. *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. by Ronald Brunlees McKerrow (Oxford: Blackwell, 1958), pp. 311–12.
[9] See e.g. the counter by Samuel Daniel in *A Defence of Rhyme* (London: 'At London Printed by V.S. for Edward Blount', 1603), which is generally seen as settling the matter.

> fill vp the quantity (as it were) of fiue sem'briefs, as for example, if any man will proue to time these verses with his hand.[10]

His main point, as he explains elsewhere, is that English verse is less fluid than Latin because of its profusion of dense monosyllables and is therefore slower to declaim. But, in comparing the two, he seems to take for granted a direct relationship between the foot in verse and the beating of a semibreve tactus in music – the down and up movement of a conducting hand, described above by Butler, and which we can suppose was familiar to English musicians of the time.

4.4.4. Aligning the foot and the tactus

The logical implication of his words, in comparing poetry and music, is that the stress of the poetic foot (the 'strong' syllable) aligns naturally with that of the musical tactus (the downstroke). This is indeed what we find increasingly with text set in the verse style, as the pace of sung delivery approaches that of spoken declamation. In many anthems of the earlier period, the predominantly slow pace of semibreves and minims may not make that particularly clear (Examples 4.4.1 and 4.4.2):
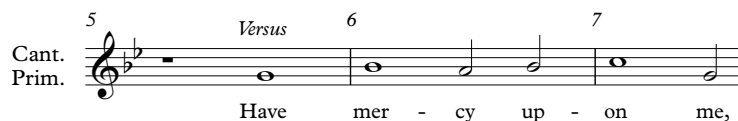
Example 4.4.1: William Byrd *Have mercy upon me*, bars 5–7
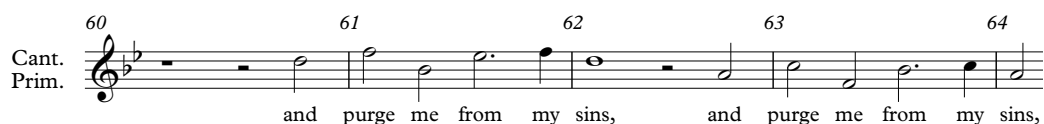
Example 4.4.2: William Byrd *Have mercy upon me*, bars 60–64

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[10] Thomas Campion, *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* (London: Printed at London by Richard Field for Andrew Wise, 1602), pp. 9–10.

But by the time of Gibbons, when there are often more anapaestic crotchet syllables, it is

more obvious (Example 4.4.3):
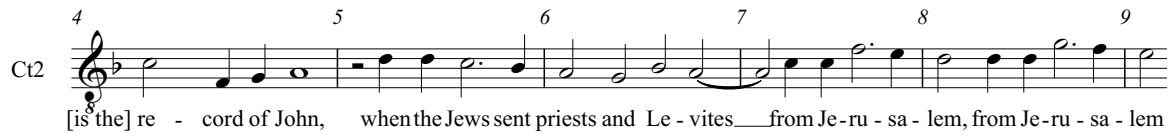
Example 4.4.3: Orlando Gibbons *This is the record of John*, bars 4–9

and it becomes correspondingly more important that the natural rhythms of speech should be

allowed to emerge in performance. A choral approach to verse-singing often tends to

prioritise a long and relatively uninflected vocal line — one that favours uniformity and

evenness over individuality — and is only exacerbated by the habit of so many choir

directors to beat time in small units (in this case minims) instead of in the larger semibreve

tactus.[11] The tactus 'stroke' by its simple down and up motion suggests more of a sinewave

pattern of stressed and unstressed syllables, rather than a straight line.[12]

4.4.5. The power of pattern

Once this regular pattern is established as a 'default', layers of rhetorical emphasis become

possible by breaking the pattern. Here it is possible to see a parallel development in musical

text-setting to that which has been taking place in the evolution of English verse through its

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[11] I recognise that directors of boys' choirs seem often to feel the need to maintain the quicker beat in order to keep the boys in time (and I have pointed to an interesting piece of notational evidence that this may sometimes have been done in practice, when rhythms become more complex – see Critical Commentary to Hooper's *O God of gods*, bar 24) but in general I feel that it imposes a straightjacket on the music, which prevents the text from breathing.

[12] It is important to emphasise that this is *not* to advocate introducing an inappropriate hierarchy of 'good' and 'bad' notes, such as became a feature of Baroque style a century or so later (see e.g. Houle, *Meter in Music*, pp. 124–34). It is much more to do with taking accents *away* than with enforcing them. But it does raise the idea that, if one takes a long view of the evolution of Tactus into 'beat' from roughly 1500 to 1800, this period around 1600 could be seen as one in which it acquires a more vertical and less linear character, eventually to emerge in the Baroque's hierarchy of the bar.

assimilation of the metrical flexibility that Campion and others had been advocating.[13] Gavin Alexander, in discussing Philip Sidney's metrical experiments, shows how he found a way to release speech rhythm from formal verse by playing with the pattern of the iambic pentameter, for example by 'reaching in' and reversing a foot, so that an unstressed syllable falls on the *Thesis* and a stressed one on the *Arsis*.[14] In its simplest form, a similar effect is achieved musically by setting a syllable stress on the upstroke of the Tactus and a 'non-stress' on the downstroke (Example 4.4.4):

Example 4.4.4: Thomas Tomkins *Know you not*, bars 37–41

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[13] It lies beyond the scope of the present research, but an investigation of how the quantitative metre 'project' of the late sixteenth century might have influenced composers of the period would be very interesting. A few concrete examples, such as Byrd's *Constant Penelope*, are well known, but it surely goes much further.

[14] Alexander writes: 'Once the rules become abstract it is possible to manipulate the imagined pattern, by reaching in and turning the first, or the third, or the fourth foot. The line still conforms to the rule within the dispensation of this new licence.' He cites as an example a sestet from *Astrophil and Stella*, 47:

Virtue, awake: beauty but beauty is;
    I may, I must, I can, I will, I do
Leave following that, which it is gain to miss.
    Let her go. Soft, but here she comes. Go to,
Unkind, I love you not—: O me, that eye
Doth make my heart give to my tongue the lie.

Sidney's 'The Defence of Poesy' and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism, ed. by Gavin Alexander, Penguin Classics (London ; New York: Penguin, 2004), p. l.

Looked at in terms of gravity, it could be seen as rhetorically elevating an accent, since the

weight now falls metrically counter to expectation.[15] As Alexander argues, the rich synthesis

of styles that resulted from quantitative experiments in poetry combined syllable stresses and

lengths in a complex relationship.[16] This has musical equivalence in the way that Gibbons

expands 'Arsic' accents with harmonic suspension, generating passages of triple metre that

overflow the bounds of the duple Tactus to create musical *enjambement* (Example 4.4.5):[17]

Example 4.4.5: Orlando Gibbons *This is the record of John*, bars 9–18

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[15] Katherine Rohrer's discussion of poetic metre in Purcell's songs has a useful term for this: the 'prediction' of
the metre. Katherine T. Rohrer, 'Poetic Metre, Musical Metre and the Dance in Purcell's Songs', in *Purcell
Studies*, ed. by Curtis Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 207–42 (p. 208).

[16] See Alexander, *Sidney's 'The Defence of Poesy*, pp. l – liii.

[17] See Chapter 2.

This level of detail, where (to use Alexander's phrase) two separate metres are being held 'in tension', will remain submerged unless the singer is freed from the rigidity of a metronomic minim beat and embraces the freedom of Tactus.[18]

4.4.6. Tactus and Tempo

Another intriguing implication of Campion's paragraph is that it might tell us something about an absolute value for the semibreve in terms of passage of time. In comparing the speed of declamation of certain kinds of Latin or English verse, he appears to suggest that 'any one' experienced in vocal music can accurately judge such a speed by beating a semibreve tactus, in the manner described by Butler and earlier continental theorists, since that is clearly what Campion means by the expression 'tim'd with the hand'. But it might also mean that the very notation of a semibreve denotes of itself a sufficiently small window in passage of time to be useful as an absolute measurement; or, taken a stage further, that if a musician saw a notated semibreve it would imply a fairly precise tempo, independently of its context. Is this really what he is saying?

More probably, he is simply accepting that, to the musically aware, the semibreve is the value that invariably denotes the 'time note' of a piece (to use Butler's phrase) and that with this goes the beating of tactus — an activity which could be used to 'time' the declamation of a verse equally as well as the performance of a piece of music. However, some modern scholars have argued that there is some historical basis for the idea of a tempo standard for the semibreve in this period. Le Huray cites the entry in a *pars organica* part of Tomkins' *Music Deo Sacra*, which he translates as 'the semibreve equals two beats of the

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[18] An important by-product of thinking in terms of semibreve tactus, rather than minim beat, is that it makes transitions into proportionately related sections of triple metre much more straightforward, since the pulse of the underlying semibreve remains the same. See e.g. Gibbons *We praise thee, O Father*, Hooper *The Blessed Lamb* and many other examples. See also Chapter 4.1 on 'proportional metre'.

human heart, or the swing of a pendulum 2 ft long'.[19] In his opinion, this speed seems 'quite

reasonable' for the composer's 'most elaborate music', but would be 'certainly too slow' for

music from the mid sixteenth century, and he concludes that 'modern performances

[probably] tend to err on the fast side'.[20] Houle attempts to estimate a speed for the *tactus*

maior by pragmatic reference to the 'physiological limits to the speed of a conductor's beat'

and he judges that, for practical purposes, it becomes 'too slow around MM 40, and too fast

around MM 130–35'. He concludes 'it would seem that *tactus maior* might be restricted to

the range of MM 60–66'.[21] He also refers to Mersenne's relating of tactus both to the second

and to the body's pulse, acknowledging that the latter is faster.[22]

4.4.7. Tactus and tempo in performance

It seems relevant here to contribute some data that is at least based on practical experience in

performing consort anthem repertory. A table is given below of the average speeds of the

Gibbons anthems on the first of the 'In Chains of Gold' recordings,[23] illustrating the quite

wide range of tactus speeds that arose over the course of a group project on the music.[24] This

was a substantial body of works by a single composer in largely uniform style, and rehearsal

of most anthems began with the same 'exploratory' tactus of $\downarrow$ = MM 90,[25] with final speeds

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[19] The remark is found in 'the Tenbury copy only'. 'o: Sit mensura duorum humani corporis pulsum, vel globuli penduli, longditudine duorum pedum a centro motus'. Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549–1660* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 110.
[20] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, p. 110.
[21] Houle, *Meter in music*, p. 5.
[22] It is interesting that as late as 1800, before general acceptance of the metronome for measuring tempo, the pendulum was still being used as a standard. William Crotch published a table of MM markings for different lengths of pendulum, giving the figure for a 2 foot pendulum as MM77. See Emanuel Rubin, 'New Light on Late Eighteenth-Century Tempo: William Crotch's Pendulum Markings', *Performance Practice Review*, 2.1 (1989), p. 45. <https://doi.org/10.5642/perfpr.198902.01.1> [Accessed 20 November 2021].
[23] *'In Chains of Gold', The English Pre-Restoration Verse Anthem vol. 1* (Signum SIGCD511, 2017).
[24] All of them were performed in concert before being recorded.
[25] As I previously observed in Chapter 4.1, the minim is used as a reference point for comparing tempi solely because this is much easier to assess than the semibreve. But it is the underling semibreve tactus that is crucial to the underlying musical structure.

evolving as the music became more familiar.[26] The spread from slowest tempo ($\musQuarter$ = MM 84)

to fastest ($\musQuarter$ = MM 100) is nearly 20%.[27]

track	Title	average $\musQuarter$ = MM
1	*Behold, thou hast made my days*	84
2	*We praise thee, O Father*	96
4	*This is the record of John*	96
2	*Glorious and powerful God*	88
3	*See, see, the Word is incarnate*	96–100
6	*Sing unto the Lord*	96
7	*Blessed are all they that fear the Lord*	88
9	*O all true faithful hearts*	96
10	*Lord, grant grace*	84
12	*Great King of Gods*	92
4	*Do not repine, fair sun (part 1)*[28]	100

These speeds are the result of subjective choices and they seem considerably faster than those

suggested above by Le Huray or Houle.[29] Is there any objective evidence for claiming that

they may have validity from the viewpoint of historical performance practice?

4.4.8. Tactus and tempo in relation to *passaggi*

Perverse as it might at first seem, an argument can perhaps be made in the case of *Glorious*

and powerful God from the smallest note values notated in the piece, rather than from the

larger ones. The solo Bassus part contains *passaggi* in bars 4 and 67 of a kind that is rarely

notated in this repertory and may be indicative of a vocal technique of rapid throat

articulation, often referred to as *gorgia* in Italian music of the period (Example 4.4.6):

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[26] Several of the anthems were in fact unfamiliar to most of the performers when we began the project.

[27] The tactus speeds of tracks 2, 9 & 10 relate to the sections in duple tactus (though the speeds of the sections in triple metre are in each case related by *sesquialtera* proportion).

[28] This work could be regarded as not belonging in the company of the sacred anthems, but the first of its two halves is in a verse style which is closely related.

[29] Although Le Huray had allowed that the reference point of a 2 ft pendulum cited in a copy of *Musica Deo Sacra*, not published until 1668, would be 'certainly too slow' for some earlier repertory. I would argue that the same applies to these Gibbons anthems.

The experience of performing consort anthems: tactus and tempo
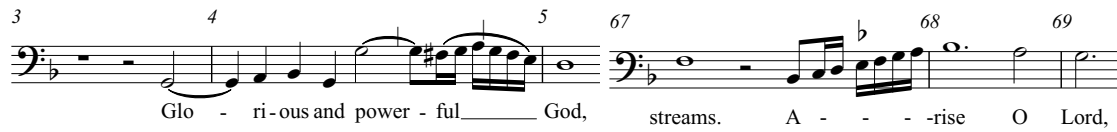
Example 4.4.6: Orlando Gibbons *Glorious and powerful God*, Bassus bars 3–5 & 67–9

Similar examples can be found in other anthems, all suggestive of the same kind of vocal

technique (Examples 4.4.7, 4.4.8 and 4.4.9):

Example 4.4.7: Simon Stubbs *Have mercy upon me, O God*

(GB-Lbl Add. MSS 29372–6)

Example 4.4.8: Richard Hinde *O Sing unto the Lord*

(GB-Ob MSS Mus. Sch. d. 212–16)
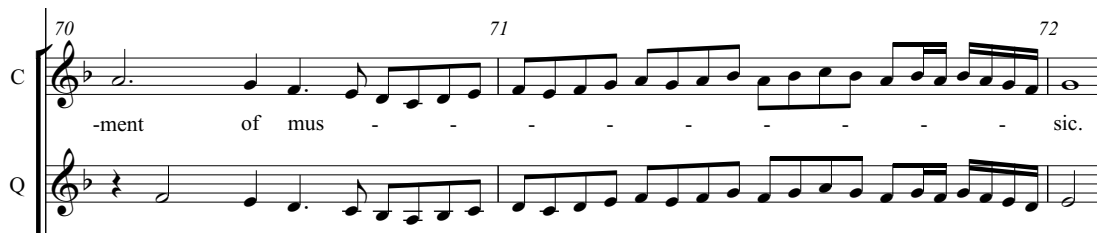
Example 4.4.9: Thomas Ravenscroft *In thee, O Lord, do I trust*

(GB-Och MSS Mus. 56–60)

These all involve small flourishes which are presumably intended to sound light and brilliant

rather than significant and 'expressive' and they would all be perfectly feasible with throat

articulation at the speed taken for *Glorious and powerful God* in our project. On the other

hand, they would probably not be possible with such a technique at a speed much slower than this, and would then require diaphragm articulation, making them sound more effortful.[30] There is therefore an argument to be made, that an average speed for an anthem in verse style such as this would probably lie within a range that allowed ornaments such as these to be easily improvised, since the ones that are actually notated in the repertory are likely to be indicative of much wider practice.[31] We cannot go further than that. On the other hand, it is possible to affirm, from experience of performing the repertory, that a tactus-based approach to the music creates the flexibility that allows such improvised decoration to emerge naturally, in the same way as it allows subtleties of rhythm to be released from the text, as suggested by Campion's fascinating observation.

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[30] I am grateful for an expert view on this subject to the distinguished exponent of early modern tenor singing techniques, Charles Daniels, who sang Contratenor 2 on this recording. He confirms that rapid throat articulation (*gorgia*) seems the most likely technique for *passaggi* of this kind. In his view, a tempo between about ♩ = MM 80 and ♩ = MM 90 is comfortable for most specialist singers using this technique, still possible at about ♩ = MM 70 but becoming awkward by about ♩ = MM 60. Daniels' own recording of Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* (Taverner Consort & Players, dir. Andrew Parrott, Avie AV2278, 2013) averages a tempo between about ♩ = MM 80 and ♩ = MM 92 for the florid aria *Possente Spirto*, containing extensive passages that require *gorgia*. The performance of the late Nigel Rogers, the leading exponent of the technique from an earlier generation, averages about ♩ = MM 84 in the same passage. (London Baroque, London Cornett & Sackbut Ensemble, Chiaroscuro, dir. Nigel Rogers, EMI CDS 7 47142 8, 1984.)

[31] Two interesting manuscript examples from later in the century provide evidence that Gibbons' *Behold thou hast made my days* must have been a popular model for ornamentation, though it is questionable how far they throw light on earlier practice. Both use notated *passaggi* and a variety of symbols. 'The Segar Songbook' of 1692 (Yale University Library, Osborn Music MS 9, 18ᵛ–19ʳ) shows only the solo line of the verses, lightly decorated with no accompaniment and no chorus sections. In common with the rest of the pieces in the collection, it is in treble clef, evidently for the owner, Elizabeth Segar, to use as practice material. The other, a somewhat earlier score in the hand of Henry Aldrich (GB-Och Mus 18, pp 29–31 — see Appendix for transcription of the vocal line), maintains the C3 clef for the solo Contratenor part. Dating from around 1670, it includes a full keyboard accompaniment, which, whilst omitting notated chorus parts, could have been used in combination with them. However, the much more florid style of ornamentation, including extended cadential melismas that require virtuosic execution, seems hardly likely to be performable to a constant tactus and suggests considerable flexibility in tempo.

CHAPTER 4.5
The experience of performing consort anthems: use of wind instruments

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In Chapter 1, I referred to the use of wind instruments to accompany some of the anthems in the two 'In Chains of Gold' recordings and discussed these in relation to the use of Quire pitch in this project.[1] What were the reasons for choosing cornetts and sackbuts with organ and what was learned from the experience of using them?

4.5.1. 'Windy' accompaniments

The five works accompanied by wind on these recordings are:

Vol 1	Orlando Gibbons	*Great King of Gods*
		O all true faithful hearts
		Lord, grant grace
Vol 2	William Byrd	*Look and bow down*[2]
	Edmund Hooper	*O God of gods*

A principal reason for this choice of instrumentation was the historical association of cornetts and sackbuts with major occasions of state and royal celebration. Documentation of several

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[1] The two CD recordings form part of the data for this research: *'In Chains of Gold', The English Pre-Restoration Verse Anthem vol. 1: Orlando Gibbons – Complete Consort Anthems*, Fretwork, His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts, Magdalena Consort, art. dir. William Hunt (Signum SIGCD511, 2017); *'In Chains of Gold', The English Pre-Restoration Verse Anthem vol. 2: William Byrd to Edmund Hooper: Psalms and Royal Anthems*, Fretwork, His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts, Magdalena Consort, art. dir. William Hunt (Signum SIGCD609, 2020).

[2] Unlike the other four works, this is not an 'anthem', but I regard it as an important element in the genre of *pièces d'occasion* that I discuss in Chapter 3A.

such occasions with mention of wind participation has been given by Andrew Parrott,[3] and, more generally, Helen Roberts has recently researched the wider use of these instruments in cathedral music during this period.[4] The texts of all five works and the occasions which gave rise to them seemed to make them particularly suitable for the added grandeur that wind accompaniment would bring.[5] Whilst the *cori spezzati* Venetian style of the central section of Gibbons' *Lord, grant grace* posed an invitation difficult to resist,[6] the way that 'cornetts' are singled out in the final, antiphonal chorus of *O God of gods* seemed to place their presence beyond doubt.[7]

Ross Duffin has argued strongly for the greater use of cornetts and sackbuts in consort anthems generally,[8] pointing to a scribal link between the major source of this repertory in Christ Church, Oxford (GB-Och MSS Mus. 56–60) and the so-called Fitzwilliam Wind Manuscript (GB-Cfm 24.E.13–17). Thurston Dart had earlier identified the latter as a source of repertory for the Royal Wind Band, reconstructing a missing sixth part to some of the pieces in it.[9] Duffin builds upon an observation by Craig Monson, that the Christ Church set suggests interesting connections with the royal court, in that it contains many works by composers in royal service, some of them *unica*, and of these a 'remarkable number of pieces

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[3] For example, the christening of Princess Mary, Greenwich 1605; funeral of Prince Henry, St James Palace 1612; funeral of James I, Westminster Abbey 1625. See Andrew Parrott, '"Grett and Solompne Singing": Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War', in *Composers' Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 368–80.

[4] Helen Roberts, 'Wind Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals, *c*. 1580–*c*. 1680: Towards a Performance Practice' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Birmingham City University, 2019).

[5] See Chapter 3A: *O God of gods*.

[6] Even more so, the repeat of the phrase 'and let everything that hath breath' at bar 46.

[7] See bars 106–8. Hooper's involvement with the engagement of cornetts and sackbuts for Queen's Day, according to payment records from Westminster Abbey in 1599, is also an indicator. See Volume 2, 'Three anthems by Edmund Hooper, a critical edition: Introduction'.

[8] Ross Duffin, '"Cornets and Sagbuts" Some Thoughts on the Early Seventeenth-Century English Repertory for Brass', in Stewart Carter (ed.), *Perspectives in Brass Scholarship* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1995), pp. 47–60.

[9] See Thurston Dart, 'The Repertory of the Royal Wind Music', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 1958, 70–77.

connected with court holidays and other solemn court occasions'.[10] Having established this

network of relationship – the two manuscript sets, music for the Royal Wind and the

connection with court occasions — Duffin goes on to suggest that several of the anthems in

verse style from Mus. 56–60 might be suitable for cornetts and sackbuts.[11] It is not

unreasonable to think that some of the documented events listed by Parrott might have

involved such a combination, but how does it work in practice?

4.5.2. A question of balance

The reference in a Chapel Royal word book to a lost anthem by William Lawes, *Before the
mountains were brought forth*, 'with verses for Cornetts and Sagbutts' is tantalising.[12] As

Parrott points out, we cannot be certain whether these 'verses' were passages for solo voice

or voices, which the wind players accompanied, or simply instrumental interludes.[13] If they

were only interludes, presumably the solo voices in the verse sections would have been

accompanied by an organ. In his concise list of ten documented instances in which the role of

cornetts and sackbuts is 'at least hinted at', four specifically mention the added participation

of an organ,[14] and this is the combination which we adopted for both the recordings in the 'In

Chains of Gold' project.[15] Much depends on a decision which must be made at the outset on

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[10] Duffin, "Cornets and Sagbuts", pp. 58–9, citing Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600–50: Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor, Mich: UMI Research Press,U.S., 1982), pp. 60–61.
[11] Whilst I applaud Duffin's enthusiasm for their wider involvement in verse anthem repertory, my own concert experience of using them in the more densely written examples of the genre make me dubious about some of his suggestions.
[12] GB-Lbl MS Rawl. Poet. p. 200.
[13] Parrott, "Grett and Solompne Singing", p. 375.
[14] Parrott, "Grett and Solompne Singing", pp. 379–80.
[15] The organ on volume 1 was a large chest organ in later seventeenth century English style and on volume 2 was the Goetze and Gwynn 'St Teilo' reconstruction of a much larger 'Tudor' style instrument. The difference in size and sonority means that the two recordings are not directly comparable in matters of balance, but the practical experience gained from using both of them in this repertory contributed much useful evidence. It was the firm opinion of the wind players that the addition of an organ to their ensemble was an important factor in consolidating good intonation. We were mindful, however, that the organ's role should not be that of a 'continuo' instrument in the style of later baroque music, improvising harmony from a bass line (see e.g. John

CHAPTER 4.5
The experience of performing consort anthems: use of wind instruments

whether or not to double a solo voice with a wind instrument. In what may be the only example hitherto of detailed musicological research into the consort anthem, combined with the practical experience of performing them on wind instruments, Nathaniel Wood describes some of the difficulties of balance that he encountered.[16] From his finding that 'solo voices … may have difficulty projecting through a thick texture of cornetts and sackbuts', it must be assumed that he was doubling solo voice parts throughout, although this is not made completely clear,[17] and he refers to a particular difficulty in this respect with the female altos who took part. Even though our project used only high tenors on the relevant lines, who do not have the same problem,[18] an early experiment in concert performance prior to our first recording convinced me that wind doubling of verse singers would risk obscuring the text,[19] and we therefore tended to avoid it in both of our recordings, at any rate in the middle and upper parts. However, this is an area that would benefit from further practical research. The style and construction of the music are crucial factors.

Morehen, 'The English Consort and Verse Anthems', *Early Music*, 6.3 (1978), pp. 381–85 (p. 383), but rather doubling pre-existing lines.

[16] Nathaniel Wood, 'Cornetts and Sackbuts in the English Church: Reconstructed Unique Anthems from Christ Church (Oxford) MSS Mus. 56-60, and Associated Performance Practices' (unpublished MA, Case Western Reserve, 2007), pp. 25–6.

[17] The point is essential, since the question of instrumental doubling by viols was raised by Le Huray (see Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 129) who doubted its effectiveness, due to the obscuring of text, although this issue seemed to pose no problem for Morehen (see Morehen, 'The English Consort and Verse Anthems', p. 381) and Wulstan seems to have assumed that the viols should play throughout, although questioning whether they should play in the chorus sections as well. (See Orlando Gibbons, *Verse Anthems*, ed. by David Wulstan, Early English Church Music, 3 (Stainer and Bell, 1964), pp. vii–viii). Our own experience so far in the 'In Chains of Gold' project raises no reason to doubt the practice of viol doubling in verse sections, though within parameters discussed in section 4.7 on this subject.

[18] Wood writes: 'Countertenors sang these lines in church settings in the Jacobean period; that voice type would carry more easily over the instruments' (see Wood, 'Cornetts and Sackbutts', p. 26). As I have pointed out in Chapter 1 'Implications of the original performing pitch' (1A Voices), I believe the use of the 'countertenor' voice-type in its modern falsettist form to be misconceived. It would certainly not solve the problem presented by instrument doubling.

[19] Early Musical Instrument Exhibition, Blackheath, November 10th 2016, Magdalena Consort with His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts and Silas Wollston *organ*: a programme including consort anthems by Byrd, Gibbons and Tomkins.

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4.5.3. The Gibbons anthems

In *Great King of gods*, the style is grand and the texture generally transparent and there are no significant problems of balance or audibility of text. The ♩♩♩ rhythm of the opening verse of *O all true faithful hearts* gives it a similar processional feel, the pavan-like duple sections alternating with galliard-like choruses, altogether well suited to the dance character of the wind band. But in the second verse (bar 27), care is needed lest the instrumental second line obscure the text of the Cantus, which sometimes lies below it (e.g. bars 28–30).[20] In cases such as this, the timbre of the tenor cornett, more delicate than that of the alto sackbut, is an advantage on inner parts and, as Wood and Duffin observe, seems to have been preferred by English wind bands.[21] In the third verse, a different balance issue arises from the alternation of a vocal line between texted and untexted material. At bars 68–73 in Mean 2, bars 74–76 in Contratenor 1 and bar 77 Bassus, the editor, David Pinto, has reconstructed obvious harmonic lacunæ with instrumental filling. Whilst the resulting alternation within the vocal line of a verse is rare in Gibbons' consort anthems,[22] it is not at all uncommon in those of other composers.[23] In the great majority of cases, it is not credible that such brief instrumental passages should be played by a consort instrument 'dropping in' for the few notes required and then immediately falling silent when the voice resumes with the reappearance of text, and this is one of the main arguments in favour of having the solo voice line doubled throughout when the accompaniment is a viol consort. Since the decision had been made to avoid such

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[20] For a number of practical reasons, our recordings used women's voices on the Medius lines, which of course affects the balance issue, and we cannot be sure how powerful this register of a boy Mean of the period might have been. See Martin Ashley, 'English Choirboys Ancient and Modern: Some Preliminary Investigations into Acoustic Profiles Associated with Renaissance Choral Music', *researchgate.net,* 2020 <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.36185.13928> [Accessed March 25 2021], as discussed in Chapter 1A.

[21] See Duffin, "Cornets and Sagbuts", p. 58. Also Andrew Ashbee, Records of English Court Music, 9 vols (Snodland: A. Ashbee, 1988), III (1625–1649), p. 56, giving details of the purchase of three such instruments on December 19th 1630.

[22] In fact, all the other instances in these anthems are also editorially reconstructed.

[23] See, for example, several instances within Hooper's *Hearken, ye nations*, discussed in my Introduction to the Hooper Edition in volume 2 of this research.

doubling by the cornetts and sackbuts, this verse was accompanied by organ alone, generally

doubling the lower voices and supplying the great majority of the untexted material with the

right hand. A similar policy was adopted for the third verse of Hooper's *O God of gods* and is

discussed further below.

4.5.4. Wind in Hooper's *O God of gods*

I have described in Chapter 3D the reasons for concluding that the extant organ parts to this

anthem may represent a short-score of pre-existing parts for consort instruments.[24] In

reconstructing this consort as a six-person ensemble, I was mindful of the arguments

presented by Duffin that this number of players was common for Royal Wind music,[25] but,

after initial experiment, decided against scoring the accompaniment in six parts throughout.

The *coup de théâtre* at bar 102, which results in the division of the chorus into two antiphonal

halves, is also the occasion for the writing to expand from five into six parts by the dividing

of the Tenor line. As I have argued,[26] the extant sources give reason to think that there may

only have been one extra participant added at this point — a single instrument of Tenor

range, which plays continuously with each of the two antiphonal choruses, rather than two

Tenor singers, one added to each side — and that the incisive tone of the bass curtal seems

particularly effective in this role. To construct the wind consort in six parts, rather than five,

from the beginning of the piece would have detracted from the theatrical impact of this

moment.[27] There are a number of alternative ways in which the instrumental scoring of the

piece could be approached, and a more lavish solution is presented in a performance by I

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[24] See Chapter 3D 'Scoring and reconstruction'.
[25] See Duffin, "Cornets and Sagbuts", pp. 49 & 55.
[26] See See Chapter 3D 'Scoring and reconstruction'.
[27] An advantage of five-part scoring is that the two cornettists of our six-part ensemble (the other four members being a tenor cornett and three sackbuts) were able to alternate, one playing the verse sections and the other the chorus sections, thus sharing the workload.

Fagiolini, directed by Robert Hollingworth, a recording of which is attached as data to this

research with their kind permission.[28]

4.5.5. Use of the organ

In the third verse, the organ accompanies the voices in our recording without the consort

instruments, save for the opening entry of the cornett (bars 88–90). It therefore plays material

that is independent of the voices in the same way that the organ had done in the third verse of

Gibbons' *O all true faithful hearts* (see above). But the more prominent tone of the large St

Teilo 'Tudor' organ used on 'In Chains of Gold' volume 2 makes for a much more successful

balance with multiple solo voices than that of the smaller chest organ used on volume 1. The

experience gained from using the St Teilo organ was one of the most revelatory aspects of the

project, since we were able to use it both as a stand-alone accompaniment in Morley's *Out of*

the deep, Byrd's *Teach me, O Lord* and Bull's *Deliver me, O God* and as a consort instrument

together with the wind in Byrd's *Look and bow down* and Hooper's *O God of gods*. It is

remarkable how radically its distinctive sonority and the way that it was used influenced the

rhetorical impact of the music, perhaps most of all in pieces that were already quite familiar

through being part of standard Anglican repertory. Dr Andrew Johnstone, who was both an

editor of some of the recorded music and an advisor on our use of this organ, has written

extensively about recent research into the 'Tudor' organ.[29] His advocacy of a 'more literal

---

[28] See Appendix 2, audio example 3D1. Performers: I Fagiolini, Members and Ex-members of The 24 (University of York), English Cornett and Sackbut Ensemble, Robert Hollingworth - Director. Performed March 26th, 2020 at St Lawrence Church, York, as part of the National Centre for Early Music's 'AWAKEN' Festival, supported by Arts Council England. The instrumental group here consists of 2 cornetts, tenor cornett, 4 sackbuts, shawm/recorder, 2 large lutes, 2 organs. The chorus from bar 102 onwards divides into six on each side, following the extant sources and as shown in my edition 'O God of gods (ORG) Edition score B', but with instruments added in the antiphonal exchanges predominantly to the answering Cantoris side.

[29] See especially Andrew Johnstone, '"As It Was in the Beginning": Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music', *Early Music*, 31.4 (2003), 507–25.

reading' of the *bicinium* texture of many period organ parts encouraged us to discard the inner-part filling commonly heard in the accompaniment of well-known pieces such as *Out of the deep* and still found in most modern editions. [30] As a result, the sparer sound of organ right-hand in counterpoint with the solo voice provided more foil and less cushion, the forthright tone of the metal 5-foot principals seeming to encourage a more robust style of verse declamation that favours passion over piousness. Whilst that interpretation may not accord with everyone's view of sacred music from the English Reformation, what cannot be denied is the radical effect of the instrument's 10-foot pipes, when used as Johnstone argues must have been the original intention, judging by the *bicinium* texture found in the chorus sections of so many surviving parts. When the 10-foot stop is engaged, it enables the vocal bass to be doubled at the octave below, greatly enhancing the rhetorical dialogue of the verse/chorus structure.[31]

4.5.6. Choices of registration

The registration policy used on the recording was as follows.[32]

> *Out of the deep*, *Teach me, O Lord* & *Deliver me, O God*:
>
> > Verses: both 5-foot principals playing *bicinium*[33]
> >
> > Choruses: 10-foot with both 5-foot principals playing Bassus only at pitch[34]
>
> *Look and bow down*:

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[30] See Johnstone's CD liner notes 'The organ' to *William Byrd: the Great Service & Anthems*, Odyssean Ensemble with Christian Wilson *organ* director Colm Carey (Linn Records CDK 608, 2019) p. 8. This recording was in fact made using the same 'St Teilo' organ and in the same church as *'In Chains of Gold' vol. 2*.

[31] See Chapter 4.2 'Versus, Chorus and participation'.

[32] I am indebted for this analysis to Silas Wollston, the organist on *'In Chains of Gold' vol. 2*. The policy was devised in consultation with Dr Johnstone. For a full description of the organ, see <https://www.goetzegwynn.co.uk/organ/st-teilos-church-organ-at-st-fagans-cardiff/> [Accessed December 2 2021].

[33] In each case, a 'thin' version of the organ part, omitting all doubling of the solo vocal line.

[34] And therefore sounding at the octave below.

Verses: 10-foot doubling lower sackbut parts, playing up an octave[35]

Choruses: 10-foot with one 5-foot principal playing Bassus only, at pitch

O God of gods

Verses 1 & 2: 10-foot doubling lower sackbut parts, playing up an octave

Verse 3: Two 5-foot principals, playing at pitch:

bars 88–98 only notes not being sung or not being played by cornett

bars 98–102 full organ part (i.e. from markings 'Play from here')[36]

Chorus sections: see further below.

4.5.7. *O God of gods*, chorus sections

Modern editors of organ parts from this period have often tended to doubt the original

intention of sparse, *bicinium*-style notation (see above) and supplied inner parts which they

assume would have been played or improvised, but the organ part to Hooper's *O God of gods*

appears to notate something intentionally precise.[37] The three surviving sources are

remarkably consistent in their generally four-part writing all the way until bar 102, where the

antiphonal section begins. At this point, the texture becomes rigorously two-part until a brief

passage at bars 110–114 for the text 'with harps, with cymbals and with shawms',[38] where it

reverts to four-part texture, returning immediately to two-part at bar 100.2 for 'with sacred

anthems and with psalms'. This maintains until the two sides of the chorus reunite at bar 124

for 'Sing Alleluia, Amen', where the writing returns to four-part. It cannot be doubted that a

distinct contrast is intended at each of these texture changes and that the notation must

---

[35] And therefore sounding at 5-foot pitch
[36] See *O God of gods* 'Consort anthem reconstruction' score in Volume 2.
[37] See *O God of gods* 'Full score' in Volume 2.
[38] Bar 110 is the point at which the two sides of the chorus briefly overlap, the sonority changing from six-part to twelve-part. Harmonically, this passage also rises by a tone and then falls back again.

therefore be taken 'literally', as Johnstone has argued, but there is more than one way of interpreting it. The solution adopted in our recording was as follows.

Bars 102–110: 10-foot with one 5-foot principal, left hand playing at pitch[39] and right hand played up an octave[40]

Bars 110–114: two 5-foot principals, the full organ part as written and at pitch

Bars 114–124: 10-foot with two 5-foot principals, playing as in 102–110

Bars 124–end: 10-foot with two 5-foot principals, left hand playing Bassus only[41] and right hand playing upper stave notes up one octave.[42]

(In choruses 1 and 2, the same policy was adopted as in bars 102–110.)

Other registration changes are available, but whichever is chosen, a clear contrast in sonority at these crucial points must surely have been intended and the organ parts to this anthem show unusually precise indications of it. Together with the noble sound of cornetts and sackbuts, the St Teilo organ succeeded in restoring a lost range of vivid colour to the normally muted tones of the pre-Restoration verse anthem heard in today's Anglican naves.

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[39] Therefore sounding at both an octave below and at unison.
[40] Therefore sounding both at unison and up one octave.
[41] Therefore sounding at both an octave below and at unison.
[42] Therefore sounding both at unison and up one octave. The right hand additionally took in the tenor part from the lower stave where possible.

CHAPTER 4.6
The experience of performing consort anthems: performance spaces

4.6.1. Private chapels
4.6.2. The chapel of Lancelot Andrewes

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In the previous section of this chapter, I described a style of consort anthem that seems well suited to wind accompaniment and related this to the pieces performed with wind on the two 'In Chains of Gold' CDs. They can well be imagined sounding effective in large, resonant spaces with an appropriate choir but the same is not true of consort anthems accompanied by viols. Quite apart from the argument that there is no historical justification for such music to be performed with viols as part of a service in a church,[1] it is in practice acoustically problematic, to say the least. Unless the listener is placed in the centre of the performers, the sheer complexity of the texture in many anthems combined with the natural resonance of viols result in a wash of sound which obscures too much detail. Is there any historical evidence of spaces in which viols might have been heard in a consort anthem as part of a service and in an acoustic which would do proper justice to the music?

4.6.1. Private chapels

A fascinating reference to the range of musical colour that might have been heard in private worship during this period, away from disapproving puritan ears, was unearthed by Lynn Hulse in her research into musical patronage.

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[1] See e.g. Roger Bowers 'I am aware of not a single convincing reference arising either from Byrd's lifetime or from the years closely following it which indicates that viols were ever played in the course of the church service', Roger Bowers, 'Ecclesiastical or Domestic? Criteria for Identification of the Initial Destinations of William Byrd's Music to Religious Vernacular Texts', in *William Byrd: A Research and Information Guide Ed. Richard Turbet* (New York and London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 134–60 (p. 142). Also Andrew Parrott '..the viol consort played no part in the performance of verse anthems by Anglican choirs', Andrew Parrott, '"Grett and Solompne Singing": Instruments in English Church Music before the Civil War', in *Composers' Intentions?*, Lost Traditions of Musical Performance (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 368–80 (pp. 377–78).

> with lutes, violes, harpe & organ playing togither, all in an upper roome att
> the lower end of the chappell, with a courtain before them, so that the musick
> discending, was the more sweet & pleasing, & the musitians not being seen,
> it seemed, the more rare, diffused, & aery, & was the more delightfull to the
> auditors.[2]

Whilst this offers no proof of anything as precise as a consort anthem being used as part of

liturgy, it is a strong indication that much more was taking place behind the closed doors of

private chapels than has been allowed in most scholarly discussion of the genre.[3]

4.6.2. The chapel of Lancelot Andrewes

A more tangible record is offered by surviving plans of the episcopal chapel of Lancelot

Andrewes at Winchester House.[4] Peter McCullough has suggested that a 'Musique table with

… three formes', shown in the centre of the inner chapel (see Figure 4.6.1, item '7') might be

intended, not for singers, as some had previously speculated,[5] but 'probably viols' and that its

size seems sufficient 'for four to six musicians'.[6] It is possible to estimate the dimensions

only approximately, judging by those given in the lower part of the plan for the altar (item 1),

which are '1 y^d $\frac{1}{4}$ high. 1 y. $\frac{3}{4}$ long. 1. y. broad'. My own estimate of its size is somewhat

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[2] Lynn Mary Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy, *c*.1590–1640' (unpublished Ph.D., University of London, 1992), pp. 283–84 <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/en/theses/the-musical-patronage-of-the-english-aristocracy-c1590--1640(cab186ec-3efc-4694-a6ef-7e731c0c5887).html> [Accessed October 6 2017]. This is a recollection of music in the private chapel of the Whitelocke family in the 1630s. The reference to 'harpe' playing with the viols seemed to me to offer an irresistible temptation to include a harp in our performance of Gibbons' *Blessed are all they that fear the Lord* on the CD *'In Chains of Gold' vol. 1*.

[3] David Pinto has recently drawn attention to the hitherto under-researched area of private chapels in relation to the consort anthem. See David Pinto, 'Consort Anthem, Orlando Gibbons, and Musical Texts', *The Viola Da Gamba Society of Great Britain*, 9 (2015), pp. 1–25 (pp. 17–18); David Pinto, 'A Partbook Set for Consort Anthem Reassessed', *Viola Da Gamba Society Journal*, 13 (2020), 1–19 (pp. 15–16). He also points to echoes in the text of Gibbons' *Glorious and powerful God* of wording devised by Lancelot Andrewes, Dean of the Chapel Royal from 1618, for the consecration of a 'Chappel of Ease'. See *Orlando Gibbons: The Consort Anthems*, ed. by David Pinto, 3 vols (London: Fretwork Editions, 2003), p. iv fn.10.

[4] GB-Lbl MS Harley 3795, fos. 18ʳ–19ʳ. Also printed in William Prynne, *Canterburies Doome* (London, 1646)

[5] McCullough acknowledges Roger Bowers' argument on this point.

[6] Peter McCullough, 'Music Reconciled to Preaching: A Jacobean Moment?', in *Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (Eds.), Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 109–29 (p. 117). McCullough here discusses Andrewes' keen support of music as part of worship, citing many instances of musical language and references in his sermons, whilst Dean of the Chapel Royal. See Chapter 3 'Three Anthems by Edmund Hooper: 2. *Hearken, ye nations*'.

smaller than McCullough's, about 69cm by 130cm, but giving adequate space for four

players and just possibly five.[7] Perhaps the most intriguing of the several questions that this

plan raises is: what kind of music were these players performing? (See Figure 4.6.1):
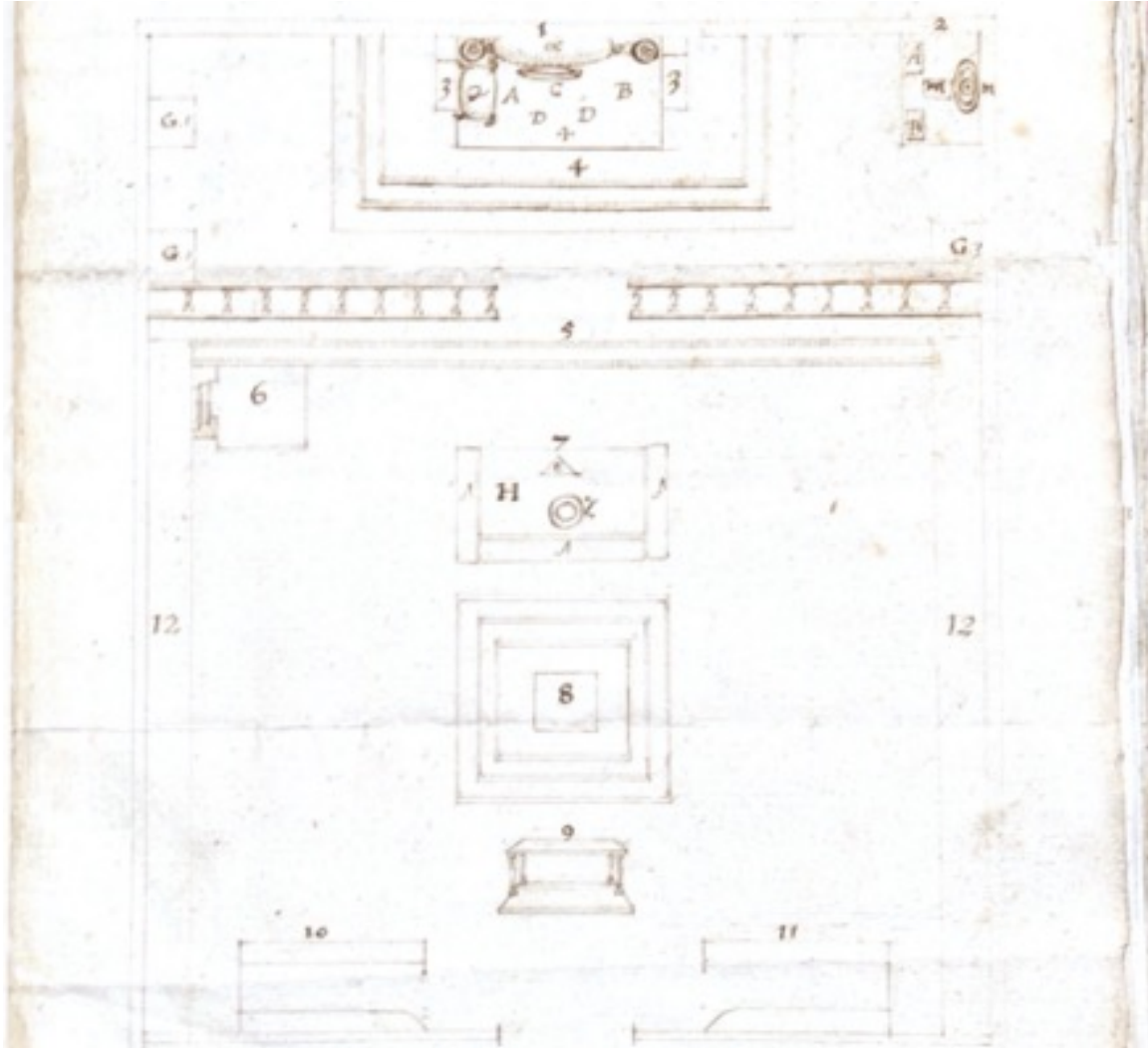
Figure 4.6.1, GB-Lbl MS Harley 3795, fos. 18ʳ–19ʳ (detail)[8]

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[7] McCullough's estimate of the table size is '2 X 1 yards'. Neither of the two plans is drawn closely enough to scale for a secure calculation but that in Harleian seems more reliable. My estimate of the area below the rails, in other words excluding the altar area, is approximately 31 square metres.
[8] Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library.

CHAPTER 4.6
The experience of performing consort anthems: performance spaces

There is no sign of, or space for, an organ. The most likely instruments for the seated musicians to be playing would seem to be viols, yet instrumental music seems improbable. If there were singers, they would presumably stand in the vacant spaces to the left and right. The conditions appear ideal for a consort anthem with viols, performed in an intimate enough acoustic for the music's characteristic intricacy to be appreciated in all its detail, yet the great majority of this repertory is in five parts, sometimes in six but never in four. Is it a question of how many lines are being doubled by both voice and viol and how many are being sung by voice alone? The answer may tell us something important about how consort anthems were performed — or at least, about how they *could* be performed — and this is investigated in the following section.

CHAPTER 4.7
The experience of performing consort anthems: instrumental doubling of vocal lines

4.7.1. Anthems showing evidence of instrumental doubling
4.7.2. Evidence of missing part-book sets
4.7.3. Doubling: a matter of choice?
4.7.4. Implications of text underlay
4.7.5. Instrumental uncertainties

In my Introduction to the Hooper Edition, I discussed notational evidence in the consort parts

to *The Blessed Lamb* and *Hearken ye nations* that the vocal parts to these anthems must have

been intended for instrumental doubling throughout.[1]

4.7.1. Anthems showing evidence of instrumental doubling

Parts survive for several other consort anthems, in which it is not practically credible that an

instrument would have been expected to play only the untexted passages (sometimes very

short), falling silent as soon as the voice enters (Examples 4.7.1 – 4.7.4):

Example 4.7.1: Thomas Tomkins *Above the Starrs*, Cantus bars 13–19 and 32–37[2]

Example 4.7.2: Michael East *O Lord of whom I do depend*, Quintus bars 1–10[3]

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[1] See Volume 2, 'Introduction to the Hooper Critical Edition, 10: Evidence in the Part-Books: 1. Voice and Instruments'.
[2] See Appendix for full score.
[3] Transcribed from Michael East, *The Fourth Set of Bookes* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1618).

Example 4.7.3: John Ward *How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord*, Cantus bars 39–50[4]

Example 4.7.4: John Mundy *Sing joyfully*, Bassus bars 31–36[5]

I also referred to the frequent occurrence of corona marks in some of the parts in the set GB-Och MSS Mus. 56–60, for example the Contratenor part to Hooper's *Hearken ye nations* (Figure 4.7.1). David Wulstan was of the opinion that these "probably merely serve as a reminder of an incipient vocal entry",[6] but that seems excessively fastidious. On the other hand, they might indicate the points, perhaps recorded under instruction, at which the copyist has switched from one set of parts (instrumental) to another (vocal) in collating the two into the amalgamated part which is now all that remains from such an operation.

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[4] John Ward, *The Complete Works for Voices and Viols in Five Parts*, ed. by Ian Payne (St Albans: Corda Music, 1992).
[5] John Mundy, *Sing Joyfully unto God*, ed. by David Pinto (London: Fretwork Editions, 2020). Note that the brief instrumental passage in bar 34–5 is an editorial replacement for rests in the original part-set (GB-Lbl Add. MS 29372–6) a copying oversight which leaves an obvious harmonic lacuna.
[6] David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London: J.M. Dent, 1985), p. 90.

The experience of performing consort anthems: instrumental doubling of vocal lines

Figure 4.7.1: Edmund Hooper *Hearken ye nations*,
Contratenor, GB-Och MS Mus. 59, p. 199 (detail, bars 69–99)[7]

4.7.2. Evidence of missing part-book sets

David Pinto has recently proposed that the prior existence of such dual sets would explain

other anomalies found in surviving parts.[8] One such is clef changes within a part, where a clef

that is normative for instrument changes to one that is normative for voice at the transition

from verse to chorus section. This is the case in the Bassus part of Gibbons' *Do not repine,*

fair sun in the sole surviving set of parts.[9] The part begins in F4 clef, appropriate to a bass

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[7] Reproduced by kind permission of the Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.
[8] David Pinto, 'Consort Anthem, Orlando Gibbons, and Musical Texts', *The Viola Da Gamba Society of Great Britain*, 9 (2015), pp. 1–25 (pp. 6–15).
[9] US-NYp MSS Drexel 4180–5. See also my earlier section Chapter 4.3 'Extremities' for a discussion of the performance pitch implications of the vocal clefs in this piece, to be heard in the recording of it on *'In Chains of Gold' vol. 1* (Signum SIGCD511, 2017) tracks 6 & 7.

viol, playing the opening Preludium and accompanying the first verse 'Tenor 1' and 'Tenor [2]' soloists. It then switches to F3 clef at the beginning of the chorus for the entry of the voice at bar 14.[10] (See Figure 4.7.2):[11]

Figure 4.7.2, Orlando Gibbons *Do not repine, fair sun*, Bassus
US-NYp MS Drexel 4183, fo. 35ᵛ (detail)

Elsewhere in the piece, Pinto argues persuasively that rests in a Drexel part have resulted from the copyist following the vocal set of parts instead of the instrumental set, leaving a

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[10] See Appendix for full score.
[11] The clef then changes back to F4 for a repeat of the Preludium, reverting to F3 for the following verse, in which it remains for the rest of the extant piece, all the following material being fully texted.

texture that is improbably bare and requiring editorial reconstruction.[12]

4.7.3. Doubling: a matter of choice?

Faced with the absence of a single surviving set of purely instrumental parts to any of the consort anthem repertory, we cannot be certain how they were performed. David Wulstan acknowledged that the amalgamated parts which have come down to us 'do not make clear whether the instruments should be silent in the chorus passages, or whether they should double the voice parts', concluding that the Gibbons anthems in Och Mus 21 (all of them composed in five parts) 'seem to have been intended for four, *or perhaps five*, viols' (my emphasis),[13] the implication being that in an anthem with a single solo voice part,[14] that line should not be doubled. John Morehen, taking a contrary view, thought that 'presumably' it should.[15] Andrew Johnstone, in his recent extensive survey of anthems composed by Byrd in the verse idiom, including comparison of those for which accompaniment in both consort and organ form survive, describes 'Byrd's practice of writing purely vocal solo or duet parts that stand apart from the accompaniment, and would appear not to have been doubled by viols'.[16]

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[12] e.g. Cantus bars 1–4 and its repeat at 28–31, Quintus 31–46 and several small sections in the second half. A similar accident seemingly lies behind rests in the Bassus part of John Mundy's consort anthem *Sing joyfully* in the sole source GB-Lbl Add. MSS 29372–6. See Example 4 above and other instances in bars 1–3, 20–1, 72–3 & 92.

[13] Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, p. 90.

[14] *This is the record of John* and *Behold, thou hast made my days* would be examples, but (crucially) ones in which there is *no* untexted material in the part. Compare the examples cited earlier in section 4.7.1.

[15] John Morehen, 'The English Consort and Verse Anthems', *Early Music*, 6.3 (1978), pp. 381–85 (p. 381).

[16] Andrew Johnstone, 'The Vernacular Church Music of William Byrd: A Reappraisal of Chronology, Authenticity and Context' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Trinity College (Dublin, Ireland). Department of Music, 2014), p. 143 <http://www.tara.tcd.ie/handle/2262/90246> [Accessed November 27 2019]. This is the approach taken on *'In Chains of Gold' vol. 2* (Signum SIGCD609, 2020) tracks 1, 2, 3 and 5 for the three Byrd consort anthems here referred to by Johnstone: *Hear my prayer, O Lord, rebuke me not* and *Have mercy upon me, O God* as well as in his *Christ rising*. They can be compared with track 9, Bull's *Almighty God, which by the leading of a star*, in which the Cantus line is doubled by a fifth (treble) viol, for reasons relating to the more complex structure of this piece.

CHAPTER 4.7
The experience of performing consort anthems: instrumental doubling of vocal lines

Ian Payne finds himself in accord with the view of Craig Monson, when discussing performance practice in solo consort songs,[17] 'that the viol-players and separate singers had their own parts and the [viol players] were expected to double the voices'.[18] It should be born in mind that all of these comments are based on an assumption that the accompanying consort instruments are viols, and I have discussed in a previous section the possibility that, for certain anthems, cornetts and sackbuts with organ may be at least as appropriate, which has major implications for voice doubling that will benefit from further practical research.[19] Leaving that issue aside and returning to the question raised at the end of the previous section — what kind of consort anthem might the musicians have been accompanying in the episcopal chapel of Lancelot Andrewes at Winchester House? — we should consider this in relation to the structure of the music. What is the minimum number of participants necessary for the anthem concerned to be musically complete?

4.7.4. Implications of text underlay

Of the 123 consort anthems that this research has been able to consult, the following conform to the structure that Johnstone describes as being suited to accompaniment by four players, leaving the top line undoubled, since it is fully texted. All pieces are in five parts unless otherwise stated.

composer	title	comment
Alison	The sacred choir	
Anon	Wherefore are men so loth to die?	
Byrd	Hear my prayer, O Lord	reconstructed Andrew Johnstone

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[17] Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600–50: Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor, Mich: UMI Research Press,U.S., 1982), p. 162.
[18] Payne, *John Ward Voices and Viols in Five Parts*, p. 3, citing Monson, *Voices and Viols*, p. 162.
[19] See Chapter 4.5 'Use of wind instruments'.

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Byrd	O Lord, rebuke me not	reconstructed Andrew Johnstone
Byrd	Have mercy upon me, O God[20]	
Hilton	Teach me, O Lord	
Jeffreys	Sing we merrily (a6)	
Ravenscroft	In thee, O Lord [21]	
Stonard	Hearken, all ye people	
Wilkinson	Deliver me, O Lord [22]	reconstructed Ian Payne
Wilkinson	Hear my prayer	
Wilkinson	Preserve me, O Lord	

In the following, the second line is fully texted. Above it, a treble instrument descants,

leaving three untexted parts to be played in the Wilkinson and four in the Byrd.

composer	title	comment
Byrd	O God that guides the cheerful sun (a6)	
Wilkinson	Behold, O Lord	reconstructed Ian Payne

In the following, both the top two parts are fully texted, leaving four parts to be played in the

six-part pieces and three in the five-part.

composer	title	comment
Byrd	Christ rising (a6)	
Jeffreys	If the Lord Himself (a6)	
Jeffreys	Out of the deep (a6)	

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[20] In its published form, the final chorus is in six parts, otherwise it is all in five.

[21] See reference to this in Chapter 4.4. Bars 70–71 show an extended *passaggio* between Cantus and Quintus in thirds. Whilst this could undoubtedly sound effective with Cantus performed by voice alone, David Pinto reminds us that a very similar florid vocal passage in found in the consort song *This merry pleasant spring* in the Wigthorp part-books, GB-Lb Add. MSS 17786–91, in which set a doubling instrumental part is also found — a precedent for performance practice that has been ignored by nearly all scholars apart from Craig Monson. See Pinto, 'Consort Anthem', p. 16.

[22] Edition of the Wilkinson consort anthems by Ian Payne to be published by Fretwork Editions, forthcoming.

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Ravenscroft	Wrapt up, O Lord	reconstructed Ian Payne
Stonard	Behold how good and joyful	
Warwick	I will lift mine eyes	

In the verse sections of the following, the number of fully texted and wholly untexted parts is as indicated.

composer	title	texted	untexted
Amner	Consider, all ye passers by	1 (Tenor)	4
Amner	My Lord is hence removed (a6)	1 (Tenor)	5
Anon	I said I will take heed	1 (Altus)	4
East	I have roared (all 3 sections)	1 (Bassus)	4
Gibbons	Behold, thou hast made my days	1 (Contra 2)	4
Gibbons	This is the record of John	1 (Contra 2)	4
Peerson	Plead thou my cause	2 (Cantus & Altus)	3
Ravenscroft	O Jesu meek	3 [Cantus], [Quintus] & [Altus]	2
Tomkins	O Lord, let me know mine end	1 (Tenor)	4

In all of the above, the verse sections of these anthems are musically complete if the wholly untexted parts are the only ones to be played, leaving the fully texted part(s) undoubled. Of course, that is not to say that such a result is the most desirable way to perform the piece. Where it is one of the lower parts that is fully texted, such as in Gibbons' *This is the record of John*, there is a strong case for it to be doubled by one of the players in a viol consort,[23] for example, since it binds the vocal line into the sound of the viols, creating an arguably richer group sonority and leaving the singer more flexibility to shape the words of the text, whilst allowing the resonance of the doubling viol to carry the line.[24] But this is largely a matter of

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[23] This is the approach taken in all the Gibbons consort anthems on *'In Chains of Gold' vol. 1*.
[24] See Chapter 4.2 'Versus, Chorus and participation'.

taste (in contrast to vocal lines which contain passages of untexted material, such as those shown at the beginning of this discussion, where doubling throughout seems logical). One can merely say that Andrewes might have heard the four seated musicians accompany consort anthems in his chapel without instrumental doubling of the solo vocal line and that there is a significant portion of the extant repertory which allows this approach.

In the majority of anthems, the choice is not clear-cut. Some may have at least one part which is fully texted throughout, but there may additionally be one or more parts that have only some of the verse sections underlayed. *Fear not*, the second section of Amner's consort anthem *O ye little flock* is an example of this structure (Example 4.7.5). The Cantus Primus is fully texted but the second and third of the six lines have verse material which is only partially texted. Assuming an accompaniment by viol consort, as the composer specifically recommends on the frontispiece of his 1615 publication,[25] should the Cantus Primus be doubled by a viol or left to voice alone? If the latter, should the second and third lines be played only to the extent of their untexted material with the player falling silent when the voice enters? That would avoid a disparity in sonority between the verse singers but brings us back to the absurdities with which we began this discussion.

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[25] 'For Voyces and Vyols', John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes* (London: Edw: Allde, 1615).

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Example 4.7.5, John Amner *Fear not* (part 2 of *O ye little flock*) bars 3–19

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4.7.5. Instrumental uncertainties

When the accompaniment to a consort anthem is a viol consort, experience shows that the instrumental doubling of all lines throughout, whether fully texted or only partially, as in this Amner example, can provide a satisfyingly unified sonority without threatening to obscure the text.[26] When the accompaniment consists of other instruments, such as cornetts and sackbuts, that may not be the case and I have examined this in an earlier section.[27] The reference unearthed by Lynn Hulse to 'lutes, violes, harpe & organ playing together' in the Whitelocke family chapel is a reminder that, even though this reference does not describe performance of a consort anthem, a variety of different instrumental sonorities might have been countenanced in private worship, where we know this repertory was widely used.[28] Charles Butler seems to lend support to this idea, when he writes 'Of Instruments':

> The several kinds of Instruments are commonly used severally by them selves: as a Set of Viols, a Set of Waits, or the like: but sometimes, upon some special occasion, many of both Sorts are most sweetly joined in Consort.[29]

The old argument that 'viols never played in church' has (amongst other things) succeeded in stifling consideration of different instrumental combinations, encouraging the too neat assumption that choir and organ on the one hand or single voices with viols on the other were the only alternatives to grand occasions with loud wind. David Pinto — as so often, asking

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[26] Le Huray saw this as a potential problem (see Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549–1660* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 129) but, provided that historically justifiable voice-types are used and unjustifiably high pitches are avoided, there is no need for that to be so. See also Chapter 1B.

[27] See Chapter 4.5 'Use of wind instruments' and also Ross Duffin, '"Cornets and Sagbuts" Some Thoughts on the Early Seventeenth-Century English Repertory for Brass', in Stewart Carter (ed.), *Perspectives in Brass Scholarship* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1995), pp. 47–60.

[28] Lynn Mary Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy, c.1590–1640' (unpublished Ph.D., University of London, 1992), pp. 287–88 <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/en/theses/the-musical-patronage-of-the-english-aristocracy-c1590--1640(cab186ec-3efc-4694-a6ef-7e731c0c5887).html> [Accessed October 6 2017].

[29] Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik, in Singing and Setting: With The Two-Fold Use Thereof [Ecclesiastical and Civil]* (London: John Haviland, 1636), p. 94.

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the awkward questions — points to the curious presence of an organ part in GB-Och MS Mus. 67 to Bennet's consort anthem setting of *O God of gods,* for which a full set of parts is entered in Myriell's set *Trititiæ Remedium*, GB-Lbl Add. MSS 29372–7.[30] There is undoubtedly a link between the two sources, as he makes clear, yet the very idea of viols playing with organ in a work such as this appears to be ruled out by an orthodoxy that regards the two types of accompaniment as 'mutually exclusive'.[31] It is time to abandon entrenched positions and acknowledge that it was the very flexibility of the consort anthem form which contributed greatly to its popularity, enabling performance in a number of ways according to the forces available to the household or institution concerned.

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[30] Pinto, 'Consort Anthem' p. 7, fn. 27.

[31] e.g. Morehen '… so far as the verse anthem and consort anthem were concerned the viols and organ were regarded as mutually exclusive. For this reason alone a composition of this sort should never be performed with organ continuo …'. See Morehen, 'The English Consort and Verse Anthems', p. 383. Indeed it should not, but the organ parts in Mus 67 are certainly not 'continuo', in the sense that he presumably meant, and should be taken at face value.

CHAPTER 4.8
The experience of performing consort anthems: singers' notes

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The start of the present research in September 2017 grew out of a project launched in 2016, dedicated to performing and recording pre-Restoration consort anthems, and its two first CDs, released under the series title 'In Chains of Gold' (ICoG), form part of the accompanying data to this thesis. The intention is to record a third CD, and for the experience gained from the earlier ones, together with ideas and findings that have emerged in the course of research, to feed back into the process.[1] This final section reviews some of those ideas and their practical consequences.

4.8.1. Historical pronunciation

One criticism made of the first two recordings, advanced mostly by the more purist proponents of historically informed performance (HIP), has been that the singers should have used 'original' (old) pronunciation. This is a perfectly logical objection. If a principal aim of the project was to recreate the original conditions of performance in the use of historically appropriate voice-types and instruments, number of performers and pitch, as discussed in earlier chapters, then the adoption of pronunciation that singers of the period would have used (assuming that to be knowable) with the object of recreating a major factor in the vocal colour of performance, would seem to be an indispensable part of the process. However, it

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[1] The intention here is to adopt principles of the 'iterative cyclic web', as described by Smith and Dean in Hazel Smith and Roger T. Dean eds., *Practice-Led Research, Research-Led Practice in the Creative Arts* (Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

was clear to me, before making the first recording (the Gibbons consort anthems), that we should not follow this path. I was and remain convinced that the overriding purpose and success of the verse anthem form lay from the outset in making text as understandable and persuasive as possible through the clarity and expressive power of the solo voice. It can only be contrary to that purpose to erect any kind of communication barrier, such as would undoubtedly be the case if the intelligibility of a singer's words is obscured by interposing an accent as unfamiliar to most listeners as OP would be.[2] I was also concerned not to make our recording of the Gibbons anthems, which includes a number of the best known works in the repertory, into a 'museum piece', wanting rather to focus attention on the quality of the music and to show that there was a different way to approach many of the performance issues. But when it came to planning the second CD recording, which was to cover a much less familiar body of works, I raised the subject of OP with some of the principal singers, to learn their views, and was surprised to find quite a strong resistance to the idea on practical grounds. We had a large number of quite difficult challenges to address in the available rehearsal time — several unknown works (mostly reconstructed) and the involvement of the St Teilo 'Tudor organ' being the most obvious ones. It was pointed out by one of the singers, who had wide experience of OP, that whilst in a solo performance its adoption would be a straightforward choice, in the case of a group wanting to produce a convincingly unified result, a large amount of time would be needed for coordination. I decided that we should not prioritise this

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[2] This is a complex issue, that touches on others that arise in HIP. To what extent does the performance require the audience to be 'educated' in a language that is not familiar, in order sufficiently to understand what is being presented? A recording by the vocal group Red Byrd of consort anthem repertory used OP and an eminent critic found it 'coarse to a degree seemingly appropriate more to the dialect of Elizabethan and Jacobean street vendors', questioning 'whether it is relevant to a sophisticated repertory such as this'. John Morehen, 'Elizabethan Christmas Anthems', *Early Music*, 19.2 (1991), pp. 306–8. John Morehen, 'The English Consort and Verse Anthems', *Early Music*, 6.3 (1978), pp. 381–85.

over musical issues that seemed more important but would be willing to revisit the matter for a future project.[3]

4.8.2. Singing the hexachord

Anne Smith's *The Performance of 16th-Century Music* suggests that a better understanding of contemporary musical theory might usefully inform our performance of such music today, but how far can this be taken? Should we try to reconstruct the instinctive reaction of a Jacobean singer to the notes that he saw in his part-book, based upon what he had probably been taught about the navigation of musical space? Smith's analysis of passages in Martin Agricola's *Musica Choralis Deudsch*, published in 1533, seems to hold out the prospect that this might be possible, to the extent of predicting how a choirboy of the time would have sung individual notes with different tonal qualities, based solely upon their place in the hexachord and perhaps even regardless of the context of text to which the notes are set.[4] Agricola's instructions are very clear and are echoed in a number of other German theoretical writings of the period.[5] When reduced to the simple principle of 'hard' tone for *mi* and 'soft' for *fa*, Smith argues that, by analogy with observations by Thomas de Sancta Maria, this can be extended to the application of accidental sharps and flats respectively.[6] But what

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[3] To an extent, this also echoes experience that Helen Roberts describes in her research into the use of wind instruments in cathedral music. In that case, following principles established by John Harper in the 'Experience of Worship' research project, she decided to prioritise 'normativity … as a research environment rather than historical accuracy', for example by choosing not to use facsimile sources rather than modern editions, for fear that such an added complication might 'get in the way of other research questions'. See Helen Roberts, 'Wind Instruments in Provincial English Cathedrals, *c.* 1580–*c.* 1680: Towards a Performance Practice' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Birmingham City University, 2019), p. 141. Of course, in both cases, 'historical accuracy' is being pursued by choosing to use reconstruction instruments or approximations to historical pitch, so it is largely a matter of priorities.

[4] Anne Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music: Learning from the Theorists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 20–54 especially 25-28.

[5] For example, Jorg Weltzell, 'Mathematik- Und Tabulaturbuch Des Jorg Weltzell' (? Ingolstadt, 1523) <https://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/24888/> [Accessed July 29 2021]; Johann Holtheuser, *Eine Kleine Deutsche Musica Für Die Schulerlein* (Nuremberg: Knorr, 1586).

[6] Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music*, p. 27 and pp. 36–45.

relevance, if any, does this have to English music around 1600 and in the verse repertory that concerns us here?[7]

4.8.3. English solmisation practice

Jessie Anne Owens concludes in her wide survey of English theoretical writing of the period, much smaller in quantity than its German equivalent, that musicians in England seem not to have used the 'classical' six-note solmisation system, at least not in practice, but instead employed a simpler four-note one, omitting *ut* and *re*, and closely allied to a concept of scales.[8] Nevertheless, Dowland's translation of Ornithoparcus (Figure 4.8.1) and the anonymous *Pathway to Musicke* suggest that many must have been aware of the classical six-note system and possibly even of the implications for qualitative difference in 'sound' between the two crucial syllables *mi* and *fa* described by theorists such as Agricola.[9]

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[7] In private correspondence, a leading scholar of English Renaissance music, to whom I had written at an early stage of my search for a connection, confided that he thought the system 'was not used in England … not necessarily used at all by trained musicians … really a method for novices (and a magnet to pedants)'. I was not dissuaded from pursuing it further, however.

[8] Jessie Ann Owens, 'Concepts of Pitch in English Music Theory, *c*. 1560–1640', in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. by Cristle Collins Judd (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 183–246.

[9] John Dowland, *Andreas Ornithoparcus His Micrologus, or Introduction: Containing the Art of Singing.* (London: Printed for Thomas Adams, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the Signe of the white Lion, 1609); Anon, *Pathway to Musicke* (London: William Barley, 1596). Dowland's lute song *Lasso vita mia* from 'A Pilgrimes Solace' (1612) with its word play upon solmisation syllables, such as 'mi far morire', used by many sixteenth-century composers, is evidence both that he was familiar with the system and that he would have expected at least some of his audience to be, in order to understand the joke.

Of the Diuision of Voyces.

IN the Fourth part of this Worke, I will handle that Diuision, by which *Voyces* are diuided into *Vnisones, æquisones, Consones, Eumeles, &c.* Here I will onely touch that which will serue our turne ; Therefore of *Voyces,*

Some are called { b *Mols*, *Naturals*, ♮ *Sharps* } *Viz.* { *Vt Fa*, *Re Sol*, *Mi La* } becaufe they make a { *Flat*, *Meane*, *Sharpe* } found.

Befides of *Voyces* fome be Superiours : *viz. Fa, Sol, La.* Others be Inferiours : as *Vt, Re, Mi.*

Figure 4.8.1: John Dowland, *Andreas Ornithoparcus His Micrologus*, p. 6, sig. Dᵛ (detail)

Doubtful as it must remain that the writings of an English theorist will ever come to light, precise enough to establish beyond doubt that choral training in England would have produced the results advocated by Agricola, it is not here that we should look for evidence that a basic acceptance of these inherent tonal qualities existed amongst English musicians of the period. Perhaps it was so deeply ingrained and obvious that there would have seemed no need to describe it. Rather, we should look at the way that composers set their texts, and there, time and again, I suggest that we find examples of ideas set to music in ways that arguably expect either a 'sharpe sound' or a 'flat sound' in the singer's response, by virtue of the *mi* or *fa* quality of the musical setting. This seems particularly the case in the way that some composers use accidental, or, to use the theorist William Bathe's phrase, 'intermingled' sharps or flats.[10]

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[10] William Bathe, *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song: Concerning the Practise, Set Forth by William Bathe Gentleman* (London: Thomas Este, 1597), p. B.ii.

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4.8.4 The rhetoric of 'sharpe' and 'flat'

In Chapter 2, I referred to a passage in the anthem *O Lord, rebuke me not* where William Byrd heightens tension through the cumulative introduction of accidental sharps,[11] expressing the increasingly earnest plea of the penitent. I referred to another in the opening verse of *Christ rising*,[12] where, from the solo Mean's first accidental *f'-sharp*, we experience by musical *mimesis* the effect, so to speak 'before our very eyes', of Christ's resurrection. In both of these instances a singer might well have applied a 'sharpe sound', reacting instinctively to the *mi* character of the setting as much as to the text itself. It is interesting to note that, as Owens points out, 'intermingled' sharps and flats behave differently in Bathe's theory.[13] The added sharp requires the singer to execute what she describes as 'mental gymnastics', effectively singing the raised note as a *mi* whilst not changing its solmisation name,[14] whereas an added flat is automatically named *fa*, requiring a recalibration of the '*ut* of the song' (to use his terminology).[15] The difference in approach seems to me to have implications which go beyond the simple raising or lowering of pitch and to enter the sphere of emotion. One could speculate that the added sharp, in requiring the singer to differentiate the raised note without conceiving of it as a different note-name (i.e. as '*f-sharp*' rather than simply '*f*') logically necessitates giving it a distinct *colour* as well as a higher pitch. On the other hand, the need to recalibrate the '*ut* of the song' when confronted with an 'intermingled flat' (or to mutate hexachord, in terms of classical European theory) is tantamount to feeling the ground move beneath one's feet and reacting accordingly. Both are well illustrated in a

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[11] Chapter 2, 'Rhetoric and poetics in the verse style', Example 2.14.
[12] Example 2.17.
[13] Owens, 'Concepts of Pitch', p. 198.
[14] A rule expressed rather more succinctly by Charles Butler: see Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik, in Singing and Setting: With The Two-Fold Use Thereof [Ecclesiastical and Civil]* (London: John Haviland, 1636), p. 35.
[15] Bathe, *A Briefe Introduction*, sig. B.ii–B.ii^r. Smith confirms that in this respect, Bathe seems to follow classical European theory: see Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music*, pp. 37 & 43.

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passage from Byrd's *Christ rising* (Example 4.8.1).[16] Here, the composer uses each

accidental in turn in order to convey contrasting rhetorical views of the text 'for in that he

died'. The *e-flat* in the bass expresses the sheer heaviness of death, shifting the whole

structure downwards, whilst the contradictory sharp (*b'-natural* cancelling the flat of the

signature) that follows in the Superius causes positive motion upward, leading us forward to

the optimism of 'he died but once to put away sin'. The singer's instinctive response of 'flat

sound' and 'sharpe sound' respectively would enhance the outcome in each case.[17]

Example 4.8.1: William Byrd *Christ rising*, bars 25–29

The other examples cited above, as well as several instances mentioned in the earlier chapter,

involving accidentals added as part of rhetorical expression, would all benefit from

systematic investigation of this 'accidental rhetoric' in a future project.

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[16] See also Chapter 2, section 2.7.i '*Prosopopoeia*'.

[17] There is a degree of corroboration to be found for this suggestion of 'chromatic colouring' in the way that historical wind instruments are able to distinguish the *fa* quality of certain notes by using historically documented forked fingerings, which produce a softer and more veiled tone. See Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music*, p. 29 and pp. 51–54. More recently, with regard to the tuning system of the Christ Church cornetts, Jamie Savan describes 'finding *fa*' with similar fingerings. See Jamie Savan, 'Unlocking the Mysteries of the Venetian Cornett: Ad Imitar Piu La Voce Humana', *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 28.DOI: 10.2153/0120160011004 (2016), 31–55 (pp. 42–48).

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4.8.5 Declamation workshop

Investigation of another kind had been part of my plan for the present research, but was unfortunately not able to be carried out, owing largely to pandemic restrictions imposed during the past eighteen months. The plan was, put simply, to look for a meeting point between spoken and sung declamation of a given text. My original idea for this, arising from a conviction that a 'speaking' style of delivery must have been an essential constituent of verse-singing (as I have discussed in an earlier section),[18] had led me to gain the interest of a prominent classical actor, who happened to have a chorister background, with the intention of involving him in rehearsals for the first CD recording in ICoG. Regrettably, this proved not to be possible for reasons of availability, but I saw good reason to think that the idea could be fruitfully pursued in a research workshop with students. It is one of the aspects of 'singing text' that I have discussed with two of the singers in ICoG: 'Bassus' and director of the Magdalena Consort Peter Harvey and 'Tenor' Greg Skidmore. I am grateful to them for permission to relate some of their comments here, which seem valuable in giving an expert practitioner's view of the subject.

I was particularly interested to learn from Peter Harvey that my idea of trying to bring together spoken and sung declamation is one that he himself uses when giving master classes. He describes the problem, that often arises on such an occasion, of learned singing technique inhibiting the natural process of speaking — the free operation of myriad small muscles under reflex control, which evolution has developed as the most efficient way of expressing what we want to say. Instead of effecting a smooth transition from one into the other, the student makes a jump into singing, evidenced in facial contortions (perhaps due to thinking

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[18] See Chapter 4.2 'Versus, Chorus and participation'.

about technical issues such as the position of the larynx or soft palate), that show that

'singing' is being conceived as an entirely separate activity. Harvey's observation leads into

the broader subject of the relationship between speech and singing, much discussed in the

pedagogical world of singing teaching under the Italian phrase 'si canta come si parla'

(roughly translated 'you should sing in the same way that you speak'). Admirable as this may

sound as an ideal, it collides with the methods of much conservatoire teaching (and hence

also with those methods as filtered into chorister training) which prioritise the cultivation of a

'beautiful sound', often necessitating the distortion vowels as naturally spoken, not least in a

language such as English, which has far fewer pure ones than Italian and many dipthongs to

negotiate. One expression of that view is:

> … the conviction that the singing instrument is independent of the speaking
> instrument; elaborate systems have been erected that actually avoid speech-
> like coordinations in favor of "learned" laryngeal and vocal tract
> positioning for singing. In these techniques, the singer practices avoidance
> of the flexible postures of speech in favor of a pre-set "ideal" form of
> resonator coupling.[19]

Harvey finds this manifested frequently in the world of opera, where rehearsal of a passage

may consist in stripping all the consonants from the text, so that concentration is entirely

upon the free flow of an ideal vowel sonority, only afterwards attaching words, like pegs to a

washing line, and last of all considering concepts such as motivation or feeling. (Caccini's

entirely contrary order of priorities, already cited a few times in this thesis, needs hardly to be

repeated here.)

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[19] Richard Miller, 'Si canta come si parla', *The NATS Journal* Nr. 34 (March 1987), <http://evta.tenore.ch/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Art_34_06.pdf> [Accessed December 2 2021].

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4.8.6 The priorities of oratory

Whatever the merits of this as a limited technical exercise, it is all too common to detect

something of the same tendency behind the way that chorally trained singers approach the

music of a verse anthem. The emphasis, long-instilled in choirs, of cultivating a sound which

will blend and not 'stick out' is inadequate for a text-intensive repertory such as this and in

earlier chapters I have tried to identify some of the dense detail that is typical of its rhetorical

style and in need of expression. As soon as the verse-singer starts to articulate it, however,

the challenges begin. In the search for clarity and for the natural word-shapes and emphases

of speech, the careful construction of a Gibbons line can appear fractured. Attention to the

minutiae of individual words in that case seemed to one critic 'a little precious',[20] whilst to

another 'an impressive master-class in how these texts should be declaimed'.[21] What is

beyond doubt is that this is, to quote the second reviewer, 'word-based music … inspired by

the verbal finesse of the texts', and a failure to reveal its detail by suppressing it beneath a

carpet of sound cultivated for its own sake represents a misunderstanding of the music's

purpose.

As I proposed in the introduction to this thesis, the essence of the verse style is

nothing less than musical oratory. When given expression in performance of the verse anthem

and consort anthem it can reveal the music to be surprisingly in tune with some of the ideals

of the *seconda prattica*, even though reached by a very different route.[22] For the singer, this

involves searching well below the surface, as Greg Skidmore explains:

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[20] Richard Morrison, review of *'In Chains of Gold' vol. 1*, *The Times*, October 27 2017.
[21] David Stancliffe, review of *'In Chains of Gold' vol. 1, Early Music Review*, January 10 2018.
[22] A prominent academic writer on English music of this period confided (in private correspondence) on hearing our recording of the Gibbons consort anthems that, for him, it 'redefines Gibbons as England's first Baroque composer', declaring himself 'amazed by the music's sheer "staginess" (in the best sense of the word) and by its closer affinity with early opera than with what we think of as "Tudor Church Music" or even "Early English Church Music".'

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> Once a singer actually attempts to convey meaning as opposed to make nice, text-y noises, I believe the clarity of the text actually increases dramatically. It's then not a technical issue at all — the brain takes care of all the technical aspects when the conscious mind is REALLY thinking about emotion or connotation or feeling or whatever. This … most regularly happens in dramatic contexts only, when the singers have committed to the words in a deeper way.

If we should be in any doubt that the context of performing this repertory was indeed intended to be 'dramatic', we need only return to Thomas Morley's two powerful phrases, describing how singers should do this: 'expressing their words with devotion and passion',[23] making a specific connection between devotional singing and *pathos*, the very business of the classical actor,[24] and 'whereby to draw the hearer, as it were, in chains of gold by the ears',[25] evoking the very image of the orator (Figure 4.8.2):

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[23] Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597), p. 179.

[24] See Chapter 2, 2.2 'Morley's use of rhetorical language', e.g. Quintilian 'we may draw a parallel from the stage, where the actor's voice and delivery produce greater emotional effect when he is speaking in an assumed role than when he speaks in his own character'. (Quintilian, *Institutes*, 6.1.26). As Roach explains (Joseph R. Roach, *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting* (University of Michigan Press, 1993), pp. 24–25), laying out classical theory as it might have been understood by an early seventeenth century actor, this 'assumed role' involved the actor in identifying so strongly with a particular passion that, in accordance with the Aristotelian view commonly summarised in the dictum *Fortis imaginatio generat causum* (a strong imagination begets the event itself), the audience can be moved by quasi-magical interaction of *enargeia*. Morley shows his awareness of this rhetorical concept in his reference to 'most strange effects in the hearer' twelve lines earlier on the same page.

[25] Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, p. 179.

Figure 4.8.2: Allegory of Eloquence, after Dürer (estimated *c.* 1503)[26]

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[26] The British Museum, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_SL-5218-176>.

In all the scholarly discussion of post-Reformation English music in 'verse style' that has taken place since Le Huray's major study of 1967,[1] one interested body has been largely absent from consideration — the practitioners — and that includes both the singers and the players gathered under the umbrella that I have referred to as the 'consort anthem'. It is their interest that has been foremost in the present research. For in all the learned disagreement about where such music 'comes from', we have arguably lost sight of the most important consideration of all, namely how it 'works' in performance.

In addressing the first of our research questions, "What is the sonority of a consort anthem?", we saw in Chapter 1 how understanding of the answer has been clouded by preconceptions that have for long held sway over the two constituent parts of the consort anthem scoring. On the vocal side, the 'sound-world' for which many singers tend to reach when they come to this repertory is that of the modern Anglican choral tradition, as manifested in today's cathedral nave or Oxbridge college chapel. Recent research on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English organs has shown that a historical 'Quire' pitch standard can plausibly be postulated. Furthermore, the typical sounding ranges of voice-types in the 'Tudor/Stuart' choirs that would have sung at that pitch do not map conveniently onto those of the SATB equivalent, singing at modern pitch. Modern choirs have generally sought to side-step the problem by transposing sacred music of that period upwards to historically unjustifiable levels to make it fit, and in the process have given us a distorted picture of how it should sound. My 'In Chains of Gold' recording project, which forms part of the present research, has demonstrated in practice that when the music is restored to its correct pitch and the incisive timbre of a tenor voice-type is inserted into the centre of the ensemble, the whole

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[1] Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

picture is transformed, and the murky modern substitute of the falsettist 'countertenor', doomed to sing mostly in the least effective part of the voice, is revealed to be an inadequate replacement. Through correct use of the voice-types described by Charles Butler, amongst others, the resultant ensemble sonority is altogether more grounded and forthright. More significantly, it is better able to engage with the text, for these are the very voices that are needed for verse-singing in a consort anthem, where text is of paramount importance.

On the instrumental side, historical winds such as cornetts and sackbuts have for several years been well used to the application of 'high pitch' (generally A466) in German or Italian music of this period and to its implication for correspondingly smaller instruments. A mental adjustment is necessary to realise that such instruments may be equally relevant to the intricate polyphony of an English consort anthem. It is also a challenge to find solutions to such issues as internal balance with solo voices in verse sections. (How was it achieved, for example, in William Lawes' lost anthem *Before the mountains were brought forth* 'with verses for Cornetts and Sagbutts'?)[2] But the involvement of these instruments in performing English sacred repertory of this period, though clearly documented, is long overdue in our own time and has already brought fascinating rediscoveries in recordings that form part of the present research, such as the elegant match of the long-lost tenor cornett with the vocal Contratenor line.

For the strings that must often have formed the accompaniment to consort anthems, the English viol consort of the period is the obvious candidate, and we have enough surviving examples of these instruments for many good replicas now to have been made and widely played. We have a good idea of how they must have sounded, or at least, we think we do. For, despite wide acceptance of the application of a 'high pitch' of around A466 to viol

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[2] GB-Ob MS Rawl. Poet. 23, p. 200.

consort repertory of the sixteenth-century and to early viols of that period, a pervasive 'group think' seems to have prevented contemplation of the possibility that *some* English viols of this later 'classical' period might also have been made to play at that pitch. Data from surviving originals analysed for this research shows good reason to suppose that the very wide spread of their body-size dimensions points to a correspondingly wide range of pitch standards for which they may have been constructed. In the series of 'In Chains of Gold' CD recordings, the assembly of a consort of smaller-sized, English-style instruments, specially strung for Quire pitch in order to perform consort anthems in their written key with the historical voice-types referred to above, demonstrates that this is, at the very least, perfectly feasible. Voice parts fall naturally into place without transposition. Whatever compromises might have been necessary to perform a consort anthem later in its life, perhaps when it was copied into the repertory of a domestic household, playing at a lower 'domestic' pitch with whatever voices were available at the time, there is good reason to suppose that many of these works were originally intended for the ideal conditions that the notated voice ranges suggest, in other words performance at Quire pitch.

It is the second of our research questions, "What is the language of the consort anthem?", that brings the performer to the heart of the matter. I have sought to show in Chapter 2 that, in common with the language of poets, playwrights and other writers of the period, it is richly rhetorical. Hence, the 'perfectly impersonal style … devoid of rhetoric', still widely heard today and recommended by influential figures in the English cathedral choir tradition as being appropriate for the performance of 'Tudor anthems',[3] can give us no

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[3] Timothy Day, 'English Cathedral Choirs in the Twentieth Century', in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. by John Potter, Cambridge Companions to Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 123–32 (pp. 126 & 123) <https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL9780521622257>. See also Timothy Day, *I Saw Eternity the Other Night: King's College, Cambridge, and an English Singing Style* (Penguin UK, 2018), Kindle location 273.

more than a superficial impression of the music. For verse-singing is nothing less than

musical oratory. I give examples of text-setting, ranging from simple linear sound-patterning,

through subtle play upon speech rhythm to complex pointing of textual meaning, conveyed

through the very structure of the music, and propose that all of them would have been

recognised as rhetorical figures by the educated listener of the time. Such a listener would

have been alert to their presence in the text-setting. It is therefore the role of the verse singer

to identify these and to articulate them, so that the music is rhetorically persuasive in the way

the composer intended.

The consort anthem repertory is large,[4] but I have mainly limited my examination of it

to the period spanned by two of its finest exponents, William Byrd and Orlando Gibbons and

have chosen the relatively unfamiliar figure of Edmund Hooper, their near contemporary and

working colleague at the Chapel Royal, to throw light on the development of the idiom.

Three of his large anthems in verse form are presented in critical editions as part of this

thesis, two of which survive in both of the common scorings: choir and organ on the one hand

and voices with instrumental consort on the other. I give reasons in Chapter 3 to argue that

the third, *O God of gods*, for which we have extant parts in only the first of these two formats,

once also existed in both. In answer to the question, "What is Edmund Hooper's particular

contribution to the consort anthem?", these works show his musical language to be, no less

than that of Byrd and Gibbons, rich in rhetoric; and in his case it is the rhetoric of both the

pulpit and the theatrical stage. In the claustrophobically intense *Hearken, ye nations*, written

to mark the first Gunpowder Treason Day, we find striking echoes of a sermon given by

Lancelot Andrewes for the same occasion, whilst *O God of gods*, under cover of a prayer to

the Almighty, smuggles in copious reference to the political ambitions of James I, acted out

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[4] Over 120 examples are listed in the provisional database that is included in the Appendix to this research.

by verse-singing protagonists with vivid musical images that seem to bring each scene 'before our very eyes', as students of Aristotelian rhetoric might have said.[5] Perhaps Hooper's most significant contribution to the consort anthem is his development of the court *pièce d'occasion* in these two very different works, and, in so far as he can be claimed to trace a path between Byrd and Gibbons (as I suggest in my Introduction), this is an area in which it can clearly be seen in an intriguing chain of quotation that runs from Byrd through him to Gibbons and perhaps beyond. (See especially 3A.7 and 3A.12).

In Chapter 4, I examine a series of practical issues that have arisen over the course of the 'In Chains of Gold' recording project or have been illuminated by this research. Some of them have application beyond the repertory of the consort anthem, for example the treatment of proportional metre (4.1). Here I have referenced several recordings by prominent choirs of Anglican service music, which I suggest exhibit long-ingrained misunderstanding of the expressive significance of triple metre. Many probably result from use of old editions of the music, which inaccurately represent the original notation. Other issues, such as the relationship between semibreve tactus and the poetic foot (4.4) and the rhetorical significance of accidentals (4.8) have fascinating performance implications that might best be described as 'work in progress', to be taken forward into the next phase of the present research: a third volume in the 'In Chains of Gold' project. This aims to include two of the largest works in the consort anthem repertory: reconstructions of *Know you not* and more recently of *O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance*, both by Thomas Tomkins, as well as anthems by John Amner, John Ward, Richard Nicholson and a selection yet to be made from William

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[5] Richard A Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms* (University of California Press, 2013). See under 'Energia'.

EPILOGUE

Simmes, Thomas Wilkinson, Thomas Ravenscroft, Martin Peerson and several others that are shown in the Consort Anthem Database in the attached Appendix.

It is a long list from which to choose, hugely varied and still largely neglected. If this research and its associated recordings will encourage more to explore the consort anthem repertory, then my work will have served a useful purpose.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Amner, John, *Sacred Hymnes* (London: Edw: Allde, 1615)

Andrewes, Lancelot, *XCVI Sermons*, ed. by William Laud and John Buckeridge (London, RSTC 606, 1629)

Anon, *Pathway to Musicke* (London: William Barley, 1596)

Bacon, Francis, *Sylua syluarum: or A naturall historie in ten centuries* (London: J. H. for William Lee, 1626)

Barlow, William, *A Brand, Titio Erepta, on the Fift Day of November Last before the Honourable Lordes of His Majesties Privie Councell and the Grave Judges of the Law, London, Windet and Law (1607)* (London: John Windet for Mathew Law, 1607)

Barnard, John, *First Book of Selected Church Musick* (London: Edward Griffin II, 1641)

Bathe, William, *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song: Concerning the Practise, Set Forth by William Bathe Gentleman* (London: Thomas Este, 1597)

Bulwer, John, *Chirologia or The Naturall Language of the Hand· Composed of the Speaking Motions, and Discoursing Gestures Thereof. Whereunto Is Added Chironomia : Or, the Art of Manuall Rhetoricke. Consisting of the Naturall Expressions, Digested by Art in the Hand, as the Chiefest Instrument of Eloquence, by Historicall Manifesto's, Exemplified out of the Authentique Registers of Common Life, and Civill Conversation. VVith Types, or Chyrograms : A Long-Wish'd for Illustration of This Argument. / By J.B. Gent. Philochirosophus.* (London, Printed by Tho. Harper, and are to be sold by R[ichard] Whitaker, at his shop in Pauls Church-yard, 1644)

Butler, Charles, *The Principles of Musik, in Singing and Setting: With The Two-Fold Use Thereof [Ecclesiastical and Civil]* (London: John Haviland, 1636)

Burmeister, Joachim, *Musica Poetica* (Rostock: S. Myliander, 1606)

Byrd, William, *Songs of Sundrie Natures* (London: Thomas East, 1589)

Caccini, Giulio, *Le Nuove Musiche* (Florence: Marescotti, 1602)

Campion, Thomas, *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* (London: Printed at London by Richard Field for Andrew Wise, 1602)

Clifford, James, *The Divine Services and Anthems Usually Sung in His Majesties Chappell and in All Cathedrals and Collegiate Choires in England and Ireland* (London: Nathaniel Brooke and Henry Brome, 1664)

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Audio ex. 3C3 (Hooper *The Blessed Lamb* (slow triple verse) Ex Cathedra singers

Audio ex. 3C4 (Hooper *The Blessed Lamb* with *passaggi*, July 1 2020) Ex Cathedra singers

Video ex. 3CV (Hooper *The Blessed Lamb,* complete video & audio performance, Ex Cathedra singers, August 26 2021)

Audio example for Chapter 3D:

Audio ex. 3D1 (Hooper *O God of gods*, I Fagiolini, Members and Ex-members of The 24 (University of York), English Cornett and Sackbut Ensemble, Robert Hollingworth - Director. Performed March 26th, 2020 at St Lawrence Church, York, as part of the National Centre for Early Music's 'AWAKEN' Festival, supported by Arts Council England).

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03 *The Tudor Choir Book Vol II,* Romsey Abbey Choir, director George Richford (Convivium Records CR040, 2017)
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05 *William Byrd Second Service & Consort Anthems,* Choir of Magdalen College, Oxford, director Bill Ives (Harmonia Mundi 907440, 2007)
06 *Tudor Church Music from Durham Cathedral,* Durham Cathedral Choir, directed James Lancelot (OxRecs Digital, OXCD-106, 2010)
07 *Glorious Renaissance,* Choir of Wells Cathedral, director Malcolm Archer (Griffin Records GCCD 4019, 2010)

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14 *Anthems by Orlando Gibbons,* Choir of Winchester Cathedral, director David Hill
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V02 *Orlando Gibbons,* Duncan Parry, Choir of Trinity College, Cambridge, director Richard
        Marlow (Conifer, 76505 51231 2, 1995)
V03 *'In Chains of Gold' volume 1*, Charles Daniels, artistic director William Hunt (Signum
        SIGCD511, 2017)
V04 *Anthems by Orlando Gibbons,* Robin Blaze, Choir of Winchester Cathedral, director
        David Hill (Hyperion Records Limited, Helios, CDH55228, 2007)
V05 *Music from the Reign of King James I,* David Martin, Choir of Westminster Abbey,
        director James O'Donnell (Hyperion, CDA67858, 2011)
V06 *'In Chains of Gold' volume 1*, Charles Daniels, artistic director William Hunt (Signum
        SIGCD511, 2017)

CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: **Vocal Consort sessions on Zoom with Bill Hunt, Ex Cathedra singers and Jeffrey Skidmore, April to June 2020**

Please write Y[es] or N[o] in each box to indicate your response to the points below then complete the details at the bottom of the form – name, date and signature. Many thanks.

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the 'Participant Information' regarding the above project at the top of the Questionnaire dated **01/04/2020**. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and (where applicable) have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.

3. I agree to take part in the above study.

4. I agree to audio/visual recordings being made of these sessions.

5. I understand that the audio/visual recordings made during this project will be used primarily as a research tool by the researcher only and consent to their use in this manner.

6. I understand that for any other use of such material I will first be asked by the researcher for my consent and am free to withold permission.

7. I understand that short extracts of the recordings may be used to illustrate specific points as part of a doctoral thesis submission, making them a public document.

    a. I consent to the use of audio recording in this manner.

    b. I consent to the use of video recording in this manner.

8. I understand that my responses to the questionnaire will be anonymised before being used in any published form and consent to their use in this manner, unless I have expessly consented below to being identified

9. I agree to being contacted again in connection with the current project, for example, should the researcher require clarification regarding any of my responses.

    Please delete as appropriate:

    *   I am happy to be identified by name as a participant in any publication or conference presentation arising from this research

or

    *   I prefer to remain anonymous.

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Date   Signature

QUESTIONNAIRE

Vocal Consort sessions on Zoom with Bill Hunt (doctoral researcher at Royal Birmingham Conservatoire), Ex Cathedra singers and Jeffrey Skidmore, April to June 2020

Questionnaire: April 1st 2020 (date of first meeting)   PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

The purpose of these sessions was initially to replace events due to take place in March and July 2020, which had to be cancelled due to the Covid crisis. These were (a) a workshop with the reconstructed 'Tudor organ' at the University of Birmingham on March 25th 2020 and (b) rehearsals of a programme of pre-Restoration verse anthem repertory with a view to performance in the Biennial International Baroque Conference at Royal Birmingham Conservatoire on July 16th 2020. It was decided to devote these sessions to a general introduction to the repertory, including a recorded online performance of the first section of William Byrd's consort anthem 'Christ rising', and thereafter to the study of Bill Hunt's reconstruction of a verse anthem for choir and organ by Edmund Hooper, 'The Blessed Lamb'. In the course of the sessions, participants experimented with different approaches to declamatory singing, arising from Bill Hunt's research, and worked towards a video recording of the complete Hooper anthem.

You are invited to answer a few questions about your impressions as a performer during these sessions, and your answers will be used as part of evidence submitted in a doctoral research project on performance of this repertory.

1. What is your role in these sessions?

    1. Singer
    2. Other

2. Are you associated with:

    1. Royal Birmingham Conservatoire
    2. Other (please specify)

3. If you are a singer:

    1. What voice range are you and which part(s) did you sing in the Hooper anthem?
    2. Are you on the Ex Cathedra 'scholar' scheme?
    3. Are you a first study singer from Royal Birmingham Conservatoire?
    4. Other (please specify)

Questions for singers

    1. How did you find the A466 pitch suited your voice? (especially: if you sang Contratenor, how did you cope with the higher tessitura? If you are a bass, how did you cope with the lower tessitura? Other voice ranges: any comments welcome)
    2. What impressions did you have when singing the Byrd and the Hooper anthems? How did the different styles strike you from a vocal point of view?
    3. How much experience have you had of singing repertory of this kind? (verse or consort anthems)
    4. We spent some time learning about musical theory of the period, in particular hexachords and solmisation. How, if at all, did you feel that it altered your understanding of the music, your instinct in phrasing it, or any other aspect of performance?
    5. We also spent some time in looking at the music from the point of view of individual partbooks as opposed to score. How, if at all, did that affect your attitude to its performance?

Questions for everyone

    1. How could these sessions have been structured more productively?!